

ABSTRACT

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This dissertation explores identity and musical performance in New Zealand. I investigate how music and performance play a part in the formation of persistent identities — how momentary activities metamorphose into more fixed “traditional” practices, and how music impacts collective definition of group identity. I define “persistent identities” as those that continue despite changes in place, time and life stage. In musical performances, repertoires and canons, we witness the formation of “new” identities: mutations, extensions, or adaptations of traditional identities in response to changing circumstances. I theorize connections between traditional and contemporary practices as expressions of functional or processual persistence.

New Zealand’s bicultural framework (formed between indigenous Māori and descendants of their European counterparts) forms an appropriate site for formation of new identities.

The country comprises a manageable geographic area for application of a hybrid ethnographic/social-historical method, and its political structure affords a high level of visibility, empowerment, and “ownership,” particularly for Pacific immigrants by allowing them to retain a sense of “indigeneity.” The situation is not as sanguine for other groups, including refugees and Asian migrants who also aspire to a common nationhood while retaining traditional identities. The extent to which groups succeed or fail is visible in their use of music to achieve a place in public discourse.

Māori contemporary music and performance practices including *Powhiri* (ritual encounter), *Haka* (a dance form widely practiced by both Māori and non-Māori), and *Taonga Pūoro* (traditional instruments and practice, thought extinct but now the subject of a culturally contested recovery) stand out as sites where diverse groups participate and negotiate identities. I parse performances ethnographically by analyzing choice and usage of materials (idioms, genres, repertoires, etc.), and audience makeup, reception and interaction.

A CONFLUENCE OF STREAMS:
MUSIC AND IDENTITY IN
AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

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*This dissertation is dedicated to
my mother, Priscilla Guy Anderson, and my father, Harold A. Anderson, Sr.,
and to all those who have gone before and upon whose shoulders I stand.*

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Chapter 1

Conceptual Issues

Background

This dissertation is an ethnography of how people in contemporary New Zealand are using music to define and identify themselves in the context of that country's bicultural framework, mandated by current law and in recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi.

I undertake this task in the light of my own personal journey. I immigrated to New Zealand in 1984 as a self-identified African American musician looking to retain my own sense of self even as I sought to find a niche in a new country. I was often asked what kind of music I “did.” But the answers — jazz, blues, classical, African American — had a local context and meaning to people that didn't necessarily match my own. I came to realize that my musical identity — as essential, traditional, and fixed as I once thought it was — would have to be translated and transformed locally, that it would need to become fluid and the product would ultimately be based upon a process of negotiation.

I realized that my sense of musical identity was based on a set of cultural markers which depended on a particular cultural and historical landscape, and that in order to find and establish an identity consistent with my past in a new place, I had to find or construct common landmarks and new points of reference.

My personal, local experience was atypical. In the town of Dunedin, in the lower half of the South Island where I landed with my wife (who had accepted a university job) and lived for nine years, I was a minority of one. I was a glaring cultural anomaly in southern New Zealand, where the visible culture was overwhelmingly white, European, and above all British. This experience sensitized me to the situation of members of minority groups in New Zealand as they attempt to discover and assert their cultural identity.

The local perception of American culture, and particularly African American culture, was narrowly conceived and almost entirely based on media — television, radio, film, or recordings. This left me at a disadvantage when it came to asserting my own claims to authenticity, or even my authority to innovate in performance, especially when my performances or interpretations were at variance with pre-fixed notions and dominant interpretations. These preformed cultural interpretations gained weight by being entextualized and enshrined in public institutions — school curricula, festivals, and literature.

My experience differed from most immigrants who have or bring with them a local constituency of other people with similar backgrounds. As unusual as my situational experience was — being the sole proponent of a culture that was at the same time exotic and (superficially) familiar — the journey I had to undertake in order to assert myself culturally and musically was not dissimilar to that of many people(s).

My analysis of New Zealand musical identities proceeds largely from my discovery of apposite musical cultures and my sense that my own journey of musical self-discovery was not dissimilar to (or disconnected from) the experience of others.

Te Kakano (The Seed)

This is an ethnographic inquiry into the role that music plays in identity formation, construction, maintenance, and persistence in contemporary *Aotearoa*/New Zealand.

My focus is on how modern peoples produce new identity performances (and by extension new performance traditions) that incorporate or can be seen as apposite extensions of or innovations on traditional ones.

I see these “new identity performances” as manifestations of multi-sited ethnographic endeavor by *all* of the participants, and they are based in part upon elements derived from the (entextualized and institutionalized) products of the salvage ethnography of earlier generations. Because of these intertwined histories and reflexivities, I see myself and my predecessors as active participants in the process of the formation of contemporary identities. This dissertation is intended to be read by the people under study as a conscious part of that process.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the process of contemporary identity formation takes place against a backdrop of institutional biculturalism — a contemporary movement that has its roots in the nation’s earliest beginnings and that sets a condition where no single cultural identity is imagined as superior or dominant. Rather, national identity is seen as being derived in some way from a bicultural “partnership” between “the Crown” and “Māori.”¹ While the precise meaning of this “partnership” is highly contested, the notion that New Zealand national identity is somehow based upon biculturalism has become institu-

¹ As a matter of style, in New Zealand usage, “the Māori people” are indicated simply by the term “Māori” without the definite article. Similarly, the plural form of “Māori” does not require an “s.”

tionalized in government departments, education, and the courts and has become an important theme throughout New Zealand culture. The trope of biculturalism — what it means and how it is expressed and performed — impacts people across ethnic, generational, and gender lines.

The juxtaposition of Māori and the Crown as the basis for governance necessarily lends itself to symbolic interpretation. My research, framed within New Zealand's bicultural context, proceeds by examining examples of cultural performances by groups subsumed under the symbolic partners — Māori and the Crown. Ultimately the identities of members of these groups, and their attendant performances, will be more complex than is immediately obvious from this formulation.

“Māori” can be taken variously to represent specific Māori ethnic lineages or general indigenous interests and values. Among the values that are enshrined in the Treaty of Waitangi, the ur-text of biculturalism, is the concept of *taonga* or “treasures” (in Māori and several other Pacific/Polynesian languages). One result is that, because *waiata* — which translates both as “song” and cultural performance in general and has a central role as a carrier of Māori heritage — is highly placed among *taonga*, music and song can be seen as having a mandated place in New Zealand culture.

Similarly, while “the Crown” is explicitly understood to refer to British/European heritage and interest, it also indicates governmental responsibility for “everyone else” — i.e., all non-Māori. And, by extension, government sanction for cultural performance by non-Māori — whether European or indigenous or some other — is also mandated.

The result is a casting of “modernity” that does not assume a particular kind of Western dominance where “exotic” groups and their performances will be subsumed under a single over-arching *cultural* rubric, but rather a two-part system. The emphasis on the Crown’s responsibility for “everyone else” on the one hand, and “Māori” concepts of taonga and indigenous values — which clearly include more than Māori — on the other, results in multiple paths and strategies for diverse peoples to establish their identity and their niche and to make claims on resources. My interest is in how this plays out for and in musical performance.

Methodology

Speaking of representations of indigenous and other non-Western peoples and their entry into the “modern” world, Clifford says:

...whenever marginal peoples [who] come into a historical or ethnographic space that has been defined by the Western imagination. “Entering the modern world,” their distinct histories quickly vanish. Swept up in a destiny dominated by the capitalist West and by various technologically advanced socialisms, these suddenly “backward” peoples no longer invent local futures. What is different about them remains tied to traditional pasts, inherited structures that either resist or yield to the new but *cannot produce it* [my emphasis].²

He goes on to demonstrate that this vision of ethnographic endeavor is historically and culturally rooted, and that the result is tautological and self-fulfilling.

The denial of marginalized people’s ability to produce the new emerges from a mindset that imagines these colonized and indigenous peoples in the role of a tail wagging the (Western) dog — they are imagined as being both powerless and ineffectual. But, as any

² Clifford 1988: 5.

competent physicist will tell you, the tail does indeed wag the dog, and vice versa. In the arena of cultural production such “marginalized” people do exert an important and effective influence. And this influence is reflexive.

The question for this dissertation, and for 21st century ethnographers in general, is no longer whether such “marginal peoples” *can* produce the new, but *how* they do so, and how they may manage to preserve their traditional pasts, inherited structures, and intergenerationally constructed worldviews in the process of becoming less marginal, if not mainstream. This process also involves the establishment, the institutionalization as it were, of these worldviews and traditions in a manner that promotes their persistence into future generations.

Theoretical Framework

Processes of identity formation manifest themselves in reflexive diachronic and synchronic performances. The contemporary identities I explore are created and shaped by an interplay of what might be called “democratic” factors, including spontaneous and unregulated input of individuals and groups, with institutional environmental and structural factors including ritual enculturation of “traditional” notions and attitudes held within families, tribes, and other close cultural groupings, and “modern” forces which impinge from the outside and which include governmental and legal structures, finance, media, and also the reflexive impact of ethnographic research.

Identities are formed in interactive relationships with fixed institutions — that is to say that identities are formed and maintained in dynamic interaction between individuals and

groups and the “institutions” (in the broadest sense)³ that represent them like literature and other fixed texts, performance venues and festivals, and archives and museums. These all comprise sites for the musical construction, negotiation, maintenance, and establishment of persistent identities.

The Intersection between Institutional and Democratic Factors as a Discursive Space

I use the term “democratic” to refer to processes whereby notions and expressions of “culture” and “heritage” come from “the people.”⁴ This formulation is necessarily vague — culture emerges from the mass (or segments of the mass that may differentiate themselves as the result of the process) in a mysterious and murky, potentially nonrational fashion. The point is that this “bottom-up” process is fluid and unregulated. It is notable that by this process the amorphous mass shapes itself and may come to wield power.

In contrast, institutional processes are generally “top-down.” And institutions tend not to be democratic in emphasis. By nature institutions invest more power in some quarters than others and, particularly in the case of “culture” (which sometimes acquires a capital “C” in the process), their goal is ultimately to rationalize and codify.

³ I follow Bourdieu in defining the “broad sense” of an institution as “a relatively durable set of social relations which endow individuals with power, status, and resources of various kinds.” Thompson in Bourdieu 1991: 8.

⁴ “People, sing., chiefly with *the*. Those without special rank or position in society; the mass of the community as distinguished from the nobility or the ruling classes; the populace.” Oxford English Dictionary, <http://dictionary.oed.com>, 5/11/2008.

The polar opposition that I have constructed here between democratic and institutional processes is only theoretically binary. In practice, power relations do manifest in “democratic” processes. Conversely, institutions may utilize “democratic” processes, although these processes are generally structured within a framework set by the institution — they may be constructed on “democratic ideals.” But power relations in “popular” or democratic movements involving expressive performances of “the people” tend to be more chimerical — fluid and unpredictable, particularly in the short term.⁵ On the other hand, institutions by definition tend (or at least aspire) to be more fixed and stable.

The reflexive incursion of democratic factors (particularly with regard to structuring and staffing) into institutional spaces on the one hand, and the impact/influence of institutions on democratic or popular movements (as witnessed in the expressions of “the people”) on the other, constitute a discursive space which is a defining characteristic for the “sites” examined in this dissertation. The discursive spaces that I model are based on the manner in which these mutual influences manifest in a kind of feedback loop — a dialectical balancing act that can result in mutual reinforcement, destruction or neutralization of various agencies/identities — that manifests in performance.

A “discursive space” for the creative expression of an indigenous people⁶ would be one in which their notions of aesthetics and functionality — that is, their bases for evaluating

⁵ Statistical positivism might hold some sway in the medium and long term: like gas molecules diffusing. See Schrödinger 1967.

⁶ See Ginsburg 1994.

the quality, uses, and functions of a performance — would be in play, not only emically, for themselves (as would be expected), but also etically — for those others who, as a consequence, not only witness but who are also conscious (to some degree) participants in the performance. The “creation of the new” by indigenous communities is contingent on the existence of such a discursive space. Similarly the preservation/conservation of “tradition” is contingent upon the existence (or construction) of “the institution” as a metaphoric space. In order to accommodate democratic culture, institutions must become conceptual entities that are able to go beyond predetermined structural and structuring definitions — beyond “bricks and mortar” — to nurture, embody, and embrace cultural products.

Identity, Performance and Identification

I distinguish between “identity” and the unobservable internal and intransitive state that it implies, and the active process of identification (by self and others), which plays out in performance. Whereas “identity” can be reduced to a simple binary as an exercise in epistemological differentiation between self and other, the active process of identification/differentiation as both an observable and reflexive phenomenon is inevitably layered and multi-dimensional as it plays out in performance. Furthermore, I am interested in identity performances that reflect persistent group (as opposed to individual) identities — those identities that have some continuity with “traditional” pasts and that (usually by being institutionalized in some manner or form) exist independently of any single individual.

The group identities I refer to might be better expressed as “group identifications.” That is, I am referring primarily to active or explicit declarations by individuals of group

affiliation by performance — word, deed or association — and the reflexive acceptance, acknowledgement, and (potentially) authentication of the individual by the group. These identifications admit of the possibility of simultaneous multiple, partial, hybridized, and new identities variously met in a single individual or group identity.

Performance

Erving Goffman defines performance as:

...All the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants. Taking a particular participant and his performance as a basic point of reference, we may refer to those who contribute to the other performances as the audience, observers, or co-participants. The pre-established pattern of action which is unfolded during a performance and which may be presented or played through on other occasions may be called a “part” or a “routine.”⁷

In a recapitulation of Hamlet’s “The world is a stage” speech, Schechner extends this definition and parses performance as a growing hyper-reflexive hierarchy of (inter-) activity involving “being, doing, showing doing, and explaining showing doing.”⁸ These latter two varieties — of showing and explaining showing doing — are of particular interest because they imply the construction or derivation of analytic structures and theoretical frameworks — including repertoires and canons — that are institutional in character.

Similarly, Rice has noted that the concept of “tradition” must be treated in a manner that takes into consideration the meaning and use of the concept within the culture under study. In a hierarchical construction that closely parallels Schechner’s, Rice defines

⁷ Quoted in Schechner 2002: 22-23.

⁸ Schechner 2002: 22-23.

tradition as lying on a field of variation ranging from “nonreflective” — that is cultures that do not have a (conscious) notion of tradition and where a concept is “beyond discourse” and is externally constructed by a researcher’s analysis — to “fully self-conscious” cultures, where “tradition” is a matter of public discourse and its construction is (usually) contested among different factions and individuals.⁹

I am particularly concerned with the more conscious varieties of performances and how these performances contribute to the construction of institutions and persistent group identities.

National Identities

I frame New Zealand national identity as a multi-layered discourse that is characterized by an interaction between two main narrative perspectives, the ethnic/indigenous view represented symbolically as “Māori” in the Treaty of Waitangi on one hand, and the “Western” view represented by “the Crown” on the other. Smith notes that both varieties of national identity — characterized as ethnic and Western — tend to coexist in real-world nationalisms: “...every nationalism contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and different forms.” But he maintains that, “even during the most severe conflicts mirroring opposed models of the nation certain fundamental assumptions tied the warring parties together through a common nationalist discourse.”¹⁰ The specifics of these assumptions — their type and kind and their creative construction in the present through music — is a central theme of this dissertation.

⁹ Rice 1994: 13.

¹⁰ Smith 1991: 13.

Smith,¹¹ Anderson,¹² and others have noted that there are general distinguishing characteristics between civic/Western and ethnic narratives. Smith enunciates a set of attributes of the Western “civic” model of the nation. A nation is a well-defined territory that is conceived as belonging to a people just as that people belong to it. This territory must be a specific place that is seen as being the “historic” land — the metaphoric “cradle” — of its people.¹³ Smith says:

The homeland becomes a repository of historic memories and associations.... Its rivers, coasts, lakes, mountains and cities become “sacred” — places of veneration and exaltation whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated, that is, the self-aware members of the nation.¹⁴

He goes on to list five basic features of national identity: “an historic territory or homeland; common myths and historical memories; a common, mass public culture; common legal rights and duties for all members; a common economy with territorial mobility for members.”¹⁵ He defines a nation as “a named human population sharing an historic identity, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.”¹⁶

¹¹ See Smith 1991.

¹² See Anderson 1983.

¹³ Smith 1991: 9-10.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Smith 1991: 14.

¹⁶ Ibid.

By way of contrast, Smith delineates “stress on (presumed) descent (as opposed to territory)” as a basic characteristic of the ethnic nation.¹⁷ An important offshoot of this emphasis on descent is that, in contrast to the Western model where “the people” are seen as “a political community subject to common laws and institutions,” in the ethnic model, the people are seen as the “object of national aspirations and the final rhetorical court of appeal.”¹⁸

Saying that “the place of law in the Western civic model is taken by vernacular culture” in the non-Western ethnic model, Smith notes that ethnographic research, especially that undertaken by lexicographers, philologists, and folklorists, has had a central role in the early construction of national identities in places like Eastern Europe and Asia:

Their linguistic and ethnographic research in the past and present culture of the “folk” provided the materials for a blueprint of the “nation-to-be,” even where specific linguistic revivals failed. By creating a widespread awareness of the myths, history and linguistic traditions of the community, they succeeded in substantiating and crystallizing the idea of an ethnic nation in the minds of most members, even when...the ancient language declined.¹⁹

Imagined Communities and Indigeneity

In a discussion of the origin of nationalism, Anderson has used the term “imagined communities” to refer people who have established group identities that extend beyond

¹⁷ Smith 1991: 12.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

the bounds of immediate, personal interaction and are instead based upon mediated constructions of commonality that may transcend physical distances and boundaries.²⁰

Whereas Anderson is primarily concerned with the role of print media in the construction of the nation-state as a kind of cultural-political amalgam, Appadurai develops the notion that technological developments and global markets combined with vastly increased flows of people have democratized the imaginative process so that it can be utilized collectively by “communities of sentiment” and is no longer restricted to being “a faculty of the gifted individual.”²¹

The contemporary construction of “indigenous people” as a global cultural community is an example of this latter type of creative imagination and “indigeneity” has evolved beyond its early (historic) construction as an expression of otherness based on (or in reaction to) the etic perspective of colonialists and travel writers and later, anthropologists.

In its current global iterations, indigenous identification is based on the creative construction of some shared attributes of far-flung communities as opposed to being a mere artifact of colonialism. In the process (and perhaps ironically), essentialist readings of indigeneity — with strong emphasis on kinship and genealogy — have lost some of their force, leaving open the question of whether and how people might come to become indigenous and what this might mean with regard to place, practice, and function.

²⁰ Anderson 1983, 1991.

²¹ Appadurai 1996: 8.

This is particularly true in New Zealand, where sense of place — and the relationship that one has to that place — has become a dominant theme in the discourse of national identity. For Māori people in New Zealand, indigeneity (“tangata whenua”) is simultaneously a locally constructed literal fact and a term that signifies participation in a global discourse. Tangata whenua, meaning “people of the land,” is the commonly accepted term for Māori indigenous identity.

Some non-Māori seek to legitimize their presence in New Zealand by constructing a local, indigenous identity. For some, this process of local identification — of coming to be recognized as being a fundamental part of Aotearoa — is connected with a mastery of aspects of *māoritanga* (“things Māori”), including language and music.

Global Discourses

A distinctive feature of modernity is that very little human activity takes place in isolation. A global discourse for the purposes of this dissertation would be one in which local performances/products are reflexively seen and engaged in on a world stage and across a variety of interpretive frameworks. The “stage” in question is a metaphoric space where the quality and manner of engagement of the participants is impacted by a variety of processes. These processes are very much in play in the construction of group identities and the institutions that come to represent or reflect them.

Appadurai proposes a theoretical framework for mapping global processes across disparate points of view. He notes that:

The global relationship between ethnoscaples, technoscaples and financescaples is deeply disjunctive and profoundly unpredictable, since each of these landscapes is subject to its own constraints and incentives (some political, some informational and some techno-environmental), at the same time as each acts as a constraint and a parameter for

movements in the other. It is clear now more than ever that media, technology and notions of ethnicity impact upon individual and group constructs of identity.²²

Appadurai's use of the suffix "-scape" for each of interpretive/expressive realms reflects the fact that they can represent shifting views of a complex cultural terrain and corresponding shifts in perspective for viewing the situatedness of a group or individual. These perspectives can be complementary or disjunct. However this framework suggests the possibility of translating and transforming between some of these realms if one were to have access to an appropriate set of tools.

Analytic Processes

This dissertation explores the reflexive relationship between important specific groups/actors by mapping their participation in the process of identity formation and in their participation in the creative imagining, construction, and reconstruction of new and traditional communities as manifested in musical performances in Aotearoa/New Zealand. My emphasis is on group identities as opposed to more personal ones and my interest in individuals is focused on their ability to enunciate and elaborate upon trends and movements of groups.

I proceed by recording and analyzing "snapshots" of musical and other performances involving some major immigrant streams, who collectively comprise the nation's population, in order to observe and chart processes by which they come together to form national, intra-, and trans-national identities and profoundly influence if not determine what is sometimes characterized as the "dominant" national identity.

²² Appadurai 1990: 295.

Ethnomusicology, Methodology, and the Master Narrative

Ethnographic methodology and style and the seat, as it were, of ethnographic authority have evolved apace — the single most radical change has come from the growing awareness among academic ethnomusicologists that, even as they observe and document, they are being observed and documented. The explicit inclusion of the ethnographer as a presence, in both data collection and the subsequent analysis and interpretation, has come to be the accepted norm in qualitative research. An important question is where does the root of ethnographic authority lie — whether it is based in a master narrative, as it were, or whether our rhetorical force might more appropriately be derived from some other, possibly more democratic source. Pritchard says:

...Debates which have often been presented as simple matters of truth or knowledge and their faithful and accurate representation, fail to consider how such terms assign identity, how representation produces knowledge, or, since there is little if anything that can be thought that does not in some way bear the imprint of the body, how “bodies” and bodily acts might be thought in relation to the production of the “the true.”²³

Ethnomusicologists and ethnographers in general have aspired to an increasingly broader view of people and culture. Ethnocentric viewpoints and culturally bound value systems have given way to notions of cultural equity.²⁴ In the post-structuralist, post-modern era, rigid notions of personal and cultural identity have largely been replaced by more fluid concepts based largely on theories of social constructionism.

²³ Pritchard 2001: 31.

²⁴ See Lomax 1977 also Bau Graves 2005.

The change in emphasis from a positivist-objectivist orientation to a relativist-interpretivist orientation, with an emphasis on participant observation as a primary research tool, has largely been precipitated by two related shifts. The first is the dawning realization by ethnographic researchers that they are not invisible²⁵ and that their presence in and of itself impacts on the products of their research.²⁶ The second is the increased mobility and deterritorialization²⁷ of groups and the resulting need for multi-sited approaches²⁸ to contemporary ethnography. The two are related because both conditions are symptomatic of embedded reflexivity between populations intermingling in a moving window that comprises the ethnographic present. The reality of these reflexivities is not necessarily deemed commensurate or rendered equitably in contemporary ethnographic narratives, however.

Master Narrative

To this juncture in time, the dominant narrative — the viewpoint from which the story has been told — has largely been Western. Current advances in Western ethnography

²⁵ See Clifford's discussion of the frontispiece for Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* consisting of a photograph depicting a group of Melanesian natives apparently involved in a naturalistic rite. The "naturalness" of the scene is called into question by one of the bowing figures who stares into the camera, clearly more absorbed by the otherwise unseen and unacknowledged ethnographer than by the rite itself. Clifford 1988: 21.

²⁶ It is interesting to note that this realization for the social sciences came so long after Heisenberg's 1927 formulation of his Uncertainty Principle signaled the end of pure positivism in the physical sciences.

²⁷ See Deleuze and Guattari 1972.

²⁸ Marcus proposes that multi-sited ethnography is an attempt to understand cultures "holistically," that is, in a manner that takes into account multiple and complex orientations (geographic, psychological, metaphoric, et cetera), influences and allegiances that comprise the milieu of contemporary "peoples." He says that this attempt to build a more complete knowledge, in the present moment of the ethnographic subject, as it were, is "an issue perhaps more relevant to an ethnography more oriented to elucidating contemporary processes emergent or unfolding than to locating present subjects within a past that holds the key to contemporary problems." Marcus 1998: 5.

remain framed within this master narrative that, like a dramatic soliloquy manifested as a self-contained “dialogue,” is by definition limited, and that stifles discourse and constructive creative imagining by relegating potential dialogic partners to a subordinate role. This subordination is embedded in the terms and usages — the analytic categories — of the discourse itself.

The promulgation of any particular master narrative is not restricted to one set of voices. For instance, a hegemonic hermeneutic²⁹ might refer to competing master narratives, and post-colonialism might be cast as a set of reactive narratives constructed to resist and rewrite colonialism, but still cast in Western terms, nonetheless. Brown notes, “...efforts to resist domination can readily re-enforce [sic] it, if such resistance is cast in the code of the dominator.”³⁰ Or, as playwright Audre Lorde so succinctly put it, “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house.”³¹

The central theme of this dissertation — the “creation of the new” by indigenous people and complementary processes by which Westerners and others may be seen as becoming indigenous — rests on production of a more inclusive discursive space. I choose my terminology and my method to both acknowledge and promote that goal.

²⁹ See Slobin 1993.

³⁰ Brown 1993: 658.

³¹ Audre Lorde’s comments at “The Personal and the Political” Panel, (Second Sex Conference, October 29, 1979).

Constructing Methodology, Deconstructing Terminology

As Brown notes, “naming is a form of social control” and “categories and their use as labels do not only describe prevailing reality. Categories also constitute social reality, insofar as societies are discursively enacted. Membership categories are not discovered as manifestations of a predefined social reality, but are apprehended in and through the very processes by which they are deployed.”³² Hence the application of an (hegemonic) analysis based upon a master narrative would tend to construct, or, at very least, reinforce the dominance of the narrative that it seeks to discover. Similarly, social constructionist models, where “reality” is itself a construction of human beings and hence a product of human agency, enable the agency of the investigator (the agency of the self, as it were) to be more easily conceptualized and represented in ethnographies, thereby rendering the ethnographic product more transparent. A problem with the models (and practices) that have emerged is that, while they are useful in locating the self in ethnography, they are frequently not as effective in explicitly acknowledging or privileging (as opposed to denying) the agency of the “other” — the objects/subjects of inquiry — in our products. Another attendant difficulty with these models is that, because they are fluid and untethered to any absolute value system, they are not able to directly address moral and ethical issues, issues that are fundamental to any notion of cultural equity. It is clear that methods based on social constructionist models are not able within themselves to resist the hegemonic proclivities of the master narrative.

³² Brown 1993: 658-9.

Quoting Lippard, Slobin observes that “we have not yet developed a theory of multiplicity that is neither assimilative nor separative — one that is, above, all relational.”³³ The notion of the master narrative — which is a privileged story (and, as seen reflexively from a subordinate vantage, the story of privilege) — is implicit in both assimilative and separative models. “Assimilation” assumes that there is something *a priori* to be assimilated to and, similarly, “separation” requires the prior existence of a narrative to do the work of separation, particularly so if the “separated” groups occupy overlapping or adjacent territories. The assimilative model — which requires that groups shed or subordinate cultural identities — is consistent with a relativist position and the separative model — where identities must resist dilution or mixture and purity is placed at a premium — correlates more closely to an essentialist stance. This dissertation examines how this antinomy may be resolved in musical performance.

Lippard and Slobin’s notion of a “relational” theory that is neither anchored in an assimilative or separative approach demands that researchers must take into account the consequences of their choice of language, categories, and style of analysis. Furthermore, it will require that the objects of our study, the subjects of our research, be dialogically engaged and explicitly included in the audience for our products and that their critical vantage be acknowledged as being not only valid, but also vital to our mutual purposes.

³³ Lippard 1990 quoted in Slobin 1993: 14.

Slobin risks a pejorative reading when he appends the prefixes “super-” and sub-” to “culture.”³⁴ While his intent is clearly not to elevate one cultural reading over another, his use of these categories to describe ethnic and other cultural groups in relation to the broad cultural milieu in which they are (locally and globally) embedded begs the question of precisely what that relationship is. This is not to say that power relations (vis à vis the subordination of the interests of one group to those of another) and hegemony don’t exist, but it is to say that Slobin’s implicit, albeit unintentional, focus on the “sub” and the “super” tends to divert attention from the task of creative imagining and construction of culture in the present. It also fails to acknowledge that the “power” one person has over another — the power of subordination — is at least in part perceptual, complicit and reflexive.³⁵ Slobin’s “superculture” also implies the existence of a (largely) fixed and overweening narrative — a structural background — that has the insidious attribute of being unconscious, unspoken and, for the most part, unexamined (and unexaminable). It is what “everybody knows” and, as a consequence, it is what no one need take responsibility for. By contrast, the focus for this dissertation is on the *voluntary* dimension of what I call “owned” culture.

Owned and Imposed Culture

There is “owned” culture and “imposed” culture — “owned” culture flows from below, as it were, and is a notion of culture based on free acceptance and active embracing of a

³⁴ See Slobin 1993.

³⁵ The complexity of reciprocity and reflexivity in such master-slave relations is evinced in Hegel’s *Phenomenology of the Spirit* and the vast colonial and post-colonial literature it spawned including Fanon, Gadamer, et cetera.

cultural identity that “fits.” Cultural artifacts and performances — whatever their “true” origin — are products of that activity. “Imposed” culture is enforced external to the will of the individual and refers to constraints — mores and behaviors that are constructed by one person or group for another and enforced primarily by external authority. This is not to say that “owned” culture is not subject to constraints, but while the origins of these constraints may be external, the constraints themselves have become internalized. These constraints are analogous to Slobin’s casting of “superculture” as an institutional discourse within which various agendas interact in different ways but in response to an internalized set of ideologies and agendas.³⁶

A notion of cultural “property” emerges from the juxtaposition of owned and imposed culture. Owned culture can be said to be indigenous to the members of that culture — it belongs to them, they identify with it, and they belong to it in turn. This type of embodied reflexivity is lacking in imposed culture. Manifestations of this reflexive sense of “belonging” and its embodiment in musical performance are significant elements of analysis for this dissertation.

Culture ownership as a manifestation of agency³⁷ has become a major focus of indigenous peoples. And performance, disposition and control of cultural artifacts form a major site of self-ethnographic activity at the interface between cultures. Similarly,

³⁶ Responding to Appadurai’s hyphenated use of “-scape,” and speaking of musical experience for people in North America and Europe and the difficulties inherent in defining the field, Slobin says, “People live at the intersection of three types of -cultures.” Slobin 1992: 2. These include superculture, subculture and interculture where super- refers to a society — a “nation-state bounded region” — with an “overarching, dominating — if not domineering – mainstream, which is internalized in the consciousness of governments, industry, subcultures, and individuals as ideology.” Slobin 1992: 13.

³⁷ In Māori, *mana motuhake*, usually translated as autonomy or self-determination.

concepts of cultural pride, self-respect, and sovereignty (all manifestations of *mana*) are intimately bound up with issues of ownership and property rights — intellectual and otherwise.

Slobin's terms superculture and subculture address the need for a way of speaking of cultural groups, their mutual embeddedness, and the relations between them. However, these terms fail to expose these interrelations without presupposing (and hence constructing) a hegemonic hierarchy. Schwimmer's usage of the term "national minority" depicting cultural groups embedded in the nation-state ("*au sein de l'état*"³⁸) is more fitting for my purposes. Schwimmer applies the term to aboriginal or autochthonous groups who might claim "nationhood" on the basis of prior occupancy in a particular bordered land mass.³⁹ My usage extends and recasts this concept by allowing for the imagining, the creative construction of such national minorities in the present, based on interaction of diachronic and synchronic factors.

National Minorities and Optimal Homeostasis

As a practical matter, negotiated coexistence between cultural and political factions is a desirable solution to resolution of differences. Schwimmer proposes a model of what he calls "optimal homeostasis" in which the interests of the nation-state are dynamically

³⁸ This French idiom means literally "[nurtured] at the breast of the State." It is particularly appropriate for my purposes because it captures the sense that while groups may not (or should not) necessarily be subordinate to the State, it is likely they will always have some relationship of being nourished by the State. Implicit in this notion is some level of obligation vis à vis the responsibilities of citizenship.

³⁹ See Schwimmer 2003.

balanced, or merged with the embedded interests of national minorities and localities.⁴⁰ By speaking of them as “nations” or “national minorities,” Schwimmer acknowledges and emphasizes the agency, the *mana* of these groups. He locates them globally and demonstrates the significance of (inter-) active global performance as a factor in achieving their national ends:

The position occupied by the dominated nation, even within the nation-state, will be determined by its prestige in the global scheme. Its historic [traditional] values — mobilized, transformed, decolonized — will be appear in each effective advance....⁴¹

In his exploration of bi-culturalism as practiced in New Zealand, Spain, and Canada, Schwimmer proposes using “anthropotechniques” to develop intermediary structures that enable dialogue between factions in contestation for resources, recognition, legitimization, et cetera, as a pragmatic solution for reconciling diverse identities in a way that enables peoples within a bounded political area (the nation-state) to aspire to a common national identity and, at the same time, retain their separate, intermediate identities and allegiances as national and local minorities. As we shall see, music performance can be seen as just such an intermediary structure and an ethnomusicological methodology as applied in this dissertation can be seen as an “anthropotechnique” contributing to optimal homeostasis.

Optimal homeostasis involves an ongoing, interactive process that takes place in the ethnographic present. Formal negotiations and legislation (and the implicit imposition of

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.: 158.

culture) by themselves are not sufficient to achieve such a dynamic balance if the various parties are not on a convergent path. Schwimmer notes, "...it remains difficult to establish an 'optimal homeostasis' between populations where there are major (cultural, historic, linguistic, ideological) differences."⁴² A fundamental premise of this dissertation is that such cultural convergence (and divergence) is both reflected and constructed in musical performance and circumstances.

Schwimmer, citing Charles Taylor says, "'in order to build a country open to all' one must 'allow the existence of diversity to the second degree or profound diversity, within which a plurality of modes of belonging would therefore be recognized and accepted.'"⁴³ The active construction of cultural convergence requires "complicity" between the parties. For Schwimmer, complicity connotes partnership in a mutually beneficial movement of convergence of fundamental values between the dominant culture, (represented by the state), and others on the "periphery." The structural elements of identity formations — the imposition of categories via laws and geopolitical boundaries — matter, but they will not function effectively without the cooperation of people:

For despite legislative instruments, such a system will not function well if there is not a convergence of fundamental values among its members. This convergence isn't given but can be developed gradually if the State succeeds in creating community institutions, perceived by the peripheral nations as favorable to coexistence. In the contrary case, despite all negotiations, the peripheries will find themselves increasingly uncomfortable within their dominant States.⁴⁴

⁴² Ibid.: 159.

⁴³ Ibid.: 160.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

What emerges is that optimal homeostasis might be achieved by construction of a negotiated coexistence in a condition of cultural convergence. This is tantamount to the construction of an inclusive national identity — one that would allow for a “plurality of modes of belonging” and would be able to accommodate people with different attitudes and cultural orientations — allowing them comfortably wear their various individual and group identities, in place and without excessive conflict, fracture, or disjuncture.

Music and Permeable Boundaries

The ethnographic research in this dissertation moves between three vantages as defined by New Zealand’s “bicultural” landscape.⁴⁵ “Māori” and “the Crown,” can be described as historical vantages and one, “the Others,” can be described as interstitial. Interaction and interplay between various groups in musical circumstances is the focus.

As an avenue for the study of identity formation, music comprises a site where individual possibilities are often played out in group circumstances — where new group identities are formed on cultural, personal, and historical boundaries and in the interstices. Because ethnomusicology has music making for its focus — an activity that, even as it reflects the multiple origins and histories of its participants, both actively and passively, also (usually) takes place at a single, visible site — it provides a particularly fruitful ethnographic field — it embodies multi-sited ethnography.

As Stokes has it, “Ethnicities are to be understood in terms of the construction, maintenance, and negotiation of boundaries, and not on the putative social ‘essences’

⁴⁵ I use the term “landscape” as a catchall to embody Appadurai’s various “-scapes.”

which fill the gaps within them....” Quoting Chapman, McDonald, and Tonkin⁴⁶, he goes on to say, “Ethnic boundaries define and maintain social identities, which can only exist in ‘a context of opposition and relativities.’”⁴⁷ Whereas the internal state of a person cannot be directly perceived, the performances that comprise the interactions between people can be witnessed and documented. Every such interaction between persons or groups reveals information about identity. Therefore the process of representing identities in ethnography can be thought of as negotiating and mapping these boundaries.

Identity plays itself out along multiple threads — age, race, gender, education, economic status. Every person has multiple identities that reveal themselves according to their circumstances at any given moment. The overall identity of a person is a complex and fluid production that is as complex as the variety of circumstances in which individuals may find themselves. A community’s identity is a similarly complex and fluid construct of persons and groups. Identity can be represented as a multi-dimensional matrix. The complexity of this matrix is made even more so by dynamic interdependency between facets of community and individual identity; however, a fieldworker can set out to identify and list significant nodes of interaction on the matrix.

Erlmann amplifying on Giddens⁴⁸ suggests that music is a means to “bracket new space-time relationships” that are the result of a modern “... ‘lifting out’ of social relations and individual experience from local worlds and their recombination across a variety of time-

⁴⁶ See also Tonkin 1989: 17.

⁴⁷ Stokes 1997: 7.

⁴⁸ See Giddens 1991.

spaces” and “...music in global culture, by dint of a number of significant shifts in the production, circulation, and consumption of musical sounds, functions as an interactive social context, a conduit for other forms of interaction, other socially mediated forms of appropriation of the world.”⁴⁹

Similarly, Slobin notes that:

...Music is woven into the cultural fabric Appadurai presents as one of the most scarlet of threads, created by ever-evolving technologies, transmitted by media, marketed through high and low finance, and expressive of private and public ideoscapes of autonomy and control for shifting populations.... It may well have a...profound connection to culture among the much less crystallized groups of greatly deterritorialized nations. Even the depersonalized, grand industrial systems take music very seriously. By tuning into music, we can hear the play of the -scapes.⁵⁰

People who engage in musical activity usually come to do so on an optional basis and participation in musical activities, particularly on an ongoing basis, tends to be voluntary — rarely is the pursuit of music an entirely coerced or externally motivated activity. Music, particularly “pop” or folk music, is generally not seen as a necessity of life in most cultures, and it is often seen as an innocuous, even inconsequential activity, that takes place on the margins. As a result, intercultural participation and exchange may be more tolerated in music making, especially in “casual” circumstances, and it is not unusual for musical exchanges to “fly below the radar” of would-be enforcers of “tradition” and cultural boundaries. Even for more formal occasions, music — particularly the combination of sound and appearance abstracted from any sense of the performers as culturally located individuals — may be seen as serving a function, and a

⁴⁹ Erlmann 1999: 6.

⁵⁰ Slobin 1993: 16.

non-rigorous approach may be taken to supplying music, even for ritual events, by employing musicians from the “outside.”

In musical performance, differences between people may be muted and/or capitalized upon. Constructions of common origins may be negotiated to emphasize similarities and overlaps. At the same time, expressions of personal identity may be preserved within a flexible performance context. Finally, and of particular significance for the ethnographer, performances are frequently public and these performances form a model — a seed — for evolving group identities, not only for music performance, but also for cultural interactions and emergent identities beyond the immediate musical sphere. Music performance is in this sense an inductive medium where emergent narratives can be read and (both literally and figuratively) broadcast.

Finnegan notes that, “musical paths are voluntary.”⁵¹ As a result, possibilities for construction of personal and group identities on a voluntary basis tend to be maximal in music making. Music making as a “democratic” site for identity formation — particularly in circumstances where hegemonic activity is muted or ameliorated — has salient characteristics for my research. And fieldwork for this dissertation focuses on occasions where permeable boundaries between cultures are visible in musical performance. These boundaries may be present in the personnel of a performance, its style, its content, its circumstances or context, or a combination of these elements.

⁵¹ Finnegan 1989: 317, quoted in Slobin 1993.

Hegemony, Institutions, and Constraints

Power relations are an inevitable feature of human existence — any person's cultural possibilities are constrained or directed by external circumstances, to a greater or lesser degree. But, as an analytic tool hegemonic discourse is difficult if not problematic.

Schwimmer says:

Every instance of power sharing is founded on complicity, on the sharing of understandings that have no need to be uttered, which are effectively unspeakable. For power always goes beyond rules meant to constrain it; this going beyond is never spoken, much less written, but it is the essence of power. So a State never acts entirely for the reasons that it states, but everyone who is a part of the system of negotiated coexistence knows the real reasons, the reasons that cannot be spoken....⁵²

Similarly, Slobin notes, "Euro-American societies allow considerable leeway for choice along the lines of voluntarism, but within a grid of limitations that no one can change, indeed that no one even thinks about."⁵³ This "grid" or system of constraints is, as a hegemonic discourse, rhetorical in the sense that it operates by suppressing some voices while privileging others in order to dominate and control conversation. This is accomplished by limiting the terms of discussion — by controlling what can be said, and how. Hegemonic discourse is revealed as being as much about what is unspeakable as it is about what is actually uttered.

By treating "unspeakability" as a static condition, Slobin and Schwimmer present what is tantamount to being a rigid structural analysis. They treat a cultural ("supercultural" in

⁵² Schwimmer 2003: 159.

⁵³ Slobin 1993: 40.

Slobin's terminology) phenomenon as if it were fixed, timeless, and unknowable. But culture is neither fixed nor timeless and an understanding of culture must go beyond a hegemonic analysis.

I am not so much interested in hegemony per se, but rather with music as it reflects what might be termed non- or quasi-hegemonic processes that are concomitant with the formation of persistent or stable forms of cultural expression. "Constraints" needn't be conceptualized as being solely hegemonic, and musical performance provides a means to focus on dynamic, processual and interactive elements of discourse. These elements are inevitably found concurrently with codified or coercive manifestations of hegemonic dominance and control by institutions and other agents.

So, among the narratives of New Zealand European-derived cultures, *Pakeha* cultural "hegemony" can be seen as being not just a story of domination, but also as one of defensiveness based on being unsure of oneself, of one's culture in that place (i.e., a European in not-Europe) — an awkwardness borne of ill ease. We see in musical comings together — through blending and hybridization and the mastery of cultural protocols — an attendant increase in cultural confidence — the growth of "belonging" — that has the potential to supplant hegemony with constructive creative imagining. The convergence that we are speaking of can also be seen as a process by which the "unspeakable" comes to be uttered — to be made visible — in performance.

Symbolic Interaction

My principal research method is to construct a narrative based on (and reflexively rooted in) synchronic and diachronic elements of symbolic interaction as witnessed in musical

performances by (and among) New Zealand indigenous and other communities. Symbolic interactionism provides a useful approach to data collection and analysis for this dissertation because it foregrounds the agency of the participants by focusing on (and making conscious) the willful act of interpretation. At the same time, the interactionist acknowledges the importance of preexisting historical, contextual and cultural dimensions of situations,⁵⁴ even as it emphasizes matters of choice with regard to cultural identifications.⁵⁵

The fundamental tenet of an interactionist approach is that interaction between human beings takes place in the realm of symbols.⁵⁶ That is to say that actions taken by humans are mediated — as opposed to being the direct result of stimuli — by “meanings” — understandings imputed to the elements of a given situation by the participants. Human expressions — actions, reactions and interactions — are situational performances based upon on the act of interpretation, which mediates between stimulus and subsequent action.

While the interior dimension of participants — their intent — is not directly discernible, the symbols that represent these internal meanings are performed externally and are observable. Data analysis for this dissertation proceeds by plausible construction/

⁵⁴ “Society — a network of interacting individuals — with its culture — the related meanings and values by means of which individuals interact — precedes any existing individual.” Rose 1972: 14.

⁵⁵ “The culture...is often internally inconsistent, and one may move from one culture or subculture to another, so that there are conflicting cultural expectations for an individual. This does not mean solely that the individual has a choice between the two conflicting patterns of behavior he is exposed to, or can make a synthesis of them, but also that he can — within the limits permitted by the culture — define for himself somewhat new patterns suggested by the variation among the old ones.” Ibid.

⁵⁶ See Blumer 1962 and also Rose 1972, et cetera.

reconciliation of meanings and intents by parsing performative, contextual and situational elements of interactions. Intentions are revealed in active projection/performance of symbols, and “meanings” correspond to their dynamic reception/interpretation and back and forth feedback over time (by originator as “self” and receiver as both self and other).

Contemporary processes are emphasized in this research, but these processes are seen as being inextricably bound to historic ones and generative of future processes and definitions. The interaction between these processes provides the synchronic dimension of the research.

Collective Definition

The process of collective definition is of interest for mapping boundaries between groups and particularly for showing the ongoing construction of national and other identities based on emergent discourses. Blumer describes an interactive process by which societies (“collectives”) come to recognize and define social “problems.”⁵⁷ By substituting the term “tradition” for “problem” in Blumer’s formulation, this process may be adapted to describe how groups may progressively come to stabilize or “fix” their traditions and identities in process of moving from democratic to institutional representations. Blumer identifies five stages of this process: emergence, as a society comes to recognize the existence of a “problem”; legitimization, when the problem acquires “a necessary degree of respectability which entitles it to consideration in the recognized areas of public discussion”; mobilization, when the problem “becomes the object of discussion” between various interested parties both inside and outside of the local community where the

⁵⁷ See Blumer 1971.

problem originally emerged; formation of official/institutional policy; and implementation, when policy is put into practice with attendant intended and unintended consequences.⁵⁸ The stages of the process are interactive within and among themselves and they can be viewed both dia- and synchronically.

The development of emergent discourses is apparent at every stage of the process. In the emergent phase, a problem or a potential “tradition” (music or other) becomes a named or otherwise delineated identity that is (interactively) recognized amongst a local population as something that “exists” for the collective. At each subsequent stage, the nascent “tradition” acquires a larger audience⁵⁹ and, as a result, its definition becomes subject to broadening interactive influences. In the second, legitimization phase it acquires broader, symbolic status as something worthy or meaningful — as an icon, for example. In the latter phases of collective definition, the tradition acquires still more new meanings and uses (as a potential “political football,” for example).

Each of these phases is evident in music performance and the contemporary construction of various “heritages” in New Zealand.

⁵⁸ Ibid.: 301.

⁵⁹ Slobin’s 1993 usage of the term “visibility” comes to mind. He defines “a music” as “an easily recognizable style and practice complex of the sort that we label and describe in scholarship, that stores organize into bin headings, or that festivals use as criteria for inviting ensembles” and “visibility” as “the quality of being known to an audience.” Slobin restricts his discussion of visibility to three levels — local, regional and transregional — and his usage is structural and presumes a defined insider-outsider orientation. The view I propose is more reflexive and nuanced in that it examines the interactions that precede (and generate) the structures that Slobin takes for granted. I am more concerned with the ways that “insiders” and “outsiders” reflect (and even change positions with) one another. Slobin 1993: 17

Negotiating Indigeneity

The term “indigenous” is defined as “born or produced naturally in a land or region; native or belonging naturally *to* (the soil, region).”⁶⁰ We examine the concept of indigeneity and its construction by collective definition from Māori, Pakeha [sic] and “other” perspectives, particularly as regards the concepts of “belonging” in, to, and of a place, and similarly with regard to heritage and cultural property.

The use of the term “indigeneity” as an identifier for group identity, particularly as a global movement, is relatively recent. Niezen notes, “[the term] ‘indigenous peoples’...was included in the International Labour Organization’s Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention and Recommendation of 1957, at a time when scholars still commonly referred to the subjects of their investigations as ‘primitives’” and further that, “the political reality of ‘being indigenous’ is a product of the past several decades, originating in the terminology of international law and broadening to become a new form of group identity.”⁶¹

While this moment marks a major point of emergence into modern Western consciousness of “indigeneity” as a globally interactive movement, Māori in New Zealand adopted the concept very early on in their dealings with both the British Crown and the world at large. In this dissertation we examine the contemporary ramifications of T.W. Ratana’s global initiatives, which began as a series of world tours by Ratana brass bands in 1924

⁶⁰ Oxford English Dictionary.

⁶¹ Niezen 2000: 120.

and 1925 and culminating in contemporary performances like the ones we witnessed in 2006.

Indigeneity has frequently been conflated with “race”; however, the global movement toward establishing a transnational, and hence transracial, understanding of the term effectively decouples these concepts. Fleris applies Blumer’s model to “race relations”⁶² using an interactionist perspective and the concept of collective definition to show how aboriginal-government relations in Canada “embody both competing images and definitions, as well as shifting tactics and adjustments.”⁶³

I apply this model to the situation in New Zealand where we see a nascent movement for self-identified “Pakeha New Zealanders,” and others of European-descent seek to assert their “indigenous” rights in place. This movement may be seen as a hegemonic discourse whose purpose is to deny any “specialness” to Māori as tangata whenua in some cases. However there is a more positive (creatively constructive) dimension whereby some of European descent accept and *embrace* the Māori term “Pakeha” and by so doing not only acknowledge the mana of Māori, but also come to a deeper sense of their own belonging in relation to a place — a place with the historic weight necessary to true nationhood as described by Anderson and others. We explore the non- and quasi-hegemonic dimensions of identity construction in Aotearoa by looking at European participation in performance and reconstruction of *Taonga Pūoro* in this dissertation.

⁶² See Fleris 1990.

⁶³ Fleris 1990: 19.

Affective Engagement: “What Matters”

Grossberg uses the term “affect” to refer to “a certain range of effects which can be described in terms of intensities. ...[A] range of effects for which intensity is the primary characteristic. These are things like emotions and passions and investments.”⁶⁴ The essence of the affective dimension is personal investment formed by “what matters” to a person or group and the intensity of their relationship to the object of their affection (to coin a phrase) — the depth of their engagement, disengagement, or indifference, their passion or their antipathy. I see affective investment by groups of people as a kind of “fuel” for the construction of “democratic” institutions and as a marker of the power or influence of those institutions and for their ability to persist and weather change. It is also an indicator of “historic weight,” as I have used the term in the previous section. In this dissertation, affect as “investment,” taken together with concepts of social capital, form the basis for a processual model of the “creation of the new,” which I see as a kind of effective dividend returned on an (affective) investment of social capital.

Data Collection***Fieldwork Sites***

I witnessed processes of identity formation through music at sites including festivals and ritual events that celebrate local, national, transnational, and ethnic identities; communities that have been conceived and built around notions of political, religious, or ethnic identity, and that use music as a means to enlist subscribers or maintain identity; and schools, museums and archives that play an institutional role in sanctioning and

⁶⁴ Grossberg 1995: 412.

fixing some notions of “traditional,” or “appropriate” cultural identity, or that have been used (sometimes in acts of creative or even subversive imagining) by people seeking to rediscover or reconstruct “traditional” identities that have been lost or compromised due to environmental factors like colonialism or migration.

Narrative Ethnography

Chase notes, “The stories people tell constitute the empirical material that interviewers need if they are to understand how people create meanings out of events in their lives.”⁶⁵

This dissertation — its methodology and its analytic method — falls in the broad category of narrative ethnography. That is to say, it relies heavily on interviewing as a data collection method, both as a primary source and also for the review and interpretation of data collected by other means, including participant-observation during performances, festival, and events.

I see the people who worked with me on collection and interpretation of data as “collaborators” because the designation “interviewer-interviewee” does not adequately express the relationship between myself and the people who helped me. Chase notes that, “...those whose studies are based on in-depth interviews aim specifically at transforming the interviewer-interviewee relationship into one of narrator and listener.”⁶⁶ My “collaborations” not only have to do with giving voice to the people I interviewed, but also has involved them in the retrospective construction of this overall narrative that

⁶⁵ Chase 2005: 660.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

attempts to fairly represent various (and sometimes disparate) points of view, including my own.

Ethnographic Allegory: Voices

Clifford maintains that there is a metadimension to the form and content of an ethnography — a larger context in which the stories and their manner of telling — tell yet another story of how the ethnographer sees, interprets, and judges his or her world. He suggests that ethnography itself may be treated as a “performance emplotted by powerful stories.” He says, “Embodied in written reports, these stories simultaneously describe real cultural events and make additional, moral, ideological, and even cosmological statements.”⁶⁷ My ethnographic analyses of interviews and performances consists of an attempt to represent what was said or done in these encounters as what I *heard* — a story of a story, or a narrative metanarrative, as it were.

Interview Methods

Interviews for this dissertation took place under a variety of circumstances. Some were done “in the field” at events, others were done at my home in Auckland, or at the offices or homes of those interviewed. Data collection involved in-depth interviews with individuals I identified as being key to understanding, interpreting, and gaining access to groups and events. In most cases these were individuals who were either generally acknowledged as being spokespersons for groups or movements or were important or instrumental in the organization or performance of a particular genre. Some short

⁶⁷ Clifford 1986: 98.

interviews were also conducted on-site with individual performers during public events or rehearsals.

My method for in-depth interviews was designed to invite the interviewees to narrate their own stories. After describing the project (a process already begun — usually over the telephone — by the time we sat down), I generally began by explaining the overall form of the interview: I told them I would begin by asking them their full name, where they were born and when, then I would go on to ask them biographical information about themselves and their family background, and from there we would go on to discuss the musical performances and traditions more immediately at hand. In every case I would begin the process and then leave the interviewee to fill in details in the copious silences that I sought to provide as I listened. During the interviews, I interjected questions, usually seeking amplification or further explanation of parts of the stories that emerged, and sometimes to move the interview along if I felt that time constraints might jeopardize the possibility of completing an integral narrative (i.e., one that touched on all of the elements as laid out). I also interjected conversational elements that reflected shared experiences or commonalities to indicate that I understood (or not) what was being said, in order to “prime the pump” to keep the narrative flowing, but also to maintain the sense that, although my primary function was to listen, the interview was a joint, interactive production. In most cases I did not attempt to control either the specific subject matter of the narrative — the points of emphasis — or the style of delivery.

Participant-Observation

New Zealand is a small country with a total population comparable to a large American city. After being a participant in New Zealand arts and education for more than twenty

years, as a performer, a teacher, an arts advocate, and an organizer of events, I have become relatively well known. Over the years I have developed relationships of trust with a number of highly respected people across disciplines. As a result, most of the people I interacted with in the course of research knew me, knew my work, or had heard of me.

Audio Visual Data

Other than interviews, the bulk of the data for this dissertation was collected at public performances or rehearsals. In most cases, my presence at events was negotiated in advance through key people and organizers (several of whom also were interviewees). I generally had extraordinary access to staging areas, et cetera, and as a result I was able in many cases to film or photograph from an onstage vantage which enabled me to capture both audiences and performers from an intermediate position.

Chapter 2

Situations and Attitudes

The islands of New Zealand (see Figure 1) form the physical situation for two main groups — the indigenous Māori and the descendants of British colonizers. The attitudes and dispositions — fundamental ideoscapes, financescapes, et cetera — of these dominant groups, and the national institutions that have arisen primarily from their interaction, form a functional backdrop for other groups.

In this chapter I examine situations, attitudes, and dispositions that form an interactive landscape — the *mise en scène* for my encounters in Chapter Three. Participants in these musical encounters interpret their environment and form attitudes that reflect their situatedness in relation to it — they actively construct and reconstruct a landscape that is continually being renewed in the ethnographic present. Ultimately, I see this as an evolving structural framework in which situations are recursively reflected in evolving symbolologies and interpretive frameworks.¹ These frameworks “exist” and are available to people in the present as they actively deploy them to filter and understand — to perceive and derive meaning from their environment.

¹ Speaking of the modern sense of the term “hermeneutics,” Gadamer notes that “everything that is no longer immediately situated in a world — that is all tradition, whether art or the other spiritual creations of the past: law, religion, philosophy, and so forth — is estranged from its original meaning and depends on the unlocking and mediating spirit that we, like the Greeks, name after Hermes....” Gadamer 1975: 157.



Figure 1. Map of New Zealand's North and South Islands.

I begin this chapter by examining the demographics of cultural and ethnic groups in New Zealand, with a brief recounting of population numbers, histories, and patterns of migration. Subsequently, I turn to historical and social contexts of “New Zealanders,” with attention to details of historic and contemporary attitudes and the construction of New

Zealand national identities, and with particular emphasis on interaction between Europeans and Māori before, during, and after colonial times.

These discussions follow a roughly time-linear historical progression as they parallel social and political developments and evolving notions of New Zealand identity from early colonial times in the 19th century through to the last half of the 20th century, when music and performing arts emerged as a major factor in the process of identity formation. During this latter period, biculturalism, formed primarily between Māori and British-descended segments of the population, emerged as a widely-used trope for national identity. Māori cultural institutions flourished and identity discourses within New Zealand academic circles and the popular media burgeoned even as new urban identities sprang up. Simultaneously, other groups began to assert themselves and a new “multicultural” view of New Zealand national identity also began to vie for recognition. This moment marks the beginning of the primary period of my ethnographic research, and it also marks the transition from a generalist approach to New Zealand social history to one focused primarily on music and performance.

In the section titled “Two Sides of Us,” I revisit the development of music and performing arts in New Zealand as a bicultural, quasi-hybridized phenomenon. I parse historic and “traditional” performances according to their positioning between Māori and European influences, content, and agency. The last part of this section serves as re-introduction of *Tauīwi* — the other tribes — as an interrogative case study that in some sense challenges the binary characteristics of the bicultural Māori-Pakeha trope for New Zealand national identity.

Demographics

Based on length of occupancy of the islands that comprise New Zealand, New Zealand (as opposed to Cook Island) Māori are the most ancient cultural group, having occupied the land for about 900 years. Whereas Māori comprise the most ancient group, Europeans are the most populous segment of the population. Significant European migration began about 160 years ago. At the 2001 census, people identifying as European ethnicity comprised about 78% of the total population.² Significant migration of various Pacific island groups did not begin until the 1960s. Other groups include Chinese, Indians, and others of Asian origin, and small numbers of Africans and others, of whom some are refugees.

The overwhelming bulk of European migrants to New Zealand came from the United Kingdom. It is estimated that as many as 90% of people arriving in New Zealand between 1840 and 1914 (the most intense period of migration) were born in Britain or Ireland.³ The British colonial legacy, with its history of immigration policies that favored whites from the United Kingdom and lasted through the 1970s; and British institutions, including a school system based on the model of English public schools and attendant curricula and culture; and a justice system based on British common law continue to inculcate and reinforce a British bias in New Zealand's ideological and cultural infrastructure.⁴ As a matter of law as well as ethnic identification, Pacific Islanders are

² Statistics New Zealand.

³ <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/home-away-from-home>, 8/8/2007.

⁴ See King 2003; Belich 1986, 1996; Sinclair 1988; et cetera.

distinguished from the indigenous Māori and are made up of approximately five ethnic groups hailing from as many groups of islands. The major groups are Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian, and Tokelauan. The total population of Pacific Islanders is about 200,000 people and they account for about 6% of the total New Zealand population. People of Samoan descent number about 100,000 and are by far the largest single group — the next largest group, Cook Islanders, number only about 47,000. There are over 500,000 self-identified Māori — about 14.5% of the total population.⁵

Asians currently make up about 9% of New Zealand's population. According to the 2001 Census, 44% of Asians identified as Chinese, 26% as Indian, 8% Korean, 5% Filipino, 4% Japanese, 3% Sri Lankan, 2% Cambodian, 2% Thai, and 8% with other Asian ethnic groups.⁶ New Zealand strongly discouraged Asian immigration on racial and ethnic grounds throughout the bulk of the 20th century, and the impact of Asian musics and cultures on New Zealand has been attenuated as a result. Current policy privileges economic factors over ethnic and cultural ones and Asians are the fastest growing ethnic group in contemporary New Zealand.⁷

The number of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand has undergone large-scale growth over the past half century. The 1945 census reported 2,000 Pacific Islanders who comprised a scant 0.1% of the total population. Various factors have contributed to the growth in numbers, including work and educational opportunities and a concomitant lack of

⁵ Statistics New Zealand, 1996 Census.

⁶ Totals exceed 100% because the New Zealand Census allows for multiple identifications.

⁷ Statistics New Zealand, 1996 Census.

opportunity or resources on “home” islands. The most recent waves of migration from Pacific Islands have been primarily motivated by economic opportunity, provided largely by industrial growth in New Zealand’s larger cities. As a result, recent Pacific migrants have concentrated in these areas. This movement is part of a general trend toward urbanization as Pakeha, Māori, and others increasingly concentrate in cities for economic reasons. This trend has ramifications for Māori identities in particular.

Although Māori have traditionally been strongly associated with particular areas (the term *tangata whenua* or “people of the land,” is generally accepted as a literal statement of Māori indigenous identity), Māori migration from rural to urban circumstances has accelerated in recent years. However, many Māori people have maintained a strong connection to their home places and kinship groups (*hapu*) in subsequent generations.

The strong connection to a home place or originating island is evident in other Pacific populations as well, but in contrast with Māori the bond seems to lessen in subsequent generations. Some of the factors in this difference are probably distance and the expense of traveling “home” on a regular basis. Another important factor would be the limited economic resources and room for growth on most Pacific Islands. In fact the population of groups like Samoans living outside of Samoa in places like Auckland or Los Angeles is vastly greater than in Samoa itself, which could not possibly support these numbers.

First generation Pacific Islands emigrants tend to construct “tradition” strongly in relation to their originating islands and villages, a practice that is reinforced by immediate (as opposed to imagined) ties to family who remain behind. Frequently these emigrants have

migrated — and been supported in their migration — by family (and villages) dependent on economic support flowing from the migrants.⁸

Large numbers of Māori and Pacific Island people migrating to urban circumstances and desiring to maintain their cultural identity has resulted in the development of institutions, practices, and social constructs that enable people to maintain a sense of their distinct cultural identities even as they form new ones. In New Zealand, Pacific Island churches substitute for villages and urban *marae* (the traditional meeting place and center of a Māori village or pa) have sprung up to accommodate Māori in their pursuit of traditional lifestyles and identity in new circumstances.

This section has dealt with demographics of cultural and ethnic groups in New Zealand, their histories, and patterns of migration. I now turn to historical and social contexts of “New Zealanders,” with attention to details of historic and contemporary attitudes and the construction of New Zealand national identities.

Historical and Social Context

From my home in Anderson’s Bay in Dunedin where I lived from 1984 until 1993, I looked down on a causeway — the main route into the city proper — that was built by the labor of Māori conscripts who had been spirited south in the 19th century in order to quell their protests over the arguably illegal confiscation of their lands at Parihaka in the Taranaki region of the North Island. Yet Māori (not to mention other Pacific peoples) seemed to play little part in the quotidian existence of the average (white) person in

⁸ See Spoonley 2003.

Dunedin, and in New Zealand at large, where they were little-seen in the central business districts (as opposed to suburban ghettos) of the urban centers.

Indeed, in many parts of New Zealand, Māori have had a kind of a subliminal, almost ghostly presence — like spirits lingering on the periphery, just out of sight and beneath the surface of consciousness. They are there in the names of places and the artifacts of their presence are visible to be read, if you know the historical codes and are sensitive to movement on the periphery.

However this quasi-Ellisonian “invisibility” does not mean that Māori are not heard.

Early History — First Encounters

Polynesians first settled Aotearoa (Māori for “Land of the Long White Cloud”) New Zealand in the 13th century during a period of widespread ocean travel.⁹ The first recorded encounter between Europeans and Māori in New Zealand occurred in 1642 when Abel Tasman sailed into the area now known as Golden Bay in the northwest corner of South Island. Tasman’s vessel was met by two canoes carrying men who “shouted out in rough voices and blew many times on an instrument.”¹⁰ Tasman responded by having his men blow on a trumpet in reply. The following day Tasman sent a landing party of six men, four of whom were beaten to death in an encounter on the shore. McLean speculates that by responding in like fashion to the trumpet overture of the Māori, Tasman may have inadvertently accepted a challenge to fight.

⁹ King 2003: 48.

¹⁰ McLean 1996: 23.

The next known European contact came when Captain Cook visited in 1769. From that time until the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between Māori and the British Crown in 1840, there was sporadic interaction with Europeans, mostly with whalers, sealers, and other traders from France, Germany, Britain, and the United States.

Sea shanties and hymnody are the earliest known European influences on Māori music making. During the late 18th century, seafarers were the main source of European contact for Māori, and Māori came to be regular crewmembers on whalers and other vessels of the time.¹¹ Missionaries interacted with Māori in New Zealand from the early 19th century and although their numbers were small, their impact was great. In order to publish the Bible among Māori, missionaries systematically went about transforming Māori language into a written form, beginning with development of a standard orthography and compilation of dictionaries. The result was a rapid and profound transformation of a Māori cultural economy¹² that had until that point been based entirely on oral transmission and memorization using singing, chanting, and vocalization. The written word as a technology was a potential replacement for these traditional means. In their zeal to convert Māori to Christianity, missionaries, sought to supplant major oral

¹¹ King notes that Herman Melville's character Queequeg in *Moby Dick* was probably based on a Māori crewman aboard the *Lucy Ann*, a whaling ship that sailed in British and North American waters. King 2003: 129.

¹² Haami, citing Jenkins 1991, notes, "The written word had huge implications for the validation and mana [*Mana* may be translated variously as "control," "authority," "command," or "status."] of oral expression, which had been all-powerful, and for Māori 'ways of knowing.' ...Māori could not anticipate that traditional society would inevitably change dramatically following the introduction of the written word.... No longer would its 'reality' be 'what a person "said" it was'; no longer would its words be those of its leaders 'speaking the world — [it] fell to those who could read and write to determine the future realities and the ways of the world.'" Haami 2004: 15.

and musical elements of various cultural performances like *tangihanga* (funeral rites)¹³ with “more appropriate” cultural performances associated with Western religious practice, including hymn singing. Indeed some commentators attribute the dying out of performance on traditional musical instruments (*taonga pūoro*) to missionary desire to install Western Christian music practices. The missionaries were successful to the extent that the bulk of Māori people tend to identify as Christian; however, Māori cultural performances have reemerged in the mix (if indeed they were ever missing) and the resulting flavors of Christianity are both syncretic and reflexive.

By establishing the written word, missionaries set the stage for establishing a treaty between the Māori and the British Crown.

Treaty of Waitangi — Nation Building

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands on February 6, 1840 by Captain William Hobson, several British residents, and some forty-five Māori chiefs. The merits of the agreement were (and remain to this day) a highly contested issue, but an influential chief, Tamati Waka Nene, turned the debate in favor of the Treaty. The first Māori to sign was Hone Heke; three other chiefs placed their signature above his later that day. The document signed at Waitangi was then taken to various other Northland locations and, from there, to other parts of the North and South islands to obtain additional Māori signatures.¹⁴

¹³ Often shortened to “*tangi*” which literally means to weep, wail or cry out, tangihanga are traditional rites for the dead where numbers of people assemble to mourn for days or even weeks.

¹⁴ www.archives.govt.nz, accessed 3/2/2004.

The Treaty of Waitangi was originally written in English and then translated into Māori by the Reverend Henry Williams of the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Williams subsequently translated the Māori version back into English and this became the official version of the Treaty. Williams's final translation carried the codicil, "I certify that the above is as literal a translation of the Treaty of Waitangi *as the idiom of the language will admit of* [my emphasis]." ¹⁵ The meaning of the Treaty's words is an ongoing matter of contention and an effort to resolve discrepancies between the two versions comprises an early and ongoing site for synthesis of national identity. Discrepancies in English and Māori translations of this document are attributable to culturally based affective differences which are embedded in symbologies, including music, and are discussed further in Chapter Four.

After the Treaty was signed, settlement by the British began in earnest. During this time some Māori sold land to the Crown and organized migration from Britain began. Māori had very little idea of just how many people were about to descend upon them.

British colonization of New Zealand was driven by hope of economic gain, and acquisition of land was a priority for early colonists. A series of wars over issues of land and sovereignty between British colonialists (sometimes including British troops, colonial militias, and sympathetic Māori) and various Māori began around 1845 and continued for some 25 years. ¹⁶ During this period various Māori tribes came together for

¹⁵ Public Record office, London, CO 209/7, 13-15 cited in "All About the Treaty," (New Zealand) State Services Commission booklet 2005.

¹⁶ Conflicts continued on a smaller scale for considerably longer. The last violent conflict over sovereignty was a police action that took place at Maungapohatu in the Uruweras in 1916. Belich 1998.

the first time in order to more effectively combat the British who were seen as unified under a single King. The Māori King movement (*Kingitanga*), which comprised acknowledgement by Māori of what they perceived as a superior method of military (and religious) organization, was one result. These wars — variously called the Land Wars, the New Zealand Wars, or *Ngā Pakanga Nunui o Aotearoa*,¹⁷ — ultimately led to the confiscation of land by the British. The combination of these wars, the encroachment of the British, and disease led to the reduction of the population and economic base of Māori.

Despite the decline of the Māori population, they continued to resist the British, and, in fact, were never defeated as kingitanga evolved into still broader notions of Māori unity and identity, *kotahitanga* (“oneness”). The concept of Māori unity as a survival mechanism was to be articulated in a variety of social, political, and religious movements, including *Pai Marire*, *Ringatu*, *Rangiatea*, and *Ratana*. T.W. Ratana, and his metonymic movement, may have provided the most explicit articulation of unity as a means of survival by appending the term *morehu* — literally “survivor” or “remnant” — to his followers.¹⁸

Evolving Social and Political Context

Beginning with the first major waves of European immigration in the 1840s until the demise of the Native School system in the 1960s, Māori culture was increasingly

¹⁷ Belich 1998.

¹⁸ The Judaeo-Christian resonance of this term is not accidental. The most important Māori religious leader of the 20th century, T.W. Ratana, preached that Māori were the children of Jehovah and identified them with the lost tribes of Israel. See Newman 2006.

marginalized. At the turn of the 20th century there was a popular notion that Māori would become extinct, as it were. Instead the lot of Māori improved. They made gains in overall health and education and also began to regain an economic toehold. Māori presence in Parliament (four seats, as dictated by the Treaty) also helped them to rise in a Pakeha (“European”)-dominated land.

Some of these gains were due to the government-instituted policy of Native Schools, a policy that also led eventually to the suppression of Māori language and inculcated the notion that assimilation into the “superior” European society was the most appropriate course for “betterment” of Māori.¹⁹ Native Schools began to be phased out in the late 1950s and were eliminated by 1969. However, the assimilationist doctrine that was promoted in these schools — in particular the suppression of Māori language in favor of English, creating a “lost generation” of native speakers of Māori — has had long reaching impact on negotiations of construction and reconstruction of contemporary Māori identity.

In Māori culture (*māoritanga* or “ways Māori”), *kaumatua*, or “elders,” are given a privileged position as speakers and interpreters of Māori identity. Yet many of the current generation of elders are members of this “lost generation” for whom the normal modes of intergenerational transmission of culture, particularly as regards language, were disrupted.

¹⁹ Simons and Smith 2001.

Surviving Colonialism

At the end of World War One, Māori culture was perceived by many to be in crisis.²⁰ A series of movements had arisen to confront issues like Māori health, disenfranchisement, lack of political clout, and a general perception, particularly among European New Zealanders that Māori were a primitive and dying race. These movements fell into two broad categories: one approach, championed largely by Māori who had access to Western education, advocated solving problems through a top-down, national/institutional (i.e., legislative) approach; and the other operated at a more grassroots level and emphasized local action through traditional Māori methods and mechanisms (*kaupapa Māori*) that sought to improve the lot of people on a local, community-by-community basis.

The notion that Western ways were necessary, inevitable, better, or more civilized, or some combination of these valuations was internalized by many Māori in leadership positions. The Young Māori Party, whose members worked at government and parliamentary levels (primarily via seats set aside for Māori), and who advocated adoption of some “modern” European values, epitomized the former group. *Encyclopædia Britannica* describes the Young Māori Party as “an association of educated, westernized Māori of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, dedicated to bringing about a degree of cultural assimilation of the Māori nation to the dominant pakeha (white) culture of New Zealand.”²¹

²⁰ See King 2003.

²¹ “Young Māori Party,” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. www.search.eb.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/eb/article-9078070, 1/12/2007.

Among the leaders of the Young Māori Party, Sir Peter Buck, Director of Māori Hygiene in post-World War One New Zealand whose later accomplishments as an anthropologist were to become legend in the Pacific, is quoted as saying:

The [Māori] communism of the past meant industry, training in arms, good physique, the keeping of the law, the sharing of the tribal burden, and the preservation of life. It was a factor in the evolution of the race. The communism of today means indolence, sloth, decay of racial vigor, the crushing of individual effort, the spreading of introduced infections, diseases, and the many evils that are petrifying the Māori and preventing his advance.²²

At its most extreme, this top-down movement by Māori leaders sought to impose new behaviors on Māori through European institutions and on an ideological basis that effectively subordinated traditional Māori culture. They also sought to remake Māori in European eyes through measures like adoption of recruitment quotas among Māori for the war effort — a measure designed to improve the image and perceived worthiness of Māori as members of the New Zealand nation. Proponents of this strategy hoped that it would lead to acceptance by the (by that time) vast European majority and hence, equal citizenship.²³ In Chapter Three, I examine evolving notions of Māori leadership and worth in contemporary New Zealand through case studies involving young Māori (*rangitahi*) musicians in leadership roles.

These types of strategies had limited success among the Māori populace at large. The histories and political situations of various tribes and regions were subject to a great deal of variation and globally imposed policies tended to have spotty or limited traction

²² Quoted in King 2003: 332-3.

²³ Ibid.: 333.

among local communities. On the other hand, the Māori traditionalist approach tended to privilege a set of ancient tribal manners and practices known collectively as *tikanga* (literally “correctness” or correct behavior or deportment) and in place-specific application as *kawa*.²⁴ This elaborate system of highly localized customs and protocols predates European colonization and is based upon knowledge of variations in local histories and customs — these protocols vary from marae to marae and their proper execution is highly dependent on local knowledge. To learn and properly apply *tikanga* requires a skill set that includes patience (i.e., tolerance of slow-moving processes) and sensitivity — characteristics that weren’t necessarily as effective for coping with European hegemony and the radical, rapid changes that were inexorably being wrought on Māoridom by contact with a unified and organized colonialist adversary, not to mention the forced entry of Māori into a new global economy.

As a matter of practicality, Māori modernist and traditionalist movements overlapped one another, and even European- and American-educated Māori remained attached to, if not strongly rooted in Māoritanga. The efforts of both groups were consistent in that they promoted a pragmatic response to the fundamental reality that Europeans were to be a permanent feature of New Zealand, and that Māori survival depended the ability of the indigenous people to adapt to a new reality.²⁵

Various new European ways impressed Māori and they sought to adopt and adapt the most effective of these, including technologies and ideologies. Māori were particularly

²⁴ Mead 2003: 8.

²⁵ King 2003: 332.

impressed by the concept of unification — under one King, and under one God. The unification of the British under a king inspired several pan- or transtribal movements that pre-dated the assimilationist trope, including the Kingitanga movement, which directly sought to name a Māori King in imitation of the British, and Kotahitanga (oneness or unity).

Māori adaptation of European methods was not narrowly restricted to matters of political expediency — literacy, religion, spirituality, and culture in general were also areas where Māori people consciously adapted European ways to suit their own needs. Māori admired monotheism, and the result was early adaptation of Christianity by increasing numbers of people. Some important examples of syncretic Māori religions that combine Māoritanga and European Judaeo-Christian elements include Pai Marire, Rangiaatea, Ringatu, and Ratana. All of these movements, as well as Māori congregations of “mainstream” Christian churches featured early adoption and adaptation of European music — melodies and hymnody, in particular, although popular melodies and styles have also been grist for the mill.

In any case, not all European practices and beliefs were without pre-existing analogs in Māori culture, and music, both historically and contemporarily, has provided a means to negotiate, represent, and reconcile some differences between and amongst Māori, Europeans, and others. This process of reconciliation through music and arts intensified from the late 1960s forward to the present as arts movements among cultural groups in New Zealand began to converge.

Emergent Identities and the Arts

During the 1960s, an identity increasingly distinct from the British roots of the majority population had begun to form among Europeans in New Zealand. This emergent national identity was largely stimulated by developments in the arts as New Zealand artists became more self-confident and sought their materials and their inspiration locally. Economic disengagement from Britain reinforced this process.

During the 1970s, New Zealand's economic and cultural ties to the United Kingdom began to weaken, largely as the result of the UK entering into the European Economic Union and disengaging itself from New Zealand as a trading partner. Prior to that time, New Zealand had dutifully shipped most of its export goods to Britain while maintaining a kind of parent-child relationship with the "mother country." New Zealand's economic dependence on Britain was mirrored in its educational and cultural institutions. When Britain disengaged, New Zealand was forced to reorient itself — economically and eventually culturally — toward other markets, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region.²⁶ An Auckland journalist, Colin James, wrote:

While our politicians have been locked into Europe...our artists and poets have been reaching towards a self-sufficient definition of European-descended New Zealand. Our habits, our customs, our attitudes [are being] measured for the first time against New Zealand touchstones.... Give us one, maybe two more generations...and we will feed no more through [Europe]....²⁷

A change in emphasis from a Eurocentric value system has gradually become institutionally accommodated, yet systems for legitimizing artists and performers have tended

²⁶ Spoonley 2003.

²⁷ Quoted in King 2003: 467.

to retain a Eurocentric bias. Institutional change has generally been fueled by emphasis on biculturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi. King notes:

Throughout the 1970s the country was making a gradually stronger commitment to biculturalism. In the education system, in the administration of some state institutions such as the Arts Council and Historic Places Trust, the nation began to downplay its Anglo-Celtic heritage, which had previously been the only basis for public policy-making in the culture and heritage sectors. ...The changes were brought about largely by Māori activists, who were determined that Māori ought to be able to behave as Māori in wider New Zealand life rather than submerge their identity in favour of Pakeha mores and values.²⁸

Prior to that time, Britain and Europe were regarded as the primary source of legitimate “culture” in New Zealand. Since then, there has been an increasing shift in the acceptance of and emphasis on local arts and culture so that New Zealand-originated literature, visual arts, and music have risen even as local wines and cuisine have begun to be acknowledged as “world class.” This reorientation is manifest in music repertoires and school music curricula as well as place-oriented festivals and musical and other artistic expressions of a new cultural nationalism that draw heavily on Māori and Pacific cultures.

Biculturalism

The term “biculturalism” has been applied to this sharing of power and cultural clout, particularly between European and Māori, in New Zealand. According to Sissons, the term was used by Eric Schwimmer in 1968 in an “inclusionary sense” to refer to “full citizenship in three senses: equal civil rights; full sharing in the processes of government and the exercise of power; and equality of resources and capacities necessary to make

²⁸ King 2003: 465.

equal rights into fully equal opportunities.”²⁹ Ranganui Walker and other Māori academics and nationalists have expressed preference for the term “biculturalism” over multiculturalism because they feel the latter term waters down what they see as a dichotomy between the indigenous people of New Zealand — the *tangata whenua* — and everyone else, who are seen as “non-indigenous colonisers”:

The Pakeha [European] in-word “multi-culturalism” has negative connotation for Māoris because it denies the basic reality of biculturalism. New Zealand is a bicultural country. The primary task of Māori is to convert the Pakeha to recognise the reality and to modify the country’s institutions to incorporate compatible Māori values. Biculturalism is predicated on the basis that there are *tangata whenua*, indigenous people of the land, and non-indigenous colonisers.³⁰

Sissons goes on to describe a “Māori renaissance” that took place in the 1980s during a period of time when New Zealand began to take seriously the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, which guaranteed autonomy of Māori chiefs (*rangatiratanga*) and the undisturbed possession of their lands in exchange for their acceptance of British governance (*kawanatanga*). Sissons says, “the term ‘renaissance’ properly refers to a revival of art, linguistic forms and other aspects of ‘high’ culture based on the models of an earlier era.” He goes on to say that the “expressive aspects” of Māori culture — the expansion of Māori language programs, particularly *kohanga reo* (“language nest”), exhibitions like *Te Māori*, which opened at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1984 and toured

²⁹ Sissons 1995: 61-63.

³⁰ Walker quoted in Sissons 1995: 61.

internationally, growth of Māori studies in universities, et cetera — were “merely the more visible manifestations of a push for political and economic inclusion.”³¹

Emergence of Māori Institutions

Over a twenty-year period of living in New Zealand, I observed changes in the way Māori and Pacific people and cultures are marked — their visibility and status in New Zealand media — and their perception among the general populace. These changes in visibility and status are driven by numerous factors, not the least of which have been various movements aimed at redress of Treaty grievances and the political ramifications of their efforts. Indeed, performances — demonstrations, music, and street theatre of various kinds — have greatly contributed to these changes in visibility. These performances have also resulted in a convergence of some cultural “streams.”

During the 1980s, around the time that the Te Māori exhibition of ancient Māori artifacts opened in New York City, a television program called “*Te Karere*” (“the news” or “the bulletin”), began a series of regular broadcasts of short programs, in Māori and English, over the national television network. These programs featured a Māori point of view and were a step toward institutional mainstreaming of Māori and Pacific cultures in broadcast media.³² However, the watershed moment for this process didn’t come until 2004, when

³¹ Sissons 1995: 62-63.

³² Te Karere began broadcasting for four minutes every evening beginning March 28, 1983, <http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/tracking-shots/close-ups/WhakaataurangaMaori.htm>, 4/15/2007.

in the spirit of biculturalism and the Treaty of Waitangi³³ a new government-sponsored television network, Māori Television, opened its doors to provide full-schedule programming featuring a Māori kaupapa and devoted to presenting a full range of content catering to Māori and Pacific tastes and bringing indigenous viewpoints to the fore.

The existence of Māori Television and the more intensive, in-depth coverage that it brings to local and indigenous stories and events appears to have had a ripple effect, and other “mainstream” stations seem to be offering more Māori and Pacific Island content in response. This may be due to the greater availability of footage on indigenous topics thanks to the seemingly omnipresent Māori Television camera crews at indigenous events, or the stimulation of a larger market for homegrown and indigenous material and competition for these audiences as they increasingly turn to Māori Television as a viewing source.

In contrast, New Zealand print media seem to take little notice of things Māori. Even now, in the early 21st century, the major New Zealand newspapers are curiously lacking in local cultural content, Māori or European — these print media tend to derive the bulk of their arts and culture content from happenings in a global culture market, and they tend to frame local content in terms dictated by movements centered in Europe and America.

This disconnect, between what is read (i.e., what appears in print media) and what is heard (on television and radio), seems analogous in ways to the presence — the type,

³³ The impetus for this move came from a Māori Council claim to the the Privy Council based on the Treaty of Waitangi’s stipulation that Māori language (te reo) is a taonga under Article Three of the Treaty (The Māori Television Service Act 2003).

kind, and degree of visibility — that indigenous people have in New Zealand culture at large. This disjuncture between what is heard and what is written can be seen as a metaphorical disjuncture between written and lived experience. It corresponds to an interstitial space where new cultural performances take place and where new traditions are sometimes formed. These performances have the capacity to at least momentarily bridge the metaphorical gulf — and they have the potential to heal, or at least ameliorate a rift between cultures. Among these “new” performances are new iterations of some popular musics, “European” classical music, and some “traditional” Pacific and other performative forms which have come to be inclusive of non-traditional participants. Case studies of some of these forms and genres are put forward in Chapter Three.

New Zealand Identity Discourse and the Academy

Evolving interpretive frameworks are being formed inside New Zealand as part of a lively discourse with significant input from academics of various ethnic and cultural backgrounds. As part of our setting out of situations and attitudes, we examine some influential scholarship from historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and ethnomusicologists who have participated in the construction of contemporary intercultural discourse, and new interpretations, and traditions in New Zealand.

Historians, particularly James Belich and Michael King but also James Cowan and Keith Sinclair, have played an important role in deconstructing narratives that tended to privilege a Eurocentric viewpoint, particularly the notion that Māori and other indigenous cultures were inferior to European cultures and that it was appropriate to supplant or eradicate cultural performances, including language and music. This work has had a pro-

found impact on academia as well as on New Zealand popular imagination — by opening up discursive space for new constructions and reconstructions of identities.

This section deals primarily with taxonomies of European and Māori cultural identities — the bicultural partners. While “traditional” Māori identity tends to be cast as a distinct (as opposed to hybrid or conjoined) category, it is notable that the construction of “Māori” as a national identity is a response to European occupation of New Zealand. “Others” are treated as a catchall with some “subcultural” categories being delineated.

“Traditional” Māori Identity

Sociologist Tracey McIntosh, who is Māori and claims Tuhoe as her *iwi*³⁴ (“tribe”) says, identity is “an attempt...to create an enduring cohesive narrative....” Emphasizing “claims making” within this narrative, she describes a variety of possible interpretations for the standardized place-oriented Māori identity performance,³⁵ where “identity is at times offered as a link to others, connecting my creek to their river; sometimes it is a presentation of self allowing others to do the work of social location, letting them attempt to fit me within their own schemas and classifications; sometimes it is an affirmation of my relationships, both intimate and distant; and sometimes it is simply a challenge.”³⁶

McIntosh posits three facets of contemporary Māori identity formation: the relationship between a “traditional” Māori identity and its relationship to a contemporary Māori

³⁴ McIntosh 2005: 38.

³⁵ The standard formula for telling people who you are proceeds by stating your tribe (*iwi*), mountain (*maunga*) and river (*awa*) followed by the exclamation “*Tihei mauri ora!*” Which may be loosely translated as “Here I stand, sneezing the breath of life!”

³⁶ McIntosh 2005: 38.

renaissance; “fluid” identities as manifested in “fusion/hybrid” identities of young people who have grown up in mixed and urban environs that are atypical of the past; and also “forced” Māori identities that are formed “under conditions of deprivation.”³⁷

McIntosh renders contemporary articulations of “traditional” identity in terms of a set of “identity hooks” or markers: *whakapapa* — knowledge of one’s genealogy, the kinship system that it represents and the ability to articulate/recite it; *matauranga Māori* (Māori “knowledge”) —an understanding of a Māori worldview manifested in usage of *whakatauki* (proverbs) during formal speech-making or *whaikorero*; *Te Reo* (Māori language); and *tikanga* (appropriate behavior and custom as practiced by groups with reference to a specific locale). According to this formulation, in order to aspire to a claim of “being Māori,” one must be able to whakapapa (recite one’s genealogy to establish a blood claim to specific Māori descent), know what appropriate behavior (*tikanga* literally translates as “correctness”) is under a variety of circumstances related to where you are, who you are with and the nature of the occasion and your role; and also act according to that model of correctness.³⁸ McIntosh posits this as a “power-positioned” articulation from which Māori spokespersons and leaders derive legitimization and power. In fact, she says:

This identity is constructed by culturally and politically adept Māori who consciously work towards ensuring that Māori values and aspirations receive wide coverage.³⁹

³⁷ Ibid.: 39.

³⁸ McIntosh 2005: 44.

³⁹ Ibid.

A tacit sense of place underlies each of these articulations. The basic self-identification of Māori as *tangata whenua* is translated as “people of the land.” But the term *whenua* also means “afterbirth” — traditionally Māori ritualistically commit the placenta to the earth, reinforcing sense of place as a strong theme. *Whakapapa* is not merely a human genealogy, but also relates people to the things of the earth and sky from which humans are seen as springing. The common identity ritual by which Māori identify themselves in public relates the person to a specific mountain, river, and ocean. *Te reo*, Māori language, is inflected by region and although adept Māori speakers easily negotiate the various dialects and their differences, the differences themselves are regionally specific and no dialect is privileged as being more correct than another. *Matauranga Māori*, Māori “knowledge” or “wisdom,” is formally expressed in *whakatauki* or “proverbs,” but *whakatauki* are highly place specific and understanding them requires knowledge of the places and associated events. Similarly *tikanga* — that which is correct — is highly place specific and variable.⁴⁰ Indeed mastery of *tikanga* and the other cultural markers is most readily obtainable on the *marae*, the sacred grounds that form the center of any given Māori community.

As the basis of a Māori cultural economy, these markers provide a means for even “ordinary” people to aspire to power and influence. But true mastery requires that an individual be conversant with regional and *marae*-specific differences, genealogies, language, *tikanga*, and general lore. Just as importantly, it requires that individuals be able think on

⁴⁰ Whereas *tikanga* signifies “correctness” as a class or domain of general behavior, the specific application according to place and people (*iwi*) is signified by the term “*kawa*,” which may be translated as “practice” or “custom.” See Mead 2003: 8.

their feet and learn quickly when confronted with an unfamiliar protocol. The proof of this mastery is formally performed during *whaikorero*, where music and oratory form a basis for interaction between spokespeople, their supporters, and the groups they represent. In this traditional context, musical mastery becomes a basis for people's aspirations in a range of local and national arenas because it is a demonstration of command (*mana*) of tools and protocols necessary for good governance, including knowledge of peoples, histories, and esthetics. It is noteworthy that, while this mastery reflects extensive knowledge of localities, it has become general in scope, because contemporary Māori are simultaneously a tribal, (i.e., hapu- or kinship-based) and a national culture. Indeed music plays a major role in the maintenance and construction of connections between national and local identities. For example, ritual performances like *powhiri* facilitate interaction between groups from both near and far in traditional ritual of encounter and the creation and performance of hakas by ethnically mixed, but nationally unified athletes have become emblematic of a New Zealand identity built around a Māori core.

Urban Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi

In this section I discuss the impact of urban migration on traditional Māori identities as a prelude to further discussion of ways in which music is being used to re-form tradition and reconnect populations who have been alienated as the result of urban dislocation.

New Zealand identity discourse has been framed along economic, social, and political lines. Social and political landscapes are shaped by economic realities, such that economic imperatives can be seen as a root cause in the disturbance or disruption of traditional identities and as a significant factor in the construction of new ones.

Traditionally, Māori tribal groups or “iwi” have been defined by an intersection of genealogy and geography. The economically driven migration of Māori from traditional tribal areas to cities, and subsequent adaptations and accommodations, has resulted in dislocation and sometimes alienation resulting in disenfranchisement for people in the new urban circumstance. Traditional identities must be modified and adapted in order to serve the needs of urban Māori.

The Waitangi Tribunal was established by Parliament in 1977 to review possible treaty violations and resulting claims by Māori. This tangible recognition of the Treaty as a basis for action — i.e., as “more than a historical document” — is widely perceived among Māori as vindication of efforts by a wide range of groups and individuals over a period of more than a century. But the success of some of these claims, particularly as regards the disbursement of reparation on the basis of traditional tribal identities, also has highlighted tension between urban Māori and those living in more traditional circumstances and initiated the construction of a “traditional” identity for urban Māori identity that provides for economic enfranchisement.⁴¹

⁴¹ Levine notes that early claims to the Tribunal tended to unify Māori around a common cause — recognition of the Treaty as a “contemporary” document and reparation for past injustice and infractions of the Treaty. But the manner of disbursement of reparations has become a matter of contention. Levine cites the establishment of a quota management system for commercial fisheries implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries (MAF) in 1988 as an example.

In order to distribute a Māori “share” of the commercial fisheries, it was necessary to arrive at a basis for distribution of the resource. After protracted negotiation and a court battle, it was decided that the Māori quotas would be distributed according to a formula based on iwi and the amount of coastline they “traditionally” occupied. This construction of Māori interests did not account for the interests of urban Māori who don’t necessarily have connections with traditional iwi. As a result, urban Māori groups have sought official recognition as “urban iwi” and have constructed new urban maraes. Powhiri and other traditional performances take place in these new settings. Levine 2005: 108.

For Māori in traditional settings, a large amount of cultural learning takes place through osmosis on the marae. The construction of urban maraes has enabled some of this environment to be reproduced in cities, but the fundamental dynamic tends to be different — less concentrated due to the “noisier” environment where other cultural input is always present. “Traditional” performances, including *kapa haka* and particularly Powhiri, are a means for urban Māori to concentrate, reclaim, and assert Māori identity. Urban Māori, and particularly young Māori (rangitahi), also typically engage in language study, exploration of their whakapapas and family (regional) roots and other aspects of Māoritanga including participation in the revival of Taonga Pūoro (“treasures of sound” — traditional Māori musical instruments). In Chapter Three, I put forward case studies of urban Māori who use Taonga Pūoro performances in order to participate and reconnect in traditional settings on rural marae.

White New Zealanders: European, Pakeha or Kiwi?

Māori culture, it would seem, has built in mechanisms for the kind of “democratic construction” of cultural identities and vernacular culture via *waiata* and *haka* and other performances that form an easy and natural part of Māori institutions. The acknowledgement and inclusion of vernacular culture for white New Zealanders has been more difficult.⁴²

⁴² Resistance to vernacular as “culture” among white New Zealanders has probably been most obvious in the adoption of a relatively unaccented version of BBC English by New Zealand radio and television broadcasters up until very recently. In a discussion of Pakeha culture in relation to white New Zealanders’ perception of their ties to Britain as “home,” Hoey says, “The model for a suitable character and behaviour of a new Briton had then to be created and maintained from an imaginary template. This model was constructed in relation to an idea of respectability and any manifestation of a Creole hybridity, whether in speech, behaviour, or idiom, needed to be checked. This is the origin of a cultural cringe that sees any

The British roots of Pakeha New Zealand were formed in the ideology of empire — the imagining of a global nationality with a central core and based on a “sense of identity with empire as world state.”⁴³ In this frame of reference, new identities formed on the colonial periphery can be characterized as a rise of colonial nationalism which Eddy and Schreuder describe as a “transitional phase” in which a colonial society moves toward becoming a metropolitan state in its own right, but based on the model of the original home state (and modified according to local conditions).⁴⁴ These new societies are imagined as being like clones — formed from the same genetic material, but grown according to new environmental influences. This model does not account for what might be termed the mutagenic influences of the local biota.

For the European-oriented segment of the New Zealand population, performances that reference or acknowledge other cultures have historically been largely voluntary and “white” New Zealander’s choice of identification is more flexible than that of many other ethnic groups. They are the dominant sector of the general population as regards numbers and political and economic clout. Most white people are able to carry on without direct day-to-day reference to other cultures in a world largely of their own creation. With the rise of biculturalism, references to Māori and performances framed against an “ethnic” backdrop have become more frequent, but many white New Zealanders, perhaps a majority, are still unlikely to have had a deeper inter-cultural experience than the average

development of an indigenous expression as an aberration from the high-mindedness of the [prescribed] cultural project.” Hoey 2004: 195.

⁴³ Eddy 1988: 7.

⁴⁴ Eddy 1988: 5.

tourist. One explanation for white New Zealanders' lack of emphasis on identity performance is the fact that through the colonial legacy a quasi-European viewpoint has been structurally embedded in a range of institutions — educational, financial, legal, and political institutions which wield and grant power and confer legitimacy. It is arguable that this structural embeddedness obviates the necessity for more self-conscious kinds of identity performance. However it is still possible to observe intense cultural engagement within the nation's institutions, particularly in music and the performing arts.

There are three categories or orientations for cultural performance by European descended New Zealanders. Two of these categories — the “European” and “Kiwi” orientations — partake of a cultural phenomenon that has been described as the “Kiwi cringe.”⁴⁵ The “Kiwi cringe” is an attitude that presumes that local New Zealand products must always be inferior to those originating in other places, notably Britain and Europe. This inferiority is situated in (mainly) institutional fine arts — “classical” culture, as it were — and as such it is the antithesis to my notion of “democratic,” or vernacular, culture with its roots in spontaneous and unregulated performances. A complementary attitude⁴⁶ is a parochial — ego- and ethnocentric — disposition that elevates some vernacular culture (that located within one's personal sphere) while tending to reject fine arts and all other cultural expression that is not immediate and personal.

⁴⁵ The concept of an antipodean “cultural cringe” is generally attributed to Australian critic A.A. Phillips, who wrote in the 1950s, and who posits two manifestations of the phenomenon: “Above our writers — and other artists — looms the intimidating mass of Anglo-Saxon achievement. Such a situation almost inevitably produces the characteristic Australian Cultural Cringe appearing either as the Cringe Direct, or as the Cringe Inverted, in the attitude of the Blatant Blatherskite, the God's-Own-country-and-I'm-a-better-man-than-you-are Australian bore.” Phillips 2006: 2.

⁴⁶ Phillips's “the Cringe Inverted.” Ibid.

The “European” orientation is based on a system of values and ideas based upon a mainly Eurocentric viewpoint where these values have been transplanted to New Zealand with little local input beyond what is needed to translate (as opposed to transform) European-generated concepts for local application. This viewpoint privileges a single view of history and minimizes place as a relevant factor in construction of identity. It also privileges “high art” and some notion of “classicism” that is generally rooted in European fine arts traditions, and sees little need to go beyond. In terms of music and cultural expression, this means that works from a non-local and non-localized repertoire are generally rendered in standardized manner and style — without substantive change and without regard for place.

The “Kiwi” orientation is similar to the European insofar as it is ethnocentric and may tend to minimize cultural difference and the significance of individual ethnic groups and their cultural expressions. This view is based on a local ideology and tends to be utopic/idealistic in that it envisions an imaginary world where ethnic differences are entirely subsumed and obviated by a brotherly notion that “we are all Kiwis,” and that is all that really matters.⁴⁷ In contrast to the European orientation, the Kiwi view privileges place but denies or minimizes histories prior to those that are explicitly formed in the new place. This viewpoint produces performances that are not shy of using (or creating) music and performances that draw on elements of ethnic or traditional musics and arts, but are prone to disassociate these performances from non-reified or cultural meanings that rely

⁴⁷ McReanor describes the Kiwi orientation as a model of national unity that is sometimes used to promote multiculturalism over biculturalism in order to “bury the actual diversity under a single entity....” McReanor 2005: 59.

on prior histories. The resulting expressions tend toward irreverent bricolage and performances whose value is restricted to commercial or light entertainment.

A third orientation of European-descended New Zealanders is the “Pakeha” view. People who identify as “Pakeha” consciously frame themselves historically with relation (or in opposition) to Māori. This view embraces, or at least acknowledges, ethnicity as an aspect of political and social reality in which all New Zealanders take part in some manner.⁴⁸ The Pakeha view tends to be expressed in performances that are place-conscious and where traditional and historical threads may be met and negotiated in performance.

It is important to recognize that, while these categories may seem contradictory on some level, they are not mutually exclusive, particularly in performance, and varying combinations are likely to be simultaneously present in a particular circumstance. By definition, the “Kiwi” appellation is inclusive of individuals from various ethnic groups, and even people who may appear to be non-European, may still identify as such in some circumstances. “Pakeha” would seem to be the odd category out, as it were; however, this appellation can be seen as a “new” ethnicity, one that at minimum acknowledges if not embraces a Māori or Pacific “ethnic” worldview. The “European” and “Kiwi” orientations are disjunct from the “Pakeha” view because they tend to deemphasize the relative importance of ethnicity.

⁴⁸ See King 1985, 1991, 2004; Hoey 2004; McCreanor 2005.

The Others: Interstitial Identities?

In addition to the Māori and Pakeha (bi-) cultural groups, there are “other” groups — visible minorities who are readily identified by New Zealanders as distinctive in everyday life: Asians, Indians, Pacific Island people(s), and “others.” The latter is a catchall category consisting of people of color who have immigrated to New Zealand for a variety of economic, political, and personal reasons. These include (black) African and Middle Eastern refugees and professionals and others. There are also significant numbers of white immigrants from Europe, South Africa and other places but who tend to blend into the dominant quasi-British majority culture and as such are less visible as distinct cultural performers.

New Zealand cultural diversity has been characterized as having a “bicultural foundation and a multicultural evolution.”⁴⁹ So that British and Māori traditions — those named in (and legitimized by) the Treaty of Waitangi and further enshrined in law — are institutionally privileged by definition. Manying Ip (a Chinese immigrant) notes, “One flaw in this concept [of biculturalism] is that it does not define the place of anyone who is non-Māori and non-Pakeha, such as the Chinese.”⁵⁰ So while New Zealand’s bicultural framework defines a “place” in the political and cultural fabric of the nation for European and Māori “immigrants,” other groups’ participation is less determinate.

The “place” — a cultural group’s niche or recognized role in fabric of a society and the extent and manner of its engagement with and by the hosts — occupied by non-Māori

⁴⁹ Ward and Lin 2005: 155.

⁵⁰ Ip 2003: 227.

non-Pakeha others is impacted by a variety of factors. Longevity and generational depth in the new place can be meaningful, but these factors taken alone do not predict a group's engagement with the larger culture. Ip points out that about 25% of the "ethnic Chinese" in New Zealand were born there and that many of these have ancestral roots stretching back to the gold rush days of the mid-19th century. The remaining 75% of recent arrivals are drawn from a variety of countries, including the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and various other overseas regions, yet all of these groups tend to be lumped together as "undifferentiated Asians" — to Māori and Pakeha alike.⁵¹

Meaningful terminology for depicting differentiated Asian groups is largely absent from mainstream usage. This deficiency of vocabulary is accompanied by an affective lack of engagement with these groups — differences that may matter within "outsider" groups either are invisible or simply don't matter to the mainstream.⁵² On the other hand, cognate groups — ones that have shared or overlapping symbologies like Pacific peoples — are generally more engaged in New Zealand's cultural and institutional fabric. Their needs are more directly addressed and their cultural similarities and differences are explicitly considered in public policy on housing, health, education, et cetera. We see that symbologic range directly impacts local identity and identification.

⁵¹ Ip 2003.

⁵² In *Aliens at My Table: Asians as New Zealanders See Them*, in which she surveys the historical depiction of Asians in New Zealand media, Ip notes, "The term 'Asia' according to contemporary New Zealand convention...is very much 'Asia in New Zealand awareness'. In this context, the term 'Asia' refers to the regions that New Zealand is closest to, including East Asia and South Asia, as well as the peninsulas and large offshore islands to the southeast of the continent. Among these, East Asia is the most prominent. It includes regions like greater China (the People's Republic of China, Taiwan and Hong Kong), Korea, and Japan. 'Asians', in common New Zealand usage, seldom refers to 'all the different people who are from Asia'. Ever since the late 1980s, 'Asians' has often been used to denote Chinese immigrants from different regions such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam." Ip 2005: 13-14.

In New Zealand, “other” traditions are more or less marginalized and their footing for cultural development in the pre-existing (bi-) cultural matrix of the host community — the potential for their “traditional” cultural imaginings and aspirations to take root in the local cultural context is subject to a variety of factors including the availability of symbols, categories and markers both emically, within cultural communities, and also etically, outside those communities. The construction of shared symbologies, the flow of symbols between cultural and mainstream or national “communities” and the management of affective dispositions and mutual cultural engagement between groups is reflected in and impacted by music, through shared repertoires and musical praxis, visibility, audience reception, and participation. Indeed music is potentially a means for cultural groups to inject elements of their symbologies into public discourse. Symbol availability and flow also impact and are impacted by institutions, including education and media.

Among categories of others, Pacific Island peoples enjoy the highest degree of symbolic differentiation in New Zealand. Cook Islanders, Samoans, Tongans, Niueans have separate histories that intertwine with New Zealand’s in such a way as to produce some meaningful differences between these groups and these differences are presented and performed regularly at festivals like the annual Auckland Savings Bank (ASB) “Polyfest” in Auckland, which began in 1975 and has evolved into major event that involves the participation of nearly all of the local secondary schools. Indeed, music originating from various Pacific Island cultures has taken root in New Zealand and attracts large followings. Several Pacific Island groups have active popular music constituencies (many of which are cross cultural), access to broadcast media, record labels, and awards pro-

grams that have become a vital part of the construction of a “New Zealand Music” and music industry.

Ethnomusicologists and the Re-Construction of Indigenous Music Traditions in Contemporary New Zealand

Mervyn McLean and Richard Moyle can be considered as twin pillars in New Zealand ethnomusicology. Both men are New Zealanders of European-descent, and their work — though cast in the mold of salvage ethnography — is actively being used contemporarily by Māori and Pacific Island people as resource material for reconstruction, representation, commentary and general understanding of musical and performance traditions. McLean’s fieldwork and writing have focused on Māori music in New Zealand, while Moyle’s focus has been on the originating cultures of Samoan, Tongan, and some of the other major Pacific groups who have a significant presence in contemporary New Zealand. McLean’s work is of particular significance for this dissertation and for my analysis of identity formation in New Zealand.

Mervyn McLean — Salvaging Māori Music

When I spoke to ethnomusicologist Mervyn McLean in 2006 about my research on music and identity formation in New Zealand, he expressed misgivings about “identity” as a theme. According to McLean, during the period of his research (among an earlier generation of Māori), notions of “identity,” particularly in terms of “claiming or seeking identity,” were not an (affective) issue for people:

I have to admit to some misgivings about the concept [“identity” research] itself. It could well be self-fulfilling in terms of the research it generates. I spent a large portion of my life recording traditional songs from Māori elders who were convinced of the value of this heritage, and wished to perpetuate it by passing their songs on to the next generation. Not one of them ever said or implied to me that he or she was doing so in order to define or confirm their “identity.” They were no more in doubt about who they were or what

they stood for than I am myself. They had a set of values that were shared with and conformed to others in their community: they exhibited individual differences that sometimes brought them into conflict with the community; and much of what they did, if it had any objective beyond the obvious one, served to enhance their own status within the community, as elder, as expert, and as bearer of knowledge that others aspired to. In this respect they were probably not a great deal different from university professors. Identity as such was not articulated, and values that motivated them were simply taken for granted. If “identity” has any meaning at all so far as these people were concerned it seems to me that it was concerned less with claiming identity or seeking identity than asserting it.⁵³

Mervyn McLean

Contemporarily, however, ethnographic processes and performances occupy an important part of an ongoing dialogic construction and re-construction of identities in New Zealand. And, as the most prolific researcher of Māori music, Dr. McLean has had a deep impact on these contemporary processes. During the main period of his fieldwork on Māori music, from 1958 through 1979 (McLean 2004), McLean encountered and was instrumental in constructing a specific moment in the ongoing history of ethnographic endeavor. Indeed his characterization of the meaning of identity for his informants — mostly Māori experts and elders (kaumatua) — as being concerned with an assertion of who they were as opposed to “seeking” or “claiming” identity is a succinct description of the difference between then and now.

McLean’s work, although distinctly “modern” in the sense that it was conducted at a time when the impacts of movements and interactions of diverse peoples were already being (and had for some time been) felt in even the most remote corners of the globe, took place at a moment when movements toward social and cultural equity in civil rights and social justice were only beginning to bear fruit.

⁵³ Personal communication to H. Anderson, 4/7/2006.

His writing and the Archive of Māori and Pacific Music, which he started at the University of Auckland, are principal scholarly sources for Māori music and performative traditions. The Archive (administered by Richard Moyle since McLean's retirement) contains McLean's extensive library of recordings of the small remaining number of practicing Māori instrumentalists who were still alive at the time of his main fieldwork (late 1950s through 1960s). It also contains material from Radio New Zealand that includes wax cylinder recordings dating from the early 20th century.

McLean's written work culminated in *Māori Music* (1993). This study is divided into two sections that correspond to pre- and post-European idioms. The first, "Traditional Music and Dance," is further subdivided into sections on Song and Dance Styles, Music Ethnography and Music Structure. The second section, "Impact of European Music," discusses changes in Māori expressive forms as a result of European contact.⁵⁴ Interestingly, most of the references to Māori musical instruments in this work are historical — McLean makes only passing reference to current usage of these instruments. This is despite the fact that copies of the instruments, made by both indigenous and non-indigenous makers, have become increasingly common. In fact, these instruments have become a (contested) site of negotiation of identity. The point here is that, although McLean's work doesn't focus on the reflexive impact of Māori on European performance praxis and McLean's analysis doesn't account for how Māori are able to claim their birthright and impact national institutions (and the formation of a New Zealand national identity) in the present, his work is still a fundamental part of the process.

⁵⁴ McLean 1993.

The “production of the new” by traditionally — but not necessarily contemporarily — non-Western peoples is precisely a matter of seeking, constructing, and claiming or reclaiming identity. As we shall see, the assertion of identity that McLean refers to is an initial step — Blumer’s “emergence” — in an interactive process of collective definition of Māori music traditions. And McLean is an (inter)active player in the process.

For the purposes of this dissertation, McLean is an important player because his work has a very direct influence on local processes. But, although his work is less focused on more distant islands than New Zealand as a site, there are some important aspects of Moyle’s methods and institutional situatedness that are also relevant.

Richard Moyle — Constructing the “Traditional” Pacific

Richard Moyle’s work is more focused on other Pacific Islands, but his construction of “tradition” and his method of drawing together texts and testimony of his informants, and particularly the balance that he strikes between oral testimony and the written record, and the relative affective weight he attributes to each, is somewhat reflective of a more general institutional situatedness (and what I would call “institutional inertia”) in New Zealand. It also exposes a tension between important indigenous and cultural factions.

Moyle’s work, commencing with fieldwork conducted in Samoa and environs in the late 1960s for his doctoral dissertation,⁵⁵ constructs a narrow casting of “traditional” music and culture in situ on the originating, metonymic islands. He proceeds by establishing a baseline of early historical, cultural, and musicological accounts with an additional

⁵⁵ Moyle 1971.

emphasis on audio recordings. His aim was to identify what is “traditional” in Samoan music. He constructs his field to delineate what Clifford would call a “pure product”⁵⁶ — to minimize what he perceives as “acculturative influences” that he considers more prominent in American Samoa.⁵⁷ Moyle proceeds by historical and field techniques (oral testimony of his research subjects) to ascertain what is accepted by Samoan people as *fa’a Samoa* (“characteristically Samoan”) and to compare that with a historical and archeological record derived from predominantly non-Samoan sources residing in institutionally held written records.

He emerges with a set of markers for traditional style that include temporal continuity — “attachment to the musical tradition” — and “accuracy of transmission.” He says, “Aspects of behavior achieve cultural status through temporal continuity.”⁵⁸ Moyle’s markers are largely dependent on an interaction between Samoan people in an ethnographic present (i.e., what people say during the period of his fieldwork) and his reading of a historical record that was constructed by outsiders and continues to exist largely outside of Samoan culture, and all of this is focused through Moyle himself. Thus Moyle’s process combines some democratic elements, derived from his understanding of what Samoan people “say,” and institutional elements derived from the historical record as manifest in literate texts. This process imputes equal weight to exogenous (in place, voice, and time) texts and indigenous oral testimony. A problem is that a potential

⁵⁶ Clifford 1988.

⁵⁷ Moyle 1988: 9.

⁵⁸ Moyle 1988: 10.

tautology results from the fact that the process is itself institutionally embedded in an academic discourse, which tends to understate a disjuncture between the oral and written components of the research. This disjuncture is emblematic of an ongoing tension between oral and inscribed institutions that forms an important element of how groups interact and are situated in New Zealand.

In the next section I examine Māori and Pakeha “bicultural” situatedness in New Zealand.

Two Sides of “Us”

...[After Captain Cook arrived in 1769] frequent contacts with whalers, sealers, traders and missionaries culminated in the recognition of ethnicity as a component of Māori and Pakeha identity. Liaisons between Māori women and Pakeha men provided the first infusion of Caucasian genes into the Māori genetic pool. Māori-Pakeha offspring were labeled with the pejorative term half-caste by the Pakeha. But to the Māori, who transliterated the term to *hawhe kawhe*, there was no social stigma attached. Indeed half-caste children were admired for their beauty, a product of hybrid vigour. Because of differing social attitudes to children of mixed union, it was more common for these children to be identified with and socialised in their *taha* Māori (Māori dimension) than their *taha* Pakeha.... This fusion between the two poles of Māori-Pakeha ethnicity is acknowledged by the aphorism: “Behind the tattooed face is another man. His face is white.”⁵⁹

I am concerned here with the functional and structural components of identification and socialization that Māori academic Ranganui Walker refers to here as “*taha* Māori” and “*taha* Pakeha.” These attitudes and social realities are conjoined but distinctive perspectives that exist in a reflexive relationship. Indeed Māori and Pakeha national identities in New Zealand may be said to have constructed each other.

⁵⁹ Walker 1996: 28-29.

Modern “national” notions of Māori and Pakeha came into being in the same historical moment. Belich notes that the various groups that made up the bulk of early immigrants from Britain to New Zealand did not think of themselves as a British nation:

An intriguing feature of mid-nineteenth century Britain is the sense in which it did not exist. Welsh, Scots, English and, of course, Irish were still distinct peoples, with different economies and societies as well as cultures. Each was also highly regionalised to the point where, within each country, let alone between them, language or dialect made some people incomprehensible to others.⁶⁰

Similarly, the term “Māori” simply meant “normal” at the time when the Europeans landed — the various iwi, hapu and whanau that they encountered made themselves into a “Māori” nation in response to and by interaction with the Europeans.

Pritchard notes that, “Despite the tendency of early scholars to emphasize the distinctiveness of Māori culture...the line that divided ‘the European’ from ‘the Māori’ could be crossed in both directions.”⁶¹ The result in the present is the existence of Europeanized expressions of Māori culture and Māorized expressions of European culture.

Both “Europeanization” and “Māorization” require the presence and recognition of pre-existing structures — “traditions” — comprised of performative forms, symbologies and institutions. Affective investment — what matters and how — is a major indicator for establishing orientation and direction of the flow from one side to the other.

⁶⁰ Belich 1996: 287.

⁶¹ Pritchard 2001: 36.

Taha Māori — Traditional Performances and Evolving Institutions

Traditional Māori performances are embodied in situ as intensely local phenomena. And, although traditional performances have been impacted or disturbed in some sense by European colonization, these performances still exhibit a high level of temporal and functional continuity. As these traditional performances find a place in national institutions, understandings of the performances and the institutions evolve.

Haka, Whakapapa and Powhiri

Haka, whakapapa and powhiri comprise three kinds of current and traditional performances in which Māori culture is inscribed. Whakapapa, usually translated as “genealogy,” is also a performance — a recitation of the relationships between a person, and the rest of the world including outward expanding kinship groups, the earth, the sky, the gods, and the universe. Traditionally, learning to recite one’s whakapapa has been a basic expectation for Māori children. Salmond says:

Whakapapa (genealogy) was the central principle that ordered the universe and this, too, was often expressed in metaphors of plant growth, so that a descent-line might be described as a gourd plant, with the main line as its stem and subsidiary lines branching off like twining tendrils which might either flourish, or wither away and die. All things in the world were held to share common qualities of life....⁶²

Haka, a traditional performance that continues to be practiced by contemporary Māori and others, comprises a site for observing the ongoing construction of new identities. The performance of haka by Europeans and others is an example of Māorization. Despite a “fall-off in the numbers and types of haka being performed, as well as the loss of

⁶² Salmond 1991: 42.

expertise for many of the variations...when their utility or purpose became redundant,”⁶³ the form remains very popular among Māori, and hakas are performed as an integral part of traditional rituals like powhiri. Hakas are also performed in a variety of more contemporary circumstances like kapa haka competitions and sporting events. As consciousness of a New Zealand national identity has burgeoned, so has the participation in haka. Even while Māori still perform haka as an expression of Māori identity, it has become accepted that haka can be performed by anyone in support of national activities.⁶⁴ The overwhelming popularity of rugby in New Zealand culture, and the now *de rigeur* performance of “the haka,” has elevated it to the status of a national icon.

This haka, like most traditional Māori performance, is more properly attributed to a particular region, tribal affiliation, and person. Indeed, it is most appropriate to whakapapa the performance, so that its provenance is made clear. The “All Blacks haka” that begins “Ka Mate, Ka Mate,” is most often attributed to *Te Rauparaha*, the *arikinui* (high chief) of Ngati Toa, a tribe whose domain is centered in the vicinity of Porirua, north of Wellington. Burns maintains that Te Rauparaha actually modified a still older version of this haka around 1810.⁶⁵

The casting of Ka Mate as a *national* “property” is an example of a moment in the construction of new identities. Following on the popularity of Ka Mate, the All Blacks

⁶³ Gardiner 2001: 28.

⁶⁴ The most visible instance is “the All Black haka,” known to most New Zealanders as “Ka Mate, Ka Mate,” and performed prior to matches by the national rugby team.

⁶⁵ Burns 1983: 48-49.

commissioned the composition of a “new” haka in 2005. The result, “Kapa o Pango,” is itself an abbreviated and modified version of an ancient haka, Ruaumoko. This haka was in turn modified and performed as Ko Ranginui on the occasion of the British royal visit to New Zealand in 1953.⁶⁶

What is most significant here is that it is an example of a “new” cultural performance being made, based on a combination of “traditional” content and methodologies and contemporary functionality, interculturally situated but still located within a Māori kaupapa.⁶⁷ Most striking is the fact that this performance is inclusive of non-Māori within this kaupapa, and that the practitioners — who include Samoans, like retired All Black captain, Tana Umanga, Fijians, Europeans, et cetera — in some sense become Māori (or at least Māori) in the process of performing. As a result, Māorization and nationalization become parallel, if not synonymous processes.

Powhiri: Ritual of Encounter

Powhiri (or pohiri, depending on region) is often characterized as “the Māori⁶⁸ welcome ceremony.” Traditionally it is a highly prescribed ritual of encounter involving the ritual lifting of *tapu* (usually translated as “sacred” or “forbidden”; however, a more appropriate translation in the context of powhiri might be “unknown” or “beyond one’s

⁶⁶ http://folksong.org.nz/ka_mate/#%22Kapa%22, 10/10/2007.

⁶⁷ The Williams Dictionary (7th edition, 1971) defines kaupapa as a “level surface, floor, stage, platform, layer...”. In common New Zealand usage it has several translations: protocol, basis, foundation, et cetera. It has the connotation of formality born of consensus within the Māori community. So the term “kura kaupapa,” for example, is the standard term for schools run by Māori and founded on general principles that are universally accepted as being Māori.

⁶⁸ Similar rituals are a common feature of many Pacific cultures.

control”) from the *manuhiri* — the “others” — in order to change their state from tapu to noa, in order to normalize relations between them and the Tangata Whenua (“the home people” or “the people of this locality”)⁶⁹ The transition between the states of tapu and *noa* is effected by a series of interactive encounters between tangata whenua and manuhiri. These encounters involve music (waiata), oratory (*whaikorero*), and dance (haka).

Māori Scholar Hirini Moko Mead notes that, in contemporary New Zealand, powhiri has been “generalized to cover all forms of welcome and is not confined only to very important occasions when manuhiri (visitors and guests) from outside of the tribe or country visit the marae.”⁷⁰ Powhiri has indeed been adapted to many situations beyond the traditional marae context. The type and kind of these adaptations are visible in these performances and the encounters themselves are both indicative and constructive of new relationships between Māori and others in New Zealand. These performances and the new normalizations and realities they represent in New Zealand culture are a major focus of the fieldwork for this dissertation.

Music and Māori Survival

Music has been a particularly important aspect of various movements that have sought to facilitate Māori survival in the modern age. Because Māori culture was transmitted orally, the various forms of traditional chants evolved to transmit knowledge of genealogy (whakapapa) and other important aspects of life, history, and culture through waiata,

⁶⁹ Generally, the term tapu (sacred) is juxtaposed with its opposite, noa (secular), which may be translated in this context as “normal” or “known.”

⁷⁰ Mead 2003: 117.

patere, oriori, et cetera. The marriage of these ancient forms with European melodies was a natural adaptation. Another major concern for Māori in the new age was the potential loss of their language. Again, the recasting of European songs and hymns with the substitution of Māori language lyrics was a culturally consistent way to enhance the survival of Te Reo, as well as Māori culture.

Apirana Ngata and Kapa Haka

Apirana Ngata, a leader of the Young Māori Party, was also a progenitor of kapa haka, a contemporary style of Māori music and performance. Ngata was at great pains to preserve elements of Māori culture, even as he espoused some kinds of “assimilation” to European-ness, and he used music and performance to accomplish these ends. Kapa haka, which often features guitar accompaniment, is a fusion of elements of traditional Māori forms like waiata, *poi* and haka, with European-inspired song forms and harmonies.

Ngata’s efforts to transcribe, and later to record traditional singers, pre-dated Mclean’s. A member of the Polynesian Society from 1895, Ngata was also instrumental in the establishment through legislation of the Board of Māori Ethnological Research in 1923, and his efforts to preserve traditional waiata and chants of various kinds is evidenced by his seminal work, *Ngā Moteatea*, which was first published in 1959.⁷¹

Consistent with the top-down style characteristic of the Young Māori movement, kapa haka has evolved into a competitive medium with an extensive and highly prescriptive set of codes. Contemporarily, kapa haka is performed almost exclusively by Māori; however,

⁷¹ Sorrenson, M. P. K. ‘Ngata, Apirana Turupa 1874 - 1950’. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>, 4/7/2006.

in the mid-twentieth century kapa haka and other Polynesian performance genres were a feature of various “Polynesian Clubs,” where people from different ethnic and cultural background came together to study and perform various indigenous genres. These clubs were often extra-curricular activities at secondary and tertiary institutions, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s.

Ngā Taonga Pūoro

Ngā Taonga Pūoro (“treasures of sound”) is generally translated as “traditional Māori musical instruments.” The term refers to artifacts that were mostly held in museums until very recently (the last thirty years or so). According to McLean, the use of these instruments had declined almost to the point of extinction by the 1960s, and for many of them there is no record of how they were played or used.⁷²

The existence of beautiful carved musical instruments, many of which are pre-European, has inspired Māori and others to duplicate these objects and restore them to use. The recovery of Taonga Pūoro as a living tradition — the construction of new instruments, relearning of playing techniques, and redeployment in traditional and new performance situations — is an aspect of a general Māori renaissance in New Zealand. However both Māori and non-Māori are involved in the Taonga Pūoro revival and both Māori and Pakeha have used Taonga Pūoro to discover, explore, and develop private and shared notions of taha Māori and taha Pakeha — particularly among the members of “lost generations” of Māori. The recovery, reconstruction and re-contextualization of these instruments, and associated styles and techniques of playing them are a contested site and

⁷² McLean 1996: 186.

the discourse surrounding their appropriate use and function is constructive (and deconstructive) of notions of national identity.

Taha Pakeha — Traditional Institutions and Evolving Performances

For New Zealanders who emphasize their European heritage there is a tension between a Euro- “classical” tradition and more local, vernacular expression. On one hand there is a tendency to invest in institutional or external authority and institutionalized authority tends to trump democratic, personal, or “popular” mechanisms for establishing merit or worth and European-derived music traditions in New Zealand have looked to Europe, and particularly Britain, for sustenance and legitimization. On the other, hand New Zealanders have increasingly looked to find themselves in their performances and artistic expressions, and dependence on external sources has lessened as people find sources of affirmation closer to home.

The former, Euro-classical, attitude has roots in the trope of New Zealand as a “Better Britain”⁷³ — an ideoscape based on an idealized (and romanticized) construction of New Zealand as a Utopia based on “the best” aspects of Victorian England and Europe, which were considered to be pinnacles of enlightenment, refinement, and excellence. This view

⁷³ The trope of a New Zealand as a “better Britain” has origins in the earliest pushes to attract colonists to emigrate. Hoey (2004: 194) notes, “Although there were powerful political and economic forces underlying the colonisation of New Zealand, from the beginning settlers were ‘Prised out of their British contexts by powerful myths and prophecies’ (Belich 1996: 279). One of the most powerful of these myths was that of New Zealand as a Utopia. Fairburn (1989: 24) details some of these designations of the colony: ‘[a] “better” or “brighter” “Britain of the South,” the “Land of Goshen,” a “land of plenty,” an “earthly paradise,” the “labourers’ paradise,” the “working man’s paradise”...“a land of milk and honey.”’ The settlement of New Zealand as a Utopian project is not just a historical metaphor but something that affected both the expectations and behaviour of the settlers.”

of education, arts, and culture was enshrined in New Zealand's nascent institutions and it persists into the present.

The latter stance has foundation in a "pioneer spirit" of self-reliance and innovation that were necessary qualities for building a national infrastructure "from scratch" with limited local resources.⁷⁴ This "pioneer" orientation manifests in highly idiosyncratic performance and composition that is "democratic" in the extreme in the sense that it is individualistic and more or less indifferent to institutional approbation.

Sell attributes early trends in New Zealand musical taste (and music education) to a British affinity for "Law and Order." Citing Sir Edmund Leach, he says, "...We British take it for granted that there is something intrinsically virtuous and natural about law and order.... An orderly world is a world governed by precedent and experience, nicely organised to cope with facts which we already know."⁷⁵ Indeed "credentials," primarily in the form of written documents that establish legitimacy and grant authority, continue to be an affective emphasis of European musical endeavor in New Zealand.

In his 1978 history of the New Zealand Music Teachers' Registration Board, Jennings says:

The character of music in European settlements in New Zealand echoed the culture of Victorian England, immigrants bringing with them their music and musical institutions.

⁷⁴ It is notable that New Zealand's modern quasi-European infrastructure was built from the top-down with (mostly) British capital and from the bottom-up with colonial labor — a dialectical dynamic that is mirrored in the tension between institutional and democratic/vernacular processes in the construction of "New Zealand music."

⁷⁵ Sell 1986: 5.

Singing classes, choral societies and instrumental groups were formed, providing variety concerts and evenings of music in both private houses and public halls.⁷⁶

Musical theater and light opera emerged as popular forms of expression.

Hymnody

Early British colonists brought military, recreational, and religious musics with them. In a movement that had parallels throughout the Pacific, Roman Catholic, and Methodist missionaries, as well as Anglicans of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) staging from Australia, established themselves in New Zealand beginning in 1814 and brought their hymnals with them.⁷⁷

Church organists and choir leaders had become the main professional opportunities for musicians by the late 19th century and musicians were generally credentialed overseas. During this period, the Trinity College of Music (originally the College of Church Music, London) and the system of exams (complete with traveling examiners) that they developed, came to be the primary source of credentialing for New Zealand professional (i.e., church) musicians and music teachers.

British Brass Bands and Early Popular Music Movements

The seeds of brass band culture were planted early in New Zealand. Newcomb reports that the Regimental Band of the 58th Regiment, Imperial Forces, having been dispatched from Sydney to Auckland to fight in 1845-47 war with Māori, was “the first to set foot on

⁷⁶ Jennings 1978: 2.

⁷⁷ Stillman 1993.

the shores of ‘Aotearoa.’” Newcomb also notes that Māori were transfixed by the martial applications of this military musical technology:

When British troops first arrived in New Zealand, one thing that completely bewildered the Māoris, was the bugle, and when they first heard it sounded at *Kororareka*, and witnessed the soldiers obeying its calls, they exclaimed, “What is this that speaks at so great a distance?”⁷⁸

From martial beginnings, brass bands moved quickly to a community basis — in both communities.

Speaking of the “transplantation” of British brass band culture to New Zealand and Australia, Bythell — an Australian writing in 2000 — proposes a view of the brass band as an expression of “pure” British popular culture that relies on continuing congress with the “home” country and little or no interaction with local cultural influences:

Amateur bands playing popular works by contemporary European composers, on various combinations of cheap, mass-produced wind instruments, were a major element in this culture, which was carried around the world...in the heads, hearts, and hands of tens of thousands of ordinary European emigrants who took their home-grown customs, institutions, and pastimes with them when they put down new roots in strange places. The British strand within this transplanted popular culture was particularly important, and it was best able to thrive unchecked and little-changed in those small and distant communities where immigration from places other than the United Kingdom was negligible, and where cultural links with the “Old Country” were kept strong by being continuously renewed.... The diffusion throughout the Empire (and especially the White Dominions) of the British Brass band in this period [the beginning of the 20th century] is a prime example of this process....⁷⁹

But some of the same elements that made brass instruments and band music attractive and accessible for “ordinary European emigrants” also made them accessible to various

⁷⁸ Newcomb 1963: 13-14.

⁷⁹ Bythell 2000: 217.

indigenous people throughout the Pacific, and as immigrant groups become indigenous, brass band culture undergoes metamorphosis, too.

Music Education

Both private and public music education in New Zealand have historically looked to Britain and Europe for legitimization. As with most pioneer societies, early governments of colonial New Zealand put little emphasis on music and arts. Thomson notes that “The Government had little interest in music, and the educational authorities had other priorities.”⁸⁰ As a result music education was mostly conducted by private teachers, “From the first settlement until 1956...private music teachers and the nuns of the Catholic Church shouldered the task of training musicians in New Zealand.”⁸¹

Since the early 20th century, private students in New Zealand have been introduced to the study of music via the graded Trinity College system, which is implemented primarily with imported materials.⁸² British influence extends beyond teaching of music in schools to encompass private instruction as well. Sell notes that “piano teaching was based...on [methods] encouraged by the examiners for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music and of Trinity College.” He notes further, “the validity of British, as distinct from Continental or American, methods and standards were taken for granted.”⁸³

⁸⁰ Thomson 1991: 265.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² In a concession to New Zealand’s increasingly local orientation, Trinity’s websites trumpets that, “We are delighted, too, that our new Music syllabuses feature many works by New Zealand composers...” <http://www.trinitycollege.co.uk/site/?id=620>, 8/30/2007.

⁸³ Sell 1986: 15.

In this system, students receive qualifications by passing examinations at successive levels. Sell notes:

...New Zealand children are probably the most examined in the world. Tait estimated in 1966 that about “one-third of the total number of private pupils in New Zealand take examinations annually.”⁸⁴

The eventual emergence of an “indigenous” or locally-based professional music culture would ultimately depend on the quality of local teaching, and teacher training and credentialing in New Zealand became an issue in the early 20th century. The Music Teachers’ Registration Board of New Zealand emerged as a government-sanctioned body to regulate and certify teachers.

Public education in New Zealand was patterned after British models from its inception and formal music education is no exception. Sell notes that the “five most influential positions” in music education were established between 1925 and 1928 and “filled by Englishmen.” The first position, Supervisor of School Music Education, was advertised in New Zealand and England and filled by Edward D. Tayler of Lancaster. Tayler’s appointment was followed by the subsequent appointment of four other Englishmen as full-time lecturers at the four Teacher Training Colleges in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Sell characterizes the academic and musical backgrounds of these five as “based strongly on the principles of the Stanford/Parry tradition — good and solid, if somewhat formal and unimaginative.”⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Sell 1986: 16.

⁸⁵ Sell 1986: 3.

Sell identifies the main characteristic of “English musical thinking” in those early days as emphasis on “training and technique which allowed for a high degree of re-creation of music; that is, it was based upon reproducing something, whether in performance, or style of composition, that already existed.”⁸⁶ These characteristics would not bode well for a musical culture that might eventually accommodate or even recognize non-European musical expression.

Looking to the future, Sell criticizes this “over-Anglicized” approach saying, “The ‘five Englishman’ set New Zealand music education on a path which, even at the time, was not completely relevant to a society already on its way to establishing a cultural identity, and most in need of the stimulus of more varied influences,” and “New Zealand was in a position to draw from many different cultures’ elements that were relevant to her own development, but preferred to restrict herself to British influence.”⁸⁷ Speaking of the time of his writing in 1986 and looking to the future, Sell says:

...School music educators are within sight of really contributing to the shaping of New Zealand’s culture, as the visual artists have been able to do since, over two decades ago, they changed the emphasis of their activities from formal imitation to spontaneous creativity.⁸⁸

New Zealand “Classical” Music

The development of a New Zealand national music that emphasizes local elements within the constraints of European classical style, has resulted in an evolving narrative — a

⁸⁶ Ibid.: 4.

⁸⁷ Ibid.: 16.

⁸⁸ Ibid.: 17-18.

dialectical process that reveals and recursively impacts the ability of European New Zealanders to affectively engage with Māori and other non-European cultures. We trace this motion by examining three important New Zealand composers: Alfred Hill (1870-1960), who sought to include “Māori music” in his composition (thesis), Douglas Lilburn (1915-2001) who initially decried the use of Māori and folk materials (antithesis), and Gillian Whitehead (1941-) who seeks to embody “Māoriness” in her work by means of construction and reinvention (synthesis).

The narrative production of a “New Zealand national music” has historically rested with people who think of that music in terms of a European classical/orchestral model — a similar narrative construction is embedded in the country’s educational and cultural institutions. The language, technology, and methods of this music were imported from Europe. However, over time, the distinguishing characteristics of “New Zealand music” have increasingly become a matter of *local* discovery and construction.

The “New Zealand” content of classical music consists largely of renderings of things considered to be unique to the local environment and associated narratives: “life” in New Zealand (initially “pioneer life” but later including urban and rural themes), “local” or indigenous cultures (particularly Māori but also including Pacific Island cultures, and sometimes Asian ones as well as locally grown Pakeha culture), and landscapes and depictions of the natural environment like birdsong, et cetera. These “environmental” elements have traditionally been rendering as reified, non-reflexive components whose narrative significance is subordinated to and subsumed by the Euro-British model that corresponds to a historic orientation of the majority.

Tensions between what is local (and presumably unique) and what is distant in the imagining of a New Zealand national music produce a cognitive dissonance — an ambivalent disaffection and alienation arising from a set of disjunct narratives — which manifests in music. These disjunct narratives are particularly contradictory as regards the valuation and inclusion or exclusion of non-European cultures and their music within the trope of New Zealand national music, and the ability of Pakeha New Zealanders to engage with these groups and their music.

Some themes that reflect the disposition of Pakeha toward other groups include: isolation/separation, bi-culturalism (inclusion of some, exclusion of others), Pakeha dominance (as either power or superiority), multi-culturalism (often with a tacit presumption of Pakeha dominance), et cetera. Accompanying these themes are narrative constructions of “the other” that, in various combinations, reinforce or justify these dispositions: opacity, alienness, lack of purity, romanticized nobility, ignorance (of protocols or “ways” of the other), fear of giving offense, superiority, and inferiority (sometimes simultaneously) of European culture, et cetera.

As an example of isolation/separation, prominent New Zealand composer and educator Jack Body, in his 1999 article on “The New Zealand Music Identity,” says:

Although an idealist might call New Zealand a bi-cultural society, in reality it is Pakeha values which predominate. When the White New Zealander talks history and tradition he invariably identifies with his British ancestry, not with a Polynesian world.⁸⁹

Speaking of using Māori melody as a base for New Zealand composition, Body says:

⁸⁹ Body 1999: 36.

Superficially, it would seem to be an obvious thing for New Zealand composers to turn to Māori music and culture for inspiration and material that they could incorporate into their music. But the actual relationship between Māori and Pakeha culture does not encourage such borrowing. Traditional Māori music is to Pakeha ears rather austere, and its subtleties, which are often related to the Māori language, lost to the White New Zealander. Much traditional chant is imbued with great spiritual meaning and may only be used by the particular tribe whose cultural property it is.⁹⁰

The reluctance to “identify” with a “Polynesian world” sometimes derives from a perception of opacity and alienness that is simultaneously romantic and patronizing. This perception is underlaid by an affective framework that at one moment devalues Māori music for being tainted by European influences (and therefore no longer “pure”) and at other times elevates it and places it beyond reach — Thomson characterizes Māori and Polynesian music circa 1946 as being “like a locked bank vault of treasures” that was inaccessible to Pakeha and of “limited currency even amongst Māori people.”⁹¹

In his seminal 1946 speech, “A Search for Tradition,” Douglas Lilburn pleads alienness, tentativeness, isolation, and ignorance:

There is also Māori music that has been used by some of our composers [a muted reference to Alfred Hill]. If I try to talk about this I’m on rather dangerous ground, because I’ve read very little about it, and living mainly in the South Island have heard very little of it. My impressions of it are that in its purer state as a part of Polynesian culture, it is about as foreign to our own cultural sources as say Javanese or Siberian folk music; that as we live here generation after generation, the circumstances that shape us may fuse some of this Polynesian quality into our own ethos: but that the attempts that have been made to use it for the founding of a national music here have been based more on a wish to practice nineteenth-century theories on the subject than on any ability to fuse a Polynesian culture with our own: that the Māori tunes used in this way were not strictly Māori at all but strongly influenced by missionary hymns and other early influences: and that the Māoris have shown themselves much more able and willing to absorb our culture than we to absorb theirs.⁹²

⁹⁰ Body 1999: 39.

⁹¹ Thomson 1999: 212.

⁹² Lilburn 1984: 21.

However, in recent times there is perceptible motion towards a more reflexive reorientation (as Lilburn predicts), and New Zealand “content” has grown to incorporate increasing portions of local and indigenous symbology and technology, particularly as embodied in Te Reo, Māori language, and Taonga Pūoro, traditional Māori instruments. Ultimately this reorientation can be attributed to a convergence and construction of common symbologies as well as a growing and increasingly sophisticated body of available technologies.

Lilburn and Hill

Contemporary (European) classical music trends in New Zealand are affectively and historically situated in reference to two quasi-iconic antecedents: Alfred Hill and Douglas Lilburn. Hill, despite being among the first to ostensibly use “Māori music” as a basis for composition, has affectively been relegated to a historical footnote, while Lilburn, who deemphasized folk influences in general — including Māori and indigenous influences — is credited as being the progenitor of an “authentic” New Zealand Music.

Thomson suggests a reason for the discrepancy when he notes:

The generation of Pakeha pioneers who used Māori culture to weave it into a European texture, such as Alfred Hill, had not yet been succeeded by those who were to create impressive oral archives.⁹³

Lilburn’s historic prominence, on the other hand, was based upon an accurate reading of Pakeha New Zealand’s affective disposition and values and the production of a sustainable narrative:

⁹³ Thomson 1991: 212.

Māori music was in a transitional state, westernized, served up to tourists, or used by both Māori and Pakeha popular entertainers. Lilburn could not see it as the basis for “the founding of a national music....”⁹⁴

Alfred Hill

In the Oxford History of New Zealand Music, Thomson refers to Alfred Hill as “the first fully professional New Zealand composer.”⁹⁵ Hill’s roots and training were quintessentially European. Born into a musical family that originated in Bristol, England, he and his family moved, first to Melbourne and then emigrated to New Zealand in the early 1870s, when Hill was about two years old. In his teens, Hill’s family sent him to Europe to study at conservatory in Leipzig. On his return from Europe, Hill engaged in a wide range of activities that advanced the New Zealand music. After scoring a success with *Hinemoa* (1896), a cantata based on a “traditional Māori legend,” Hill relocated back to Australia where he was a founder of the Sydney Conservatorium.⁹⁶ In the latter part of his career, Hill returned to New Zealand on odd occasions to visit family and execute commissions.⁹⁷

Hill was a prolific, if uninspired composer who wrote in a large variety of genre including romantic opera and orchestral music. He is remembered in New Zealand for incorporating Māori themes in his Western composition and during his lifetime he was considered a “Māori music expert.” Hill’s interest in Māori music seems to have been

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Thomson 1991: 217.

⁹⁶ Shieff (1995: 62) notes that Hill has been called “the grand old man of Australian music”.

⁹⁷ Thomson 1991: 217.

motivated by opportunism. Shieff quotes Hill on his introduction to Māori music (by white Wellington journalist, E.D. Hoben who “had lived among Māori all his life” and sang a tune to him), as saying:

By Jove! Here’s something novel. If I can’t make a success any other way I might make it by this idea of developing Māori music.⁹⁸

According to Thomson, *Hinemoa* was, “the first European work to set Māori melodies in a western harmonic context.”⁹⁹ It won him high praise from all sections of the (colonial) community and established Hill’s reputation. Perhaps the most valued comment came from the Māori scholar Edward Tregear who wrote: “I could not have believed that any European music could have so well interpreted the genius of Māori feeling.”¹⁰⁰ Following on the success of *Hinemoa*, Hill produced a series of works that also drew on “Māori” themes.

Although Hill became widely acknowledged among Pakeha as an “expert” on Māori music, his renown did not necessarily extend to Māori. In 1930, Hill was hired by

⁹⁸ Shieff 1995: 64.

⁹⁹ Thomson’s continuing characterization of *Hinemoa*’s diatonic thematic material as a “Maori melody” is interesting. Pre-European Maori music is generally acknowledged to have been non-diatonic. Thomson’s suggestion that this is an “authentic” Maori melody, even as he asserts the originality Hill’s setting of *Hinemoa*’s theme in a “Western harmonic context” begs the question of the actual significance of Hill’s work. If the diatonic theme was “authentic,” then a Western harmonic context is implicit in the theme itself. Hill himself suggests an ambiguous origin for the melody, “The Maori air which runs through this work, was obtained many years ago from a white man, Mr. E.D. Hoban. Years later a half-caste Maori, Wi Duncan, asserted that it was a Raratongan melody. Others claimed that the Rev. Williams of Hawkes Bay wrote the words and a Maori friend the tune. Finally, Hari Hongi, a Government Interpreter and author of the well-known Maori Grammar, et cetera, verified Wi Duncan’s assertion that the air came from Raratonga. It appears that a Chief who came from Raratonga in 1868 to visit the Maori Chief Tawhio, first brought the air to New Zealand. The Maoris quickly appropriated it and turned it into a Hymn.” Alfred Hill, *Composer’s Note to Hinemoa: An Epic of New Zealand*, vocal score. Melbourne 1935 quoted in Shieff 1995: 64.

¹⁰⁰ Thomson 1991: 218; see also Shieff 1995.

American snake oil salesman-become-filmmaker Alexander Markey to write music for Markey's film, *Hei Tiki*. Limbrick says:

[*Hei Tiki* is] a kind of colonialist relic, the leftover junk of an idiosyncratic entrepreneur whose ethnographic gaze created occasionally grotesque or exploitative scenes of Māori life and culture.... The plot utilizes an ethnographic documentary frame with voiceover...to narrate its narrative action, deploying the familiar colonial trope by which Markey, the civilized modern, narrates his discovery of the “remnants of a vanishing race of noble men and women, the stalwart people of Māoriland.”¹⁰¹

In addition to scoring the musical accompaniment to the film, Hill was also involved in choreographing and setting the haka “Ka Mate” to music (during a scene where the all-Māori cast are shown preparing for battle). Hill was at pains to force the haka into an overly metric version that essentially quantized the rhythm of the traditional version (the chanting of the words — *ngā kupu* — is the actual rhythmic foundation for the performance) and effectively erased its subtlety. In an interview for a 1984 documentary on the making of *Hei Tiki*, Ben Biddle, the Māori who as a young man played the male lead, said:

Alfred Hill made some mess over here because he is [supposed to be] “a great Māori song composer”...but he doesn't speak a word of Māori. You see, this day we were down the beach at Omouri, Markey wanted the old Māori, the real old Māori — and we had several of them there — to do the haka “Ka Mate, Ka Mate.” Well “Ka Mate, Ka Mate” — there's no beat in the old Māori song — nothing, just war and vicious and all this sort of thing — but Alfred Hill wants a beat.¹⁰²

Despite the superficiality of some of his attempts, Hill's interest in Māori music was genuine. He (unsuccessfully) advocated for the construction of an institute for the study Māori music to be built in the Rotorua area, and over the years he composed several

¹⁰¹ Limbrick 2007: 248.

¹⁰² Steven 1984.

pieces that became parts of a repertoire common to both Māori and Pakeha cultural groups.

Douglas Lilburn

Douglas Lilburn was born in 1915 and spent his early years on an isolated farm station in the upper Turakina Valley of New Zealand's North Island. His parents were farmers — New Zealand gentry. The youngest of seven children, Lilburn describes a lonely early childhood amidst a lush physical environment:

I just had this paradise to roam around in and there were some neighbourhood kids that I could play with. But there was a slight barrier there because they were the children of people who were working on the Station and always at a certain point they went back to the small houses and I went back to the big house.¹⁰³

As an adolescent Lilburn was sent to the South Island to attend Waitaki Boys High School, which Thomson describes as a “bastion of high imperialism,” erected by Frank Milner who, according to *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand 1966*, “thought of British history as the central act of the slowly developing drama of human emancipation all over the world and was convinced of Britain’s civilising mission.”¹⁰⁴ Lilburn’s experience at Waitaki Boys was not a pleasant one — he was regarded as “an intellectual with specs and physically retarded...an unwelcome stranger from the north.”¹⁰⁵ Despite being caned for “using a piano out of hours,”¹⁰⁶ Lilburn began composing music while there. He

¹⁰³ <http://www.douglaslilburn.com/jackBodyIV.html>, 9/1/2007.

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.teara.govt.nz/1966/M/MilnerFrankCmg/MilnerFrankCmg/en>, 9/1/2007.

¹⁰⁵ Lilburn, personal correspondence with Thomson. Thomson 1991: 222.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

eventually attended Canterbury University College in Christchurch, where he completed a Diploma of Journalism and also took classes in the Music Department. Lilburn went on to win a prize offered in 1935 by visiting British composer Percy Grainger for an orchestral piece that presented “typical New Zealand cultural and emotional characteristics....”¹⁰⁷ In 1937, Lilburn traveled to England to study with Vaughan Williams at the Royal College of Music in London. He returned to New Zealand three years later having sojourned with other expatriates — “anyone sharing my dichotomy...I was as baffled by myself as by London...[I] realized that I was an alien and that my salvation, if any, lay 12,000 miles away.”¹⁰⁸

Keam traces national concern with a “New Zealand musical style” to Douglas Lilburn, who had a very strong influence on music composition in New Zealand. In his talk, “A Search for Tradition,” presented at the first Cambridge¹⁰⁹ Summer School in 1946, Lilburn “precipitated a widespread desire amongst those New Zealand composers who wished to find a way in which their music could be relevant to New Zealand society and its communities....”¹¹⁰ Similarly, Rogers identifies this talk as a “seminal development in the history of music” in New Zealand and quotes Lilburn as saying:

...Something new has happened — happened for the first time, and we’ve got together, not to admire what the big shots from overseas can do, but to see what we’re capable of doing for ourselves.... Here again I want to remind you that we are New Zealanders, that

¹⁰⁷ Grainger quoted in Thomson 1991: 222.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in Thomson 1991: 226.

¹⁰⁹ In the Waikato region of New Zealand’s North Island.

¹¹⁰ Keam 2006: 3.

our cultural problems have to be worked out in the totally new context of these islands we live in, a context that has an infinite potential richness we've hardly drawn on as yet.¹¹¹

The 1930s had seen the development of a strong nationalist movement in the arts in New Zealand. Led by visual artists, poets, and writers, this movement was characterized by an emphasis on and literal or realistic renderings of New Zealand landscape. Lilburn called for a similar movement among composers. Keam notes, "The painters' response to the harsh New Zealand light and the appending of 'signatures of place' to such works appear matched by composers' responses to 'a sense of space' and the positioning of New Zealand landscape centre-stage," and further that, "Lilburn stressed the importance of the landscape in contributing to the shape of a unique national musical tradition."¹¹² Lilburn's notions of a "national music" were strongly influenced by Ralph Vaughan Williams with whom he studied in England, but Lilburn's direct influence on the small nascent community of composers in New Zealand was seminal. Keam says:

This idea was not entirely new — both Percy Grainger and Ralph Vaughan Williams had quite obviously influenced Lilburn's thinking along these lines — but through his own efforts and passionate beliefs, combined with his presence in New Zealand, Lilburn had a far more direct and powerful effect on the country's compositional attitudes.¹¹³

Lilburn's notions about New Zealand music content and the place and nature of Pacific soundscapes evolved over time. At the time of his seminal 1946 speech, Lilburn was immersed in classical composition seeking to discover a New Zealand imprint for his music and to develop a national music community — a New Zealand school of

¹¹¹ Quoted in Rogers 2000.

¹¹² Keam 2006: 4

¹¹³ Ibid.: 3-4.

composition — that was based on the traditional tools of the European orchestra. By the late 1950s, Lilburn formulated his sense of his New Zealand, Pacific identity by saying, “we come from Europe but we waken to a consciousness of being in this Pacific world....”¹¹⁴ He expressed a new appreciation for Alfred Hill saying his music possessed “the freshness and clarity of a school of early New Zealand watercolour painters.” He spoke of Māori singing extolling “the charm of its timbre and melodic inflections and the suppleness of its rhythm....”¹¹⁵ As Thomson notes, these are all qualities that aren’t readily rendered with traditional instrumentation and transcription. By the early 1960s, Lilburn had abandoned traditional European composition and had moved entirely into electronic music.

Lilburn had changed his tune, and in the process he set the stage for a new generation of New Zealand composers. In 1968, 22 years after his “A Search for Tradition” lecture, Lilburn revisited some of the topics that he had addressed earlier in another lecture, “A Search for Language.” Speaking of the earlier lecture, Lilburn says:

It was a heartfelt sort of manifesto, and it sprang from a very real musical isolation. But I was young, I had energy and belief and the good company of poets and painters if seldom of other composers. I had experienced London as a student, and I wanted to be part of the new context forming here since the thirties. I believed that music, too, might take a new direction here, provided our composers could begin to discover their own identity instead of following blindly, deafly rather, a pseudo-tradition transplanted from Victorian England.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Quoted in Thomson 1991: 239.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Lilburn 1985: 7.

Lilburn used the new technology to more effectively and appropriately incorporate Māori and Pacific influences:

I've found it exhilarating and liberating to work in this new electronic medium and explore unfamiliar regions of sound. Significantly, perhaps, I've been able to produce sound tracks for several plays based on Māori legends, making the textures from human voice, natural and electronic sources, and doubt whether I could have done this with any conviction using conventional European instruments with their weight of older associations. And for the past few years I've felt a greater possibility of making that synthesis I've talked about — a closer fusion of experience and musical language.¹¹⁷

Several of the new generation followed Lilburn's path into electronic music. But the result was often idiosyncratic and fell short of Lilburn's stated intention of producing a national music with a recognizable, shared language. Others — like Gillian Whitehead — may have been more influenced by Lilburn's intent — the functionality of his conversion and awareness of the need to incorporate the sounds and cultural experience of the Pacific into any music that would aspire to be “New Zealand music.” The irony is that Whitehead's music doesn't shy from integrating the “weight of older associations” of the still more ancient Māori instruments with those of the European.

Gillian Whitehead (1941–)

Gillian Whitehead has emerged as a major New Zealand composer and has come to national prominence, particularly for New Zealand themed compositions which include pieces like *Outrageous Fortune*, an opera set in the 19th century Otago goldfields, and others which utilize Māori instruments (Taonga Pūoro), language (Te Reo) and stylistic elements in combination with European instruments and methods.

¹¹⁷ Lilburn 1985: 20.

Whitehead grew up in Whangarei in the north of New Zealand's North Island. Both of her parents were music teachers, and she grew up immersed in the local expression of European classical music tradition. She studied composition in New Zealand (starting at Auckland University, then completing her undergraduate studies at Victoria University in Wellington) before traveling abroad for further study in Australia, England and Europe with composers like Peter Maxwell Davies. Whitehead lived overseas and made her career as both a composer and a teacher for many years before returning to New Zealand on a more permanent basis in the 1990s.

Whitehead is descended from Māori (on her father's side), but she was not "raised Māori" and Māori heritage was not emphasized in her formative years, mirroring the experience of many "mixed" New Zealanders. In 1994, Elizabeth Kerr (a Pakeha musicologist and former chair of Creative New Zealand, the national arts funding body) described Whitehead as being "part-Māori" and as having "begun to acknowledge this heritage from a Māori great-grandmother."¹¹⁸ Kerr is at pains to distinguish between the European basis for Whitehead's musical technique and its Māori "spiritual" content: "She was brought up as a Pakeha, and [her composition] is not influenced by Māori music in either its traditional or contemporary forms."¹¹⁹

Whitehead's sense of her ethnic (and national) heritage and consciousness of place of origin have increasingly come to inform her work. Whitehead speaks of becoming more conscious of an affinity for her "Māori-ness" by being removed from it overseas:

¹¹⁸ Kerr 1994: 330.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

I think it's very important and it's maybe something that for a very long time I had difficulty coming to terms with, in that I was brought up away from the traditions and yet I felt, particularly after I left the country, I missed that aspect of it and I felt that that was very much something I was drawing on; not just in use of titles but, in the pieces I think are my best pieces, like *Manutaki* or *Tongues-Sword-Keys* or this new orchestral piece. I feel it is something I just know. I can't explain why. It just seems to be what I'm drawing on and somehow where I'm going.¹²⁰

Whitehead's music certainly makes use of Māori musical technology (in the form of Taonga Pūoro), and her composition incorporates elements like improvisation, themes that use a small range (as found in traditional waiata), and Te Reo Māori as well as Chinese and other languages that reflect a broad view of New Zealand's ethnic history and is inclusive in its construction of New Zealand "cultural heritage." I will return to Gillian Whitehead's use of Taonga Pūoro in Chapter Four.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have set out elements of the New Zealand landscape and habitat (situations), and how people inhabit that landscape and are disposed to it and each other (attitudes). The first part of the chapter deals with historical and social contexts, and the construction of New Zealand national identities with particular emphasis on interactions between Europeans and Māori and how these interactions have been dealt with in academic discourse.

The second half of the chapter focuses on how Māori and European-descended New Zealanders, or "Pakeha" have reflexively constructed each other while maintaining distinct perspectives and worldviews. This part of the chapter begins with "Taha Māori," the Māori side, by examining some Māori performative traditions that reflect movement

¹²⁰ Kerr 1989: 18.

between more traditional (i.e., resembling pre-European) localized identities and identifications, and pantribal, national ones.

Before introducing “Taha Pakeha,” the European side, the contemporary Taonga Pūoro movement to reconstruct Māori musical instruments, and revive and re-contextualize the playing techniques and narratives associated with them is introduced in a mediant position. I present this movement as a space where and both Māori and Pakeha discover, explore, and develop private and shared notions of their own taha Māori and taha Pakeha.

In “Taha Pakeha,” I explore performative traditions in New Zealand where New Zealanders express their “Europeanness.” This chapter explores transplanted performative traditions including church music, brass bands, and classical music, and their impacts on national institutions, particularly education. The chapter ends by depicting the evolution of “New Zealand music” as it has evolved as a local expression of the European classical tradition. I suggest that this evolution culminates with a contemporary woman composer, Gillian Karawe Whitehead, who is part Māori and uses classical techniques and instrumentation in conjunction with Māori language and instruments in the form of ngā taonga pūoro to intertwine elements of European and Māori tradition in order to construct a “new” national music.

Chapter 3

Encountering Ratana — Mana Māori

Introduction to Chapters Three, Four and Five

In Chapters Three, Four and Five, I explore a set of ethnographic case studies that include interviews and observation of performances. In these case studies, I examine three specific “moments” in the production of New Zealand identities and the relationships between these identities: the maintenance of local “tribal” and emergence of “national” identities among Māori; the maintenance of global and emergence of (local) national identities among Pakeha/Europeans; and, similarly, the emergence of local “multicultural” and New Zealand national identities among these and other groups.

The pace of these chapters accelerates and intensifies as each succeeding chapter examines an increasing number of physical sites and respondents, and the situatedness of the principal voices becomes less determinate. I move in Chapters Three through Five, from firmly situated Māori, to more unsettled (and sometimes ambivalent) Pakeha and Māori, through to a set of more recent immigrant and migrant groups, who are at different points along a path to “belonging,” and whose voices provide a stretto-like intensification. Chapter Three dwells primarily on one physical site, Ratana Pa, and includes the testimony of primary source Ruia Aperahama, who I take as an authoritative voice. Chapter Four, which revolves around the Taonga Pūoro revival movement of a musical practice as cultural object, relates the oral testimony of three principal voices. I

examine the Taonga Pūoro movement across several physical sites, including a traditional Māori settlement and in European-oriented contexts, including jazz performance and European classical music scores and recordings. Chapter Five relates testimonies from eight voices whose ancestral or immediate origins range from Africa to the Pacific. I parse these diverse testimonies — immigrants’ narrative depictions of themselves — in relation to their evolving situations and, particularly, in relation to a relatively monolithic set of New Zealand institutions.

An important focus is the affective disposition of individuals from various generations, cultural orientations, and other situations. Closely bound with affect is the concept of “mana,” which, in the context of this dissertation, refers to the institutional mechanisms through which people assess and accrue value.¹ Some of the questions I address are how people direct their attention — whether inward or outward — and how this manifests in their interpretation of musical performance; people’s understanding of “tradition” and how they both use and (symbolically) construct it; how people understand and construct “boundary conditions” — how people from different backgrounds may be included or excluded from cultural performance; how contemporary or “new” circumstances are met within the rubric of “traditional” cultural practice and performance; and conversely, how “new” performances seek to incorporate traditional praxis. Correlation between what

¹ Mana is variously defined as prestige, social or cultural capital, power, influence, spirituality, respect. We may speak of institutional mana in terms of any combination of these attributes: the respect for, or esteem of the institution, its influence, its power to raise up individuals or to influence the course of events, et cetera. It is also conceivable under some circumstances to reflexively reverse these formulations so that “respect for” the institution (*by* an individual or group) might become respect of the institution *for* an individual. A central focus of this dissertation is how mana may be cultivated in reflexive interaction between cultures and institutions — how the mana of one institution may be built or reinforced in relation to another.

people say in interviews and how these themes manifests in performance is a focus of my ethnographic work here.

I am interested in performances that represent tangencies, intersections, and cross-cultural flows between variously situated groups, particularly where these performances are potentially generative of new traditions. I have focused on sites where one group “borrows” or appropriates elements or genres from another and adopts and adapts these elements for their own use. By way of example, “Māorization” of European forms may be seen in Ratana’s use of brass bands and the syncretic adaptation of Christian hymnody in identity performances during powhiri. Conversely, we find Europeanization of a Māori form in Pakeha artist Richard Nunn’s use of Taonga Pūoro. Taonga Pūoro may also be seen as a tool of indigenization whereby a European seeks to become tangata whenua or alienated Māori may seek to recover or reclaim traditional status and authenticity.

Processes of Māorization, particularly of things European, and Europeanization of things Māori — and the dualist perspectives that they represent — are to a large extent normalized, if not institutionalized in New Zealand bicultural ideological, political, and (to an increasing degree) economic frameworks. On a deeper level, I am interested in underlying cultural institutions and the reflexive construction of mana Māori and mana Pakeha — how esteem or value (mana) in one cultural “camp” may come to draw or rely on the other. These processes — interactions primarily between Māori and Pakeha — are the focus for Chapters Three and Four. Chapter Five deals with “everyone else” in processes of indigenization, westernization, and the performative construction of identities and the

implications of these processes for creation and growth of an “other” local cultural institution that I call “mana Pasifika.”

These three chapters draw on a combination of interviews and participant-observation fieldwork conducted at a variety of sites in New Zealand during 2005 and 2006. The major sites include Ratana Pa, a pantribal settlement that is a community conceived and built around notions of political, religious, and ethnic identity (Chapter Three); festivals, including the Parihaka International Peace Festival (Chapter Four) and the ASB² Polyfest secondary school competition (Chapter Five), that celebrate local, national, transnational, and ethnic identities; and educational institutions like Whitireia Community Polytechnic that feature programs that play an institutional role in “fixing” some notions of traditional and contemporary identity.

Ratana Encounter

The construction of contemporary Māori identities may be divided into three historical eras: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. In the pre-colonial era, prior to large-scale European colonization, Māori identity was based on familial and tribal (iwi) associations that were rooted in territorial associations. The colonial era spawned a new Māori “national” identity constructed in opposition to an analogous European colonial, Pakeha identity. In the post-colonial era, factors like global trade, increased flows of information and people, and increasing urbanization and mobility among Māori have resulted in still more general notions of Māori identity, as boundaries between groups become less easily defined and sometimes more porous.

² The principal sponsor of the festival is the Auckland Savings Bank.

These “eras” lend themselves to historical, time-linear analysis because their emergence is indeed diachronic. But the associated identities persist. In the Ratana Movement in general and at Ratana’s annual Birthday Celebrations in particular, ongoing construction, reinforcement and evolution of synchronic Māori identities manifests in musical performance as generations of rural and urban Māori co-mingle with Pakeha.

Ratana as a case study is particularly relevant because the Ratana movement is deeply embedded in New Zealand historical discourse, especially as regards construction of modern Māori identities (see Figure 1). The Ratana movement is a culmination and arguably one of the most successful of a series of pantribal movements that sought political empowerment for Māori, including Pai Marire, Kotahitanga and Kingitanga, but also because its founder, T.W. Ratana, chose music as a primary means to accomplish spiritual and political goals. And the Ratana movement intersects with virtually all of the major historical moments and significant trends in Māori music up until the present.



Figure 1. The Ratana Birthday Celebration engages generations of urban and rural Māori in performances of identity and expressions of joy.

Ratana Background

T.W. Ratana — an Alternative Movement

In 1918, Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana received a vision — a prophecy — that instructed him that he was to become a spokesperson and an agent of Māori survival,³ and led him to found a democratic movement for Māori unification. Ratana's movement used a variety of methods — especially music — to achieve political, ideological, and religious unity among Māori. Among Ratana's political goals was recognition and implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Ratana Movement addressed concerns about Māori survival and prominently featured music as a means to this end. Ratana's movement differed from earlier, 19th century attempts at unification that tended to retain traditional territorial connections. Raureti says:

Unlike the preceding Māori movements, which were mainly of a local nature and restricted to certain districts, the Ratana movement knew no territorial or tribal bounds. Where the Te Whiti and Tohu movement and Hauhauism were confined largely to the Taranaki district and East Coast areas,⁴ and the King Movement (Kingitanga) to the Waikato, the Ratana Movement on the other hand had a New Zealand-wide influence and as such affected all the tribes in the country.⁵

³ “‘I have come to you, the Maori people. I have investigated your behavior, and found that you have sinned also. You have sinned in that you have bowed to tohungaism and other Māori gods. However, despite these misdemeanours, I see that you have not forgotten the Lord Jehovah, the Father and Creator of Heaven and Earth. He has this day heard your call and made his choice.’ — a voice from the Spirit as T.W. Ratana is informed of his mission.” Newman 2006: 44.

⁴ These movements preceded and can be considered precursors to Ratana's movement. Hauhauism was a name associated with the Pai Marire Church, the first independent organized Māori church in New Zealand, founded during the 1860s (Clark 1975). Te Whiti and Tohu developed an early pantribal settlement at Parihaka Pa during the 1870s. Both of these movements sprang up in resistance to unchecked acquisition of Māori land by European colonists and were based on biblical visions and prophecies revealed to movement founders.

⁵ Raureti 1992: 151-2.

Raureti notes further that:

Those who followed the movement to the extent that they were prepared to forego all, giving up their homes, families and tribal affiliation, and moving to live in Ratana, were those who within their own areas and tribes did not have deep and stable roots. The effect of Ratanaism was to create a detribalised unit, devoid of tribal affiliations. This was a strange and completely new departure for a people steeped in tribal tradition.⁶

Ratana's movement was inclusive of other groups — the movement has traditionally opened itself to anyone who was willing to follow Ratana's lead. Ratana, however, saw the survival of the Māori people as his first priority.⁷ Indeed, the followers of Ratana came to be known as "Morehu," a Māori term that means "remnant" or "survivor," and that carries with it, especially in the context of the Ratana Movement, a biblical association and an identification with the Tribes of Israel. The Ratana Movement provided an alternative to the dichotomy between top-down/quasi-assimilationist and strictly traditional, fundamentalist approaches to Māori survival that were prevalent at the time.

Detribalization and its concomitant centralization were accomplished in part by Ratana's use of music. Ratana organized brass bands to draw attention to the movement, spread his doctrine, and to very deliberately supplant traditional sounds and spiritual vibrations as he rallied Māori to a new order that superseded the old ways. The repertoire they played and the instrumentation (and hence the sound) became standardized. However, even as Ratana Pa came to represent a central authority of sorts, Ratana established local brass bands distributed throughout the country. The establishment of local bands and churches preserved the traditional Māori notion of identification with a particular place. But the

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ See Newman 2006, King 2003, Raureti 1992, et cetera.

local bands, as expressions of the Ratana Movement, are still able to mass together in a way that promotes unity while preserving the variety that local identification represents.

Raureti notes:

Ratana always encouraged music to be incorporated in the [church] service, so much so that at central headquarters the Ratana band was formed and became widely known throughout the country. Smaller bands were formed in other districts. It is thus not difficult to visualise the impressive services that were conducted at the height of Ratana's power, with the use of band music, the colourful procession of clergy and supporting sisters of the faith, the singing of the beautiful Māori hymns, and the essentially simple but inspiring form of service.⁸

As I have noted in Chapter Two, Māori were well familiar with and attracted to brass music and Ratana drew for inspiration on British brass band culture as it has existed in New Zealand since the middle of the 19th century. However, while individual Ratana Pa musicians have been known to study with members of the nearby Wanganui Garrison brass band and are even encouraged by members of the Ratana community to participate in Wanganui band's activities, there is scant mention of Ratana (or other Māori) bands' participation in the competitions that are the primary focus of the European tradition in New Zealand.⁹ Indeed Ratana's methods were designed to unify Māori and to fuse Māori and European cultures and technologies in a way that brought the most benefit to Māori without loss of their cultural identity. It is arguable that symbolically submitting and hence subordinating Ratana bands to European authority in competition would undermine the purpose of the Ratana bands.

⁸ Raureti 1992: 154.

⁹ See Newcomb 1963; Herbert 1991, 1997, 2000; Bythell 2000; et cetera.

Based on his reading of Christianity, Ratana's methods, which included faith healing, as well as extensive use of music and visual (i.e., non-literate) symbology, were well suited for ordinary Māori, and in fact had common appeal for a general populace. Speaking of Ratana's faith healing, Raureti notes:

Healing by the laying on of hands, featuring prominently in the Scriptures, gave confirmation to Māori beliefs in these matters.... Ratana's ability as a faith-healer therefore had both native antecedents and biblical precedent to draw on.¹⁰

Above all, Ratana's movement was, and continues to be, pervaded by a spirit of magnanimity and voluntarism — his followers did so of their own volition and Ratana did not accept payment for his works.¹¹

Ratana undertook national tours of New Zealand in the early 1920s. During these tours his message proved to have enormous appeal to very large numbers of Māori and many Europeans, as well. In 1924 and 1925, he extended his scope internationally when he took a group of followers, including 24 young musicians, on world tours through Europe, Asia, and the United States.

Ratana's world tours were at least in part political, motivated by a desire to bring justice to Māori through appeals to the British monarchy and also by courting international public opinion. His methods consistently included music as a means to gain entry and to make an impact. Raureti describes "a party of 40, including 16 elders and 24 young people comprising a concert party...who traveled to Britain in hopes of gaining an audi-

¹⁰ Raureti 1992: 148.

¹¹ Raureti (1992: 149) notes that Ratana not only didn't accept money for his cures, but that he even returned money sent to him enclosed in letters.

ence with King George V in order to lay the grievances of the Māori people before him.” The audience with the King was refused, but Ratana’s concert party toured the British Isles to great acclaim. Ratana also toured through parts of Europe, including France and Switzerland, and Japan, but he was denied a hearing by the League of Nations.¹²

Ratana’s themes were religious, political, and spiritual, and the symbology he employed spoke to these realms. His blend of Māori and European cultures and his manner of presentation were particularly effective. Like other “modern” Māori, Ratana rejected some aspects of Māoritanga that he deemed unhealthy or non-productive. The Reverend Piri Munro, an Anglican priest who traveled with Ratana on his first New Zealand tour, described Ratana’s relationship to what has been termed elsewhere “prehistoric Māoriism”:¹³

I think Ratana is being used to free the native mind from the influence of “Māoriism” or “Tohungaism,” and his gift of healing is only given to impress the people. I never realized before how steeped our race is in “Māoriism.” It is often disheartening to see native boys and girls, after receiving a good education and being well placed in the world, suddenly go wrong and make a mess of the whole thing. Their failure must be attributed to the Māori mind, which some time or other takes charge of the psychological position and diverts the steps. We Māori clergy have failed to overcome the handicap of the Māori mind, but Ratana has been raised up by God to do so.¹⁴

But Ratana’s rejections of the “Māori mind” were not denials in that he never suggested that the ancient beliefs were not “true,” but rather that they were unhealthy. So “superstition” and belief in what might be termed “black magic” (*makutu*), as practiced by

¹² Raureti 1992: 155.

¹³ Newman 2006.

¹⁴ Bolitho 1921: 41-42.

“*tohungas*,”¹⁵ were discouraged, but the beliefs (and hence the believers) were not disparaged. These practices were to be put aside in favor of more productive practices, but were not dismissed out of hand.

Ratana Political Influence

The Ratana movement came to have huge influence in New Zealand politics. By 1943, all four Parliamentary seats set aside for Māori were occupied by members of the Ratana movement. Raureti reports that “Ratana members actually held the ‘balance of power’ in the Parliament of 1946-49” when Labour and National Parties were evenly split.¹⁶ The four Ratana members allied with the Labour government, enabling that party to rule. The Ratana movement has maintained an alliance with Labour since that time. That allegiance has remained largely unchallenged until fairly recently when the new Māori Party has risen to vie for Ratana votes.

Ratana Influence on Contemporary Music

Just as African Americans have had a huge influence on music, sports, and entertainment in the United States, Māori have had a similar impact in New Zealand, particularly on its soundscape. Among the Māori musicians who rose to prominence, formed a pool of musicians that stocked the Showbands and recording studios, and, in the process, formed the core of New Zealand’s popular music industry, the bulk of their number came from a religious and cultural community — the Ratana Church.

¹⁵ It should be noted that the term *tohunga* in contemporary usage usually refers to a person who is highly knowledgeable in some aspect of life, craft or art, and who is able to apply the principles of his art in a way that goes beyond the specific — not unlike a Ph.D. A *tohunga* in Ratana’s usage is a pejorative reference from an earlier time, and is perhaps better translated as a “witch doctor” or even (evil) “socerer.”

¹⁶ Raureti 1992: 157.

For instance, Māori Showbands — an acknowledged genre in New Zealand music — were a major feature of New Zealand entertainment throughout the last half of the 20th century, and Ratana musicians in particular featured prominently in the backup bands of Māori singers and bandleaders like Billy T. James and Howard Morrison. These Māori artists crooned love songs that provided a national counterpart to the likes of Frank Sinatra and Dean Martin as they pioneered musical variety on New Zealand television. Ratana musicians also populated bands like the Māori Volcanics who mastered the Las Vegas style delivery that was popular (and lucrative) through the 1970s. Similarly bandleaders like electric guitarist Billy T.K. performed in rock and blues genres that complemented Jimi Hendrix. All of these combos and orchestras featured Ratana musicians.

Movements in music have signaled and lent impetus to a convergence of Māori and European cultures in New Zealand. This was perhaps most clearly symbolized by the ascendance of “Poi E,” a collaboration between pop musician Dalvanus Prime and lyricist and Māori language professor, Ngoi Pewhairangi, and performed by Dalvanus and a group comprised of unemployed slaughterhouse workers called the Patea Māori Club. “Poi E” rose to number one on the New Zealand popular music charts for four weeks in 1984, the first all-Māori (or Pacific) language song to rise so high in the national esteem.

Ratana Field Narratives

Introduction — a Note on Style

The commentaries and field notes that follow in the next sections reflect several salient features of Maori situatedness at Ratana Pa: the physical layout of the Pa is reflective of communality, the architecture of the church buildings tells an inclusive story of Maori and Pakeha as co-equal (or not) immigrants, and there is a democratic undercurrent of empowerment and affective engagement among ordinary people whereby they are prone to spontaneous expressions of ownership and belonging.

Commentaries and field notes are both written in the first person, and reflect and represent my personal experiences of the sites under study. Some of these reflections are more immediate than others. Notes culled from my field journals were written at the time of the events under consideration, either at the site or shortly after an encounter. Their text is indented, set in Italics, and introduced with the header “Field Journal” followed by the date. Commentaries are reflective of my retrospective impressions and interpretations and were written in the time since the actual encounters. These commentaries are the “normal” style of this presentation and are not set off other than by the fact that they are written in first person (and past tense). The tenses in which both notes and commentaries are written generally reflect the distance in time between my experience and my writing.

First Impressions

I initially became interested in the Ratana movement and its music from news items — video and interview segments from the annual Birthday Celebrations for T.W. Ratana at Ratana Pa broadcast on television. Indeed, in its yearly iteration the spectacle of the

celebration and its visual splendor seems to invite affective engagement by New Zealand general audiences. The welcoming ceremony for hordes of visiting politicians and highly placed persons — Pakeha and Māori both — being escorted by Ratana's colorful brass bands makes for great sight and sound bites, and is picked up every summer by New Zealand television stations hungry for sexy footage — the swirling colors and sounds that the Birthday Celebration provides. Brief glimpses of this colorful mix of European and Māori expressive culture and a vast array of politicians and important personages piqued my curiosity and inspired me learn more in an effort to understand just how this all went together.

Despite the apparent visibility of the Ratana movement, gaining deeper insight into the community proved difficult — I was aware that the Ratana movement's influence on New Zealand music and culture was important, but my early attempts at getting access to the community in order to learn more were unsuccessful. I found that the musicians I knew who had a Ratana connection were somewhat taciturn and quietly resisted inquiries about the church and the music. It wasn't clear to me why the Ratana movement was so opaque to me — whether the reluctance of potential informants was out of an impulse to “protect” the church or perhaps because the people I approached were “lapsed” or because the manner of my approach was in some way inappropriate or some other reason.

My sense was that people weren't exactly unreceptive, but that perhaps the time or the place wasn't right. It seemed that Ratana folk were somehow comfortable with maintaining the veil between themselves and the outside — a veil that seemed also to

coincide with one that exists between the world of Māori at large and the rest of New Zealand.

The most visible exception to this reticence occurs when the Ratana community shows itself annually, on the days surrounding T.W. Ratana's January 25 birthday, two weeks before Waitangi Day, the February 6 "national birthday" that celebrates the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. At that time, thousands of Ratana's followers, along with politicians and other persons of importance, converge on the Pa. Speeches are made and excerpts are broadcast on national television. On this occasion, politicians take the opportunity to be seen and to express their views before both Māori and general audiences.

Images of this singular event fed my resolve to attend and document the convergence of so many disparate groups against Ratana's musical backdrop. I decided to drive to Ratana, cold — without a local contact or a prior arrangement — in hopes of ascertaining information that might lead to an invitation and permission to document the festivities in 2006.

First Trip to Ratana — February 2005

The Pa lies about 30 km south of the town of Wanganui in the central portion of New Zealand's North Island (Te Ika o Maui) and is about 5 km west of Route 2, one of two main north-south highways, and is not visible from the main road. To get there, you drive along a winding road, past an isolated radio broadcast tower, and through a series of farmers' paddocks. The little settlement of Ratana Pa emerges in front (see Figure 2).



Figure 2. *The Tempera (Temple), the central feature at Ratana Pa.*

When I first visited Ratana Pa, a week after the Birthday Celebration¹⁷ in 2005, the excitement and commotion of the celebration had died away, and the Pa had returned to its normal, sleepy status. The central village, where residential housing is concentrated, occupies an area the equivalent of about three New York City blocks. (For most of the year, the village is home to only about thirty or forty families.)

Field Journal, February 2, 2005 — Ratana Pa

The central feature of the village is the Ratana Tempera (temple), which faces a large open space across the main street. This space serves as a campground during major events¹⁸ Most of the homes are small- to medium-sized state houses that line the street in both directions going away from the Tempera.

On the main cross street, which runs perpendicular to the street where the Tempera stands, there are a few outbuildings including the Archives, a concrete block public toilet and a small building called the Whare Māori.¹⁹ At the far end of the street there is another open space, not quite as large as the space across from the church, and which is

¹⁷ The celebration usually goes on for three days and culminates on Ratana's birthday, January 25.

¹⁸ In addition to the Birthday Celebration, there are also major annual gatherings in April and November. These gatherings are less open to outsiders.

¹⁹ I later learned that this building once housed a jail.

bordered by a stage, a residential-style bungalow with an awning, and a long, low building that houses the church offices.²⁰

There are several features of the Ratana buildings that stand out. The Tempera is resplendent in flower gardens laid out to depict the symbology of the church and surrounded by a fence with signs on the outer gate indicating that photographs are not to be taken within the grounds. The church building is colorful, ornate and resplendent with symbols. Much of the symbology is not obvious. Some images, like crescent moons and crosses and (apparently) Greek references to “Arepa” and “Omeka” are vaguely familiar. I have the sense that I can almost make them out, but not quite.

Some of the symbols are quite clear though, even to an outsider. Along the roofline of the office building, above the entrances, there are models of nine named vessels — seven Māori canoes (waka) — Aotea, Tainui, Kurahaupo, Tokomaru, Takitimu, Te Arawa, and Mataatua, and two European sailing ships. The large seagoing canoes represent the traditional Māori confederations of iwi (tribes) that migrated together on separate voyages from the storied Hawaiiki, the ancient origin of Māori people. But the waka depicted at Ratana include two more — Abel Tasman’s vessel, the Heemskerk, and the Endeavour, Captain Cook’s (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. *Te Manuao Ratana administrative offices. Note the nine waka (canoes) on top of the awning listing their names. Two are European, the Heemskerk and the Endeavour, and seven are Māori.*

On one level, this inclusion of major, early European voyages with the earlier Māori migrations to New Zealand establishes a symbolic equity between Māori and Europeans (the cliché, “we are all immigrants” springs to mind). But it also establishes a Māori framework for the narrative — it tells a likely story from a Māori perspective and (by its

²⁰ I later learned that this area constituted the *paepae* — the courtyard of a marae where people assemble for formal rituals.

institutional setting and architectural permanence) asserts its legitimacy. This symbolic leveling, as it were, also plays out in performance during the annual birthday festivities.

The symbols, the building, the layout of the village made me curious, but my initial impression was more mystery than dawning understanding. It was not obvious to me why people are so drawn to Ratana Pa. The day I visited the Pa seemed to be just a sparsely populated and isolated village with a few oddities spread about — more of a curiosity than an affective wellspring: the only businesses in the village were a small dairy and a fish and chips shop where a few children played on the day I visited. The only other signs of life were faint strains of an unseen group playing contemporary reggae and R&B tunes from a closed-in area on an outdoor stage on the paepae. But a chance encounter on that quiet day gave me a hint as to the depth and kind of affective involvement — a sense of belonging and ownership — that binds the Ratana community:

Field Journal, continued

As I strolled around the area, taking photographs (where permissible — a sign on the temple gate announces photography is interdicted within the Tempera grounds), a woman emerged from the fish and chips shop and approached me, newsprint wrapped chips in hand. She inquired as to what brought me to Ratana and I told her that I was interested in the movement and the music. She told me that she had grown up in the area, but had moved away to Europe and had just returned for a visit during the Birthday Celebration. She was quite voluble and volunteered a condensed history of Ratana and her own connections to the place. What came through in her korero (conversation or commentary) was her pride of place and ongoing sense of attachment, ownership, and belonging, despite having spent 18 years away. Her sense of cultural confidence was also evident in her initial approach — she wasn't shy and even though she didn't have an "official" position, she was comfortable acting as a spokesperson.

I realized that the symbols of inclusion — the nine waka — and of coming together under a Māori kaupapa that I had seen in the architecture of the Pa were also embodied in the welcome ceremony — the powhiri — that takes place during the Birthday Celebration at Ratana annually. I resolved to return and document the event firsthand.

Ruia Aperahama

In early 2006, I began to seek access to the Ratana Birthday Celebrations in earnest. I had discovered a series of articles published and reprinted online by Auckland journalist Keith Newman. I emailed Newman and he responded with the suggestion that I contact Hareruia “Ruia” Aperahama. Aperahama is something of a luminary in the burgeoning worlds of Māori language and music — his midday Māori language radio program, *Piriwiritua*,²¹ is broadcast five days a week on Waatea 6:30 am in Auckland. He is an award-winning musician,²² well known as a bandleader and as a sideman for a host of top New Zealand groups. He is highly placed in the Ratana movement and is often sought by the media for interviews and comment on music, Māori language, and issues related to the Ratana movement. I contacted Aperahama by phone and he agreed to come by my house to speak with me about going to Ratana Pa for the Birthday Celebrations and also to be interviewed for my research.

Interviewing Ruia Aperahama

The interview material I have included in this section is presented as a series of carefully chosen quotes with relatively minimal analysis. As I indicated in Chapter Two, Māori historical and cultural embeddedness is fundamentally oral — its “fixed record,” as it were, is carried by special individuals who embody cultural content and this content is accessed and read in performance. Ruia Aperahama is such an individual and his interviews with me were such a performance. Indeed his talks with me — like the

²¹ *Piriwiritua* is a Ratana expression, which translates literally as “a drill that punches through,” and connotes survival and triumph over adversity.

²² Ruia’s album, “Hawaiki,” won the 2004 New Zealand Music Award for “Best Māori Album.”

traditional singing of whakapapa — generally took the form of a recital or recitative. His ability to expose and develop historical threads is phenomenal. In order to extract and extrapolate elements of general Māori situatedness, I have chosen to present Aperahama's narrative as a transcription interspersed with my analysis, which serves primarily as a meta-narrative. My analysis seeks to expose some salient features of Māori interactions including intra- and inter-tribal and Māori-European articulations as well as dispositional and discursive articulations between old and new, traditional and modern, rural and urban and generational perspectives.

At our first interview we concentrated on Aperahama's background and his experience growing up in the Ratana Church and with Ratana music. The second interview focused on Bob Marley's influence on Māori and the reasons, processes — including translation and transformation of lyrics, rhythms and music — and experiences that Aperahama and his twin brother, Ranea had when making their record, "The Waiata of Bob Marley," a Māori-language rendition of some of Marley's songs. I interviewed Aperahama in my living room in the Auckland suburb of Mt. Albert on two occasions. Aperahama stopped by on his way home after his radio broadcast, which airs from noon until 3 pm on weekdays. I subsequently had several telephone conversations with Aperahama for clarifications and help with transcribing and translating various passages in Māori.

In the sections that follow, I frame a series of interview excerpts. I take Ruia Aperahama's as an authoritative voice, and I present his story in the third person as a set of "facts." So Aperahama serves as the narrator of a story within a story. And I take his

testimony as an index both into Māori musical situatedness in general, and to my textual rendering of the performances I witnessed at Ratana Pa.

First Interview²³

Aperahama began by telling me about his background. He and his brother, Ranea, are the youngest of nine siblings and were groomed from childhood to take leadership positions in the Ratana church. His parents were part of a Māori migration to Ratana that began in the 1930s and 40s. His mother is of Ngati Tuwharetoa, a tribe located on the North Island's central plateau in the Lake Taupo area, and his father's family is of Ngati Kuri, from Te Aupori in the far north. Aperahama's father served as National Secretary for the Ratana Church for forty years, and his mother was on the National Executive or Komiti Hei Matua (literally "parenting" or "steering committee") and was also a member of the Ratana Pa National Choir. His early education (primary and intermediate school) was at Ratana. He subsequently attended secondary school at Wanganui High School, about 20 miles north of Ratana Pa and then university at Wellington Teachers College (now the Faculty of Education of Victoria University of Wellington).

Music at Ratana

Music — singing in church choirs and playing in church bands — is a widespread activity in the Ratana community²⁴ and it was a large part of life for Aperahama and his family:

²³ All quotes Hareruia Aperahama interviewed by H. Anderson, January 20, 2006 unless otherwise indicated.

²⁴ Participation in musical activities at Ratana Pa is not compulsory, but it is "institutionalized" in the sense that participation is the norm and that opportunities to learn and perform are ubiquitous in the community.

All my brothers and sisters, we're all musically inclined one way or another. Music is very strongly valued in our family and in our community. It would be fair to say [that music is] valued...amongst Māori communities in particular. ...[Music] touches on...[the] supernatural, religious, and the political.

Music is at the core of life at Ratana and musicians and music are seminal to the construction of heritage and tradition in the community. Stories about Ratana's use of music to spread his doctrine, to recruit followers, to combat unhealthy practices, et cetera, are all part of a lore that defines the community's culture and connects people to its past. Aperahama began playing music at age seven, and he and his brother, Ranea, were taught music by Te Rauna Tairoa who was the national conductor of the combined Ratana brass bands.²⁵ Aperahama spoke of Tairoa's participation in the Ratana world tours of 1924-25:

His generation of the 1920s, they were part of the Ratana world tour band.... Twelve young females and twelve young males who were all trained to be adept and capable of playing at least three instruments. That was the prerequisite — they had to be multi-instrumentalists as well as having other skills, particularly with regards to hospitality, looking after people. They had to be able to move quickly, look after themselves, feed, cook for themselves, et cetera.

In this telling, Aperahama posits musical competence as a core value because Ratana conceived of music as a means to communicate his spiritual message, as a binding agent for Māori solidarity and unification, a tool to bridge between cultures and a way to draw attention to Māori grievances of the Treaty of Waitangi.²⁶ The purpose of the world tours was to further these ends and themes of self-reliance, mobility, and traditional Māori hospitality, coupled with musical ability, and were all geared toward efficacious performance on a global stage in order to promote the survivability of Māori in the modern

²⁵ There are seven brass bands that represent Ratana communities in different parts New Zealand.

²⁶ In this regard Ratana was adding his efforts to similar attempts by Māori king movement leaders Tawhaio (1884) and Kingi Rata (1914). See King 2003.

world. However, Ratana music is not seen as a means to erase the past, but rather a way to selectively bring elements of modern and ancient ways together.

Old and new ways are presented and performed together on a formal “stage” at Ratana Pa.²⁷ Aperahama said that, although Western-style brass bands are a major component of Ratana music and Ratana musicians have been influenced by various genres of Western music, “Ratana Pa also celebrates a strong traditional element...in particular the old singing style.” Describing traditional singing at the Pa, he said:

The marae or the courtyard [paepae] where a lot of our rituals take place, is one of the last bastions where you’ll hear the old traditional songs or pre-European singing style.... The old singing style is called the *ngao* [soft-palate] and only old people who are over ninety still remember that singing style. The *ngao* is the old traditional singing style of half singing through your nose. So open singing style, western singing style which we also learned, [is a product of] the Western impact — America, England, et cetera, In the Western singing style you’re taught to sing from your diaphragm up....

The *ngao* is just slightly lifting the tongue up so that it touches the back of the roof [of the mouth] where the palate is. ...So you get almost half [of the sound] coming through the nose... Apparently the old singing style was to resonate in the cranium, in the skull, in the head. It’s kind of similar to...the Eastern countries — through Asia — and Buddhism through India. They’ve got similar singing styles as well. Apparently for the old singing style, that was a technique for meditation. That kind of [singing] survived...among our people. But Christianity had a huge impact on our traditional genre. And [as in] Christian trends throughout the world, indigenous music was seen or perceived as inferior and demonic, satanic. So that has affected our people — [but it is still found] in small pockets throughout the country, particularly in our rituals of funerals.²⁸ That’s kind of the last bastion of where you’ll hear that old singing style.

Aperahama posits a historical non-Western connection for Māori traditional singing. Indeed it is the construction of the Ratana movement and Ratana Pa as a place where diverse influences — ancient and modern, Western and non-Western — come together

²⁷ See the description of welcoming ceremonies at Ratana Pa below.

²⁸ The word for funeral, *tangi*, also means to cry out, to weep or to wail.

that is most striking. He went on to discuss contemporary Māori usages of the Western “open style” as well as other global examples of the ngao style:

Most kapa haka...performing groups and Māori music groups today — most sing in the...Western open style. But the old traditional singing style called the ngao, apparently derives from throughout Polynesia and can be traced back through to Asia, through our earlier history.

Aperahama notes that, “traditionally, Māori sang in minors most of the time [similar to] a lot of the Eastern modes and chords. But definitely sung in minor.” He suggested that the Māori rhythmic sense as performed in chants and incantations is related to both nature and also language. He translated this concept into Western terms:

If I was to [express it] so that Western people might understand it, Māori sang in irregular time signature formats... They sang in six/eight or sometimes a pattern which was very irregular — five/four, six/eight, seven/four et cetera. So you got irregular or polyrhythms. [They also imitated] insect sounds, bird sounds. And in particular, when the missionaries first came here, they heard the old traditional singing style in a lot of our...what they termed as “incantations” or “chants.”

Aperahama’s depiction of Māori singing as “irregular” and in need of some translation or explication for Western ears is an indication of his conscious sense of a gap between Māori and Western sensibility. The difference in perception can be traced to the central importance of Māori language and orature in Māori music and culture in general.

Traditional Elements in New Māori Music

In order to illustrate some of the influences of Māori traditional forms and language on contemporary music, Aperahama sang an extremely rapid example of a generic rhythmic formula for a karakia (substituting syllables for words) (see Figure 4). His delivery is very impressive for the combination of a very fast tempo and clarity enunciation, despite the frantic pace:



Figure 4. Transcription of the rhythmic formula for a karakia.

The rhythmic foundation of this example is typical of the traditional delivery of karakia. The impact of ancient formulaic forms like karakia is aural and visceral — the rhythm and tempo, the sound and the manner of delivery are the principal features. These incantatory forms use archaic language that doesn't submit to subliterate translation, but rather are understood as functional units that accomplish a given, spiritual purpose in specific ritual contexts.²⁹

The rendering of this example into Western music notation is inadequate because it quantizes rhythmic nuances that are embedded in Māori language and the gestures that the adept speaker, the master of *whaikorero* executes in performance (see Figure 5). However it does capture something of the trenchant delivery (see *tenutos* on the first beats of subsequent measures) and *stretto*-like intensification accomplished by truncating measures to produce subtractive rhythm cells.³⁰ The adept speaker embodies incantations in performance and they are contextually recognized and understood by an audience that shares the cultural repertoire.

²⁹ There are a huge variety of such contexts, but many karakia involve acknowledging or inviting the presence of *tipuna* (ancestral spirits), and just as importantly, letting them know when it is time to begone.

³⁰ See Messiaen 1956.



Figure 5. Whaikorero utilizes a repertoire of stylized movements and gestures.

After singing the rhythm of the *karakia*, Aperahama described the style:

It's very polyrhythmic.³¹ And because of the language, [new Māori music has a] unique kind of feel to it. I'm just explaining that because those types of components or attributes are now coming through the revival of new Māori music today, [in] combination [with] Western music.

So the influence of Māori language on new Māori music is based on rhythm and feeling as well as on literal linguistic content. The influence of Māori language is profound, but may easily be glossed over or minimized when viewed from a Western perspective because a rational-metric analysis does not adequately account for the subtleties of Māori language and the social and cultural importance of embodied performance in Māori music. I will return to the topic of symbolic and cultural repertoires in Chapter Six.

³¹ The sense of the term “polyrhythmic” in this context is as much related to changing meter as it is to rhythmic overlays (three against four, et cetera). The main point is that speech and delivery trump meter as underlying factors in the production of the “feel” of the music.

Historically, Māori have readily adapted Western forms to suit their cultural and esthetic needs. In the next section I discuss Māori blending European music and technologies with their own, particularly in the context of the Ratana movement.

Māori Reception of European Music: Imitation and Innovation

Aperahama talked about how Māori incorporated and adapted Western technologies of writing and music, and “Māorized” them:

Māori were introduced to Christianity in 1814 through the Christian Mission Society. They became very adept at reading and writing in their own language.... [They] saw the value in technology. Like a lot of technologies [Māori] took, they imitated and then they innovated. The same thing has happened in the history of Māori music, imitation happened, then innovation.... [So] when Christian music was introduced, a lot of our people, when they first heard chords, it was very unusual for them. [The] melodies [were] very unusual, but in time they grasped it, became very adept at it [see Figure 6 for music transcription].

Classical music was a very strong interest in the 1820s. [With the introduction of the] harpsichord, a lot of old traditional instruments were [eventually] given up [and replaced by] the piano.... Families like the Tāhiwi and many others around the country, particularly in the north, became very great imitators. During that early period, [by] imitating, they learned chord structures. Whalers in particular, during the 1820's, [brought] the Irish influence, and the Welsh influence and the Scottish influence [with them] on the whaling ships. When some of our earlier ancestors of the north became whalers as well during that early contact period, they were introduced to a lot of the Irish jigs and the whaling songs — shanties, sea shanties. So our people started to imitate. A song in the north — which is still sung today — is now called a “traditional” song, but it's from that influence of the sea shanties and it goes:

He kūaka marangaranga
Kotahi te manu i tau
Tau atu ki te tāhuna
Tau atu tau atu e

Godwits bobbing (on the water),
The [first] bird alighted,
[Then all the rest] settled there on the
sandbar,
They settled there, settled there.³²

And so they heard these sea shanties and started putting their own words in...and then that evolved. So imitation and innovation is a strong theme.

³² My translation.

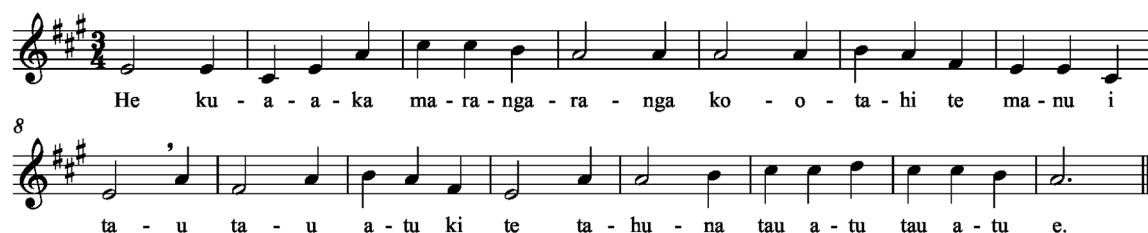


Figure 6. Transcription of “He Kuaka,” still sung today, demonstrates the influence of European songs sung on whaling ships in the 19th century.

In contrast to the previous example of a *karakia*, the Māori lyrics in this ditty are entirely subsumed in Western melody and metric rhythm. The adaptation of the lyrics shows a high degree of flexibility and fluidity in the rendition of Māori lyrics. This is particularly evident in the stretching of syllables (ko-o-tahi, kū-a-a-ka, et cetera) and the lingual agility required of the singers.

These words appear at the end of a *tauparapara* (a traditional formula used at the beginning of a welcoming speech or “*mihi*”) with ancient roots that is associated with Te Aupouri,³³ a tribe in the far north of New Zealand’s North Island, and is said to refer to the landing there of the waka Kurahaupo and the first Māori settlement in the area by that tribe. The song’s imagery describes the landing of the first bird (kotahi manu te tau) and how others settled as a result. In modern times, the kuaka and this tauparapara have come to stand for the unity of five northern tribes in their pursuit of resolution of Muriwhenua (fisheries) claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.³⁴ Typically a representative group would sing

³³ <http://www.teaupouri.iwi.nz/AboutUs/champions/tumatahina.htm>, 3/2/2008.

³⁴ “This northern tauparapara (welcoming call) invokes the image of the kuaka (godwit), a migratory bird whose visits to other lands, and regular return to the north signifies the importance of food resources in providing hospitality to visitors. The kuaka has been adopted as a symbol of the unity of the five tribes joined in the Muriwhenua claim. ‘When one comes (to the sand bank), all come.’” <http://www.waitangi->

this waiata in support of a speaker following his delivery of the complete tauparara or some other relevant speech. By providing a standardized framework for the singing of the waiata, the Western melody and its strict meter add to group cohesion during the recitation of the words and hence reinforce the supportive function of the waiata.

Historically the intercultural influences between Māori and Europeans have not been reflexively balanced (or appreciated). Aperahama spoke about the reaction of European missionaries to traditional (i.e., pre-European) Māori music in early encounters:

The traditional [use] for music was healing...with a lot of karakia or chants which are very rhythmical and mesmerizing. The early missionaries — because they weren't used to that sound — they described it as a complex way of talking. They found that the traditional Māori singing mode and style was monotonous and inferior.

The disaffection of Europeans, particularly missionaries, for Māori singing is likely rooted in differences in the ways the groups used music and what they hoped to achieve with it. Distinguishing between the distance past and current practice, Aperahama discussed some of the roles of Māori chants in the context of the marae (where rituals like the Powhiri still take place):

In the traditional world, music was used to communicate with the supernatural.... On the marae — the courtyard where what we would now term today as *séance*...used to take place.... [Today] through chants and rituals you encounter that experience on the marae when two people meet. The main speakers go into a realm — they go into a type of meditation or...hypnosis type level. And when they chant their chants, they reach a certain level and the old singing style puts them in that realm. While in that realm, they would be open to different elements — whether warnings or healings.... All those things would be allowed to flow through. It was very *tapu* — a very restricted activity, that particular part. Mainly *tohungas* or priests or those who were holders of knowledge were [the] only [ones] allowed to be involved in that.

Contemporary circumstances have changed, but music retains a strong community function for Māori:

The power of music was also [as] the glue of the community. Because the Māori traditional form of singing was...(in terms of western music) very simple.... The whole community [was] able to engage in music daily. Grandmothers and mothers sang to their grandchildren, when [they] were carrying them, singing them songs of destiny, their identity et cetera.³⁵ There were all types of genres for different occasions with traditional songs. But music was used first thing in the morning to call — to gather the people. Because everyone was familiar with a lot of the tribal songs, when a song started everybody all joined. And because everyone was joined and brought into that one song, a whole community was united for a moment. So music, in Māori traditional society, and still today in contemporary [society], music is very much a glue for bringing communities together.

Traditional understandings of music and community formed the basis for Māori attraction to various forms of European music. Most of the community functions of music persist in contemporary Maori communities.

Maori Brass Bands and Ratana

The history of Māori brass bands has largely gone undocumented in New Zealand, but Māori adapted European brass band music early in the colonial era. Aperahama talked about how and why Māori were attracted to it:

During the 1860s in particular, Māori took a great liking to brass and brass bands. Particularly the colonial history in this country — the white settlers or Pakeha, they came here, they also brought their music and their culture. Their music was strongly classical and [incorporated] brass bands. With the colonial history, brass bands were a very strong symbol of their identity.

Māori saw [brass band] music and...believed that [the] sound of music was the voices of the Gods. So if you were able to manipulate sound and manipulate voices, you were able to communicate in contact with the spirit world. Music was a strong vehicle for Māori to achieve that — in the traditional setting and also in the contemporary setting.

³⁵ This is the genre known as oriori.

Aperahama went on to talk about the genesis of brass band traditions at Ratana and other Māori communities:

With contemporary [communities] and particularly with Ratana, you know as I touched on earlier about the colonial history and in particular, brass band culture which was introduced in New Zealand in the 1860's. Parihaka and Taranaki, they follow that tradition, and they started pipe bands. Through Te Arawa, they started brass bands. [In] Waikato they started a brass band called Taniwharau for the King movement. Around through the East Coast and in particular Papawai and Wairarapa, another movement there, in Papawai a brass band was started there. So Ratana isn't the only place in Māori history where brass bands have been highly valued.

For Māori in general and Ratana in particular, brass bands are a conscious adaptation of Western music and other technologies in order to actively resist colonization and to protect language and culture:

Western technology was a tool that Māori admired and sought after highly, but they also realized that technology was a two-prong type situation where the technology was also a tool...of removing culture, language, identity. So the only way they saw to retain language and culture was to be open to [technology], accept the technology, imitate it, then innovate it...and send it back. By innovating and sending it back, that was their way of protecting language and culture.

Māori people also saw mastery of technology (and music) as a potential way to demonstrate to Europeans that they should be accepted as equals:

Māori learnt very quickly to do that and also to become acceptable...[in] Western, white society.... If they could become adept in that music or in that technology, they could possibly be seen or accepted as equals.

Music played a role in the conscious process of Māori choosing which elements of their culture they wanted to retain or discard:

[They] were trying to sift through [in order to] see culturally for themselves, analyzing for themselves, what was appropriate — what to keep and what to discard. They needed to go through that process like anyone else — self-analysis. When they went through that period of deciding...what to retain, what to take on from the west or what to keep culturally internal. What to give away, what to compromise with, or what was considered not valuable.

At Ratana, music was used to combat practices like sorcery (tohungaism) and cannibalism (*kaitangata*), says Aperhama:

Internally, the music was used to fight against [unhealthy practices].... In those times our people even up to the 1920's and 30's we were still practicing sorcery. It was in the 1920's when the last recorded activities of kaitangata or cannibalism [took place]. Our people were still coming out of the old mindset.

Aperahama points out that before colonization, the Māori “economy” was built on music and music-related oral practices and technologies, like knowledge of genealogy and other chants and prayers:

According to our old people, the technology of their time was the more karakia or the more incantations and the more prayers you knew, and the more genealogy information you held, you controlled the economy. ... We've only been introduced to a cash economy culture for the last 200 years. But prior to that, Māori economy was land, whakapapa, genealogy, and incantations. As I said earlier, the more person you are in those realms, the [more you] controlled the economy and controlled the community and society basically. But with the challenge of Western democracy, the breakdown of tribal structures, the introduction of technology and a cash economy, the traditional tribal structures started to break down or pull away.

Music was actively used to combat beliefs and practices that were considered undesirable, and also to preserve and promote what were considered to be positive features of Māori culture. In some cases his process involved providing substitutes for unhealthy or undesirable practices that effectively provided entire substitute repertoires that simultaneously allowed people to retain basic ways of being and doing that were important for retaining a sense of themselves as Māori, but at the same time allowed them to purge some undesirable traits and practices. In the next section I present some of Ruia Aperahama's perspectives on the construction of musical repertoires and institutions at Ratana.

Instituting Music at Ratana

Ratana methodically used music to promote a transition from the old to the new ways. This process involved preservation of traditional meanings and functionalities while facilitating adaptation to new and changing realities. In some cases this process involved introducing new elements, like brass bands, into traditional rituals. But the ultimate result was to both rebuild old institutions with new elements and construct new institutions using elements of the old. Aperahama described how Ratana, as he traveled around New Zealand preaching and organizing, changed the protocol of the traditional powhiri when he went on to a marae³⁶:

Music again had to play a major part in helping people with the transition. By that time, our people had lost the ability of literacy. While in the early 1820's to the early 1850's, Māori were by comparison with the [European] colonial population [more literate] in their own language. But by the 1890's that whole thing changed, the economic situation of Māori changed [with regard to] land [and] policies. Government legislation removed the economic power and the base of Māori. [This] resulted in loss of not just culture and language, but economic base, and through that, music and a lot of our arts and culture also suffered during that period. ...[In order] to try and preserve what was left, Ratana...used music to fight sorcery when he went onto maraes. [As visitors come onto a local marae during the powhiri] there's a challenge that happens and the *kaiwero* runs out and he swings his *taiaha*, clearing the pathway [to establish] whether you come as an enemy. ...In those times, tohungas would use sorcery to fight against...enemies. The way Ratana combated against sorcery was with music. He used brass bands to march on maraes to clear the way. ...Because the drummer at the back kept the rhythm of the brass band, using Western technology — imitated and then innovated, and then re-expressed and put out in a unique Māori way — he used the power of music to fight against sorcery. As an example — in Waikato, the challenger comes out with his *taiaha* and the challenger keeps to a very strict rhythm. There are certain patterns that they have to follow and certain rituals — to go left and right — and each particular movement indicates or symbolizes a certain thing or a certain message to the messenger coming on. So the challenger has to keep to a strict rhythm. When the brass bands used to go on and split [apart into columns] — the *kaiwero* or the challenger [would] come straight into the middle to put the dart [the *wero*] or the leaf down in front of Ratana [for him] to accept the challenge. As the brass band would split open, the bass drum would be at the back booming hard, and nine times out of ten, the rhythm of the brass band and the rhythm of the bass drum would throw [off] the internal rhythm of the challenger. If you could break the concentration of the challenger, there was a good chance you would also break the spiritual — or the *makutu* — the supernatural power or force of the tribe.

³⁶ This ritual is replayed annually during the powhiri held during the Birthday Celebration at Ratana. See below.

Ratana expanded the Māori music repertoire based on established tradition. In every instance, the status and symbolic potential of music and sound in the Māori world was already well-established, so the Ratana movement's "new" uses and applications of music were based on a basic functionality translated and transformed to fit a contemporary context. Ratana also used music during speeches on the marae:

He used to stand up and speak or sometimes preach. The brass band would start...playing music underneath. ...Music was [used] for dramatic reasons or to pull in people's spirit, to give ambience and depth to what he was delivering on the courtyard. He was a great showman as well, Ratana. And used all those dramatic techniques on marae in order to capture people's interest and to capture people's imagination. ...Music is a major part in the Ratana experience and in particular, the Māori world for lots of reasons on the spiritual and supernatural level. And that still happens today. There are still people today who are psychics in the Māori world, — what we call *matakite* ["seer"] — some for what they call the "white light" or the "pure light" and some for the bad light. But those forces still happen today and music still plays a major part in...wielding all of those types of influences on the marae.

Ratana commissioned the composition of new music employing purpose-built symbolic content:

He had particular hymns and particular marches composed for specific events or specific occasions and the one you mentioned in particular, "Mura Ahi," or "Blaze Away," he used that particular march...because of the name...for fighting against sorcery. When he went to a place to lift the tapu from some place that had a curse on it.... Like for example in Wairarapa, a stone in Wairarapa where it was cursed and two, three generations were dying during Ratana's time. It got so bad, that they were saying that there were 20-30 people dying a week just from one family line in this area. So Ratana went to this place where the stone was and lifted [the tapu] and that's the music that he used, "Blaze Away." [The march] was about the Angels and the power of the Angels. In the Māori psyche, angels play a very important role — guardian angels. Or as we had in the old religion, angel of the wind, angel of the water, angel of the stars. In the Ratana experience and in the Ratana Church, angels play a very prominent role. ..."Blaze Away"...was calling on the angels to be like a blazing fire to come through and to burn out the old curse that was on a place.

The symbolism that Ratana employed was not restricted to the content of the music's title. The syncretic adaptation of Western brass instruments and the deployment of band musicians in Māori ritual contexts, even the design of the band uniforms are all conscious

semaphores of merging cultures and a particular view of the Old Testament where Māori are seen as being like a lost tribe wandering in the desert.³⁷

Ratana's vision was inclusive of both Māori and non-Māori. One aspect of this inclusiveness is apparent in his commissioning of music by European composers. He also used music as a way to draw attention to the Ratana Movement and to gain a stage to promote Māori issues like the Treaty of Waitangi. In the next section I examine some of the ways Ratana used music to connect with other groups.

Ratana's Musical Articulation with Non-Māori

Ratana's gaze was turned both inward and outward and he used music as a way of connecting with both Māori and non-Māori. Aperahama says that Ratana used the commissioning of music as a means to build bridges with other communities:

Ratana was very pro-Māori but very accepting of the world, not frightened of the world. [He] encouraged our people to accept the world and be open to it because he says that within the depth of legislation, within the depth of the technology that has come from the West, God is there and the Holy Spirit is moving. To prove that, he entered into a number of collaborations with Pakeha composers, in particular, a gentleman called Tom Gray who was a...white New Zealander from Wanganui and the Wanganui Garrison band. Ratana approached him and asked, because Wanganui has not got a strong, a very good relationship with Māori or the Māori community historically.³⁸ Wanganui was the base and for the constabulary and the soldiers.... And the Wanganui Garrison Band has that history. Surprisingly, [given] the tension between Māori and Pakeha, Ratana approached Tom Gray from...and asked him to compose a unique march for the Ratana Church and

³⁷ "To Ratana [music] was the softener of human hearts. Like the Israelites of old he believed musicians would lead the procession into the promised land and bring down the strongholds of the old system, as illustrated in the felling of Jericho's walls. In keeping with that episode of biblical history, Ratana insisted there be seven brass bands scattered about the country." Keith Newman 1986, "New Beginnings Inspire Ratana Youth," <http://www.wordworx.co.nz/newbeg.html>, 1/8/2006.

³⁸ There continue to be disputes between Māori and Pakeha groups in the region contesting naming rights for the town of Wanganui — with many local Māori preferring an orthographic rendering consistent with the spelling of the Whanganui River. On the opposite side, some local Pakeha groups, including one lead by Michael Laws, the outspoken mayor and a former National Party MP with a reputation for racial polemics, are intractable and insist on the "historic" spelling (i.e., minus the "h").

for Ratana Brass Bands. That march was composed and called the Ratana March, which only the Ratana brass bands played and have copyright over.

Ratana's use of music was reflexive — it made a two-way bridge between the Pa and the outside world, so that he attracted outsiders to Ratana, just as he used it to go out to other communities. Aperahama described how Ratana used music to reach out beyond his local constituency:

He invited many brass bands and many other touring and performing groups into Ratana Pa. He also had a strong relationship with a Methodist Minister called Arthur J. Seamer³⁹ [who] had a strong profound influence on particularly Māori choir history in this country. It was inevitable that Father Seamer and Ratana would work together, not just on the theological, religious themes and climate of the time, but also musically. Father Seamer would come to Ratana...because it was a pantribal community. There [were] great opportunities for young people who were coming through the ranks, through the choirs and through the brass bands to have an opportunity to go on to touring parties that Father Seamer had organized. Father Seamer set up networks and circuits overseas through London, America, Germany, France.... During the late 1920s, 1930s, he was taking cultural groups overseas to experience the world circuit, to expose them to the world culture, and [to provide] an opportunity for them to share Māori music, language, culture, et cetera.

Ratana's musical collaborations were international in scope. Aperahama says that Ratana used musical exchanges as a way of forging relationships overseas:

There is a huge repertoire of original music composed by Ratana followers or Ratana people or by collaboration [with people] such as Tom Gray and other[s].... There was also a collaboration between him and Juji Nakata when he was in Japan. ...Nakata had a music school [and] he opened up the music school to Ratana and his party and...both of them shared in their people's genealogy, their histories, their response to Christianity, their response to old religions, what positions they were in for the nation and both of them forged a strong relationship. During his time, Ratana gave Juji Nakata a number of music manuscripts of Māori music, and also a lot of the original music that was being composed for Ratana. In exchange, Juji Nakata gave him a book of hymns and a book of Japanese music, traditional music. A relationship was forged and a marriage was entered there, a spiritual marriage between the Māori nation and the Japanese nation.

³⁹ The Methodist Māori Mission had a particularly effective presence in the Waikato region (where both the Ratana and the Kingitanga movements are centered). Māori activist Donna Awatere says this was because “they did not attempt to reform Māori values, but were prepared to adapt church ritual to suit Māori tastes” (Awatere quoted in Thomson 1991: 202). According to Thomson, Seamer exemplified this stance and he “took part in the communal life of the marae, including Pai marire services” (Thomson 1991: 202).

Ratana's choices for political aspiration were also well-grounded in music, according to Aperahama:

There are prominent singers and songwriters that came out of Ratana — Paraire Paikea...and Eruera Tirikaatene, who later became two of Ratana's candidates for Parliament and entered into Parliament. But these two gentlemen were also band masters and composers and songwriters. [Their music included] hymns that were sourced from [the] Sankey [hymn book] and from the Church of England, because most of the followers who accumulated and culminated into the Ratana Church were inter-denominational. So a lot of the music that would make up the Ratana Church repertoire, was sourced from all the churches. You'll hear hymns in the Ratana Church from Catholic, Presbyterian, Church of England, Methodist. ...Paraire Paikea, he composed a lot of the original and particularly, uniquely Ratana hymns. Paikea composed a lot of the Ratana hymns...that make up the [Ratana] repertoire, I think about fifteen of them, [that] he composed. [They're] very beautiful. I love those hymns.

The blending of repertoires from different Christian denominations was a deliberate, ecumenical extension of Ratana's pantribal doctrine. Aperahama says that Ratana's world tours, his use of music, his healing, et cetera, were all directed at encouraging the conscious formation of a new identity that was viable in the modern world:

It would've been inevitable for Ratana come back with those influences and try...to find a new identity for the people. His redefining of [Māori] identity wasn't so much to deny who we were in essence, but it was out of necessity — [we] have to define ourselves. Because as [in] all societies...change is inevitable.

He maintains that Ratana's vision, and his use of music, operated on a more basic, and more persistent, level than the more visible realms represented by success or failure in politics, where injustices are symptomatic of deeper problems:

[Although] he failed in trying to bring about change and constitutional reform or in legislation or in policy⁴⁰...he used music to describe the spirit of humanity or the true human spirit. Where he says that the true human spirit, remove the flesh and what we were before what he called genesis. He was talking about repatriation, reparation and reconciliation and that's a strong theme in Ratanaism.... With reconciliation through injustices, whether it was internal between tribe against tribe or the Crown in later years,

⁴⁰ Recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of New Zealand, a waxing, but still contentious issue, did not occur until long after Ratana's death.

he was talking about the human spirit and our true identity in human spirit form before genesis. He...said that injustices have only occurred because one party has forgotten who they are. ...He was determined for Māori to reconnect with who they were to understand, not [in] a shallow cultural sense, not in an organic sense, not in a biological sense only, but going back to the human spirit. He used music to describe that and illustrate that.

He was saying that the key note C that you play today...fifty years from now, you play the key note C, it'll be consistent. Unlike you and I today, I may say something today and yet ten years from now, fifty years from now, I may say something different. What he meant was that true human identity or true human spiritual identity has been consistent and it's because of our falling out or forgetting that, that's when we cause imbalance, and that's when we cause conflict and infliction against one another. ...He used a lot of other analogies of music...to get across messages.

Music was a particularly appropriate vehicle for Ratana's purposes because he presented it as an accessible symbolic system that was and appropriate to a population under threat of losing its economic base, its culture, and literacy:

During that time after the 1890s, Māori lost economic base, cultural identity, and also with that, the power of literacy. They became an illiterate culture...particularly during the 1900s to the 1940s. So music became even more and more important.... [It] became the vehicle of communication (although it's always been a means of communication for Māori) particularly during that period of the 1900s to the 1940s. Music became the main vehicle of educating and forming communities and Ratana saw that. [He] used music whether it was traditional or contemporary...he would take modern tunes from overseas. [He would] take our aspirations, dreams, and vision, our own words, our own language [and] adapt it, cross over, and use western influence songs — popular songs, but [inserting] Māori words and messages. So you'll get songs like "Little Brown Jug," the tune is very, very similar...but the messages will be about Māori independence [see Figure 7].

Aperahama sang the Māori version for me:

E noho e Rata⁴¹ te hiri o Waikato
Hurihia to kanohi ki te Hau-a-uru
Nga tai e ngunguru
I waho te akau
Aue hei aue, aue hei aue

Rata abides as the strength of Waikato
[At his back] the West Winds [also the
districts of Taranaki and Whanganui]
The boisterous winds that roar
From offshore [in opposition]
Howl, howl away

⁴¹ Journalist Gordon Spittle, a who has written extensively about popular music in New Zealand, attributes the lyric "E Rata e Noho" to Princess Te Puea, granddaughter of the second Māori King, Tawhiao. Spittle says Te Puea wrote the lyrics in 1917 in honor of Te Rata, the fourth Māori King. Spittle 1997: 5.



Figure 7. Transcription of “E noho e Rata,” a song about Māori independence sung to the tune of “Little Brown Jug.”

Aperahama says the song is about the King Movement:

E noho e Rata, and Rata was the Māori King.⁴² Te hiri o Waikato, hurihia to kanohi, and it talks about the King movement and the Waikato district being the supporters of the King Movement and so that song — and a lot of the themes of that particular period — were about Māori independence.

The tune is a combination of European melody and Māori language lyrics inflected with elisions in Māori/Polynesian style. As with Māori adaptations of many other popular tunes, the substitution of Māori lyrics tends to have a profound effect on the feeling of the song. An increased number of syllables tends to intensify the rhythmic impact and also to draw more attention to the words themselves — the literal content of the lyrics is brought to the forefront and the melody takes on the character of a mnemonic device. The rhythmic dicing that results from the polysyllabic quality of the language when it is imposed on otherwise held notes in a tune has an effect similar to that elicited by the “wordy” lyrics of a composer like Joni Mitchell, for example. The unpitched final beat in measure six is traditionally voiced as a group punctuation, an embodiment of group

⁴² King Te Rata was selected as the new Māori king when his father, King Mahuta died in 1911. Like his predecessor he was an advocate for restoration of Māori rights as stipulated in the Treaty of Waitangi. In 1914 he raised money by soliciting small amounts of money from supporters and selling family land to take a list of grievances to King George V and Queen Mary. His petition was refused. <http://tvnz.co.nz/view/page/430905/815892>, 3/5/2008.

solidarity. In this manner a “nonsense” tune like “Little Brown Jug” is transformed and takes on an entirely different affect — “E noho e Rata” comes to symbolize group cohesion, history, and language preservation, et cetera. In subsequent versions of the song, the name of the current Māori King or Queen is substituted for Rata, giving the song a contemporary, synchronic dimension.

The Way to Ratana Pa

At the conclusion of our interview, Ruia Aperahama gave me an overview of how the Birthday Celebration is usually organized at Ratana. People generally begin arriving at the Pa the weekend before the birthday, and festivities go on for several days leading up to the day — January 25. The activities consist of religious services, band rehearsals, wanga (workshops on various cultural and educational topics), and music and dance performances and competitions in a variety of genre, including kapahaka, brass bands, reggae and various other popular styles. Usually these activities carry on simultaneously at a number of venues throughout the Pa, with the main stage located directly on the paepae.

On January 24, the various entertainment activities are punctuated by a series of powhiri as outside groups (manuhiri) — including national, regional, and local politicians and notables like the Māori Queen — and their contingents as are welcomed and introduced onto the marae. During these powhiri, entertainment is suspended for the duration of the formal ceremony and resumed again at the end. In effect, the powhiri are the major performances of the day, and people flock to them with intense interest to see New Zealand’s political elite and also to witness and be a part of the media spectacle which

will play on television news that evening, and will be repeated in sound bites for weeks and months to come. At the conclusion of the powhiri in the late afternoon, performances lasting into the evening complete the day.

The festivities culminate on the 25th — Ratana’s birthday. Following a brief formal service (*whakamoemiti* — “thanksgiving”) on the morning of the final day, which is preceded and followed by a parade of the faithful, the ceremonies culminate with competition finals and a full day of fun and performance, with most events held on the main stage.

Ruia gave me directions to the Pa from nearby Wanganui and described to me the scene that I would be met with on arrival. He told me that, for the Birthday Celebration, the approach to the Pa is cordoned off and visitors are met at by *katipa*,⁴³ the Ratana “police” — these Ratana officials are similar in appearance and function to the more familiar Māori wardens who help to manage similar events at other New Zealand venues — at a checkpoint just before entering the settlement. Ruia instructed me to inform them that I was his guest, there to observe the celebration.

Return to Ratana Pa

The following sections are comprised primarily of first person commentaries based on field notes. The commentaries involve detailed first person descriptions of my experiences at the Birthday Celebration and were assembled after the fact from field journals and audio-visual materials. They are the “normal” mode of presentation in this

⁴³ “Katipa” is a Māorization of the English term “constable.”

section. These commentaries, which are mediated by time (and reflection), are presented in the past tense.

Use of the present tense and insertion of the heading “Field Journal” mark moments that require a more immediate mode of representation and where I wish to convey more of my own affective engagement in a given situation. Field notes and commentaries are interspersed with third person “authoritative” narratives that supply global details of known rituals and events, and that are presented in the appropriate tense (present for ongoing and past for historic occurrences or events).

Birthday Celebration, January 24, 2006

I arrived at the Pa early on the morning of the 24th — the day that dignitaries were to be escorted onto the paepae. The day was overcast and threatened rain. The katipa waved me through the checkpoint and I proceeded to the home of Ruia’s sister, “Peaches,” just up the street from the Tempera. The Pa was transformed from the time of my last visit. Although the streets were still relatively clear at that early hour, the wide-open spaces I had encountered on my previous trip to the Pa were now densely packed with tents, vehicles and people beginning to stir. Some of the TV news people were already in evidence setting up a cherry picker to film the proceedings. The place buzzed with anticipation.

Peaches’s house (like all of the homes on the street) had cars parked in the driveway and along the front, and the backyard was occupied by two tents and a camper with various family members and friends encamped. I introduced myself and asked after Peaches and was told she was inside.

I knocked on the side door and was greeted by Peaches. She offered me a cup of tea and as I sat to drink it, I was introduced to their uncle, who was seated at the kitchen table. Uncle spoke no English and my Māori was inadequate to the task, so I spent a few awkward moments as I waited for Ruia to appear. A few minutes later, Ruia materialized and we chatted for a bit.

Ruia told me a bit about how the events of the day would proceed. He suggested I should go to the room that had been set aside for the press (all of the major news organizations would all be present for the appearances by politicians) to be briefed on what was permissible for documenting the events of the day. Obtaining press credentials would also give me access to designated vantage points for observing and recording the proceedings without risking violating any tapus or etiquettes.

After having tea, Ruia walked me toward the paepae where the major events would take place. The streets were flooded with people milling about, including the seven Ratana Brass Bands, resplendent in their colors. Ruia introduced me to several elderly tradition-bearers among the musicians and told me about their backgrounds. He also introduced me to his older brother, Manny Aperahama, who is the current leader of the massed Ratana Brass Bands. All of the brass band folk were very busy preparing for the day's events, so conversations were necessarily brief. I did manage to connect with Manny and we discussed meeting for an interview at a later date.

Ruia pointed me to the pressroom and went off to attend to obligations elsewhere. After that point I was only able to speak with him briefly as his presence was in demand for

various official Church functions. My next major encounter with Ruia would be a few weeks later in Auckland.

Media Briefing

At the pressroom, I found myself sandwiched among a throng of reporters, familiar talking heads from network newscasts, photographers and camera crews. There were about 40-50 people in a room with an area of about 600 square feet. Of those present, some wore clothing sporting the Māori TV logo, others carried equipment or objects identifying them as representing Television New Zealand or TV3, the two principal networks. Speaking with people and listening to the general chatter in the room as we awaited the Ratana media liaison, I learned that in addition to the major newspapers several local and regional news organizations were represented.

After about 15 minutes, Wayne Johnson, the Ratana Media Liaison, appeared and introduced himself to the assemblage. Johnson explained that there would be six powhiris during the course of the day. The first of these (for the local mayor, district councillors and representatives of the Mormon Church) had already been completed. Coming up would be Dame Sylvia Cartwright, the Governor General, followed by Tumu Te Heu Heu, arikinui (paramount chief) of Tuwharetoa, with his *rōpu* (party) along with the police commissioner's. Following them would come Don Brash, leader of the opposition National Party. In a break with the published schedule, Brash's party would be welcomed at the same time as a group of Māori Party MPs (members of parliament) led by Pita

Sharples and Tariana Turia. This pairing — considered mischievous by some⁴⁴ — inspired a lot of speculation in the popular press about the political implications of the move. Mr. Johnson made it quite clear that this was done in order to keep the proceedings on schedule. The last two groups of the day to be welcomed onto the marae were Prime Minister Helen Clark, accompanied by ministers of the Crown, and Māori Queen Te Arikinui Te Atairangi Kāhu, along with her entourage from the Waikato region. For the mainstream media, the Prime Minister's appearance would be the high point of the day, followed closely by that of the Leader of the Opposition. The latter's appearance provided juicy sound bites, especially because of the pairing with the Māori Party. Don Brash is generally considered antipathetic to Māori and has been very vocal in putting forward a "multicultural" agenda that seeks to rescind what he sees as a "privileged" status for Māori as stipulated in the Treaty of Waitangi. Meanwhile Ratana had a long standing, traditional alliance with the Labour Party dating from the 1930s until 1996, when the Church declared itself politically neutral, although the bulk of Ratana members retained strong Labour Party ties. The recent formation (July 2004) of the Māori Party is seen by some to be a challenge to that traditional alliance, and the pundits were looking for portents in the organization and execution of the day's ceremonies.

Johnson went on to inform us of the areas where filming was allowed or interdicted: during the powhiri, it would be allowed from the stage (to the left of the marae ground — the paepae — as you looked toward the front), on the roadways, and on other areas not on

⁴⁴ "The Maori Party was forced to share the stage with National at the annual Ratana celebrations yesterday, sparking speculation that Ratana leaders were punishing the party for its post-election dalliance with National." Jon Stokes, *New Zealand Herald* 1/25/2006.

the marae ground. For the day of the 24th, when the powhiris were to take place, photography was not allowed on the paepae itself, in the Temple or the Temple grounds (inside the gates), in any of the sleeping areas, from the top of the paepae marquee, or in the area set aside for the manuhiri to have a “cup of tea” (the consumption of food at the conclusion of the powhiri is an essential part of the ceremony). On the 25th, photography and recording were allowed on the paepae, but no filming was allowed at the Temple gates.

Mr. Johnson also laid down ground rules for interviews: the *Tumuaki* (literally “crown of the head” — executive head or “president”) does not give interviews, Waka Paama, the Executive Secretary, would respond to questions on Church matters and Wayne Johnson would respond to inquiries on secular matters. Johnson emphasized that, while all constituencies are afforded a voice (“Te Reo Pakeha and Te Reo Māori”), the Ratana Church wouldn’t respond or comment on any political issues during the Birthday Celebrations.

The overwhelming sense of the message was that Ratana Pa functioned as a venue where different voices are given an equal hearing. The Ratana Church provides the venue, and perhaps more importantly, the kaupapa — the ground rules and the milieu — for an encounter between groups. This kaupapa is wrought in the best of Māori tradition, which provides for an appropriate and equitable exchange and coming together. The Ratana Church remains above the fray — they don’t engage in partisanship, they merely provide the kaupapa. In this way, however, the Ratana Church accrues mana. The fact that the kaupapa, the milieu is itself a Māori milieu, elevates Māoritanga by demonstrating its potential for providing a superstructure for this equitable coming together.

The media briefing was itself a performance that reinforced Ratana's dominion in that place — all of the various media were treated with an even hand. One film crew, hired by the Church to do a sanctioned documentary, was afforded the “privilege” to film on the paepae during the powhiris. However, even this group of people were subject to the kaupapa of the Church.⁴⁵

At the conclusion of the media briefing, I approached Mr. Johnson to inform him of the reason for my presence (fieldwork for this dissertation) and was given a press pass to enable me to take up a vantage point on the (raised) stage. As the press corps fanned out, I staked a position at the front corner of the stage, close to the covered verandah area where the tangata whenua were seated, but under a convenient overhang that would shelter me from the impending rain. I watched and waited as the powhiri for Dame Sylvia Cartwright, the New Zealand Governor General — the official representative of the British Crown — began.

Powhiri

In ritual that was repeated for each subsequent group, the Governor General's party gathered in the distance next to the Tempera. The seven massed Ratana Brass Bands — in light blue, sky blue, dark blue, purple, green, red, yellow and orange jackets and flanked by katipa in black jackets — assembled in front of the party and began playing the Ratana March as they moved them toward the paepae (see Figure 8).

⁴⁵ During the morning prayer session on the following day — a very hot day with strong sun beating down — all of the men were required to remove their hats. Two members of a film crew who were working for the Church and who had been afforded special permission for filming in otherwise interdicted areas, resisted — one of them expressed vocal outrage, but they were instructed in no uncertain terms by the katipa that they were not excepted from the rule.



Figure 8. Ratana bands escort Governor General Dame Sylvia Cartwright on to the paepae.

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At the edge of the paepae, the brass bands split and the party of visitors emerges from their midst and continues up the center onto the sacred ground of the paepae where they are met by the kaikaranga⁴⁶ who sings a challenge as she twirls a taiaha, the ancient spear/fighting staff. The karanga of the tangata whenua is answered in turn by a kaikaranga representing the manuhiri as they move onto the paepae [see Figure 9]. Behind the kaikaranga of the tangata whenua and in front of the verandah where the representatives of the tangata whenua sit, a mixed group of (mostly) younger men and women perform the haka known as Te Rauparaha's Haka⁴⁷ as part of their challenge to the manuhiri as they approach. The cacaphony that results from the clash of competing sounds including a rhythmic disjunction between the metric rhythms of the march with those of the haka, and the contrast between the non-Western intonation of the karanga, the monotonic chant of the haka and the Western melody and harmonization of the Ratana March is striking.

As the entourage of the manuhiri moves forward onto the paepae, the brass bands turn, regroup and march back toward the Tempera. As they go, the sound of the March is replaced with the sound of a snare drum beating a retreat, which recedes into the distance and the marchers as the more Māori sounds of the karanga and the haka come to dominate the soundscape.

⁴⁶ Karanga are calls that are exchanged between the home people and the visitors at the beginning of the powhiri. Kaikaranga are the women who execute these calls.

⁴⁷ See Chapter Two.



Figure 9. Kaikaranga/Kaiwhero escorting Prime Minister Helen Clark onto paepae.

Speeches

At the beginning of the speeches, I was met with a surprise, as Ruia Aperahama stood to speak for the tangata whenua (see Figure 10). Speaking roles on the marae, particularly for dignitaries, is a high honor and a sign of Aperahama's mana.

Field Journal, continued

At the completion of the challenge, the manuhiri take seats under a canopy and the speeches begin. To my surprise, the first to speak is Ruia Aperahama. He steps onto the paepae and begins to orate in Māori. His mastery of whaikorero literally raises the hair on the back of my neck as he stands on the paepae in front of the tangata whenua and declares to the manuhiri with word and gesture. The movements and manner of speech are highly stylized in whaikorero, and although I have witnessed many kaumatua speak on marae, Ruia speaks with an authority I have rarely witnessed, particularly in a person so young. His rhythm, tone and delivery have the impact of song — the rhythms are trenchant and the tenor and volume of his voice rise and fall in dramatic delivery. All the while he moves, his movements and gestures a traditional stylized dance.



Figure 10. Ruia Aperahama delivers mihi to Governor General's party (rōpu).

Following the introductory speech (te mihi) on behalf of the tangata whenua, the manuhiri spoke in turn. At the conclusion of every speech, a group of the speakers supporters rose to sing (see Figure 11). The cycle repeated until all of the groups who came onto the marae together had spoken. Speeches generally began with a section called tauparapara that is replete with poetic allusions (particularly whakatauki) to the place — physical or metaphoric — that the group isefrom. These references are not necessarily clear to people (except the most erudite) from outside the group.



Figure 11. Ratana tangata whenua sing waiata in support of Aperahama.

Repertoires

Music, including karakia, tauparapara, and various forms of singing and oration, and particularly waiata, are an essential part of any Māori gathering where speech making takes place. In this section I examine some examples of how music and song repertoires are used as markers of group identity, particularly in the context of powhiri, where songs serve to support and identify a speaker and his or her group. I filmed portions of the ceremony and discussed them later with Ruia Aperahama.

At the Ratana Birthday Celebration, visitors from all over New Zealand converge on Ratana Pa and contingents are welcomed onto the marae during powhiri. Each contingent is formally recognized and represented by a spokesperson who speaks on behalf of the group. Following each speech, people who identify with the speaker's words and his group will rise to sing in support. The songs are chosen from a repertoire known by the people associated with that speaker. The type of song and the manner of delivery may also be strongly associated with that group. Typically, speeches consist of whaikorero and include various chants that are both formal and formulaic. These are used to identify the speaker, and his (the speakers are usually male) group, to acknowledge the home people and the occasion. There is some variation in the formulas used for different types of chants, but generally they are solo declamations that resemble recitative in that the rhythms are derived from speech patterns, and pitches don't vary a great deal. Supporting songs or waiata generally have Māori lyrics and take heterophonic form; however, they vary a great deal in terms of what might be called "tunefulness," from Western "ditties" to monotone chants. Some of these forms are explored in greater detail below.

In the context of the Birthday Celebration, when there are literally hundreds of visitors in several groups, the support songs tend to be short versions — usually one or two choruses — of longer tunes. Choice of songs (and the parts to be included) is generally relevant to the overall context of the proceedings as well as the moment in time when they are sung. Multiple identifications are not unusual and it is not uncommon for people to rise in support of more than one group.

The manuhiri (visitors) are escorted onto the paepae by Ratana brass bands. The bands are chosen from among the seven regional brass bands and assigned in rotation according to a set duty roster. On the day of the Birthday Celebration I witnessed in January 2006, the band was a combination (due to a light attendance by members of individual bands) of the Tuahine, Hamuera, Ratana Tuatoru, and Te Whaia Tekatoa bands and, for the Governor General's party (*rōpu*), led by Isaac Webster, who is the drum major for the Te Reo Matua Hine band.

The piece they play as they escort the manuhiri is the Ratana March, composed by Tom Gray, a contemporary of T.W. Ratana and a member of the Wanganui Garrison Brass Band. Manny Abraham, 2006 leader of the massed Ratana Brass Bands (and Ruia Aperahama's older brother⁴⁸) says: "Every time we march people onto the marae, we always march them on [with] the Ratana March — anybody, whether it's the Queen, whatever...."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Aperahama is the Māorization of "Abraham."

⁴⁹ Manny Abraham interviewed by H. Anderson, 2/27/2006.

Speeches: Tangata Whenua and Manuhiri

After the visitors are marched onto the paepae and seated, the formal speeches (whaikorero) begin. The proceedings are conducted almost entirely in Māori and for those Pakeha dignitaries who aren't Māori-speakers, usually someone in their delegation or who is associated in some way with their group will translate and sometimes will speak for them.

The people of the Ratana community are the tangata whenua (home people), and therefore set the context. The performances by the tangata whenua reflect and embody basic tenets of the Ratana community including pantribalism, unity, spirituality, progressive adaptation, and inclusion of Western and Māori arts and technologies, et cetera. All of the performances, including those of the manuhiri, reflect these themes as a tacitly agreed agenda.

Ratana (Tangata Whenua)

Ruia Aperahama delivered the welcoming speech (mihi) to the party of the Governor General Dame Silvia Cartwright. At the conclusion of the karanga, after the manuhiri were seated, Aperahama stepped forward onto the paepae in front of the covered reviewing stand where the Ratana tangata whenua were seated. His oration was delivered in Māori with the traditional flourish and gesture characteristic of whaikorero. Aperahama's voice boomed out over the paepae with no need for amplification in order to be heard above the ambient noise issuing from throngs of people along the sidelines.

Declaring that "The Governor General as the representative of the Crown — [is] the most important person to come to Ratana this year," Aperahama's whaikorero spoke of the rela-

tionship between Ratana and the Crown as a continued legacy of the kingitanga movement starting with Tawhia in 1884 and dating even further back to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and, even earlier, to the declaration of independence in 1835.

Following this speech, a group of the ten kuia rose on the tangata whenua side to sing “Kororia hareruia, Nga ihoa o nga mano, Te kahui ariki wairua, Ko te Mangai mai tau-toko mai” (“Glory halleluia, Jehova of the multitude, The Mangai⁵⁰ supports this noble spiritual flock”) to the tune of “My Bonnie Lies over the Ocean.” The song, well known throughout New Zealand as a Ratana anthem, responds to and supports Aperahama’s speech by situating Ratana relative to the government. The words refer to an amalgam of the Old Testament and Ratana’s prophecy by invoking Arepa, Omeka, Hamuera and Piri Wiri Tua as the four points of the compass and the four winds. It calls for unity and goes into greater detail when it refers to Ratana’s policies. The song is rendered at very slow, dirge-like tempo (approximately 64 beats or syllables per minute) with rubato phrasing based on (group) convergence on words with long held syllables and a relaxed breath between phrases. The effect is to transform the light doggerel of the English tune into something elegant and weighty.

Following Aperahama’s mihi to the Governor General, a guest speaker on the home side, Robert Te Hira — a registered apostle (*apotoro*)⁵¹ from the Palmerston area of North Island — spoke to add to the welcome. Following his speech the kuia rose and sang the

⁵⁰ The designation “Te Mangai” (“the Spokesperson”) is generally applied to the personage of T.W. Ratana within the community.

⁵¹ Registered apostles are an official designation of the Ratana Church.

third chorus of the Ratana hymn, “Tupono mai Nga Iwi nei” (“This Nation Arrived Unexpectedly”) (see below and Figure 12).

Kua whanau nei he Mangai
Hei kaiarahi;
Hei ora mo te ao katoa
Te Ture Wairua.

A speaker was born
Who will be a leader;
There will be salvation for the
whole world:
The law of the spirit.⁵²



Figure 12. Transcription of the 3rd chorus of “Tupono mai Nga Iwi nei.”

This music followed a similar pattern to “Kororia Hareruia”: it was characterized by a slow quasi-rubato, with held syllables and room for breathing and the (heterophonic) convergence of multiple voices.

Ruia Aperahama notes that many of the supporting songs sung by Ratana members are hymns:

They use lots of hymns as supporting speeches because they are reflective of the teachings of Ratana, but [also] because they’re pantribal.... When [people] come from their tribal regions [these are songs] that they are all familiar with. ...They’re hymns, but they become like anthems. So when we travel around the country, when these songs are sung, people who are on the other side [at powhiri] in tribal regions get up and sing [and] we know they are Ratana.

I was able to observe the contrasts between Ratana and other styles repertoires in subsequent speeches.

⁵² My translation.

Whanganui Cleric and the Governor General — Manuhiri

The opening speeches were conducted in Māori. As the Governor General sat and listened, a younger man dressed in clerical attire translated for her. He was next to address the assemblage in Māori, on both his own behalf and that of the Governor General (see Figure 13).



Figure 13. Whanganui Anglican cleric, Turama Hawira, delivers whaikorero (note Governor General seated in background).

Although Ruia Aperahama didn't know the cleric's name,⁵³ he was able to discern essential clues to the speaker's identity from the style of his speech, his whaikorero and the songs sung in his support. Aperahama says he is from up the Whanganui River and speculates that he is likely to be a member of the Te Rangi family. Aperahama points out that his oration is in a particularly "archaic style" and that the cleric uses formulas like *karakia* and *tauparapara* that are rhythmic, repetitive, and intensely poetic:

⁵³ I later learned that his name was Turama Hawira, an Anglican celebrant from up the Whanganui and is associated with Ngati Rangi from that area.

Ka u, ka u ki uta, ka u, ka u ki tai ka u
 ki tenei whenua e tau,
 E pikipiki maunga tangaengae,
 E pikipiki kei uta tangaengae,
 Mo tenei tipua tangaengae,
 Mo tenei tauira tangaengae,
 Ka ō mai tangaengae,
 Mo tenei tipua tangaengae,

Mo tenei tauira tangaengae,
 Mo tenei tauhou tangaengae

I land, I strike into the interior, I land, I land onto the
 coast, I land
 Onto this land to settle
 Struggling to climb the mountain
 Struggling to climb to reach the interior
 This ancestral struggle yet to be finished
 The struggle continues here
 In order to honor the ancestors' struggle

In order to live up to the example of their struggle
 To meet the new challenge⁵⁴

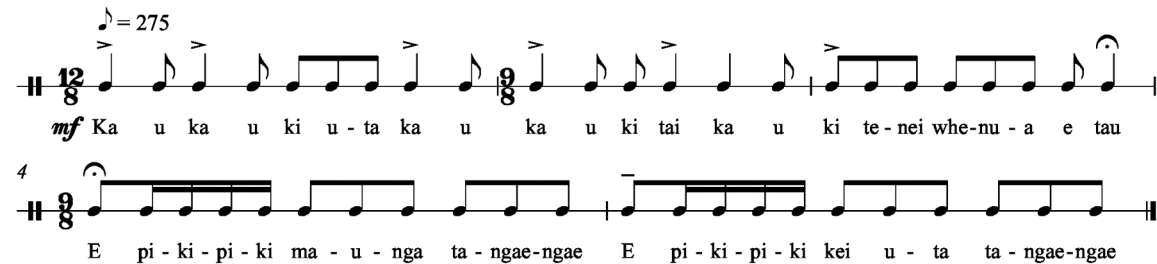


Figure 14. Transcription of “Te A U” (The Landing) excerpt.

Aperahama translated the pulsating quality and the music of his speech into English:

I land, I land, I land in towards the shoreline.
 Now I climb, I climb, I climb over the horizon.
 I climb, I climb, I climb over the hills.
 I climb to the place where the birthright has been buried.
 I now come to claim the birthright of that which has been buried upon the hilltops and
 upon the valleys.
 I now grasp and fetch the handle of the sacred prow upon my canoe.
 And there I focus my attention to the prow that cuts through the waves unto the horizon
 and to the burning sun of our origins.

At this point the speaker changed to the style of oratory called *huri nga tai* (“traversing the boundaries”). Raising his voice louder, he picked up on the messages in the tangata whenua oratory:

⁵⁴ Compare my subliterate translation, here, with Aperahama’s translation. A subliterate translation cannot capture the multiple meanings and senses that are inherent in the Māori version where words like “whenua” mean “land,” but also “birth,” “umbilical cord,” and hence “birthright,” et cetera.

...E rongō e whakairi e,

Ka ateatea te titiro o taku manu kotuku ki te whetu marama,
Koia ra e ahurei ana ki runga ki tenei te pa o nga ariki
Noreira e te iwi morehu mihi mai karanga mai,

Poua ki runga poua ki raro, poua ake tera te ture wairua
Tenei ahau e mihi atu ki (a) ratou ko nga Pou o te Haahi
Arepā, Omeka, Piriwiritua me Hamuera, otira e te Temepira, mihi mai, karanga.

Ka huri atu kia ratou kua wheturangitia,
Nga mate o te wa, o nanahi kua wheturangitia,
E tai e tai waho o Rehua e tai mimminga Tangata he tai mimminga aroha,
Noreria hoki ake nei au ki te timatatanga o Taranaki,
Koia ra te puao o te atuatatanga ki runga o te maunga kihai I nekeneke.
Ka mihi atu ki a ia te tauheke, nana I amo ake te kaupapa o te kotahitanga,
Noreria ko koe ra, e tama e Tame, Ko Kahurangi Tangata kei te mihi,

Whaia e au te piupitanga o toku tipuna, ko Horomatangi,
Ko te koriporipotanga mai ra o te kopua kanapanapa,
Papaa te whaitiri hikohiko te uira, ki ruga i te kotihitihi o Tongariro Maunga,
Te mamaeroa te ngaukino kei roto I te tau o te ate, mou ra e te whanunga, mou ra e te
Pihopa Takuira, moe mai ra.



Figure 15. Transcription of “Huri Nga Tai” (phrase).

Aperahama translated:

I acknowledge the spiritual legacy and the pillars of the church and the spiritual works of the Mangai — Arepā, Omeka, Piriwiritua, and Hamuera greet and welcome us.
I now turn and acknowledge those who have become like the stars and those who have made the long journey into the celestial world.
And just as we see the tides that crash and ebb and flow, so do we as humans in our life and existence for only but a brief time — we are here like the tides.
But once the tide crashes upon the rocks that will never move,
This, like our impact in the life that we have been given, each and every one of us.
Tuoro Matangi, my ancestor who had come with the sacred rod that made the sky flash
And then upon the summit of Tongariro that Tuoro Matangi made his mark — making an impact upon the rock and taking the opportunity in his life to make a difference.

At the conclusion to his declarative solo oratory, he began to sing. A group of the manuhiri rose to support his song (see Figure 16 and Figure 17). Notably the singers did not include the government officials who had accompanied the Governor General. The

song is of the genre known as *pao* and the timbre was characterized by ngao, the almost nasal quality of the “old style of singing.”

(excerpted)

...ki runga ki nga iwi,
E hau papaki ē, ka maaranga I te whenua
He aroha he aroha,
Whakatinanatia,
Nga kupu tohutohu i waihotia iho
Hei whakawaewae ki te motu nei ē

♩ = 160

mp ki ru - nga ki - i nga i - wi E hau pa - pa - ki ka ma-ra-nga i te

10 whe - nu - a He a - ro - ha He a - ro - ha Wha - ka - ti - na - na - ti - a

20 Nga ku - pu to - hu - to - hu i wa - i - ho - ti - a i - ho

28 Hei wha - ka - wae - wae ki te mo - tu nei ē.

Figure 16. Transcription of “Pao” excerpt.

Following Hawira, the Governor General was afforded the rare honor of being invited to move from the manuhiri side to speak from the tangata whenua side. Dame Cartwright then delivered a short written speech in halting Māori followed by an equally short English version. Her talk was primarily an acknowledgement of the occasion. She expressed gratitude to the Ratana Church. Apologizing for her Māori, she talked about growing up in Dunedin far removed from Māoritanga. She went on to talk about the increasing presence and importance of Māori language and culture to New Zealand culture in general.



Figure 17. Manuhiri sing supporting waiata.

When she sat down again (now on the tangata whenua side), following the Ratana kawē (local custom), a group of the manuhiri rose to sing in support of her speech. This time the group included various government officials who accompanied the Governor General to Ratana.

They sang:

Ma wai ra e taurima
Te marae i waho nei?
Ma te tika, ma te pono
nei te aroha e

Tau tahi tau rua
e kore e koe wareware
ka piri mai ko te aroha
Hei hoa haere e

Who will cherish and care for our
marae now?
Who but justice, truth
and especially love?

One year, two years — you will
not be forgotten
For love will cleave to this place
As a companion unto the future⁵⁵

⁵⁵ My translation.

♩ = 64

Ma wa-i ra e tau-ri-ma te ma-rae i wa-ho nei.
Ta - u ta hi ta - u ru - a e ko-re e koe wa-re-wa - re

Ma te ti-ka ma te po-no nei te a ro-ha e.
Ka pi-ri mai ko te a-ro-ha hei ko-a ha - e-re e.

Figure 18. Transcription of “Ma Wai Ra.”

According to Ruia Aperahama, this song, “Ma Wai Ra,” is appropriate because it is well known throughout New Zealand:

That song is usually used and engaged with by people in [government] ministries and departments. Songs like Po Karekare Ana and Ma Wai Ra are very common and known throughout Pakeha communities. As Pakeha people, the entourage and the staff may not have been familiar with other songs appropriate — that one being familiar to them...its still appropriate.⁵⁶

The selection of verses is appropriate because the sentiments expressed are an affective appeal to a general audience, one that is (or would be) invested in place-oriented heritage.⁵⁷ As such, the song appeals to a cross-cultural New Zealand national audience and it is appropriate both in the context of the Crown, with its responsibility to promote the common weal and common heritage, and also within the context of the Ratana Birthday where diverse groups come together.

The order of the speeches and the content was particularly interesting. At the beginning of the ceremony, all of the opening oratory was directed to the Governor General, which

⁵⁶ Ruia Aperahama phone interview, H. Anderson, 3/9/2007.

⁵⁷ New Zealand Folksong website describes it as “a Ngati Porou lament sung at tangi. The “Ma Wai Ra” verse is also sung at policy-making hui as a reminder to put personal motives aside.” http://folksong.org.nz/ma_wai_ra/index.html, 3/17/2008.

the young cleric translated for her. And when the cleric rose to speak, it was natural to assume that his oratory would be on the Governor General's behalf, but instead its content, while general in affective content (birthright, striving, landing, and settling), was very specific in style and manner of delivery to his regional and kinship group.

The content of the cleric's oration was not inappropriate, but neither was it in any sense subordinate or particularly deferential to the status of the Governor General. The cleric's speech was masterful — it derived power from its ancient tone and the support he received from members of his group as they stood to sing.

But mastery of Māori language, protocols, and the cleric's performative skill in whaikorero enabled him to a particular status in the context of the powhiri — that it was appropriate for him to precede her. During the cleric's speech, no one translated for the Governor General — she had no clue as to what was being said. (When she did rise to speak, following the cleric, Dame Sylvia acknowledged that she did not understand Māori language even as she attempted to read a pre-written speech in Māori.)

The upshot is that the cleric's mastery of the performative tradition allowed him a place and a voice in the institutional context of the Ratana Birthday Celebration that rivaled the prominence of that of the Governor General, the representative of the Crown who was acknowledged as an eminence.

In subsequent ceremonies involving Helen Clark, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and Don Brash, the leader of the opposition National Party, and various iwi from around the country, similar commentaries and scenarios of status played out in musical repertoires and performance.

This section has been focused on how music, oratory, and performance may be used to represent group identities as they articulate in proximity in the contemporary and historical Māori institutional context of Ratana Pa. In the next chapter I will examine Taonga Pūoro as a bicultural phenomenon and a symbolic entity with meanings and manifestations that vary between groups and that can be parsed as evidence of both dis- and conjunctive worldviews and intersecting or overlapping (or not) repertoires.

Chapter Summary

The focus of this chapter has been the representation of a series of performances at Ratana Pa, a cultural space that is fundamentally Māori in the sense that the “rules” (tikanga) for proper behavior, “ownership” of the ground (and even the meaning of “ownership”), and all of the other elements of propriety and context are dictated by Māori. Most importantly, the criteria for determining value and order, precedence and relative “worth” of individuals are “locally” determined.

The Background section to this ethnography is told in the third person and is presented as matters of historical “fact” as determined primarily by written records. In this section I expose my premise that the Ratana Movement represents a “bottom-up” synthesis of Māori and European cultures that has been particularly effective at allowing Māori people to retain significant elements of their cultural identities even as they accommodated and even embraced some aspects of European culture. I say that music plays a central role in this process.

In the second half of this chapter, “Field Narratives,” my voice is foregrounded in sections where I present a series of commentaries as I report my first person experiences in

the course of my research and in interaction with people at and around the site. In the field, I found myself physically and affectively (that is to say, viscerally) situated in a cultural space where the rules for being and doing rested with my hosts.

Several salient features of Māori situatedness at Ratana Pa are reflected in these narratives. The physical layout is reflective of communality. Even the architecture of some of the church buildings tells an inclusive story of Māori and Pakeha as co-equal (or not) immigrants, and there is a democratic undercurrent of empowerment and affective engagement among ordinary people, whereby they are prone to spontaneous expressions of ownership and belonging.

Following commentaries relating my initial trip to Ratana in 2005, I introduce a principle character in my story, Ruia Aperahama, who serves as the narrator of a story within a story. I take Aperahama's as an authentic and authoritative testimony. And I take his testimony as an index, both into Māori musical situatedness in general and to my textual rendering of the performances I witnessed at Ratana Pa. Aperahama's narrative establishes music's essential role at Ratana.

The chapter finishes with an ethnography of the annual Birthday Celebration at Ratana with particular attention given to the powhiri ritual of welcome. This ethnography, informed by Aperahama's continuing commentary, exposes several features of Māori cultural repertoires and interactions between Māori and Pakeha in a Māori-determined space. These sections explore particulars of the use of music and other symbolic repertoires in interactions between cultural groups, including how such repertoires and symbols may be interpreted and used to determine value. There is a special focus on inter-

actions that I witnessed between groups representing Ratana and other Māori, and the Crown in the person of Dame Sylvia Cartwright, the Governor General of New Zealand at the time of my fieldwork in 2006.

Chapter 4

Taonga Pūoro Encounters

Taonga Pūoro,¹ “singing treasures” or “treasures of sound,” is the metonymic term for Māori musical instruments and a movement associated with the recovery of the “lost arts” of making and playing these instruments. It is a complex phenomenon that presents as a range of multi-dimensional and highly reflexive (and frequently contested) cultural views and flows — from past to present (and present to past, as “history” and tradition are rewritten in the present), Māori to Pakeha, Pakeha to Māori, rural to urban, et cetera. This ethnography takes an interactionist approach to exploring the symbolic construction of meanings of Taonga Pūoro for different groups.

I have encountered the Taonga Pūoro movement across several sites and have engaged with people involved with traditional Māori instruments in a range of circumstances. Most commonly, these instruments were used to establish connections and to discover and build identities. This ethnography deals with two main perspectives: traditionalist Māori views of taonga and *tikanga* (“correctness” or “correct behavior”) as locality-oriented phenomena, defined and “owned” by Māori; and Taonga Pūoro as a “lost” art to be salvaged in the public domain by agents operating in a more national and global

¹ N.B., In my discussion of Taonga Pūoro I distinguish between the instruments and the movement by using lower case (“taonga pūoro”) to indicate the instruments, and by treating the movement as a proper noun and using upper case (“Taonga Pūoro”).

context. In a dialectical motion, these domains (as thesis and antithesis) interact to produce a synthesis, which may be seen to manifest as a “new” genre of musical performance.

Prior to the 1980s, the practice of instrumental music by New Zealand Māori was largely written off as an early casualty of European colonialism. The resurgence of Taonga Pūoro as a movement since that time is largely attributed to the efforts of Richard Nunns (a retired English teacher and musician), Hirini Melbourne (a Māori musician and composer who was adept in Te Reo and tikanga) and Brian Flintoff (a Pakeha carver). Flintoff, a master carver, facilitated the process by making new instruments based upon instruments held in museum collections and historical descriptions of the instruments.² He fine-tuned his instruments in collaboration with Richard Nunns, who “tested” the instruments for playability. Melbourne’s Māori language skills, knowledge of tikanga, and reputation as a musician lent cultural cachet to their efforts and facilitated access to traditional sites. Nunns and Melbourne traveled around New Zealand to various marae seeking people who had knowledge of the instruments and convening *hui* (gatherings) and *wananga* (workshops and master classes — literally a “forum”) where they gathered and shared existing stories and local knowledge about the instruments and promoted recovery efforts. Complementary movements for recovery of Māori language and a general renaissance movement for Māori arts and culture also reinforced Māori interest in taonga pūoro and helped to create a receptive environment for these activities. In subsequent years (until Melbourne’s death in 2003), Nunns and Melbourne conducted increasing

² See Best 1925; Oldman 1946; et cetera.

numbers of performances around New Zealand and internationally, and in the process raised the profile of Taonga Pūoro among New Zealand's general populace.

The popular success of this movement may in large part be attributed to the interaction between Pakehas Nunns and Flintoff, and Melbourne, a Māori. The backgrounds of these putative progenitors of the movement can be seen to represent different, but potentially complementary, contemporary ways of being and knowing: the Europeans — Nunns and Flintoff — initially accessed Taonga Pūoro through a “fixed” record — via material culture, literature, and “history” — whereas Melbourne, fluent in Māori and the ways of the marae, utilized an approach strongly rooted in the oral, flexible side of knowledge and which allowed access to the living record.

Taonga Pūoro Narratives

In this section I examine narratives about the significance of various participants. Hirini Melbourne's contribution to the Taonga Pūoro movement is seen as paramount by many, particularly among Māori.

Hirini Melbourne

In the context of Taonga Pūoro as a “revival” associated with parallel efforts to revitalize Māori language and culture and to address claims and redress grievances based on recognition and interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi, the significance of taonga pūoro as an interactive symbol is closely tied to how people perceive Melbourne's role in the Taonga Pūoro movement.

A significant moment in the Taonga Pūoro movement was the establishment of the group *Haumanu* (literally “breath” or “song” (hau) of a “bird” (manu), but also meaning “reviv-

al”). Haumanu is essentially a collective of people — mostly Māori, but including pakeha. In the preface to his book, *Taonga Pūoro/Singing Treasures: The Musical Instruments of the Māori* (published shortly after Melbourne’s death in 2003), Brian Flintoff describes Haumanu as:

A loose-knit group of dedicated Māori music players and instrument makers which developed under the leadership of well-known composer and player, the late Dr. Hirini Melbourne (1950-2003). Hirini’s interest in traditional instruments had initially been stirred by looking at old examples lying silent in their museum cases. He mused sadly on their loneliness. What were the sounds they created? What stories were told about them? And would their music be heard by the coming generations? He set about finding the answers to these questions and subsequently drew together a number of people were already working on their revival, and others who also wished these treasures would sing again and were prepared to do something about it.³

Flintoff’s rhetorical tone imputes a heroic if not quasi-mythical quality to Melbourne’s contribution to the Taonga Pūoro movement. While he refers to Melbourne, Nunns, and himself as a “nucleus,” Flintoff’s narrative tends to deemphasize his and Richard Nunns’s status as “originators” of the movement in favor of Melbourne’s leadership of Haumanu going forward. Similarly, he seems to put forward participants order of entry into the collective as a matter of record, but not of relative importance:

The nucleus of Haumanu combined the complementary skills of Hirini, a musician and composer with an established status in both Māori and academic circles; Richard Nunns, as an accomplished flute player and multiskilled presenter; and myself as a craftsperson to make replicas of those treasures held safe in the museums. From a hui initiated in 1991 Hirini also drew together such people as Mauri Tirikātene, Rangīria Hedley, Tūpari Te Whata, Clem Mellish, Ranginui Keefe and Teepora Kūpenga, John Collins, Te Wārena Taua and Rewi Spragon, all with different areas of expertise but whose intention was to create a human resource that would foster the revival of the instruments. From these initial beginnings the Haumanu “flock” began to increase over time and those who have joined the ranks are Te Aue Davis, Joe Malcolm, Hemi te Wano, Rangi Kipa, Bernard Makaore, Pōtaka Taite, Aroha Yates-Smith, Warren Warbrick, Moana Maniapoto, Horomona Horo, Robin Slow, James Rickard and James Webster.⁴

³ Flintoff 2004: 7-8.

⁴ Ibid.

Indeed Flintoff is very careful in his language to clearly delineate an appropriate cultural space vis à vis taonga as Māori cultural treasures, Melbourne's intentions toward Māori, and Melbourne's mediant position between te ao Māori and the non-Māori world:

Hirini wished primarily to share this knowledge with his people of Ngai Tūhoe and other Māori, but he also recognised a similarity of human spirit in others and wanted everyone to respectfully share the gifts of his ancestors.⁵

Melbourne's status in Māori and academic circles accrued from his command of Māori language and the centrality of Te Reo to the contemporary Māori renaissance. John Moorfield, author of the Te Whanake series of Māori language books and teaching resources that are used widely in New Zealand to teach Māori as a "second language," speaks of Melbourne as a "repository":

In a society which is based on oral tradition, the contribution of those individuals who are vested by their society with significant knowledge of, and stature in the culture, is vital in the propagation of knowledge. These individuals, referred to as repositories play an important role in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the preservation of Māori as a living and taught language.

In the Māori world, people with a deep knowledge of their tribal culture, history and traditions and with fluency in the language are highly respected by their own tribe and Māori people in general. They are regarded as repositories of this knowledge.... To retain that knowledge for future generations is important. However, knowledge is passed on only if the person with the knowledge is confident that it will be used only in an appropriate manner, and for the benefit of the tribe or wider Māori community. Permission to publish some of this knowledge requires the confidence of people imparting the knowledge that it will benefit future generations of their people.

Music is an important part of most Māori gatherings and it is important that music is included in Māori language programmes as it helps the process of learning the language. When I developed the third book in the collection, *Te Māhuri*, Hirini Melbourne wrote the narrative about traditional Māori musical instruments. He also features on some of the Te Whanake videotapes discussing and playing the traditional instruments.

Hirini Melbourne died at the beginning of 2003 at the young age of fifty-two. A native speaker of Māori and an academic at the University of Waikato, he was the single most important leader and researcher in the revival of the use of traditional Māori musical instruments. His method of researching and reviving the playing of the forgotten traditional musical instruments is an excellent example of indigenous research. He led a

⁵ Flintoff 2004: 10.

group of dedicated Māori music players and instrument makers, called Haumanu. By researching the written sources about the instruments and gathering snippets of oral information from a variety of people and Māori communities, Hirini and others have been able to revive the making and playing of the instruments.

Hirini was a composer, singer and player of, initially the guitar, but later of the traditional instruments as well. He always composed and sang his songs in Māori in a style that appeals to both young and old. He began composing and singing his music in a popular modern style at a time when few were doing so in Māori. Compositions and music at that stage were mainly in the traditional Māori genre or in English. The lyrics of his compositions cover a range of topics, from songs about birds, insects and the natural environment to protest songs about the destruction of the environment and songs about, and using, the traditional instruments. Hirini was happy for me to use his recordings for the audio and videotaped materials of the *Te Whanake* series, and composed some songs specifically to complement the language topics in the collection.⁶

Several elements of Moorfield's narrative stand out: the degree of institutionalization among Māori of the concept of *tikanga* as proper behavior for dealing with knowledge and heritage, especially as regards an individual "repository's" obligations (including accountability to host communities — to both insiders and outsiders — *hapu*, *iwi* and *tauīwi*); the importance of music in Māori culture; the relationship between music and Māori language; and his emphasis on Melbourne as the "single most important leader and researcher" in the *Taonga Pūoro* movement.

Melbourne's leadership position and the contested aspects of *Taonga Pūoro* are less a matter of fact than of emphasis, and the construction of mattering maps that parse these differences as they play out interactively is a goal of this ethnography. Pakeha Richard Nunns's influence on the *Taonga Pūoro* movement is seen by many as co-equal to that of Hirini Melbourne.

⁶ Moorfield 2006: 107.

Richard Nunns — a Pakeha View of Taonga Pūoro

Richard Nunns⁷ was born at the end of WWII to a musical family. His father, grandfather, uncles and aunts were stalwarts of the English Brass Band tradition:

I grew up in a musical family in a sense that my father was one of nine, seven brothers and two sisters. They virtually became the Gisborne City Silver Brass Band, the English brass band — working class ethic.

Nunns talked about his early trumpet studies, “I was put on trumpet at age, oh about seven or eight, and had twenty, thirty years of brass.” But he rebelled against the brass band tradition, and his attraction for taonga pūoro is a stark contrast to his visceral rejection of that tradition:

I’m steeped in brass band stuff which genetically seems to move me every time hear a brass band — I actually can’t stand [it]. I can’t stand the ethos, I can’t stand the ethic, I can’t stand the concept.

His interest in taonga pūoro was presaged by a fascination with jazz. He was introduced to jazz while attending teachers training college and was enthralled. He eventually left university and set out — unsuccessfully — to become a professional jazz musician:

I starved and I had to take up a job in a foundry and I used to play a little at night. But I was playing an instrument that doesn’t really make money, trumpet playing of course, and I just wasn’t good enough.

He returned to teachers training college, this time to study flute:

I went to training college and I specialized in what they called a third-year music degree.⁸ [This] gave me the opportunity to learn an instrument completely for gratis which was in

⁷ Unless otherwise noted, quotes in this section are Richard Nunns interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/17/2006.

⁸ Until 1975, the British National Advisory Council for the Training and Supply of Teachers divided training for “specialist” music teachers into a five-tier system that New Zealand followed: “The university graduate, the graduate equivalent, the holder of specialist qualifications recognized for qualified teacher status, the individual who had followed the two-year training course followed by a third year of ‘supplementary’ training, and the ordinary two-year trained teacher.” Lynch 2003: 67.

fact flutes. So I'm doubling on a very difficult embouchure switch, but it's been my saving grace because my lips can do anything, can make a sound, I can do it.

Nunns's ability with both brass and flutes was to prove advantageous when it came to playing taonga pūoro.

After leaving training college, he played in various jazz and blues ensembles around New Zealand. He eventually wound up the Waikato region of the North Island where he was introduced to Te Ao Māori — the Māori world — while helping to build a marae:

I began teaching in the Waikato and I became involved in the building of a marae. That connected me with a way of being in this country that I never knew existed which was this world that was inhabited by the tāngata whenua, which is Māori. Which is not to say that I wanted to be Māori. I was attracted to another way of being in this country that's been here a lot longer than we have and I knew nothing whatsoever about it. So I brought an enormous curiosity to that and was welcomed to be a fellow journeyer in lots and lots of things.

Nunns's dates his early interest in Māori musical instruments by a clipping of a 1958 article that he still has:

I cut out an article and a page of photos of what were thought to be traditional instruments of the Māori, I would think from a collection here in Auckland. And the article saying "we think they're musical instruments, we don't know. They're very beautiful but we don't know what they sound like; nobody knows anything about them," and I still have the cuttings [from] 1958.

In the late 1970s, Nunns got together with Brian Flintoff who was already making instruments. Melbourne joined up with them a couple of years later. Nunns pointed out that Melbourne came on first as a "student" and that he was initially unable to play the instruments:

The first wānanga or workshop for the revival of the instruments...was held at Te Araroa in 1981-82. Hirini came as a student and made a *kōauau* and made a *pūtorino* and in his own words...he left "unable to play," also.

Nunns's narrative essentially casts himself, Flintoff and Melbourne as coequal. He talked about what each member brought to their synergistic relationship:

The three of us with Brian's manual skills and his lateral thinking ability to solve what seemed to be in some cases quite impossible acoustic conundrums, Hirini's enormous traditional knowledge and traditional background — his utter fluency in classical *reo*, his overflowing wellspring of musicianship....

We all brought very different things, sometimes slightly overlapping, we all brought very different things and nothing, well I don't think that the journey we have traveled would've taken place if we hadn't had that synergistic coalition of the three groupings of things. And ironically of course it's easy to see, one Māori, two Pakeha but that's the way of the new world.

Nunns talked about Melbourne's difficulties with coming to grips with taonga pūoro wind instruments, saying that Melbourne's skills were:

Guitar based mainly — nothing around the mouth. His learning job was really quite hard and anyone who knows wind playing would recognize it in his playing, that he was coming from behind the eight ball. It was all in his fingers, and it was all in his song forms that he had printed and the classical knowledge of Māoridom, the beautiful poetry that made his songs so memorable and continue to be so memorable.

In general Nunns situates himself at a vantage point outside of the Māori world. He does not want to “be Māori,” and the “reality” of his world is that Māori are outnumbered and that this is the norm, even in endeavors like reconstructing taonga pūoro that focus on Māori tradition. Indeed Nunns tends to speak of Māoritanga in general, nomothetic terms. This is particularly interesting in light of a typically idiographic orientation of traditional Māori, including Melbourne's “indigenous research” method.⁹

Nunns's insights and criticisms of European understanding and appreciation of Māori music and culture also bear a generalist orientation. Speaking of deficiencies in early commentaries, Nunns draws distinctions between European and indigenous perspectives:

⁹ See Moorfield above, also Rangiriia Hedley below.

In terms of music, [Europeans] could only measure it and assess it and observe and comment on it from their own perspective which was: music was an entertainment, music was a past-time, music was a recreation. Now in an indigenous community, music is a functional, societal given without which things do not happen. By that I mean conception, birth, healing, growth of plants, crops, making the world turn from winter to spring again. Everything is predicated on a musical form.

[To European ears] all these people seemed to be doing is singing endless and long, repetitive and often obscene lyrics that seemed on a monotone and they couldn't hear the nuances and so on.

Nunns often uses — one might say imposes — metaphors flowing from the language of contemporary information technology when he talks about taonga pūoro. Speaking of the loss of carved instruments, he likens them to a computer archive:

Not all, but most instruments were finely decorated — deeply [inscribed] and that isn't just pretty pictures. That's your archive — that's your "Windows file 1823." It's entirely your documentation and that is all gone. And now of course with such a break, we've got people who can only generally read those, the specificness [*sic*] of the information. The documentation is lost because we haven't got that connecting thread.

Nunns says that historically taonga pūoro were not used in public performance:

Of course the metaphor that I use about the use of the taonga is that they were in fact a "cell phone to the divine" — they were an enclosed activity; we think [they were] largely in use by the tohunga — they were part of his tool kit, a natural part of his tool kit. It wasn't exceptional, it was just what tohunga were trained to do. It was intimate and it was not about performance.

Extending the cell phone metaphor, he says that the way he and others are using taonga pūoro is "ironic":

[Using taonga pūoro in performance] is a huge irony...what I and others are doing today by gracing stages and recording some films and so on. They were not about performance...to large [audiences] at all. Really they created this fiber-optic cable, this connecting thread between te ira tāngata, the world that we can see, the temporal, and te ira Atua. And [taonga pūoro is] the thread between [the two]....

The "irony" that Nunns points does not seem to require reconciliation or rationalization — for him it would seem to be only a "reality" of the modern world, a preset condition that provides opportunities but does not demand closer examination. For Nunns, Taonga

Pūoro is a practical recovery — a salvage operation that requires reconstruction of instrument construction and playing technique by reverse engineering, based largely on still extant song forms, vocal forms that have survived as the “voice” of Māori people:

It is a recovery. We can only save, and we'll go from the arse end and bring it around the front. People say “how do you know?” and in actual fact to tell the truth, we can't. There is no living thread, there is no continuing thread. What we do [have], given that the missionaries couldn't haul the voice out — they could take away the instruments, they could take away a lot of stuff but you can't cut peoples voice boxes — you can't have a mute community. So the mōteatea forms — the song forms, the waiata — continued and still [do]. It's stronger in some areas than others. But what that meant for us is we have in fact a working template of melodic forms. [Some might say] there are only so many things you can do with these seemingly unsophisticated instruments. ...I would argue the reverse, [that] they are sophisticated vehicles for the song form for which they were created, but there are only a certain number of things you can do.

The lack of a “living thread” seems to leave a vacuum that is filled by the new practitioners. Melbourne's “indigenous research” and community responsibility is cast differently by Nunns. Nunns talked about a kind of community “audit” as an important aspect of their research method. For him this audit involves reading the reactions of people in response to the instruments, the stories, and the sounds (as performed by Nunns and Melbourne) as a measure of their correctness:

We are in constant audit [by] the community itself, which is not without fault because most or in fact all of the people we have spoken to grew up without hearing these [instruments]. They were only giving us fragments of knowledge from great grandparents and stuff, so how do they know? But we are in constant audit [with those] to whom these [instruments] belong or at least to whom the sound world belongs. And their tears, their emotion, their embracing tells us that we are in an ever-narrowing vector of probability.

This “audit” establishes the validity of the Taonga Pūoro movement — its “authenticity,” as it were, but does not necessarily maintain, establish, or even disestablish a proprietary relationship between the communities and the objects of the research. Indeed Nunns seems mute if not neutral on matters of cultural ownership or a community's investment or potential stake in Taonga Pūoro.

Clues to Nunns's stake emerge from his attitude to past researchers. He is both respectful and critical of Mervyn McLean's work:

We have very old-school workers like Mervyn Mclean who is very suspect about our work. Partly, I would have to say, it's because Mervyn's work is pioneering. There's no question that he's been a pioneer in the work he's done on songs and the work he's done on a whole bunch of things is absolutely pioneering. I take my hat off.

Nunns's criticism of McLean is centered around McLean's criticisms of Nunns vis à vis the validity of the application of "aesthetics" in creative (re-) constructions of the instruments, and the validity of Nunns's informants "memories" and their testimonies:

In terms of [McLean's] inability to be creative...he says things like "aesthetics aside." Well work with the taonga is totally about aesthetics. Also he claims that he spoke to everyone who knew everything about the instrument — and that's about four people. Well that's bullshit and we've shown that knowledge within an indigenous community is collective — it's collegial.

Nunns's references to "creativity" and "aesthetics" seem an indication of what he considers to be his input — where Nunns himself adds value — to taonga pūoro.

Another clue comes from the way in which Nunns derives authority — how he sees himself as a "repository," and how he goes about reconciling his own skepticism and assessing the validity of other people's testimony:

You will go to a session and run a presentation and then people will start. "Well what about [what] my people say" — and you know from what you've read that they're parroting Best.¹⁰ And somebody else will say, "Well in our area," and then suddenly the collectivity of it starts to flow and a weave comes up. Of course the other thing about indigenous knowledge is that it's malleable, that it's plastic. There's a way in which it molds and morphs. I would hold thirty or forty stories for kōauau, all of which are true for the group, family, valley, community, hapū, iwi that told you. If you can't learn to live with all the knowledges then, man, your life span, and your shelf-life within an indigenous community is severely limited. In fact it is to takahi a te mana ["trample on the pride" or "dignity"] of the people...which in fact is what universities do all the time, [saying] "well that sounds shonky." Then you do the synthetic thing and say, "Yeah, we think this is the right way." We have learned over time to accept with gratitude and hold on to everything you've got, no matter how off-the-wall one or two pieces might be,

¹⁰ Elsdon Best's accounts of Māori instruments. See Best 1925.

because in four or five years time it turns around and bites you in the bum because they were right.

While Nunns validates the testimony of people within the communities, he reacts against criticism from “students” that he feels are blocking his (and Flintoff’s) efforts, particularly since Hirini Melbourne’s death in 2003:

There are some very funny things that are happening that need talking about. We’ve got students, and you’re in contact with a lot of them — who in fact are becoming middle-ranked bureaucrats who are stifling funding wherever our names are involved (like Brian and myself) without the brokerage of Hirini. They are cutting us out of the loop for their own reasons. I can’t really find out the absolute why — but it flies in the face of his counseling.

Nunns invokes Melbourne as a source of his own authority or *mana* as he chastises people who may be reluctant to acknowledge Nunns’s authority and the appropriateness of him taking the leadership position in the Taonga Pūoro movement:

We are too small, we are too few and in fact he [Hirini] has said, “like it or not, we can’t know why the gift has passed over us” and been given to Richard — which is very flattering of him. But I can’t say why either. And also the knowledge that has been purveyed...is really only what Hirini and I and Brian have garnered.

Nunns wrestles with the criticism that he feels has been levied against him:

In one or two cases I’ve gently taken them straight on and ask, “What’s going on, why are you doing this?” And they won’t give me a straight answer or they won’t say. I know Horomona [Horo] and James [Webster] are constantly counseled to be careful of working with me and Brian. I can’t do anything other than what I do. I triple-think my way through, as you have to, in terms of sensitivity.

He casts his understanding in terms of his own construction of the nature of Māori culture:

I have my own thinking about the way in which Māori as a culture works, which is to constantly challenge and constantly test. The moment you think everything is sweet, you know that the next time there will be an eruption; there’ll be some explosion in front of you in a minefield that for Pākehā is totally undetectable. So if you don’t like it you get out. Otherwise you stay in there and somehow work with the explosions and the storms knowing that they are continual tests.

Nunns feels that he is the only person who is able to do what he does with taonga pūoro and that his “unique” ability affords him a certain status and a level of protection against his critics:

Without being *whakahīhi*, grandiose about one’s self, — I kind of [feel that] in a way, not withstanding what I’ve just been talking about — some of the dismaying things that do happen on occasions — [that] we are hugely respected and held [in esteem] elsewhere — is that I am kind of protected in a way. Because at the moment — and it is a sad and pathetic statement — at the moment I am the only one who can do what I can do. And while yes we teach and we work with people like Horomona and James who I think hugely highly of — they’re gonna be the keepers of the flame — purely by experiential, purely by age and possibly some skill, basically I’m the only one who can do the range of activities that I do.

He credits his success in creating a niche for himself with taonga pūoro to a variety of skills. Speaking of his retirement from teaching English for 36 years, he said:

Of course it’s given me a huge bunch of skills as well. ...I have a broad span of things that allow me to function within the world. I can do the academic thing, and that gets me into Europe and recompense — this small living thing that I’m trying to do. It means I can talk to many different peoples from four-year olds to academics. My earlier music experience means that I can slot into orchestral situations, it means I can slot into chamber music situations, it means that I can do R&B, means that I can do the traditional stuff, means that I can do what you heard last night, means that I can bloody stand in the Red Rose in London with Evan Parker and hold my own or go to New York and work with Marilyn Crispell. And all of these I cherish. It means that I can do the electronic stuff, it means I can do film stuff, it means that I’ve got this kaleidoscope of activity which means the phone is always going.

Nunns attributes his success to being in touch with New Zealand’s “sound world,” a concept that includes notions of music and musical instruments and which he feels that others, particularly Mervyn McLean may disdain:

Life is very rich and very full and it is entirely to do with being in touch with the sound world of this country and that’s part of how I see myself. ...We get [criticism] from people like Mervyn for including instruments or including sound makers or whatever it is they call them — God knows what the distinction is — [for] including sound makers into the canon of instruments. Whereas there might be a little leaf that’s tapped, something that’s flicked...or some technique that you do with your mouth, we consider that to be a part of the sound world and the traditional sound world of [this] country.

Nunns attributes the source of his authority to dreams. He cites a *kuia* (old woman) from Whangara to support the notion that valuable things (taonga) have a kind of life of their own, and that they in some sense choose how and when to emerge:

I was at Whangara getting a *moko* done [and] we were talking about the upsurge of moko and this kuia was sitting there saying, “I believe that things of value are never lost,” that in fact they submerge for a while, they go to sleep for a while and then, when the time is right, they in fact up-well and surge again. Then, looking very deliberately at me, [she says,] “Sometimes in very mysterious ways or in strange forms or whatever.”

He feels that knowledge of how the instruments should be held and played has come directly from his dreams:

I’ve known for a very long time — not traditional knowledge, not knowledge of how they were used in community, but in fact a practical knowledge of how they should be held and breathed in voice. Now that’s come to me in a series of literal dreams.

He is particularly antipathetic to being labeled “New Age,” and says that giving cogency to dreams is not a normal activity for Pakeha males:

It’s completely “bloody Nunns has gone bush,” stuff. “Nunns has gone completely over the top.” It’s not done for pākeha males to talk about dreams.

But he finds validation in the reception he has received from Māori “mentors” when he has explained himself in terms of his dreams:

Eventually I got brave enough — I was sitting with some mentors of mine, and that had come up and...[someone said], “Who taught you?” I said, “Well, taku mātauranga he haere ki te moemoeā” [“my knowledge came as I slept”]. That, in fact what, I know of how they should be held and played and caressed in the voice has come to me in a series of dreams. Now their reaction — this is what’s important, their reaction — “ahh,” and then back to the cards. ...There was a relief and a total acceptance of an information system. No other comment — back to the cards and back to the cup of tea. And that’s the only reason I tell that and that’s because I’ve been very leery of that kind of thing because people immediately put you into a New Age freako bag.

Ultimately Nunns derives authority by strategically positioning himself institutionally in more than one world. At various times he cites European academics, dreams, aesthetics,

Māori mentors, and Hirini Melbourne as sources of his authority and influence. This dynamic positioning and the inconsistency (if not cognitive dissonance) it implies would seem not atypical among Pakeha New Zealanders (see Chapter Two). Most notably, while he is certainly aware of the specific origins of taonga pūoro and their stories and Māori emphasis on matters of (specific) place and kinship, Nunns's narrative is general in scope and focus. I will further explore the institutional dimensions of this disposition in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Next I look at a contrasting view of Taonga Pūoro.

Rangiiria Hedley — A Māori Traditional View

I first met Rangiiria Hedley in 1999 when I was the Mozart Fellow in the Music Department at Otago University while she was resident in Otago's Māori Studies Department. Hedley and I were introduced by a mutual friend, Bernard Makoare, with whom I had toured a program on Māori and African American musics and culture the previous year. Both Hedley and Makoare had been members of the Haumanu group led by Hirini Melbourne for some time. I interviewed Hedley at my home in Auckland in April 2006, shortly before returning to the United States.

Rangiiria Hedley's¹¹ orientation to the Taonga Pūoro movement flows from a traditional, locally-based understanding that has been further developed, nurtured, and mediated in an academic environment. Her interest in Taonga Pūoro was born during the Māori renaissance movement of the 1970s and 1980s. For her, Taonga Pūoro is a natural part of

¹¹ Unless otherwise noted, quotes in this section are Rangiiria Hedley interviewed by H. Anderson, 4/24/2006.

a general resurgence and recovery of Māori language and culture. This renaissance has deep personal significance for Hedley — her first language was Māori, but she says Te Reo was suppressed at primary school:

Well I went to school...at a time when we weren't allowed to speak English. I can remember at this school, it was a rural school, Kuratau Māori School¹² it was called. Now it's just Kuratau School. When it was Kuratau Māori School, we were still speaking Māori. The teacher of the time, he absolutely forbade Māori in the school. ...When the kids who were older than us would say some things in Māori, we saw them getting the strap and so we just sort of flipped over.

The experience signaled an interruption in Hedley's Māori language development. However, after moving around, completing school and starting a family, Hedley returned to her home area and became an active participant in the Māori Language/Te Reo movement as a Kohanga Reo teacher. At the encouragement of her local community people at Papakai Marae, Hedley went on to obtain a Certificate of Māori Studies at Waikato University in 1987 and she subsequently enrolled in the inaugural Te Tohu Paetahi course, an intensive three-year program at the University of Waikato where students develop the "ability to converse, understand, read, and write in Māori and understand Māori protocol and culture."¹³ Four members of that first class, including Hedley, currently are lecturers at Waikato University in the Māori Studies Department.

Hedley traces her involvement with the Taonga Pūoro movement to an encounter with Hirini Melbourne at a 1984 hui on Māori language revitalization. She was familiar with Melbourne's lyrics and music dealing with Māori creation stories and the natural environment. "It was at the [Papakai Marae Kohanga Reo]," she says, "that we started

¹² Kuratau Māori School opened in October 1957. "A Māori School for New Farms at Kuratau," J. Crabbe, *Te Ao Hau*, No. 24 October 1958.

¹³ <http://www.waikato.ac.nz/smpd/programmes/tetohupaetahi.shtml>, 10/28/07.

playing these tapes of birds, trees and insects of Maui sung by Melbourne.” After a demonstration of taonga pūoro, Melbourne noticed her measuring his instruments:

He was watching me and he came over later and he goes, “Oh yeah are you interested in these?” And I go, “yeah” and he goes, “why?” I said, “I want an alternative to the guitar, you know, Kohanga Reo — we must have something traditional.”

Hedley talked to me about Melbourne’s language ability, knowledge of tikanga and his sensitivity were the key to eliciting (hidden) knowledge about the instruments from Māori who are known for a certain cultural reticence or reluctance to share cultural knowledge — frequently the subject matter of waiata, *moteatea* and Māori music in general — with outsiders.¹⁴ Using local variations of powhiri procedures, Hedley pointed out that knowledge of tikanga is acquired through lived experience:

It’s where you move around the country that you have to adopt something else, that’s the tikanga. So you go, you’re lining up at the gate to go onto the marae [this is a description of a powhiri] and you always hear the man at the back going, “Oh what’s this — is it *tautuutu*¹⁵ or is it *paekeke*?”¹⁶ which means do they speak first and then us or one on one. Is it the one on one or is it the line, the line.

¹⁴ Speaking of a reluctance on the part of Māori to “perform” their culture to outside audiences in “Sovereignty or the Art of Being Native,” Turner asks: “What if the subaltern native, rather than being unable to speak, was evidently disinclined to speak or to appear visible? Is more objective history only ever available to the extent that the native is prepared to perform him- or herself for others? The desire for greater historical self-consciousness, a more objective sense of world history or historical process, might be a reason for promoting the visibility of indigenous peoples alongside the phenomena of global or postmodern culture. Yet the fourth world of history, and the issue of sovereignty it raises, ensures that there is more at stake than visibility or knowledge for its own sake. Greater historical self-consciousness does not mean greater knowledge, but an awareness of other kinds of claims to know — the stakes of sovereignty, perhaps a reticence.” Turner 2002: 93.

¹⁵ Literally “reciprocity,” in the context of a powhiri, *tautuutu* refers to a locally applied convention (*kawe*) of alternating speakers with tangata whenua (“home person”) speaking first, followed by a manuhiri (“visitor”) speaker, et cetera.

¹⁶ All of the tangata whenua speakers go first, then the manuhiri.

In order to acquire a global feel for Māori customs, a would-be adept must travel and be alert to differences between local practices and remember the variations. Even though the conventions may be unusual or unexpected to someone not from that place:

You just respect it all and try and remember for the next time when in 20 years time you go back on to the same place and you say, “I remember coming here and you did this and that.” So this is how they knew what kind of tikanga there were.

These practices are garnered from direct experience of people and ancient, unbroken practice, not from academics:

It began way, way back, not at University you know [Laughter], not with early European writers either....It wasn't Ann Salmond and her book *Hui*¹⁷.... Hirini taught me that. Hirini taught me to be quiet — I mean I knew that anyway, you just shut up. But I watched him and he already knew what they were saying but he'd humbly sit there and say, “Oh yes, oh yeah.” Bringing out the instruments that he wasn't familiar with (because museums weren't either). So he'd take them to a hui and put it on the table, he'd have a little display of his...instruments and then he'd put that on the table. Then someone would come from somewhere around the country and say, “That's a such and such.” [That's how] he built up his [knowledge base].

Ultimately Melbourne's effectiveness was the result of his ability to recognize, interpret, and acknowledge the essentially oral and idiographic institutions that underlie Māori culture at large.

Issues of Place, Propriety and “Authority”

In general Māori processes of proper protocol — kaupapa — require a great deal of patience in order to resolve issues of authority and propriety (tikanga). Many Māori, including Hedley, feel that Melbourne's death signaled the loss of meticulous attention to matters of protocol and respect for local people and proper authority at Taonga Pūoro gatherings:

¹⁷ See Salmond 1975.

He never ever went in without being invited; he never took himself into a tribal area to have a hui unless he was sure that there was someone from that place who would take him. He would always come home to Waihi, he would always come into Tuwharetoa for hui; but he would never go for a swim in the lake or to the hot pools unless someone from there took him. You know, you get these guys now who bloody just go there and have a hui. That's what makes me sick. They go, "We are going to have a hui here because we want to and because it's beautiful." And then they get the wrong person, the person who they say is supposed to be from there who says, "Oh yeah I'm from that Marae." And they're not. Now these are the problems that we're having now that Hirini's gone.

For Hedley, taonga pūoro — consistent with the definition of taonga as treasures belonging the Māori people (see Figure 1, Hedley playing one of these lost treasures, the pūtōrino), and as set out in the Treaty of Waitangi — belong to some local group, and the decision to share those taonga is to be determined by those people. Practically speaking, this means that researchers must accept that some groups will not submit to a standardized process of discovery:

For those of us who choose not to have as many hui as has been had, we're trying to find a way — yes, there's a way for us. Hirini showed us. Hirini led us. These [instrumental voices] are what's missing in our iwi. These are the voices that have been lost, these are the voices that we're reviving, these are the voices that our old people were familiar with.... That's what he showed us. His singing was another piece of [this].... But to bring the life back into what was lost, instruments that we lost, he was saying to us that there's something in *your* tribe that you haven't found. Go and look for it. ...You [don't] have to share it, just share it if you want to, and keep some for yourself.

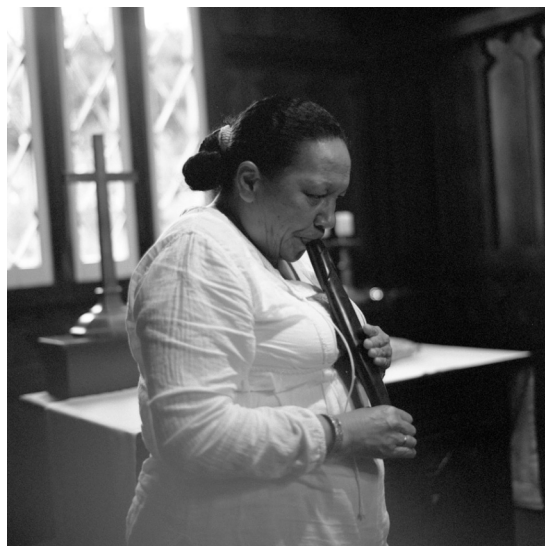


Figure 1. Rangiora Hedley plays pūtōrino.

As I have already noted, the concept of retaining cultural property is implicit in the term taonga, particularly as it is used in the Treaty of Waitangi.¹⁸ Retention of waiata and resistance to their redistribution (and the resulting possibility of their loss or extinction) is evident in earlier ethnographies. Mervyn McLean describes encountering a Māori belief he calls the “empty barrel”:

Songs were thought of as if they were physical objects or pieces of material property which, once given away, were gone. ...As each song was transferred to its new owner, the contents of the barrel shrank closer to the bottom. So long as there were still some songs in the barrel, it seems all was well, but when the last one was given away the barrel was completely empty and could not be refilled.¹⁹

In order to be “safe,” a person acting on another’s tribal ground must seek guidance from someone who is of that place. Hedley talked about seeking local authority for an upcoming Māori New Year celebration at the Auckland War Memorial Museum:

We’ve got a Matariki [Māori New Year²⁰] celebration up in Auckland Museum because I’m working there. ...Bernard [Makoare] is from Ngati Whatua, that’s the Mana whenua [customary authority of an iwi or a hapu in a specific area] aye, Ngati Whatua...and Tainui.²¹ So when they ask me to do stuff, I have to ask Bernard because *nōna te whenua* [“It’s his land” or “turf”]. It keeps me safe, and that’s all it is, all about being safe. You can go around the country and do this and that, but you gotta be safe and that’s what Hirini did. He did that all the time. Heaps of times he’d come and he’d go, “You going to take me for a swim in your swimming pool?” He meant [Lake] Taupo.

¹⁸ See Chapter Two.

¹⁹ McLean 2004: 72-73.

²⁰ Māori New Year is marked by the first new moon following the rise of the constellation (the Pleiades or the Seven Sisters) of the same name. Matariki rises at the end of May and the new moon usually follows in early June.

²¹ These are the two main iwi associated with the Auckland area.

The concept of cultural safety flows from the need for Māori to manage encounters between groups. Indeed the purpose of rituals like powhiri is to maintain balance (*ea*) and reciprocity (*utu*) in such encounters.²²

Hedley bases her understanding of taonga pūoro on Māori language and customs in general. She feels there is a tension between traditional and contemporary understandings of the term “taonga pūoro” and that contemporary usage sometimes reverses the instruments’ traditional role:

Taonga pūoro is “traditional Māori musical instruments.” I think it’s not a very good translation: pūoro, as [in] “pu” and “oro.”...If I clap my hands, there’s two things coming together that produce sound [claps her hands] and that’s the clap. So the source — the pū — is my hands and the oro is the sound that it gives off. Now taonga pūoro — with the pūtorino²³ is the treasured voice of the torino. ...That’s the translation of taonga — something that’s treasured. You blow it, that’s the voice of the instrument. The spiritual thing of the instrument is what the player plays and where it takes the listener.

Today it appears that taonga pūoro are for entertainment, things to sing with, things to relax with. That’s fine — you’re getting there when it makes you relax. [But] they had an integral part to play in the community first — entertainment was the least [of it]. But today it’s flipped over. For instance...the *pūtātara* in the Ko Tawa exhibition,²⁴ whose name is Te Awa o te Atua. The shell was found by Tuwharetoa (the man) at a beach in Matata at a place called Te Awa o Te Atua [The river of the God].... It was where they had the big catastrophe in Matata and the land gave way and it flooded and wasted a lot of the houses there and the community was in disarray.... Now [Tuwharetoa] found the shell there, he made a mouthpiece and it was used. Over time, it made its way inland [and it came to be] held by the Te Heuheu family. Then when Gilbert Mair was making his rounds around the country, that was the most treasured thing for Ngāti Tuwharetoa [the tribe or “iwi”]. Now that pūtātara was blown when the first [child of a chief was] born... And [it was blown] when he died, when there were hui on the marae — it was kind of like a Morse code. That’s what it was used for. Today you see it on the stage, [during] kapa haka [performances], or you hear it on CDs because it’s got this mysterious voice.

²² See Mead 2003.

²³ A carved wooden instrument that has multiple voices and playing techniques — comparable to both a flute and a trumpet.

²⁴ The Ko Tawa Exhibition is a collection of Māori artifacts that were originally collected by Captain Gilbert Mair, who traveled widely throughout North Island New Zealand as a representative of the Crown during and subsequent to the Land Wars from 1865 until his death in 1923. His collection of taonga is held at the Auckland War Memorial Museum and, after extensive negotiation with the originating iwi of the taonga, was toured in New Zealand and Australia beginning in 2006. See Tapsell 2006.

Even though she employs the same “morse code” metaphor as Nunns, Hedley’s narrative stresses connections between the artifact, its place, its original owners, and how they used it. She is dubious about the appropriation of the taonga by outsiders and Hedley noted the exotic appeal of taonga pūoro and their potential for exploitation for “World Music”:

The other thing about taonga pūoro is that we’re the last of the indigenous peoples whose things weren’t used overseas and they seem to want to tap into that source — that sound source.

Speaking of Māori participation in the Taonga Pūoro movement and its origins, Hedley talked about a hui (“gathering”) convened by Joe Malcolm (“Koauau Joe”) at Te Kaha on the East Coast of the North Island.

I always make this point: if it wasn’t for Joe Malcolm at that time to begin the revival of Taonga Pūoro, it may have started later. Joe Malcolm started all those many years ago.... Uncle Joe is a Te Arawa man, a Te Arawa kaumatua [“elder”], advanced in his years. ...He’d be over 70 I’d say. There was a hui that he was holding in Te Kaha — you would’ve heard about that, way back in the 70s — and Hirini heard about it. Of course Richard Nunns and Brian Flintoff heard about it...and they met there.²⁵ And so it was Joe Malcolm that began [the movement]...because he loved the koauau. He still does.... Then Syd [“Hirini” is the Māorized form of Sydney] and Richard hooked up and then [Hirini] realized Brian [Flintoff] was a carver and he thought, “Oh yeah, ka pai this” [“this is good.”] Now he had these two pakeha, [and he thought], “Where’s the Māoris?” And he went hunting. When I say hunting I mean over time he sussed everyone out like me.

Hedley emphasizes Māori sources — “Koauau Joe” Malcolm and Hirini Melbourne as the progenitors of the movement. This is in contrast to Richard Nunns, who has cited

²⁵ Hedley may have conflated two related events here. In 1973, Ngā Puna Waihangā, a national organization of Māori artists and writers, convened for the first time at Te Kaha. Several prominent Māori artists, including Hirini Melbourne, were in attendance. These artists and writers continue to be highly influential in the Māori renaissance movement. Another important hui for the Taonga Pūoro movement, was held at Te Araroa (about 50 miles from Te Kaha around the East Cape of New Zealand) in 1983. Joe Malcolm, Hirini Melbourne, Richard Nunns and Brian Flintoff were in attendance. While I have not been able to establish whether Joe Malcolm was in attendance at the 1973 gathering, it is clear that he was teaching koauau to groups of students at least as early as 1982. See Greenwood 1999: 54.

Malcolm as a source for Māori matauranga,²⁶ but doesn't emphasize his role as a player or in the development of the taonga pūoro movement.

Traditional Māori perspectives on recognition, authority, and authenticity generally refer to a different set of institutions than non-Māori or even Māori who have not been raised in traditional circumstances. Hedley also talked about the difficulties that urban Māori have with recognition, authority, and authenticity in a marae setting. Recognition and authority are derived from the community and require an individual to establish a history with a community. "Home" is defined by your relationships with *whanau* (family) and relations *in* the marae setting, but many urban Māori have not sufficiently developed these relationships:

For the urban guys, they are hardly home. It's like the fires have gone out, that's where the Ahi kā²⁷ thing is. You don't go home enough or your parents don't take you home and the people know the parents but they don't know the kids. Then you go home and they think you're a smart aleck and they won't listen to you — they refuse.

Academic and other qualifications are not a substitute for history on the marae:

I've had cousins come to me. [They] grew up in the city, in Christchurch and they said to me that they want to go home to Tuwharetoa because the *koro* [grandfather] is buried there. And I go, "Oh ok — good on you." And then he goes, "Yeah and I want to work on the trust board. I think we need to do this this and this." And I say, "Wait on boy — you go home and you work in the *wharekai* ["food house" — dining hall and kitchen] for two years first." He goes, "yeah?" I go, "Don't you open your mouth — they'll slam the door in your face. And don't be skiting about your BA and your MA either — you're nothing on the marae. That means nothing. You come here with a MA or a BA [and if] you can't provide a trout and a potato [then] get the hell out of it."

²⁶ See Nunns 2001.

²⁷ Ahi kā — "burning fire" — refers to a political movement for Māori land rights and refers specifically to continuous occupation (ahi kā roa — "long-burning fire" or ancestral right) of lands. Such fires were both symbolic and physical emblems of mana over the land. The ability to light fires, and so to prove strength of tenure, established rights to land. Where a group abandoned the land so that their fires died out and were not rekindled, such rights were disestablished. www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz 11/20/2007.

Relationships are ultimately developed by a person's actions in a community and recognition comes in a timeframe determined by that community. Hedley cited a whakatauki that sets out a fundamental Māori value:

“Kāre mo te kūmara e kōrero mo tōna ake reka.” It's not for the kumara to speak of his own sweetness — let someone else say it.

Hedley talked about Richard Nunns:

In the early days — when he was with Hirini and playing with Hirini — he was fantastic. He was absolutely marvelous. We just so took him with open arms because of where he stood — he was at the back all the time, he'd never speak out of turn, he would let Hirini do everything. He was a humble man.

Since Melbourne's death, Hedley reports that Nunns is now seen as positioning himself inappropriately by “elbowing his way to the front” after having “sat in the back” while Melbourne took the lead in Māori communities when the research was done.

Hedley talked about a basic difference in approach and playing style with Nunns:

I don't want to be too harsh to Richard because he's a musician in his own way. You press play, he plays. You press rewind, he'll go back and start again. Where as we can't because we're guided — I never play the same tune [twice], you know.... [If] they're going to make me play live, I've got to remember to have three [phrases] there and then one and two and [so] I write my own music sheet out, which will be just like these little knobby things — you know, how the land goes. You...sing the landscape.... For every instrument I pick up and I play, they [the instruments] choose the tune.... My students say, “Teach me to play that.” And I say, “No — you let yourself be guided.”

The process of “being guided” by the instrument is rooted in traditional narratives and Hedley conceives of the instruments in terms of their whakapapa. She described Maui and his brothers, the *atua* associated with the *kouaua*:

This hole in the front, his name is Maui Mua. This one here is Maui Roto, this one here is Maui Taha, (taha meaning “side”) — the taha that's closest to you the player. By manipulating these atua then you get the reo that you want. All you're doing is blowing. You manipulate these atua, they'll force [the sound] out. The hardest one to play is Maui Taha. Why? Because he's the first one to grasp the breath you know, he's right there.

“Stop, I’m not passing it on to you guys.” ...Real typical in the flute. And the one in the middle is the pacifier. ...He says, “Come on, let it come through.” So Maui Taha will play his note and Maui Roto, who will pass it on to Maui Mua, who’s impatient because he’s the one right at the end to push out the last one. He’s got the privilege of passing the tune on. Maui Taha, he’s got the privilege of grabbing the breath first. Maui Roto, well he keeps the peace. So it’s those things that are not done or not considered. Once the students know that, you see them go away and talk. It’s funny...they talk to these little finger holes.

She went on to tell the story of the “tradition of the bone” that the kouaua is made from:

Maui...had a brother-in-law who married his sister Hinauri — Irawaru was his name, he was an excellent man, whatever he did, he did well. Whatever he accomplished, he accomplished well, even better than Maui did. And Maui was all about Maui — he wanted to do everything, conquer the sun and so on. He wanted to accomplish all these feats and yet here was his brother-in-law, not trying and yet he was good at it. So Maui got *harawene* (jealous) and went out fishing with Irawaru, who was catching all these fish. So Maui drowned him — well, he tried to. And Irawaru said, “Hey bro, what’s the matter? You went home and you left me out at sea. I had to swim back.” Well Maui made up heaps of excuses. Then another day he says, “Come on let’s go out.” And he was still mad at him and he turned him into a dog out at sea. Hinauri and him were in love, totally in love. She ran down to the beach and out jumped this dog, jumping around her feet. ...And she said, “Maui Maui, where’s my husband?” And you know, there was this dog, “Au, au, au, au.” She realized what her brother had done and she went off and tried to commit suicide. (But she didn’t — she lived and ended up playing another instrument. And anyway so we’ll park Hinauri — she’s gone off to commit suicide.) The dog is still alive. Maui who was enraged [that he lost] his sister, blamed the dog. So he killed the dog, saying, “It’s because of you, she’s committed suicide.” ...[Then he] took the [dog’s] bone and turned it into a flute. So that’s that tradition. And Maui is the player — Maui Potiki. His three older brothers are the minders of the holes. And then you’ve got the one that’s the listener or the composer of song [who] was his older brother Maui Waho because he was the *kaea* [leader] of their group — their haka group — before Maui came along. So he’s the listener and the singer.

Hedley points out that in Western narratives (by Mervyn McLean and others) these stories are left out:

And so those traditions, where are they in the books? Nowhere. They talk about size and colour and texture and material and likened to this voice and they have one or two little stories but the traditions of those things or the stories [aren’t there].

Hedley talked about missing narratives and carving traditions in relation to constructing instruments. She feels that the stories of Māori carvers have been marginalized. She says, in describing [Pakeha carver] Brian Flintoff’s carving:

[It's] beautiful stuff — but that's a machine.... Those are missing — the traditional carvers.... I don't mean to say that Brian doesn't know anything, because he probably went and asked around and read up and all that kind of thing. But these traditional ones — you know where I'm coming from...in terms of my tikanga — that's where they would be too.

Speaking of Māori carver and taonga pūoro maker and player, Bernard Makoare, she says:

[He spits] on everything before he starts, you know. [He does] all these things that are unfamiliar to Pakeha eyes and understanding — we do those things.

Hedley's comments sum up a Māori traditionalist view. Her comments come from the perspective of a person who was born and raised in a marae environment and whose understanding is based on an emic experience. For urban Māori, much of what is “natural” for traditional Māori is learned later in life. In the next section, I examine the testimony of Horomona Horo, who was raised in an urban environment and who has sought rediscover his Māoriness through a variety of traditional and non-traditional means.

Horomona Horo

When I interviewed Horomona Horo, he was 27 years old. He was raised in an urban environment in rough circumstances and with little knowledge of Māoritanga. His interest in taonga pūoro has been an important factor in his rediscovery and reconstruction of his Māori roots and identity. Speaking of his tribal affiliations he says:

I'm from the tribes of Ngapuhi, Taranaki and Ngāti Porou. And I also affiliate to my Scottish heritage and Irish and Portuguese heritage.

He was born in Auckland and says he “was brought up a sub-urban youth militant.”

Experiencing taonga pūoro helped spark Horo's interest Māori language and led him to

enroll in the Te Ataarangi Māori language course — a community-based Māori language program based on a method developed in the 1970s by Katerina te Heikoko Mataira and Ngoingoi Pewhairangi to teach Māori to non-speaking Māori adults. The method stresses spoken language and the originators started by training native speakers of Māori to teach others. By emphasizing practical aspects of Māori use among native speakers, as opposed to taking an analytic “academic” approach based on constructing grammars, the Ataarangi method has become an important tool for revitalizing Māori language in a “traditional” form.²⁸ Horo is currently a youth co-ordinator and a primary school teacher at an immersion Māori School (“Kura Kaupapa Māori”), Te Kura o te Koutu, in the Rotorua area of the North Island and his involvement with Taonga Pūoro has resulted in a series of international performances. Horo described a difficult childhood and adolescence:

I was actually brought up going to fifteen different schools. When I was brought up, we were moving quite a lot. I didn’t really know my Māori heritage until I left school and that’s when I finished school, when I was about fifteen or so. [I left] school at fifteen [and I] had gone to fifteen schools [Laughter]. [It] wasn’t a great experience.

Horo talked about living a violent life and a personal crisis that led him to explore his Māori side:

I was living in...Rotorua and at that time, I was actually going down the wrong track of life — I never thought I’d make it to my 21st [birthday]. I was always hanging out with...the wrong crowd. It was when I...nearly killed someone that I realized. When I [did] it, I felt really good about myself because of the life I was leading at the time. When I...put someone in...intensive care unit in one of the hospitals and [I] watched — they were in there for quite a while. Something inside me — I didn’t know at the time what it was — it made me go home. And when I got home, I got a rude awakening, not so much physically but spiritually. A...whole heap of crazy things happened to me. And through that I ended up jumping on [enrolling in] a course in the Hokianga [that consisted of] a waka [“canoe”] voyage to all the marae in the Hokianga. Through that, I met quite a few people that are still close friends with me today. It was through their influences of showing me karakia Māori and respecting me in a sense of acknowledging me in Māori, helping me find out where I was from and basically giving me a sense of self-worthiness.

²⁸ <http://www.teataarangi.org.nz/about-te-ataarangi.html>, 11/24/2007.

Horo talked about what it meant to grow up in one place and then go back to the place that you are “from”: “I suppose like anyone, If you’re brought up away from home, once you go back, you have that feeling inside you that you know you’re from there ‘cause you can just feel something there.’” As he made connections with local Māori, he began to learn the language and this in turn led him to the kōauau, his first experience with ngā taonga pūoro:

I went up to Kaikohe — that’s where my family’s from. At the time, to me it was just a hick old town that had no self-worthiness. It’s quite funny how much of a difference Te Ao Māori can make it. [It was] something that blinded me through my own eyesight once I found that spiritual connection. It just totally, the whole visual sense had changed, had taken that mat away from my eyes. At the time I didn’t know how to speak Māori so I learnt to say, “Hello. How are you?” in Māori. And through that I met friends who had a kōauau sitting on top of their fireplace. I’d pick it up, try and play and I just couldn’t get it, so I’d chuck it on the floor. And pick it up later on and chuck outside the window...because I hated not getting a sound. The owner of that kōauau used to always moan at me and say, “Horomona, put the kōauau back when you use it. I always find it outside and on the floor!” It used to really annoy me and piss me off when I couldn’t get a sound out of this — it was a bone, a dog’s bone. And I was just so [frustrated at] how a bone with a hollow middle...could be so hard to create a sound. It took me a couple of months and I got my first sound [and I] just never left it and that was just that *kuri* [“dog”] kōauau.

Horo got involved with a local group for indigenous youth which led him to his first hearing of Hirini Melbourne and Richard Nunns and taonga pūoro on compact disk:

I got involved with those particular youth at the time, and I entered a group called Te Ohonga Ake [“the awakening”], which is a youth group up there which is connected to youth groups all around the world through the indigenous youth campaign and indigenous youth conferences. And through that I got to go to Holland the following year, in ’98. I went to Holland and we stayed in Amsterdam. ...We communicated and shared knowledge with other indigenous cultures from the Australian Aborigines to the [Mailuku] people of the Spice Islands. ...One of the other ambassadors of New Zealand...had taken over some CDs of Te Ku Te Whe of Hirini and Richard’s. And funnily enough, that was the first place I ever heard Taonga Pūoro being played on CD. I happened to be smack bang on the other side of the planet and it gave my inner-self that awakening again.

After his return to New Zealand from Holland, Horo sought to hear and learn more of taonga pūoro:

I actually went in and scored *Toiapiapi*, which is a book written by Hirini. It's one of his first books him and Richard [published]...showing pictures of Taonga Pūoro, the different meanings and knowledge that they had at that time."

The bilingual (English and Māori) text of *Toiapiapi* was important for Horo:

The good thing about Matua Hirini is with *Toiapiapi* one half of the book is all the songs and the stories in English and in Māori. And I couldn't understand Māori at the time so it gave me that spark in a sense.

Horo was counseled by his grandmother to keep his eyes open and immerse himself in the life of the marae in order to master the Māori language:

The youth that I was meeting could speak Māori and I couldn't. The more I hung out with them, the more I had to listen, the more I would ask my Nanny how I would learn Te Reo Māori. She basically told me to go to marae, sit down and shut up, listen, go do the dishes listen, go sit with the old people, listen. And yeah, at first I used to make quite a lot of mistakes and so I used to sit there quiet about it. But what I found out quite quickly, I suppose, was always challenge the knowledgeable and that's what I did because I learn best that way. I wasn't too well known in Te Ao Māori ["the Māori world"] in the education or modern Māori at the time. I was just a young *hori*²⁹ Māori boy who was trying to find his roots.

In 2001, Horo participated in a special section of the Rotorua Competition Society's Unison Concerto Competition where he met Hirini Melbourne and Richard Nunns for the first time:

In 2001 my two mentors — or to me, my two tohunga [who] had taught me, not through a physical form, but through their *wairua* [spirit] that I got from their CD and through their books and pictures — I got to meet them.... This was the first Unison Concerto that added a new competition...traditional Māori instruments. And it was Hirini Melbourne that implemented it into that competition. So Taonga Pūoro can continue the revival and be well-known not only to Māori but to other tribes of the world as well. I was just there to meet them. I jumped in the competition — not so much for the competition, [but]

²⁹ The term "hori" can be translated as "phony" or "fake" and is used colloquially, particularly by urban Māori as a self-deprecating term. Pakeha/Palagi use the term to say something or someone is rough or unsophisticated, i.e., "That family across the road whose house is looking paru ('shitty') are real horis."

because I wanted to just sit. Because I knew that the next day, after the competition, these two tohunga or mentors of mine, that I was going to meet [them and they] would lay all their instruments out on the table and teach me about it. And so I jumped in it and, funny enough, I ended up winning. They freaked out on me because I had a big humongous Afro and I was wearing nice attire, had a collar, had a nice long pants. And the funny thing is, they never thought as soon as they saw me that I'd play the way that I played. I thanked them for it because they made me realize...how much they had taught me without knowing.

Horo was deeply attracted to the instruments and he found in them a source of nurture and healing:

The next day I was [near] the instruments the whole day, giving them a *mirimiri* ["fondling" them] and giving them a massage, touching them, feeling them. Not playing them [but just] being around them and, I suppose, in one way or another I knew that was what I loved to do. And [their] stories that they said, not so much made me cry physically, but all the battles that I had been through — because...I had a bit of a violent upbringing in a lot of senses...in all realms of spirituality, mentalness [*sic*] as well as the physical side of things. And through all of that, Taonga Pūoro has given me that spiritual healing.... It took me years and years to get that spiritual aspect. And that's what I tell a lot of people — I never had that spiritual side, well not so much — it was always there but just dormant. And Taonga Pūoro opened that door for me.

For Horo, taonga pūoro is a metaphor for relationships and, by extension, for finding one's place in a community. He compared the various "families" of instruments to a village:

Each family of instruments — each had a purpose. In a village, you have...the families that are the fisherman you have the families that create all the baskets, you have the families that are the cooks and you have different families in the village like that. It's basically the same with taonga pūoro — you have the messengers which would be the *pūkaea* [and] the *pūtātara* to let people know "it's time for *kai* ["food"]" or "so and so just had a baby" or "whanau so and so just died." You also had flutes that were specific to love like the *kōauau* was an instrument of love. But not just love in finding your partner, but love showing respect of love to your mother or showing that respect of love to your family, to your children and playing those melodies through your *hau*, through your breath of life through the instrument in creating the sound which was the *rongo* ["medicine" or "healing agent"]. And you had families...like the *tumutumu*, you just pick it up and tap it against one another but it's all about the energy of the person. And the energy of the material that they're using whether stone, wood, bone. And it's that percussiveness that the body has — like we have percussiveness once we clap. That's a percussive instrument and we have a percussive instrument when we're clicking our [fingers]. Even just doing little taps that you might not even hear. But it's the drive that makes you do that action that creates that whole story of that spiritual, mental and physical [entity] creating that one essence. And it's how you do it, when you do it and what you're doing it for that creates that life force. That life force can mean something to

whoever is listening to that person. [It] can spark an idea or for others it sparks an awakening. For others it could spark a new beat for their own life.

Comparing the functions of taonga pūoro with more familiar traditional forms like *mōteatea* and waiata tangi (literally “wailing songs” — traditionally sung at funerals),

Horo said:

With each instrument, like with the *mōteatea*, [like] with the waiata tangi. They were instruments...that helped play the melodies of waiata tangi, that helped [the process]. What we hear in modern times — you hear that some instruments were back-up or were there just to help the tune go along. Whereas in Te Ao Māori, in traditional times it was never that — it was always having, like the more that was involved in it — not only the voice — but with the pūoro, it created another source. And at the end of the day it's like some instruments can play or can depict a kuia jumping up and doing a *karanga*. And that certain tangi [“cry” or “wail” — used here to mean “sound quality”] that only that kuia can get — when she's welcoming people on to a marae — only a kuia can ever get that. And you know when it's a kuia doing that. You get that. ...Even if you were blind, you would know. It's that spiritual aspect which all of these instruments can do in their own special little way. ...The good thing about all of them is they're interweaved and interconnected. Because the more I've learnt about pūoro, the more I've learnt about my language. The more I've learnt about my language, the more I've learnt about myself. The more I've learnt about myself, the more I learn about my children. The more I learn about my children, the more I learn about the love for my partner that I have, and it just creates that whole endless woven pattern that goes into the unknown.

One of the most interesting aspects of Horo's taonga pūoro narrative is that the bulk of it is in the third person and in the past tense: he speaks about what “they used to do.” His present day narrative is focused on language and extant waiata forms like waiata tangi and *karanga* and he stresses the connection between pūoro and language. What emerges is that Horo, an urban Māori who has been alienated from traditional Māori culture is using music and language as a way to invest himself in Māori culture. In the next section I will consider how Horo and others perform taonga pūoro in the present.

Performing Taonga Pūoro

Parihaka

The first Parihaka International Peace Festival brought a diverse audience and contemporary music performances into this historical setting and provided opportunities to observe interactions and intersections between modern global influences and institutions, and traditional local ones. Parihaka Pa, one of the oldest pantribal settlements, is an example of Māori historical situatedness. The fact that this was the first time that Parihaka Pa had been opened to the public on a large scale, coupled with the intention of the organizers to make it an ongoing event, makes this inaugural festival a compelling case study in its own right. My focus was on how the Taonga Pūoro movement, itself an intersection of tradition and modernity, manifested in performance at Parihaka.

I initially went to the Parihaka Festival in order to interview Pakeha taonga pūoro artist Richard Nunns. He was slated to perform there and the festival would also offer an opportunity to observe him workshop taonga pūoro along with various “students” that have gathered around him. I was particularly interested in observing him in a “mixed” festival setting where traditional and local contexts were likely to be juxtaposed with modernity. Nunns’s appearance was cancelled at the last minute, but I was able to observe and interview his students, Horomona Horo (see above) and Warren Warbrick, who refer to Nunns and Hirini Melbourne as “*matua*” (“parent” or “master”), who performed in his stead.

This case highlights the efforts of a younger generation of urban Māori as they use taonga pūoro and participation in the Taonga Pūoro movement to explore and construct their

own sense of Māoriness in contemporary circumstances, and also in order to establish themselves in relation to traditional Māori culture.

In the following sections I consider these juxtapositions between elements of traditional and contemporary performance at Parihaka Pa.

Parihaka Background

The first Parihaka International Peace Festival was held at Parihaka Pa, a Māori settlement in the shadow of Mount Taranaki, the extinct volcano that forms the western bulge of New Zealand's North Island. Parihaka Pa³⁰ was established in the latter half of the 19th century by Tohu Kakahi and Te Whiti o Rongomai who brought their communities together and led them in non-violent resistance to colonial land grabs. Parihaka went on to become one of the first pantribal Māori communities. Like T.W. Ratana, who was an inheritor of their tradition,³¹ they were prophets who had a vision for Māori people. The Parihaka International Peace Festival was organized in honor of Tohu and Te Whiti and their movement.

In the late 1870s, the community of Parihaka became a pantribal symbol of resistance as Māori from all over New Zealand flocked to Parihaka to replace people who were being arrested for removing fences and pulling up surveyors pegs in a non-violent effort to hinder the parceling of land by the colonial government. Te Whiti and Tohu maintained that, until land in the area was set aside for Māori as had been promised by the colonial government, passive resistance would continue. Finally in November 1881, colonial

³⁰ A *pa* is a strategically located settlement that is sometimes fortified with palisades and/or trenches.

³¹ Indeed Ratana is said to have been related to Te Whiti.

forces marched en masse on Parihaka Pa to suppress the movement — by that time Parihaka had become home to over 2,000 people — and both Te Whiti and Tohu and hundreds of their followers were imprisoned without due process. The leaders of the resistance, including Tohu and Te Whiti, were transported over a thousand miles away to the lower South Island where they were imprisoned for two years and at times forced to do hard labor. Meanwhile Parihaka Pa was destroyed and those who remained were left impoverished — a condition that persists to the present.

The Parihaka International Peace Festival is an outgrowth of an emerging narrative of New Zealand national identity that is being written in the arts. The story of Parihaka Pa and the injustices done there have been well documented in the historical record,³² but surged into New Zealand public consciousness in 2001 when an art exhibition, a book, and a compact disk music compilation titled “Parihaka: the Art of Passive Resistance”³³ brought together a group of major New Zealand poets, writers, musicians and visual artists to produce works acknowledging and celebrating Tohu and Te Whiti and the historic events at Parihaka. This work was undertaken because “Māori and Pākehā recognize that to move forward there is a need to confront and deal honestly with the past, no matter how painful and embittered that may be.”³⁴ And the artists who participated did so in order to construct a unified view of New Zealand national identity based on fairness: “There is a commitment in New Zealand to redress past grievances,

³² See Cowan 1922; Scott 1975; Belich 1986; King 2003; et cetera.

³³ Hohaia 2001.

³⁴ Ibid.: 14.

whatever that will take. We want it because it is fair. And we wish to look to a future with some hope of living together in peace and harmony, respect, and dignity.”³⁵

The emergence of Parihaka as a defining narrative of national identity had several important moments prior to the exhibition, including Dick Scott’s 1975 history of Parihaka, *Ask That Mountain*, and also a 1989 song, “I’ll Sing for You a Song of Parihaka,” by Tim Finn that may be seen as constructive of a New Zealand identity based on a shared history and overlapping genealogies:

One day you’ll know the truth,
 They can’t pull out the roots,
 Come and take me home,
 To weep for my lost brother.
 They gather still, the clouds of Taranaki,
 His children’s children wearing the white plume,
 So take me for the sins of these sad islands,
 The wave still breaks on the rock of Rouhotu.
 And when you taste the salt that’s on your pudding,
 And when you taste the sugar in your soup,
 Think of Te Whiti, he’ll never be defeated,
 Even at the darkest hour,
 His presence will remain.
 I’ll sing for you a song of Parihaka,
 Come to Parihaka,
 Weep for my lost brother.
 The spirit of nonviolence,
 Has come to fill the silence,
 Come to Parihaka.³⁶

The Parihaka International Peace Festival was literally and figuratively a response to Finn’s call to “Come to Parihaka.” Figuratively, the song suggests an affective movement — it invites the listener to “come” to Parihaka in the sense that a person might “come to an understanding.” This affective motion implies an internal change, an acceptance of a more complete history of New Zealand, and an investment in that history that will “fill

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Tim Finn 1989.

the silence” and in the process construct a unified notion of New Zealand identity where “brotherhood” implies a co-mingling of blood and history.

Parihaka International Peace Festival March 10-12, 2006

From the north, the route to Parihaka goes through the port town of New Plymouth. With a population of about 50,000, New Plymouth is the largest urban center in Taranaki, a region that historically has had agriculture as the basis for its economy. Urban development quickly gives way to rural vistas on the way to Oakura, a little suburb on the southern outskirts where I had booked accommodation for the weekend. Parihaka lies about 20 miles to the south and is about a 30-minute drive. Richard Nunns was slated to appear in performance on the festival’s main stage at 8:30 pm Saturday and there was a Taonga Pūoro workshop scheduled the next (Sunday) morning.

After unpacking, I drove south for my first glimpse of Parihaka Pa and the festival. My route goes south along Rte 45, “Surf Highway” through the little village of Pungarehu. At Parihaka Rd. I turned inland toward Mt. Taranaki, driving on a small, two-lane road with farmer’s paddocks on either side.

After the suppression of the resistance of Te Whiti and Tohu, Parihaka Pa’s population was decimated. Poor and bereft of their leaders, those who remained became a very private community. This festival is the first time that Parihaka Pa has been opened to the public on such a large scale and the event clearly represents massive local affective investment.

Parihaka (see Figure 2) sits in the foothills of Mt. Taranaki — called *te maunga titohea* (the “bald mountain”) by local Māori, presumably because its summit is well above the

tree line. The mountain looms in the distance. The layout of the festival is visible evidence of the meeting of two conceptual worlds in this place — the traditional world of Parihaka Pa lies adjacent to the modern world of the main festival stages. Crowds of people cross back and forth over the boundary and performances represent two-way flows between worlds.



Figure 2. Flags at the Parihaka International Peace Festival.

Field Journal — Friday, March 10, 2006

3:00 pm

As I settle into my accommodation, I unpack and phone Richard Nunns on his mobile to find out when he will arrive at the festival. He is irate — his performance at Parihaka has been summarily cancelled and he is still at his home in Nelson. He tells me that the festival organizers are pleading poverty as the reason for the cancellation — they don't want to pay him. He questions that financial expediency is the real cause of his exclusion, noting that more expensive popular music acts like Fat Freddy's Drop (a Wellington-based dub-reggae band) were charging a great deal more than he. He feels he is being "blocked by some people" although he doesn't name them specifically. He says that several of his (unpaid) "students," including James Webster and Horomona Horo, will be at the festival and that the Taonga Pūoro workshops and performances will go on without it him.

...

As I near the entrance to the festival site, I pull up behind a line of cars at a checkpoint where tickets (wristbands) are checked and people who aren't camping onsite are funneled into parking in the roadside paddocks nearest the entrance to the festival site. Volunteers are strategically stationed along the way — taking and selling tickets at the entrance and giving directions. The volunteers all seem to be Māori with a local

connection — there is a big range in age from young teens to people who look to be 60 or older. Most seem to be rural or urban poor — many are dressed in old clothes, and general exuberance and broad smiles reveal lots of missing teeth — but they are very welcoming and they seem to be both proud and proprietary of their place. The Māori word turangawaewae (“standing place” — where you choose to stand, where you belong) springs to my mind. Since I am not camping onsite, a volunteer waves me into a paddock that has been set aside for day parking.

A narrow, unpaved road (only wide enough for a single vehicle) into the site has been designated one-way for the festival and it runs counter clockwise in a u-shape through the site. Throngs of people flood into the campgrounds scoping out the best places (especially if there is rain), marking off spots and setting up their gear. On foot, towing my rolling pack with audio and video gear, I join an endless stream of vehicles and people. The road traverses rough ground with lots of ruts, gorse and a marshy stream. Along the side of the road there is a tractor that has obviously been used to grade and widen the rough-cut road. Parihaka maraes and private homes are adjacent (on the left) but unseen, screened from view behind hills and across a marshy stream, as the road snakes into the festival site. Camping areas in paddocks and on surrounding hills complete with blocks of mobile showers and toilets are the first sprawling evidence of habitation. After threading through the hilly camping areas, the staging areas come into view.

Most of the festival stages, marketplace, eating, and congregating areas are in a hilly area. This primary staging area occupies about two or three acres of land. There are roads leading into the area, but they are closed off to casual traffic. The through road curves off to the left and through Parihaka village on its way back to the main road. The path leading into the festival proper is bordered by a hill designated “Te Aomarama” (“the world of light”), with a set of multi-colored flags flying on top, on the left, and the main stage, “Te Atamira Nui,” (“the big stage”) is in front at the end of a long path, facing a large open area for the audience. Behind the audience is a hill with the image of a giant feather — a raukura, the symbol adapted by Te Whiti and Tohu’s followers as a sign of passive resistance to colonial power. To the right of Te Atamira Nui is a plateau which rises above the staging area below where the “Craft Village” marketplace and various food stalls and eating areas are. At opposite ends of the Craft Village there are a dance stage, “Rongomai,” (for Te Whiti o Rongomai, one of Parihaka’s two founders) and another stage set aside for poetry, comedy and music jam sessions.

These main festival areas have a “worldly” feel to them that is joined with an eclectic mix of popular, spiritual, and ecological themes. There are crowds of people including some families and lots of young people in their teens, twenties, and thirties. There is a very noticeable contingent of “new-age” types including white, twenty-somethings bearing dreadlocks, people erecting teepees and ecology-minded representatives of the New Zealand Green Party with tables and literature on Te Aomarama. (Indeed Nandor Tancos, a list MP for the Green Party known for his trademark dreadlocks, is slated to do “performance poetry” on Saturday evening).

The festival program says the purpose of the Te Aomarama site is “to create and maintain a sacred mandala of universal peace and unity for all sentient beings belonging to the planet.” Programmed activities included yoga, peace circles, meditation, and Falun Gong. Tables representing organizations like Oxfam, Amnesty International, New Zealand Police Education, the New Zealand national Library, Famine Relief, et cetera, are peppered all over the site.

It is late Friday afternoon and, with the festival slated to begin at 4 pm, preparations for the event are still very much in progress. There is a long open trench where wiring for ATMs (automatic teller machines) and internet connections is still being laid — evidence

of major investment in Parihaka infrastructure. Sound systems are being checked and food vendors are just beginning to operate. After walking around the main area and as the first band, Three Houses Down, a reggae group, is cranking up, I decide to have a look at the older, more traditional areas around Parihaka's maraes.

A five-minute walk down a dusty road through the hills brings me to Parihaka Pa's permanent compound, the village that forms the hub of the local community. Although the walk is short, the distance feels great. The compound consists of a central area with communal grounds and buildings surrounded by private homes on the periphery. Some festival events are scheduled to take place around the maraes but there is a very different character here than the performance venue. Although there are lots of people around, the atmosphere here seems quieter, slower, perhaps more meditative or even reverent. There are three maraes in the compound and events are scheduled at all of them including the showing of "Peace Forum" films, Rongoa Māori ("Māori healing") sessions, an area where only Māori language is spoken, and the Taonga Pūoro workshops that I've come to observe.

5:00 pm — Taonga Pūoro on the main stage

After scouting the village, I've returned to the main festival area where a taonga pūoro performance has just begun on the main stage. A small audience is spread out on the hills around the (see Figure 3) perimeter and on a flat portion directly in front of the elevated stage. Most of the onlookers are distant from the performers and the fine detail of ngā taonga pūoro is not visible. The "band" is comprised of four performers: Horomona Horo and James Webster play taonga pūoro instruments — mostly "trumpets" like the pūkaea and pūtorino, "flutes" (kōauau, et cetera) and gourds (hue) as well as tapping instruments (tumulumu). A female vocalist also dances in place and "plays" an instrument swung at the end of cord that appears to be either poi āwhiowhio ("whistling gourd") or pūrerehua (similar to the Australian aboriginal bullroarer). These latter are nearly invisible and inaudible from the audience. Three musicians stand while a fourth sits and alternates between acoustic guitar and a large drum. The stage is cluttered with "conventional" rock concert paraphernalia, with trap drums, elaborate lighting rigs, amplifiers, keyboards and microphones forming an odd backdrop to ngā taonga pūoro which seem out of place.



Figure 3. Taonga Pūoro on the main stage. Webster (far right) holds a pūkaea.

Receiving the music from the audience, the performance has the flavor of singer-songwriter, acoustic folk music with mixed Māori and English lyrics. The conventional dimension of the output of the singer and guitarist/drummer is the most prominent aspect of the performance — they are certainly the most audible. The softer taonga pūoro instruments are effectively inaudible (and nearly invisible in some cases) and even the larger, louder instruments come across more as sound effects and ornamentation than as a principal feature of the performance.

Field Journal — Saturday, March 11, 2006

3:00 pm — Dance and Taonga Pūoro

...I've heard that there will be a dance performance featuring taonga pūoro at 3:30 pm in the Parihaka compound. As I approach the site, I encounter James Webster, a member of Haumanu and a maker and player of taonga pūoro, whom I have known for some time. (James is a well-known visual artist and sculpture and in 1997 he crafted an etched glass image that forms the entryway for my Auckland studio). James introduces me to Horomona Horo and Warren Warbrick (see Figure 4), who are congregating around the periphery of the grounds in front of the wharekai. Webster, Horo and a guitar player are setting up a sound system and warming up instruments. The musicians bear visible emblems of Māori identity. Horomona Horo has his hair in a topknot and has a long bone inserted through his earlobe. Warren Warbrick also wears his hair in a topknot and his legs (he is wearing shorts) bear extensive and ornate tattoos (moko).



Figure 4. Warren Warbrick prepares for a taonga pūoro and dance performance on the paepae at the Parkihaka Village compound.

As they set up, I chat with Warren and Horomona. They refer to Richard Nunns and Hirini Melbourne with the honorific “matua” (“parent” or “master”) and they show tremendous deference to both “Matua Richard” and “Matua Hirini,” speaking of them in near-reverent tones. They feel it is unfair that Nunns has been left out of the festival. Warren and Horomona agree to be interviewed at the conclusion of the performance.

I take up a position on the far side of the wharekai porch (stage right) where I can see the full field of the paepae. The musicians are arranged stage left of the wharekai at the periphery of the paepae. Horo and Webster are surrounded with various Māori instruments. The guitarist is seated playing a Spanish guitar. All are amplified with microphones on stands for Horo and Webster and a pickup on the guitar. The dancers are assembled out of sight, stage right of the whare. The audience is scattered around the periphery of the paepae. There are a number of children and adults — most appear to be Māori. Overhearing conversations I note a few American, Dutch and German accents (these folk seem to be backpackers — maybe tourists) as well as a few (apparently) white New Zealanders present. I don't notice any audience members who are easily identifiable as Pacific Island people.

As the performance begins Webster blows across a poroiti (a spinning disc that resembles a button suspended on two strings that are threaded through holes in the center — the disc is spun by alternately tightening and slackening the strings) in front of the microphone, making a whirring sound that is accentuated by the air being blown across it as it whirls. Even though the sound of the poroiti is amplified, it is barely audible. Indeed the ambient sounds of the audience — children playing and people talking, et cetera — tend to be louder than the quieter instruments. Horo plays a wooden pūtorino (a carved, bifurcated hollow tube with two chambers that merge into a single tube at both ends. Sometimes called a “bugle flute,”³⁷ pūtorino has two “voices” in that it can be played as either a side- or end-blown flute or as a trumpet depending on the emouchure and technique employed). The third musician is playing an amplified guitar that is considerably louder than the other instruments.

From where I stand, I see Mount Taranaki looming in the background as the dancers enter stage right after a chant, presumably a karakia, that ends with the exclamation “Tihei mauri ora” (“Here I stand sneezing the breath of life!” — a common rhetorical feature of Māori oratory). They emerge single file onto the paepae, one male followed by nine females. The dancers are costumed in black leotards with long, blue and white aprons made from hanging shreds of fabric that are reminiscent of piupiu (a traditional Māori skirt made from flax and worn by men and women, most typically during kapahaka performances). Their faces are painted with a white and turquoise stripe extending diagonally from the top right of the forehead across the nose and down the chin.

As the dancers filed out, Horo and Webster began playing *pūkaea* — literally the “sound of news” or a clarion, *pūkaea* are long wooden tubes with a rough, cuivre trombone-like timbre. Once the dancers were assembled on the paepae, a prerecorded sound track started up as the *pūkaea* died down: first sounds of synthesized strings, seabirds with deep, reverberated tones and recorded whale song evocative of the ocean, then narration:

Through the inner space of oceans, whales call. Their songs are expressions of the greatest minds on the planet. Their songs carry over thousands of kilometers through water. The life of the sea is listening. But in all of the sea, where are the enemies of the voices, the other great minds responding to on the same scale to the call of the whales? There is

³⁷ Flintoff 2004.

only the mechanical drone of engines, the repercussion of underwater explosions, or the repetitive ping of a sonar. And without explanation there is the merciless, painful killing of hundreds of thousands of whales, dolphins and porpoises — a killing without end. Even during the past twenty years with a ban place against commercial whaling, the killing goes on in the name of fishing by catch, science and tradition. We humans send music to outer space — our great minds calling out to the universe. What if we send music to inner space? What if we responded to the call of the whales?

The pūkaea responded in imitation of whale song as the narration was supplanted by sounds of crashing surf. At this point one of the dancers, hands trembling in the traditional *wiri* (quavering, side to side motion of the hand), commenced a *karanga* (a traditional call, welcome, or summons delivered by a woman and considered the feminine counterpart to *whaikorero*). The dance performance appeared to be timed and cued by the pre-recorded soundtrack and as the *karanga* ended, the sounds of whale song over crashing surf returned.

Following the *karanga*, whale song and surf sounds intensified and these higher pitched sounds were joined by a low tone (sub-contra D) with a timbre similar to that of a foghorn. Horo resumed playing koauau as a repetitive rhythmic figure (see transcription) commenced on the soundtrack — the timbre of the drum sound and its impelling motive were suggestive of Native American powwow drumming. Finally (on the soundtrack) a female vocalist, commenced singing a pitched modal melody (E flat minor) in Māori:

Te Tohora, Whakarongo [ki] te
tohora,
He waiata aroha, He tohora,
He whānau kotahi te tohora,
Whānui i te ao mārama.
He Tohora (3x)
He whānau kotahi te Tohora (2x)
Tohora, Tohora

The Whale, listen to the whale,
It is a love song, It is a whale,
Whales are one family,
Widespread in the world of light,
Whales (3x)
Whales are one family (2x)³⁸

³⁸ My translation.

♩ = 86

Voice

Te to - ho ra Wha-ka-ro-ngo te to-ho - o - ra-a-a

5

Voice

Te wai - a-ta a-ro - ha Te to - ho - ra He whā-nau ko-ta-hi Te

9

Voice

to-ho - ra Whā nu - i i te ao ma - ra - ma He

12

Voice

to-ho - ra He to-ho - ra He to-ho - ra-a-a

Figure 5. Transcription of “Te Tohoro.”

The melody exhibits a narrow melodic compass (a perfect fifth at its widest — see transcription in Figure 5) that has a similar tonal quality to group unison chanting of waiata in traditional settings like powhiri. However, the Māori language lyric is overlaid on (and subordinate to) a metrical rhythmic underpinning in strict four/four time and a tonal-modal melody.

At the completion of the (prerecorded) song, the taonga pūoro musicians and guitarist continued “improvising” over the prerecorded soundtrack as the dancers undulated across the paepae, sometimes chanting in Māori. The dancers formed a V formation and the group and wrapped themselves in a long banner, creating the illusion of a *waka* (canoe)

and they mimed the act of paddling on a body of water while they undulated across the paepae. The music was eclectic — in addition to synthesized music and sampled whale song, it used various sampled or prerecorded instruments including didgeridoo and “tribal” drums that have an “indigenous” association.

Both the live Spanish guitar and prerecorded synthesizers and vocals used definite, equal tempered pitches that meshed poorly with the less determinate intonation of Horo’s kōauau which was pitched around E flat and ranged over about an augmented fourth (approximately ~D flat to ~G natural). The tempered Western instruments were foregrounded by a combination of their amplified presence and the unrelenting (and unresponsive) character of the steady, prerecorded rhythm track. And Horo seemed drawn into their tonal sphere — his playing dwelt on the keynote and minor third of the mode, but it was unconvincing. The soft sound of the kōauau seemed disconnected, as though it was not in the same acoustic space, and Horo sounded like he was “noodling” — improvising aimlessly, as if he wasn’t quite able to grasp the mode. Indeed none of the live players were particularly present during the prerecorded song sections. In the parts of the piece (following the vocal) where the non-tonal whale song and ocean sounds were more prominent, the (louder) pūkaea and pūtorino had a more balanced presence and seemed to better mesh with the prerecorded track. During these non-tonal sections, the guitar became an incongruous element.

The performance had a small audience of about forty or 50 people who were seated at dispersed locations around the perimeter of the paepae. There were about 15 performers, many of whom had friends or family members with them who would have made up a significant part, if not the majority of the audience. The performance was well received

among this audience — people clapped and most stayed for the entire performance and many stayed afterwards to chat or help the performers pack up. Based on the conversations and interactions that took place at the end, the performance was successful largely because it brought members of a developing community of Māori artists (dancers and musicians) together with some potential supporters from some other natural constituencies.

The performance itself employed markers that are either identifiable as uniquely “Māori” or, more generally, as “indigenous.” There is a conflation of these concepts in both the literal content of the performance and the demeanor — in actions and appearance — of the performers. Performers wore jewelry carved from bone or greenstone and costumes based on traditional Māori styles and motifs like the piupiu grass skirts. Ngā taonga pūoro were similarly carved and decorated. The mixture of musical instruments and sounds included Māori taonga pūoro, but also frame drums and the recorded sounds of Australian Aboriginal didgeridoo. Many of the participants wore dreadlocks. And the literal content of the performance combined “green” conservation themes with promotion of indigenous sensitivity and “stewardship” of nature.

Ultimately, the incongruities that I perceived between ngā taonga pūoro and Western instruments either did not exist or was not a major issue for the audience and the performers. My sense is that I was witnessing the construction of an aesthetic in its early stages and that the grounds for my judgments were not necessarily those of the people I observed. I will return to this topic in the concluding chapters of this dissertation.

I returned the following day to observe a taonga pūoro demonstration led by Horomona Horo, James Webster, and Warren Warbrick.

Taonga Pūoro Demonstration

Field Journal — Sunday, March 12

10:00 am

The taonga pūoro demonstration is set up on the porch of the wharekai (see Figure 6). As the demonstrators lay out their instruments, a small group of children, tourists, and some older people mill about. Most of the instruments on view belong to the three main performers — Horo, Webster, and Warbrick. Each has an extensive assortment that they arrange on a long table on the porch of the wharekai. The instruments are arranged by a combination of size, function and the materials they are constructed from: there are shell “trumpets” with wooden mouthpieces (pūtātara); wood, stone, and bone “flutes” (kōauau, nguru (see Figure 7), et cetera); bone clappers (tumulumu); wooden “flute-trumpets” (pūtōrino); gourds (hue) (see Figure 8); with long wooden clarion “trombones” (pūkaea) laid lengthwise behind. There are also numbers of smaller “instruments” that come more or less intact (i.e., not carved or “worked”) from the forests and the sea including shells of nearly extinct mollusks. The display seems calculated for visual effect, and the sheer number of elaborately carved and decorated instruments, and rare or unusual natural artifacts, grouped together is very impressive. The atmosphere is relaxed and Horo, Webster, and Warbrick chat with the crowd, as people pore rapturously over the instruments before the formal demonstration. People are not discouraged from touching and handling the instruments and some people exchange stories about the instruments. Some attempt (with varying degrees of success) to play the various instruments. Some people clearly are already familiar with the instruments and are known to the demonstrators and they join in to display some of their instruments. Many of the instruments (and some of the demonstrators) are very elaborately decorated with traditional designs.



Figure 6. Warren Warbrick demonstrates a pūkaea on a porch of the wharekai at Parihaka Village.



Figure 7. Warren Warbrick, James Webster, and Horomona Horo (from left) play nguru as an ensemble during taonga pūoro demonstration.



Figure 8. Gourds (hue) on display during the taonga pūoro demonstration.

Horomona Horo opened with a speech in Māori followed by an introduction in English to signal the beginning of the demonstration. During his speech, Horo talked about being honored to be able to present taonga pūoro in such a historic setting. He also asked that, even though the demonstration was in front of the wharekai, the “food house,” he

requested that people not bring food near the instruments because this would violate the tapu nature of the taonga.³⁹

At the conclusion of his opening speech, Horo introduced a middle-aged kuia from Parihaka Pa as the *kaiwhakahaere* (“welcomer”) and she sang a *maioha* (a formal speech of warm welcome).⁴⁰ Eyes closed and with the solemnity of a prayer, she chanted:

E tū ra ngā w’akatangitangi⁴¹ ā kui mā ā koro mā
 Kia totoia koe e te maunga titohea,
 Ngā poropititanga o Aotearoa
 Ki Te Waipounamu, ki ngā moutere,
 Ki te paepae ki Rarotonga, ki Hawaiki,
 Ka tū atu ki Rapanui e tū mai ra,
 Te tipua-roa, te tipua-rangi, te tipua-nua, te tipua-w’enua,
 Taka taku roimata ki ā koutou i roto i te w’akamaharatanga
 A kui mā ā koro mā i taketakea i ngā pūorooro i runga i ngā marae nui o Aotearoa
 Ki te Waipounamu, ki W’arekauri
 Ka huri ra nai hoki ki roto i ngā ngāhere
 Kia rongo ki a Tumatauenga
 Kia Ruaumoko ki a Tāw’irimatea, Haumietiketike
 Kia tae ngā rangatahi ngā w’atukura
 Tenei rā te kuia e tatangi atu nei ki ngā tohu ā ngā manu tioriori o runga o te maunga
 Nau mai haere mai
 E te tini e te mano me tauwiwi hoki me ngā moutere
 W’akamahana mai i raro i te rā nui
 E tū rangatira ake nei
 Ka rongo koutou i ā kui mā ā koro, Ka w’akatangitangi ngā w’atukura
 Ki te w’aiao, Ki te ao marama o te kaupapa i te wā nei e
 Hei!

 Kia ora.

³⁹ The placement of the taonga pūoro demonstration at the wharekai is evidence that the Taonga Pūoro movement is still in the legitimization phase of collective definition (see Chapter Six). Events of a tapu nature are usually conducted at the wharenui (“big house”). Food is always *noa* (“secular” or “normal”) and tapu and noa are not to be mixed. The fact that the demonstration was placed at the wharekai indicates that there probably is some lingering skepticism about the Taonga Pūoro movement among Parihaka people. At the same time, the fact that they were allowed to demonstrate on marae grounds at all is an indication of some acceptance.

⁴⁰ Williams Dictionary of the Māori Language (7th edition) defines *maioha* as: “to greet affectionately” or a “token of regard.”

⁴¹ In the Taranaki dialect, “h” is dropped in most words that start with “wh” with a corresponding change in pronunciation from an “f” to a “w” sound. I have replaced the “standard” orthographic rendering of “h” with an apostrophe in the appropriate places in this transcription.

Stand up, stand firm [o] singing instruments of the old people
 That you be anointed⁴² by the Bald Mountain [Taranaki],
 Instruments of prophecy for Aotearoa
 From the South Island, from the islands,
 From the sacred ground of the marae at Rarotonga, from Hawaiki,
 They stood [far] away there at Rapanui, here and there and at all of these places!
 The genius of the ancients, the genius of the sky, and the greatest genius, that of the land.
 My tears are shed for the memory of them all
 For all the ancestors who established these instruments at all the great marae of Aotearoa
 On the South Island, and the Chatham Islands,
 Traversing the forests that they might be heard by Tumatauenga
 And by Ruaumoko and Tāwhirimātea and Haumiatiketike⁴³
 And through these youth, these worthy young people, they should arrive [here].
 I am but an old woman calling out, invoking the singing birds of the mountaintop
 I bid welcome, come hither
 [You] multitude of unknown tribes from far away as well as from these islands
 [Be] warmed by the bright sun and by the august nature of what is to follow
 You will all hear the ancestors, the noble ones crying out
 To the daylight, to the world of light that is the guiding principle of this moment in time.
 Hei!

Be well.

When she began singing, participants who had been sitting, stood and lowered their gaze. The chant had a narrow range (a minor third) — and used only three notes alternating between a keynote (~C sharp — the most prevalent pitch), its minor seventh a whole tone below and a flat ninth (see Figure 9).

⁴² The term *tōtōia* (the passive voice of the verb *tōtō*) can also mean to be “hauled ashore” or “drawn in.” The 2nd edition of the Williams dictionary (1852) also gives “native baptism” as a possible meaning. This meaning does not appear in 7th edition where “anointed” appears instead.

⁴³ Tumatauenga (god of war and maker of tools, including traps and snares), Ruaumoko (god of the underworld who shakes the earth), Tāwhirimātea (god of the wind) and Haumiatiketike (god of uncultivated, wild foods) are gods, the children born of the original gods Rangi (the sky) and Papa (the earth). They were of the first generation to take human form (although they were immortal, their children were the first human mortals). They are the penultimate root of whakapapa and are therefore associated with the origins of all things including musical instruments. For example, Tāwhirimātea is associated with wind instruments.

♩ = 144

He ku-ra — ngā w'a-ka-ta-ngi-ta-ngi ā kuia mā ā ko-ro mā kia to - to - ia koe

5
e temau-nga ti - to-hea ngā po-ro-pi-ti - ta-nga o Ao - te-a-ro-a ki te Wai-pou-na-mu

Figure 9. Transcription of “Parihaka Pūoro Maioha” (excerpt 1).

The flat ninth, used near the end of the chant, gave the feeling of a brief modulation and was used cadentially (see Figure 10):

♩ = 144

E tū ra-nga-ti - ra (a)ke nei ka ro-ngo kou - tou i ā ku - i mā ā ko-ro mā

4
ka w'a - ka - ta - ngi - ta - ngi ngā w'a - tu - ku - ra ki te w'a - i - ao

5
Ki te a - o ma - ra-ma o te kau - pa-pa i te wā nei — Hei!

Figure 10. Transcription of “Parihaka Pūoro Maioha” (excerpt 2).

This waiata may have been a variation on a traditional Parihaka song for welcoming people to the village. Parihaka is a pantribal settlement that historically was open to and drew people from a variety of places and the text of the chant weaves taonga pūoro into a set of Parihaka-specific themes. It uses the huri ngā tai form to locate various origins (Raratonga, Hawaiiki, South Island, Chatham Islands, et cetera) and destinations. By invoking the atua — Tumatauenga, Ruaumoko, Tāwhirimātea and Haumietiketike — the chant interweaves karakia, whakapapa, and Māori origin stories in a way that overlaps and anticipates the taonga pūoro narrative.

Ruia Aperahama responded to my speculation on the origin of this song:

You could be correct in asserting that the karanga could have originated from an older formula adapted for the occasion, although I suspect that the performer is actually composing spontaneously drawing on a number of referents at her disposal, she seems to be learned in the *Kauwae Runga* (“upper jaw”).⁴⁴ She uses the formula of both welcoming and blessing, because she uses specific ‘karakia’ terms. In this instant, she is using the genre often called ‘Maioha’ which is a spontaneous composition expressing gratitude, thanks, and welcoming.⁴⁵

At the conclusion of the kaiwhakahaere’s song, the demonstration began. Horo, Webster and Warbrick commenced by playing pūtātara, conch shell “trumpets,” as an ensemble. They then took turns telling stories. They often appeared ill at ease — their narratives had a tentative quality and the stories lacked immediacy. They often seemed to be repeating stories that were far removed from their original source and they frequently echoed Richard Nunns’s analogies recasting taonga pūoro in terms of modern technology like his “cellphone to the divine” metaphor. For example, Horo talked about the pūtātara as a “message carrying instrument” that was used to make announcements of new births. He asserted that the “tune” — specifically the length of the sustained sound conveyed the lineage of the child and the identity of the family: “It was basically like a cell phone call to let people know if someone was born or someone had died.”

Webster spoke next. His narrative is basically interpretive — he imagines how ngā taonga pūoro would have been used based on the stories he has heard. Speaking at first in halting Māori, he began by talking about the instruments as gifts from the ancestors that

⁴⁴ *Kauwae Runga* is a term used to denote the “whare karanga,” a body of knowledge and practice that is for women the counterpart to the institution of *whaikorero* for men. *Karanga*, the art of calling out, summoning and welcoming, is a role reserved for women. Like *whaikorero*, it requires extensive knowledge of oratorical forms like *karakia* as well as general and specific knowledge of situations and origins of visitors that would enable the *kaikaranga* (or *kaiwhakahaere* in this case) to speak and sing appropriately on a particular occasion.

⁴⁵ Ruia Aperahama, personal communication, 3/26/2008.

were used to talk to the gods. Webster then carried on in English with a story of pūtātara being used on the canoes that crossed the ocean to Aotearoa, that when the voyagers encountered a “feeding ground”:

What the tohunga [adepts] used to do was they used the pūtātara as a tool to communicate with the tohora [whales] and whatnot. So you can imagine the canoes moving across the water with its hulls and stuff and they [saw] a whale moving across the top of the surface. So by playing the — the korero is [this is how the story goes] — by playing the pūtātara, it would send sort of sonar signals through the hull of the canoe. So it would sort of vibrate out through the ocean. So they would use it to communicate to the whales and such — yeah — so they would have safe passage. So they wouldn’t get sort of bumped or hit by swimming whales and whatnot in the area? Anyway that’s just one little story and you hear stories like that. They’re quite profound stories — just sort of reflecting some of the gifts of our tupuna [ancestors] for communicating with nature — how they were sort of attuned to the environment.

Webster went on to reiterate some of the content of the previous day’s dance concert with a criticism of modern “pollution” of the environment:

We find today so much noise pollution — the vehicles, the airplanes and whatnot. And being not so in tune with our senses. And some of the [stories] are a reminder to me to remember to be in tune. And that’s why the stories are so important....

At the end of his speech and at a loss for more words, Webster turned to Warbrick and asked if he had any stories. Warbrick declined. At this point Horo stepped back in to acknowledge of Richard Nunns, Hirini Melbourne, Joe Malcolm, and others who had actually collected the stories:

It was through their struggles, through their breaking barriers traveling to over 500 marae up and down New Zealand, talking to the old people. ...We’re just basically remembering their journeys....

Horo went on to talk about the instruments as a way for themselves and subsequent generations to remember the oceans and the natural world.

They concluded the pūtatāra segment by playing the instruments again. The presentation continued with the “children of Tangaroa” (god of the sea), various shells that “have a voice.” Then the three presenters played the shells as cross-blown flutes. They went on to demonstrate “Māori percussion instruments” including tumutumu made from the jawbones of a killer whale tapped with another bone or other striker:

Although don't have [huge] range like a five piece drum set [laughter], they were used to enhance the karakia, the taputapu...for war all the way through to healing the body, healing bones, healing internal [and] external injuries... What I have heard is that they weren't really used for *ngahau* [entertainment] the way a nice set of drums would be used today.

He then imitated the familiar sound of the tumutumu used as the introduction Te Karere, a popular Māori culture and current affairs program that has aired weekdays on Television New Zealand since the 1980s: “If you listen to the radio, you can't say you haven't heard a tumutumu.”

Next, the trio played pūkaea, the long wooden clarion “trombones.” This time there was more variation in the sound as the playing methods included making rushing sounds and harmonics by playing the long wooden tubes as over-size side blown flutes, or a brassy blare by playing them by lip vibrations (as in Western brass). The presentation continued in the same format as they discussed and then played instruments made from a variety of natural materials and with a range of playing techniques.

For every demonstration, two or three presenters would play together, although none of the stories mentioned ensemble playing as a normal or traditional function of ngā taonga pūoro. Indeed mutual reinforcement within the group — turning to one another to add a voice or a story when they faltered, playing instruments together, supporting or

expanding the basic thematic material of the narratives, et cetera — was a central feature of the performance.

It was also clear that a focus on Māori language was contextually appropriate. All of the demonstrators used Māori terminology and spoke at least briefly in Māori at some point. It was also clear that the emphasis was on working at the language and trying to use it, as opposed to being adept. The demonstration was also a site for language instruction as Horo, in particular, laid out Māori vocabulary in relation to the instruments.

At the conclusion of the demonstration, vocalist Andre Foote joined the three demonstrators in an impromptu performance. This performance was characterized by non-tonal playing by Horo, Webster, and Warbrick on pūtorino — two of them playing the instrument like a trumpet, one like a flute. This was in contrast with the vocalist who sang an improvised waiata “on-pitch” (in the sense that she referenced a key note, A) and used tonal (as opposed to microtonal) intervals. In keeping with older waiata styles, she employed a relatively narrow range, singing over the interval of a fifth. Her singing was strong but she seemed unsure of the circumstance (this is at least partially attributable to the impromptu nature of the performance).

Horo was the strongest player among the three instrumentalists and his rangi (tune) was strong and essentially tonal, at least to start. The other two players are not as strong “musically” — they don’t have a strong sense of (Western) pitch and lack the confidence to play microtones with authority. Together their ensemble playing sounded unintentional, not “rational,” and its over all impact was of something unformed.

Throughout these performances the participants exhibited signs of lack of confidence that may be variously attributable to some combination of shyness, or lack of experience, familiarity with some musical forms, or musical expertise. It was clear, however, that the performance was not to be judged strictly on “musical” grounds. And when, after about three minutes, the performance “ended” (even as one of the players continued on for a few seconds, having missed the moment), the audience clapped fairly enthusiastically and with apparent appreciation. The end result seems to have been success.

This success seems to reflect the efforts of the players to find and construct themselves and to build a constituency with their music. Participants emphasized themes of alienation from nature in the modern world. And these themes of Māori and indigenous peoples as guardians (*kaitiaki*) of the natural world appeared to resonate with various people including conservationists and other people present, who identify with the “green movement.” Such themes are implicit elements of the materials, details of construction and stories of the origins of the instruments and these themes were explicitly performed in the previous day’s dance piece (*Te Tohora*) and repeated in the taonga pūoro demonstration.

The language of the kaiwhakahaere’s maioha to the young demonstrator-performers demonstrated acknowledgment, acceptance, and support if not outright legitimation by “traditional” Māori. And their presence on the sacred ground of the marae is clear evidence of institutional sanction if not engagement, although their location on the veranda of the wharekai could be construed as a sign of not quite having “made it,” yet. Perhaps what is most interesting is that, while this accommodation was extended to these

young Māori rangatahi (younger generation of Māori), Pakeha Richard Nunns was not there.

Ultimately, one might argue that in this Māori context Western musical elements and critical criteria were at least temporarily backgrounded, and the institutions that maintain them, were not in force. In the next section, I examine some performances that show Richard Nunns and taonga pūoro in non-Māori contexts.

Taonga Pūoro as “New Zealand Music”

Jazz: Richard Nunns and the Mason-Battley Group

In March 2006, I witnessed a performance of jazz quintet the Mason-Battley Group featuring Richard Nunns playing taonga pūoro at the Auckland University Music School auditorium. The performance was put on for the launch of the group’s third album, “Two Tides.” The following sections are based on observations of this performance and close listening to the album.

Setting

The venue was a small auditorium sealed from external light and acoustically isolated. It has become a desirable site for classical music recording sessions. The room has exceptional acoustics augmented by an in-house sound system and theater lighting. It has theater-style tiered seating for an audience of about 150 people. There is no fixed stage and the performance area for this event was actually the floor directly in front of the bottom tier of seats.

The performance took place before a well-dressed, middle class audience of about 80 people who seemed to be mostly well off and university educated. In conversations fol-

lowing the event I learned that there were people in the audience who identified as Māori, however they were not easily distinguishable from the majority.

The setting lent itself to a dramatic presentation for this concert. Set back from the front row about 15 feet, the audience was presented with Nunns, and his table of exotic instruments built from natural materials on the far left (see Figure 11). Nunns was counterpoised with Mason-Battley and his saxophones and computer workstation on the far right. Piano, drums and electric bass filled the middle of the performance area, and an electric guitarist was positioned adjacent to Mason-Battley (see Figure 13, Figure 14, and Figure 14).



Figure 11. *Instruments on display at the Mason-Battley Group performance with Richard Nunns.*



Figure 12. *Richard Nunns (left) in performance with the Mason-Battley Group.*



Figure 13. Richard Nunns performing with the Mason-Battley Group.



Figure 14. Chris Mason-Battley performing with the Mason-Battley Group and Richard Nunns.

Music: Instrumentation, Style, and Influences

The group's standard instrumentation included soprano saxophone, guitar, piano, electric bass, and trap drums. Mason-Battley also played a computer-based synthesizer during the course of the performance. All of the group members presented as Pakeha males and appeared to range in age from mid-30s to about 50 years old. For the album launch, the group featured Richard Nunns on an assortment of Māori instruments. Although the concert did occasionally feature vocalization (mostly by Nunns), the music was almost exclusively instrumental and did not employ literal or textual elements beyond the titles of the pieces.

Leader Chris Mason-Battley's soprano saxophone playing is characterized by a "clean tone" (i.e., by clarity of tone and pure intonation) and the group specializes in improvisations colored by impressionistic harmonies as inspired by Debussy et alia, that are a

common feature of modern jazz in the mid to late 20th century. The compositions typically are tonal-modal head arrangements and employ ostinato grooves in a variety of time signatures and include a lot of odd-meter pieces, sometimes interspersed with free-form or rubato sections. The group's utilization of electric bass and drum kit is reminiscent of Miles Davis's post-bop and jazz-rock experimentations during the 1970s and influences of Davis and his sometimes collaborator Wayne Shorter (and his group Weather Report) were apparent. The production of the band's sound — particularly the miking, amplification, and mixing of the instruments, particularly the soprano saxophone and acoustic grand piano — resembles German record label ECM recordings of artists like Jan Garbarek and Keith Jarrett.

On his website, Mason-Battley describes the group's music as, "contemporary jazz reflecting the open spaces and untamed beauty of Aotearoa, New Zealand." He goes on to acknowledge musical influences by American artists Pat Metheny, John Schofield, and Keith Jarrett as well as European Jan Garbarek.⁴⁶

Identity Performance

Identity and identification are an explicit aspect of the Mason-Battley Group's performance. Despite what appear to be strong stylistic, structural, and compositional roots in American and African American music, leader Chris Mason-Battley was quick to identify the quintet's style as "European Jazz" at the beginning of the concert. Avoidance of association with American music seems in keeping with a strong historical identification with Europe among white New Zealanders.

⁴⁶ http://www.chrismb.co.nz/cmbgroup_1page.htm, 3/30/2008.

At the same time they seek to emphasize the New Zealandness of their music. Presumably the construction of the music as a local (and hence unique) phenomenon is an identification from which they hope to derive institutional or some other benefits in the marketplace. Consistent with earlier narratives (see Chapter Two), they accomplish this by association with Māori culture and by an evocation of New Zealand musical (and other) landscape.

In promotional materials for the album, Mason-Battley bills the music as:

The ancient musical traditions of New Zealand's indigenous Māori meet the evolving sounds of 21st century Jazz....

Two distinct musical sensibilities explore their similarities and differences through improvisation. Māori instrumentation and European jazz explore new territory within the evolving musical landscape of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

From intimate conversations between koauau (bone flute) and saxophone to dynamic, emotive group improvisations, this is music that alternatively lulls, lifts moves, and surprises.

On the face of it, this narrative, despite a reference to “distinct musical sensibilities,” tends instead to erase those distinctions. It depersonalizes and disembodies the cultural object by personifying artifacts (“Māori instrumentation”) and form (“European jazz”) and by deemphasizing or entirely ignoring the cultural components and context that might actually comprise “sensibilities” or differences. In the next section I examine “musical sensibility” as it manifested in this performance.

The Music

Four of eight titles of the pieces on the album “Two Tides,” which formed the program for the performance I witnessed, were Māori place names: “Tairua” is a small town on the Coromandel Peninsula; “Tahuna Caravan Park,” is a holiday park in Nelson;

“Okareka,” is a small lake in the Bay of Plenty; “Te Henga,” otherwise known as Bethel’s Beach, is a small beachfront community just outside of Auckland. Interestingly, these places have associations for many New Zealanders as recreational areas where families vacation. For Pakeha especially, these kinds of sites are affective markers for childhood memories and nostalgic associations. Although some also have Māori populations or some ongoing Māori identifications (indeed such associations are commonly true of rural and small town New Zealand), these usually are background associations.

Nunns’s contributions to the music were primarily atmospheric — he added sounds and occasionally melodic fragments that were at times taken up and echoed by the other members of the group. Notably, when Nunns played un-pitched instruments, his contributions were generally focused on, and in relation to, the beat. When playing on pitched instruments, he chose instruments so as to be able to blend intonation-wise. In most cases he emulated Mason-Battley’s tonal clarity and purity of intonation. Similarly, in cases where Nunns played rougher sounding instruments like the more “brassy” pūtō-rino or pūkaea, Mason-Battley took on a rougher edge to his tone.

This music is fundamentally atmospheric — the compositions, based primarily on repetitive ostinatos and two chord vamps, don’t tend to feature melodic or harmonic development. The music operates by lulling the listener and “sweet” sounds and a dream-like impressionistic palate are its mainstays. The rhetorical force of the music is rooted in displays of the players’ technical competence, made manifest in pure intonation, clean articulation and ensemble playing that featuring call and response and unisonal execution of head arrangements.

Esthetically this music and these displays of technical competence are evaluated and framed in comparison with established genre (i.e., “cool jazz,” “world music,” “fusion,” et cetera) and the rhetorical force of the music relies on expectations conditioned in large part by external cultural forces that are based on an international marketplace.

Indeed it can be argued that jazz is not a native art form in New Zealand — the identification of the music in this performance as “European Jazz” is significant in this regard. The “cultural elements” of this performance — its connection with Māori, the whakapapa of the instruments, et cetera — were limited to loose, and somewhat tenuous associations consisting of the use of Māori place names in titles, vague references in the program notes, and presentation and reliance on the perception of some kind of inherent Māoriness in the instruments and in the presence of Richard Nunns, who is not Māori. Ultimately there was very little in the performance to indicate that the Māori instruments had any more relevance than any of the other “exotic” instruments that jazz and world music performers have incorporated for their novelty in the past. That is not to say that this connection cannot be made in some circumstances, however.

While this performance may have been superficial in its presentation of connections between Māori and European cultures, the shortcomings may be seen as more a function of context and the exposition or setting out of cultural referents. In the next section I explore the collaboration of Richard Nunns and taonga pūoro with composer Gillian Whitehead that may have deeper cultural relevance.

Classical: Gillian Whitehead with Richard Nunns

In this section, I will explore recorded performances of two Gillian Whitehead compositions that incorporate taonga pūoro and that were written with Richard Nunns's playing in mind. Gillian Whitehead approaches a synthesis of Māori and European music in a variety of ways. She has used Māori language in titles, lyrics, and librettos; taonga pūoro, cultural (and intercultural) themes, and thematic materials, et cetera. Her work generally reflects a desire to explore a range of possible interactions between Māori and European culture via music.

Naumai E Te Ao Marama

Whitehead's work "Naumai e te ao marama" (welcome to the world of light) accommodates Māori language, instruments and improvisation. Like all of her work, it uses standard European notation and this piece is cast in the European art song genre. It is scored for "voices and koauau" with Māori language lyrics. The title and heading of the score (see excerpts in Figure 15 and Figure 16) use Māori terms to indicate the lyricist and composer ("Tuhituhi: Tungia Baker; Rangi: Gillian Whitehead").



Figure 15. Score fragment of "Naumai e te ao marama," measures 1-12. Tuhituhi: Tangia Baker; Rangi: Gillian Whitehead. Used with permission of the composer.

There are several other features of the piece that may be read as accommodations of Māoritanga in a Western art music framework. The piece, which is scored around a keynote C, uses modal and chromatic elements to mimic the compressed range and associated non-tonal characteristics of the kōauau's melodic compass. There are no tempo indications in the score and the pacing of the piece seems to be cued by the improvised introduction. Similarly Whitehead uses shifting time signatures (4/4, 3/4, 9/8, 3/2, 7/4, 5/4, 15/8, 4/2, et cetera) to accommodate Māori language phrasing in the lyrics.

The piece begins with solo kōauau. Measures of rest marked with score directions calling initially for “kōauau [sic] ponga ihu” (noseflute) and subsequently shortened to “kōauau,” alternate with extended passages for voice in the first half of the score. No pitches or durations are specified for the kōauau and the player is freely improvises the solo part. A score indication at measure 34 calls for the kōauau to improvise a duet with the scored vocal part by indicating, “with kōauau to end.” There are no tempo or mood indications in the score.

In performance, the actual pitching of the piece sounds a half step below the written keynote (C sounds as B) in order to match the pitch and accommodate the natural range of the kōauau used for the performance. The tempo is slow and the basic beat/syllable unit is an eighth note at approximately 90 b.p.m.

The modal character of the piece is minor. There is emphasis on the flat seventh of the scale, and a basic motivic unit is formed between the keynote, the flat seventh and the minor third with a rising ninth and a falling flat ninth. (See bar 7 in score fragment above). This motive is based on the range of the koauau and represents a native melodic

configuration (i.e., most easily played melody) for the instrument. Kōauau player Richard Nunns also utilizes a raised seventh with its strong implication of a melodic minor scale with a cadence on C⁴⁷ in his opening improvisation. (See example below.)



Figure 16. “Naumai e te ao marama,” improvised kōauau introduction transcribed — appears at score measure 1.

It is interesting to note that this introductory passage, which sets the tone for the piece, could easily have been scored. The fact that this critical passage is left to the player is an indication of Whitehead’s estimation of Nunns’s playing, but it also an indication of her willingness to accommodate improvisation as a significant element of the composition.

In “Naumai te ao marama,” Whitehead uses several devices including shifting meter to accommodate Māori language lyrics, and taonga pūoro and improvisation as a compositional elements that effects thematic material, tempo, and mood. In *Hine-pu-te-hue*, she develops and extends this hybrid, Māori-European musical language.

Hine-pu-te-hue

“Hine-pu-te-hue for taonga pūoru [sic] and string quartet” takes a more comprehensive approach to combining traditional European instruments and scoring techniques with Māori instruments and cultural content. In this piece, Gillian Whitehead uses diverse

⁴⁷ Sounds B natural.

compositional techniques to not only accommodate a variety of Māori instruments and timbres, but also to create a context where European instrumentalists are asked to incorporate unusual or unfamiliar playing techniques in order to produce timbres that are complementary to those of the Māori instruments as played by Richard Nunns. Accommodations extend beyond playing techniques to include melodic and structural elements, and even cultural elements as she seeks to (re-)construct not just how music is played, but how it is heard.

The process of reconstruction of such symbolic (and interactive) attributes of music takes place not only on stage, but also in the institutional arena. In a manifestation of institutional interest in encouraging sanctioned identity performances, this piece was commissioned for the New Zealand String Quartet (NZSQ) and Richard Nunns by the New Zealand International Festival of the Arts, a biannual festival held in Wellington, the capital city that features high quality performances from around the world. The Festival relies heavily on funding from both government and private sources. And this commission represents an institutional investment in, and affirmation of Whitehead, Nunns, and the NZSQ — they are being held up as an outstanding institutional example of New Zealand arts and its unique culture.

Program Notes: Constructing How the Music Is Heard

The program notes that accompany the score to Hine-pu-te-hue establish a lexical context for the piece. The title of the piece is a reference to the goddess Hine-pu-te-hue (literally

“woman of the sounding gourd”), who has elsewhere been called the “goddess of flute music.”⁴⁸ Whitehead says:

Hine-pu-te-hue is the name of the Māori goddess of peace. Goddesses, or wahine atua, in pre-European times may have been on a par with the gods who are still influential today, but relatively little knowledge of the wahine atua exists today. They are acknowledged by many iwi (tribes), but are not recognised by others, although their names occur in the older traditional chats. This is because the ethnomusicologists in the early nineteenth century (when Aotearoa/New Zealand was colonised by the British) were male, as were most of their informants, and thus relatively little knowledge of the wahine atua exists today.⁴⁹

By highlighting the maleness of 19th century “ethnomusicologists,” and their British origins as an explanation for a dearth of current knowledge of wahine atua (and by extension, contemporary Māori and New Zealand culture), Whitehead’s narrative addresses and shapes perceptions of how gender has been and is represented and performed in Māori, British, and New Zealand cultures.

This story resonates as an extension of the “better Britain” narrative. It may also be seen as a reiteration of salvage ethnography narratives that are based on some idealized notions of Māori culture in its pre-European state, and that are sometimes used to lend force to contemporary reconstruction efforts. Whitehead tacitly suggests the direction that reconstruction might take — rhetorically she propounds and, through the music, invites an affective investment in a quasi-utopic vision of cultural and gender equity.

Whitehead proceeds by developing potential points of mutual understandings — tangencies between cultures based on overlapping narratives of European and Māori instruments and techniques. In her notes, she draws similarities and connections between

⁴⁸ See Flintoff 2004.

⁴⁹ Programme notes, “Hine-pu-te-hue,” Gillian Whitehead 2002.

Māori and European instruments mentioning natural materials used in construction, playing techniques including *ororuarangi*⁵⁰ which she translates as either “spirit voices, or as double stopping” and which she says “had some influence on the piece as in the parallel movement of the strings.”

Stating her intention to retain elements of traditional and historical functionality of ngā taonga pūoro in her composition, Whitehead attempts to build mutual understandings and to construct and draw the audience into a cultural sphere where Māori and European are in close proximity. She notes that the pūtātara is used to “announce” events, describes the pūkaea as a “war trumpet,” and associates the various gourd instruments (*poi awhio-whio*,⁵¹ *hue puru hau*, et cetera) with quietness. She draws the attention of the listener to tapping instruments like *pate pounamu*⁵² and *tumutumu*⁵³ and how they will be echoed or accompanied by the European strings using the wooden stick of the bow, *col legno battuto*. Whitehead also makes clear to the audience that the music is reflexive, and that the European musicians are impacted by the non-Western elements of the composition. So, after describing Richard Nunns as an “improvising musician” in the program, she

⁵⁰ Literally “sound of two melodies,” *ororuarangi* is described by Moorfield as, “A long flute made from the stem of a gourd or toroa wing bone with two finger holes side by side. (John C. Moorfield, *Te Māhuri Textbook* (2nd Edition): 164).” Quoted in the online *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary*, <http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/maori/index.cfm?dictionaryKeywords=ororuarangi&search.x=48&search.y=11&search=search&n=1&idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=>, 4/4/2008.

⁵¹ A small gourd with its neck cut off and one or two small holes cut in the body, the *poi awhio-whio* makes a very quiet whooshing and whistling sound by being swung about at the end of a long string.

⁵² *Pate pounamu* is a piece of greenstone (New Zealand jade) that is suspended from a chord and struck. It is an idiophone of indefinite pitch that makes a resonant, almost bell-like percussive sound.

⁵³ *Tumutumu* is an unpitched idiophone, usually made of bone or stone, that is struck to make a tapping sound.

states that, “All four string players are also asked to improvise from time to time, as well as play gourd rattles at the opening and tapped stones at the end.”

Whitehead’s constructive narrative extends from the program notes to the score itself. And her communications with the musicians (through the score) are also generative of a musical community of close cultural proximities.

Performance

In “Hine-pu-te-hue,” Whitehead expands her timbral palette to include a greater variety of taonga pūoro than in some other pieces. She also uses a greater variety of techniques in order to musically and socially bring the music and the musicians into a commensurate “space.”

In the opening sections of Hine-pu-te-hue, there are no metric markings. Instead sections are delineated by timings in seconds. The piece begins with Nunns striking the pate pounamu very slowly at a *poco f* (slightly forte) dynamic while the members of the string quartet intermittently play gourd rattles (take taonga puoru). The score indication is to play the gourds “gently and intermittently” at a *pp* (pianissimo) dynamic. This simple device has some profound effects and implications: it allows classical musicians to “get their feet wet” on unfamiliar territory by making tentativeness a virtue in the context of the score. It also establishes a “sound world” where the Māori instruments and the sounds they make are fundamental to the overall integrity of the piece. The act of manipulating objects that have an unfamiliar cultural referent essentially causes the classical musicians to embody themselves within the new referent.

For example, avoidance metric time also has the effect of making a “level playing field” — metric precision is backgrounded by the use of durations because all the musicians must work to an approximation. At 30 seconds into the piece, Nunns changes to poi awhiowhio. The string players take up their more conventional instruments at this point, but their tonal material is based on the rushing sound of the whirling gourd — a Doppler-like pitch effect that approximates the sound of a rising and falling half step as the gourd whirls around. Whitehead notates this a pitch cell and she uses it as the seed for a more extended response in the first and second violins. String “melodies,” are played *con sord sul tast*o (with a mute and over the fingerboard) at a *ppp* (pianississimo) dynamic so as not to drown out the soft gourd, but also to reinforce the sense that the violin lines are an accompaniment — an extension of and response to the little gourd.

Similarly the cello is given tremolando glisses that swell (from *p* to *mp*) and imitate the rushing sound of the whirling gourd. It isn’t until a point approximately 73 seconds into the piece, that the dynamic level of the strings is allowed to in any sense dominate the gourd. And it isn’t until 92 seconds have elapsed on the score (at the second bar after letter A) that metric time is introduced. At this stage of the piece, the strings are instructed to play at the “tempo of poi awhiowhio. However the piece almost immediately reverts to non-metric time and score instructions indicate varying durations for set pitches by the fifth measure after letter A.

Fluid time characterizes most of the piece. Score indications calling for “rapid repetitions of figure, out of phase,” “vary duration,” “vary attacks – duration and style (pizz, pizz/gliss, arco, etc.) and pitch within the tone,” “rapid figurations on given pitches, spasmodic, out of phase, occasional rests of varied length,” abound throughout the score.

There are also metrical sections, but they are short and interspersed with long, non-metrical sections. The more metrical sections tend to feature all four strings playing together and the longest unbroken metrical passage (fourth bar after letter E to letter H, b. 91-120) on the performance that I analyzed was approximately 60 seconds. And even this section featured a Māori instrument, the *ku* (a stringed instrument resembling a berimbau played for a light percussive effect resembling the *sul tasto col legno battuto* playing of the European strings), and was broken by measures of rest in the viola and violin parts where the *ku* is clearly heard over a sustained cello chord (on open G and D strings).

Harmonically, this composition is contrapuntal but non-tonal. Stylistically it most closely resembles Bartok's implementation of odd meter dances and folk materials in non-tonal composition that deftly avoids tonality. Whitehead maintains interest by weaving combinations of intricate rhythmic (but, in a break with Bartok, not necessarily metrical) patterns with a broad timbral palette. The music convinces largely by maintaining timbral variety and exploiting the virtuosity of upper echelon players. Whitehead's technique emulates Bartok in this regard and her command of the idiom is masterful, but she also adds a lexical dimension by appealing to a seductive local narrative.

The ultimate impact of Whitehead's composition is to establish a musical and rhetorical balance between European strings and Māori taonga pūoro, a "musical space" in which neither "culture" is particularly dominant, but in which they are mutually and (reflexively) responsive.

Chapter Summary

Through field encounters and interviews, this chapter relates stories of people involved in the Taonga Pūoro movement as they interact across cultural lines to reconstruct Māori musical instruments, and revive and rediscover playing techniques, and rewrite and re-contextualize the narratives associated with themselves and the instruments. The subtextual intent of the chapter is to show ways that mana Māori and mana Pakeha, as distinct mechanisms by which people accrue and create value in cultures, may reflexively construct each other.

The chapter begins with the early career of the movement and the trio of two Pakehas and one Māori, Brian Flintoff, Richard Nunns, and Hirini Melbourne, who are generally credited with starting the revival. I contextualize the Taonga Pūoro movement, which emerged in the early 1980s, in relation to a general renaissance in Māori language and culture that was burgeoning at the same time.

After a brief introduction, I present a series of (primarily) interview-based narratives about the movement, its proponents, and its significance. In addition to interviews, I also present entextualized “voices” for purposes of comparison and to represent some ways that the nascent movement is becoming institutionalized. I parse interviews by “viewpoint”: Richard Nunns’s is represented as a “Pakeha viewpoint,” Rangiiria Hedley’s as a “Māori Traditional view,” and Horomona Horo’s is presented as an “Urban Māori view.” In my commentary on and framing of each of these interviews, I extract elements of a metanarrative that represents what I “heard” in the testimony of each person. (These metanarratives are summed and parsed further in Chapter Six.)

In the second half of the chapter, “Performing Taonga Pūoro,” I present a series of encounters in the field at sites where various proponents of the Taonga Pūoro movement were performing on the instruments. These sites included the first Parihaka International Peace Festival, which took place at Parihaka Pa (a traditional Māori settlement with deep historical associations for Māori and Pakeha), and a “European Jazz” concert at the University of Auckland. The chapter closes with an analysis of scores and recordings of two Gillian Whitehead compositions that use ngā taonga pūoro played by Richard Nunns in classical music contexts.

Chapter 5

Other Encounters — Mana Pasifika in the Shadow of Biculturalism?

In the preceding chapters (Ratana Encounter and Taonga Pūoro), I examined encounters among Māori and Pakeha bicultural “partners” with regard to their contemporary situatedness: in relation to one another and to their shared cumulative history. This chapter deals primarily with newer arrivals and how they frame and attempt to construct traditions and histories against this bicultural backdrop, which also constitutes an institutional inertia that has generally been preoccupied with longer-term relationships and interactions — i.e., with settling old scores — between Māori and Pakeha.

While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to parse the experience of every immigrant group, many newcomer groups have experiences in common and may be seen to be at different points or stages of a similar path. I have chosen some sites and case studies that reflect some of these common experiences.

Newcomers lack the advantages of long-term (and widely diffused) shared histories and mutually constructed identities and understandings of one another that serve Māori and Pakeha. Consequently, newcomers tend not to be deeply or effectively embedded in the country’s institutional infrastructure and so must seek to position themselves within existing institutions that may not have anticipated them. Similarly, the reflexive impacts of immigrants on existing institutions to mold or reshape those institutions tend to flow

outward from point sources as the narrative of their belonging diffuses into the population at large.

Music — its adaptation and reconstruction — is an important strategy that groups employ in order to establish themselves, and to literally transplant aspects of themselves and their home cultures into the new place. Music may be used in order to bring about group cohesion in the new place. In general, and in the first instance as a matter of simple survival, individual migrants set out to create a tolerable environment — a situation that they “can live with” — in the new place. As a matter of practicality, many, if not most individuals will group together with others with some shared history and culture to enhance their survivability in the new place — through networking, mutual support, shared strategies, et cetera. And beyond issues of immediate, short-term survivability and momentary tolerability, groups generally seek to establish themselves in a way that allows for long-term viability and growth — they seek to establish a sense of belonging and ownership in their new “home.”

Music is a way for groups to affectively engage with one another in the new place in order to make it feel like home. Indeed, music may be a focal point for the construction of new group identities — the collective redefinition of who “we” are in the new place may be facilitated by construction of shared histories based on familiar repertoires, performative practices, and shared musical tastes.¹

¹ Issues of construction of situated group identities as associated with Blumer’s emergent phase of collective definition are discussed in Chapter Six.

Music is also a means for others to engage with and accept groups of newcomers. In order to establish themselves, newcomers must orient themselves by constructing new referents in order to build a sense of where and who they are as they look out on the world, but they must also do so in order to become visible — to enable others to see them in a manner that is commensurate with their vision of themselves.² Perhaps even more importantly, establishing who they are in the new place is not only an essential prerequisite for retention and maintenance of some static notion of their identities, it is also a determinant of continuing viability — their ability to grow, shape, and achieve their possibilities and aspirations. An important question is whether and how an individual or a group might (passively) be defined by others, or how they might take a pro-active role in defining themselves.

In the narratives that I follow, I examine situations and testimonies of Keneti Muaiava, a Samoan-born, New Zealand-educated master of Samoan traditional performance; Sylvester Gahungu, a Burundian refugee who leads a group of drummers who seek to emulate the iconic status of haka with their imported musical culture; and a group of teachers and alumni of the Whitireia Performing Arts group at Whitireia Community Polytechnic in Porirua, New Zealand.

I parse performances where these others articulate with other New Zealander groups. I am particularly interested in how performances are mediated institutionally. I take moments from performances including the Burundians in an abbreviated Māori powhiri and at an annual International Festival, sponsored by the RMS Refugee Resettlement

² The process of engaging with others to construct identity both inside and outside of the group corresponds to the legitimation phase of Blumer's process of collective definition and is discussed in Chapter Six.

Agency; groups of ethnically identified high school students at the annual ASB (Auckland Savings Bank) “Polyfest” Secondary School Competition; and an in-depth look at a dress rehearsal as alumni and students of the Whitireia Performing Arts Program at Whitireia Community Polytechnic prepare for a performance.

Keneti Muaiava’s experience mirrors that of many other “newcomers” to New Zealand who would seek to retain and grow their identities in the new place. Born in Samoa and raised from childhood in New Zealand, his narrative of his redefinition of Samoan performing arts in the new place is illustrative of the pro-active construction of “tradition” and of viable diasporic group identities.

Constructing Tradition: Keneti Muaiava

Keneti Muaiava³ was 33 years old when I interviewed him in 2006. I met him through ethnomusicologist Richard Moyle, who invited me to a guest lecture that Muaiava was giving for one of Moyle’s undergraduate ethnomusicology classes at Auckland University. Following the lecture, Muaiava invited me to a dance class he was conducting at another part of the University (see Figure 1). The following week, I picked Muaiava up at his home in South Auckland and we drove to a nearby park where we sat in the car and talked.

Muaiava was born in Samoa and his family immigrated to New Zealand in 1974, when he was 8 months old. Speaking of migration of Pacific Island peoples, Muaiava says:

³ N.B., unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this section are Keneti Muaiava interviewed by H. Anderson, 4/19/2006.

From the 1950s all the way to the 1980s Pacific Islanders migrated. They went to America, Australia, and my dad chose New Zealand for a better life.

Muaiava comes from a long line of dancers steeped in Samoan tradition:

My father, my uncles, my grandfather, my grandfather's brothers, [Samoan dance is] in the blood. I'm named after my great uncle — his name is Keneti and he was one of the first to introduce fire dancing and knife dancing in Samoa.

The introduction of fire and knife dances into the “traditional” repertoire is a significant aspect of Muaiava's legacy as both a keeper and a maker of tradition.



Figure 1. *A group of students practicing a Samoan fan dance in a class taught by Muaiava at the University of Auckland in 2006.*

Muaiava stresses that his upbringing in New Zealand was strongly rooted in Samoan tradition and, unlike most Samoans raised in New Zealand, he is fluent in the Samoan language. He attributes his fluency to the fact that his father would allow only Samoan to be spoken in the home:

My father was not educated. He went to school up to Standard Four. When we came to New Zealand [we had]...a very strict upbringing. My father — like a lot of men of his generation — felt intimidated when his kids would speak English. So Samoan is my first language, although I probably sound like English is my first. I'm very fluent. There are probably kids at university in Samoa who...can't speak Samoan as fluent as me, maybe. People think I grew up in [the South Auckland suburb of] Mangere — I grew up in Samoa. I mean, I grew up in New Zealand, but the way we lived was Samoan — all based around church, family. It wasn't based around the [horse] races or things that were European⁴ ...Samoan society [is] about family and church whether here or anywhere.

Muaiava learned Samoan dance from his father who is acknowledged as an authority by the local Samoan community:

In New Zealand and in Auckland, if you wanted to do anything — straight away they'd give my dad a call. He was the go-to man [for] fairs, festivals. My dad worked in a paper factory making jib board. He'd bring rolls of paper home, and he'd compose all these songs — in the garage, anytime. On the fork hoist, my dad would be writing music. When I was three or four [years old], I'd follow my dad and I'd pick up all his skills. He'd teach me the guitar, the drum, teach me the different types of drumming. So I was getting a formal lesson. It was very much a formal traditional lesson.

Muaiava talked about what “composing music” means in a Samoan context:

[My father] was lyrical — Samoans traditionally took European tunes and my father would be very good at fitting Samoan words into those tunes. He cannot read music but he can write music in a Samoan context.

Muaiava is proud of his dance lineage:

My dad says [speaks Samoan]...that means, “You come from Samoan dance royalty.” When he says that, it makes me feel proud. When he says that, it means, “You've got that bloodline, don't stuff it up....”

Muaiava's construction of how Samoan dance is transmitted traditionally — in a lineage and as an unbroken link — corresponds to some standard notions of the “tradition bearer.”⁵ However, his ideas about the meaning of tradition have developed as he has

⁴ This is a reference to a construction of post World War II New Zealand (male) vernacular culture (particularly in the 1960s) as being primarily interested in “rugby, racing, and beer.” See <http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/TheNewZealanders/10/en,11/29/07>.

⁵ See Burnim 1985; Jones 2000; Chiener 2002; et cetera.

responded to criticism of his performance. And Muaiava has come to see tradition as being fundamentally functional and responsive to changing conditions.

Among Samoans in New Zealand, Muaiava has become the “go-to” guy in his generation for authoritative commentary on, and authentic performance of, Samoan dance. The growth of his stature among the New Zealand Samoan community has not only enabled him to act as a conservator, but also to innovate with authority. Ultimately, the kinds of innovations that Muaiava sees himself making are extensions of tradition, but with an understanding of tradition as something that necessarily changes with the time and place, and from generation to generation. He spoke about the evolution in his thinking about “tradition” and its meaning in a contemporary context:

Ten years ago Samoans thought “traditional” was a concrete term. For me, I was the first to start realizing things about Samoan dance in the past and the present. Ten years ago we had women in charge of festivals saying, “You’re not traditional.” [And] I’d think, “What are you talking about?” I started to analyze and then realized about 90% of the dances I grew up in had all been changed. Contemporary Samoan dance means this: Samoan dance for *that* time. The whole traditional aspect was more abstract; it was more in the mind. Physically the dances were contemporary. People couldn’t contemplate that.

As an example, Muaiava noted that the Samoan “traditional” call and response chant Buffalo and Tiger (where the call “Buffalo” is met with the response “moo” and similarly, “Tiger” is met with “grrr”) is based on two animals that have never existed in Samoa. Yet “every Samoan around the world would say that’s a traditional chant.”

Rice notes that some cultures “possess a strong sense of the distant past being appropriated for contemporary use and a corresponding sense of discontinuity between past and present.”⁶ Muaiava’s evolving notions of tradition reflect a historiographic con-

⁶ Rice 1994: 13.

sciousness that he uses to in a sense “fix” a line between “old” and “new.” However, he sees this line in motion, and the kind of “fixing” he is talking about represents a process by which contemporary performances may become “traditional,” thereby repairing Rice’s “discontinuity.” The fact that people who once challenged the “traditional” status of Muaiava’s performances now consider him more as a resource and an authority shows that he is succeeding in injecting this enhanced historiographic view into public discourse.

Muaiava maintains that Samoan attitudes to tradition have shifted from generation to generation, particularly as the result of migration. Education was not emphasized in Samoa but he says, “New Zealand is a country where education...is probably the number one priority for kids.” Speaking of his father’s generation, Muaiava says “they took Samoan dance and suited it for their time.” But his father didn’t have the same level of critical pressure from earlier generations:

What’s interesting is, my dad would say he didn’t get that pressure from the older generation. I said, “Hey dad, what was it like for your parents when you started coming out with these new sa sa dances?” [But his parents] didn’t say much [about it]. [His parents felt] that [their children had] education [and] that they were uneducated, so they thought the kids born in the 40s, 50s and 60s — all power to them.

But Muaiava feels that things have turned around for current generations and that earlier generations — particularly from the 1940s, 50s and 60s — after innovating and constructing a particular vision of “tradition,” have then attempted to lock that vision of tradition into place:

Earlier generations thought this is how it should be. Unfortunately, culture is revolving [sic]. Samoans have come to that point where we’ve got so many problems now. We took a time of our society and thought, “We’ve got everything right and it’s going to stay like that.” That’s not the case. Years of history have shown us that — generation after

generation — we all make mistakes. But problems come when you believe your parents' generation got it right and that's the way to live for a million years.

Muaiava addressed the problem of establishing his authority to update Samoan dance — to remake it in a way that it serves current generations of Samoans while retaining authenticity:

The dances that we have today came from something...and I call it the link. When that migration came in the 50s and 60s, my father [had] done his apprenticeship. When I took [the tradition] from him I maintained the link.

He feels that some people who represent themselves as doing “Samoan dance” do not have sufficient grounding in the tradition:

The unfortunate thing is...you've got other people [who] did not maintain the “link” and then say, “This is Samoan dance.” That's where I have a problem.

The problem also comes when people confuse a dancer with Samoan genealogy with a dancer who actually practices Samoan dance. In a lecture to an ethnomusicology class at the University of Auckland, Muaiava talked about being compared to another Samoan dancer:

They would compare me with Neil Ieremia from Black Grace⁷ — anyone familiar with Black Grace [knows that] they are a very renowned New Zealand dance company, an amazing dance company. They had to understand that Neil and I were both Samoans that grew up in New Zealand. However Neil was not trained in Samoan dance as I was...and I wasn't trained in contemporary dance like Neil was.

In my interview with Muaiava, he talked about people like Neil Ieremia as latecomers to the Samoan dance tradition who are relatively unschooled in Samoan dance and without a sufficient commitment to the form to truly represent the tradition:

⁷ Founded by Neil Ieremia, Black Grace is a modern dance company comprised mostly of dancers of Māori and Pacific Island descent.

The only thing I've always done is dance. Eight months of my year, every year, is devoted to dancing. That's what I meant — to have someone else saying "this is Samoan dance" really pisses me off. Neil Ieremia decided he was going to dance when he was 19. I'd like to know what he did from [age] zero to nineteen. People say, "you shouldn't be shooting bullets," [but] I want to justify to my ancestors [who are] crying to me saying, "You! Hold that flag up!" It's not personal. When you take an ethnic dance, you're playing with a lot of ancestors, you're playing with a thousand-year old game.

The terms "hollow" and "hollow categories" have been applied by anthropologists and others to aspects of identity and cultural performance that are seen as being moot or etic-ally constructed taxonomies externally applied to cultural or ethnic groups, particularly in colonial contexts. As time goes on, these categories may come to be emically accepted as "tradition." Levine (following Ardener) speaks of the construction of new identities in post-colonial New Zealand and New Guinea as a "transformation of categorical labels into identities" as people "fill in" hollow categories by internalizing and growing into them.⁸

Muaiava's concern is based on the notion that, if "Samoan dance" is just any dance that is performed by a person of Samoan descent, then there is nothing about the dance itself that makes it Samoan. He is clearly invested in "maintaining the link" between contemporary performance and what has gone before. This investment is based in part on his personal family involvement and his sense of responsibility to a larger Samoan, and particularly Samoan immigrant, community. He is also invested in the notion that cultural content is "real" — that there is some quasi-objective "thing" that can (and should) be passed on. Muaiava's concern — his passion — is that Samoan dance should not become an empty vessel, devoid of cultural meaning and unconnected with a Samoan (as opposed

⁸ Levine 1995: 170.

to New Zealand) past. At the same time, he is also concerned that contemporary constructions of the tradition serve present and future Samoans.

Sociologist Camille Nakhid, speaking of a “passion” for establishing cultural and ethnic identity on the part of Pacific and other immigrants who suffer the “contradictory and conflicting conditions surrounding displacement and migration” in New Zealand, says:

In constructing our identity, we build (with what we know of our past and our historical experiences), using the present to shape how we see who we are. That is not all that forms our identity. It is hollow unless we fill within it visions of what we hold for ourselves in the future, and how we see ourselves being. It is not only the state of being who we are, but who we are to become.⁹

The difference in viewpoint between Nakhid and Levine is largely one of emphasis: Nakhid, speaking in the first person, looks to the future as an insider, or at least a participant in the process; whereas Levine’s view is focused on the impact of etic analytic processes as origins. Muaiava’s viewpoint is mediant between these views: his view resembles Nakhid’s in that he is looking to the future, but he retains a concern with origins; his view differs in emphasis from Levine’s because he is not as much concerned with the imposition of categorical labels as “the” starting point, but instead as elements of embodied functional and historical processes whose actual origins predate the analytic orientation (and colonial mentality) of Western social science (and retain significant pre-Western content).

Similarly, notions of authenticity vis à vis what constitutes the “real” has divergent affective significance for insiders and outsiders, and for producers and consumers of music. Stokes notes that notions of authenticity and hybridity are opposed in world music

⁹ Nakhid 2003: 303.

discourse. He says that both popular and academic discourses, “prioritize hybridity aesthetically, ethnographically, and politically and are skeptical about, if not openly hostile to, the ideas and practices associated with authenticity.”¹⁰

In this discourse, outsiders search for a means to assess musical outputs of some group. However, the construction of what is “real” for people like Muaiava — who personally and immediately embody their metonymic cultures as active producers and without the consumerist posture of academic and popular audiences — is born of a sense of responsibility to an owned heritage. Muaiava’s criteria for judging what is real or “authentic” is based on a combination of analysis and lived experience and his experience is inclusive of both hybrid (European and other environmental influences), and “essential” elements associated with history and pre-history — ancient, primeval, primordial — associated with, but not defined by blood links.

As an outgrowth of lived experience, Muaiava sees Samoan dance as coming out of activities that are a normal part of any gathering of Samoan people. As a result, cultural competitions and festivals have become a major site for “traditional” performance in recent times. Muaiava says:

Samoan dance comes about when you have Samoans congregating, whether it’s church opening, funeral, et cetera — that was the traditional method of dance until competition came along.

According to Muaiava, the lape, a kind of mocking chant heard during kilikiti matches (the Samoan version of British cricket that has become Samoa’s “national game”), is an example of the recent emergence of a Samoan “traditional” performance:

¹⁰ Stokes 2004: 59.

When cricket came about, that's when the lape came about. Kilikiti, they took a western form and thought, "we'll put our own spin on this." The lape, when you see them performing, that's probably the 50s and 60s that came about, showed that Samoan dance comes about when you have Samoans congregating, whether it's church opening, funeral, et cetera. That was the traditional method of dance until competition came along. [Chants] "The fire's gone to your side... It's your turn," to the other cricket side.... It's really good when you have a lape; I've got a video...of family reunions and they'll do the same thing; it'll be my mum's family and then my dad's family. It'll be the family that can do the craziest thing — not so much explicitly — but the most comedic thing...it's about mocking — the pitch goes up every time. It was all in good spirit.

The point is that performances develop "traditionally" in response to new and evolving performative contexts. And situations where Samoans gather are also sites where new performances begin to become institutionalized. This is evident in dance competitions, which have become a site where performances (and performers) are validated by the Samoan community. In large measure Muaiava derives his "authority" and finds validation for his interpretation of Samoan dance from a combination of his lineage and community acknowledgment and reinforcement at competitions:

I've come to the conclusion [that] you've got to grow up in whatever dance form your parents were doing, that's tradition, whether it be untraditional or contemporary. I feel I have a right now — a lot of people know in my generation that Keneti is the man for dance. I've done my apprenticeship. Samoan dance is very specific. We had competitions and an arena where you can say you're actually better to everybody else.... I'm the first to win the grand slam — the four main dance competitions.

He enumerated a list of competitions held in New Zealand and Samoa:

[The] biggest is the Samoan Catholic competition in New Zealand. It's the longest running and biggest in New Zealand — no one had it in Samoa. ...This competition started in 1968 and it's still going on this year. The other one is the ASB festival. That's a school festival, so you've got kids, but I still count it as a Samoan dance competition. The other one is the So'o, where students from all over — universities around New Zealand — [compete]. I've won that competition. [And] I'm the only one that's taken a group from outside Samoa to win Teuila. [At] Teuila, they only make their own win. For me to take a group from outside Samoa and actually win that — I've proved my point.

Winning competitions in both Samoa and New Zealand has allowed Muaiava to assert a trans-oceanic Samoan-ness and to assert his claim to authenticity and establish himself as

an authoritative voice. This in turn allows him to begin to rewrite Samoan tradition in a way that benefits Samoans in diaspora. Muaiava uses traditional music and dance as a vehicle for adapting to and managing contemporary circumstances. He uses performance as a way to negotiate compromise between rigidly held values from the old country and new ones that subsequent generations must accommodate if not adopt in New Zealand. He feels that this compromise is necessary for young Samoans to survive. He says:

That's why my generation are getting into trouble — we've got to come to a compromise. We believe in fa'a Samoa [the traditional "Samoan way" of being and doing] and its code of ethics. However, the fa'a Samoa is 60 years old, no probably a 100. When [missionary] John Williams arrived in 1830, fa'a Samoan lifted up, turned upside down, and [came] back down.

His idea is that tradition has changed repeatedly as people adapted to new circumstances. This was particularly true for Samoans responding to the missionaries and colonization. In order to apprise people of the fluid nature of tradition, he often uses the traditional method of people thanking performers by stuffing money into a bottle on stage during a performance as an example:

I tell my people, "There's a traditional method of thanking people — a Coke bottle — and money goes in the Coke bottle. Money does not come from Samoa and you know where Coke came from." ...You have no argument, no justification [to say] that "It's in that time — that's it." If you could take a Coke bottle [then], I [can] take a Pepsi bottle [now]!

Muaiava makes a distinction between three dances that he considers to be the core of Samoan dance tradition and some other, more contemporary dances. He also talks about "traditional dances" that were discarded as the result of missionary influence:

[There are] three main dances in Samoa, the sa sa, the ma'ulu'ulu, and the taualuga. The sa sa is body percussion, movement, beat. It's seated — a rhythmic dance. The ma'ulu'ulu is an action dance with melody; it contrasts to the sa sa. The sa sa is very rigorous, but also powerful and very, very in your face. The ma'ulu'ulu is, too, but in a way that is very beautiful — it's graceful. The taualuga means the end, that's the finale.

It's where everyone's seated and the guy is standing up and you do a final dance. Those dances evolved from whatever. However, there are traditional dances we don't do anymore.... These dances aren't performed anymore because they're very explicit — that doesn't fit into Samoan society, especially [after] the missionaries arrived and there were certain things you were no longer able to do. There are also new forms of dance, the slap dance, the ulu fale, the entrance; these are all contemporary dances that I need to research. They've come about in the 70s and 80s but I need people to understand they didn't come from 100 years ago. The sa sa did, the ma'ulu'ulu did, and the tauluga.

The fact that recently composed dances may become “traditional” opens a creative window for Muaiava and he sees Samoan performance as a medium for helping Samoan people, especially the older generation, to reconceptualize and adapt their practices to be more appropriate in the new place. Muaiava expresses these sentiments in Samoan language and in traditional fora where such criticism is appropriate and therefore accepted. For instance, he has composed songs that discourage the use of corporal punishment (“getting smacked”) — a traditional method of disciplining children in Samoa but one that is not appropriate in New Zealand:

Something people respect about me is that I wrote songs — you get a New Zealand-born Samoan to write songs — in Samoan. I had a gift for it: “Discipline with your mind — don't discipline with your hand.” People cried. If anybody has a right to talk about Samoan issues, it's me. The tauluga is where you do it. You don't go in a suit to a social worker environment and go, “OK, you should change your way, people.” You don't — you do it the right way. You come from a traditional background and the arena is the tauluga — “What are we going to listen to today, what [are] today issues?” Samoans listen [and] tauluga is where they sit down. It's a long song, but you sing about what's happening today.... I'm going to sing about the problems, the good, the bad — the first Samoan All Black captain [sings]. This is what I'm going to write about. Unfortunately, before I came along we still sang about the old things; go to church, pray, go to church, pray, listen to mum and dad. Even though our kids were getting beat, even though our kids were on the street.... It's not a job for Black Grace and the contemporary environment with Europeans, because that's when Samoans go, “I'm not going to listen to shit.” When you've got someone who came about it the right way — Samoan dance is where you talk about it — the people take it in the right way, because it's in their language and it's written in their way.

Samoan language and traditional settings are more important for the older generations. Speaking to a younger generation of New Zealand-born Samoans and bridging the gap between them and their parents is more problematic:

I'm actually thinking about doing a taualuga that's half Samoan and half English. Now people of dad's [age] are really worried about that. My dad would say it's bad enough our kids can't speak Samoan. I thought, "Dad you have to understand that I need to communicate."

The kind of intergenerational communication that Muaiava talks about is a manifestation of an ongoing transformational process that has been necessitated by the transplantation of Samoan people and culture to New Zealand. Changing circumstances and adaptation to new situations is causing Samoans in New Zealand to change their priorities as they rethink, revalue, and reconstruct elements of cultural identity and performance.

His father has come to understand Muaiava's "need to communicate" and supports his efforts: "[My father] says, 'Son, you're bringing English into this domain....'" His father's changing attitudes also reflect changes in the viewpoint of the at-large New Zealand Samoan community toward dance as a "respectable" occupation and their investment in Samoan dance as a vehicle for preserving and extending Samoan culture.

Muaiava says of his father:

[He] tells people, "My son teaches Samoan dance for a living." He says he's so proud. He remembers that the biggest critics were Samoan people [who'd say], "That's not a real job — go get a real job. Go put on a pair of overalls." I told him my real job is to take this art form and hand it down to whomever. If I don't, the link will be broken.

A major shift for Samoans migrants in New Zealand is to a "mixed" ethnic environment where Samoans are a minority culture.¹¹ A question for New Zealand Samoans is how do they integrate (or not) with other cultural groups?

Muaiava is conscious that he is a member of a "multi-cultural society" and he uses Samoan dance as a way to fit into that society — to interact with it and to establish his

¹¹ See So'o 2005: 336.

credentials in a larger domain than just the Samoan community. I witnessed one of Muaiava's dance classes where he taught a multi-hued group of international and New Zealand students from as far away as Australia, the Philippines, and Bulgaria — but none were Samoan. Muaiava explains how these international students wound up at the University of Auckland:

[It's] because of the multi-cultural society we have. Many come because they think Auckland is the Polynesian capital city of the world. They think if you're going to learn Pacific dance, Auckland is the place to go. Pacific dance is very attractive just like Cuban, Latin dance....

By sharing Samoan dance with the outside world, Muaiava is acting as conduit between the Samoan and the larger community. In the process he has softened the boundaries between cultures. Muaiava says the Samoan community has slowly accepted non-Samoan participation in traditional performance:

There's this whole thing with my community, they were like, "What are you doing now Keneti? You're teaching Samoan dance at the university, now you have non-Samoans taking these dances." A few people [are still resistant, but] not many. Ten years ago 90% would have been offended.

Muaiava's ability to act in (and upon) two worlds to essentially bring them closer derives from his exposure to (and situatedness in) both Samoan traditions and New Zealand institutions. Speaking of his ability to take Samoan dance into the university, Muaiava says:

If anyone is going to introduce Samoan contemporary or traditional, it's me. I'm very lucky to be educated; I'm lucky to be from this European system of schooling. I have the right skills to take it into the university.

Muaiava's sense of cultural confidence and "ownership" of the Samoan tradition enables him to posit New Zealand as a *home* of Samoan dance — a place where growth of the

dance (and hence the culture) is viable. He asserts that contemporarily Samoan dance has changed and developed more in New Zealand than Samoa, and that those changes are having a reflexive effect in the home country:

Samoan dance went to another level in New Zealand. In Samoa, it's starting to change now — that's because they're starting to see what we do here.... I feel that New Zealand has that right.... If I grew up in Samoa, I wouldn't have created how I created here.... This environment gave me something different. To say this is dance that changed in Samoa is a lie — it changed here. There are Samoans in USA, Australia, and wherever, but Samoans in New Zealand changed Samoan dance. The sa sa started to change, the ma ulu'ulu....

The changes to which Muaiaava refers are in a sense “updates” that allow the dancers to acknowledge and celebrate their contemporary situations. And the process of updating is an extension of traditional practice — “traditional” dances typically take everyday life as their subject matter, and Muaiaava has updated the Samoan repertoire to reflect modern life and the quotidian experiences of New Zealand Samoans:

There are sa sa that talk about fishing, pulling the rope, every day life.... I did one with spraying deodorant and really pissed my dad off, but I knew what I was doing.

Indeed, Muaiaava's ultimate concern is with Samoan dance as a contemporary expressive form:

I'm taking Samoan dance to another level and not necessarily calling it traditional — I call it contemporary Samoan dance. I feel that I have a very strong philosophical base. It's been changing here for 50 years — that's a long enough time to know what you're doing — where you've come from and where you want to take it.

This process of growth of Samoan (and Pacific) dance as a genre has both outward and inward dimensions and Muaiaava is concerned about potential negative impacts of institutionalization. Muaiaava talked about participation of non-Samoans in Samoan dance and the possibility of them passing on Samoan tradition:

I think it is...possible for a *palagi* in New Zealand to pass it on. You've got palagi kids that dance at the Polynesian Festival. New Zealand is a big enough environment for Samoans — it's another Apia, another Samoa.... If they're all congregated in one area, [it's] possible technically and if this palagi does his homework. These palagi need to understand — where did [the dances] come from? They can, but it's unlikely.

Muaiava feels that maintenance of connections between tradition, lineage, and functionality is the proper approach to the institutionalization of Pacific dance in general:

My problem is *where* you teach Pacific dance — every institution has to understand this — you have to come from tradition. You've got to have somebody teaching Cook Island dance that's had that link [and] this person has to prove it.... Whitireia¹² could have a huge future if they get the right people...people that maintain the links.

Muaiava's construction of "tradition" is based on functionality. His emphasis is on maintaining tradition as a self-conscious continuum that is cognizant of and acknowledges histories and lineages as well as contemporary circumstances and looks to establish — by both analysis and construction — a consistent relationship between them.

As a process taking place within Samoan communities (both in New Zealand and Samoa), Muaiava's kind of innovation — performances that take place in traditional fora, using traditional methods, and cast in terms of a deep understanding of their function — affirms the identity of New Zealand Samoans vis à vis Samoa as homeland. Such performances have the reflexive impact of making life as it is lived in New Zealand normative by inserting it into traditional performative discourse — it restates and reshapes traditional identity. In essence, it remakes fa'a Samoa in a form that is more relevant to

¹² Whitireia Community Polytechnic is a tertiary, degree-granting institution in Porirua, a town north of Wellington that is home to a large population of urban Pacific Island and Māori peoples. Whitireia offers a range of qualifications, including a "Performing Arts Major of the Bachelor of Applied Arts" that features Māori, Samoan, Cook Island, and contemporary dance.

people's lived experience, and hence more viable and able to grow and expand in diaspora.

In terms of outward orientation, Muaiava's intent is to maintain Samoan dance as a cultural performance with links to its origins, including tradition and lineage. At the same time, he promotes an inclusive and expansive notion of cultural performance that enables it to grow both inside and outside of the originating culture. This expansiveness extends the range of appropriate venues for teaching and learning the tradition to include individuals and institutions that are outside of the Samoan community and is potentially problematic because it may result in mis- or even ex-appropriation of the cultural object.

At the annual ASB Bank Polyfest Secondary School Competition, non-Pakeha cultural traditions are represented and featured in association with New Zealand educational institutions. The relative presences of various groups at this venue, and the affective engagement of diverse audiences, is indicative of the current institutional status of their traditions in New Zealand. Potentially, it is also a harbinger of future engagement.

ASB Polyfest Secondary School Competition

The annual Secondary School Competition, sponsored by ASB (Auckland Savings Bank) Bank, is known variously as the ASB Bank Cultural Festival, the ASB Secondary School Competition, and ASB Polyfest. On the Manukau City website, the festival is touted as "the world's largest Māori and Pacific Island Secondary Schools cultural festival."¹³ The event is a site of close interaction between ethnic communities and public institutions, particularly the education sector.

¹³ <http://www.manukau.govt.nz/>, 5/4/2008.

The festival has evolved in collaboration between students, staff, and parents of the participating schools, and is an opportunity for families and local ethnic communities to actively participate with teachers and students in construction and performance of ethnic identity. The event began in 1976 at Hillary College, a secondary school in Otara in South Auckland. The size and scope of participation in the festival grew from just four schools in 1976 to 38 in 1991. The festival was shifted to the Manukau City Sportsbowl in 1995, when the event was deemed to large to be hosted on the grounds of any single school.

Commentary

After some reflection, I compiled the following commentary from a combination of field notes and audio visual materials I recorded at the event.

I attended the ASB Polyfest Secondary School festival in 2005 and 2006. In 2005, I was also able to observe students and their mentors preparing for the competition in advance of the festival. The format for the festival remained stable in the years I attended, and my observations were consistent over both years.

During the run-up to the festival, ethnic groups at each of the competing high schools rehearse programs as an extra-curricular activity. The rehearsals usually take place on school grounds after school and on weekends. Each group will have a faculty advisor who may or may not share ethnicity with the group. Usually the program leaders — who are responsible for developing programs, and teaching and rehearsing routines — will be drawn from the local ethnic community. Leaders are generally recruited by the students, their parents, and communities. The longevity of the festival and its prominence means

that potential leaders tend to be well known, and the same leaders may be recruited from year to year. Communities and families are also involved in activities like making costumes and preparing food.

Local communities also coordinate to provide infrastructure — including canvassing for sponsors and fundraising — for the festival itself, and every year one school will take primary responsibility for “hosting” the festival.

The Site

The Manukau Sportsbowl has been the site of the festival since 1995. The site covers several acres of rolling grassland. During the festival the entire area swarms with people — traffic is backed up for access to the site and clusters of teenagers sporting school colors and logos are everywhere. Stages are set up in every nook and cranny. Most of the activity centers on the various competitions, but there is also a fair bit of commercial activity — radio stations and promotions, cell phone, and food vendors — distributed throughout the grounds.

The festival features dedicated stages for Māori, Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islands, and Niuean participants, and a separate “Diversity Stage” for everyone else. On the dedicated stages, the competitions take place among teams comprised of a single ethnic group but from different high schools. On the Diversity Stage, several different ethnic groups compete against one another. The groups I witnessed competing on the Diversity Stage included Indian, Sri Lankan, Chinese, and Malaysian groups from a variety of high schools.

The stages are set up with an elevated reviewing stand behind the audience area, where the judges sit. The judges are generally established community people who might be deemed guardians of tradition, and each stage has its own set of rules that are stipulated before the competition. For the dedicated stages this generally means a set of compulsory genres or types of routines that each group is expected to execute. Criteria for judging are not published and tend to be idiosyncratic to the individual judges. Time limits are also set in order to accommodate the large number of competing groups.

The essence of most of the performances is movement and choral singing. In addition to dance and music performances, speech contests are also conducted. Musical accompaniment on the dedicated stages was usually live and provided by older musicians, usually on guitars and percussion, but sometimes including other instruments like banjo. On the Diversity Stage, most groups were accompanied by prerecorded music. However, there were some examples of exotic instruments, including cymbals and drums played by students for a Chinese dragon dance.

The festival has the feeling of a huge picnic and parade rolled into one. The crowds — comprised mostly of students — were very enthusiastic on all of the stages that I observed over two years.

Diversity Stage

When I attended the festival in 2005 and 2006, audiences at the Diversity Stage were predictably diverse. The audiences at the Diversity Stage seemed to trend younger than the single-ethnic stages — there were families present, but there seemed to be fewer adults. Diversity Stage audiences also included a substantial number of Pacific Island

teenagers and who appeared very engaged and enthusiastic (see Figure 2). Cross-cultural engagement was particularly noticeable during Bollywood-inspired performances (there were several) that also included hip-hop-like dance moves, or other affectations of coolness, being “hip” or other expressions (or shared fantasies) of sophistication or current fashions. Performances that were specialized or had a more classical tinge — Chinese dragon dancing and Sri Lankan dancing — drew applause, but audiences seemed less engaged than for performances that obviously referenced current or popular culture. It seems clear that the most popular performances were ones in which the teenage audience recognized some shared reference.



Figure 2. *The crowd at the 2006 Diversity Stage was large, enthusiastic and decidedly multi-cultural. Note the similarity of hairstyles between students of different ethnicities.*

Other Stages

During the 2006 festival, I spent considerable time at the Samoan Stage (see Figure 3). For this and the other dedicated stages, the audiences generally tended to be more ethnically homogenous, but still massively enthusiastic. There also seemed to be a greater proportion of adults and discernible family groups in the audience. I found this also to be the case on Tongan Stage (see Figure 4), where I spent a large proportion of my time in

2005. On both of these stages, set repertoires of dances were the rule, and subsequent groups on each stage performed a set of “compulsory” performances as part of the competition.



Figure 3. Marist College girls competing on the 2006 Samoan Stage.



Figure 4. On the Tongan Stage in 2005, older musicians, judges, and dance leaders with students during the competition reflect the high level of community involvement and sanction for the events.

I noticed some cultural “crossover” where, in particular, I saw Pakeha/Palagi (designations for European descended ethnicities) performing with Samoan and Niuean groups.

The level of rigor or seriousness of the competition vis à vis “strictness” varied. On the Niuean and Cook Island Stage, there seemed to be a greater range of performances “for fun.” For example, on the Cook Island Stage in 2005, I saw a dance where young men with bare chests and short pants wore European neckties as they danced in traditional style (see Figure 5). I was told by a spectator at the stage that this performance was not actually a part of the formal competition, but rather “just a way for the students to have fun.” Performances on the Samoan, Tongan, and Māori stages seemed more prescriptive and the types of performances seemed more strictly regulated.



Figure 5. On the Cook Island Stage in 2005, one group of boys added European neckties to their costumes as a comment on their situated New Zealand identities.

The ASB Polyfest is an example of how diverse identities are emerging and mixing on the edges of New Zealand secondary schools. The festival, in the course of over 30 years of annual recurrences, has become an institution that features a high level of engagement by communities, students, parents, and teachers. The competition validates individual cultures and brings them together at the same time. It also provides a venue for students

to “cross over” and participate in exogenous cultural activities. It also provides students opportunities to participate as audiences and to lend support to their friends and classmates from different ethnic backgrounds. Identifications with schoolmates seemed at least as important as ethnic identifications in terms of audiences’ affective engagement and responses to various performances.

This section has dealt with abutting cultural performances, held together in proximity at a single venue and in conjunction with secondary education, the end of the “compulsory” period of formal education in New Zealand. In the next section, I will examine intercultural performance in the tertiary, non-compulsory sector as it manifests in the Performing Arts Program at Whitireia Community Polytechnic in Porirua, New Zealand.

Whitireia Performing Arts: Mana Pasifika

The Whitireia Performing Arts program is a part of the Whitireia Community Polytechnic in Porirua, which lies about 20 miles north of Wellington on New Zealand’s North Island. Porirua is a mixed community that, along with the South Auckland area, has one of the largest populations of Pacific Island people in New Zealand. Whitireia Performing Arts, a program that combines Cook Island, Samoan, and Māori performing arts with modern dance instruction (see Figure 6), was initiated in 1990 as the result of an approach by Gaylene Sciascia to the Whitireia Community Polytechnic.



Figure 6. *Whitireia Performing Arts professional company appearing at the 2005 Porirua Festival of the Elements Waitangi Day celebration.*

Whitireia “Programme Leaders”

Gaylene Sciascia and Tuaine Robati are the co-leaders of the Whitireia Performing Arts program, a tertiary dance course at Whitireia Community. I interviewed them at the offices of Whitireia Performing Arts, which is located about a quarter mile from the main Polytechnic campus and is housed in the same facility as a café that serves breakfast and lunch, the Porirua Public Library, and Pataka Art Museum, that specializes in Māori and Pacific visual arts (see Figure 7). These facilities are accessible off a central corridor that bustles with library patrons, students, and people availing themselves of a range of centrally located arts and recreational activities.



Figure 7. *A complex houses the Porirua Library, Whitireia Performing Arts, Pataka Museum, and a café. Directly adjacent there is a sports/recreation complex and a public park.*

Gaylene Sciascia

Gaylene Sciascia¹⁴ was born in Auckland in 1948. The Whitireia Performing Arts program is largely the result of her vision. Her interest in modern dance dates to the late 1960s, a time when modern dance “wasn’t really happening in New Zealand.” After completing an undergraduate degree in the physical education school of the University of Otago (a very prestigious program), she did an Master of Fine Arts degree at the University of Utah.

After completing her MFA, Sciascia returned to New Zealand with a keen desire to foster a culturally relevant modern dance movement. She and her husband, Piri Sciascia (who is currently Te Toiahurei Māori Pro Vice-Chancellor at Victoria University in Wellington), settled in Porirua and began to build on their mutual interests in education, culture, and performing arts.

Sciascia is antipathetic toward tokenism, and her reaction against the use of Māori names in titles of dance pieces that lack appropriate cultural content was an impetus to develop a more culturally relevant performing arts program:

You can’t plaster it on like “Pania on the Reef,” — contemporary dance, but just give it a Māori name. It made me sick. So we developed some things. “Wa Ngaiterangi” was a contemporary dance work that I did for Impulse Dance Theatre. It was the journey of Tane going to the heavens and bringing back the baskets of knowledge. At the time I only had Pakeha dancers, except for one. So the way I dealt with it, I used masks. I went to the old people before we put it on (to get approval), they all gasped when the masks came off because they thought they were Māori dancers. At that time we didn’t have the number of Māori dancers — now we do.

In the process of developing a “dance theatre” paper at a local high school, Sciascia came to believe see Porirua was a fertile ground for developing not only Māori, but Pacific

¹⁴ N.B., unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this section are Gaylene Sciascia interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/2/2006.

performers and themes. This notion led her in 1990 to submit a proposal for a performing arts course to Turoa Royal, who was the *tumuaki* (“principal”) of the Whitireia Community Polytechnic. Francesca Horsley in the *DANZ* (Dance Aotearoa New Zealand) *Quarterly* quotes Sciascia saying:

Porirua is a like a microcosm of the Pacific, with a really strong Māori and Pacific population. There are so many young people with talents and skills and at the time many parents wanted them to get real jobs and didn’t see a possibility of employment in the arts. They took them for granted — “of course they can sing and of course they can dance.”¹⁵

Sciascia draws a distinction between “cultural” and “pure” arts. She wants to cultivate opportunities for young people to embrace and develop who they are in the arts and to give them the skills they need to succeed:

It’s about tu tangata [“people standing up”]. It’s about standing up — our young people — tall, with having successful experience within cultural arts. It’s really about empowering our younger people to be able to stand in the footprints of their ancestors and [in] that knowledge. I guess I’m more of an educator than an artist, because you use the arts as a vehicle for empowering young people, where some people are the “pure artist,” the “pure art form” and whatever. But really I’m all about young people growing.

International touring is an important aspect of the Whitireia Performing Arts program and Sciascia sees arts as a way to communicate across cultures:

...The other thing was about building cultural bridges, I took that to dancing across cultures so that we’ve taken it to the world to hear who we are. When we do that our young people come back with a sense of who they are, where they’re from. In New Zealand culture, and Māori and even Pacific culture, we tend to put down our own, we tend to be our own worst critics, so if you’re getting too good I better cut your legs from under you, which is really sad, rather than celebrate and uplift. We’ve often talked about how our political leaders should start dancing and having successful experience in the arts; we might have a better world because they’ll dance together while the others kill each other. We’ve been to North Korea, danced with the Vietnamese, with everybody across the world, even when you can’t understand a thing, you can share and grow together.

¹⁵ Gaylene Sciascia quoted in Horsley 2006.

Expanding the Program

Sciascia says the expansion of the Performing Arts program from a one-year course to a three-year degree was driven largely by student demand:

In 1991 we had a one-year course and after that most of the students came back and enrolled in the same course the next year — they didn't want to leave. Now they wouldn't be allowed to do it, but back then we allowed it. So we had to develop a separate second year course. But then, I thought, if I'm taking fees for two years, it actually has to be able to move somewhere and we need to develop a third year course, because [the students] don't really have the skills to work professionally in the industry. So over the years we got the certificate, a diploma and an advanced diploma. Then I was able to upgrade to what we call a level 7 or group 3 qualification, which means our advanced diploma students were then able to apply for a one year [Teaching Diploma] in order to get into a teaching area.

Empowering Students

Sciascia sees the Performing Arts program as providing a “staircase” for an economically disadvantaged and educationally disenfranchised student population to succeed personally and professionally:

I was really trying to open staircasing and also staying ahead and finding that point of difference — there are a lot of artists that are great artists and they perform and create, but unless you can manage yourself and have a sense of performing arts management — of entrepreneurship...so we started to develop the management side of the arts as well as the teaching. We were multi-skilling, giving opportunities to experience those areas. Then probably a year or so ago, there was a real pressure from the government about degrees — it's bit scary because your entry qualification would normally exclude a lot of the people [who] are our most successful. So we've had to find sneaky ways to deal with that.

The degree program is interdisciplinary and has been tailored to accommodate a holistic, Pacific view of the arts:

We've looked at the degree and we've tried to get a composite degree of Bachelor of Applied Arts. The four major areas are creative writing, visual arts, music, and dance/performing arts. ...But there are two generic papers in the first two years: one [is] “creative enterprise” — learning about business plans or applications or budgeting. The other is “contextual studies,” which looks at art in relation to culture and place within Aotearoa and the Pacific. There is one other 20-credit area that we are calling an option. We're developing that for collaborative and interdisciplinary studies. ...That's basically because so much of the arts in the Pacific are holistic — you don't have your music as separate from your dance. ...The theatre, the drama, the dance, the song — it's all one, so

[the ability] to work collaboratively across cultures comes naturally for a lot of our students.

Repertoire and Equity

In the third year of the program, in addition to continuing creative enterprise classes, students create a body of work. Sciascia says that themes and repertoires for the students' outputs are individual and specific to them and drawn from the diverse materials they have at hand. Asked about the influence of standard repertoires, Sciascia comments that, while members of their learning community draw on traditional materials, the program aims to expand the scope and ambit of their combined artistic enterprise — for tutors and students alike. The exigencies of bringing together diverse sources into a unified whole means they must embrace a notion of cultural equity as a matter of sheer pragmatism:

We've been trying to say [that] in order to be treated the same, you have to be treated differently sometimes. ... We don't want to teach the same repertoire... part of the process is working alongside the students, composing, choreographing. I guess we're always trying to move the boundaries and to explore new ways but also going back to look at the traditional classics. Within our body of work, we work in four cultural areas. Instead of having our Māori, Samoan, Cook Island, and New Zealand contemporary dance... I wanted my staff [from different cultural origins] to work and be a lot more aware of each other — to support [one another], to work creatively together.

Indeed, a lot of the accommodations that have been made at Whitireia are pragmatic and the nature of the Whitireia dance troupe — particularly as a professional troupe — means that inter-cultural cooperation is essential. An important aspect of the Whitireia program is that it functions as an apprentice company that specializes in combining and showcasing Māori, Samoan, and Cook Island cultural performances:

“Professional Studies” — that's the repertoire, that's the outside performing. Because we operate our course like an apprentice company and because our students work best by doing. So we work closely with the industry — at Te Papa, on big events, on “corporates,” whatever. Also within cultural tourism — they learn to be cultural ambassadors because we travel each year to international festivals.

A Cultural Foundation

Sciascia stresses cultural studies as a foundation for performing arts:

“Cultural Studies” puts language and culture as a foundation stone from which we can appreciate, grow, and develop and be innovative within the arts. ...Until we have a real understanding, appreciation, and awareness of that cultural base, I don’t think we can do the [performing] with integrity....

As a part of establishing a cultural foundation for the performances, Sciascia’s program provides a remedial cultural education for urbanized and culturally alienated youth:

When I started the course 16 years ago I made the false assumption that my Samoan students had Samoan language and knew about Samoan culture. Whereas most of them were born in New Zealand, they could understand Samoan but 90% couldn’t speak Samoan. Because that was what they had had to do in order to get on, [and] which is where Māori were 40 years ago. And some Māori had never actually been on a marae before, and so that was the first [thing]...it’s building that face, and it’s alongside touching on their own cultural base...especially in performance, to be able to acknowledge and respect and distinguish the different essence of each of those cultures. One of the things that comes from our performing, when all of our students perform Samoan, a Samoan audience sees and hears and feels a Samoan presence. And when we do Māori, the Māori audience.... It’s being true to the essence and spirit of each of those cultures.

Sciascia feels that, in order for them to rise to embody a range of cultures and perform them convincingly, the students have to come to grips with themselves. She talked about ministering to the students to help them cope with wounds accumulated in rough, culturally denatured urban environments:

We’ve found that a number of students here have been through a number of brandishing experiences in their lives and come through. And so alongside [academic studies and training] we put the support of personal management — what we used to call “personal me” but now it comes into “Professional Studies and Self-management” — where we look at who we are. Because so many of our students are active “out there,” I have to also try and pause a little bit and get them to go inward. Which for some of them is pretty scary and they don’t want to go there. And it’s safer if they’re right out there — “anything outside of me.” But if we can start to do that, they should go out even better. We’re sort of looking back in order to go forward. We also have to look at how to help them resolve their past so it doesn’t control them. So they can free themselves of stuff and it’s about empowering them so that they can take some control of their lives.

Sciascia feels the importance of taking time to deal with students on a personal level is in tension with an institutional predilection for the impersonal:

It's having to care for and nurture the personal side of the person.... It's not in our degree outline but it's the pastoral care elements, and the only thing that's happening in a terrible way in our schools in New Zealand. And it's starting to happen in tertiary — the paper pushing, assessment-driven stuff is taking so much time, [that] you're not [able to be] there for your students. In our schools, that's what's missing. I want quality not quantity, I want a small group of people who will make an artistic and cultural life of our community in our country and internationally. If I try to spread it too thin, it becomes mediocre and has no depth.

The Shadow of Biculturalism

Sciascia believes that the term “bi-culturalism” doesn’t adequately express the real situation for people in New Zealand: “Bi-culturalism to a lot of people means New Zealanders and Māori, but it’s actually English *and* everybody else *and* Māori.” And she sees institutional evidence of the limitations of such binary understanding of biculturalism when in the way arts projects are funded:

The interesting thing is for [Whitireia Performing Arts], when working within Māori and Pacific like we do here, whenever you apply for funding, you have to be Māori for Māori or it's Pacific by Pacific for Pacific.

Sciascia thinks that she and the Whitireia performing arts community may be ahead of the rest of New Zealand on the construction of a notion of “us”:

There's no notion of “us” all working together in the Pacific. I think probably you have to establish your own thing strongly first, then you can move across without any threat. Maybe we've moved more quickly across to that than the rest of New Zealand. I mean Māori is within the Pacific; we are all Pacific Islanders in that way. But if you talk to New Zealanders about Pacific Islanders, that means “those people from the other islands — the small islands.” The whole bi-culturalism thing — a lot of New Zealanders see it as a huge circle and Māori is a little circle within it. But that's more like an “integrated” whole — “they're within this.” Whereas I like to see it as two circles that meet and overlap a little bit. But there is this very special bit — the “unique” — which allows [the groups] to be different, without threat. And I think if we do all those three, then the innovation, the growth is multiplied.

Tuaine Robati

Tuaine Robati¹⁶ was born in Rarotonga in 1953. His family sent him to New Zealand to attend secondary school. While at school, he lived with his elder sister and her family. After high school, he went on to University and to Teachers College. When I asked about his background in teaching dance, he said:

I'm not a dancer, I don't have a formal background in dance. I've taught primary, and Māori and English at high school, I've taught at Victoria [University in Wellington] tutorials and I've been [at Whitireia] for 10 years. This is a hobby; my job at the moment is my hobby.

I observed Robati teaching Cook Island language, history, dance, and singing to students over the course of several days on two trips to Whitireia in 2006 (see Figure 8). He is very demanding of his students and his classes are highly regimented. At times he seems like a drill sergeant, chiding and even deriding them if he feels they are not on track to meeting a professional standard.



Figure 8. Tuaine Robati teaches a class in Cook Island dance.

¹⁶ N.B., unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this section are Tuaine Robati interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/4/2006.

Robati says that in the Cook Islands when he was growing up, people learned to dance by doing and by osmosis: “You grow up with the rhythm, it’s part and parcel [of life].” He has adapted his teaching skills to the task of teaching performing arts. He makes a distinction between how people learn in a community setting and in an educational institution like Whitireia. Speaking of his teaching style, he said:

I think that’s me, that’s my teaching background: I’m a strict teacher. I believe in systems...these systems I developed myself just from observing the more formal dance classes like the contemporary dance. I don’t think any other Cook Islands tutor teaches the way I do...it has to be of a standard — quality.

While Robati distinguishes between how performance may be taught in community versus academic settings, his basic approach is idiographic. He described a process of mining his personal experience of Cook Island performance and then translating that experience for use at Whitireia:

In communities, it’s let’s learn this piece and get on with it — for me it’s personal inward research. What is Cook Islands technique? It’s based on my own experience. ...We were never taught — you’re dancing every day. It’s just part of the lifestyle: school shows, parent days, classes learn items...it’s around you. You just pick it up. You grew into that — call it condition.... Then there’s church, singing, and the culture; there’s dancing involved, there’s gospel day and festivals.

Tradition

Robati considers “tradition” to be a problematic concept:

For me “tradition” is an awkward word because what *is* tradition? Is tradition for the Cooks pre-missionary? ...What’s traditional in my view is chanting, church singing, and probably the classics — pieces that have become classics — drum dances that everyone knows in the Cooks. Or types of drumming — different sounds from different regions, that I can identify just by the sound.

Indeed, Robati includes the period of European contact in his selection and construction of a “traditional” repertoire. He is also conscious that Cook Islanders from different

generations and with different situations have a different orientation to the history of the dance:

When I'm teaching dance history, it's different for people living in the Cook Islands as opposed to those living here. And again there's a third Cook Islander that's born and bred here.... There are different levels of being Cook Island.

For Robati, the range of possible Cook Island experiences and identities seems to form a hinge for the construction of authentic identities in performance. When he teaches Cook Island dance to students with diverse backgrounds, he expects them to *become* Cook Islanders:

At the end of the day I'm saying to them, "When you are doing a performance I do not want to see a European, a Māori, or a Samoan in a Cook Island costume, I want to see a team of 20 Cook Island dancers." There's a whole understanding of the culture they have to bring inside out: "When I look into your eyes I see a Cook Islander."

His teaching technique includes immersing the students in a way of being so that they affectively embody the culture:

Most of my classes would start with a hymn or a prayer because that's the Cook Island way. I won't say, "This is how Cook Islanders do things." I say, "We *are* Cook Islanders and this is how we are going to operate."

Robati feels that this type of approach — where students become cultural repositories — is essential to the survival of cultural performance:

I'm trying to get that message across to our other tutors; it's not just a nice piece to teach, we need to develop our dance culture or else it dies.

Narrative Dimensions of Performance

Part of the translation process involves parsing cultural performance into discreet functional units of technique. This is a fundamentally different from Robati's childhood experience when he absorbed Cook Island performance as units of repertoire, with no emphasis on technique

My childhood was so different to how Cook Island children grow up now; I'm talking 50 years ago. We were always taught repertoire and not technique because of the assumption [that] you don't need technique, you know how to dance. Everyone can dance. Repertoire is really what the teachers had in mind.

But the narrative dimension of the performance must also be developed:

For me dance is a reflection of what's happening around you: an issue you want to make a point about, to teach people [so] hopefully people will go away and reflect – “Oh what are they trying to say?” Isn't that what art is all about?

Cook Island Māori in the Shadow

Robati feels that Cook Island Māori are marginalized and alienated from their culture in New Zealand by being “lumped in” with other Pacific Island groups:

I'm having a debate with the Ministry of Education, I'm into the education of Cook Island youth and we've been missing the boat for 20 years because everything is about funding. I'm trying to tell them we are more like New Zealand Māori rather than other Pacific groups. We're lumped in with another group [where] I believe we don't belong. A lot of other people would disagree with me — I'm saying we're more Māori. At the end of the day I'm a Māori. It's only when we come here — because of the labelling thing — I can't call myself a Māori. If you live in the Cooks then you're a Māori.... What's been lost is the relationship between New Zealand Māori and Cook Island Māori, I feel. Why that's been lost — and I understand the history of New Zealand Māori — is they've had to fight their own cause, so I felt we were pushed away as tauivi with the other groups — lumped in with all the other Pacific Island groups. Now, Cook Island children, when you say there's a meeting for all PI's [Pacific Islanders], they don't go and they never will. That's why I'm trying to tell all policy makers this; that's why we're missing out.

Robati feels that the distinctions that policy makers are drawing are more political than cultural. Speaking about differences between Māori and other Pacific groups like Samoans, Robati said:

What I'm trying to say is the way we think — the way our children think — we are more Māori, than say Samoan in our thinking. We're a lot more free thinkers; they're very conservative, hierarchical. Hierarchy comes into play when it needs to be but in every day life we are all equal....

Four Alumni: Choreographing the Pacific

While at Whitireia, I had the opportunity to attend dress rehearsals for a dance program titled “Filling in the Spaces” that was to take place at the Pataka complex. The program

included a set of pieces choreographed and by Whitireia alumni and performed by a group of dancers made up of current and former students. I was able to interview four of the choreographers. Two of the choreographers were male, two female. Two were of Samoan descent, one was Māori, and one was Pakeha. Most of my interviews (with the exception of Annabelle Reader) took place when, after observing Tupe Lualua and the women rehearse for a while, I joined the in-and-out traffic through a side exit from the dance studio out into a parking lot adjacent to the building. Several dancers were there — smoking cigarettes, hanging out, laughing, and talking boisterously like kids on a playground (see Figure 9). Three of the four choreographers were there, and this gave me an opportunity to interview them. I talked to them about their pieces and their experiences at Whitireia and activities since.



Figure 9. *Dancers occupied the central corridor of the Pataka complex during their rehearsal.*

I was particularly interested to understand how their studies in traditional Pacific and modern dance impacted their lives and shaped notions of who they are as artists and people (see Figure 10). The rehearsals took place in the late afternoon as most of the

facilities in the Pataka complex, including the museum and cafe but with the exception of the library were closing. The performing arts school offices and rehearsal space are tucked away down a hallway off of a central corridor through the main complex. For this performance, the dancers commandeered portions of the public area in front of the building (on the street side), the central corridor, and an adjacent courtyard that abuts the café. I was particularly struck by how the dancers were able to fill the space — they seemed to take possession and easily inhabit it as their “home space.”



Figure 10. Ioani Leota and Annabelle Reader on a break between rehearsing.

Ioani Leota

Ioani Leota¹⁷ is a Samoan male. He was born on the island of Upolu in 1979 and came to New Zealand when he was six or seven years old. The rehearsals of Leota’s work that I witnessed took place in two parts, with men working at first by themselves while the women were engaged elsewhere working on other parts of the program (see Figure 11).

¹⁷ N.B., unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this section are Ioani Leota interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/3/2006.



Figure 11. *Ioani Leota (seated next to the drummer) directs male dancers as they stalk across the courtyard during rehearsal.*

During the first part of the rehearsal, Leota oversaw a group of seven dancers and a drummer as they moved between a courtyard and the interior of the Pataka complex's central corridor (see Figure 12). The drummer's kit consisted of a kick drum, conga, Cook Island slit gongs, and a frame drum which he played with a combination of his hands, foot pedal, and sticks. The drumming consisted mostly of hard driving, highly metric beats in 4/4 12/8 or 6/8 signatures.

Field Notes — March 2, 2006

The dancers move as a unit, in time with the drums, as if in pursuit — they are reminiscent of a hunting or a war party, crouched low, moving to an almost martial tattoo. The dancers seem tied to the earth and most of the movement seems to take place on or near the ground or is somehow directed toward the earth. The movement vocabulary draws on a combination of idioms including hip-hop, martial arts (capoeira), Samoan slap dancing and modern dance.

The dancers are mostly brown and several also sport dreadlocks. One dancer's skin is dyed black and he is wearing a loincloth. (Leota explained to me later that this was the costume that they would all wear for the actual performance.)

The second part of the rehearsal began sometime later (after my interview with Leota) when the women became available.

This part of the piece is focused on four women arranged in a semi-circle in the interior of the corridor with their backs to the courtyard. The actions of the men are directed toward the seated women who sit cross-legged and are rhythmically swaying gently back and forth, their hands gesticulating towards each other in motions reminiscent of Māori

action songs or Samoan dances that mime messages. The dance is accompanied by quiet drumming and quasi-melodic chanting that form an undercurrent. The men frolic on the periphery [in a stylized fashion like Samoan *taualuga*, where the antics of the men on the periphery sometimes contrast to the solemnity, grace, and dignity of the performer at the center] as if to get the women's attention. The men's movements seem individually improvised (or "freestyled" in Leota's words) and there is a range of movement style on display, including some capoeira-like movement and movements that seem derived from Samoan *taualuga*, and also movements that might be associated with *kapa haka*.

Eventually the mood changes, as four of the male dancers lie down on the wooden deck of the courtyard in rows and the remaining three take up standing positions behind the seated women in the attitude associated with *haka* and begin slowly moving their hands up and down and slap their thighs. They stop short of initiating a full-blown *haka*, but for a few moments, as Leota counts in Samoan, they clap hard and loud with some of the impact that is felt in *haka*. Then silence. And the piece dives into a unison trio of the men swinging and jumping in time to a steady, up tempo (approximately 120 beats/minute) count on a conga drum. Through this the women remain seated stationary. As the rhythmic section winds down after few seconds, the men resume a free-form "harassment" of the women, who remain still and are clearly ignoring them. Just as the women seem about to resume swaying, the drum is joined by a *koauau*, the rest of the male dancers revive. Shortly after, the women rise and back out onto the courtyard as a group. The respective groups of males and females perform unisonal movements that resemble phalanxes advancing and retreating in response to one another. The males and females remain separate tribes as they execute movements in turn. The women eventually move off and the men return to executing movements that more-or-less resemble random acts of violence amongst themselves. They then resume operating as a unit performing martial actions, thrusting with spears, and the like. The piece ends with the men retreating in a retrograde motion into the area of the courtyard where they began in the first rehearsal. They regroup there, with the women this time, and the whole group processes through the courtyard, into and down the corridor, and out.



Figure 12. Ioani Leota rehearses male and female dancers together.

Ioani Leota Interview: Pasifika Style

Leota is a bit shy and his English is fluent, but highly inflected in an urban Pasifika argot — an accent that many in New Zealand would hear as “ghetto.” Leota’s pronunciation of “Pasifika” is striking — he pronounces all of the syllables but he uses a hard “k” and he swallows the “i’s” as if ingesting them to be digested and metabolized later. He enunciates ownership and authority — he says the word confidently and with ease as if to say that his is *the* “correct” pronunciation. It is not English; it is a word of the Pacific.

Speaking of his choreography and dancing, Leota says, “It’s my own style really, I’m freestyling at the moment, it’s sort of Pasifika-contemporary dance — mixing the new with the old.” Leota uses term “freestyling,” usually associated with hip-hop, to describe what he does. But for him it is a generic term that is only loosely associated with hip-hop’s putative African American origins. He uses the term to describe his process of discovery:

I’m freestyling my own stuff, like moves, and your own body movement. I’m still finding body movement looking for new body movements....

When I suggest to him that the drumming style that he uses to accompany his choreography resembles Cook Island drumming, he rejects the specific association, saying that it is “more Pasifika than anything.”

Leota, a graduate, also has an ongoing association with Whitireia’s professional company. He makes himself available for events at the school because he sees a mutual benefit for himself:

I did three years here [and then] joined the dance company.... Now I just come here, do work with them, helping them out. And [I] help myself out as well — being a choreographer — learning a lot of stuff. I’m still learning.

Dance is a part-time, sometimes unpaid activity for Leota. He is part of a network of choreographers who work together to create works that may be supported by the state arts agency, Creative New Zealand, or other funders:

We got a grant from the Art New Zealand [Creative New Zealand] to create work. Whoever's got the money around here, they'll give me a ring and say, "Hey, you want to do some work?" I'm like, "Oh yeah." But I have a full-time job...this is like a hobby for me.

He identifies the movements that he uses in his choreography as:

Pasifika, underground kind of movements. You know, when you see ballet, it's all up here, [gestures upward with both arms as he looks up] up in the heavens. But us — Pasifika — it's always underground movements, and we all sink, you know, on the ground, our movements are all under. It's never up here. I'm trying to mix that with the Island style.

When asked to compare Pasifika with hip-hop, Leota says:

It's sort of the same, because we got the same beats. They do off-beats, we do off-beats. And our rhythm — it's all the same with hip-hop, it's just the music... The music is sort of like the same, it's just we're using wood drums. They're using records. But we've all got the same beats, the same rhythm. We've all got rhythm.

"Freestyling" and "freelancing" seem also to be equivalent terms for Leota in the sense he uses it to mean unattached or un beholden to external interests, and therefore operating freely of one's own will. When he talks about the other young men who are performing his piece he says:

The boys are here, they've all done the course, and they're all just freestyling. There's guys around, just ring them up. "Hey, you want to do something?" They're all talented boys. Some of them doing 2nd, 3rd year here. They're still going." And Leota posits the Pasifika beat as a unifying force for his mixed crew of "freestylers": "They're all different cultures — Samoan, Māori, Palagi, all mixed — and then when they come together they've all got the same beat. They've all got rhythm. It's all Pasifika — all talented.

Leota credits Whitireia with changing his life and opening a path for him:

When I left school, I had nothing else to do. I thought, "I want to do a bit of that." I do culture dance. Whitireia sort of opened up things for me. I thought man, I want to be a

choreographer and things like that, you know. Straight up, man. And people sort of put you down [for] kind of thing, but [you] just come back and go hard.

He says the course changed his life:

[Whitireia] changed my way of looking at life. [I] stopped being a hard core out on the street. [It] showed me how to be polite to people, really, and show this kind of way — just be nice. I'm getting soft now! [He laughs.]

He was also changed by travelling and connecting with other cultures:

Yeah, it's pretty good, sort of set me straight, travel around the world with these guys and learn a lot — good experience. Go overseas, see different people, but they still have that connection with the cultural in different ways...you can see it. I've learned all that.

Tupe Lualua: Gendering Pasifika

After observing Ioani Leota's rehearsal in the complex's main corridor, I followed Tupe Lualua¹⁸ and her group of women into the Whitireia Performing Arts studio. The studio is adjacent to a small office that features desks for a receptionist and the tutors in an open seating arrangement. Behind the office there is a small kitchen and bathroom/changing room. The students, staff, and performers occupy the entire space — flowing in and out at will — as if it is the living room of a large, friendly family.

Field Notes, continued

Lualua assembles her four dancers in the mirrored studio as they rehearse their moves. The movements are metric as Lualua coordinates gestures with a repeated 8-beat count at a tempo of 96 beats/minute. The movements seem to be a compendium of modern dance and kapa haka-like movements combined with hip movements reminiscent of Cook Island female dancing.

Movements take place on the beat, and the count clearly defines the location of the dancers in space, the speed of their movements, and even the rhythm of their footfalls. As they move in circles, they take up new positions where they engage in side-to-side motions in place — all on the beat.

¹⁸ N.B., unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this section are Tupe Lualua interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/3/2006.

This strikes species of rhythmic literalism is reinforced as the drummer (same person as in Ioani Leota's piece) takes up a position on the side of the dance floor and takes up the steady beat.

After an initial set of moves, Lualua plays a tape of Cook Island drumming, even as she continues the steady 8-beat count. The dance seems to be a kind of a modern rendition of Cook Island dance reinforced by other influences that seem to recede as the distinctive Cook Island drumming comes to dominate aurally.

My overall impression is of a style of dance that is fundamentally Polynesian, but that utilizes modern technique and elements to extend its scope and range. In rehearsal, the music seemed like a literal and figurative placeholder — it concretely marks time and place for the dancers, but it also operates as a kind of cultural semaphore — a drone that is constantly tethered to the moment and focuses attention on the “Polynesianness” of the performance.

Tupe Lualua Interview

Tupe Lualua was born in New Zealand in 1981 and is of Samoan descent. She has family ties to Whitireia and to Samoan dance:

I had family that were in the group, and I just knew they were dancing and they loved it. And ever since I was little...I used to dance at church, at family things. My dad was a performer.

She enrolled at Whitireia after dropping out of university. “I was at varsity [university] for a couple of months and hated it,” she says. “I dropped out and then I came here. That was 2001.” She graduated from Whitireia in 2003 and since that time has been a member of the Whitireia Professional Troupe. She works days as an advisor with Housing New Zealand. She identifies strongly with Whitireia and uses the pronoun “we” to equate the institution’s goals with her own:

What we try to do, we try and capture the four main cultures of Aotearoa/New Zealand. I mean not the four main, but we have Māori, Samoan, Cook Island, and Contemporary dance (which came from ballet). And we’re trying to develop our own form of contemporary dance, which is called Contemporary Pasifika, which is a fusion of both. We’re a school and we train in those main four cultures. Part of our study is to go overseas and perform at festivals alongside other countries — like folklore festivals and things like that. Out of that we can go into teaching.

Sometimes the “we” that Lualua refers to is more immediate and specific than an imagined community of “Samoans” or “Pacific Islanders”:

We love it because we feel like we’re holding onto the treasures of our ancestors — the language. There’s nothing better — when you go overseas you feel like you’re representing not only your culture, but *all* [of] your people that you grew up with — all the locals in Porirua.

However her sense of “we” shifts from specific to general when she talks about cultural preservation:

It’s Māori, Samoan, and Cook Island [we’re carrying on all those cultures]. If you listen to our songs, we always refer to a place called Hawaiki or Avaiki. Where most of us Polynesians believe we all came from. Because we believe we were all one culture and then we split up. And that’s how we wound up in the Cook Islands and Samoa, [but] we haven’t found Avaiki yet.

The notion of finding Avaiki, or something approaching it is a unifying metaphor for her and her classmates at Whitireia:

We were fortunate enough to go to Easter Island last year so we feel pretty like we came [the] closest thing to it. Because Rapanui was just like where the islands meet the pa. We felt like “this must be it!” or the closest thing.

Indeed the concept of the “islands meeting the pa” seems to be a metaphor for the conjuncture of Pacific Island and Māori cultures coming together in performance at Whitireia and Lualua propounds this notion as representing a narrative value:

I think it...should mean a lot to anybody who grew up in New Zealand, considering Māori are the native people of New Zealand. I’m free and open to any culture like that.

Similarly, “contemporary dance” is something she associates with the European component of New Zealand culture. Palagi/Pakeha culture is met in the program via training in balletic and modern dance technique that is part of their core curriculum:

...Before we move onto contemporary Pasifika we all learn the basics, 1st, 2nd, 3rd [position], plié, all of that, which all came from ballet. So we have to learn that core for the basics of Contemporary before we can move on to anything else.

Her group is comprised of women and she sees her dance as constructing a particular view of Polynesian women:

The dance I'm doing — I haven't named [it] or come up with a bio, yet. But I have a thing for women performing all together. I feel like once we're in our own element — we're performing alongside each other — we can empower each other. And there are certain moves. In this course I've always been competing with the boys. ...The boys get it easy around here because there are hardly any of them. Girls have to fight for their spot. But I'm always out there to prove girls can dance just as good as [or] better. And for me the most beautiful thing is Polynesian woman's movement. Because a man can't move like a woman can with her curves.

Lualua's conception is gendered, but the cultural basis for what she wants to achieve is not specific:

I just want a cultural basis — with a lot of moves, I'm not just looking at the specific Samoan, Māori, or Cook Island — it's a fusion of them all together as well as Contemporary. I can't even explain it — it's just this whole aura of Polynesian women. It's just great. There are four female performers.... I have one Tokelauan girl, two Samoan girls, and one half Māori, half Palagi, half Cook Island girl. ...And they've all got that Polynesian blood. And I know — because we've all trained together — so I know they've got that movement naturally inside them. ...I explained it to them — we might not have a throne, we might not be living the life of royalty, but we *are* Polynesian princesses. That's how I feel. And so the whole thing of the way a Polynesian princess moves. If you notice in our movements...there's are no apologetic thing about it *at all*. Our heads are always up. We're looking up towards the rangi, to the sky, looking for our ancestors, towards the sky. And we're throwing everything we grew up with — even though we grew up in an urban environment — we're chucking it out there and just acknowledging our ancestors. And in a lot of the movements, we're trying to pull their spirit back into us so it flows out through the dance.

D Letoa: Māori Pasifika

After completing my interviews in the parking lot, I joined D Letoa¹⁹ at the street entrance to the Pataka complex where he was rehearsing three dancers with taonga pūoro

¹⁹ N.B., unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this section are D Letoa interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/3/2006.

accompaniment. The koauau player — a tall, rather lanky individual with a full facial moko and wearing a baseball cap — sat on a low brick wall, hunched over as he played.

Field Notes, continued

There isn't much traffic this time of day, and what there is, is muted. The koauau is the dominant sound — soft and mournful. It mixes with the rustle of the dancers clothing as they execute their moves. Three women are in a diagonal line across the entranceway. The bulk of Letoa's dance takes place on or near the ground as the three roll and contort, mostly in unison. Their movements are coordinated visually between them, and there is no "beat" to speak of. Following a series of moves on the ground, the women rise to a standing position, but the movements continue to be directed toward the ground and they seem to continually sink toward the earth. The three-way unison nature of the movements is finally interrupted as the two women at the extremes of the line take up staves that resemble taiaha [a spearlike fighting staff used in Māori martial arts]. The dancer in the center sinks to the ground as the other two stretch up, before sinking again. At this point Letoa blows a pūtōrino and the dancers file into the main corridor of the complex. Letoa follows the dancers, continuing to blow on the pūtōrino. The action then gives over to another performance.

D Letoa Interview

Born in 1976, D Letoa is Māori and grew up at Waikaremoana in the Urewera district of North Island, New Zealand. A fluent Māori speaker, he says he was raised by his grandmother and didn't attend school until age eleven. While on tour with a group called Ahorangi Genesis, Letoa met Gaylene Sciascia who had brought a group of students to a performance. Letoa began at Whitireia in 1992, one year after the program's inception.

He describes being very impressed with the multi-cultural atmosphere in Porirua, and particularly at Whitireia:

Touring around the country, I saw Māori fighting Pakeha, Tongan fighting Samoan. Everyone was fighting each other. But I come down here and everyone was living together. You know, there was Fijian, Māori, Chinese, Samoan. We were all family and it sort of caught my attention. I thought this is a place where I could just fully immerse myself because I'm into the unity and things like that, and just getting to know other cultures. Growing up all I knew was Māori, that was it. And I came out of that and it was just a big culture shock. So the Whitireia performing arts just opened my eyes to other cultures.

He described his piece:

It's called "Whenuatapu" — "The Earth Sacred." It's actually a dance piece from a production of about an hour and forty-five minutes long. I started it last year but I took a woman's piece from it... I call it "The Presence of Breath." It was the first time life was breathed upon woman.... I don't believe I came from a monkey — I came from this earth. I was born of the earth. I'm just tucking some ladies away and letting them grow from out of the ground, covering them with dirt and leaving it real desolate. I feel it's a time that things are finely balanced at the moment. All the foreshore stuff — Māori belonging to this and to that — I sort of tend to think otherwise. We're just guardians of what we've been given. I mean I share it with everybody. We're an embracing people, hospitality people. That's what my Nan said anyway. I'd like to carry it on and still embrace people into our culture — as opposed to scaring them away with the politics of it all — just showing them the beauty of who we are (see Figure 13).



Figure 13. *D Letoa with dancer in full dress costume depicting being “born of earth.”*

Letoa's dancers are of mixed ethnicity:

My dancers are all mixed. I chose the all mix because it was an opportunity for them to experience where I'm coming from, what I'm doing, man. I sort of feel it's a privilege to have a Samoan dancing in a Māori piece, couple of Māori dancers as well. Just trying to utilize and trying to introduce people who are not so familiar with Māori culture and just give them a taste of something different.

He feels the contemporary idiom gives him freedom from some cultural restrictions:

Because it's contemporary, there's no boundaries, there's no sacred — that's tapu or that's noa. You can do that or that. So it eliminates all that. I tend to think if it's coming from the heart. How can that be wrong?

He attributes his appreciation for contemporary dance to his experience at Whitireia:

Liz Davies, she taught me to think outside the square of a powhiri just being Haere Mai. Can't you put a Haere Mai into movement? I thought, man I never thought of that. I was always different, I did kapa haka and stuff like that, but I wanted to just bust out of that. It became entertaining. I wanted to make a statement of just something totally different.

The music for Letoa's piece is taonga pūoro and he uses other traditional elements in his choreography:

The music that I'm using is taonga pūoro. It's all live, traditional stuff. Whereas the dance moves that I'm using and depicting — if you look at *koru* [a coiled, unfurling fern] as being the main sort of [icon that] you could...say, "That's Māori." I'm taking the movements from that and utilizing it fully, having women grow like trees, like the birds and the water, things like that — just all the elements. I love doing that, the *whaea* [mother] bringing it to life.

He also talked about being impressed by other Pacific influences:

The Samoan influence for me was when I went to Samoa in '96. We went to Apia for the Pacific Arts Festival. I came back and said to all my brothers back here, "Whoa what are you doing in New Zealand?" Everything is in Apia man — for Samoans, run by Samoans you know. I think there were nine Māori that went over in the group; nine of us didn't want to come back. We all wanted to stay there, you know. I saw an enjoyment in the culture that wasn't quite there in the Māori culture. I enjoyed what I was doing, but it was a discipline, it was regiment. It was always militant, had to bang, bang, bang. The Samoan culture was just a little bit different, they enjoyed themselves, and they had fun with what they were doing. And then the Cook Island experience, they were just out of this world. The movements they did, the noises they made, the beat of the Pacific in the drums. This is me! I just loved this heartbeat.

Annabelle Reader: Pakeha Pasifika

Annabelle Reader²⁰ rehearsed her solo piece at the far end of the corridor, opposite the public library, the only business still open in the late afternoon. D Letoa blew his

²⁰ N.B., unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this section are Annabelle Reader interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/4/2006.

pūtorino to announce the beginning of Reader's piece. And as she danced her solo, accompanied only by quiet, recorded sounds of sea birds, rustling forests, and crashing surf, library patrons occasionally walked through the performance space, on their way to the parking lot.

Field Notes, continued

The smooth stone floor is mostly bare except for some leaves strewn on one side. Reader begins her piece, prostrate on the floor. She twists and turns, rolls onto her back, and then bridges with her neck. After a brief neckstand, she rolls back onto her front, then arches her body and extends arms and legs, gently waving them as if floating suspended in air or water. The effect is of an albatross soaring low over the waves. Eventually she rises, but with arms still extended and undulating as to continue the illusion of flight.

As all of this transpires, the other dancers have taken up positions on the floor and on the perimeter to watch. The piece is meditative in character and even Reader's positioning — at the far end of the corridor, removed from the other dancers — seems to reflect loneliness and isolation.

Annabelle Reader Interview

Annabelle Reader is a first-generation New Zealander, born in Wellington, New Zealand in 1977. Her parents are Canadian and English. She identifies herself as a Pakeha New Zealander. Reader grew up mainly in nearby Plimmerton and attended high school in Porirua at Aotea College, which she describes as “a very multi-cultural school.” She attended the performing arts program at Whitireia for one year in 1996 before leaving to finish her studies at Unitec, an Auckland polytechnic that offers a more academic (and European) oriented program. At Unitec, she completed a Bachelor of Performing and Screen Arts (Contemporary Dance).

Currently, Reader is on a three-year “Learning Experiences Outside the Classroom” contract with the New Zealand Ministry of Education executed through Dance Aotearoa

New Zealand (DANZ). Her role is to support the dance curriculum throughout the country.

Reader described how it felt to be in a “minority” on the Whitireia course:

I found that I was a minority, which I’d never been before, so it was the reverse. ...There were three of us [Pakeha] on the course out of 20, maybe 25. ...I found I was really patronized and I didn’t enjoy that. I was constantly struggling against this, “There, there, you don’t know the culture, you don’t know the language.” And I was actually here to learn it and not to be patronized.

Reader is ambivalent about her identity and about having left Whitireia, and finds herself drawn back to the Porirua area.

I moved straight back down after graduating. Came back home and lived back out here for a while, which was lovely. It felt really nice to come back home. There is a very strong sense of home for me here, even though I’m still trying to find my *turangawaewae* [literally “place to make a strong stand”]. I don’t really understand my heritage. I don’t really understand my whakapapa. And my [family] — we’re a travelling family, so in that respect I don’t have very strong roots anywhere, and I don’t really know my place to stand. And so when I come back here I often feel like, “Yes...my heart sings.” There’s something in it that makes me say, “Yes this is it.” But I’m still on the outside. I’m still the “not-knowing Pakeha,” I guess, to a certain extent.

Reader considers herself a “Pakeha” and feels the term identifies her as being uniquely a New Zealander:

I like to identify myself as Pakeha because I am from Aotearoa; this is my home. Even though I’m first generation New Zealand, it’s very much home for me. To use the Māori term of Pakeha makes me identify myself as from New Zealand, Aotearoa.

Reader talked about differences in Pacific and European conceptions of dance based on a comparison of her experiences at Unitec and Whitireia:

After leaving Whitireia and going up to Unitec, [where it] is predominantly European... we did a token — which angered me actually — a token aspect of kapa haka. I thought “If you’re going to do it, do it properly,” and they didn’t, and they don’t. I went very much into my aesthetic training of ballet and lost a lot of the groundedness, and I still have not retained it. Whether my body doesn’t retain it because it’s not part of me, I’m not sure. Whether it’s not part of my sense of being in this land. I’m not sure what it is. Currently, I’m trying to find that out for myself...where I stand in this land and whether that will relate to my art form as it is.

But [when I left Whitireia] I moved away from the very groundedness, the heaviness, the real earthiness and went back into the ethereal aesthetic of ballet. ...So it's a constant ebb and flow for me where I stand and what circles I move in and how I choose to portray that aspect of my personality through movement. ...At Whitireia I gained a deep sense of connectedness to the land. And then that completely disappeared when I went to Unitec. So trying to tie the two...the academic side of things [with] the rootedness of Whitireia, it's the feet and the head....

She talked about how her struggles with identity and place play out in her current piece:

I'm working with finding out who I am, where I stand. Why I do this art form, what is it about? ...Who am I? Where am I standing? I don't like watching dance without no message, so why would I want to perform dance with no message? So I started thinking about that and I've been thinking about the godwits flying, you know the migratory birds who fly 11,000 miles. And where there home is, coming from a migratory family myself, relating it very much to myself in that way. ...I'm working with the idea of home, migratory birds, treading lightly on the earth, treading lightly on Aotearoa because that's what I feel like I'm doing. I feel like I'm trying to find where my roots are, but I don't really feel that I have a home as such because family and whanau are so important to me. I'm the only one in New Zealand now.... It's about trying to find out where I am looking down on the earth, being part of the earth.

Reader's story is about finding her place. She clearly identifies across some cultural lines — she is constructing her identity in New Zealand in relation to the landscape and to the Pacific, but also in relation to her European “roots.” As a first generation New Zealander, she carries less local baggage in the sense that her family has not been as engaged as some others with histories of local internecine conflicts. She does invest herself in the symbols of the land, and particularly with vocabularies of movement and gesture that she associates with her dance studies and their cultural referents.

In the next section, I relate the story of a very recent immigrant to New Zealand, Sylvester Gahungu, who came to the country as a refugee.

Burundi to Aotearoa: Sylvester Gahungu

Sylvester Gahungu²¹ is the leader of a Burundi dance and drumming group. I observed performances of the group at the opening of an African New Zealand Forum where they performed in support of the *manuhiri* during a *mihi* (“welcome” — an abbreviated *powhiri*), (see Figure 14) and at the Auckland International Festival.



Figure 14. Sylvester Gahungu speaks on behalf of the African “manuhiri” at a “welcome ceremony” conducted by Unitec Polytechnic staff for the 2006 Africa-New Zealand Conference. Note Burundian drummers preparing to support the speech.

I interviewed Gahungu at his home on Auckland’s North Shore. He lives in an enclave of state houses in a poor community that seems to be largely populated by Pacific Islanders and urban Māori. As I pulled up to his house there were four or five African men sitting around outside on the front stoop on plastic chairs and boxes talking. A few were drinking red wine or beer. The men directed me to Gahungu’s door and he invited me into his living room. The only other member of Gahungu’s immediate family in evidence was his 6-year-old son, Phil who hung about and played happily as we talked. About half way through our interview a loud commotion erupted outside and Gahungu went outside

²¹ N.B., unless otherwise noted, all quotes in this section are Sylvester Gahungu interviewed by H. Anderson, 4/14/2006.

to sort it out. I followed him out to see a young man who appeared to be about 20 years old punching and kicking an older man in his forties or fifties. The older man appeared to be drunk. Gahungu broke up the fight (the older man took the worst of it by far) and was punched in the face as in the process. The younger man yelled back at the older man as he ran away, showing no remorse. As we went back to the house, Gahungu told me that the young man was jobless and had no skills or education. After the brouhaha had settled, Gahungu came back into the house and we took up the interview without further comment. The sense that violence lurked just beneath the surface for some of the immigrants, and the hopelessness of the young man's situation, were palpable.

Sylvester Gahungu was born in Burundi in central eastern Africa (between Tanzania and Congo), in June 1964, two years after Burundi's independence. He came to New Zealand March 18, 1998. He estimates that when he arrived there were only "four or five families" from Burundi — about 32 people — who had come to New Zealand about two years prior to himself. He speaks of this earlier group as his "extended family" and says they "made the [Burundian] community in New Zealand." Gahungu estimates the current (in 2006, when I conducted the interview) population to be about 180. He says the community's population doubled in 2005 when a large group came in, and he says the size of the community is increasing. The families are located primarily in Auckland and Wellington.

The Burundians came to New Zealand as refugees. According to Gahungu, the Burundians began their flight from the home country in October of 1993, at the time of the

Burundian civil war.²² Gahungu says, “A lot of us fled the country, to neighboring countries, some of us went all over the world.” They came to New Zealand as part of the refugee quota system. Gahungu and his compatriots were required to go to any acceptable country that would take them in: “We had no choice, you had to go to any country willing to take you.”

Gahungu associates music with the Burundian nation, its institutions, leaders, and national pride and he talks about music as “tradition” in the context of Burundi’s independence:

The drumming, what we do, is tradition. It’s all about tradition actually — we have a tradition of drumming, we have oral tradition, and we express this through music, through whatever we say, whatever we do. Drumming is one of the expressions of who we are, where we come from, what is the power of our nation. Drumming actually has the origin of showing the power of the king, because drumming only took place at the king’s palace. And [also] at very meaningful national events, people went there [to the palace] for drumming to show that they are happy, they are proud of what is going on, they are proud of their king — whoever was leading the country.

From the time of independence, drumming has been the expression of the leader of the nation addressing the country. That’s where we see drumming starting. Even the radio broadcasting — we didn’t normally broadcast 24 hours a day — 5 am to 11 pm. At the opening of the broadcast would start with drumming and the closing would end with drumming. Which means drumming is part of our life.

Drumming is actually centered at the center of the country. The good drummers live in the very, very center of our country. They drum [there] because at the time of colonization, the capital city was the center of the country.

He went on to talk about how dance and drumming were essential parts of Burundian culture. As in other parts of post-colonial Africa, in Burundi drumming is taught in schools, and festivals and competitions are regular events:

Any school would have a drumming group — any school from primary all the way up to high school. Every year we have a festival between primary schools and secondary

²² Melchior Ndadaye, Burundi’s first democratically elected (and first Hutu) president, was assassinated October 21, 1993.

schools and part of it will be every cultural activity, and drumming will be the highlight. And drumming will be the one that everyone will be looking at....

Gahungu talked about Burundians bringing their music to New Zealand, what it means and how it operates. Their music is a means to remember — and in some cases recapture — who they are and where they came from: “And what we were aiming for was, we come here, we are who we are, and we bring what we have — what is part of our life. We do drumming.”

According to Gahungu, Burundian drumming is unique:

Anyone who hasn't been living in Burundi will not know exactly how we drum. ...We have a national drumming group and they have performed all over the world. And Burundi is known as having one unique drumming way — everyone [doesn't have this]! And that's the way we do it here. If you look at the way we drum, you probably [will not] find any similarity [with what] you have experienced before.

The Burundians use drumming to generate interest in themselves and their culture and also to engage with New Zealanders. In some sense it is an advertisement for them and Gahungu stresses the affective dimensions of drumming — both listening and learning to play:

Everyone [is] excited about drumming because it is an exciting physical activity...you feel good about it. You feel like people will like you when you drum and that's what we do — that's how we do it and people feel proud of doing it.

Gahungu talked about engaging with people in New Zealand in order to get instruments made:

We made [our drums] here. We struggled [to get them made]. I spent more than two months looking, ringing people. [No one could do it because] they didn't do the archaic ways. We eventually approached some people who work at home for their workshop and we said, that's what we want to do. We described what we wanted them to do for us and they actually managed to do some. Our very, very first drums...were made by assembling timber around a circular shape and ended up finding a drum and we had to cover it with cowskin ourselves. Which took us a long time, but we finally got there. [Now] we have

someone who can dig a piece of wood [from a solid log] — and you dig a very deep hole, about 800 mm deep — a piece of log, you dig it until you get to 800m deep...cover it with a piece of cowhide, and we have to [seal] it so we have no air leak and then the sound will be perfect. And...the sound [varies] according to the size of the timber [log]. We had never done this before, because, in my country, [specialist] people make [the] drums.

Speaking about repertoires, Gahungu stresses that, while Burundian drumming and drum repertoires are more or less standardized throughout the country, dance repertoires are more regional. The reconstruction of Burundian performance in New Zealand requires the individual performers to learn unfamiliar repertoires:

We tried to bring it all, from all the regions but we don't have representatives from each of these regions. We struggle to teach everyone how to do this, we don't have people who can [teach all of the dances]. Drumming has been the focus of the whole country — something that everyone does.

Gahungu alluded to the construction of a repertoire of a Burundian “national dance” by current governments, and says they are attempting to bring those dances to New Zealand:

Government has decided to make a national dance so that's why we come here to dance. Some female dances have become nationally known and we have tried to bring them here. ...If you come to one of our festivals, you will see men drumming and the women dancing.

A lot of the performance in New Zealand is new to Gahungu. He associates the authenticity of their drumming and dance with life “back home.” He suggests that what they do in New Zealand isn't “actually real”:

What we try to do here — I've never done before back home. What they do back home is part of their life. They do it everyday. So when they do it, it's actually real. It's actually real. They live it everyday. What we do here is artificial. We learn it and try to be as perfect as we can. But we can't ever [really] do it unless we have lived it.

According to Gahungu there is also a distance, in place and time but also in cultural engagement, between Burundian refugees and their former homes:

Some of our people here have been running away from our country since 1965. Some people don't even remember how Burundi culture is. They have to learn it again. People

like me who have been in the country until the time I run away — I still have all of the information about [the country] and I try to teach them. Still, they find it difficult to perform. They try their best and compared to what professionals do, they're not too bad — we're not.

Gahungu associates the drumming and dance as a way to promote positive images of the home country. He is conscious of performing arts as a stimulus to tourism and associates affective engagement with place and people with performance. When I commented on the fact that Gahungu smiled as he talked about their performance he said:

That's part of it — if you perform you are happy. If you are showing the power of your nation — how can you show the power of your nation if you're angry? You [must] show your country has a lot of things to offer. One of the things to keep in mind: drumming, like the warrior's dance, is one of our touristic attractions. So people leave...Europe, American, [wherever] they come [from]. They visit the beautiful country. But — in any beautiful country you may see the quiet forest, the pretty birds flying — it would be good if you could see some people...around this! And this has been a kind of attraction — wherever you go you find a group of dancers...if you go west you'll see agasimbo, go east you'll see umuyebe.

There is a subtle reference to New Zealand's countryside in this: Gahungu's implication is that colorful people augment the appeal of the beautiful countryside, and Burundians can add to the country's appeal.

Gahungu went on to talk about how he sees the Burundians performance fitting into New Zealand culture:

[Music] has helped us in different ways. The first thing is, we get more recognized for what we do. And people see us.... People...can listen to what we do and enjoy it and say, "these people are really great." Secondly, we manage to get the entire community [to] believe "there are new things coming to our country." And they can sit back and watch us and say, "what about [bringing] some more people who can bring more new things to our country." Because they've probably been watching haka, they've probably been watching the Pacific dances all their life, and they haven't been seeing any other things. And what we have been doing is probably absolutely new to them. They look at it and say "this is really great — we can watch it, it's exciting and, it's going to be part of our culture now." Although, you know, European people don't believe they really have a culture, but they should have one! [Even] just to speak their language is a cultural thing. And they probably enjoy seeing other people say "this is our culture." They want [to] make what we do as part of their culture — New Zealand cultural activity. Then we think we are just doing the best thing we can do.

Gahungu also talked about the interactions with Māori and Pacific peoples in their shared urban landscape:

In this environment we have people — Pacific Islanders are people I live with, and Māori. Obviously, you can imagine all the Māoris seeing things happening. They are excited about it. They want to join in. And I've had some Pacific Island people say, "Hey. You drum, we drum, but it's different — but anyway, we can train to do your drumming. Are you willing to train to do our drumming?" ...I've had some white people telling me, "I saw you perform at this event, is there anywhere in the country we can learn to perform that way?" We are looking at being open to the normal public and teaching them to drum.

Gahungu is pursuing sponsorship to promote Burundian drumming as part of New Zealand culture. His goal is institutional support and presence and he has begun looking from sponsorship from Arts Aotearoa, the New Zealand national art funding body. His goal is to have Burundian performance take a place alongside haka as a "New Zealand attraction":

Two or three years ago, I tried to contact some sponsors from an organization called Arts Aotearoa to see if we can make the drumming part of the New Zealand attractions. I saw people keen to take us ahead if we can provide a good group available to perform at the [appropriate] time.... And we saw some people willing to do it. The project was a little bit abandoned, because at that time I resigned from what I was doing. I was the secretary of the community — the one taking the project — and when I resigned it couldn't go ahead. But I'm trying to go back to my project again. And one of my focuses is getting professional drums from Burundi. Once I get the drums, I've got the numbers now — I have a lot of young boys full of energy. And we're looking at being part of the New Zealand attractions. Just like the haka is seen as an attraction — you'll probably see us at the museum and we'll get a group, being part of the attractions performing drums. The girls — We'll probably incorporate girls' dances into our drumming group. Hopefully — we believe very soon — we'll be able to combine the women's dance into our drumming performances. I hope it's going to go great.

Ultimately the music and dance are a hopeful investment for Gahungu and Burundis — a dream, a narrative of possibility. He sees Burundian performance as potentially equivalent to Pacific dance and Māori haka.

Performing Burundi in New Zealand

At the time (2006), when I first encountered Sylvester Gahungu and the Burundian drummers, I had been a “member” of the African community in New Zealand for 20 years, dating back to 1986, when I first performed in Auckland and members of the community showed up in large numbers to support me. Until recently, the community has been a casual association between (black) African descended people. The main concentrations of people are in Auckland and Wellington. People have come here via various paths — many (like myself) have married New Zealanders and in recent times there are also an increasing number of refugees. There are a large number of countries represented including Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Eritrea, Ghana, Malawi, and many others. There are also a few African descended black people from the United States and the Caribbean.



Figure 15. Hari Paniora speaks on behalf of the tangata whenua at an abbreviated powhiri to welcome the attendees of the 2006 Africa/New Zealand Conference.

Around 2004, a more formal face of the New Zealand African, the African Community of Auckland Region Incorporated (ACARI), was initiated by several Africans who remain in touch with families and friends in Africa. The African New Zealand Forum was

organized by ACARI to facilitate the development of international projects and economic initiatives to benefit impoverished people in their home countries. They brought together officials and representatives of African countries (some based in Australia) to discuss topics relevant to Africans in New Zealand and overseas. The formation of this association also represents a step toward the construction of a more formal African New Zealand identity.

Africa New Zealand Powhiri, February 4, 2006

I was particularly interested in attending this forum because “cultural performances” were featured and because the meeting, which was held at Unitec Polytechnic’s Carrington campus in Auckland, was to be opened with a “Māori greeting,” as Coulybali, the ACARI secretary, described it. When I arrived about 20 minutes early, I encountered Hari Paniora, the Polytech’s *pae arahi* (literally “chief of bringing ashore”) or Māori liaison. I first met Paniora in 1995 when I was running a Jazz and World Music summer program at Unitec. At that time, I arranged with him to do a formal powhiri to welcome my international students and instructors onto the campus — the first time anyone had made such a request, and as such a historic occasion for Pukenga, Unitec’s Māori studies component.

After Paniora and I exchanged greetings, a primly kept, blond woman came to discuss the protocols of the meeting with him. She was representing the African community for the purposes of setting up the Māori welcome. She was clearly not a New Zealander and was not familiar with either the mechanics or the purpose of a Māori welcome. (Coulybali later informed me that she is a South African immigrant). It was very interesting to see white South Africans in visible roles in the African association.

A small audience of about 50 people included several adorned in colorful and ornate African clothing — with flowing robes and matching hats. At the opening to the forum, Paniora delivered a welcoming speech, followed by a song. Another Māori member of the Unitec staff sang with Paniora in support. After the song, and in response to the Māori mihi, Sylvester Gahungu delivered a short address to the assembly, and he and his drum ensemble, all wearing traditional garments, performed (see Figure 16).

Speaking to the assemblage of dignitaries (including some African ambassadors to Australia and New Zealand) Gahungu seemed at ease. The performance of the drummers was more tentative, however. This was most evident when the piece that they performed called for the drummers to respond to the leader, Gahungu with a loud “Hey!” The response seemed timid, as if the drummer were not yet comfortable enough — with either their performance or, possibly their situation — to speak out confidently.



Figure 16. *Burundian drummers perform at the 2006 International Festival hosted by the RMS Refugee Resettlement organization at Potter’s Park in Auckland.*

Auckland International Festival

I also saw the Burundians perform on the occasion of the Auckland International Festival hosted annually by the RMS Refugee Resettlement organization in Auckland. RMS is

non-governmental organization that is affiliated with church groups that aids in the resettlement of refugees.

The festival features a diverse program with performers from Thai, Indian, Chinese, Malaysian, and several African communities, mostly from the Auckland area. The Burundian performance featured ten adult performers and three or four children. The performance was more animated than the one I witnessed at the Forum. The festival is very well attended and the Burundian performance drew a large crowd who stood around and watched as the Gahungu and some of the Burundians cavorted. Most of the drummers seem to be trying, but it is clear that they are learning as they go. And the sense that they are not yet comfortable is palpable. Gahungu's function seems to be to try to build enthusiasm in both the crowd and his fellows, and his enthusiasm is catching.

Chapter Summary

The title of this dissertation is "A Confluence of Streams." The question is then how do diverse "streams" come together to reach this goal?

In this chapter, I focus on migrants, immigrants, and their children as they seek to write themselves into a narrative of belonging in (relatively) new circumstances. I am particularly conscious of them being "in the shadow of biculturalism" in the sense that they do not have long standing relationships and interactions in New Zealand. My question therefore is where is their "mana?" — that is to say, with reference to what sets of values and institutions do they derive value?

As in past chapters, I proceed by framing voices and reconstructing narratives that reflect what I "heard" in the testimony of my interviewees. I pay particular attention to how they

frame and attempt to construct traditions and histories, and how and where they are affectively engaged, especially where they place value and how they determine worth, truth, and authenticity.

Samoaan dancer Keneti Muaiava was born in Samoa but came to New Zealand as a small child. He says he grew up in “Samoa in South Auckland.” His referents and the source of his “authority” — his mantle of authenticity and his effective power to move his Samoaan community — are in relation to a particular set of repertoires and institutions which include “family and the church.” He is motivated by a sense of responsibility to his lineage as “Samoaan dance royalty” and to his Samoaan community as they strive to survive and prosper in New Zealand. He is an innovator because he feels that dance, by its nature, is embodied in a present moment, and that the concept of “tradition” is itself an abstract that must be realized in the present.

Keneti Muaiava’s narrative is a pioneer saga — it is an epic that spans generations and an ocean. His story is heroic in the sense that, rather than submit to those who would define him (and his people), he defines himself. Born to a tradition and girded by fluency in both the language of his birth and that of his new home, his method of resistance is to performatively rewrite a set of “rules” that are based on an abstract — “tradition.” “Abstract tradition” is tradition that does not take change into account. His goal is to overwrite this set of tautological delusions that lack substance, like false gods, by injecting them with meaning.

For Muaiava, virtue is in honoring the past by providing for the future of Samoa-in-New Zealand. And Samoa-in-New Zealand is a place where the cultural power of Samoa is

concentrated, so much so that it becomes a new center of cultural production that takes the place of the old. However, while this story is epic, its action is local. It is not a story of New Zealand national redemption, at least that is not its focus. But it is a story of a kind of phased reality, where standpoints shift and multiple realities may coexist and that allows for the (distant) possibility that outsiders might participate and even add to its discourse. Muaiava's engagement, his affective investment is in a story of New Zealand-Samoan culture that is a fixed part of the landscape — that flexes and adapts, but is irreducible. For Muaiava, the proof of Samoan indigeneity or belonging in New Zealand is in the creation of authentic (Samoan) performance — the notion that “New Zealand Samoan” is a “real” category.

Ultimately Muaiava's narrative is traditionalist — it is conservative of a particular cultural construct. It is innovative in the sense that it breaks with attempts to preserve culture in a static state — a demonstrable impossibility. But the conservative cultural construct produced is itself a meme — it is self-contained and exists primarily in reference to a (culturally) local population. It represents a thriving colony, but by itself it does not go toward constructing a nation. Similarly, it does not necessarily hinder intercultural articulations, but neither does it promote them — essentially it is affectively neutral in this regard.

Following Muaiava's interview, I summarize field research conducted at the 2005 and 2006 ASB Polyfest Festival, where I witnessed cultural groups from Auckland area secondary schools compete. This site provided insight into interactions between students, particularly on the Diversity Stage where several different ethnic groups competed

against each other. The mixed cultural environment and instances of students engaging across cultural boundaries are indicative of a potential for the construction of new, hybrid identities and performances in New Zealand.

The next section, Whitireia Performing Arts, picks up on some of the same populations that I witnessed at the ASB Polyfest Festival as they matriculate into a tertiary education environment and beyond. This section begins with Gaylene Sciascia, the originator of an innovative performing arts program at Whitireia Community Polytechnic in Porirua, just north of Wellington. Sciascia's role is as an "insitutionalizer," or at least initiator of a school of performance in both the sense of creating a new "style" of contemporary dance in New Zealand that incorporates elements from a set of Pacific repertoires and European vocabularies, and also in the sense of fomenting this program in a formal educational context.

Gaylene Sciascia's voice is included here as an agent of institutionalization of New Zealand and Pasifika identities.

Sciascia's is a redemptive narrative with arts as the hero. Her narrative is fueled by an affective engagement with dance and music and the belief that these type of activities tap into a universal humanistic wellspring — that her affection is universal. The local action of the plot involves empowering young people, but the scope of her argument is more general.

Following Sciascia's narrative I intertwine the voices of Tuaine Robati, the co-leader of the Whitireia program and who teaches Cook Island dance and music there, with the voices of four former students as they rehearse a set of pieces for an upcoming

performance. Robati's story of being a Cook Island Māori in New Zealand, where he is lumped in the same catchall with other Pacific Island groups, elaborates on the shadow metaphor and reveals some of the inherent difficulties with the way biculturalism is institutionally implemented by the New Zealand government.

The four ex-students/graduates provide insights into their creative process in the construction of a "Pasifika Contemporary Dance" movement that has further deconstructed some traditional cultural elements to provide them with an expressive form that matches their lived experience in New Zealand. Their testimonies are interspersed with field notes describing the elements of their performances and establishing connections between what they say, their experiences in the Whitireia program, and their current expressive art.

The chapter ends with the testimony of Sylvester Gahungu, a Burundian refugee who has relocated to New Zealand under duress. His narrative tells the story of his use of Burundian drumming to draw his small refugee community together. He speaks of his aspiration that people will come to see Burundian drumming as an icon of New Zealand similar to haka. Gahungu's testimony is followed by brief descriptions of him and his compatriots in performance at a mihi (Māori welcome) and at the Auckland International Festival.

Chapter 6

Processes, Maps, and Transformations

In this chapter, I theorize connections between traditional and contemporary identities as expressions of functional or processual persistence. I explicate “new” cultural expressions and identities as interactive manifestations of processes. In order to accomplish this, I set out tradition as an expression of historical situatedness, authenticity as an affective investment related to contemporary situatedness, and “identity” as a synthesis of these concepts, the result of a dialectical motion between them.

I represent processes and dispositions graphically as “maps” which are then manipulated to effect transformations that constitute shifts in viewpoint, particularly shifts corresponding to groups’ differences in affect.

I proceed by mapping affective attributes and cultural investments of groups as observed in historic and contemporary performances. Blumer’s notion of “collective definition” is a central analytic device for producing processual maps of emergent identities among various cultural and ethnic domains and sub-domains in New Zealand.

Processes: Collective Definition and Emerging Identities

According to Blumer, “The process of collective definition determines the career¹ and fate of social problems, from the initial point of their appearance to whatever may be the terminal point in their course.”² I see the collective definition process as a motion that begins as an inchoate, relatively unruly or indeterminate democratic process as a cultural entity (or identity) emerges, and that may over time result in the production a more determinate entity, an institution, or institutionalized identity.

Blumer sets out five stages of collective definition of a “problem” as it becomes a real, named entity for a population: emergence, as a society comes to recognize the existence of a “problem”; legitimation, when the problem acquires “a necessary degree of respectability which entitles it to consideration in the recognized areas of public discussion”; mobilization, when the problem “becomes the object of discussion” between various interested parties both inside and outside of the local community where the problem originally emerged; formation of official/institutional policy; and implementation, when policy is put into practice with attendant intended and unintended consequences.³

Blumer’s process of collective definition may be adapted and generalized to apply to other collectively determined aspects of changing and emerging group identity and cul-

¹ In symbolic interactionist terminology, “career” refers to people’s involvement with an activity or situation over time: how people become involved with an activity or situation, the circumstances under which they are likely to continue with that activity or in that situation, how they become disinvolved, and when and how they might become reinvolved. Prus 1996: 85; see also Becker 1963.

² Blumer 1971: 301.

³ Blumer 1971.

ture, including the construction of a “new” tradition, and to chart the course of its “career and fate.” In the emergent phase, a community becomes aware of a cultural object — artifact or practice. Subsequently, as it becomes recognized within the community as something of value that is appropriately associated or identified with that community and that belongs to it in some significant way, the cultural object achieves “legitimacy.” In the mobilization phase, the cultural object accrues an epic quality — it achieves recognition outside the community of its putative origin and becomes a symbol that may be used to represent some aspect or aspects of the original community by both insiders and outsiders, and as such it becomes a mechanism for investment by insiders and outsiders. At this point in its career, the cultural object becomes a fulcrum — a point of articulation or a “hinge” between cultural realities. This fulcrum can be mapped as an intersection of social spaces.

The status of the cultural object’s worthiness for inclusion in institutions is established in the legitimation and mobilization phases, but the specifics of a method for inclusion, and the “rules” governing the object’s use (the how of its inclusion and the manner of the cultural object’s presentation) is established in the “institutional” or “policy formation” phase. In this phase, the cultural object inspires a set of texts that in some way attempt to “fix” (to explicate or codify) its meanings and usage in official or quasi-official contexts. The process of institutionalization may be either active or passive, and texts can operate

by prescription or by example, so that any setting of the cultural object — whether in performance, in a museum, or in literature — has an institutional dimension.⁴

The implementation phase relates to how texts and policies translate into real-world readings and situations. The impacts of implementation are read in responses and reactions of audiences and stakeholders which feed back into continuing iterations of legitimation and mobilization phases.

Phases may overlap — particularly the emergent, legitimation, and mobilization phases. Indeed the “phases” of the collective definition process are analytic categories whose purpose is to interrogate the nature of the cultural object in relation to the communities that are affectively invested in it. Emergence asks what are the most basic “elements” that are present at the inception of the cultural object; legitimation interrogates the bases for authentication that enable people to affectively invest in the object; mobilization interrogates the articulation between planes of social space, which manifests as interaction between diverse invested groups; institutionalization interrogates the types and kinds of texts that are produced to cement the cultural object — how they are meant to maintain and enhance the object’s validity, longevity and status as a tradition and a living practice; and the implementation phase assesses the efficacy, impacts, and consequences of texts and institutions.

⁴ See Chapter One for my definition of “institution.”

Collective Definition of Taonga Pūoro

In this section I parse Taonga⁵ Pūoro as the collective definition of a “new tradition.”

The term “taonga pūoro” has morphed from a Māori language phrase, simply descriptive of Māori musical instruments held in museums, to a proper noun indicating “Māori Traditional Instruments *and* Music” as objects, praxis, and as a contemporary revival of a cultural idiom with pre-European roots. This movement was initiated by a small number of individuals and gathered momentum during the 1980s and 1990s when these individuals came together and synergistically combined their various talents and strengths — in instrument building, music performance, language and community outreach, and organizing. During this period, they employed research techniques and evolving methods of presentation and performance that involved widening publics in the process of lifting Taonga Pūoro to the status of a “new tradition.” This new tradition is currently being explored and collectively defined by Māori and other groups. As a result, Taonga Pūoro has become more visible and subject to increasingly diverse treatments in an expanding discursive environment.

⁵ Although I have recast Blumer’s notion of collective definition away from a focus on social problems per se, problems remain embedded in the concept of “taonga” as it is situated in political and cultural discourse in New Zealand. The problematic nature of the term stems from its use in Article Two of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi (see Chapter Two) guaranteeing that Māori people will have “full control (*tino rangatiratanga*) over their lands and estates and *all of their treasures (ratou taonga katoa)*.” The official English version renders this as “exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries and other properties.” The conflation of the concepts of “property” and “taonga,” and “exclusive and undisturbed *possession*” and “*tino rangatiratanga*” in the implementation of the Treaty as social policy represents an affective disjunction at the root of constructions of New Zealand national identity, particularly as it impacts policy.

Emergence

In its emergent phase, society comes to recognize the existence of “Ngā Taonga Pūoro” as a named cultural object. The common usage of the term taonga — “treasure” — is based on its usage in the Treaty of Waitangi and it is the affective equivalent to “heritage” — it implies a (moral if not judicial) right of cultural ownership and belonging and the sense that the cultural object is worthy of repatriation. The literal translation of the term taonga pūoro as “sounding treasures” gives a clue to some basic preconditions necessary for historical ngā taonga pūoro to achieve the status of a contemporary cultural object: they must be capable of affective investment — of being treasured — by Māori, and they must be sounded.

The emergence of Taonga Pūoro is the result of a confluence of events: reproduction of the instruments outside of the museum — affording access by “ordinary” people and by so doing, enhancing the potential for reclamation and repatriation — and re-implementation of the instruments as sound or music makers (as opposed to sculptures) so they may be made to “come alive” by being played. Prior to the moment when these conditions are fulfilled, the instruments are “treasures” only in a fettered, Western anglophone conception — reified, frozen in time, to be seen in glass cases and admired for their antiquity and ornate carving (whakairo) but not to be touched or played.

Pakehas Brian Flintoff and Richard Nunns were putatively the first to undertake the construction of replicas of the instruments held in museums. But in order for the replicas to acquire taonga status, they must be treasured by Māori, and Hirini Melbourne’s participation with Nunns and Flintoff in the fledgling movement arguably added the essential

ingredient of Māori involvement — the minimum requirement for the new artifacts and (re-) constructed playing techniques to become taonga.

Thus the *potential* for construction of Taonga Pūoro as a “legitimate” cultural object is established. In the next section I examine how the potential for legitimation is actualized.

Legitimation

In the legitimation phase, the cultural object “must acquire social endorsement if it is to be taken seriously and move forward in its career. It must acquire a necessary degree of respectability which entitles it to consideration in the recognized arenas of public discussion.”⁶

Issues of legitimacy and affirmation (and hence authenticity) are bound together in Taonga Pūoro. As they moved about the country conducting research on maraes around New Zealand, Melbourne and Nunns gathered information about the instruments. They also accumulated a reservoir of good will among various Māori hapu, and in the process they procured an affective investment in their enterprise. As they traveled, they showed instruments, played them, and told the accumulated stories they had gathered. They invited responses by local people to add to or comment upon stories from other locales, or simply to respond to the sounds of the instruments. They avoided critical judgments of the stories they received, and by facilitating the exchange and comparison of stories across geographic or tribal frames of reference, they effectively established a dialogue between different tribal groups. As they communicated stories with diverse origins —

⁶ Blumer 1971: 301.

various names for the same or similar instruments, stories of how they were used, et cetera — they effectively made themselves disappear, so that the accumulated stories, the lore, took on a life of its own based on the independent truth of their encounters and performances in the third person: “this is what *they* said,” and “what *they* said matters.” So in a reflexive⁷ motion, the lore that constitutes Taonga Pūoro is both affirmed by and affirmative of the groups who contributed to the repertoire of names, stories, and sounds.

In order to “advance its career” institutionally, the Taonga Pūoro revival movement must establish its legitimacy on a national stage.

Mobilization

Articulations between insider and outsider groups are the central feature of the mobilization phase. In this phase, Taonga Pūoro achieves recognition outside the community of its putative origin and becomes a symbol that may be used to represent some aspect or aspects of the original community by both insiders and outsiders, and as such it becomes a mechanism for investment by insiders and outsiders — it becomes an object of discussion between various interested parties both inside and outside of the local community where it originally emerged. In this phase alliances are formed and advocates are recruited.

An overlap between emergence, legitimation, and mobilization is evident in the fact that the “earlier” phases of the collective definition of Taonga Pūoro already contain diverse

⁷ An embedded recursive/reflexive intensification is also implicit in the recasting of “What they said” as “What *you* said” in subsequent performances and encounters.

cultural elements. The originators of the emergent movement were both Māori and Pakeha and “Māori musical instruments” as a class of cultural objects achieved a degree of cross-cultural legitimation by virtue of being displayed in Western museums.

Original “knowledge” of taonga pūoro (and Māoritanga in general) is local, and the mobilization phase of Taonga Pūoro constitutes a movement toward generalization. The Taonga Pūoro movement is characterized from its inception by being multi-layered and multi-voiced and it constructs culture and identity in more than one world. The problematic aspect of this narrative is the tendency to emphasize a simplistic Māori-Pakeha binary to the exclusion of less obvious articulations.

An emphasis on the articulation between Māori and Pakeha — i.e., simply casting “Māori” as “the” essential insiders — glosses over a fundamental aspect of the mobilization of Taonga Pūoro. The fact and means of the delivery of taonga pūoro into the hands of “the people” is the single most significant moment for its mobilization. As researchers carry instruments and stories from one local tribal group to another, they *construct* a pantribal Māori identity for the cultural object, whereby aggregate lore becomes a common heritage — and where all of the participant tribal groups may lay some claim to “ownership.” The inclusion of non-local, urban Māori in the Taonga Pūoro movement is also easily glossed.

I have shown that Taonga Pūoro has been used to inculcate aspects of traditional Māori identities and skills, including language. While the Taonga Pūoro movement derives legitimation from an association with the Māori renaissance movement and particularly Māori language revival, it is important to note that the affinity between Māori language

and Taonga Pūoro is properly understood as part of the mobilization phase of both movements — this mobilization is centered on articulation between urban (non-traditional/contemporary) and rural (traditional/local) Māori.

The renaissance movement in general is a lively discourse on recovery and revival of “lost” or endangered cultural practices. Māoritanga is most alive on traditional marae, but it is in urban circumstances that the culture is most in danger — the fear of culture loss in urban circumstances is an affective engine driving the renaissance. Māori language, Te Reo Māori, is considered to be the keystone of the renaissance, and waiata, song — and by association music in all its forms — is a particularly powerful tool for inculcating a robust version of Māori language and culture. The Taonga Pūoro movement derives power from a generic association with waiata.

The korero, the narrative presentation of the instruments as a lost tradition, places them solidly within a Māori worldview and simultaneously stirs memories and stokes hopes and imaginings of a contemporary world where ancient practices and beliefs are restored. The fact that this korero takes place in both English and Māori effectively bridges between rural and urban, traditional, and non-traditional Māori as it develops concepts in both languages and in process promotes Māori language skills.

In many ways the mobilization of the orally based cultural object is its most dynamic phase — it corresponds to the moment of actualization one experiences in the production of a play onstage, for instance. The institutional phase of collective definition — the production of texts that attempt to represent the dynamism of the cultural object in a more stable form — is in some ways the detritus of the mobilization phase.

Institutionalization – Implementation Cycle

I have already noted that ngā taonga pūoro (the instruments) are legitimated to some extent by their presence in New Zealand's museums. Both Māori and Pakeha originators of the movement speak of having been profoundly affected by encounters with the instruments in museums. These institutionally bound instruments in a sense seeded the emergent phase of the Taonga Pūoro movement, revealing an embedded recursive cycle.

In the institutional or policy formation phase, the cultural object inspires a set of texts that attempt to fix its meanings and usage in official or quasi-official contexts — education, museum display or performance, officially sanctioned festivals and performances, et cetera. The implementation phase assesses the efficacy, impacts, and consequences of texts and institutions — whether or not they succeed in maintaining and enhancing the Taonga Pūoro movement's validity, longevity, and status as a tradition and a living practice.

Currently, the Taonga Pūoro movement is in early stages of an institutionalization-implementation cycle as participants experiment with modes and methods of presentation and performance. Some aspects of the presentation and performance of Taonga Pūoro have achieved a degree of “institutional” consistency — particularly in demonstrations and workshops where the laying out of instruments and the content and style of delivery of a (relatively) standardized narrative (korero) about them is apparent. Standardization is in part attributable to the production of texts — books, recordings, and audiovisual media, et cetera — by a relatively small number of originators who have developed a set of methods, techniques and descriptions in collaboration with one another. While the manner of presentation of ngā taonga pūoro in workshops and demonstrations, and even

playing techniques of the instruments, have become normalized to an extent, how the instruments are to be used in contemporary music making is less determined and more tentative.

For example, the Taonga Pūoro competition at the Rotorua Competition Society's 2001 Unison Concerto Competition (where Horomona Horo first met Richard Nunns and Hirini Melbourne) has since been discontinued because of insufficient numbers of contestants and questions about competition as a method for extending the career of Taonga Pūoro.⁸

In the institutional phase, Taonga Pūoro continues to benefit from a synergistic relationship with the Māori language recovery movement, which is seen as the keystone for Māori cultural revitalization and preservation. Many, if not most, of the texts that feature Taonga Pūoro and associated narratives in formal or official settings have language instruction or inculcation as their purpose. Ngā taonga pūoro are also becoming an increasingly common ritual feature of formal occasions like powhiri, openings, and dedications of buildings and facilities. Ngā taonga pūoro also appear in the written repertoire of New Zealand's European classical music tradition as well as in popular music and media which speak to and for various groups. I will return to these repertoires in a later section.

⁸ "It was felt important for Rotorua to have such a section [in the Unison Concerto Competition], and, at the time, there seemed to be a resurgence in learning about the instruments, teaching them, and playing them. Having said that, it has always been difficult to get enough students to play in the competition, and, last year, we came to the realization that maybe a competition isn't the best way of keeping the Taonga Puoro alive." Alison Perrin (Donations Assessor, Rotorua Energy Charitable Trust), email communication, 12/12/2007.

The implementation phase queries the situated efficacy of Taonga Pūoro as it emerges and is represented and ratified in institutions, and as this institutionalization impacts diverse stakeholders. For example, formal institutional denomination and attribution impacts the potential for local tribal groups to retain individual identities. Consequently, it affects the ability of groups to articulate with the aggregate (this is particularly the case for smaller tribes and hapu) without being subsumed. The question is whether individual instruments will be formally presented as being called by different names by different peoples. This potential may be realized (or not) in both mobilization and institutional phases of collective definition. But an important consideration for this discussion is *whose* institutions will represent and ratify the tradition?

In process of parsing the emergent (i.e., emergence, legitimation, and mobilization) phases of the collective definition of Taonga Pūoro, I have identified both intra- and inter-ethnic articulations: in addition to the inter-ethnic bicultural (Māori-Pakeha) articulation, intra-ethnic Māori articulations include pantribal (local-national), local-local, and rural-urban articulations. Each articulation consists of intersections — and potential conflicts of interest — between situated sets of agendas and affective dispositions, which are assessed in the implementation phase.

I will map these social spaces in the following sections.

Mapping Aotearoa/New Zealand

I propose mapping cultural and ethnic domains in Aotearoa/New Zealand by repositioning the central axes so that the resulting transformations reflect the viewpoints and orientations of those groups, particularly as observed in musical-cultural performance.

Starting with the bicultural binary framework of New Zealand/Aotearoa, I begin by mapping the national domain from dual perspectives of Māori and the Crown. As I have noted in my discussion of national identity, the Crown perspective carries with it a certain presumption of judicial impartiality, if not objectivity. However, it is historically clear⁹ that the Crown perspective is not “colorless” and is in fact closely associated with and tends to privilege a Euro-British orientation. Similarly, the mapping of sub-domains other than Māori or Euro-British requires (affectively) locating them from multiple perspectives.

In the next sections, I explore some models for mapping cultural and ethnic domains in New Zealand. I begin by examining the affective domain and then proceed to elaborate on the concept of social space.

The Affective Domain

Grossberg uses the term “affect” to refer to “a certain range of effects which can be described in terms of intensities. ...[A] range of effects for which intensity is the primary characteristic. These are things like emotions and passions and investments.”¹⁰ The essence of the affective dimension is personal investment formed by “what matters” to a person or group and the intensity of their relationship to the object of their affection (to

⁹ I have already established (Chapter Two) that the notion that New Zealand would become a “better Britain” underlies immigration policies from colonial times until the latter half of the 20th century and that the imagining of a British nation is closely associated with the “White Dominions” that form the original basis of the British Commonwealth.

¹⁰ Grossberg interviewed in Wilson-Brown 1995.

coin a phrase) — the depth of their engagement, disengagement, or indifference, their passion or their antipathy.

Affect as “investment” taken together with concepts of social capital form a basis for a processual model of the “creation of the new,” which I see as a kind of effective dividend returned on an (affective) investment of social capital. This kind of “investment” is “democratic” (in my usage) by definition — while it is impacted by external factors, such as an investment/engagement, it reflects internal motivation and volition.

Grossberg suggests that affect can be organized and mapped:

If ideology is a kind of map of meaning and we struggle over ideologies, in the sense of mapping the world according to meaning, why couldn't we struggle over affect in terms of the maps of the ways we relate to the world emotionally, passionately, in terms of what we can and cannot invest in, what can and cannot matter?¹¹

He goes on to say that affect is not only an essential aspect of popular culture, but also that it has been common for people to use pop culture (and especially music) to maintain, reinforce, or modify their affect:

[Popular culture] was not only about the meanings it offered but the ways in which people invested in it and the world and about the ways in which [popular culture] affected their moods and emotions.¹²

Implicit in this idea that people use music to affect mood is the notion that music may be used to manage affect. Affective engagement is the essence of *self*-investment — it implies a willing commitment (or surrender) to concepts, ways of life, and things that

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

matter. And music's power, to create, manage, maintain, and nourish affect on an individual basis also makes music potentially an effective tool for building and maintaining institutions, by inviting investment in them. As a result, music is a particularly appropriate indicator for parsing the impact and longevity of the institutions that employ it, as well as assessing the ways that individuals engage with institutions. Similarly, it is useful for parsing the interface between intersecting institutions (and the "peoples" they represent).

This is particularly true in the case of "positive" affect where there is an emphasis on volition and a voluntary investment. It should be noted however that there is a complementary "negative affect," the state of disaffection or disengagement, concomitant with a submissive posture, and more closely associated with coercion than volition. Music's forte, as it were, is in the management of positive affect, and even in less democratic, more coercive states, it is better used to seduce or to cajole, to invite engagement, than to impose an external order. In the following sections I parse music, affect, and institutions as they relate to my research.

In the next section I elaborate on a concept of social space.

Social "Space"

In order to map the musical and performative processes and relations that contribute to what I have called "persistence of identity," it is necessary to develop a spatial metaphor that is able to accommodate a set of cultural objects that not only are not visible or tangible to the same set of senses that we normally associate with graphic renderings of geophysical features, but even more importantly, may be difficult to grasp across cultural

orientations. It is my intent to render these objects in a graphical/relational realm in order to expose them and make them more comprehensible.

I have already referred to one such useful metaphor in Appadurai's various "-scapes" — financial, informational, political, ethnic, et cetera. Each of these domains has a set of inherent perspectives, values, and renderings that enable various variable features to be located in relation to one another. My task is to extend the number and kind of domains to include aspects of cultural embeddedness, expression, endeavor, and interpretation, particularly as they are relevant to musical construction and maintenance of group identities in New Zealand.

Bourdieu says,

The social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e., capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder. Agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space. An essential feature of this social space is that its properties are active — they constitute a "field of forces" which may be construed as a "set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field." Furthermore, by definition these objective power relations are "irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to direct interactions among the agents."¹³

Bourdieu's "field of forces" refers to what I have described as "situatedness" — it constitutes a kind of "objective reality" insofar as it exists for individual agents as an external shaping force. This force that may be internalized by them — indeed by definition, it must be in some way internalized by significant numbers of individuals in the group to act as a palpable force — but these individuals do not directly impact on the

¹³ Bourdieu 1985: 723-24.

field *as individuals*. Individuals do have some disposition with relation to this force, however. And I see their collaborative affective engagement with the social field as fuel — the force that constructs, deconstructs, and shapes it.

Bourdieu describes the social field as a multi-dimensional space where “every actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of co-ordinates.”¹⁴ He renders the first dimension of this space in terms of volume of capital possessed by agents. The second dimension is determined by the composition and distribution of that capital vis à vis “the relative weight of the different kinds of assets within their total assets.” In the context of this dissertation, the “relative weight” of assets can be rendered in the affective domain as the “relative weight *attached* to assets” — in other words people’s choice of assets and their depth of engagement with those assets. Hence the concept of *taonga* — i.e., what is treasured — becomes central.

Bourdieu develops a set of theoretical classes of agents grouped according to similarity of conditions and conditioning. These classes are mapped according to “compatibilities and incompatibilities, proximities and distances.”¹⁵ Bourdieu is at pains to point out that these classes are not “real” groups, but rather are analytic categories that may be separated out in social space. However, Bourdieu holds that these classes “explain the probability of individuals constituting themselves as practical groups.”¹⁶ Therefore comparisons

¹⁴ Ibid.: 724.

¹⁵ Ibid.: 725.

¹⁶ Ibid.: 725.

between Bourdieu's classes are in some sense predictive of whether groups will come together (or not) in confluence, a requisite condition for the production of new identities and a major theme of this dissertation.

For Bourdieu, proximity in social space, particularly as regards capital distribution, is also an important attribute that predicts stability and hence persistence:

Groupings grounded in the structure of the space constructed in terms of capital distribution are more likely to be stable and durable, while other forms of grouping are always threatened by the splits and oppositions linked to distances in social space. To speak of a social space means that one cannot group just anyone with anyone while ignoring the fundamental differences, particularly economic and cultural ones. But this never entirely excludes the possibility of organizing agents in accordance with other principles of division — ethnic or national ones, for example — though it has to be remembered that these are generally linked to fundamental principles, with ethnic groups themselves being at least roughly hierarchized in the social space....¹⁷

It is important to bear in mind that proximity in social space may be achieved by the construction of institutions that span physical distance by promoting common affective investments and shared mechanisms for the accumulation of cultural capital.

Bourdieu coins the term “habitus” to describe the social space as occupied by its denizens. He defines habitus as “a system of durable and transposable *dispositions* [sic] (schemes of perception, appreciation, and action), produced by particular social environments, which functions as the principle of the generation and structuring of practices and representations.”¹⁸ Fiske says “habitus” refers to a “habitat, the habitants and the pro-

¹⁷ Ibid.: 726.

¹⁸ Ibid.: 786.

cesses of inhabiting it, and the habituated ways of thinking that go with it.”¹⁹ Bourdieu uses this model to map social space and locate various actor’s tastes and dispositions relative to it.²⁰ For my purposes, the habitus represents the field for the encounters described in Chapters Three through Five, based on the situations and attitudes described in Chapter Two.

In the next section, I examine how this model may be modified to apply to the New Zealand case.

Fiske/Bourdieu Model

Fiske adapts Bourdieu’s model in order to map a “cultural economy of fandom.” In Fiske’s rendering of Bourdieu’s model for mapping cultural tastes onto economic status,²¹ total (i.e., economic and cultural) capital is mapped along the y-axis, with greater capital above the origin and lesser below. The “positive” dimension of social space measured along the y-axis represents power as agency based on cumulative cultural and economic capital. The x-axis is conceptualized as a typological continuum. Type of capital — economic or cultural — is mapped along the x-axis with those having greater “cultural” capital — people like artists, musicians and writers whose prestige or cultural worth is not necessarily based on monetary wealth or clout in the marketplace — distributed to the left of the origin and those with greater economic capital — i.e.,

¹⁹ Fiske 1992: 32.

²⁰ See Bourdieu 1984.

²¹ Fiske 1992: 31.

business people and manufacturers — to the right. The top center of the graph is occupied by those who have a combination of economic and cultural clout — this area is dominated by the professional classes whose capital is largely derived from a situated ability to derive economic and cultural benefit from advanced (or prestigious) education or other influential institutions. These professionals derive leverage from being both institutionally validated and situated. The lower center of the graph consists of groups who (presumably) lack either economic or effective cultural means.

Bourdieu's map is a relatively flat view of French, particularly Parisian culture, cast as a single, monocultural space. Fiske's adaptation, a simplified, and hence less specific, subset of Bourdieu's model stands as an apt description of the social milieu inhabited by New Zealand's Euro-British majority, who historically have been affectively and materially situated (and invested) within a Western political, economic, and educational infrastructure.

Unmodified, the model is not well suited for representing other groups because of its emphasis on a Western view of economics and class as the principal dimensions of social discrimination. This model privileges a view of "wealth" as an accumulation of goods²² — a financescape that at best treats "economic and cultural factors" as being coequal, or more often subordinates culture to economics. The result is a minimization of the importance of other forms of cultural capital, whose nature varies from group to group and is generally a major determinant of cultural and ethnic identity, in favor of a standardized

²² In Māori the term "wealth" renders as rangatiratanga, which means a quality or state of esteem — chiefliness.

notion of capital that erases cultural and ethnic distinctions by pegging value and values to flows of money.

Rendering social space as experienced by other groups — particularly those who have historically been marginalized in terms of access and investment in mainstream institutions — requires acknowledgement of other types of cultural capital and affective investment. Indeed, cultural economies based on orality and related cultural performances like music are of particular importance in New Zealand. Fiske suggests that Bourdieu's model be expanded to include other axes, including race, gender, and age, noting that Bourdieu's model fails "to accord the culture of the subordinate the same sophisticated analysis as that of the dominant."²³

"Subordinate" groups tend to develop institutions of their own, and for those groups the development of cultural capital may occur within and with reference to those institutions — the institutions are an important part of the social space. Fiske says that fan organizations as subordinate social formations "begin to reproduce equivalents of the formal institutions of official culture." He suggests modifying Bourdieu's model to include "'popular cultural capital' produced by subordinate social formations which can serve, in the subordinate, similar functions to those of official cultural capital in the dominant context"²⁴ Such nascent cultural institutions constitute a space where new performances may be produced and accommodated. Recognition of, and emphasis on alternative insti-

²³ Fiske 1992: 32.

²⁴ Ibid.: 33.

tutions provides a different perspective on social space. And this recognition, when it occurs in the general population, may either signal or result in convergence of mainstream and alternative institutions.

Bourdieu's model is not necessarily antithetical to a Māori perspective, but it requires an affective transformation based on recognizing a broader range of cultural investments in order to more adequately rationalize an ebb and flow of cultural exchange, construction and invention.

These maps can be taken as "snapshots" of social space over time that may be used to chart an ebb and flow of the emergence of new practices and new institutions that reflect shifts in values, orientation, and type and kind of affective investment. It is my thesis that affective investment, institutionally maintained over time, is a strong determinant of cultural persistence. By this measure, some groups that have been labeled "subordinate," and treated as "primitive" or inferior, show themselves to be remarkably resilient.

Institutional Ilk: Types, Kinds, "-Scapes" and "Subordinate" Institutions

Bourdieu's notion that "discrimination of taste" maps onto status (vis à vis amount and distribution of cultural and economic capital) is based on the existence of quasi-ubiquitous institutional reinforcement and inculcation of particular sets of standards, attitudes, and inclinations.

In order to map the subaltern, as it were, it is necessary to acknowledge "subordinate" institutions, referenced from "other" standpoints that by definition may differ substantially from some putative normative view. The ways in which constituents of such "local," (in the sense that they are in proximate social space) institutions affectively

engage with and are invested in their institutions may also differ in type and kind from those of the “dominant.” And, as in the dominant, these institutions afford people (local) leverage and esteem — mana — and even these institutions are, at least potentially, a fundamental mechanism for the acquisition of capital, both cultural and economic.

Views from Below — Transformations of the Fiske/Bourdieu Model

In *Discrimination: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Bourdieu’s examines value judgments of agents whom he positions on a graph of “socially ranked geographic space.”²⁵ Bourdieu privileges the upper half of the graph, so that the activities and institutions of the dominant culture are rendered in greater detail. Fiske suggests transforming Bourdieu’s map of social space so that activity seen as occurring at the bottom half of the graph is privileged — the perspective is shifted from that of the “dominant” culture to that of the subordinate. This may be characterized as a “view from below.”

Mapping Māori: Institutions, Mana, and Affect

Māori cultural economy is closely tied to a local (and contemporary) concept of mana.²⁶ This is not surprising in a culture where wealth equates most closely to rangatiratanga (“chieflihood” — the quality of a superior person). Adjectivally “mana” means to be

²⁵ Bourdieu 1985: 124.

²⁶ In general anthropological discourse, mana has historically been associated with magic and the supernatural and sometimes discussed as being precursor of religion (see Mauss 1950). It is not my purpose here to engage with this historic discussion. Contemporarily, and for the purposes of this discussion, mana may be treated as a reflexive construction of authority where, as I have indicated earlier, mana represents a synthesis of personal charisma, rhetorical force, and “institutional” (in Bourdieu’s sense) authority that is acquired through a combination of these mechanisms and, particularly in the case of Māori, democratic affective investment by people.

“vested with effective authority.”²⁷ In contemporary Māori culture, the nature of this vestment is affective and democratic.

Bourdieu propounds a notion of the institution as a synthesis of durability and vested authority, which in turn constructs the efficacy of performative utterances. In the introduction to *Language and Symbolic Power*, editor John Thompson says that, in Bourdieu’s usage:

The efficacy of performative utterances is inseparable from the existence of an institution which defines the conditions (such as the place, the time, the agent) that must be fulfilled in order for the utterance to be effective. ...An institution is not necessarily a particular organization — this or that family or factory, for instance — but is a relatively durable set of social relations which endows individuals with power, status and resources of various kinds. It is the authority to carry out the act which his or her utterance claims to perform.²⁸

Chapter Three of this dissertation shows how mana, of a person or an institution, may be relative to affective investment by people, and how it is imbued in a Māori context. When groups of people at Ratana stand to sing waiata in support of a speaker, they both reflect and construct the mana of the speaker — by who his or her supporters are, their numbers and attitude, and the content and manner of their singing. In this case, people’s involvement and the mechanism of vestment is visibly democratic and the singers are symbolic of broad support for the speaker’s word: by standing, people invest themselves in the speaker (and his words), and the speaker is ratified in the process.

²⁷ *Dictionary of the Māori Language*, Seventh Edition, H.W. Williams.

²⁸ Thompson in Bourdieu 1991: 8.

So in the Māori context, and at Ratana in particular, the democratic process of investment is vividly represented and symbolized by the use of music. In the next section I explore a “durable set of social relations” that constitute an institutional underpinning for our map of Māori social space.

Persisting Māori Institutions

In Chapter Three, Ruia Aperahama spoke of the “old Māori economy” as being based on a person’s control of land, their “birth” (vis à vis family connections and genealogy), whakapapa (i.e., their knowledge of their genealogy and ability to perform it) and the extensiveness of their repertoire of incantations. In the next section I discuss contemporary iterations of these elements of the “old” economy at Ratana. I begin by casting the concept of “control” in the current usage of Māori terms.

Mana Whenua, Mana Motuhake

Māori “control”²⁹ of Ratana Pa, the village, is a sign of persistence of aspects of the “old economy.” The esteem or pride of self-worth — the *value* that comes with strong association with and connection to an area or piece of land is expressed in Māori as “*mana whenua*.” The existence of the village as a place owned and occupied by Māori is partial testimony to “control,” at least in the Western sense of ownership of property. But the expression *mana whenua* better captures a sense of affective investment: the “value” I speak of is not abstract, but rather is reflexive in the sense that the value of the land is

²⁹ The English term “dominion” may better express the affective value of “control.”

directly tied to the value of the person, and hence their personal, affective investment in the land.

Similarly the Māori term *mana motuhake*³⁰ is usually translated as “self-determination.” A more apt translation would be “independent assessment and determination of both value and authority.” The affective dimension of *mana motuhake* — which includes a sense of governance “of Māori, by and for Māori,” as an expression of cultural determination that brooks no capitulation to a set of externally defined mores — is visibly reinforced at Ratana by the authority of the *katipa*. It is particularly interesting to note that the *katipa* do not “police” by virtue of superior force, but their “power” — which is not imposed, but is accepted — is derived from the institutional fabric of Ratana, which is based in turn on affective (democratic) investment by the people themselves.

Whakapapa

Aperahama himself embodies “birth,” genealogy, and repertoire, all of which are readily perceptible in his speech, in Māori and English, and his performance, as an orator and as a musician. Similarly the young cleric, Turama Hawira, was able to displace the Governor General by virtue of his performance, mastery of repertoire, and *whaikorero*. His “birth” was also implicitly on display as a function of his mastery of language and repertoire as well as his positioning in the Governor General’s party — how did he come to translate for the Governor General? And how did he come by his mastery? Both of

³⁰ *Mana Motuhake* is also the name of a Māori political party which was started in 1976 by Matiu Rata, a former minister of Māori Affairs in the Labour Government. *Mana Motuhake* was formed because Rata and others felt that Labour had not adequately addressed Māori issues. *Mana Motuhake* was disbanded in 2005 and most of its members moved to the new Māori Party, which was formed in 2004.

these obvious questions speak to connections. Aperahama was able to deduce aspects of Hawira's identity and his lineage based on the content of the speeches and on Hawira's performance: the level of Hawira's mastery of language and *whaikorero* was likely have begun in childhood. And, because mastery of cultural repertoires is the functional essence of being "high-born," one would impute to him the status of an impressive lineage.

It is important to understand that *whakapapa* is a defining institution, some would say *the* defining institution, for Māori. The concept of lineage and value — what constitutes "high-birth" in this discussion — relies on an understanding of *whakapapa* as a relational database, and the ability to perform, to show or demonstrate, one's self in relation to that database. That is to say that, because *whakapapa* embraces more than human genealogy, but instead relates an individual to every aspect of natural and supernatural worlds, the performative ability to show one's self in the best or most appropriate light in a given context is a very effective form of constructive discourse. It represents a mindset — a way of thinking that is both remarkably flexible and resilient insofar as it allows an adept individual to cast him- or herself in terms of the resources at hand without losing a sense of identity. Indeed this is basis of Ratana's concept of "imitation and innovation" as well as Aperahma's narrative rendering of it.

I will return to this notion later in my discussion of effective discourses.

Māori-Pakeha Articulations: Mapping the Intersections

There are several instances of intersecting and overlapping cultural referents in this dissertation. Indeed, every situation where people from different cultural orientations encounter and engage with one another can be said to be an articulation between cultures.

There are elements — moments of affective engagement on some level — in each such intercultural encounter that enable or facilitate interaction — that in a sense “lubricate” the interaction or articulation between different cultural “spaces.” Among these “lubricants” I number trust, forbearance, acceptance, respect, fascination, enthusiasm, and even disaffection or neutral affect, to the extent that some things “don’t matter” in some contexts and therefore may be ignored. Some common terms that embody these elements are “hospitality” and “grace.” The common thread among these elements is that they make space — they create a moment when there is the potential for people with different understandings of the world to mutually construct a narrative that enables them to cohabit. Similarly, there are disaffective elements — those with a negative affect — that may operate as a barrier or impediment to intercultural interaction. These may include hate, disdain, arrogance, and other such affects that generally tend to ignore, dismiss, or denigrate the other. There are also terms like “surrender” that may signify either a positive affect (when used to mean a voluntary act of acceptance or embrace) or a negative one (when used to mean “capitulation” by force), according to context.

In the next section, I apply these terms to interactions between Māori and Pakeha at Ratana Pa.

Ratana Pa

At Ratana, when Pakeha dignitaries come on to the marae, relatively ignorant of the protocols of the occasion but willing to accept them, they exhibit trust, even as their hosts exhibit forbearance. These elements can be witnessed in the encounter between the Governor General, Dame Sylvia Cartwright, the young cleric, Turama Hawira, and the assemblage at Ratana.

In this encounter, Dame Sylvia — although unversed in *whaikorero* and the protocols of the *marae* and despite her high station — exhibited trust (and respect) by walking onto unfamiliar territory in an unfamiliar situation and essentially surrendering herself to a set of unknown protocols. The young cleric, Hawira, a cultural adept, translated for her — whispering in her ear as Aperahama delivered a greeting to her — and then rose to speak. But the content of his speech was not for her in any direct sense — instead he spoke for his people and himself.

Had his speech been prosaic English, it would have been rude for such a young man to preempt a high personage and insert himself ahead of her. But the music of the speech and the poetry of the performance, particularly in the ritual context of the *powhiri*, created a different set of meanings for Māori and Pakeha alike. The Governor General understood no Māori, but the notion that she was in a performative circumstance — one in which she was not capable of performing adequately on her own behalf — was well understood to her (and every single person enveloped in the pomp of the circumstance of that moment). For the Governor General, Hawira's performance was a unit — a meme — with a functional meaning as a placeholder in a prescribed ceremony. For Hawira, and those in the assemblage who understood Māori, the performance broke down into smaller units of meaning, where we heard of Hawira and his tribe, their place in the land, their history and of the preservation of Māori culture as embodied in Hawira and his supporters.

In this interaction, the Governor General was not disrespected — in fact not only was her *mana* intact, it was enhanced when she was later invited to speak from the *tangata*

whenua side. At the same time Hawira's mana was augmented on the basis of his performance. When she did speak, Dame Sylvia's valiant attempt at speaking in Māori, was another reciprocal display that affectively lubricated the interaction by displaying her commitment to the occasion — it signified that she was engaged and willing to become Māori, or normal in the situation. Her willingness would be taken as acknowledgment if not an embrace of mana whenua and mana motuhake.

In the next section, I examine interactions between Māori and Pakeha in the Taonga Pūoro Movement.

Taonga Pūoro

The (re)construction of Māori musical instruments as a cultural object is a site where cultures articulate. There are articulations between Māori and Pakeha, and also between urban and traditional-rural Māori subcultures. Indeed ngā taonga pūoro actually represent a material site where cultures, and subcultures, both abut and intersect. They abut in the sense that in some ways there is not a reflexive flow between cultures — that is to say that the cultural object has different and non-complementary or incommensurate symbolic meanings for the parties. They intersect in the sense that there are some shared or overlapping cultural interpretations. In the following section, I parse these articulations by constructing a set of metanarratives that represent my interpretation of what members of these groups (or factions) said to me in interviews.

Telling Taonga Pūoro: Articulating Voices

In Chapter Four, various narratives and metanarratives emerge from the telling and retelling of stories of ngā taonga pūoro (the instruments) and Taonga Pūoro (the move-

ment). These narratives, told in different voices and from different viewpoints, represent articulations between cultures, and intersecting and abutting social spaces may be derived from them.

Hedley's Version

Rangiiria Hedley's telling of the Taonga Pūoro story has Hirini Melbourne as the hero — the central character whose linguistic ability and mastery of Māori ways of being and doing enabled him to cast a broad net to recapture what had been thought to be all but lost. The characteristics of sensitivity, humility, and loyalty to his family, his tribe and his nation (in that order) are to be celebrated. In this story, Melbourne is tipuna — an ancestor whose spirit lives on in his work and his life is an inspiration and a model. The career of the instruments is for them to be reborn to their originators that they may be shared (or not) with the rest of the world. The virtue of Taonga Pūoro, both the instruments and the movement, is to serve the mana of the family and the tribe, and perhaps the nation. This version of the story is also echoed in Flintoff's and Moorfield's versions.

Nunns's Version

In Richard Nunns's version, Nunns himself is the central character, or at very least co-equal to Melbourne. He is a hero whose unique attributes and placement in time and space combine with divine providence to make him the one chosen to breathe life back into the instruments. In his version, Melbourne is an important, but not the central character. In this version, virtues of unique insight and individual heroism are the celebrated qualities, and the career path for Taonga Pūoro, is to become a gift to the world so that the virtue of the instruments is to serve the mana of the nation (and those

who have the skill and the knowledge to wield them). The notion that the instruments may serve the mana of the iwi and the hapu and the whanau goes without saying. Similarly, for Nunns the Pakeha world is “reality” — “one Māori, two Pakeha, but that’s the way of the new world”³¹ — and virtue lies in pragmatism.

Horo’s Version

Nunn’s gospel is echoed in Horomona Horo’s telling, which also incorporates elements of Hedley’s view. For Horo, both Nunns and Melbourne are iconic: they are the “parents,” the matua who are the immediate ancestors of the living instruments, and by extension, himself. In Horo’s (re-)telling, the story of the story and his conversion (and salvation) are his immediate experience. His career path is bound to that of Taonga Pūoro and that path ultimately leads to redemption in two worlds, as he/they are resurrected/reborn as a “real” (as opposed to hori) Māori and authentic cultural object on the marae, on one hand, and as he/they are able to achieve visibility and recognition in the world beyond, on the other. For him, Ngā Taonga Pūoro is as a key to both worlds.

Standpoints

These actors all move between multiple worlds, but their standpoints are very different as they travel. Hedley remains rooted in the marae — this is the affective ground where she derives her deepest truth from matters of whanau, hapu and iwi, and tikanga. Nunns inhabits a different affective space, something more closely resembling “the real world” — a world that is at least as large (or as small) as New Zealand and where affective

³¹ Richard Nunns interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/17/2006.

engagement is closely related to pragmatism. His truth is derived from a place no more determinate than Aotearoa/New Zealand, and within that boundary it seems chimeric in quality, as he shifts ground (from dreams to the academy) for rhetorical force. Horo's standpoint is less determined and more in process — “under construction” — than either of the others. His standpoint is more of a trajectory, a view shifting toward some construction of Māoridom that is bound up in discovery and rediscovery of and through language and culture.

In the next section, I parse Taonga Pūoro using the terminology of affective “lubricants” I proposed earlier.

Articulations

The articulation between these three players and their different cultural spaces is Taonga Pūoro. It is the symbolic hinge, the fulcrum through which they interact. In this section I parse some elements of affect that may facilitate or impede interaction between these cultural spaces.

Hirini Melbourne is a point of commonality between all of these actors — he appears as a major player in all of their stories. The difference is a matter of emphasis — for Nunns, Melbourne is like the Jesus of the Koran — a major prophet, but not the Messiah.

In terms of orientation and matters of value, there is a disjuncture whereby Nunns's apparent lack (or lesser level) of engagement with tikanga and local identification and attribution abuts Hedley's insistence that these are matters of central importance. Horo affectively engages across all of these boundaries. While for him traditional matters of

whakapapa and tikanga and his engagement with them are still under construction, he maintains — and treasures — an “ancestral” relationship to both Melbourne and Nunns.

In the next sections, I expand this theoretical model and explore some of its ramifications for other groups.

Pasifika/New Zealand and the Institutional Interface

In the preceding sections I parsed articulations between situated Māori and Pakeha groups in New Zealand as exposed in music and cultural performance. One concept that flows from the idea of articulations between groups is the possibility for the construction of shared repertoires, like Taonga Pūoro. Such repertoires may reflexively construct, reconstruct, and create new cultural spaces and institutional frameworks. In the following sections, I explore this process as it manifests among various groups, particularly in Pasifika/New Zealand.

Repertoire and Habitus — Repertoire as “Menu”

Sheffy says the notion of “cultural repertoire” is designed to “amend the inadequate description of cultural systems simply as ‘sets of rules’ and ‘elements.’” He says further:

...The notion of repertoires indicates that the knowledge of systems people have and use as competent actors in a given culture consists...of matrices, i.e., models, preorganized options...that constrain people’s action in each and every case, given the specific cultural field one is acting in and according to one’s position within it.³²

Sheffy goes on to speak of the habitus as a “mediating mechanism between social webs and the actual practices performed by individual actors” that “can explain the tendency of

³² Sheffy 1997: 35-36.

people occupying — or aspiring at — similar or proximate social positions to make similar or proximate repertoric choices.”³³

A key concept here is the “knowledge of systems.” I have already shown how cultural adepts at Ratana are able to use mastery of systems like language and whakapapa to advance their case in the Māori world and I would argue that cultural competence — deep knowledge of how a culture works — renders a much greater range of options for a cultural adept in any system. The repertoric choices that Sheffy describes are analogous to dishes on a menu. For example, by mixing and matching — making substitutions on the cultural menu, as it were — the possibility for innovation, or at least the range of possible actions available to an actor in a given circumstance increases.

At the extremes, the menu analogy morphs into something more closely resembling a cook who is able to manipulate a set of ingredients in their most basic form — to cook “from scratch” — in order to innovate to create new dishes and to extend the cultural repertoire.

This process has implications for the construction of durable institutions. Sheffy maintains that repertoires represent conventions and that repertoric options are therefore relatively autonomous and that “once established, may not only endure beyond the social

³³ Sheffy 1997: 37.

conditions which initiated them, but also constrain — or even initiate — other social formations.”³⁴ In other words, this process is a model for the creation of institutions.

In the next section I examine connections between development of repertoires and the construction of Pasifika institutions at the Whitireia Performing Arts Program.

Whitireia Performing Arts, Deconstructing Unitary Repertoires

In order to construct an institution, “New Zealand Contemporary Dance” or “Pasifika Contemporary Dance,” the program leaders at the Whitireia Performing Arts Program brought together a set of cultural repertoires from different sources. Three of the sources, Cook Island Māori, Samoan, and New Zealand Māori represent repertoires whose material is relatively fixed and unitary in the sense that the traditional focus has not been on “technique” — as an approach that breaks down repertoric units, like named dances and songs, into abstract “atoms” that represent elemental competencies that must be recombined in order to produce “works.” Instead these cultures deal with unitary repertoires that are more or less directly analogous to life in the communities they come out of. “Training” in these cultural spaces usually takes the form of learning by experiencing, being and doing — by osmosis.

At Whitireia, these traditions of unitary repertoires are recontextualized (into a larger repertoire that includes all of the separate cultural traditions under a single rubric), deconstructed (so that elements smaller than the individual components of unitary repertoires may be discerned), mixed, and made apposite to a European modern dance

³⁴ Sheffy 1997: 38.

tradition. There are several conditions that make this change in phase plausible if not necessary.

In most cases, the original or traditional contexts for learning and performing these cultural idioms are either muted or not easily accessible by would-be practitioners from urban circumstances. Similarly, the people who study at Whitireia, although many have putative roots in the cultures or traditions, most have not had access to the kind of immersion that would enable them to learn by being and doing (i.e., by osmosis). Also, the Whitireia students have, for the most part, grown up in an urban and diverse, multicultural environment, and their connections and identifications, their loyalties and inclinations — their affective dispositions — may tend to pull (or push) them away from any unitary repertoric environment. Under these circumstances the need to mix and match, to find an expression that fits otherwise fragmented identities, fuels, and regulates the deconstruction and recombinant production of “new” cultural expressions, as an antidote to a kind of cultural dysphasia or dyslexia. The result in the case of the Whitireia alumni choreographers was “Pasifika Contemporary Dance.”

The affective engagement of the participants tends to regulate the deconstructive process. The tendency to test to destruction — the impulse to reduce the “size” of the repertoric unit until it becomes so abstract and denatured to the point that it no longer has any cultural referent, to atomize it — is moderated by the participants’ affective engagement in the process of positively constructing themselves from a set of components that matter to them.

It is noteworthy that the early stages of the creative construction of this nascent genre took place in a context subsumed within the institutional framework of the New Zealand educational system, but the culmination (at least as I witnessed) came later. I will return to a discussion of tension between old and new institutions in New Zealand later in the concluding sections of this dissertation.

Pūtea

The Māori word “pūtea” means a finely woven basket. It is a metaphor for a vessel for things are put into for safekeeping, and then taken out again when they are needed.

Tangencies and Shared Repertoires

From the point of view constructing “new” cultural institutions, or what is tantamount to the same thing — the reconstruction or modification of existing cultural institutions to embrace and nurture the new, a desirable end of cultural interactions — is the creation of repositories, or storehouses of cultural repertoires. Earlier in this chapter, I spoke of articulations between cultures and affective engagement as a “lubricant” that may facilitate cultural interaction. I said then that these affective lubricants create a “space” for the construction of mutual investments across cultures. I introduced a set of terms and conditions that describe amounts and kinds of affect (i.e., positive, negative, or neutral) that either facilitate or impede intercultural engagement. In this section, I want to extend that terminology to apply to the construction of shared institutions in the form of cultural repositories where cultural products may be stored and later recovered.

I spoke earlier of “intersections” and “abutments” of culture. I say that a “cultural tangency” is the precise point of abutment between cultural spaces. It is a moment of

contact before engagement, but after recognition — the moment when two groups “see” each other. It is the minimum requirement for future engagement, but it is not a guarantee of engagement. It may lead to war instead. At the moment of tangency, a liberal application of affective lubricant may open a shared space of some kind. It is in this space that a shared repertoire may be created.

This process is a thread that binds the sites of my research. And at each of those sites I witnessed a potential for creation of shared repertoires.

Cultural repositories can be created when cultural groups come to have shared repertoires across boundaries. The shared cultural products may or may not have the same function for the different groups and the actual point of tangency may be accidental or external to the uses and functions of the music for the groups sharing a repertoire. This is particularly evident in the recovery of ngā taonga pūoro as a living institution where the instruments were revived because some traces of them still existed, albeit in the creaky old Western museum where their immediate “use” as antiquated relics, curiosities, and remnants of a dead past, was a poor match for an affective investment in them as living treasures.

Thus, one group might be attracted to “the sound” or “the beat” of music, or even to the simple fact of its exoticism, while another might emphasize the “cultural significance” of the cultural object for establishing their identity. The actual uses and functions don’t necessarily matter — what is crucial is that the performed material be shared so that the result is a repertoire that is preserved in some form. I would go so far as to say that even the quality of the shared performance, from the originating culture’s perspective, is not crucial to the functioning of the shared repertoire as a repository. In fact, a performance

that is judged to be “bad” or unconvincing based upon some missing element, that is in some way not available to the host culture, might even spark an investment by subsequent generations of the originating culture based on their ability to supply those missing elements (embedded elsewhere, presumably in their experience of their culture). And this might provide an impetus for them to undertake to resurrect a performance in a manner that contributes to its rhetorical force and their mana.

Indeed, the cloistering of ngā taonga pūoro in New Zealand Museums ultimately did not prevent the instruments from being restored to “the people.” The fact that the constitution of exactly who “the people” are, or the status of what the “proper” use of the cultural object will be going into the future is disputed notwithstanding, the instruments, and some aspects of the cultural repertoires that they represent, have been conserved.

The danger therefore does not lie in the existence or construction of shared repertoires and cultural repositories, but rather in the construction and administration of controlling institutions and how they may regulate to facilitate or impede access.

In the next sections, I imagine the virtue of the beneficent institution.

Institutional Inertia, Efficacy, and Persistence

Institutional inertia is the self-contained tendency of a set of dynamical cultural relations to persist and carry forward in time. Institutional efficacy relates to an institution’s ability to hold, collect, disburse, and confer value. The inertial mass of the institution as it carries forward — its power to sustain — may be determined by its affective mass, the “weight” of people’s ongoing investment in the institution. In any case, the weight of an ongoing investment would be the ultimate indicator of institutional effectiveness as well

as persistence. And the ability to collect value is indeed the ability of the institution to attract and hold affective investment.

I say that the “life” and the “body” of an institution consists of a set of cultural repertoires embodied by more than one person at a time. As a result, the repertoire may take on a life of its own, independent of an individual body, and potentially present in more than one. This is a reflexive construction as the repertoire flows to and from an institution to another body. Indeed embodiment, in the literal sense, either through dance or song or gesture, and especially including language, is a particularly effective method of institutional investment. This is even more the case when the nature of the institution is hyper-reflexive in the sense that affective investments continue to adhere to the depositors — that the identification of their investment, their contribution, as it were, is maintained, even as the products are shared. The identification of the investor with the investment is maintenance of value, as opposed to a transfer of wealth, which is tantamount to a loss of value in the sense that “real” value of a cultural object is not reified or abstract, its value depends on being identified with an investor.

The virtues of the institution are to persist and carry forward in time; to hold, collect, disburse, and confer value (affective investment); to embody a set of cultural repertoires in such a way as to reflexively maintain identification of the cultural product (the taonga) with its investors.

I now turn to the subject of institutional disjuncture and dysfunction as it applies to the situatedness of “other” cultural groups — tauiwi — in New Zealand.

Disjuncture and Dysfunction at the Interface of Cultural and Educational Institutions in New Zealand

As I noted in Chapter Five, New Zealand educational institutions are commonly a point of cultural tangency for recent immigrants and urban migrants. They are a place where shared repertoires and new identities may be nourished under the proper circumstances. Also in Chapter Five, Gaylene Sciascia described an institutional dysfunction that manifests as resistance to students who among those she deemed likely to succeed in the Performing Arts Program. Her was aim to create space within the Polytechnic institution that addressed the needs of urban Pacific youth, but “there was a real pressure from the government about degrees — it’s a bit scary because your entry qualification would normally exclude a lot of the people [who] are our most successful.”³⁵

The entry qualifications constituted an institutionally embedded impediment to a potentially successful population. This is particularly insidious because the Polytech system is the arm of the New Zealand education system that is meant to target these same populations and the dysfunction is actually a product of the same value system that establishes the targets. In this case, the weight of the institution seems set so as to create the opposite intended effect. An examination of this dysfunction in terms of the model of the beneficent institution that I have put forward is instructive.

The weight of the institution is well formed and palpable in the New Zealand education sector. The 1989 Education Act charged the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) with the responsibility to “establish a consistent approach to the recognition of

³⁵ Gaylene Sciascia interviewed by H. Anderson, 3/2/2006.

academic and vocational qualifications” and all funding flows from the government through the NZQA which sets standards and implements policy.³⁶

The New Zealand’s polytechnic sector is an adjunct to the university system and serves community and vocational needs in the tertiary or “non-compulsory” education. Although the polytechnic are the downmarket component of the tertiary sector, they are funded from the same pool, and are therefore in competition with the universities for funding. The universities are seen as elite institutions while the polytechnics generally deal with segments of the population who, for whatever reason, either aren’t able or aren’t inclined to gain entrance or remain at university.

The diversity of the population, and hence the range of courses that are available at Polytechs is enormous. Similarly, the range of traditions at the institutions is hardly monolithic.³⁷ Some of the difficulties with the NZQA and the larger institutional framework in which it is embedded can be ascribed to an ideological orientation that maintains that it is appropriate for a central authority to impose a single, monolithic set of values — “standards” — on the diverse set of repertoires and traditions that the trope “education” represents. An example of the imposition of a value system on a diverse population is evident in the 2006 comments of Education Minister for the Labour Government, Michael Cullen, on a decision to more closely regulate curricula in the form of which courses the government would fund. To justify this change, citing failures of the

³⁶ 1989 Education Act quoted in Birchfield 2005.

³⁷ Melles points to a diverse set of repertoires when he says that a “heterogeneity of curricular traditions” is present in New Zealand Polytechnics. Melles 2008.

previous policy (known popularly among polytechnic and university lecturers as “bums on seats”) that funded courses directly on the basis of the number of students enrolled, Cullen said, “Too many students were either not completing courses or not qualifying with skills needed by industry.... Institutions were not working with businesses to identify and fill skill gaps.”³⁸ In other words, the virtue of tertiary education is strongly identified (by Cullen, who speaks for the state) with the needs of existing businesses. At the same time the desires of students in the “creative marketplace,” as it were are pushed back. The point here is that, although it is understandable that an unregulated “free market” system might prove inappropriate, there seems to be an underlying tendency to impose a monolithic value system, without reference to affective investment on the part of individuals, cultural groups, or at-large populations. And the norm is institutional governance by fiat, even in areas that closely abut creative sectors. Most telling is that this narrative is easily defended within the prevailing political and ideological framework of New Zealand culture at large.

What emerges is an institutional model that is very nearly the antithesis of my “beneficent institution.” And affective investment by diverse cultural groups is (seemingly deliberately) discouraged within this framework, which allows for value to accrue in only a very limited diversity of ways.

³⁸ Richard Thomson, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 4/21/2006.

Tradition, Authenticity, and Affect

Concepts of tradition and authenticity are affectively bound together. They are also temporally related, in a manner analogous to verb tenses, in that they represent a similar affect but they are differently situated in time. Both terms are applied in the present, but “tradition” is historical in the sense that it refers to a continuity between a past moment and the present — it is retrospective, whereas “authenticity” implies an affective investment in the present.

Critic Richard Taruskin defines “authenticity” functionally in terms of how well a performance reflects its own time: “What we call historical performance is the sound of now, not then. It derives its authenticity not from its historical verisimilitude, but from its being for better or worse a true mirror of late-20th-century taste.”³⁹ He places further emphasis by going on to say that, “Being the true voice of one’s time is (as Shaw might have said) roughly 40,000 times as vital and important as being the assumed voice of history.”⁴⁰ Taruskin’s juxtaposition of “historical verisimilitude” and “a true mirror of late-20th-century taste,” and “the true voice of one’s time” and “the assumed voice of history” is interesting. Taruskin, fairly explicitly, expresses disaffection for “history” as something unknowable — a commodity invoked by people with something to sell. At the same time, he champions the notion of being the “true mirror” of something “real” that he calls “late-20th-century taste” and which he equates with the condition of being “the true

³⁹ Taruskin 1990.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

voice of one's time." It emerges that Taruskin is disaffected with the past, but deeply invested in the present.

In another, later (1992 as opposed to 1990) discussion of the Early Music Movement, Taruskin suggests that contemporary or modern performance need not be "historical" in order to be "authentic" — that it is incorrect to assume that "authenticity can derive only from historical correctness."⁴¹ Indeed, he finds that conflating of historicity and authenticity is unhealthy because, "A more authentic understanding of what authenticity entails might make classical music more relevant to human needs and thus prolong its life in our culture."⁴²

In this more moderate statement (he seems to allow that authenticity might in some cases derive from historical correctness), he goes on to justify his viewpoint on a pragmatic basis that an orientation to the present might make classical music "more relevant to human needs" in a way that would extend its longevity. Ultimately, he goes on to tie his critique of historical correctness (which has overtones in common with some current usage of the term "political correctness") to an overlapping critique, particularly by anthropologist Allan Hanson, of "culture invention" in New Zealand that implicates academics and modern Māori in something resembling a shell game.⁴³ Taruskin pulls back from outright condemnation of the practice of culture invention by quoting Hanson

⁴¹ Taruskin 1992: 311.

⁴² Ibid.: 312.

⁴³ See Hanson 1989.

saying, “The fact that culture is an invention, and anthropology one of the inventing agents, should not engender suspicion or despair,”⁴⁴ because, by implication, all culture is an “invention.” Aside from the rather patronizing tone of these remarks, especially since what remains is the sense that, while we should not be suspicious, nor should the natives despair, such “culture inventions,” while they may exist and are “normative,” they are also inauthentic — they aren’t real.

What Taruskin misses is that his own criterion for authenticity, at least in the case of the “true mirror,” doesn’t stand up either. How does one establish the “truth” of the mirror? The sole recourse for such a judgment is taste. And “taste” is a commodity that Bourdieu has debunked by pegging it to social criteria that have very little to do with anything more convincing than culture invention.

The one demonstrable criterion cited by Taruskin is longevity as a marker of “health.” Interestingly enough, despite the whiff of inauthenticity that Taruskin imputes to them, Māori may make an admirable claim to health on the basis of his criteria — the elements of performance practice that I have identified on my map of Māori cultural space are well-documented and bear little relation to the types of invention that Hanson ascribes to anthropologists like Elsdon Best et alia.⁴⁵ But the real proof of their authenticity doesn’t lie with historical sources in any case, it rests instead on the efficacy of their performances in the present, as I have already demonstrated.

⁴⁴ Hanson quoted in Taruskin 1992: 313.

⁴⁵ Hanson 1989.

Keneti Muaiava's rendering of tradition and authenticity is also more convincing than Taruskin's. On the one hand Muaiava treats authenticity in terms of embeddedness in a particular cultural fabric with links to the past. On the other hand, he treats tradition as something that is not abstract, but that has a functional relationship to the present. The rhetorical force of Muaiava's concept of tradition is that it represents an embodied affective force that acts in the present and in relation to a social web — a family and a community that are invested in the tradition and the embodiment of it on an ongoing basis.

Similarly, those Māori, whom Taruskin and Hanson seem so ready to patronize, are also deeply embedded in webs of practice, with mutually held repertoires that bind them to communities and individuals, past and present. The difference between how Taruskin ascribes value and the way that Muaiava, Aperahama, and others embedded in some other non-Western cultural spaces do, is in the realm of affective engagement. To posit the "truth" of something requires affective engagement — the act of certifying something as "real" or "authentic" is an investment of one's self. When you make this investment, you say "this is real to me, it matters." The differences in cultural spaces comes down to a question of support — whom do you speak for, and who speaks for you?

When Taruskin speaks of a "true mirror," he shows himself to be passionately invested in the possibility that such a thing exists. His passion in this regard reminds me of Richard Nunns's talk of his dreams. Taruskin and Nunns both seem to speak primarily for themselves and in opposition to a prevailing view. At the same time Taruskin seems to yearn for "the true voice" that will speak both to and for him, and also to everyone else.

And Nunns seems to want to become something like that “true voice.” But the basic cultural fabric that they inhabit does not support that kind of dreaming. This is a basic difference between the habituses.

In order to explore differences in cultural space, institutions and affect further, I now turn to a discussion of the constitutive power of discourse.

The Constitutive Power of Discourse

I suspect that there is something in the imaginings of academics who see themselves as being outside or above the discourse they critique that reflects the cultural space that they occupy. This affect, which may present as a hauteur or arrogance, or sometimes otherworldliness, often manifests in writings about the Pacific, and Māori are a popular subject for musings on topics like “culture invention.” These discourses are frequently marked by disdain for essentialism and a preference (like my own) for analyses that foreground process. But my sense is that the truth of the mattering is somewhere in between, and the challenge is to achieve some kind of dialectical middle ground between what usually plays out as relativistic versus essentialist casting of an exotic “other.” A difficult task is made more so by attempting to stand outside of the discourse even as you construct it.

Norton⁴⁶ suggests a framework that balances the “constitutive power of discourse” (vis à vis “culture invention”) with a quasi-structural/processual element based on how this

⁴⁶ Norton’s argument builds on culture invention discourse previously engaged in by Hobsbawm (1983) and Hanson (1989).

constitutive power is limited or reinforced by pre-existent symbols that are generally available in quotidian social relations:

Two circumstances are distinguished. In one, the constitutive power of discourse is limited by the simultaneous existence of its ideas and symbols in routine social relations and cultural practices. In the other, the ideas and symbols available for discourse in the political arena have a creative power by virtue of their contrastive relation to routine life. In other words, a capacity simply to reaffirm identities and solidarities that have long been routinely sustained is contrasted with a power to shape identities and solidarities.⁴⁷

Norton maintains that the constitutive power of discourse — the measure of its effective ability to construct or reconstruct “tradition” — rests on social context. The “discourse” that Norton refers to is elite or academic, and by his thinking, the power of this discourse to construct culture is reinforced by disjuncture between routine, lived experience (of the masses, as it were), and an idealized vision conjured in elite discourse. Conversely, when identity discourse is embedded in normal relations so that the dominant political discourse is consistent with the way ordinary people live their lives and across micro and macro social structures, the power of discourse to construct or reconstruct culture is attenuated. Speaking of Fijian culture as a model of this latter condition, Norton says that, “In Fiji national-level discourse on Fijian identity and community have a strong anchorage in local-level social relations and cultural practices. The elite discourses are strongly embedded in the routine life of well-organized social groupings.”⁴⁸

Norton maintains that:

Oceanic societies differ in the extent to which the cultural forms of identity are embedded in established social and political relations and [are either] less open to rivalrous

⁴⁷ Norton 1993: 745.

⁴⁸ Norton 1993: 751.

manipulation, or are being newly and ambiguously constructed and therefore more tractable as a resource in political rivalries.⁴⁹

For Norton, a disjuncture between (elite) discourse and (common) experience leaves a kind of vacuum (between the walk and the talk, as it were) that is subject to manipulation by various parties who would fill that vacuum to fulfill their own agendas. In the case of New Zealand Māori, Norton sees a “disjunction between a redemptive discourse and experience of inequality and social prejudice in relations with an immigrant majority. It is a disjunction that gives a reconstructive power to discourse on identity.”⁵⁰

The implication is that a bunch of gullible Māoris are being preyed upon by some uppity academics or other radical elements who are manipulating them in order to gain some kind of advantage. Norton theorizes that, in the power the elites have, there is a discrepancy between the “ideas and symbols that are available for discourse in the political arena”⁵¹ and those available to people in everyday life. Therefore discourse has a constitutive power. The idea being that the “redemptive discourse” will be taken as “the truth,” since people are unhappy with their position in society, and that this will effectively give constitutive power to the fabricated story. However, this is not how the story has played out in New Zealand in the 15 years since Norton’s writing. What has happened instead is a rebirth of the Māori language as a living language, spoken, and understood by a widening group of people across a diverse ethnic spectrum in New

⁴⁹ Norton 1993: 751.

⁵⁰ Norton 1993: 752.

⁵¹ Norton 1993: 745.

Zealand, increasing levels of recognition for Māori culture, and, to a lesser but perceptible degree, broader recognition for other ways of thinking across a range of New Zealand institutions.

Norton's argument is premised in part on the domination of the Māori minority by the European immigrant majority. It is also premised on language erasure and the loss of tradition and culture that would leave Māori bereft of a symbology that would enable them to express themselves in an appropriate way. But what we see instead, is that there is an incredibly rich symbol set and that, far from lacking an adequate traditional repertoire, Māori tradition is thriving, and while there are some aspects of culture that have been lost, there is a more than adequate base for reconstructing the culture in a way that fits contemporary life and aspirations into the future. And if this is "culture invention," then it is a traditional activity, because it is quite clear that there is an unbroken chain of Māori prophets at least as far back as the early prophet Te Ua, and following him, Te Kooti, Te Whiti, Rua Kenana, Ratana, et cetera, who have made imitation and innovation a traditional activity. And for that string of prophets, the composition of waiata, the wood and stone carving traditions called whakaaairo, and the embellishment of culture are all an artform.

The disjuncture between the representations by Taruskin, Hanson, Norton, and others is due to a fundamental difference in attributing value. For Māori and some of the other indigenous people I interacted with in the course of my research, value lies in one's relations with and to other people and to the world, in a vast interconnected web. And the true nature of "value" is as an investment, not a "thing." For example, if we look at

animism, a belief system and a trope that is often associated with Polynesian people, what we should understand is that an affective investment in an object is what gives it life and value. From this viewpoint, the power of discourse is relational, not constitutive.

Similarly with cultural repertoires and institutions. The most effective of these are those that function as *pūtea*, that is they are able to collect, hold, disburse, and confer value, and where what is invested retains (and gains) its identification with the investor.

Απολογία

Ethnographic Allegory

Clifford 1986 maintains that there is a meta dimension to the form and content of an ethnography — a larger context in which the stories and their manner of telling, tell yet another story of how the ethnographer sees, interprets, and judges his or her world. He suggests that ethnography itself may be treated as a “performance emplotted by powerful stories.” He says, “Embodied in written reports, these stories simultaneously describe real cultural events and make additional, moral, ideological, and even cosmological statements.”⁵²

I say further that cultural groups, through reflexive investment in and by people who come forward to represent the group in performance, and who are vested by that group, are increasingly self-ethnographic. They construct and tell stories (and songs) of themselves and their cultures. In the process they shape and construct themselves as a significant feature of the overall cultural landscape that they inhabit, even as it changes.

⁵² Clifford 1986: 98.

This self-ethnographic process, particularly as performers interactively sing themselves and each other into being, is a focus of this ethnography. I see my task as an ethnographer to try to hear that singing.

(He said • she said)^{nth}

The allegorical elements of the stories I have represented here — stories of performers, their viewpoints, and their values and, by implication, the various institutions in which the performers are embedded, and where values are kept and maintained — are dynamic. Cross- and inter-cultural narratives and metanarratives are in interactive flux as underlying worldviews and values collide. In the process stories are recursively born and reborn as stories of stories, and then as stories of stories of stories, ad infinitum.

This final section of this dissertation is an effort to bring that infinite regress to a pause. Ultimately, this is the story of what I heard when they spoke. The only way for me to validate that what I heard approaches the truth is to speak and listen to the reply.

Narrative Indigeneity

People, who may not be able to tap into local cultural institutions by virtue of birth, may seek institutional validation and support either by recourse to other areas, particularly those of the public sector whose defining narratives espouse “diversity” or multiculturalism as a value or a desirable attribute of national identity.

Alternatively (or simultaneously), they make seek to exploit loopholes in the standard story that allow them to cast themselves as a part of the picture. In this scenario, they proceed by creating narrative spinoffs where characters (who look like them) are fleshed out, discovered, or invented. This process may involve the refabrication of an old plot

line (Richard Nunns's dreaming) or the conjuring of an imagined relationship — the long lost cousin or the twin separated by birth and raised by strangers or wolves — who is made to walk onto the stage and is met with astonishment giving way to acceptance. The effectiveness of these narratives rests in part on the plausibility of the story. But the real measure of acceptance will be the affective engagement of the audience. And even the most implausible story line may be embraced when met by gales of laughter.

Privileged Voices

In contrast with a method that begins with asynchronous written texts and exogenously generated “historical” records and accounts and balances them with oral testimony in order to establish temporal continuity as a sign of authenticity, the method of this dissertation has been instead to privilege indigenous oral testimonies, to interpret them, and extract metanarratives, in order to tell the “story of the story” as it may impact the present.

The focus of the field for my research has been contemporary cultural spaces — where cultures intersect and abut, and where the potential for shared repertoires and the creation of hybrid identities and “new” expressive forms and repertoires that have some demonstrable cultural (as opposed to temporal) continuities exists.

Limitations

The fieldwork for this dissertation has been carried out entirely in the North Island of New Zealand, and focuses on areas where cultural interactions may be observed. My focus on overlapping cultural spaces means that I have neglected disjunct spaces, where cultural traditions are more segregated, and where music and performance may indicate,

or even promote divergence rather than the “confluence” of cultural streams that is the titular subject of this dissertation. It is entirely possible that such separate and potentially divergent spaces may provide valuable insights into aspects of institutional frameworks in New Zealand that seem resistant, or even hostile, to diversification and affective investment in other ways of being and doing.

I hope to have the opportunity to expand the scope of this research, just begun.

MĀORI GLOSSARY

Aotearoa	literally “long cloud,” usually rendered metaphorically as the “Māori name for New Zealand” or “Land of the Long White Cloud, Aotearoa/New Zealand”
arikinui	“great chief” or esteemed leader
atua	ancestral spirit
haka	generic term for dances in which groups employ demonstrations of rhythmic movement and chanting in a variety of ritual or spontaneous contexts
hapu	kinship group
harawene	envy, or jealousy
hau	breath, health, spirit
Haumanu	literally “breath of a bird,” a rich metaphoric name for a group of people involved in the recovery and reconstruction of ngā taonga pūoro, ancient Māori musical instruments
hawhe kawhe	Māorization of the English term, “half-caste”
hori	false
hui	gathering
iwi	tribe, nation, or race — a major confederation
Ka Mate	“to die” — the title of the haka that is most often associated with the New Zealand nation; also called “Te Rauparaha’s Haka”
kaea	leader of a haka
kai	food or sustenance; also a prefix indicating someone who performs an action or function as described by the body of the word
kaitangata	cannibalism
kaiwero	“layer of the dart” — the person who makes the challenge in the early stages of a ritual powhiri

kapa haka	“dance in rows” — a performative form of dance that became popular in the first part of the 20 th century and that has been used as an important form of cultural retention and recovery
Kapa o Pango	a haka that was adapted for use by the New Zealand All Blacks rugby team as an alternate to Te Rauparaha’s haka
karakia	a chant that invokes the atua (ancestral spirits)
karanga	“cry out” — a calling out to groups on the ceremonial ground (paepae) of a marae during the powhiri welcoming ritual
kaumatua	esteemed elder
kaupapa Māori	Māori protocol — the formal “Māori way” of doing things
kawa	local custom
kawanatanga	governorship
kingitanga	the Māori king movement
kohanga reo	“language nest” — a movement to revitalize Māori language by teaching young children in an immersion environment
koro	older man, grandfather — term of (respectful) address
kotahitanga	oneness, unity — also a movement, similar in purpose to kingitanga, to unite Māori in order to effectively resist European domination
kōauau	end-blown flute
kuia	older woman
kuri	dog or slave — term of disrespect
makutu	sorcery, evil
mana	esteem, power
manuhiri	visitors, the others
Māoritanga	that which is Māori

marae	area in front of the wharenui (big house) where formal gatherings (like powhiri) take place; also used to denote the surrounding buildings and grounds
matakite	foresight or seer
matauranga	area of study
matua	parent or mentor
mirimiri	rub, stroke, or fondle
moko	face or image also facial tattoo and, by extension, tattooing in general
morehu	remnant or survivor
moteatea	general term for traditional songs
ngā kupu	“the words” — lyrics (modern usage)
ngao	soft palate type of singing voice (“head voice”)
noa	ordinary — opposite of tapu
oriori	content-laden song used to relate ancestry and history to a child (often mistranslated as “lullabye”)
pa	marae grounds (fortified) village
pākeke or pāke	powhiri protocol where the “home” speakers go first
paepae	“standing place” — ceremonial grounds of a marae
Pai Marire	“Peace and Good” early (and still extant) Māori Christian (and political) movement
pakeha	European or non-Māori
patere	derisive song chanted at a fast tempo
poi	a small, light ball on a string that is swung rhythmically and with precision in performance
powhiri	formal ritual of welcome
pūkaea	long, trombone-like instrument, used as a clarion and made of wood

pūoro	song, musical instrument
pūtātara	shell trumpet
pūtorino	bifurcated wooden instrument played as either a flute or trumpet
rangatiratanga	chiefly esteem
rangitahi	young person
reo	voice
rongo	health
taha	shore — side or aspect
taiaha	traditional fighting staff
tangata whenua	people of the earth — home people
tangihanga	funeral
taonga pūoro	“treasure of sound”
tapu	sacred
tauīwi	non-Māori — tribe of others
tauparapara	incantation to start a formal speech
tikanga	custom or traditional way of doing things
tohunga	“sorcerer” or adept
tumutumu	tapping instrument made of stone, wood, or bone; sometimes used to set a rhythm for chanting
waiata	song
wairua	spirit
waka	canoe
wananga	gathering for the purpose of learning or instruction — conference, workshop, or university
whaikorero	formal speech

whakahīhī	vain or conceited
whakapapa	genealogy — formal set of relations to people and things
whakatauki	proverb
whanau	family (extended family in modern usage)
wharekai	“eating house”

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