Creating a Modern Māori Identity

Through Kapa Haka

Te Rita Bernadette Papesch

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Theatre and Film Studies

University of Canterbury

2015

He Rārangi Tuhinga - Table of Contents

He Mihi: Acknowledgements

I te tuatahi e tuku whakaaro ana ki a rātou i whomai te Kapa Haka ki a tātou. Rātou ko ngō tātou tūpuna, mātua, ko Tā Apirana Ngata, ko Paraire Tomoana, ko Te Puea Herangi, ko Tuini Ngawai. Heke iho ki tana irāmutu, ki a Ngoi Pewhairangi, ki a Wiremu Kerekere, ki a Tā Kīngi Ihaka, ki Te Kēnana Wi Te Tau Huata. Moe mai rā koutou ki roto i te tauawhi a te wāhi ngaro. Kei te waiatatia tonutia ngā koutou waiata hei kōrero ki te iwi, hei whakangahau i te iwi. Ka tuku whakaaro hoki ki a Te Rangihau. Nōku te waimarie i whakaako ia i ahau ki ngā tātou tikanga a te karanga me te mau patu. Moe mai rā i tō moengaroa. E kore rawa koe e wareware i ahau. Ki a koe hoki Tīmoti, taku whakaruruhau, taku kaipoipoi, taku kaiarahi i roto i ngā tau, ngāku mihi nui. Ki te kore ko kōrua ko te Koroua, e kore a Te Rita e tū ki te atamira a te motu i tāna momo nei tū, e kore rānei e huri ki te tuhi i ngēnei kōrero. He aroha mutunga kore ki a kōrua.

Koutou katoa i tohatoha i ngō koutou whakaaro mō tēneki mea, mō te Kapa Haka, hei āwhina i ahau ki te tuhi, anō ki a Tākuta Tīmoti Kāretu, ki a Poua Pura Parata, ki a Tamatea Pahi, ki a Geno Wharekawa, ki a Kahu Pou, ki a Paraire Huata, ki a Chris Winitana, ki a Paora Sharples, ki taku tino hoa, ki a Raana Kerekere-Tangira, ngāku mihi nui rawa atu mō ake tonu atu. Ahakoa kua huri a Pararire ki tua i te arai kua waiho mai ngā māua tamariki, mokopuna hei kawe tonu i ngā māua mahi. Moe mai rā, e te hoa.

I konei ka huri au ki te reo Pākehā kia mārama pai ai ngāku kōrero. Where would I be and what would I have done without the continuing encouragement, support, frequent visits with cake in hand and to sleep on my couch; to whip me into shape and conviction that this unwilling student of hers could complete this thesis, of my chief supervisor and forever friend, Dr. Sharon Mazer. I have dragged her to many a Kapa Haka practice and Te Matatini performance so she could view first-hand what I was talking about. Never such a staunch

supporter was ever had by anyone, not only of me but my wider whānau as well. Many thanks too to my fellow students who gave encouragement along the way. Kia haka!

I ngāku haeranga katoa ki Te Waipounamu i kaha manaakitia ahau e ngōku hoa pūmau, e Jeanette King rāua ko Jeffrey Paparoa Hollman. Ki te kore ko kōrua kua raru a Te Rita nā reira ngāku mihi nui mō ake tonu atu. Ka mihi hoki au ki taku tuakana, ki a Haupai. Nāna ngāku kōrero i pānui me te whakatika, ahakoa he mahi anō tāna, i māuiui rānei ia. Ki taku teina, ki a Te Rehia, ngā mihi hoki mō tāu tautoko i ahau, i te ao, i te pō, ahakoa te aha.

Ka kore a Māmā e ora ki te kore e ora pai nei ngāna tamariki, mokopuna, nā reira he aroha nui rawa atu ki a koutou katoa ngāku tamariki pūkenga nui, mōhiohio ki te ao Kapa Haka. Ka rere hoki ngēnei mihi ki ngāku irāmutu e whakatinana hoki ana i ngōku whakaaro mō te mahi haka nei. Ko te tūmanako ka noho ngēnei tuhinga hei āwhina i a koutou katoa i tā koutou whīkoi i te ao Kapa Haka, hei tauira hoki ki a koutou katoa kia whai i te mātauranga, ahakoa nō whea, ahakoa nō wai. E pupū ake ana te aroha mutunga kore. E mihi hoki ana au ki ngāku mokopuna nā te mea kua uru kē ngētehi o rātou ki roto i te ao Kapa Haka me ngō rātou whakaaro, mōhio hoki ki tēneki mahi ātaahua. Ko te tūmanako he tauira pai rātou ki ngā mokopuna kei te tū mai. Ki te haka koutou, ko Nana Rita tēnā kei ngō koutou taha. Arohatinonui.

Me mihi hoki au ki taku kapa, ki Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. Ki te kore koutou kāore a Te Rita e tū ki te atamira o te motu ki te whakatinana i ngōna wawata mō tēneki mea, mō te Kapa Haka. I reira koutou hei tauawhi i ahau, hei whakangahau i a mātou ko ngāku tamariki i ngā wā o ngā parakitihi. Ngāku mihi nui rawa atu. Ki ngōku hoa pūmau, ki a Tio kōrua ko Tāwhiro. E Tio, ahakoa tō tāua hoa a Tāwhiro, kua ngaro ki te pō, ka maumahara tonu ki ngā wā i reira kōrua hei taituarā mōku ki te tiaki tamariki kia wātea ai au ki te whakatā i te mahi ako. He aroha nui tēneki o te tuahine ki te tūngāne.

Hei kōrero whakakapi me mihi hoki au ki Te Whare Wānanga o Waitahā i te tākoha mai o te Ngata Centennial Karahipi, ki te Pae o te Māramatanga mō te pūtea āwhina; ki ngā Poari o Maniapoto me Waikato-Tainui, ngā rōpū ā iwi i tautoko i ahau ki te moni kia oti pai i ahau tēneki tuhingaroa nei. Kāti rā! Tukuna te reo o tēneki pukapuka kia rere! Pai mārire, hau!

Nāku iti noa nei, nā Te Rita.

Ariā – Abstract

This thesis is concerned with discovering if and how Māori cultural performance, which we now know as Kapa Haka, has contributed to the creation and development of a modern Māori identity. Māori cultural identity is traditionally traced through whakapapa and is confirmed by a practising knowledge of te reo Māori, kawa and tikanga. Whakapapa links a person to his or her atua, tangata, whenua, tūrangawaewae, marae, whānau, hapū, iwi and waka. The question arises as to whether these are still essential elements in defining a modern Māori (cultural) identity. I want to find out what that modern Māori identity looks like and how it is described. I say it is described in and by Kapa Haka.

The framework used for this thesis is that of a Kapa Haka performance, starting with the whakaeke – introduction, and ending with the whakawātea - exit. It weaves together personal histories - my own and those who have memory of the first Festival in 1972 and other developments. It also incorporates social history as it has affected Māori. It looks at the impact this has had on Kapa Haka from the early concert parties set up for tourist consumption, to iwi and Hāhi hui, to Te Matatini in the present, all the while developing an argument for a modern Māori identity.

In undertaking to write this doctoral thesis in Theatre and Film Studies, I have placed myself in a position where I have to step outside of my assumptions of what I think I know about who I am and what I am. This is in order to attempt to explain what I mean by not only a cultural identity, but also a modern Māori identity, as identified in Kapa Haka, so that others will understand. I need to be able to sing the song when I need to, remembering that it is what I do best.

Kupu Whakamārama – By way of explanation.

Methodology: Performance Studies

This is a Performance Studies thesis. Performance Studies is an interdisciplinary discipline that emerged in the late 1970s, in the first instance, at New York University, as an outgrowth of conversations between theatre professor and director Richard Schechner and anthropologist Victor Turner.[1] Performance Studies as a methodology works at the interstices between theory and practice. Its theoretical reach ranges from anthropology and sociology to psychoanalysis and phenomenology, often intersecting with other 'studies' including indigenous, cultural, feminist, and so on. Performance scholars witness, create and participate in theatre and performance in a wide range of contexts, generally valuing the local with an eye to the global academic and artistic conversation as enabled and essential in the 21st century. At the centre of Performance Studies is an understanding that almost any activity from theatre to ritual, sport and everyday interactions can be described and analysed as performance using diverse social frames and disciplinary perspectives. My decision to write this thesis using a Performance Studies methodology was based on its direct relationship to the act of performance and its socio-cultural theories.

While my deep knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori has been essential to my research, I have chosen to write in English, because I believe it is important for this knowledge to reach a wide readership, and because I can continue to develop this work in both languages and cultural frames. My key theoretical touchstones, as presented in the Introduction and thereafter, are Richard Schechner, Victor Turner, Rustom Bharucha and Diana Taylor. Taken together they allow me to consider Kapa Haka as a performance and cultural practice, based in ritual and as such an 'invented tradition' (following Bharucha), and in action as a form of 'repertoire' (in Taylor's configuration).

[1] See: Richard Schechner, *Between Theatre and Anthropology*, published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985. Also see: Shannon Jackson, *Professing Performance*, published by Cambridge University Press, 2004.

For this thesis, I have drawn on my own extensive history as a performer, composer, spectator, tutor, judge, commentator and academic in Kapa Haka and other Māori (and European) performing arts to construct examples as material for my analysis and argument. My personal narrative has been intertwined with the informal and formal recollections of others, of my whānau and colleagues and serves as a point of orientation (or 'positioning' in Performance Studies terms) throughout the thesis.

I have set this story of Kapa Haka into the wider social histories of Aotearoa. This has meant including available academic discussions of Kapa Haka and other Māori performing arts, insofar as they are relevant to the development of Kapa Haka as a distinctive genre of performance and a cultural practice.

This Performance Studies thesis was written for the Department of Theatre and Film Studies at the University of Canterbury. I have followed my University's and my Department's general recommendations in using the MLA Style guide for the formatting of the body of work and references in this thesis. This means that all quotes of forty words or more are indented on the left, written in the same size font as the rest of the text and the double spacing is maintained. Throughout this thesis, I have used macrons in keeping with the customarily accepted practice of writing te reo Māori.

Unless otherwise stated all translations, either English or Māori, in this thesis are mine. Personal communication or correspondence has been left in its original form, that is, how I received it. I have made no changes to those writings except to translate into English where I have received it in te reo Māori. In all cases where I am talking about *Kapa Haka* as a mode of performance I have used capital letters. Where I am talking about *kapa haka* to mean a performing rōpū I have used small letters.

When I talk about the National Festival, whether I am talking about Aotearoa Traditional Performing Arts Festival or Te Matatini as the National Festival, I have used

capitals. This is to differentiate between the other iwi or regional festivals that I talk about. Wherever a Māori word is used the meaning can be found in the glossary in the beginning pages of the thesis.

Glossary

A

Ako	teach or learn
Amo	the sideboard of the front of the wharenui
Anei	here
Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
Ao Kohatu	world of iwi Māori before contact with Pākehā.
Arekahānara	Pirongia, Alexandra small Waikato town
Ātea	space
Atua	God

E

I

Ihi	inner force
Ika	fish
Irāmutu	niece or nephew
Iwi	people

O

Ope	visiting party
Opunake	small coastal town in Taranaki
Oriori	lullaby

U

Uki	long lasting, of old
Uri	descendant

Utu	revenge, answer

H

Haona	stronghold
Hauraki	district between Hamilton and Thames
Hāhi	religion, church
Haka	posture dance; war dance; performance; to perform
Haka Pōwhiri	dance of welcome
Hako	clown
Hīmene	hymn
Hapū	sub tribe (usually economically self-sufficient)
Hinerēhia	female goddess of performing arts and arts and crafts
Hoe	paddle
Hue	gourd
Hui	gathering
Hui Ahurei	bi-ennial gathering of Tūhoe iwi
Hui-ā-iwi	particular iwi gathering
Hui Aranga	Catholic religion Māori gathering
Hui Rātana	Rātana religion Māori gathering
Hui Tōpū	Anglican religion Māori gathering
Hūpeke	jump, dodge

K

Kai	food
Kaihaka	performer
Kāinga	home
Kaitaka	long one shouldered garment

Kaitātaki Tāne	male Leader
Kaitātaki Wahine	female Leader
Kaiwhiriwhiri	judge
Kaha	strong
Kākahu	clothing
Kahu kiwi	kiwi feather cloak
Kanohi kitea	a person who is seen in attendance
kapa haka	a group that performs Māori Cultural performing arts
Kapa Haka	Māori cultural performing arts
Karanga	to call out
Karakia	prayer
Karaiti	Christ
Karaiti titi kai	Christ who was breast fed
Ka rawe	awesome
Kaumātua	elders
Kaupapa	subject; topic; sometimes means reason for doing something
Kawa	protocol
Kawe	to carry
Kawe mate	to take one's bereavement to another marae
Kīngitanga	The Māori King Movement
Kīngi Tāwhiao	The second Māori King
Kōauau	small flute
Koeke	adult, elders
Kōhanga Reo	language nest

Kōpere	rainbow
Koroneihana	coronation
Koroua	old, elderly man
Korokī	The fifth Māori King
Kōterani	Scottish
Kotiate	small club
Kōwhaiwhai	painted Māori patterns
Kuia	elderly woman
Kupu	word
Kura	school
Kura huia	huia feathers
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori total immersion school

M

Maihi	the bargepoles of a wharenui that angle from the front point of the wharenui to the top of the amo.
Mahau	verandah, facade of meeting house
Mahinārangi	ancestress from Kahungungu; name of the main wharenui at Tūrangawaewae marae.
Manaaki	hospitality
Mana	prestige
Manu	bird
Mangatāwhiri	a place in north Waikato where a battle with Pākehā took place

Mangahānea	a place on the East Coast in Ngāti Porou territory
Maniapoto	iwi of the King Country; caretakers of the Kīngitanga
Manuwhiri	guest
Māori	tangata whenua of Aotearoa/New Zealand, indigenous people
Māoritanga	all things Māori
Marae	Māori gathering place
Maro	loin cloth
Mātakitaki	to watch
Matau	hook, or in the direction of right
Mātauranga	education
Matemate	long for
Matimati	finger or toe
Mātiti	short stake
Mau	take hold of, wear
Māui	mischevious demi-god
Mauri	life force, essence
Mere	short club
Mere Pounamu	short greenstone club
Miha	amaze
Mihi	greet
Mihini	machine
Mihini ātea	spacies
Moemoeā	dream, wish
Moko	body tattoo

Mōteatea	traditional waiata; song of lament
Muka	strands of flax fibres

N

Niu	A pole of prayer in the mode of an English maypole

P

Pā	village
Paepae	gathering of male speakers
Pai Mārire	a Māori religion introduced by Te Ua Haumene
Pākehā	of European descent
Papatūānuku	Mother Earth
Papakāinga	home village
Pare Kawakawa	head wreath of kawakawa leaves
Pari	embroidered bodice
Pariha	parish
Pātaka	food storage
Pātere	a chant of derision; a chant that indicates a geographical boundary
Patu	short or long weapons (many variations)
Pirita	supplejack vine
Pirongia	Alexandra, North Island
Piupiu	flax skirt
Pōhā	seaweed food storer
Pōhutukawa	Metrosideros excelsa, New Zealand Christmas tree

Poi	a ball on the end of a string (now made of synthetic fibres but previously made from natural swamp fibres)
Poi Waeroa	single long poi
Pōneke	Wellington (also known as Te Whanganui ā Tara)
Poroporoaki	farewell
Porotiti	traditional instrument
Pounamu	Greenstone
Pōwhiri	welcome (usually on to a marae)
Pūkana	the opening of the eyes and extending the whites
Pūkaea	trumpet
Pūtātara	a conch shell horn
Pūtōrino	flute
Puiaki	not often seen
Pūkenga	skill or talent
Pūrekireki Marae	the author's hapū marae situated near Pirongia
Pūrerehua	an oval shaped traditional instrument that is swung above the head
Pūtaringamotu	Hagley Park, Riccarton, Christchurch

R

Rākau	tree; weapon
Rangatira	chief
Rangatiratanga	sovereignty, self determination, leadership
Rāpaki	short skirt worn by men
Rātana	Māori religion

Raukawa	a tribe in the Waikato district
Reo	language. Māori language
Ringatū	a Māori religion based mainly in the Bay of Plenty
Rire, rire, Hau!	words that usually end a Pai Mārire prayer; let there be peace
Rohe	district; area
Rōpū	group
Rotorua	the Bay of Plenty town which held the first national festival.
Rotowhio	name of Rotorua Race Course
Ruatāhuna	a village in the Urewera district of the Tūhoe iwi
Ruātoki	village of the Tūhoe people near Whakatāne
Ruatōria	a small town on the East Coast in the Ngāti Porou rohe.
Rūaumoko	God of earthquake
T	
Taiaha	carved, adorned spear
Taikura	name of kapa haka for elders
Tainui	another name for the area that people descended from the Tainui canoe live in
Tainui Waka	the Tainui canoe district
Takahi	the stamping of feet to maintain the pace of the song
Tāne	men/man
Tāne Rore	The God of Haka
Tangata	person
Tangata Whenua	people of the land, indigenous people

Tangihanga	time of mourning
Tāniko	weaving strands together by twisting
Tamararo	the kapa haka competitions held in Gisborne to commemorate Karaitiana Tamararo, an early East Coast exponent of haka.
Taonga	treasure
Taonga Puoro	Māori traditional instrument
Taparahi	haka taparahi – men's haka without weapon and uniformal lines.
Tāpeka	bandolier
Tapu	Sacred, taboo
Tapuwae	footstep
Taranaki	a West Coast district in the central North Island.
Tari	department
Tari Māori	Māori department
Tātua	belt
Tauā	war party
Tawhito	old; ancient
Te	the
Te Arawa	the main iwi of Rotorua rohe and also the name of their canoe.
Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu	Māori Queen 1966 - 2006
Te Āti Awa	a Taranaki iwi from the north of Taranaki and Wellington
Te Awamutu	a town in the Waikato district
Teihana	station

Te Hāhi Mihingare	the Church of England, Anglican Church
Te Hokowhitu-ā-Tū	the 28th Māori Battalion
Te Hui Ahurei	bi-ennial haka, sports and debating competition of Tūhoe people
Te Ika ā Māui	North Island of New Zealand
Te Kāea	Māori evening news
Te Kotahitanga	a Māori unity party; to come together as one
Tekoteko	the carved headpiece that sits atop, at the front of the roof of a wharenui
Te Matatini	the many (tini) faces (mata); the name of the national Kapa Haka festival
Te Manatū Taonga	Ministry of Culture and Heritage
Te Puni Kōkiri	Department of Māori and Government Relationships
Te Reo Māori	the Māori language
Tikanga	customary practice
Tīpare	headband
Tītī	muttton bird
Tītītōrea	small sticks
Toki	adze
Tokomaru Bay	a town on the East Coast of Ngāti Porou iwi
Tomokanga	gateway; entrance
Tōpū	collective
Touretua	Māori hand game
Tūāpapa	basis of most things
Tuatahi	first

Tūhoe	Māori iwi from the Bay of Plenty
Tūhourangi, Ngāti Wāhiao	an iwi of Te Arawa from Rotorua
Tukutuku	woven panels of various designs that adorn the inside of a wharenui and contain the history of the hapū attached to the marae
Tupuna (tipuna)	ancestor
Tūrangawaewae	a place to stand; home
Tūrangawaewae Marae	a Kīngitanga marae in Ngāruawahia
Tūrongo	the ancestor from Waikato who married Mahinārangi
Tūwharetoa	region of Taupō

W

Wahine	woman
Wāhine	women
Waiapū	name of a river near Ruatōria
Waiata	song
Waiata-ā-ringa	action song
Waiata Koroua	traditional song
Waiata Tangi	lament
Waiata Tira	choral, group song
Waikaremoana	a lake and district of the Tūhoe people near Wairoa.
Waikato	a district of the north island of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Waikato-Tainui	a new name used by the governance of the Kīngitanga
Waipawa	a town in the south of Hawkes Bay
Wairoa	a town in the north of Hawkes Bay
Wairua	spirituality; inner feelings

Waitangi	a town in the far north
Waka	canoe
Wana	vim and vigour
Wero	challenge
Wehi	dread, awe
Wiri	shaking of the hands and fingers

Ng

Ngāi Tahu	a major iwi in the South Island of New Zealand
Ngāruawāhia	a town in the Waikato
Ngāti Awa	an iwi based in the area of Whakatāne
Ngāti Kahungunu	an iwi of the Hawkes Bay
Ngāti Konohi	the iwi based at Whāngārā
Ngāti Porou	a major iwi on the East Coast of New Zealand
Ngā Tamatoa	a group of activists from the 70s
Ngāti Toa Rangatira	an iwi based near Otaki and Wellington
Ngāti Whakauē	tribe of Te Arawa
Ngeri	a form of haka that does not have uniformal actions

Wh

Whaikōrero	speechmaking
Whakaari	skit
Whakaeke	enter on to a marae; entrance in a Kapa Haka performance
Whākanakana	to stare with wide open eyes
Whakahaumaru	to shelter

Whakapapa	genealogy
Whakarewarewa	the name for the area in Rotorua where the mud pools are; a major tourist attraction in Rotorua
Whakatipuranga	Generation
Whakawātea	exit from a marae; exit from the stage after a kapa haka performance
Whakawehi	to invoke fear
Whānau	family; extended family
Whanaungatanga	relationship
Whāngārā	a place on the East Coast just north of Gisborne
Whare	house
Wharekai	dining hall
Whare Karioi	house of entertainment
Whare Kōrero	group of speechmakers
Wharenui	meeting house usually carved and adorned with and kōwhaiwhai
Whare Rūnanga	meeting house
Whare Tapere	house of entertainment, games and past-times
Whenua	land
Wheke	octopus
Whētero	protruding tongue

Creating a Modern Māori Identity through Kapa Haka

Introduction: Whakaeke

He aha te mahi mō runga	What is the role to be played
I te marae e tau nei	On the marae before us
E ko te tui, e ko te tui	It is to align
E ko te noho ki te kotahitanga	And to involve ourselves in a spirit
Ki te Kīngi Māori e tū nei	of unity
E tū nei i runga i te mana Māori	With the Māori King standing before us
Motuhake	Standing before us with the authority of
E tū nei	Māori independence
Whiti! Whiti!	
Whiti ki te tika	Let us adopt that philosophy
Whiti ki te ora	So that rectitude,
Whiti ki te rangamārie	Well-being and peace
Titia iho	Will be part of our very being
Au! Au! Aue hā!	Au! Au! Aue hā![2]

The year 2012 brought with it the opportunity for my immediate whānau to begin their new journey in the world of Kapa Haka competition. What an amazing moment it was for me, as someone who had performed what was then called 'Māori Performing Arts' at the first Polynesian Festival in 1972, to see my children and grandchildren performing together as 'Te Haona Kaha' – their own kapa – at the Tainui Waka Regional Kapa Haka competition

[2] The explanation, Māori words and English translation can be found in *Ngā Waiata Me Ngā Haka a Te Kapa Haka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* by Tīmoti S. Kāretu, page 14.

held in Maniapoto, in the King Country, Aotearoa.[3] In 1972 I came to perform Kapa Haka as a way of discovering and coming to embody in action as well as rhetoric my identity as a Māori woman. Forty years later, there I was seeing my whānau take up the tradition that I had helped to invent. It is not simply pride in my children and grandchildren, their fluency in te reo Māori and tikanga, the excellence of their compositions, their dancing, their singing that I must express as I begin this thesis – although I am indeed proud beyond words. There were many others who were equally, or more, skilled on the stage that day. What moves me here and now is to see the profound contribution that Kapa Haka has made to the creation of a modern Māori identity.

A modern Māori identity can be described as an identity that is no longer dependent on a continuing association with one's tūrangawaewae. It is no longer indicated by one's hapū, iwi or marae. Rather it now associates itself with other markers that say the identity is Māori and in this case I claim it is Kapa Haka for some, especially those living in cities remote from their tūrangawaewae, the birth place of their ancestors from which they trace their whakapapa. Wikitera supports this view in her doctoral conference abstract written in a *MAI Review (2007)* called 'Māori spaces in foreign places: The case of Hinemihi o te ao tawhito'. She says that:

> Māori notions of cultural identity are not confined to connections to geographical place alone. Cultural identities are socially created spaces dependent on relationships of people to each other and to iconic cultural references existent in both physical and metaphysical representation. (1)

When I began performing what we did was known as Māori cultural performance or Māori performing arts. A 'kapa' haka was a group that performed haka. The word 'kapa'

[3] Tainui Waka Regional Kapa Haka Competition is the regional Kapa Haka competition held biennially within the Tainui waka region of Waikato, Maniapoto, Raukawa and Hauraki. The kapa haka to attend the national competition, Te Matatini, are chosen at this event.

means a rank, row or group of performers. As recent as the nineteen eighties we saw the use of the word 'kapa' change to include the performance itself, that is, Kapa Haka, even though regional and national festivals were still called Māori performing arts festivals right up to the year 2005 when the National Festival was renamed Te Matatini.[4]

I was inspired to pursue this kaupapa after a brief conversation with some kaihaka of the Christchurch Kapa Haka group, Te Ahikaaroa. The first was Tamatea Pahi.[5] I asked him why he attended Kapa Haka practices. His reply was that he knew where his tūrangawaewae and marae were but had never been there as they were in Tainui. He was born and raised in Christchurch, attended Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori so was fluent in te reo. For him attending Kapa Haka practices allowed him to be Māori, to feel what it was like to express being Māori through Kapa Haka. For him his identity was embedded in his Kapa Haka performances. The second person I spoke to, Geno Wharekawa,[6] moved from the Tainui rohe to Christchurch to live and work. He had grown up in Tainui but was not a frequent attender at his marae. In fact he was at odds as to which marae he really belonged to as he could not get that information from any of his close relatives. When I asked him why he attended Kapa Haka practices, the answer was the same. It helped him find a way to express being Māori and he found another whānau in the process.

Whakapapa was and still is how Māori confirm their identity from a traditional base. This is what Te Rito has to say in an article he wrote in a *MAI Review* on 'Whakapapa: a framework for understanding identity'.

> Whakapapa is firmly embedded in the Māori psyche. ... The suburban lifestyle can have a propensity to erode any connection to hapū or sense of belonging to a marae. If people in cities lose their whakapapa links with their traditional papakāinga (village,

[4] I talk about this in a later Chapter.
[5] Personal conversation with Tamatea Pahi, January 2007.
[6] Personal conversation with Geno Wharekawa, January 2007.

> homestead) they can be left in suspension in the urban situation. The concept of kanohi kitea (being seen) or being in attendance at local marae or community gatherings) is as all-important now as it ever was.... Knowledge and sense of identity are very important to Māori. (4)

Although Māori still, in general, know their whakapapa, they often cannot trace that back to tūrangawaewae, hapū, iwi and marae; hence the need often arises to look for another way or place to connect to in order to be Māori. For the purposes of this thesis I maintain it is that iwi ceases to be so much about what one is but more about what one does. This is done through Kapa Haka. In saying this I mean that it is not enough to just say 'I am Māori'. One has to be actively engaged in some process where they can show they are Māori, where they can express being Māori, where they can 'do' Māori things. As Kapa Haka is a performance genre this allows Māori to be Māori by doing something. This something is Kapa Haka.

I recently was in discussion with Chris Winitana, a foundation member of the Tainui Kapa Haka group, Ngā Tama-ā-Rangi, about the main focus of their group back in the eighties. His mother, Claire, from Tūwharetoa, was the main instructor, and his father, Tom, from Tūhoe, looked after the tikanga side. Chris said:

> You know, Te Rita, there was an occasion when I asked my parents why they, along with others, had set up Ngā Tama-ā-Rangi. My dad's response was that there were too many young people in Hamilton who had no connection to their marae, hapū or iwi and therefore no way to be Māori. In other words they felt they had lost their identity. He felt that Kapa Haka could replace this and at least give them access to te reo and tikanga and their own stories.[7]

The Māori language title I have chosen for this introduction is 'whakaeke' because it usually is the whakaeke that sets the kaupapa of the ensuing Kapa Haka performance, which,

[7] Personal conversation with Chris Winitana at the Māori Television station after filming a session of Te Tēpu on August 18th, 2014.

in this case, is the thesis. Whakaeke is also an item of the performance where one can see aspects of all the other items combined to present the kaupapa, that is, elements of song, haka, poi, use of weaponry and instruments. The whakaeke sets the scene for what is to come, so does this introduction.

Kapa Haka can be seen to act as a contemporary form of tūrangawaewae – a way for Māori in the 21st century to claim their heritage by retracing the steps of their tūpuna, in the dance that they perform with and for each other. This is especially important for the maintenance of iwi-centred identity. For example, one might say, 'I know I am Ngāti Porou because this is the way I perform as Ngāti Porou, especially when I am encountering people from Te Arawa or wherever'. For pan-tribal and urban Māori, it might even be said that Kapa Haka acts as a surrogate,[8] replacing familial and ancestral ties broken by generations of colonisation and cultural suppression. Not having an ongoing connection to home; without access to ongoing functions on their marae or tūrangawaewae where people can put into practice being and doing Māori; they turn instead to Kapa Haka to provide a basis whereby they can express themselves as Māori. Ramsden writing in the forward for the book about Ngāti Pōneke Māori Club, *The Silent Migration,* one of the first pan-tribal kapa haka says: "The first of the urban-born babies in the club, I was part of the new whānau, no longer based on kinship, as people came from all directions" (2). That Kapa Haka acts as a surrogate goes beyond our original objectives, and how it does this is at the heart of this thesis.

There are by now numerous histories (and some theses)[9] of Aotearoa/New Zealand, each with its own way of making visible the performances given by Māori for each other and, in particular, for early European explorers and settlers. Before I start to example some of

[8] By 'surrogate' I am referring, albeit obliquely, to 'surrogation' – a concept introduced by Joseph Roach in *Cities of the Dead*. However, I prefer 'surrogate' because it conjures up more directly the idea of a substitute parenting and as such allows me to remain true also to the twin ideas of whakapapa and iwi, the ancestral lines that bind the living to their ancestors.
[9] See Te Awekotutku 1981, Royal 1998, Smith 2003.

these writings I must make the comment that most of the books written by these historians do not actually delve into the musical performance with any great measure, regardless of what their kaupapa might have been. Most concentrate on battles and politics and early encounters between Māori and Pākehā recorded in ships' logs and elsewhere. This may be because each performance always had a purpose and was not simply for entertainment. However, like the examples that follow, their comments on Māori music are linked to identity or customary practice. King, in his *Penguin History of New Zealand,* imagines a direct relationship between performance and identity in pre-colonial Aotearoa: "Identity was linked to both ancestry *and* place was expressed through proverbs and waiata (songs) and pātere (assertive chants) associated with one's people and their rohe or tribal territory" (77, italics in original). Indirectly at least, he recognises that performance was integral to the Māori 'lifeway':

> The focal point of Māori communal life was the hui. People who could no longer fight one another came together to compete in other ways: to surpass the hospitality of their previous hosts; to issue oratorical challenges and display astonishing feats of memory in the recitation of genealogy and tradition; to debate other people's versions of genealogy and tradition; to display prowess in haka, action song, wielding the taiaha and handling canoes; to celebrate who and what they were. (252)

That King inserts action song as a cultural practice in his history of Māori cultural performance in the 19th century is a small but telling slip, wherein Māori performance and the Māori are frozen into a kind of eternal primitivism rather than evolving over time. For him, here, it is enough to extrapolate and generalise from present practices to the past without looking further into how and why such performances were developed. That said, King's 'History' serves my thesis well when it comes to the 20th century story of the ways Tā Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi made use of traditional performance practices along with the creation of the new form – waiata-ā-ringa – to achieve their political and social

objectives, and his overall point about the suppression of te reo and tikanga is a useful reminder.

Another noted New Zealand historian, Anne Salmond, informs us in her book *Hui* about another person who is also credited as a source of waiata-ā-ringa, Paraire Henare Tomoana from Ngāti Kahungunu. This is not surprising as Tā Apirana Ngata and Paraire Henare Tomoana, along with Taiporutu Mitchell from Te Arawa, specifically Ngāti Whakauē, were very close friends and did more than compose together. In fact when Te Kenana Wi Te Tau Huata married his bride Ringahora Tomoana[10], daughter of Paraire, Tā Apirana gave her away. Salmond tells us:

> The action song is a recent innovation; the first ones were composed early this century (20th) by men such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Paraire Tomoana. They took popular European tunes, composed words in Māori and added actions, each with its own appropriate meaning. The songs are performed by highly-trained parties of men and women, who sing in harmony and perform the actions in unison. Action songs are, particularly popular with the young people, and hundreds of action song clubs have been set up in schools, universities, training colleges and churches. Many of the *hui*, for example the *Hui Tōpu* of the Anglican church, or the King Movement's annual Coronation, cater to this interest, and run culture competitions as part of their activities. Apart from action songs, different types of war dances, stick games and *poi* dances are performed, and these competitions attract large numbers of people to the *hui*. (113)

Although Salmond talks mainly about action song it is important first of all to confirm the relationship between Tā Apirana Ngata and Paraire Tomoana as prominent composers of Māori performance and the style they initially employed and being instrumental in setting up

[10] The Canon and Ringahora were my parents-in-law so I knew this information as a family member.

the early clubs. Salmond talks about those ‘song clubs’ being formed around the country and running competitions at the time of her researching her book on *Hui*. These ‘song clubs’ were the forerunners of what we now call kapa haka. This is a strong indication of competitions being held as part of iwi or church celebrations in many rohe before the first National Festival was introduced. It is also an indication that identity was already being cemented via the avenue of Māori performance.

Even when a history, such as that by Werry in *The Tourist State*, purports to be oriented towards Performance Studies, it is difficult to catch a glimpse of the actual performances. Werry’s account of a turn of the century tourist performance in Rotorua is typically superficial:

> To round off the day, a tourist might spend an evening at Charles Nelson’s nearby Geyser Hotel, enjoying a short concert of haka, poi dances, Māori song, and English glees, quartets and parlor tunes, by a dozen Māori from Whakarewarewa, followed perhaps by a flutter on the dance floor with one of the pretty young performers. (45)

For Werry, as for many others writing of cultural performance in Aotearoa/New Zealand, performance is instrumental without necessarily being significant in itself. It is like a backdrop to the more important business at hand. In bringing forward her extensive archival research and making it available for critical analysis, she still somehow echoes the colonial voice, making both the performance and those who performed more perfunctory in their appearance than perhaps she intends. My thesis necessarily picks up where she leaves off, beginning in Chapter One where I explore the ways English and Māori song and dance were interwoven in my personal history as well as in New Zealand history more generally.

When I began to think of this doctoral thesis ten or so years ago, there was very little written directly about Kapa Haka and its constituent components beyond Tīmoti Kāretu’s book, *Haka!* and Ngamoni Huata’s *The rhythm and life of poi.* There was also Charles Te

Ahukaramū Royal's Doctoral thesis *Te Whare Tapere – Towards a Model for Māori Performance Art* that was produced in 1998. In 2003 we saw the production of Smith's Master's thesis on *Decolonising the Stage* and then most recently a research report published in June 2014, on the value of Kapa Haka and the contribution it makes to Aotearoa New Zealand society. It is titled *Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore, The Benefits of Kapa Haka*, and was produced by the Te Kotahi Research Institute of the University of Waikato. I will be referring to these writings later on in the thesis.

In recent years, interest in diverse aspects of Māori performance – from Kapa Haka to contemporary dance, as well as in ritual practice and everyday life – has grown substantially. In practice, however, Kapa Haka has become increasingly part of New Zealand culture.

I am hoping to talk about Kapa Haka through not only my own personal experience growing up in the art form but also through the experiences of those who I have performed with over the years and of the younger generation. I do not want to just unravel items and describe what their components are but I want to look more effectively at performance, seeing the sounds and movements, its images and narratives, as the building blocks of the performance of Māori as Māori in contemporary, everyday life. I will strive to show, that is, that what we see on the stage is, in effect, now what underlies and empowers what we see when we see Māori people on the sidewalk (or really in Parliament and regional government), in schools and universities, in shops and in sports…and on television, let us not forget television!

I hope this thesis makes a significant contribution to scholarship – not only about Kapa Haka and Māori cultural identity, but just as importantly about the relationship between performance and identity, especially in the modern context. And above all, I am arguing for the importance of performance itself, not just for what it marks (see Werry above) but for

how it works in our bodies and creates currents of life between us that are meaningful in themselves. The performance is the personal, just as the personal is political.

At its most fundamental, Kapa Haka is a relatively new 'traditional' performance practice. Its repertoire is highly codified, composed from early Māori ritual (especially pōwhiri) and social practices (such as the concert party), which have been theatricalised and influenced by contemporary popular culture. Performances generally take place outdoors in daylight, on a stage, under a proscenium arch that is typically designed to reflect the conventions of the tomokanga or some combination of the tekoteko, maihi and amo (that is the façade of a wharenui). The platform is continuously lit by bright theatrical lights. Sound is amplified, and these days performances – especially at the regional and national events – are filmed for broadcast by Māori Television. These broadcasts are almost simultaneous. As a regional group finishes its performance, an item from its performance is available to view on the Māori news programme, Te Kaea via Māori Television, as they hold the current rights to film and broadcast. Though the performance has already become part of the archive it immediately becomes accessible, for those who have remained at home, to view via the internet. At the most recent National Secondary Schools' Kapa Haka competition held in Gisborne, July 2014, this extended to the performances being live streamed to allow schools and their students unable to attend to watch. All competing schools were given a password that they could distribute as they wished, to allow access to the live stream broadcast. This was also available for Te Matatini 2015. As the archiving of performance grows I am interested to see how this will affect the live performance and how that maintains iwi interaction and grows the modern Māori identity.

Men and women appear in large kapa haka (no more than forty is the rule for the national competition). They are costumed in stylised versions of 'native dress': woven bodices (for the women) and piupiu made primarily of dyed and woven flax and feathers,

with a lot of skin showing and moko painted (if not tattooed) on their faces as well as other parts of their bodies. The groups perform highly rehearsed and choreographed songs and dances. Their twenty-five minutes on stage are strictly regulated, with six aggregate pieces: whakaeke, waiata-ā-ringa, poi, mōteatea, haka and whakawātea. (If a group chooses to perform the optional choral they have access to an extra five minutes.) Music, lyrics and choreography draw on the past but are generally original compositions, created for the occasion and valued for the way they balance innovation with what is considered traditional. Tunes can be appropriated from popular songs, but then such tunes are generally reworked into Māori harmonics and further transformed by the choreography. Regardless, the lyrics are entirely in te reo and for the most part aimed at current issues and controversies. Performing, accompaniment objects include guitars, ukulele, bells and drums, along with more 'traditional' instruments, and aside from poi, performers often brandish hoe, patu, taiaha and other weaponry. Historically we associate bells with groups who follow the Ringatū faith and drums with those who follow the Pai Mārire faith, but recent performances have seen groups from rohe and iwi who do not follow these faiths, using this accompaniment. I find this a little strange as these groups have not used these instruments because it is part of their identity, but rather that it draws interest because of its difference. For example for their whakaeke at Te Matatini 2013 the kapa haka, Te Kotahitanga, chose a tune very much like a First Nations Peoples' chanted song and they accompanied it with a 'tomtom' drum. Even the lyrics were very minimal and repetitive, which is how a chanted song of the First Nations Peoples would sound to an ear that did not understand their language. Modern Māori people are not so cut off from this wider world as Kapa Haka provides a way of seeing beyond local and becoming global from a Māori perspective.

Judging and prize-giving are integral aspects of the performance overall, especially at the national level where the judges are sequestered throughout the competition. At Te

Matatini there have been as many as forty-five groups of thirty-forty performers each, competing over four or five days in sports arenas done over specifically for the event, with food stands, secondary stages and other booths set up on the periphery. About 40,000 people – mostly Māori – attend this biennial event, many of them regulars. Those of us who competed in the early years now have the pleasure of watching our children and grandchildren take the stage with a fluency and grace that we could only have imagined all those years ago.

When we started performing Kapa Haka on the national stage in 1972, we were being confronted daily with the prospect that te reo and tikanga would be lost forever. It was becoming increasingly difficult to function in our most basic ritual and communal activities, the day-to-day performances that inform and sustain our identity as tangata whenua. We still knew what it was supposed to be like. We had the idea of pōwhiri (for example) still before us, but our ability to perform pōwhiri seemed to be slipping away as each member of the older generations passed. Our theory was that we could retrieve, promulgate and develop our ways of being Māori by acting as Māori, by moving the performances attached to our cultural identity off the marae and creating a frame within which the key components of ritual could be performed theatrically, with each aspect of the performance codified and valued, and the whole thing staged as a competition bringing together Māori from all over Aotearoa. By showing ourselves to be proficient in te reo and tikanga through song and dance, we would become proficient, that is, when it came to enact our necessary rituals in real life. This was reiterated during a conversation with Tangiwai Ria, a long standing performer and leader of the famous Waihirere kapa haka. A tangihanga was taking place on her marae which I attended and I made a remark to her that she was fortunate to have people from other iwi 'manning' her paepae. She replied that in fact it is a sad state they were in and she had mentioned to one of her whānau that it was time he took what he had learnt on the stage off

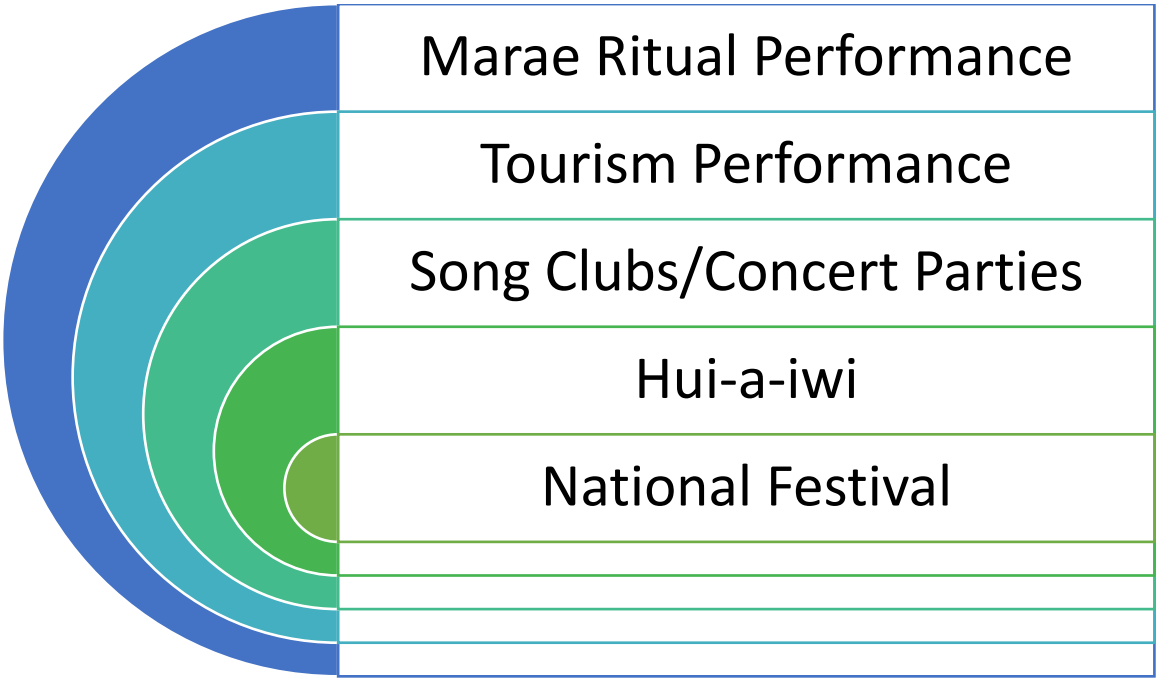
the stage and brought it home to the marae.[11] I understood what she meant but there are others that would say: 'You can take my marae to the stage but don't bring the stage to my marae.'[12]

In practice, over the past forty years, the Festival has become much more than that: it is the place where we gather to debate – on the stage as well as throughout the arena and, recently, via Māori Television and radio – issues of the day. For those performers who kept abreast of the politics of the day and how they affected Māori, for better or worse, the Festival stage became our site of resistance. Linda Smith has this to say in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies.* "The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resisitance and hope" (4). Kapa Haka on the Festival stage provided a 'place' and 'space' for songs and haka about the political issues affecting iwi Māori to be composed for performance. The structures and components of Kapa Haka allow us to remain true to the past while debating how to act in the present toward a future we are creating together. The Kapa Haka stage gives us a place to stand and keeps a link to the past so we can move forward. It allows iwi to remain in conversation together.

The performance practice that was known first as Māori Performing Arts and has come to be known as Kapa Haka was developed firstly to preserve and promote the observance of ritual and protocol in traditional contexts. But over the past forty years, Kapa Haka has become a traditional performance practice in its own right. One might say that in 1972 we invented a new Māori tradition called Kapa Haka, a performance practice that has been developed from, and contains elements of, ritual but is not ritual per se; performed on a stage, under a proscenium arch for an audience that pays for tickets and applauds each item as it is performed.

---

[11] Personal communication with Tangiwai Ria, 2014.
[12] Personal communication with John Te Ruruhe Rangihau, 2007.



The above diagram shows different types of performances beginning at different times. Almost all have been retained but are staged at different times. Marae ritual performance was the practice of iwi Māori before other kinds of performances were introduced and continues on in tact today. Tourism performance began around 1870 and continues today with some aspects of the performance repertoire having changed to include new innovations. In the nineteen thirties we saw the emergence of pan tribal groups called 'song clubs' as described by Salmond earlier in this thesis, such as Ngāti Pōneke in 1936. That was followed by the iwi concert party established by Tuini Ngāwai, Te Hokowhitu-ā-Tū, in 1939. The next prominent group to arise was Waihirere, established by Wiremu Kerekere in 1951.[13] Most Hui-ā-iwi began in the nineteen sixties except for the Hui Ahurei which began in 1971 and is currently still held every two years. The National Festival began as the Polynesian Festival in 1972. What iwi did as performance was at this stage called Māori performing arts. Its first name change to Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival was in 1983 and it was also about this time that we began to hear the term 'Kapa Haka' being used. In 2004 the National Festival was rebranded as Te Matatini. The first Festival held under the name Te Matatini

[13] Personal communication with Raana Kerekere, May 2014.

was in Palmerston North in 2005. What is relevant about this time line is that it shows the growth of the invented tradition of the performance genre, now known as Kapa Haka, from its origins in ritual practice on the marae to what we now see performed on the competitive stage.

Kapa Haka is theatrical, but it is more than theatre. However there are some noted Māori performers, both national and international in terms of their film and stage work, who would say that Kapa Haka is their theatre. During a screening on March 20th 2014 of *The Kapa* by Māori Television, well known Māori film and television actor, Temuera Morrison, was heard to say, "I grew up on the Kapa Haka stage; learnt how to wield a taiaha. Kapa Haka was my theatre. I draw on my haka skills to get me in the right mood to act". Although I state earlier that Kapa Haka is theatrical but not theatre, it was the opportunity for a performer to make it his or her theatre that is confirmed by Temuera's statement.

Presented by teams in arenas that otherwise host sporting events, as a competition for prizes awarded by judges with scorecards, Kapa Haka is like sport, but it is not that either. By this I mean that Kapa Haka is not just concerned with being physically adept at peforming but that it is a vehicle employed in the preservation of cultural elements, for example kawa, tikanga and te reo. Kapa Haka contains a lot of what Māori used to do to entertain each other[14] and visitors, including tourists, for generations, but it is far more than that. Kapa Haka moves us beyond the entertainment realm of tourist performances in to one that is concerned with creating a modern Māori identity. It is a new tradition, invented for purposes that are still revealing themselves three generations on.

[14] There are stories recorded in history of these instances such as Te Patunga a Kae; that about Kahureremoa and Ponga and Puhihuia, but they are well written up and used often for reference so I will not repeat them.

Rustom Bharucha, writing in the Indian context in his book *Theatre and the World,* makes a provocative case for thinking of 'tradition' as something invented, constructed or composed, rather than traditional per se. He says:

> Tradition can be invented in any number of ways, even though we may not be aware of it. … More often than not, when people 'invent' tradition ('authentic' or 'spurious' through acts of cultural 'preservation' or 'subversion') they unavoidably imply that they are no longer in touch with its immediacies. Yet an illusion is often maintained whereby the 'invention' is placed within the mainstream of tradition itself. (318)

In the Māori context, 'immediacies' could mean the power of a practice as performed in the original context, such as pōwhiri on the marae, one therefore still directly connected to ritual. It is certainly true that not all items performed in Kapa Haka fall into that category, and therefore would not be 'traditional' in the sense that Bharucha insists upon. However we have been performing those particular items that are not part of ritual, such as the waiata-ā-ringa, for over a hundred years.[15] They are part of the 'mainstream' of Kapa Haka, regardless, and so we have come to believe they are 'traditional' in their own right. Composed, as Kapa Haka is, from bits and pieces of various traditions, evolved over several generations into its current form, with its own codes of practice, customary expectations and measures of judgment, and yet with its own place on the continuum of Māori art, it may indeed be an invented tradition, but it is no less traditional now for having been invented as it has been. As such, ritual can be seen as a catalyst for the creation of Kapa Haka as a new genre of performance, a new tradition.

While rooted in, composed in large part from, and designed to perpetuate ritual practices, Kapa Haka is not ritual in and of itself. But the ways that it is like ritual can be instructive. Victor Turner in his book *From Ritual to Theatre*, makes a number of comments

[15] I have fully discussed the development of waiata-ā-ringa in my MA thesis. Please see: Te Rita Papesch, *Pupuritia Ngā Purapura I Mahue Mai Rā* (University of Waikato, 1991).

about ritual in relation to social drama which I maintain can be seen at play in Kapa Haka. He says:

> Since ritual, in the so-called 'simpler' societies, is so complex and many layered it may not unfittingly be considered an important 'source' of later (in cultural evolutionary terms) more specialised performative genres. Often when ritual perishes as a dominant genre, it dies a multipara, giving birth to ritualised progeny, including the many performative arts. (79)

Kapa Haka allows for the grouping of Māori performative arts. Not forgetting that for Kapa Haka items, other than waiata-ā-ringa, and most times whakaeke and whakawātea, traditional composition styles are still followed, especially in terms of topic, motivation and process for composition, I argue that it is the combination of that which is 'recalled' and that which is 'earlier' plus that which is 'invented', the 'modern', the 'contemporary' that creates the new 'tradition'.

Let me explain what I mean by 'earlier' and 'recalled' by looking directly at the antecedents to waiata-ā-ringa, which has become a key component of the Kapa Haka tradition. These terms refer to the genre of Māori performing arts that existed before the invention of Kapa Haka as we know it today, such as waiata koroua (tawhito, mōteatea), haka and poi. All items were either sung, chanted or shouted using tunes and rhythms that were distinctly Māori and particular to each item. For example, a pātere is a waiata koroua that has a particular rhythm, beat and set kaupapa and its melody is a monotone. This is different to any other waiata koroua and when these aspects are all combined we know the song is a pātere. There are many types of waiata koroua and they are all identified by the different elements particular to them in terms of tune, beat and kaupapa. In all cases the kaupapa determined the style of waiata koroua used. All waiata koroua had actions but were

performed spontaneously by individuals when they wanted to enhance a message or phrase in the song.

These earlier forms, then, as they are now recalled could be seen to be the genesis of waiata-ā-ringa as recorded in my own MA thesis study:

> To give further meaning to their songs, actions were added that gave expression to the words and tunes. It began with the songs of old such as haka, ngeri, pātere etc. Actions and the expansion of the eyes to show the whites, supported the lyrics and tunes and were done spontaneously by performers and singers. These old style performances gave birth to the action song. (7)

Tīmoti Kāretu goes even further back than that. He states:

> Most Māori believe the action song was born in the 20th century through the compositions of Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi. But if we believe we are part of Polynesia and therefore are closely related to other Pacific Island peoples, then action song is a very old art form (in the islands) but with lyrics and actions that differ from Māori. ... This was something seen by Apirana on his travels through the islands and he taught it (the differences) to his people such as standing in even numbered rows and doing uniform actions … His people quickly adapted and since that time the East Coast people of the North Island in New Zealand have been renowned for its performance of action song. (Cited in Papesch: 7 - 8)

So began this new 'invented' tradition, but what were the triggers that prompted its development and how might this be seen to have contributed to the creation of a modern Māori identity? Bharucha is critical of the idea of tradition in countries that have been colonised, because for him its invention is imposed by the dominant culture and attached to the loss of the 'authentic' experience of the colonised. In this thesis, I argue that the invention of tradition is critical to preserving my people's connections to the past while giving us the

tools both to act effectively in the present and to look actively towards future developments. In fact, various governments, from the first to the present, have tried to implement assimilation policies that would hopefully see the Māori moving further away from their bases for enacting tradition; that is, the marae, and therefore coming to need Pākehā institutions and processes to allow them to continue to live as citizens of Aotearoa/New Zealand but as Pākehā do, not Māori. Professor Richard S Hill in his paper titled**,** 'Social Revolution on a Small Scale: Official Maori Committees of the 1950s', talks about how the government of the time encouraged Māori to set up Tribal committees which would be "a stepping stone to adjustment in the new culture". He goes on further to say:

> They would be given 'the task of promoting social and economic progress' in a capitalist economy and an individualistic ethos. The problem for the state was that Maori aspirations went far beyond adaptation to the west; they particularly focussed on the pursuit of rangatiratanga. ... The Crown accommodated this by gearing the system to a secondary (and hopefully temporary) imperative: helping Maori 'retain the more desirable facets of their own culture and traditions'. It appreciated, in short, that there was a quid pro quo for any enthusiastic embracing of westernisation namely, the preserving and enhancing of significant elements of Maori culture, at least in the meantime. ... A newspaper reflected official policy in 1952: while the Maori would 'understandably look to some of his own institutions … they should not be those which debar assimilation to a higher culture'. ... Indeed, the official committees were intended to help *guide* the assimilationist journey. In 1953 they were told their work involved 'fitting the Maori fully and usefully into the community'. Assimilation processes would produce a 'National Blend [designed to] weld all in one nation'. This blend would mostly comprise European culture, and western ways of thinking and behaving. (3)

Fortunately for Māori and for this country these desires of the government of the time did not come to fruition but Māori continue to struggle for 'rangatiratanga.'

Turning again to Bharucha, we can see the value of viewing tradition as something that evolves and changes with the times – whether in response to conflict and oppression, or to embrace new ways of acting and being:

> About the worst attitude to tradition is to incarcerate it within an immutable form that ostensibly never changes. If tradition lives today it is because it has always changed in the course of its history. How it changes within its own performance and cultural context is frequently undocumented and even forgotten because change occurs slowly, organically, in deference to the larger needs of the community. (321)

Hirini Moko Mead in his book *Tikanga Māori* describes tradition as something "being linked to the past and handed down from the ancestors, generation by generation, to the descendants of today" (20). A tradition, once invented, attaches itself to its own place and time, and its conventions can in turn become anachronistic in their own right. Kapa Haka emerged at a particular point in the history of Māori development, at a point when it appeared that our language and culture would simply fade away and the customs and customary ways of being British had fully taken hold in Aotearoa/New Zealand. For iwi to step onto a stage instead of a marae might be seen as a way of meeting the coloniser half-way, taking hold of the colonial apparatus and turning it to our own purposes. Bharucha, who is not necessarily against inventing tradition so much as he is critical of the way it might serve the dominant culture by freezing the native into acts that are no longer functional, says:

> Inventions uphold a different sense of the unknown. Instead of 'exposure' they are concerned with making new 'artefacts'. Very often these artefacts emerge through the mediations of a new technology and machinery that precipitate an alteration of forms. (318)

What Bharucha identifies here is the way invented traditions are attached to the structures on which they have been built. The question that might now be asked, forty years on, is what might be next now that the European stage is itself, perhaps a thing of the past, and digital technologies are a prevalent medium for cultural exchange? This is not a preoccupation for the thesis, but I present the question in order to propose that the invented tradition called Kapa Haka is more temporally contingent than we might think.

The trap, perhaps, with Kapa Haka, is that having stepped onto the European framed stage to perform pieces of ritual as theatre and sport it might simply come to mark the passing of Māori culture, the loss of reo and tikanga everywhere but on that stage. This has not happened. In fact, the reverse can be argued. On stage and off, there is a greater understanding of language and culture, and a wider practise of basic elements of pōwhiri (for example) in all walks of life, including those dominated by Pākehā. How this has happened and to what effect is a question underlying the thesis. Kapa Haka, I assert, has played a significant role in creating a modern Māori identity, but it has also been influential in the evolution of the identity of Aotearoa/New Zealand as a bicultural nation, and there are a 'number' of notable performers who regularly display their skill, their reo and tikanga on the Kapa Haka stage without being Māori themselves. What of them? Is there an identity being constructed in Kapa Haka that goes beyond, or even breaks, the bicultural paradigm?

In his article on performance traditions and framing authenticity as seen at the Polynesian Cultural Centre in Hawaii, 'Staging the Pacific: Framing Authenticity in Performances for Tourists at the Polynesian Cultural Centre', Christopher Balme states:

> In both New Zealand and Hawaii the preservation, and to some degree re-creation, of performance culture towards the end of the 19th century were crucial for cultural survival in the face of heavy pressures to assimilate. Both were involved in the invention and redefinition of performance that fulfilled the double function of

> presenting an image of cultural vitality to the colonial gaze and finding updated functions for performance within a new cultural situation. (64)

Balme goes on to say:

> Modernity's constitutive alienation (the mechanisation of work, creation of large-scale urban societies, the universal commodification of labour and goods) has bred as its antithesis the 'invention of tradition', and the increasing priority placed on authenticity in objects, people and places apparently located outside the realm of modernity. (66)

In Balme's book *Decolonizing the Stage* he states: "… the 'decolonization' of the stage can be examined through a number of formal strategies which involve the combination and amalgamation of indigenous forms within the framework of the western notion of theatre" (304). It is this process of combination and amalgamation that Balme calls 'theatrical syncretism'. I believe this is the process that Kapa Haka goes through in order to decolonize the stage. It is the use of indigenous, cultural texts composed for the performance on a western proscenium stage that allows this to happen. As we move further and further towards using a western notion of theatre and the proscenium stage we may have moved further away from what is indigenous to Māori. However the continued use of indigenous, cultural texts that have semiotic, meaningful codes in them have, instead, continued the decolonization process related to the stage. According to a precis on chapters in Balme's book mentioned above, by the University Press Scholarship Online, in the chapter – 'Ritual Frames and Liminal Dramaturgy' – he examines:

> ...different ritualization strategies incorporated in syncretic theatres. One method of ritualizing the theatre is to adopt existing ritual forms and adapt them so as to alter the entire performance frame. The relationship between theatre and ritual in post-colonial

societies is uniquely manifested in Māori theatre, which attempted to ritualize the overall frame of the entire theatrical performance.[16]

This is still highly evident in the whakaeke of a Kapa Haka performance where groups are still inclined to use marae, ritual forms such as wero, karanga, and whaikōrero. These are strong elements of the ritual known as pōwhiri. A Kapa Haka performance also contains the waiata koroua and haka which can still be found as part of marae ritual. In most cases where these forms are used a strong Māori iwi identity is able to be traced. However the whakaeke is also the Kapa Haka performance item that is the most challenging in terms of it having the flexibility to also incorporate elements that are not necessarily part of ritual such as waiata-ā-ringa, poi and the use of rākau of varying lengths, which would normally be part of games and past-times or battle. The infiltration of these other elements just mentioned also tend to confuse the iwi identity of the kapa haka but at the same time contribute to the new, modern Māori identity that I am writing about.

Historically, kapa haka, known first as concert parties, were set up for reasons such as fund raising and entertainment, not solely amongst Māori, but also for outsiders, that is, for tourists, beginning in the 19th century. As such, the shift of Māori performance being mostly purposeful in ritual and everyday life to that of entertainment also caused the invention of another Māori performance art: tourist entertainment. The earliest and best recorded examples are provided in the case of Maggie Papakura (also known as Makareti) and her troupe, who travelled first to Sydney and then to London to perform in the Festival of Empire (1911). Her troupe's performance took the form of a concert party, incorporating oratory, song and dance, and the display of artefacts (including weaponry and stylised whare) to represent Māori culture to non-Māori. The growth of the tourism entertainment happened parallel to what was still happening on the marae in terms of ritual performance and has

[16] Ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/9780198184447.do

continued to evolve to the point where it can be said to have its own sense of tradition on Mead's terms. Its relationship to Kapa Haka is close, especially insofar as Kapa Haka performers can earn incomes from tourist performance – that is, what they perform as 'amateurs' on the Kapa Haka stage, they perform as professionals on tourist stages around Aotearoa/New Zealand and beyond. This thesis must acknowledge the relationship between these two 'traditions', and the role played by the touristic economy in the development of Kapa Haka. More importantly, I will address the ways in which Māori performance for tourists also has contributed to the creation of a modern Māori identity.

This thesis argues that the performance elements that come together to be known as Kapa Haka – both as a festival event and as a regional practice – emerged in the early 20th century and yet maintains continuity in the past from the period of pre-colonisation. Its performance is attached to iwi and allows iwi to talk across tribal differences. Kapa Haka practices, as well as festivals, give iwi a place and reason to meet and it is in their performing 'iwi' that they know themselves and each other. Māori culture maintains a link to the past through Kapa Haka, and Kapa Haka is a means through the catastrophe of colonisation that allows Māori to move forward in the face of globilisation. Pura Parata, a respected Ngāi Tahu kaumātua and a committee member of the first national festival and chief organiser of the 1986 National Kapa Haka Festival in Christchurch, made a comment in relation to what Kapa Haka can bring to a hapū or iwi member in terms of how it encourages you to participate and move forward seeking new knowledge: "Kapa Haka is a stairway to further knowledge, to adulthood, a stepping stone to another generation".[17] This is what I see when I watch my own whānau perform, and when I sit as a judge and commentator at Te Matatini.

The question remains: how might Kapa Haka be seen to maintain the integrity of te reo and tikanga, the primary kaupapa of Māori, while living in a modern world? Should Kapa

[17] Parata, Pura from an oral interview. April 27th, 2010.

Haka still hold to this original objective, or have we moved on? The desire to preserve te reo and tikanga is an affirmation, an article of faith tied to a sense of identity. There is a current debate on te reo and its value in Kapa Haka: on the one hand, a flourishing of a kind of 'high reo' (sophisticated and complex beyond the understanding of most Māori) and with it a desire to aggregate it in competitions at national level; on the other, a wish to be more inclusive of those with minimal or no fluency at all.[18] One reason given was that if our ancestors did not see fit to aggregate why should we? My response is that our ancestors were not always infallible. We have already made a case for the invention of 'new traditions' so why not follow the pattern in this case? When does the inventing stop, and does 'tradition' mean frozen in time?

The question of cultural identity permeates this thesis. Yet the word 'culture' is itself somewhat slippery, especially if it is not directly attached to how one speaks and what one does. I know I am Māori, because my mother was. But I remind myself and am recognised by others as Māori when I act in ways that mark me as Māori. In Kapa Haka, we identify ourselves as Māori by demonstrating our knowledge of how to perform as Māori, and through Kapa Haka we create and sustain a cultural context that otherwise might have fully eroded by now. For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, I will be considering culture as something performed, on the continuum that runs from daily life to the theatrical. Richard Schechner quotes from Victor Turner's *By Means of Performance*: "Cultures are most fully expressed in and made conscious of themselves in their ritual and theatrical performances" (20). As Kapa Haka is a performance practice, I am interested in how Schechner makes further comments on the relationship of performance practice with elements of identity. In his discussion on what makes up Performance Studies in Turner's *By Means of Performance* he

[18] By aggregating reo in competitive Kapa Haka performances I mean that the judging of reo will be included as part of each item in the aggregate category and count in the overall mark. This was the process followed at Te Matatini 2015.

makes comment on repertoire and social practices which interests me in terms of identity. He says:

> Performances are actions. … Although performance studies scholars use the "archive" extensively – what's in books, photographs, the archaeological record, historical remains etc. – their dedicated focus is on the 'repertoire', namely what people do in the activity of their doing it…. performance studies is actively involved in social practices and advocacies. (20)

I believe Kapa Haka is allowing us to develop a new relationship between performance and identity. Traditionally whakapapa is the tūāpapa of an individual's identity linking them forever to their hapū, iwi and waka and determining where and what their marae and tūrangawaewae are and who they are as Māori. In the current modern world, after so much intermixing and intermarrying, and in the age of globalisation and digitalisation, it may well be that the modern Māori identity must now be wrapped around 'performance' with performative relationships superseding the more naturalised sense of 'being' that was rooted in the relationship to whakapapa and tūrangawaewae. For the modern Māori who is divorced from his/her ancestral whakapapa ties and tūrangawaewae, maybe we are supplanting the whakapapa of ancestry and tūrangawaewae of land with one of practice. What then? How can the Kapa Haka stage coexist with, or even act as a surrogate for, blood and soil?[19] I don't believe we have to let go of blood and soil. Our whakapapa and tūrangawaewae will always be present in us, waiting to be activated through ritual and protocol as we engage with each other. At the same time, we can also enact and even create substitutes for what is not always readily available in performance, in this Kapa Haka.

Kapa Haka today looks much the same as it did when the National Festival first began in 1972 as the Polynesian Festival. Then as now, groups of twenty men and twenty women

[19] By 'blood and soil' I am conscious of the fascist resonance implied therein, which I will not interrogate here.

(usually) took the stage to perform a set set of six items, singing and dancing, in costumes designed to reflect the way we formerly dressed on the marae, but also as costumes to identify us with our iwi and distinguish ourselves as a group. Thus from the beginning, we were constructing identities for ourselves that were both in imitation of the past and for display in the present performance. Then as now, audiences are more inclined to applaud performances that mix references – tunes, phrases, and movements – from contemporary popular culture with old standards, and the judges are hard-pressed to enforce a kind of orthodoxy. This tug-of-war between the old and the new, between the frozen in time and the pleasures of appropriation and citation, and not a rigid attachment to the past, is in fact central to the tradition that is Kapa Haka and perhaps can be seen to define who we are now as a people.

Chapter One – Waiata Koroua, of this thesis will trace the history of Kapa Haka, how it came to be composed, in 1972, of bits and pieces of ritual and other forms of Māori protocol and performance. I will look at key performances – both on the stage and in other social and political contexts – that preceded and informed the appearance of Kapa Haka in 1972. How, for example, might the famous haka performed by Tā Apirana Ngata at the Waitangi Celebrations in 1943, have influenced the development of Kapa Haka, by Ngata and others?

The conditions confronting Māori during the worst years of colonisation are well-known: disruption of connection to the land, movement to the cities, suppression of te reo and tikanga, second class status in work and other areas of everyday life. The question will be not so much what were these, and how bad were these conditions – for that, we might just watch ‘Once Were Warriors’, which amply demonstrates the healing power of haka as the antidote to the horrors of urban Māori life – but rather what was it about these conditions that might be seen to have created a necessity for Kapa Haka, as well as other actions, including

protests, at the time. I will also consider how even the protests – for example, during the Springboks Tour – might be seen to pick up and perform, bits not only of Māori protocol but also of Kapa Haka itself.

That is, Chapter One - Waiata Koroua, will look at the performance practices and conditions, and the performers, who made a platform for the first festival performance. It will weigh the pre-colonial against the modern, paying particular attention to the counterargument to my own provided by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal in his thesis on Whare Tapere. In this chapter I ask: How was the stage set for taking socio-political action through performance action? How might each of these performances have been seen to contribute to the construction and definition of Māori identity – not solely for Māori, but also for non-Māori and even for non-New Zealanders?

Chapter Two - Poi, moves elsewhere to develop the thesis argument by looking at the early concert parties established by Makareti Papakura and the different hui, pre 1972, around the country, that had a component of Kapa Haka as part of their proceedings. It makes reference to how these different groups and hui play a part in growing the modern identity of Māori through Kapa Haka and explains why the need to do this.

Chapter Three - Haka, focuses directly on that first Festival in 1972, both in form and content. What were the songs we sang, the dances we danced then, and how did they reflect and resist the conditions of the time? Here I look directly at the tradition as it was invented then and the immediacies (in Bharucha's terms) surrounding its first steps: the socio-political environment, the wider ambitions of the first performers for their country, as well as themselves, to be transformed. I want to pay particular attention to the direct relationship between the performance and the meanings it might now, in retrospect, be seen to have produced: at the way the structure emerged both as competition and as performance, how the

stage was designed to be like both a proscenium arch and the façade of a wharenui, the making of rules, the establishment of set pieces, and so on.

Above all, I ask how this performance might be seen to have created – or at least taken the first steps toward establishing - a new, modern Māori identity. That is, how might this performance have moved Māori toward a modern way of being? What are the primary elements of being modern in this context? For example, is it a modern way of being Māori to be expected to demonstrate facility with te reo and tikanga, with performing outside marae but also outside Pākehā society? In Victor Turner's terms, how might this modern Māori identity be seen to be 'liminoid' – as such, not-not colonised, but no longer fully colonised either (in Schechner's terms)?

Chapter Four - Waiata-ā-ringa, looks at Te Matatini in the 21st century. We begin by discussing current performances and their relation to the establishment of a modern Māori identity. We move on to an exploration of the meaning of Te Matatini – 'the many faces' – in contrast to earlier iterations of the festival as 'Polynesian', as 'Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts'. What is in a name, after all? I look also at how the Festival is currently organised, to see how the formal structures that hold up the Festival serve to shape both the performance and the idea of the people performing: the executive structure, the way the rules are negotiated, how groups are organised, how the show is presented to audiences in the arena and how it is presented to the outside world, whether transmitted by Māori Television, circulated on YouTube, or re-imagined into contemporary dance or as a tourist attraction, or whatever. I look closely at the structure of the performance, by analysing specific performances for their representations of iwi and identity. I consider also the effect of the television cameras, and especially the close-up, both as broadcast inside the arena and to the wider world.

Throughout this thesis I will be arguing that while Kapa Haka on the Festival stage is a concentrated, compressed presentation of Māori identity in performance, Kapa Haka is everywhere – in schools and community halls, in government offices and meeting rooms, on the playing field and interlaced into the music and dance and theatre of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Kapa Haka is 'repertoire' – both in sense of performance pieces to be used in various contexts, and also in the sense offered by Diana Taylor as an embodied archival practice and perhaps also an archive of identity through performance from which the 'who we are' is selected on a daily basis. I will ask repeatedly, as I must: How is Kapa Haka like pōwhiri? How is it not like pōwhiri? How has pōwhiri adapted as a result, or been strengthened? Has the effect on te reo and tikanga been what was imagined? How/not? Who can Kapa Haka? On what terms? Where is the Māori identity now? How did Kapa Haka make it so? Along the way, I must ask also: What are the limits of song and dance? All of these questions, and more, will lead me to present, in conclusion, my own ideas about the pleasure, poetics and politics of contemporary Kapa Haka as they inform, construct and promulgate ideas of a modern Māori identity.

In 1972 I could not have foreseen that we – my whānau and I – would reach the stage of forming our own group. Since the inception of the National Festival and in the ensuing years I and my children have performed in many other groups, with varying experiences and competitive successes. We have also acquired a depth and breadth of knowledge of Māori cultural performance, both traditional and contemporary, for the marae and for the stage, competitive and non competitive. This has been accompanied by the development of a sound knowledge of the Māori language, composition techniques and the ability to be enquiring of and to discuss the sociological issues of the day affecting the Māori world. We have become creators of dialogue between iwi and beyond, where there is understanding of the Māori language. And, I believe, in our own way, we have become instruments of change in the

creating of a new modern Māori identity through Māori Cultural Performance, through Kapa Haka.

Much like Kapa Haka itself, this thesis acts on a colonial stage. This 'colonial stage' is not only the stage of performance of Kapa Haka but also the 'national stage' that is Aotearoa/New Zealand. The idea that we are now in a post-colonial state in Aotearoa/New Zealand could present itself often during the thesis and I have yet to come to terms with that 'state' of being as I do not believe Aotearoa/New Zealand will ever reach a post-colonial 'state' if we are to believe the meanings of processes of colonization listed below. So how then do we describe ourselves in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the 'state' we live in? Haupai Puke in an unpublished paper on states of colonisation gives us a variety of descriptions for us to consider as the 'state' that Aotearoa/New Zealand lives in. The inspiration for these statements came from a lecture by Burgess on colonisation.[20] She says:

> ... colonisation is predominantly a social process generally with various stages experienced by both the coloniser and the colonised.
>
> 1. Denial & withdrawal, where the indigenous people come into contact with the coloniser; the culture of the indigenous people is described by the coloniser as not even a culture, the way they worship, and behave. Some of the indigenous people are befriended and brought under the wing of the coloniser, often a missionary. Once closely associated with the coloniser, the colonised begin to join in with the colonisation, and to withdraw from their own culture.
>
> 2. Destruction & eradication, the coloniser is now empowered and destroys symbols of religion, gets rid of the knowledge base of the indigenous people and replaces it with their own culture.

[20] Burgess, M. (Oct. 15, 2013) Colonization and de-colonization. Retrieved on 16/8/14 from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2m6rMO99av8

3. Denigration, belittlement & insult, mindful that while symbols can be destroyed, a thought, a religious belief system cannot be eradicated so it is belittled and destroyed & replaced with their own festival celebrations e.g. Christmas; the colonised accepts the replacement.

4. Tokenism, where the religion of the coloniser is now more powerful and also the politics. Now the colonisers have control & allow aspects of the indigenous culture to be practised.

5. Transformation: where the cultural practices of the indigenous people are all within the practices of the dominant culture.

6. Exploitation: a return of some of the practices of the colonised such as the language, but using it, pretending to be in with the indigenous people, all for their own ends.

Decolonisation is not only to get the coloniser's presence gone from the colonised's country but also to be rid of the coloniser's culture and the indigenous peoples are allowed to develop their own self-determination.

There are groups of indigenous people around the country who have accepted and participated in all of these states of colonisation. I would like to propose though, that for the purposes of this thesis, those indigenous people who perform Kapa Haka on a regular basis, in and out of competition, are aware of and engage in only some of the 'states' listed. But, as Puke said, the colonised people, in this case iwi Māori, often accept a particular 'state' of colonisation and the benefits gained from a particular 'state'. As a result of the acknowledgement of these explanations we cannot say that here in Aotearoa//New Zealand we are in a post-colonial state; that is, we are decolonised, and, from my perspective we never will be. This is why I find the description of a post-colonial state a difficult one to use. However whatever 'state' we choose to acknowledge ourselves as 'being in' it must be one

that we accept and can work and live within. Consequently I choose instead to describe how the tangata whenua live with the coloniser today as living in a 'modern society' as it resonates well with the kaupapa I am writing about, a modern Māori identity.

It is important to make comment about 'wiri' as it traces its origin back to the atua of haka – Tānerore. He is identified by the shimmering haze of heat. Rachael Ka'ai-Mahuta, one of the editors of a book on Māori performing arts, *Kia Rōnaki The Māori Performing Arts*, makes a comment in relation to 'wiri'. "The *wiri* is one of the constants in performance, regardless of the style of performance, the genre of *waiata* and *haka,* or the gender of the performer" (sic) (5). I would expand on this by saying because wiri is a constant in performance, as Ka'ai-Mahuta says, when performers are seen to be doing a wiri, the wiri identifies that a Māori performance is about to take place, even though the performers may already be dressed in costumes that identify them as Māori. Wiri is one of the kinesthetic signs and ways of performing Kapa Haka, along with pūkana, mau patu, hitting the poi, stamping the feet and slapping the chest. This is where the inherent forces of ihi, wehi and wana come into play. These are the aesthetics required to turn a performance from an ordinary one to an outstanding one. Some would say that when these three aspects are present in a performance at the same time they indicate the presence of the 'x factor' that so many performers strive to deliver. They also indicate that the performer is able to reach beyond their daily selves and call on their own inner forces to be infused into their performance. Tāmati Kruger, in the book *Ngā Tikanga Tuku Iho a te Māori* compiled by Hirini Moko Mead as a Source Book for students at Victoria University, talks about Ihi, Wehi and Wana. He says:

> Ihi, Wehi and Wana are among a wide range of terms used by the Maori in making aesthetic judgements about artistic events or performance, as in haka, oratory, karanga, pūkana, waiata and so on. ...The qualities of Ihi, Wehi and Wana represent

> the highest form of praise any artistic performance can receive. ... Ihi, Wehi and wana are intrinsically bound up in the mystical and supernatural aspects of Māori life. ... In other words Ihi, Wehi and Wana of a performer are not characteristics of his personality, they represent the presence of his ancestors within him. Hence the high regard given to the awesome and spiritual qualities of a performance. (228)

That said, while I am presenting the story of my own experience of coming of age as a Māori woman through the performance of Kapa Haka, I recognise that this is just one of many diverse stories about Māori identity and Māori performance. Placing my own story centre stage allows me to unravel the threads that bind identity to performance in a theatrical sense, while also remaining true to the social realities that framed the development of Kapa Haka and to which Kapa Haka has, I believe, made, a significant contribution. But my kaupapa goes beyond arguing for the value of a performance practice to which I have been devoted to for forty years. In this thesis, I want to open up the conversation about Māori performance to other Māori academics and artists in a way that not only allows for debate amongst ourselves, but also opens up the field to engagement by others. I want to add some planks to the platform on which we perform, and come to understand, our identities as Māori academics and artists, by showing, doing, as well as by talking about it. This is my waiata, my haka, my history of discovery through performance, re-performed in writing. When I have finished, it will be someone else's turn to take the kaupapa forward and give it new meaning, new life.

Chapter 1: Waiata Koroua - History

He oranga mai hoki tātou	We are the survivors
I te parekura i Manawa-toki-tū	Of the massacre at Manawa-toki-tū
Tū ko te hika o tō whaea	There, where the body of your mother was violated
Kia matapopore mai ki te	Be aware of the putrefaction of your kin
Pirau o tō whanaunga	
Whanaunga mate ki te pō,	Your kin who have been lost to the world
Tini o te pō, mano o te pō,	of night, to the many in the world of night
A! ha! ngā korekore o te pō.	even to the very ignominy of the night.

(11 – 12)

Tīmoti Kāretu gives a translation of this haka ngeri and goes on to describe it in the following manner, in *Ngā Waiata me ngā Haka a Te Kapa Haka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato.*

> This ngeri belongs to the tribes of the Waikato area, and according to the information given to me, it is the original beginning of Te Rauparaha's ngeri 'Ka Mate, Ka Mate'. Many of the references and illusions are no longer known and although a translation can be made, it is merely a translation of the words, not the underlying philosophy. (11-12)

This chapter begins by looking at my first experiences of Māori song and dance, growing up in the Waikato during the 1950s and 1960s, as part of the wider history of the development of Kapa Haka and the coming to political awareness of us performers as Māori. There are many such stories to be told about this period, each with their own particularities, and with the permission of my elders and peers, I will share some of these other stories as this thesis unfolds. My own story is intimately bound to the emergence of the performing arts 'tradition'

known as Kapa Haka. Along with the revitalisation of te reo and tikanga, it can serve as a paradigm and as a point of departure for engagement and debate with the wider history. This chapter therefore is designed to be read as a form of whakapapa and tūrangawaewae, bound in the history that is framed in waiata koroua, both my own and that of Kapa Haka. That is, I present my personal history as it is embedded in Māori social history. Seeing this chapter as whakapapa and tūrangawaewae, framed in waiata koroua, preserves the underlying sense of protocol for my thesis, as a way to build its infrastructure on Māori terms.

I am into my seventh decade on earth and am considered by some to be a kuia, hence my use also of the counterpart to the word kuia – koroua – to describe the history of my involvement in Kapa Haka. As I start to trace the whakapapa and tūrangawaewae of Kapa Haka, I see Waiata Koroua – traditional song, (with emphasis on the term koroua) or the old songs and ways of singing – as a place of origin of other forms of Māori performing arts, an essential stage in the journey towards Kapa Haka as we know it today. Waiata Koroua is in itself a wide domain, from Oriori to Ngeri. Mōteatea features strongly, as its kaupapa is common throughout Waiata Koroua. Traditional song, whether it be Oriori or Ngeri, has relationships through the kaupapa of remembering those gone before. That was how Māori identified themselves, and still do, through kaupapa with commonalities, but always changing the performance to keep it relevant for today and alive.

As indicated above, in the construction of this thesis, the framework is Māori, therefore the philosophies behind my own thought processes are Māori. The genealogy of Kapa Haka is interwoven with my own. In tracing its history, its tūrangawaewae as tūrangawaewae, its development and consolidation over space and time, I am guided by my sense of tikanga. I want to construct the image of Kapa Haka as a mauri, a character in the creation of a modern Māori identity – in action as well as in concept.

Upon reflection, my encounters with Māori performance, during the time when Māori language and culture were largely being repressed and lost, were far more numerous and varied than might be assumed. Just as my own parentage is split between the European and the Māori, so too was my community: Pirongia (Alexandra). On the one side, there was Catholic Church pageantry and choir, daily school songs and marches, rugby and netball. I studied opera and lieder. On the other: marae ritual, protocol, concert parties, and of course lullabies. I found myself, as if by accident, in the wharenui and the wharekai, and in our own immense backyard, mostly watching on the sidelines as my elders sang, danced, told stories and argued. Those momentary experiences, fragments really, of Māori performance of my youth, as shared by those around me, came to be interwoven into Kapa Haka at the same time that our idea of who we were as Māori was evolving, becoming consolidated into something shared in performance and performed in the wider culture. Kapa Haka – for all its 'inventedness', its not-traditional traditionalism – provided a platform on which we could begin to put the pieces of our cultural identity together into a coherent, consistent whole.

I began as 'Bernadette'. I learnt opera and other forms of European music, and I was headed towards a career as a singer, when I fell into Kapa Haka. What happened? Something was unfolding before me that I was yet to understand. When did I first realise there was more to me, to who I was as a person in mid-century New Zealand, than 'Bernadette' could encompass? I have watched my own children and grandchildren imitating us as we practise to perform, in the same way that I, when I was a child, imitated my elders. I have vivid memories as a child, watching and listening to my Māori mother and her contemporaries singing together, as a collective from the community we lived in, as a hapū we belonged to, either at home or at the Pirongia Community Centre now known as Pūrekireki Marae. Pirongia, as a community where many Māori lived, did not have its own marae when I was growing up. In the 1950s a local whānau gifted an acre of land to build a community centre,

initially a one-building structure. Eventually the centre acquired a dining hall and thirty years later it was decided to add on a wharenui and Pūrekireki Marae was born.

I heard songs in our family home and in the homes of whānau and friends. As they went through their repertoire of choice – I remember 'E te iwi'[21] – heavily loaded with Māori song and dance, they would accompany themselves on the ukulele, guitar, piano, piano accordion and slap base (a kind of drum made from a tea chest and one long string attached to it that was plucked like a double bass). The instruments, that is, were European, legacies of colonisation. I mentioned the song 'E te iwi' above. At the time I thought the song belonged to our community, but now I know it belongs to Ngāti Awa iwi; we borrowed it and changed some words to suit us, as was common practice. My whānau often held parties at home, because of the standing my parents had in our small community; not inside our house but in our backyard which was under cover so it was eminently suitable. People would sit around in a circle so they could see each other which made it easier for them to sing along. The people playing instruments would sit together as a band and accompany the singing. I remember my mother would sometimes play the piano and sometimes the ukulele; whatever best suited the song they were singing. The rest of the band members were men. Those men who did not play any instruments would gather to stand at one end of the yard drinking and singing when they felt inclined to. This stance of the males could be said to have been the norm. When we look at records of early haka performances, back in the times of myths, they more often than not describe dancing groups as comprising of women only performers. In support of this I quote from the narrative of Tinirau and Kae as written in the book *Kia Rōnaki The Māori Performing Arts* by Rachael Ka'ai Mahuta. She says: "*Te Waka o Hine-te-iwaiwa,* the canoe that the *kapa haka wāhine* (group of female performers) travels on, is launched. There are

[21] 'E te iwi' was a song borrowed from Ngāti Awa iwi. This was and still is a common practice. Their name for it was 'E te tau', and it was composed by Hari Wairama Rereti for his wife Riripeti Takarehu Hohapata.

forty women on board including Hine-te-iwaiwa, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka and Ruahau-a-Tangaroa" (sic) (7).

It was not a time for dancing, even though there was ample room. It was all about the singing but sometimes a small group, usually of women of a similar age, would stand up to do actions. They would form rows at the other end of the yard, opposite to where the men were standing and in full view of the gathering. The actions they used were simple and easy to follow and the women were very graceful when they swayed their bodies to the beat of the music. (Actions seem to have become more and more complex over the years.) This made it easy for everyone to enjoy their performance, including us children who were allowed to be present for a time. Our job was to carry jugs of yellow plum brew around, which my father had made, and keep the glasses full. At some time during the evening we were sent to bed but we had enjoyed the singing and the performance of the actions was imprinted in my mind. That much I do remember.

The tunes were a mix of pop, copied from the radio, and what we might now call traditional Māori. (I will return to elaborate on this issue of composed tradition further on in this chapter.) The language was a mix of English and te reo, on topics that were current, in contexts ranging from ritual and protocol, to work, concerts and other entertainments. For example "Hupeke Gang" a song composed by Tuini Ngawai from Tokomaru Bay. (It is also known as "What a Dopey Gang"). Tuini was responsible for establishing the concert party Te Hokowhitu-(ā-Tū) in Tokomaru Bay in the 1930s. They travelled the East Coast with Tā Apirana Ngata in his move to raise funds to support the Second World War effort. Te Hokowhitu-(ā-Tū) also competed in the Tamararo Kapa Haka[22] competitions (in the early years) held annually in Gisborne, winning many times. (The kapa haka never really ceased operating but has been brought back to the current Kapa Haka arena and has competed at

[22] These haka competitions are named for Karaitiana Tamararo of the East Coast, an exponent of haka and also an accomplished sportsman.

recent Te Matatini competitions, making the finals at least twice in three attempts.) At one time in her life Ngawai became a shearer in order to work closer with the community she lived in. The song below talks about the activities of the shearing gangs and was composed to relieve the boredom of daily routine. The full version can be accessed in the book *Tuini; Her Life and Her Songs*. The first verse reads:

> "What a Dopey gang mo te huke all the time
> Kia boomerang ka karanga ki nga fleecos
> Mauria mai he tar kua motu a blue eye" (105).

The mingling of languages and cultural referents was often humorous, both pastiche and parody, and more often than not directed towards politics that were often wide-ranging, for example, 'Te Mātauranga o Te Pākehā' written by Tuini Ngawai in Kāretu, 1975. This song talks about being wary of Pākehā education and social welfare reforms as they did not seem to be helping Māori people to regain their prior wealth and health. The kaupapa, however, were rarely conflicting, for instance 'Mihini ātea' composed by Dr. Peter Sharples for Te Rōpū Manutaki kapa haka as a waiata-ā-ringa for the 1983 Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Competition held in Hastings. This talks about how children are becoming addicted to 'space game' machines which detract them from healthy exercise.

Tīmoti Kāretu, who is now one of the foremost writers and commentators on Māori Performing Arts and language, and who was a performer in 1972, remembers learning to sing and dance this way:

> He nui ngā tamariki i kuraina ki Hukarere me Te Aute, ā, hoki mai ana i ngā wā hararei kua ako mātou i ngā waiata 'hou' i whakahokia mai e ēnei i te kura. I taua wā rā ko te nuinga ko ngā waiata a Tuini Ngāwai, takitahi nei nā mātou ake engari kāore hoki mātou, tamariki nei, i mōhio i taua wā rā nō reira kē mai te nuinga o ngā waiata i

> ako rā mātou i te kura. Haka ana ngā pakeke ko mātou ēnā kei muri e whaiwhai atu ana me te aha mau ana i a mātou ngā kupu, ngā ringa me te tū.
>
> A lot of children went to school at Hukarere and Te Aute and when they came home for the holidays we would learn the 'new' songs that they brought back from these schools. At that time the majority of the songs were by Tuini Ngawai. We all thought they were our own songs but as we were children we didn't know at that time that most of the songs we learnt at school were from there. As our elders did the haka we stood behind following them eventually grasping the words, actions and stance. [23]

Kāretu's memories are reflected among many of his and my contemporaries. His recollections here reinforce the sense that the intermingling of cultures was reflected in our day-to-day performances, especially in the way songs travelled and were transformed between the various environments we inhabited. This was where the Māori cultural traditional performance met the new culture of modern, popular song and drew it into itself to invent a new tradition of Māori cultural performance. What happened in the development of Kapa Haka as an 'invented tradition' could not be the untangling of these choral threads, but rather a re-framing of them together in a new social context for political and cultural reasons.

There was a great freedom in these earlier performances. Tucked away from the dominant Pākehā culture (but with a stream of Pākehā still woven into this whakapapa by way of relationships by marriage, co-workers or close friends), they were a way for us – or at least our elders – to talk amongst ourselves. No one else was listening, or if they were, the probability that they could understand what we were saying to each other through our song and dance was slight. But of course, many of us watching lacked fluency and knowledge as well. It was not until I had my own first experience in a kapa haka, many years later, that I realised what the community were performing were waiata-ā-ringa. I understood little of the

[23] Tīmoti Kāretu personal correspondence, November 2013.

language and even less of the relationship between the performance and the traditions from which it had arisen. What I saw at the time was simply song and dance, heartfelt and meaningful to my elders, and entertaining for the rest of us. As such, Kapa Haka was a way of stepping outside the everyday, still colonised, experience of mid-twentieth century Aotearoa/New Zealand.

As my exposure to these performances accumulated, I began to realise I was different to most of my Pākehā classmates, and that somehow these performances by my mother and her friends and whānau were part of what made me different. They stirred my emotions, seemed signs of an identity I could not quite grasp, but because of the way Pākehā and Māori we co-mingled, including in my own family, it did not make sense to claim an identity on one side or the other of the cultural divide. It was not until I was ten and we moved from living in Pirongia, in the country, to living in the nearest town, Te Awamutu, that I began to piece that identity together. My older sister, Haupai Puke, recalls my mother being active in Kapa Haka before this time. "Don't forget that before this Mum used to come in to Te Awamutu College and tutor the Māori culture group[24]. I was in Form 3 and 4 when that happened so that was before we moved to Te Awamutu to live."[25]

Living in the country, I was unaware of what it was to be Māori, to be different, because in our small community of about three hundred people, marae experiences were shared by all. This was brought about by early Pākehā settlers marrying local Māori women and acquiring land which kept them in the vicinity of the community. Racial intermarriage produced a common whakapapa in a mixed community and so too a sense of harmony – or at least not of disharmony. This harmony disappeared when we moved to Te Awamutu, and I began to see my identity through the eyes of others. Or rather, I became an *other*, identified as Māori, as different from the majority, for the first time in a more urban New Zealand

[24] Note the term Māori culture group, not Kapa Haka.
[25] Haupai Puke personal conversation, October 2014.

environment. I went to church and to school, started training as a classical singer, and being busy, with no marae to hand, I (mostly) forgot about Māori song and dance.

I recently attended a tangihanga where, during a shared meal with people I grew up with, this particular topic came up for discussion. The group, both Pākehā and Māori, expressed the same sentiments. As locals in a small community we naturally shared in Māori ritual practices. We all noted that this interaction changed when we left our small community and moved to town. However none of us had the answer as to why this might have happenned other than the degree of size of either community. It is not easy to live and theorise at the same time.

During my form two year (year eight), I was sent away to St. Joseph's Catholic Boarding School in Opunake, Taranaki, to further my education, and oddly enough it was there that I learned more about Māori culture and performance. It was common practice for us, the senior Māori girls, and some of our (mostly Pākehā) nuns to accompany the local (also Pākehā) priest during the weekends as he went to administer the sacraments to his Māori parishioners on their marae scattered around Mount Taranaki. Travelling with the priest, I saw people who were able to both reinforce their Catholicism and to maintain their Māori identity as being from the hapū of the particular marae we visited. I did more than watch. I became a member of a performing Māori cultural group. After Mass we would entertain those people present while kai was being prepared for all. We sang Māori songs – 'E Waka e'[26], for example – that were familiar to everyone present, performing with actions, steps and gestures that illustrated the words and commented on the meaning. ('E Waka e' is also a song that has been appropriated by other iwi and claimed as their own, as the words can be applied to many situations). It talked about the people of Rima Wakarua doing the tasks they needed

[26] E Waka e - a waiata-ā-ringa composed by Poutini Pirikahu of Ngā Rauru iwi of South Taranaki for Rima Wakarua who became Chair of the Taranaki Trust Board in 1924. He began work to reclaim land or gain compensation for the land that was taken by the government after the Land Wars of the 1860s.

to do as youth of Taranaki when they travelled to various places. It also reminded him that they were trying to uphold all he felt was necessary to do to get those tasks done.

Often the audience sang along. They would be seated in the wharekai, partaking of their meal, as we entertained them. We would stand in a space set aside out of the way of foot traffic, close to the kitchen. We numbered around twenty girls and had a small repertoire of waiata-ā-ringa, hīmene and poi. Actions composed in that era were usually standard across rohe, among different iwi. If there were words of welcome such as 'haere mai' we learnt that the left hand would lie across the waist at a ninety degree angle and wiri and the right hand would reach up at a ninety degree angle and wiri to the right side of the head.

As we were representing Taranaki our feet movement were from their style – left foot not moving and the right foot only slightly lifting off the floor in a mild stamp. For some of us who were from iwi other than Taranaki this could be inhibiting. I often wanted to lift my right foot in a complete backward swing, bending both knees, and to create a strong right-side movement of the whole body. At that time I did not know I had Ngāti Porou blood. I remember a few years later, when I was sixteen and performing, my mother saying to me as she watched me, 'Well you definitely have got Ngāti Porou in your right foot!". So, already, in my early years of performing I was learning that style of performance was linked to identity but I was yet to come to terms with what that really meant.

From what I remember we were not very accomplished but nonetheless enjoyed the performance and gave our all. We did not have the usual costume of embroidered pari, underskirt and piupiu, but rather wore our Sunday best. It was a uniform that girls of the boarding school of St. Joseph's convent wore to church or on special outings such as that described in this section. Once the tangata whenua had eaten, and we had finished performing, we would sit down to eat as well, as was the custom. Sometimes, because of the Priest needing to service a parish spread around Taranaki Mountain, we would visit more

than one marae, so would not eat until after the last karakia and performance. (As an aside this act of taking the Christian God to these communities has ceased. Perhaps it is a sign that these Māori no longer accept this kind of colonisation.)

It was 1963. My cultural performance rōpū was not the first to be formed, or perhaps significant in any way beyond my own little circle at the time. But the times were starting to change, and that we were young people performing for the older members of our community meant that we were unknowingly being charged with an obligation: to carry forward the practices of the past in a way that remained recognisable to the elders and could be meaningful to us. We were learning to be Māori by performing Māori. Watching us, they were remembering themselves at our age, and seeing us as the future. We made the past momentarily present, in our song and dance, our performance of the repertoire, and they confirmed its value in joining in.

We learnt the repertoire then much as rōpū do now: our tutors would sing a phrase, we would repeat; they would demonstrate steps and gestures, we would imitate. Nothing was written down. The act of learning was physical, immediate, and reflexive – through the body to the being. We were fortunate that some of us came from Te Arawa, an area well-versed in Māori performing arts mainly due to years of entertaining tourists. These fellow students were our instructors and leaders, because they had much more experience in Māori performing arts than we had, and had already acquired an extensive repertoire that we could learn. One of our music teachers, a local Māori woman who taught us classical European music performance, history and theory, also taught us haka and waiata.

We drew the pieces of our performances into our bodies, so that it seemed we knew them as we knew ourselves. But the learning was still rote: we performed aspects of tikanga and protocol without knowing what they were and sang in te reo without knowing what the words meant. Unlike the elders for whom we performed, we knew little of the rituals and

customary practices we were representing – so little, that we did not even know what we were missing. We performed as a duty and for pleasure. Even as we came to identify ourselves more definitively as Māori as a result, consciousness of what this might mean, of the politics of being Māori, came later. One question I will be asking in this thesis, therefore, is how can the performance of repertoire in this way meet or fall short of the idealisation of 'repertoire' as presented by Diana Taylor.

Once I reached high school (Sacred Heart Catholic Girls' College in Hamilton), I began to identify myself as Māori, and the friends who gathered round me were more often Māori than not. In retrospect, I believe we Māori girls kept together even when we were not performing because we felt it necessary to strengthen our identity, as being Māori together was all we had to remind us we were Māori. By this time I had acquired an extensive repertoire of Māori song and dance and was actively doing whatever I could to practise and learn more. One of our group, Maria Tini, nee Bradshaw, who hailed from Tūhourangi , Ngāti Wāhiao, Rotorua, and was also a strong Ngāi Tahu woman, had grown up amongst tourist enterprises; she was used to performing from an early age and very knowledgeable. With Maria's help and guidance, I soon found myself being called on to tutor our high school rōpū. We performed purely for entertainment, but also as part of the ritual of pōwhiri - how strange that was! For the first time I was experiencing being separated from my peers - singled out to perform. As Māori we were consciously seeking a way to be different and being supported in that by the request to perform the pōwhiri. Our identity was brought to the forefront. It was no longer casual to be Māori. It was a performance – ritualised and isolated by performance of pōwhiri. This was important culturally. Formally, language and identity were still repressed and exoticised – isolated outside the mainstream of school. I did not learn te reo at school because it was not taught. However we were still required to be Māori and were expected to perform as Māori. It did not occur to me that pōwhiri had anything to with

what I was doing in entertainment. If the pōwhiri at our school was required, we performed it with the knowledge that we were Māori integral to the experience.

I was still studying, performing and competing in classical European music. In opera performance I was identified as a growing star, 'the next Kiri Te Kanawa', with a promising career in Europe to look forward to.[27] But I was more and more drawn toward Māori performance. Opera was a largely individualist pursuit, practised in relative seclusion. I could speak a little of some of the languages I sang in but they were not relevant to me beyond the singing. It was competitive in ways that were markedly different from Māori performing arts competitions. I was continuously striving to be the soloist in the spotlight at the expense of other girls. I was expected to travel on my own, and to fend for myself. I was being judged at every interval by teachers, peers, directors and audiences. Even so, I do admit to having acquired some great singing skills that helped me tremendously in Māori performance. In contrast, Māori performance was a communal practice. Each of us was expected to demonstrate skill and grace in singing and dancing. We all performed together for a common kaupapa. Competition on the Māori festival stage was a shared celebration of our collective identity as Māori.

My mother participated directly in my development, pointing me toward a local Māori youth group who had a performing group called Te Rau Aroha. It was while in this rōpū that I met my future husband, Paraire Henare Tomoana Huata, and together throughout the ensuing years we performed and competed nationally and performed internationally. Te Rau Aroha's tutor was Te Kenana Wi Te Tau Huata, my future father-in-law and a Māori Anglican Missionary based in Hamilton. I credit much of what I now know and do as a performer of Māori culture, of Kapa Haka, to this early mentor. It was as a performer in his adult rōpū – He Toa Takitini, representing Waikato/Maniapoto – that I arrived at my first

[27] Sue Cornwell, 'She doesn't want to copy Kiri . . .' *The Waikato Times*, Saturday 30 October 1965.

national competition. It was the very first National Māori Performing Arts Festival, called then the Polynesian Festival, held at Rotorua in 1972.

My story is one of many that converged at that first National Festival. The next chapter will deal with the ambitions of the first organisers of the Festival, its original kaupapa, structures, contents and achievements. For now, let me say that 1972 was a time of great awakenings amongst Māori: anger at more than a century of colonial oppression and repression of te reo and tikanga; recognition of the losses incurred by the movement of Māori from the countryside to the cities; growing isolation from each other due to a breakdown of tribal and familial structures and identifications – that is, a weakening of our sense of whakapapa and tūrangawaewae. For us, in 1972, the Festival set a stage for the recuperation of our culture and identity. It allowed us to practise and promote the primary attributes of our people, to stage a conversation amongst ourselves, in a place defined by ourselves for that purpose, in much the same way as in my early marae experiences. We began to write songs and choreograph performances about what was happening around us. It was not just about entertaining ourselves; rather we wanted to remind ourselves that all was not well in our world and argue for what we should do about it. Kahu Pou is from Ngāti Konohi iwi of Whāngārā and has been a performer for the Auckland Anglican Māori Club kapa haka. She has also judged at Te Matatini and comes from a family heavily involved in Kapa Haka. She has attended most national festivals but was only a spectator at the first Festival in 1972. Her most recent judging experience was at Te Arawa in 2013. She comments on the themes of composition. She states: "Compositions today include political issues, social issues, Te Reo me ona tikanga, education, land issues, health issues, strong whanau values".[28]

The way my own history is reflected in the wider social history, provokes me to ask - How did we lose our connection to home? How did we drift away from traditions? The

[28] Kahu Pou personal correspondence, November 2013.

further away we got from the marae the more political we got and the more important it was to be Māori, to find ways to express being Māori. But it took time, and Kapa Haka played a critical role in giving us a reason to revive te reo and tikanga.

With the onset of the Second World War young Māori, who were not considered suitable for battle, were encouraged to move to the cities as a workforce for the industrial growth of the time. They were keen to do this as it provided a new and exciting lifestyle for them – they were following the 'rainbow', that is, the possibility of a 'pot of gold'. This also saw a generation of speakers of te reo putting their language aside to be able to better communicate in English, the language of the cities and work places. Thus began the major demise of te reo, although the oppression of te reo had already begun during the time of native schools when Māori children were discouraged from speaking Māori at school. The following is a statement by Matsubara on children being punished if they spoke Māori in school. "A survey conducted in the 1970s reveals that 40 per cent of 6,925 respondents were punished in some way for speaking Māori at school. (Benton 1985a:94). The number who claim that they had physical punshiment was 1,827(29.5%)" (40). Sir James Henare was responsible for proposing the establishment of Kōhanga Reo in the early 80s, as a way of revitalising te reo and providing access to learning te reo. The following quote about Sir James Henare supports the prior statement made by Matsubara. Henare talks about an incident that he remembers in relation to not being allowed to speak his native tongue at school.

> In the mid-1950s Sir James Henare remembered many years earlier being sent into the bush to cut a piece of pirita (supplejack vine) with which he was struck for speaking te reo in the school grounds. One teacher told him that 'English is the bread-and-

> butter language, and if you want to earn your bread and butter you must speak English.'[29]

Most Māori families believed that speaking English, which was the language of schools and employment, would open up more doors for Māori people to access wealth and better standards of living. The 1960s saw whole families moving to the cities and the beginnings of intermarriage not only with Pākehā but also with Māori from other iwi, so further removing Māori from any stable identity they would have had back in the rural communities. The 'Urban Māori' entry in *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand* tells the story.

> Inevitably, with more contact, intermarriage increased significantly during the 1960s. The greater mobility of Māori people also gave rise to more intermarriage between members of different tribes. In the larger towns and cities Māori met a wider range of potential companions than that in their own home communities, where marriage was mainly based on kinship and locality.
>
> By the 1960s the children of these marriages were the first generation to grow up in the city. Many of these children could claim affiliation to more than one tribe, but nonetheless their upbringing was quite different from that of their migrant parents.[30]

Importantly for this thesis this migration brought with it a number of economic, social and identity problems, but it also gave rise to 'new' song clubs and concert parties that played a huge part in helping the urban Māori maintain some of the Māori identity they brought with them. Initially they met in community halls, but eventually they began to build marae on the style that they knew from their tribal bases in their rural homes. Some marae were built by iwi groups who had migrated, for example the Tūhoe marae, Te Tira Hou, in Māngere, South Auckland, but most were known as pan-tribal marae. In the big cities the first marae were Te

---

[29] History of Māori language – Maori Language Week | NZHistory. Accessed on 9 September, 2014. http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/maori-language-week/history-of-the-maori-language

[30] Urbanisation – Urban Māori – Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand accessed on September 9, 2014 http://teara.govt.nz/en/urban-maori/page-1

Puea marae in Mangere, Hoani Waititi marae in West Auckland, Pipitea marae in Wellington Rehua and Ngā Hau E Whā marae in Christchurch. As part of social interaction and a need to remember who they were and retain their cultural expressions, including tikanga and te reo, kapa haka grew up out of these urban marae. For example the kapa haka, Te Rōpū Manutaki, which was established by Dr. Peter Sharples, his friends and wider whānau, made their base at Hoani Waititi marae. This was because most of the performers lived in West Auckland where Hoani Waititi Marae was built. Ngāti Pōneke kapa haka began life in a downtown Wellington community hall and eventually found a stable home at Pipitea marae, built a few blocks away. Te Tira Hou also bred a kapa haka but this was iwi based and every two years they would return to the Tūhoe Ahurei[31] to compete. I remember my mother, my father-in-law and some other notable Māori leaders of Hamilton city community proposing the setting up of an urban marae under the auspices of the group Ngāti Hamutana. This did not eventuate in their time but some year's later Te Kohao o Te Ngira in Dey Street, Hamilton, was built and the Ngā Tama-ā-rangi kapa haka made that marae their home base. However a Catholic marae, Hui Te Rangiora, was opened in 1964 and it also became the home base for a kapa haka called Te Iti Kahurangi (no relation to the current group of that name) with Tīmoti Kāretu as its tutor.

Parallel to these developments in Kapa Haka there was much going on in the wider community as with urban Māori groups such as Ngā Tamatoa. Ngā Tamatoa was a group of young Māori activists from all walks of life and drawn from all over the country: among them students, homemakers, academics, industrial workers, lawyers. They protested against the government's contact with South Africa because of South Africa's apartheid policies and were highly visible during the protests of the Springbok's rugby tour in 1981. They, along with the members of the Waitangi Action Group which originated in the north by such people

[31] I describe this hui and others more fully in a later chapter.

as Hone Harawira and Hilda Halkyard, protested against the government's inability to ratify the Treaty of Waitangi and settle claims. Another activist group was the Te Reo Māori Society who fought to get te reo recognised as an official language of Aotearoa/New Zealand. These groups, and their actions, began to form a new kind of identity for Māori, one that was associated with public performances of their disagreement with the government and one that was not iwi based but rather a national identity. This was something that many iwi were not pleased with but were reluctant to interfere. It was not that the members of these groups did not know their own, individual whakapapa. It was more that, as national collectives, they could have a bigger voice in issues concerning iwi. In her discussion on the *Treaty of Waitangi*, Claudia Orange gives some background to these movements. She states:

> Māori protest in the 1970s owed much to the activities of the groups and organisations born of increased Māori urbanisation and education. . . . A succession of groups began to challenge the Pākehā record in fulfilling the treaty promises – Ngā Tamatoa, Te Kotahitanga (revived in the 1960s), the Māori Organisation of Human Rights . . . the cry of the modern protest groups was initially for a greater Pākehā awareness and acceptance of Māoritanga – the whole complex of Māori culture and identity. (245)

Ngā Tamatoa supported the Te Reo Māori Society in the promotion of the Māori language towards being made an official language of Aotearoa/New Zealand in the hope that giving it more mana may halt the growing loss. They were responsible for the establishment of Māori Language week in 1975 and in 1987 they were successful along with Te Reo Māori Society in getting te reo Māori recognised as an official language of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Ngā Tamatoa did not practise Kapa Haka but they were part of the wider movement in which Kapa Haka played a key role. Many of us who were involved in Kapa Haka were also part of Ngā Tamatoa. As we created our new songs and dances for the Kapa Haka stage, we

incorporated these kaupapa of activism.[32] When we turned up to a gathering of Ngā Tamatoa and music was required, we would come to the front to perform what we performed on the stage. I remember singing with a group of sixty or so people outside the Auckland High Court, which included both Māori and Pākehā. This exemplified how performance and social action were linked productively at a key moment in history. Tim Shadbolt, (recent Mayor of Invercargill), an Auckland University student at that time and a frequent protester, and John Minto, who was already the leader of an activist group called HART (Halt all racist tours) were there supporting us. The group assumed the name 'He tauā'.[33] We were protesting at the University of Auckland's Engineering School students denigrating the haka. The protest gained national recognition and was reported on in most daily newspapers and Television One. Protest was a popular movement in which I participated. It took a long time for it to be meaningful and that is what this thesis is about. We were not just 'clowns' and 'troubadours' but activists.

The Festival in 1972 was a kind of hinge or pivot point in the development of Kapa Haka as a performance practice that was engaged then (as now) in a meaningful discussion of what it meant to be Māori in the modern society that is Aotearoa/New Zealand. This is not to say that in 1972 the way we performed and thought of ourselves as Māori abruptly changed. In my own case, it was gradually that my ability to sing as a European came into conflict with my singing as Māori that I had to let go of the one and commit to the other.

When I returned to study at the University of Waikato in 1978 I gave up singing opera and luckily found an outlet for my expression by singing with Hirini Melbourne at his invitation. Our first project was a whakaari put together by ourselves and students of both Māori departments (the University Māori department and the Hamilton Teachers' Training

---

[32] Basil Keane. 'Ngā rōpū tautohetohe – Māori protest movements – Cultural rights'. *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 19 – Mar – 14. Accessed October 21, 2014. 3.50pm.
[33] 'Mocked haka proved a turning point – National News – TVNZ'. Published: 7.13pm Friday May 01, 2009. Source: *ONE NEWS*. May 1, 1979. He tauā.

College Māori department) and the Physical Education department of the Hamilton Teachers' Training College which was on the same campus as the University.[34] The performers were Māori students from the College and the University and some children, two of whom were mine. They danced as insects, birds and trees while Hirini and I, and some other students, sang his songs of the same kaupapa. Henry Hakopa, one of the students, accompanied us on his guitar. It was a new experience for me and I had to work hard to suppress my voice as it was well practised at projection and was too dominating.

It was the beginning of my coming to understand that Māori performance, especially Kapa Haka, was about the group not the individual. As a group we were bringing our kaupapa to the performance stage to be listened to by the audience, to be commented on, to be argued about and discussed, to be admired and enjoyed, or not. It was no longer just about 'Bernadette' as an accomplished individual performer but about the group. This of course was the extension of who our group was as a hapū, as a whānau. It was not that I could not use the skills I had acquired during my training as a classical and opera singer, I could. Some would say that what I did was not necessary as other opera singers have performed for other kapa haka and maintained their own style, such as Dolly Brennan in Ngā Pūmanawa E Waru kapa haka from Te Arawa. However Dolly was heard as a soloist who did not adversely affect the whole group but gave it an edge over others. When she performed as part of the whole group her voice became part of the whole and did not stand out. I just had to learn how to modify what I knew how to do so it worked for the rest of the group as well. I had to be more aware of the tonality of my voice and how to moderate it to suit the group. I also had to learn to interpret melodies in a different way; to not adhere strictly to how the melody was written in terms of musical notation but to stretch and slide it to sound more Māori. It was

[34] Amalgamation of the Hamilton Teachers' College and the University of Waikato took place in 1991 and the Teachers' College is now known as the School of Education and is part of the wider university.

during this time that I experienced another shift in my identity – moving from singing in a very European way to a much more Māori way. It seemed a natural progression for me and one I pursued avidly.

I look at early tourist performance in some detail in the next chapter however let me say now that the tourist performance of today, especially that still based in Rotorua, probably goes some way to maintaining the idyll about Aotearoa/New Zealand. This is, that it is 'a land of peace and harmony' and continues to use the stage as a 'national theatre' to portray the happy, content Māori 'at home'. Certainly that kind of catch phrase entices overseas visitors to our shores thereby adding to the economy of our country, but what about the identity? The question may be - have we moved beyond the tourist performance to something else in order to secure a national identity? The bigger question may be, in relation to this thesis, is - has Kapa Haka, in fact, given both Māori and non-Māori, a clearer picture as to who makes up our country's peoples? Maybe we derive a stronger identity from Kapa Haka, as performance grows on the national stage, at all levels of delivery, from Primary School competitions to Te Matatini, and moves further away from tourist performance. Does this move make Kapa Haka less in the margins of society, to being more part of the mainstream of society, or does it rather further internalise where only Māori engage with it, where only Māori can identify themselves with it, in a traditional or modern way? The tourist performance itself is in as much demand as it ever was and this is evident in the growth of the number of performances on offer for the tourist consumption right across the nation and beyond. However it has become a prop, economic or otherwise, for performers in the bigger arena of Kapa Haka, in Te Matatini. By a prop I mean that some of those who perform on the national stage are also fortunate enough to have tourist performance as an outlet to keep them Kapa Haka 'fit'. Tourist performance is also a way for them to earn money, as often as possible, to support their appearances on the bigger stage. I have had many discussions with

performers from Rotorua, who are also students at Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato University, about why they continually return home on the weekends to give tourist performances. Their responses were as above – to earn money and keep Kapa Haka 'fit'. It seems that tourist performance has ceased being just a way to identify oneself as a Māori, whether in a traditional or modern way. As this thesis progresses I hope to show that a transference of identity, in the same shape or changed, has occurred from that provided by tourist performance to that provided by Kapa Haka as it appears on the Te Matatini stage.

It is in the context of World War 1 that we see the emergence of three key actors on the cultural stage, as Huata notes that "all across the country Sir Apirana Ngata, Tuini Ngawai, and Te Puea Herangi were busy organising their own concert groups to raise funds for the war effort" (71). It should be noted that these luminaries owe something of their attachment to cultural performance to Makareti Papakura.[35] It was not just tourist shows who followed in her footsteps. The performative groundwork laid by these three key figures, and others, in Māori social and political history paved the way for Kapa Haka to come to the fore in terms of creating a modern Māori identity. These people were accredited with the creation of Kapa Haka in the modern world, in the post contact period. Tā Apirana Ngata, Te Puea Herangi, Paraire Tomoana, and Tuini Ngāwai soon after, began composing and establishing Māori concert parties at the time that Makareti ceased engaging in that activity. For the first three their purpose was similar, that is, holding concerts to raise funds for the war effort and to put money in to the development of farming activities on the East Coast and later in the Waikato. This was in order for Māori whānau to regain some economic stability through farming the land they had retained.

Te Puea Herangi had a further kaupapa and that was to construct a marae where she could house the orphans that she cared for. These were children she had rescued from

[35] We discuss Makareti further in Chapter Two.

Mangatāwhiri, a pā where she lived and a former battleground. These children had been struck down with influenza, a disease which infected them after the Māori land wars finished. Fetunnai Varea writes in the *NZ Journal of Public History*:

> She was dissatisfied with the swampy conditions at Mangatawhiri and wished to make a new start in the wake of the tragic influenza epidemic of late 1918, which had struck the settlement with devastating effect, leaving a quarter of the people dead. Te Puea gathered up 100 orphaned children from lower Waikato and placed them in the care of the remaining families. But she needed a better home for them. (20)

This saw a collaboration between Te Puea Herangi and Tā Apirana Ngata where he initially invited her and her troupe, Te Pou o Mangatāwhiri, to put on concerts on the East Coast, to raise funds for her marae. Eventually Tā Apirana Ngata also helped Te Puea Herangi build Tūrangawaewae marae in Ngāruawahia by providing skilled artists in tukutuku and carving from the East Coast to work alongside those of Waikato. When the marae was finished, the wharenui was named Mahinārangi, after the Kahungunu chieftainess from the East Coast who married a Waikato ancestor, Tūrongo. To maintain the close connection between the East Coast and Waikato, the wharenui was opened by, Arihia, the wife of Ngata. Te Puea Herangi had intended Mahinārangi to be used as a hospital, as by this time, the early twenties, she had become interested in promoting women's health, especially Māori women. However this did not eventuate because the health department deemed the whare not suitable as a hospital.

Kapa Haka for these three, propped up their engagement in the political and social struggle for their Māori people. For example Tomoana supported Ngata in farm and stock investment and Ngata supported Te Puea Herangi to build Tūrangwaewae marae. Kapa Haka also strengthened Māori identity in terms of one iwi knowing and having connections to one another, for example, Ngata of Ngāti Porou and Herangi of Waikato. Even though Te Puea

Herangi helped in raising funds for the war effort she was also instrumental in fighting against the government so her men would not be conscripted to the war. As much as Ngata was supportive of his people fighting in wars overseas and answering the governments call to arms, Herangi was opposed to it. She was guided by what Tāwhiao had said when he laid down his arms at Arekahanara. Varea comments again:

> Kingitanga leader Te Puea Herangi maintained that her grandfather, King Tawhiao, had forbidden Waikato to take up arms again when he made peace with the Crown in 1881. She was determined to uphold his call to Waikato to 'lie down' and 'not allow blood to flow from this time on'. Te Puea maintained that Waikato had 'its own King' and didn't (sic) need to 'fight for the British King'. (21)

Herangi did not believe that the government of the time had given her reason as to why her people should fight and maybe die for a land and cause far across the waters when they had been dispossessed of their own lands here in Aotearoa/New Zealand. She composed a number of songs around this time in response to conscription. Some of these were 'Ngā Rā o Hune', 'E huri rā koe', and 'Kāti nei e te iwi, tō kumekumeroa'.[36] However the bond between Tā Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi was such that the social and political needs of their peoples at home, which they constantly worked for, kept them as allies.

As he was living and working in Wellington at the time, Tā Apirana Ngata named the kapa haka – Ngāti Pōneke Young Māori Club- which was established in 1937. It was to become a second home for young Māori from many different iwi, who migrated from many rural areas of the country. This club still competes at national level today. It was one of the earliest pan-tribal kapa haka and is still composed of people from many different iwi. Through inter-tribal marriage, a number may now claim identity with Te Ati Awa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira, the tangata whenua of the rohe that encompasses Wellington.

[36] These songs are still sung today by Tainui people but some have had extra verses added to them to make sense for today.

Paraire Tomoana, a contemporary of Ngata, and a strong supporter of Ngata's war efforts and farming activities, set up a rōpū, later to be called Te Poi o Heretaunga. They gave performances to raise money for the soldiers' fund; attended Hetekia Te Kani Te Ua and Te Rina Ngata's[37] wedding; and also performed in Wellington at Ngata's invitation. Tomoana composed and published his famous song, E Pari Rā, in January 1918. (This was later gifted to the navy by his whānau who use it as their slow march.) The song was written in memory of those young Māori men who had fallen in World War One, especially for Whakatomo Ellison, a son of close relatives and friends.

Tomoana, Ngata and Te Puea Herangi were involved in the development of Kapa Haka around the same time. They enhanced the programmes seen prior in the shows of Makareti Papakura, by composing new songs to the rhythms and tunes of the then modern day European popular song. Sometimes it was a straight adoption of the tune they heard to be sung with Māori words, and other times they created their own tunes. To create a whole programme they would insert a whakaeke and a whakawātea at the beginning and end of each performance. These were initially choral works with Māori words.[38]

One of the most iconic pictures of a haka performance by Tā Apirana Ngata was captured by the Weekly News national newspaper of February 1940. He is standing in front of his rōpū, of soldiers from the 28th Battalion, performing a Ngāti Porou haka for the opening of the new whare rūnanga at Waitangi. The rōpū behind him are standing, following him with their actions. He has his sleeves rolled up, in order for him to perform the actions well and it showed that he was serious about what he was doing, to honour those with whom he was performing. The kaitātaki tāne of the rōpū can be seen following him while standing at one end of the rōpū. In this act of giving over the leadership, he is paying deference to

[37] Hetekia Te Kani Te Ua, himself a noted performer, was the chief of Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki, based at Waihirere near Gisborne. He was also responsible for encouraging Wiremu Kerekere to establish the now famous Waihirere Kapa Haka. His wife, Te Rina Ngata, was one of Tā Apirana's daughters.
[38] I will discuss this further in a later chapter. Suffice to say for now that whakaeke and whakawātea have exploded to include almost every aspect of Māori performing arts into one item.

Ngata as his rangatira. For Ngata, by dancing with his rōpū in this manner, the respect for him and dignity that he portrays, especially in a twentieth century Europeanised world, increases triple-fold. Here he is proud to display his identity as Māori, first to the wider audience and then as Ngāti Porou to his fighting men.

Tā Apirana Ngata, Te Puea Herangi and Paraire Tomoana successfully used Kapa Haka to achieve their hopes in terms of creating a social and political environment that would see the Māori people develop economically. Ngata was pivotal for them all and his role as facilitator in these activities proved vital for the growth of Māori in these areas.

In the 1930s he heard of a woman in Tokomaru Bay who had also begun composing in the same vein as himself and his friends, Te Puea Herangi and Tomoana. Her name was Tuini Ngawai and on meeting her Ngata encouraged her to establish a concert party. The outcome was the kapa haka that we know today as Te Hokowhitu(-ā-Tū). (This was the same name the 28th Māori Battalion used.) Ngawai used popular tunes of the day because that was what the young people listened to. It was her desire to get her immediate community to understand the politics of the day and to become involved. She found that composing as she did for a rōpū allowed this to happen. I have introduced one of her songs in an earlier discussion on the use of both Māori and English in the same song. She composed many songs in that vein but also many completely in Māori. One example of her compositions which talks about the dilemma that Māori people find themselves in as a result of the politics of the day was ‘Te Mātauranga o te Pākehā’. It decries the education system of that time as one that set Māori children up to fail, as the measure of success was a Pākehā measure. It was at that time, the 1930s, when Māori children were forbidden to speak Māori at school.

Ngata, Herangi and Tomoana, followed by Ngawai and others that we will talk about in future chapters, laid the groundwork for preserving kawa, tikanga and te reo via Kapa Haka. As pōwhiri and other kawa started to wane with the urban drift and loss of language,

we saw those practices being transferred to the stage. This was not only to preserve those practices, in a space other than the marae, but also to ensure that certain forms of Māori identity were maintained.

It is important, first, to take a step back and consider the case made by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal for the Whare Tapere in his unpublished doctoral dissertation *Te Whare Tapere – Towards a Model for Māori Performance Art,* as the authentic, pre-European Māori performance practice and his contestation, therefore, of the place of Kapa Haka in our social history. I would like to propose that the marae practices that come under the heading of Whare Tapere and the understanding of those practices were an important component of the practice that came to be known as Kapa Haka. Royal calls the Whare Tapere a performing house and the practice within performing arts, with games that are not really performances as such. He says that putting these games, identified as from the Whare Tapere, on the stage makes them other than what they are. As an aside I ask why Royal has not referred to the Whare Karioi, which was also present in earlier times as a house of entertainment. What belongs where?

The idealism goes beyond the description therefore it can be said the Kapa Haka stage is functioning as a Whare Tapere, for example, Waikato University has a Whare Tapere, a Performing Arts Academy. Each end of year practical examination for the Kapa Haka classes offered by the University are performed on this stage. Royal's discussion about Kapa Haka is possibly based on his desire for a pure form of Māori performance, untainted by colonisation, that can be directly attached as such to an authentic idea of Māori identity. The Whare Tapere, he believes, if restored to common practice today might affect a kind of de-colonisation of the Māori wairua whereas Kapa Haka, from his perspective, consolidates and congeals the more minstrel aspects of our contemporary culture. The terms 'consolidates' and 'congeals' mean the minstrel aspect is stuck with Kapa Haka. Who is to say that is not a good

thing? It is part of the development of the art form and inevitable. Where I tend to disagree with him is his describing a need to decolonise the Māori wairua. I ask the question – does the Māori wairua need decolonising? When I watch how some of our warriors, both male and female perform, the wairua that I experience from them is totally Māori as it emanates from Māori people. For some, when they leave the stage blood has been drawn, breath is ragged and brows are covered in sweat. For this to happen the Māori wairua would have been fully active.

Royal's thesis is all about a new model of Whare Tapere. He considers the historical Whare Tapere, an institution that fell into disuse in the 19th century. He argues:

> As we shall see the 'whare tapere' was a traditional institution of a pā based Māori society. In some cases it was a building set aside for the purposes of entertainment and storytelling, but in other cases it represented a particular area like an island, which was set aside for the same purpose. In all cases, the whare tapere stood for a collection of discrete activities whose overall description might fall under the title of 'entertainment', whether this be located in a particular building or not. (8)

Royal's statement regarding the 'historical' whare tapere falling into disuse in the 19th century causes me to ask what label the activities of concert parties in the 19th century, such as Maggie Papakura's, he would give. Her group grew out of the already established tourist shows mostly presented in Rotorua, but there are recorded instances of other groups giving performances elsewhere, (that is in New Plymouth, Mangahānea on the East Coast and Ngāruawahia). Huata in *The rhythm and life of poi,* records her Aunty Dolly saying:

> In 1936, the mayor of New Plymouth sent us an invitation for the grand opening of one of the halls and we stayed at Bell Block [a farm in the area]. ... And regattas! How we loved the regattas! The train used to leave at six and we would arrive at Ngāruawahia at eleven. We performed on a barge in the middle of the river and the canoe used to take

> us across to the barge. The most memorable item that brought us acclaim and the most popular crowd-pleaser was the poi waka.
>
> In 1945 we went to Mangahānea marae [near Ruatōria on the East Coast], where the Victoria Cross for Ngārimu was being presented to his people and we were asked to perform items. (68 - 69)

That is to say Māori performance was everywhere, part of daily life, whether or not there were Pākehā in the room. Royal is nostalgic for a pure past that never fully existed. Iwi were always in contact with each other. Before Europeans, iwi were often interacting with each other, exchanging and competing, in performance as with other resources.

Why else do we have pōwhiri if not to stage and celebrate our distinctive senses of identity – to perform whakapapa and tūrangawaewae? This was extremely evident when police and other government agents were given a pōwhiri on Rewarewa marae at Ruātoki. The purpose for the visit was to apologise to Tūhoe for what has been termed the 'Tūhoe Raids'. The marae was packed with Tūhoe people who gave the pōwhiri, dressed in clothing similar to what is worn on the Kapa Haka stage. The men wore maro; their faces were painted with moko (some were tattooed); most of the women wore the customary black clothes; but some wore maro as well with branches for bodices. Most of the rōpū were carrying weapons, either short or long as they did their haka pōwhiri. One could be excused for thinking a battle was imminent because of the fierce expressions on their faces. If Royal is clinging to pre-contact performance practices, lamenting loss due to contact and change overtime, then this change as witnessed closely resembles a pre-contact performance. He is nostalgic for a 'real', 'authentic' 'tradition' that can represent an intact Māori identity. Unfortunately that waka sailed long ago. New traditions evolve with time. Royal is correct to say it brings a change of life and changes performance identity, but wrong to think that the past can be resurrected from a frozen space in time and place. Bharucha argues forcefully, as we have seen, against

treating tradition as something frozen in time. New traditions can be invented that are more appropriate to these times. Māori need to take action in this complicated, new, modern society we live in.

It should also be considered that maybe the 'historical' practice that Royal describes changed and found other homes. One other 'home' that comes to mind is the new style of pā built by Ngata in his move to revive Māori arts and crafts, such as carving. The many new pā that he encouraged iwi to build were usually designed with a raised platform, which could be used as a stage, in the rear of the wharenui and wharekai, for example, Pākirikiri marae in Tokomaru Bay.

Royal states that whare tapere of old may refer not only to the building but more importantly a collection of activities: "In all cases, the whare tapere stood for a collection of discrete activities" (8). As such I would like to suggest that the whare tapere did not fall into disuse but instead found other places to flourish and develop, from Maggie Papakura's concert party, to Ngāti Pōneke Māori club, to kapa haka of today. That is, the physical structures may have come into disuse but not the art forms themselves. For example stick games are found in Kapa Haka performances, usually in the whakaeke. This stick throwing becomes performance because people want to display virtuosity, a clever 'wink' to the audience. The energy might change because we sit down to do some stick games or increase as we dance while using the tītītōrea, for example, Rākaumanga Junior's whakaeke at the Tainui Primary School Regionals, 2014.[39]

Royal also states as a matter of fact: "Mimesis is not present in Maōri culture" (12). Oddly, he makes this statement in the present as if mimesis is a new introduction to Māori cultural practice. If mimesis means a person playing the part of someone else or something

[39] Te Wharekura o Rākaumanga is a Composite (Total Immersion Reo Māori) School based in Huntly. They were screened on *Te Karere TVNZ news* on November 3, 2014, performing their whakaeke.

else then it certainly is a technique, like so many others, that Māori have adopted and incorporated into their cultural performances, for example, the early representation of Hinemoa and Tūtānekai in Maggie's concerts. For better or for worse this has drifted onto the Kapa Haka stage. But is not the Kapa Haka stage of today one of the best places to discuss and debate? Our compositions would say yes.

I would like to present a couple of examples of mimesis on the Kapa Haka stage to support my statements. My first example of mimesis takes place at the 1998 Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival (now known as Te Matatini), which was held in Wellington at Trentham Racecourse. The kapa haka, Waihirere, used kaihaka to act out Māui fishing up Aotearoa. A male kaihaka wearing a blue coloured rāpaki stood at the head of one half of the rōpū and imitated Aotearoa, the ika. (Hence the Māori name of the north island of New Zealand being Te Ika a Māui). As he, the 'ika' moved to dodge the matau a Māui, the rest of his rōpū would move with him, all the while humming a tune. Another male kaihaka wearing a different natural coloured rāpaki and acting as Māui, stood at the head of the other half of the rōpū, holding an oversized matau on a long rope. This was moved backwards and forwards, in a slashing manner, as if he was catching an ika. His half of the rōpū also moved in time with his slashing and hummed the same tune as the rest of the rōpū. Eventually Māui caught the ika, as was indicated by the rope being around the neck of the ika. Once this whakaeke was finished the rōpū moved into their next item. They used this mimetic act to mihi to the tangata whenua as they were visitors to Te Upoko o te Ika-ā-Māui, another name for Wellington.

The second example of mimesis was at the 2000 Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival held at Tūrangawaewae marae in Ngāruawahia. In their whakaeke, the kapa haka, Te Waka Huia, portrayed the Waikato Kings of the past to the then present day Queen, Te Atairangikaahu. Different kaihaka wore a piece of clothing that was instantly

recognised by the iwi of Waikato/Tainui to indicate the character they were playing. For example, for the first King, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, the kaihaka wore a red blanket, something that Te Wherowhero did often, over the rest of his costume. During the song sung by the rest of the rōpū, each kaihaka, who was portraying a monarch of Waikato/Tainui, would move to the front of the rōpū to bow to the audience and judges, and disappear again to the back to resume his position in the rōpū. This continued until the kaitātaki wahine, who was portraying Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu, came to the front to present herself. Then the rōpū brought the whakaeke to a close.

In both of these instances the audience seemed to be drawn into the performance as the mimesis was acted out. While it is true that much of what we see in traditional Māori culture, for example carving, is abstract, symbolic, rather than directly representational, I am skeptical that Māori never practised mimetic performance in telling stories, in songs and other forms of expression. Does this mean that Kapa Haka is an authentic expression of Māori identity or is it a part of the evolution and contestation around what and how to perform Māori identity in this modern world?

In the first place, the early concert parties and tourist performances and then the advent of Kapa Haka have served as legitimate platforms for whare tapere activities. Yes, these art forms as practised may not have totally encompassed all the activities identified by Royal as having taken place in the historical whare tapere. But even so hand games were part of Maggie's concerts and are also found being performed in current tourist performances and on the Kapa Haka stage of this century. I was reminded of a performance by Te Rōpū Manutaki so I asked Paora Sharples, a long time performer in the rōpū, Te Rōpū Manutaki, whether he remembered using hand games in a Kapa Haka peformance and this was his reply:

> Ae, he pātai pai tēnā. Ki taku maumahara ka mahia e mātou i te tau 1990, ki Waitangi. Atu i tēnā, ka mahia anō i ētahi atu tau, heoi anō ko 1990 te tino tau ka maumaharatia.
>
> Yes, that's a good question. I remember that we used them (hand games) in 1990 at Waitangi. Other than that we used them at other times, but 1990 is the year I really remember.[40]

Ngāpō Wehi, the leader of the winning rōpū at the 1972 inaugural Festival, Waihirere, was himself quoted in an article by Hone Wikiriwhi, on the first Festival in a *Te Ao Hou Magazine* describing the repertoire of the time as being a portrayal of the "past-times of the Māori" (3).

Where Royal is most vulnerable is that he insists on past practice. Kapa Haka insists on bringing the past into the future and maintaining contact with the past by recreating a performance that defines iwi as Māori in the present and allows iwi to create their identity as to who they are now.

Further, Royal quotes Hirini Moko Mead, who mentions change and the adoption of new techniques as being part of the definition of art, whether it be visual or performative so giving weight to the eventuality of Kapa Haka. "Changes in Māori art are brought about by Māori artists who employ new technologies, introduce new images, and recombine elements of Māori art in new and exciting ways that are accepted by the Māori public" (13).

However, Royal ultimately sees his new model for whare tapere practice as revitalising contemporary Māori identity[41] the, if it feels Māori, and it is a Māori performing, then it is Māori. This seems contradictory to his insistence that a contemporary Māori performance should return to the old ways. He states:

---

[40] Personal correspondence with Paora Sharples, November 2014.

[41] Royal gave a performance at a Symposium on Waiata held at Ngā Wai o Horotiu Marae, AUT, in October 2010, displaying how he hoped to revive the Whare Tapere. What was disconcerting here was that he used synthesisers and amplified sound to support his singing or poetry.

> Much passionate debate takes place in Aotearoa/ New Zealand today concerning the definition of 'Māori Art'. Many argue that if the art is created by Māori, it is Māori art. Others argue, having quickly remembered the career of Kiri Te Kanawa that it is not sufficient to simply be a Māori person by descent, but the artform itself must be recognised as a Māori artform or at least, must be seen to have arisen out of a Māori cultural continuum. (13)

He refers back to the Mead view of Māori art:

> It is this latter statement (in the previous quote) that underpins the Mead view of Māori art. Māori art comes from a continuum of ideas, philosophy and experience of the world that is Māori. This continuum evolves and changes as times change. It allows for embracing of non-Māori phenomena by creating a rationale upon which these phenomena can be brought into this Māori continuum of tradition. (13)

Here he seems to lack the need to privilege individual feeling versus collective action, analysing these things together as something tested, constructed and revised through performance. Royal insists: "We must be sure that the philosophy we might employ is in fact 'Māori' and enjoys wide currency in the culture" (14). In this case the 'we' that Royal is talking about is Māori in general. How else to define what it is to be 'Māori' but to engage in a philosophical debate? Kapa Haka certainly is prescribed via a philosophy that is 'Māori' when we note that the repertoire is constructed from performances bound up in customary practice, e.g. karanga, whaikōrero and haka. Since the very first group performance in the time of legend, through to the early concerts of the turn of the 20th century, to the present day, Kapa Haka has definitely enjoyed a 'wide currency in the culture', to use Royal's words. In this case I am talking about the culture that is Māori. This is not to say that I do not think that currency is growing in the wider mainstream culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand. As we move through the second decade of the 21st century that currency gains more value. In its key

findings the research report *Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore* talks about the value of Kapa Haka. It says:

> Across the fifty or so participants interviewed in the three regions and in Wellington there was a unanimous and resounding view that kapa haka does indeed make a valuable contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand society. Most made some reference to its value in terms of Māori identity and also our national identity. "The first thing is ... it's our cultural identifier, it's our uniqueness. It's being used as a vehicle to establish and maintain identity ... And when you go overseas they're not going to ask you to show them a lamb, they're asking you to do the haka. So it's not only Māori identity, it's New Zealand identity". (sic) (23)

We noted in the introduction how social historians such as King, Belich, Salmond and Werry seemed to skip over performance mostly in their histories, seeing it – perhaps as Royal does – mostly as a distraction from the serious business of politics and social development on one side, and from spiritual integrity and the preservation of the true native within on the other side. In a sense, these non-Māori historians – like Royal – forgo the possibility of agency in Māori social development in favour of a kind of primitive purity, the noble savage over the treaty negotiator. And this is seen in the way they talk about performance – not seeing it as action. Let us consider again Balme and what he has to say in his article 'Staging the Pacific' where he looks at the performances delivered at the Polynesian Cultural Centre (PCC) in Hawai'i. He is describing how he sees the 'true native' portrayed, how 'primitive purity' is maintained or not. The article discusses 'authenticity' and how that is framed or staged in terms of some of the cultural presentations at PCC, that is, Tongan versus Samoan and Hawaiian versus Māori. On one hand he notices the 'comical' introduced into the performances of both the Samoan and Tongan performances to engage the tourist and on the other he notices that both the Hawaiian and Māori performances are more

subdued. He also notices the differences and gives a reason why. He especially makes reference to early performance and the function it performed. He states: "The different styles of performance from one island group to the next can be explained partially by differences within PCC itself and partially by disparate colonial experiences" (63-64).

While Samoan and Tongan people still live as the majority and the ruling power in their respective countries, we know that does not apply to Hawai'i and Aotearoa/New Zealand, hence the 'disparate colonial experiences'. Even though Aotearoa/New Zealand is in what is called, presently, a modern society, some situations for the tangata whenua remain the same. In other words the tangata whenua are still in a situation of being the minority in their own country and subject to a majority rules government. In the section following Balme talks about Aotearoa/New Zealand being 'submerged in a majority colonizing culture'. Even with the introduction of a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) voting system, Māori have yet to get a bigger voice in governing the country. This situation is constantly played out and commented on in many Kapa Haka performances. Balme continues:

> The contrast between the Samoans and Tongans on the one hand, and the Hawai'ians (sic) and Maori on the other signals an important aspect of cultural differentiation within the monolithic conceptualization of *Polynesian* culture. Both Maori and Hawai'ians are Fourth World cultures, i.e. indigenous cultures submerged in a majority colonizing culture. [42] For both, folkloric demonstrations have had a function historically different from those of the Samoans and Tongans. In both New Zealand and Hawai'i the preservation, and to some degree the recreation, of performance culture towards the end of the nineteenth century were crucial for cultural survival in the face of heavy pressures to assimilate. Both were involved in the invention and redefinition of performance traditions that fulfilled the double function of presenting

[42] For the term "Fourth World" see Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World.* University of California Press, 1976.

> an image of cultural vitality to the colonial gaze and finding updated functions for performance within a new cultural situation. The cultural forms are therefore carefully guarded and treasured; presumably they are regarded as too fragile for subjection to the rumbustious processes of self-irony and play that the Tongans and Samoans practice. (64)

Balme, talking about performances in the early nineteenth century, makes comment of the fact that the 'invention and redefinition of performance traditions' was happening then. He does not say what those performance traditions were or how they changed but it is more important to know why. I suggest that it was in order to counteract the possible process of assimilation and to present a picture that Māori culture in its various forms was alive and well. I would like to think the last sentence does apply to Māori performance in terms of carefully guarding and treasuring the cultural forms, but to a certain extent, especially in the present, it does not. The continual re-enactment of the ritual of encounter on the marae still provides a safe place and space for Māori cultural forms to be guarded. However in terms of what the Tongans and Samoans do when acting out their cultural performances for tourists, Māori are right beside them. Māori are also inclined to inject some humour into their performances for the tourist which can at times be 'flippant or self-ironic'. But it is not reserved just for tourists. Māori also have a performance genre in Kapa Haka called the 'hako'. This has recently come to the fore again in a performance by the rōpū Te Whānau-ā-Apanui in their Te Matatini 2013 stand at Te Arawa. Jeff Ruha, one of their kaihaka, was given that role to play where he danced back and forth in front of his rōpū with a taiaha in his hands, urging them on to perform better. He also engaged the audience with his alluring pūkana, comical grimaces and suggestive poses, indicated with the use of his taiaha. His performance has been replayed over and over on television, and so he has become quite

famous in the Kapa Haka world. This action of his will always be related to his rōpū and therefore is used to describe the rōpū. As a result the rōpū gains further identity from this.

Another performance, that was essential to the widespread development of Kapa Haka, was the 1970 performance at the Gisborne Show Grounds for Queen Elizabeth II, who was accompanied by members of her family comprising of Prince Philip, Prince Charles and Princess Anne. This pōwhiri was orchestrated by Wiremu Kerekere, the founder of Waihirere. At that time he was a national broadcaster by occupation. Other prominent Māori escorting the royal party were Henry Ngata (son of Tā Apirana Ngata) and Dr. Pei Te Hurunui Jones.[43] Ngata was able to explain the proceedings to the royal party as the rōpū went through their performances. Jones was engaged to deliver a speech to the royal family and the crowd assembled.

One hundred kaihaka were selected to perform from each of ten rohe in Aotearoa/New Zealand. I was fortunate to be selected for the Waikato-Maniapoto rōpū. We were brought together, to create a suitable programme and to practise, by Te Kenana Wi Te Tau Huata. Tīmoti Kāretu, who was living and working in Hamilton at the time, was his support tutor. The performance started with Ngāpō Wehi, the kaitātaki tāne and tutor of the kapa haka Waihirere, performing a wero to the royal family. This was followed by a mass haka pōwhiri from Ngāti Porou, 'Te Urunga tū'.[44] We had all learnt it prior to the hui and it was truly an amazing, unforgettable experience. It was led by Pīmia Wehi, the wife of Ngāpō Wehi and kaitātaki wahine for Waihirere. At times other women's voices could be heard joining in with the leader, as it was quite a task for one person to lead a thousand kaihaka. For once I felt comfortable performing and I never realised until much later why that was so. I

[43] Henry Ngata, like his father Tā Apirana Ngata, was also given the title Sir but well after 1970. Dr. Pei Te Hurinui Jones was a noted scholar from Maniapoto who carried on with Tā Apirana's work of documenting Mōteatea.

[44] Te Urunga tū is a well-known Ngāti Porou women's haka of pōwhiri. Tā Apirana can be heard talking about it on an audio copy of the performance of the haka at the post-humous investiture of the Victoria Cross for Moana Ngarimu at Whakarua Park, Ruatoria on October 6, 1943. He states that the haka was ancient, over two hundred years old. Hence the author is unknown.

was being Ngāti Porou as I performed Te Urunga Tū, not Waikato. I was given an opportunity to embody one of the iwi I belonged to for the first time in my performing life. Since that time I have always remained very conscious of the style I use to perform, so that it expresses the identity of the iwi that I am performing as. I belong to many iwi and my ability to embody the identity of all of them when I am performing is essential to maintain that identity.

This chapter would not be complete if I left out information of a time in my life where my own modern Māori identity was given recognition by not only myself but also by other people throughout the country, within kapa haka circles and without, as a woman passionate about all things Kapa Haka. It was not that I no longer identified myself by my whakapapa, by being an ordinary girl from Pūrekirerki marae on the border of Waikato and Maniapoto rohe, I did and still do. But I have been given this other identity over the years and I assume it willingly and with much pride.

In 1978 I abandoned my study in the Conservatorium of Music at Auckland University where I was studying opera and returned to study te reo at the University of Waikato. It was a timely enrolment as students of the Māori language would meet every Wednesday night and converse in te reo to become more proficient. I remember I struggled learning te reo but got great support from others. Some of us were also members of the social kapa haka based at the Hamilton Teachers' Training College in another part of the campus. At these te reo evenings we learnt songs to equip us for our Tari Māori trips that we would take each year. The purpose of the trips was to visit the rohe of different iwi to be exposed to te reo and tikanga of their area.

From these many hui the idea grew that we should set up a kapa haka to compete in the annual Hauraki haka competitions and the Tainui Waka regional haka competitions. We were successful in our first regional competition to represent Tainui, along with the kapa

haka Taniwharau, at the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts competitions held at Lower Hutt in the Wellington rohe in 1979. As first time representatives of our rohe we had some major, unexpected successes. We won the waiata koroua and the prize for kaitātaki wahine, of which I was the recipient. I recall we got second for our whakaeke and third for our waiata-ā-ringa. I look back at that time with amazement because we were all so green at competitive performance. Our actions and melodies were very simple so it must have been te reo that got us through or our naivety that allowed our wairua to flow on to the judges and audience. Our tutor, Tīmoti Kāretu, was a master in te reo so lyrically our compositions were very eloquent. It was also a Festival where we had to give two performances, one straight after the other, as the hall we performed in could not fit all of the spectators in. Luckily there was a second hall right next door so all we had to do was exit the first stage, go through a corridor and enter the second stage. The audience waiting in the second hall were so happy to see a rōpū entering that applause was tumultuous and we had not even started.

The kapa haka, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, became an integral part of my extended whānau. It acted in the same way as did many other kapa haka act for their kaihaka who were divorced from their tūrangawaewae. I give credit to the kapa haka of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato for providing another space and place for me and my children so that we could grow the modern Māori identity that we were assuming as kaihaka from Waikato-Maniapoto. For many years my name was synonymous with this rōpū and it gave me a modern Māori identity that I could not gain from anywhere else.

The performance by my children at the Tainui Waka Cultural Regional Kapa Haka competitions in 2012 made the history part of the present, in as much as they were representing Kapa Haka in a way we had done in 1972; they were continuing on the tradition of developing Kapa Haka in the twenty first century. As they stood as a rōpū from Maniapoto, an iwi and area that we could all claim to belong to, they were also using Kapa

Haka as a vehicle to reinforce their identity as Māori, as Maniapoto. Though most of the performers abided in cities or towns close by, being a part of this competition allowed them to reconnect with home, to embody their iwi-ness through Kapa Haka. This was further enhanced by having their practices leading up to the regional competitions at their own marae. One of the new members was heard to say at a weekend practice that one of the reasons he chose to join Te Haona Kaha kapa haka was that it brought him back to his own marae and gave him the opportunity to learn first-hand about his whakapapa and tūrangawaewae.

In summary, as I look back on this chapter, the signal performances pre 1972, in terms of my own observations began in my home with my mother and her friends and whānau. We looked at the advent of concert parties, Māori clubs, and then kapa haka. The legacy those different groups left behind is as strong today as it was initially. Even though tourist performances are offered over much of the country, they are still most prevalent in Rotorua, and Māori from that rohe strongly identify with them, and they can make a living from them. Other iwi have often labelled these Rotorua Māori who perform for tourists as 'plastic'[45] Māori, not natural Māori. This was strongly refuted in a poi performed by Ngāti Rangiwewehi kapa haka of Te Arawa, at the 1996 Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival in Rotorua. They say, that the opportunity for them to live and work in the arena of Māori performing arts, has not turned them 'plastic' but has rather cemented their identity in this modern society as Te Arawa Māori.

[45] The 'plastic' is in relation to the fact that we now make our poi from modern materials, including plastic, rather than from natural materials like raupō, therefore the inference was that tourist performances were not authentic.

Chapter Two: Poi – Hui and Concert Parties

Poia atu taku poi,	Swing out, my poi,
Wania atu taku poi	skim out my poi
ngā pikitanga ki Ōtairi	to the heights of Ōtairi,
papatairite atu ki Pātea!	and straight across to Pātea!
Ka tirotiro ki Te Onetapu,	Look around at Te Onetapu, then
ka rangā tonu ki Taupō:	hurry on to Taupō:
ko Te Rohu, ko Te Rerehau:	Te Rohu and Te Rerehau!
E whae mā, kia rite mai te whaka	Listen ladies, to my dedicated
rongo ki ōku haere ruahine ki konei!	journey!

In keeping with the theme of history as traced by the term Waiata Koroua in chapter one, I have named this chapter 'Poi'. Poi, like Waiata Koroua, was an item of the early concert party repertoire. To reinforce my choice of title for this chapter I have selected some lines of a well-known waiata which is an example of a poi composition that takes us on a journey from Otairi, to Pātea, to Te One-tapu, to Taupō. The thesis also takes a journey as it looks at concert parties and hui around the country pre the 1972 Festival. Valance Smith talks about this waiata in his unpublished Masters thesis on *Colonising the Stage*. He cites the waiata from McLean and Orbell:

> One waiata that portrays the feelings of a person while encapsulating historical events, is the famous pātere composed by Erenora Taratoa – Poia atu taku poi. It is said that Erenora, a beautiful women from Ngāti Raukawa was courted by so many Māori and Pākehā men, the other women were getting incredibly jealous of all her male encounters, and so manufactured malicious rumours about her. To counter their

> criticisms she composed this pātere in which she sends her poi on an imaginary expedition of the North Island visiting numerous places and famous people. (51)

The poi takes this thesis on an excursion through many different iwi and how they come together to celebrate their own identities through Kapa Haka and how they create a modern Māori identity through Kapa Haka. I also look at the early concert performances given for tourists in Rotorua and elsewhere. This chapter continues to explore the history of Kapa Haka with particular emphasis on Concert Parties and Iwi or Hāhi Hui. It looks at the major contribution of Makareti Papakura to the time of concert parties and tourism as documented by Margaret Werry in her book *The Tourist State*. I also take a look at what Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has to say about tourist performance in her doctoral thesis, *The Sociocultural Impact of Tourism on the The Arawa People of Rotorua, New Zealand,* when it refers to identity. Te Awekotuku's perspective is important because she lived this life, grew up surrounded by people involved in this life. Te Arawa people, her people, have come to be identified by Māori cultural performance for tourists and it was more chance than engineering that others came to experience this life too.

The history of Kapa Haka predates my own story. The repertoire of the 19th century looks surprisingly familiar, especially for the way 'traditional' Māori performance appears to have been woven from multiple sources, including those brought by Europeans (and others) to these shores. The first recorded concert party performances (as they were called then) of the modern world – the world that emerged after the arrival of European explorers and settlers in Aotearoa – were those by Margaret Pattison Thom who was better known as Maggie (Makareti) Papakura. Although there were other groups involved in the same activities, before Makareti and after, they were not given as much acknowledgement as Makareti was. The name Papakura was taken from one of the greater geysers in the thermal village of Whakarewarewa in Rotorua where Makareti spent most of her life. Makareti was

raised in the reo and knowingly and actively practised her Māori kawa and tikanga, finally learning English at the age of ten. Makareti was nearly thirty years old when she began creating performances of Māori song and dance, with her sister Bella, for non-Māori spectators. Makareti could be seen to be the first person to reconstruct Māori performance from what we were used to on the marae, to that which we now see on the tourist stage. However when she welcomed the duke and Duchess of Cornwall to Rotorua she would have had to revert back to the traditional style of welcome as seen on the marae, that is, karanga and haka pōwhiri. It was while preparing to take her troupe overseas that a new repertoire saw the reconstruction of Māori performance. Northcroft-Grant elaborates while writing in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*:

> In 1901 (Maggie) welcomed the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall at Rotorua. Before 1910 she made a number of brief social trips to Australia. She formed a concert party with her sister, Bella, an exponent of waiata and poi. Reverend Frederick Bennett composed items for the group. In 1910 Makareti and her party took part in the Sydney exhibition. They gave performances and also set up a model village (as a backdrop to the cultural activities they engaged in).[46]

Most of the information presented here is from Werry's study of tourism however Te Awekotuku gives other information about a number of early concerts. First of all I want to insert her comment on tribal identity, visible in the performances of all iwi groups who attended, in relation to the 1901 performance mentioned above. Later on in this Chapter I will elaborate more from Te Awekotuku's writings. Here she says:

> Tribal identity and strength was most visibly and vociferously demonstrated at a gathering of most of the tribes of Aotearoa to welcome the Duke and Duchess of York

[46] June Northcroft-Grant. "Papakura, Makareti', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encylcopedia of New Zealand, updated 17-Dec-2013. Accessed Dec 20, 2013. URL:http://www.TeAra.Govt.nz/en/biographies/3p5/papakura-makareti

> and Cornwall in 1901. ... The reception for the royal couple was held at Rotorua, and the absolute confidence, virility and pride displayed by each representative group belied the current belief that the Maori race was becoming fast extinct, that the population had reached its nadir. (106)

Te Awekotuku talks more about the 1901 pōwhiri and the role Makareti and her Aunty Sophia, a well-known guide, played:

> Sir James Carroll, the halfcaste Maori Member of Parliament for the Eastern Maori electorate organized the assembly, which was to be the largest gathering of Maori people in post contact history. In its planning, the convenors even considered ancient tribal conflicts, such as the friction of Ngapuhi and Te Arawa, and the Urewera tribes. Sophia, of Te Wairoa, and her niece, the young Maggie Papakura, were the official guides for the visiting dignitaries. Te Arawa also held two separate tribal powhiri, one hosted by the hapu Ngati Whakaue in Tamatekapua at Ohinemutu, the other by Tuhourangi in Wahiao, at Whakarewarewa. (106)

Performing Māori identity became a way of life for Makareti. She was not afraid to use her exotic looks, which hinted at both the Māori and Pākehā heritage she carried within her, to engage her audiences. In performance, she exuded a look that was both dignified and educated - a native woman costumed in feathers and singing and dancing, mixing Māori and English forms and languages, to construct . . . well, what? Was it to construct the image of a modern Māori people? Or some kind of odd hybridised, primitive-meets-the 20th century head on? Did she pull her people's image out of the savage and into the minstrel? Her performances can be seen to have influenced the way in which Māori were viewed by non-Māori in New Zealand and well beyond. Northcroft-Grant tells us that:

> Maggie was asked by a Sydney businessman to manage a concert party to tour Sydney, then England for the Festival of Empire Celebrations. The party consisted of

> 40 members of her extended family including Bella, Tiki (Dick) Papakura and Mita Taupoki. In April 1911 they left for London and performed at the Crystal Palace, The Palace Theatre and White City. [47]

Like Kapa Haka today, Makareti drew her songs and dances, including poi, from a mixture of what would have been for her 'traditional' at the same time that she was innovating and adapting her performances to suit the tastes and expectations of her audiences – not always successfully. As Northcroft-Grant notes:

> The repertoire consisted of songs, dances, storytelling and whaikōrero. An exhibition of Māori artefacts, a wharenui and pātaka supported their performances. Although the concerts received favourable publicity there were financial problems that they could not overcome so the party broke up and most returned home early 1912. [48]

The legacy of Makareti's repertoire can still be found in the performances given for tourists in Rotorua and elsewhere in New Zealand, as well as overseas in exhibition performances at museums and the like. In Huata's *The rhythm and life of poi*, Bella's and Makareti's programme of the Tūhourangi Māori Troupe describes the items in this way: 'Stirring hakas as usual! The Pretty Poi Dances! Ancient Māori Welcomes! Songs in Maori and English! And altogether a Refined and Excellent Entertainment' (65).

One wonders who wrote these descriptions. Makareti herself, or some promoter of this new kind of Māori performance? Guessing is all that can be done here, as the programme gives no clues. Was using the terms 'refined' and 'excellent', to ensure that audiences would come to the shows; to put the prospective viewers' minds at ease; to not be afraid of being confronted by natives who were not savage but actually civilised, quite like themselves?

---

[47] June Northcroft-Grant. "Papakura, Makareti', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encylcopedia of New Zealand, updated 17-Dec-2013. Accessed Dec 20, 2013. URL:http://www.TeAra.Govt.nz/en/biographies/3p5/papakura-makareti

[48] June Northcroft-Grant. "Papakura, Makareti', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encylcopedia of New Zealand, updated 17-Dec-2013. Accessed Dec 20, 2013. URL:http://www.TeAra.Govt.nz/en/biographies/3p5/papakura-makareti

It is difficult to analyse the programme as there is not a lot of information on the single page (more like what we know as a flyer rather than an explanatory programme). The descriptions of the items within, though brief, are quite emotive and grab the reader's (tourist's) interest. They tell the spectator, in this case the tourist, that the performance they are about to witness may not only excite them but may stir them in their seats, which of course is somewhat an expectation of the tourists. They want to experience the different, the exotic, the unknown, the native in the flesh, but somewhat removed from the audience, and of course not a native at war. They know from the programme that they will understand some of the performance, as it is in English, so this also draws their interest. Perhaps they want to see how well the Māori will sing in English and whether or not he has moved along the continuum toward civilisation and then assimilation, the ultimate goal of the government of the time and all governments since.

Makareti's programme consisted of hymns, haka and poi, more often than not the canoe poi.[49] Sometimes they were interspersed with popular tunes made in to choral items. There was no doubt that haka and poi were authentic Māori performance items but what of the rest of the repertoire? How did hymns and popular tunes as choral items work in a repertoire that was supposed to be Māori? These popular tunes were taken and translated into te reo Māori to allow them to sit comfortably in a repertoire of a Māori concert. The act of choosing to sing songs that were well known tunes but translated into te reo Māori was to be a format that would exist in Māori performance for a long time to come. Makareti was one of the pioneers of this style.

When the Pākehā arrived here to settle Aotearoa/New Zealand, they brought many things with them from their homeland which included European hymns and other songs. These were eventually hybridised by translating them into te reo, as mentioned earlier. The

[49] The canoe poi has become synonymous with Te Arawa iwi. The actions depict the voyage of a canoe and at the end the women lie down as if exhausted at the end of a long, arduous journey.

hybridisation did not stop at hymns. Some of the popular tunes made into choral items were also translated into Māori. I can only speculate that the hymns and choral items would have been sung to strictly notated tempos, rhythms and beats. They would have sounded rather different to the chorals and hymns we sang as I grew up.

The influence of Christian missionaries and English popular culture was interwoven with what might be recognised as traditional performance. Māori identity in performance then, as in my youth, was already hybridising, mixing and matching, remaking itself not in the image of the English masters, but as something in between – something that sounded more Māori than western, at least to our ears. Makareti, by adding a Māori dimension to these songs, was already in the role of inventing a new tradition and along with it both a new performance practice and a new identity. Was it because once a different language is added to the mix, in this case te reo, the change becomes audible but again difficult to 'nail down' with a solid explanation.

To digress for a minute, there is an elusive something that still today people are unable to give a feasible explanation for. What is it that makes a waiata-ā-ringa, or whakaeke that has a western tune, sound Māori? Or is it that the language is Māori? When we view those two types of performance we can identify movement, action and language that is Māori but cannot effectively describe the rest. Whatever it is, it is part of what makes Kapa Haka modern so works as an agent towards establishing a modern Māori identity.

When looking at the programme of Makareti Papakura and her concert party's performances, it is obvious there are some items missing that we now see on the Kapa Haka performance stage. Those are mainly the whakaeke, whakawātea and waiata-ā-ringa and were not yet created in Maggie's time. It was a time well before others were inspired to form concert party groups to carry particular messages to the country.

Werry devotes a whole chapter to Makareti Papakura, using Makareti as a paradigm for the way Māori culture as performed for non-Māori tourists served the development of a colonial New Zealand identity. In her chapter 'The Class Act of Guide Maggie' and throughout her writings, the word 'class' played an important part in how Makareti herself created and maintained her own identity, not only at home in Rotorua, Aotearoa/New Zealand, but also when she ventured off shore. Werry describes a repertoire of a typical evening's concert:

> To round off the day, a tourist might spend an evening at Charles Nelson's nearby Geyser Hotel, enjoying a short concert of haka, poi dance, Māori song, and English glees, quarters, and parlour tunes, by a dozen Māori from Whakarewarewa, followed perhaps by a flutter on the dance floor with one of the pretty young performers. (45)

The repertoire that Werry described as a 'short concert' reflected the repertoire in Makareti's concerts with slightly more description of the English songs as in 'glees', 'quarters' and 'parlour tunes'. The language used seems to suggest that this concert may have been for the wealthier members of society who could afford access to the Geyser Hotel, not for everyday commoners. The opportunity to have a 'flutter' on the dance floor was a mechanism that Makareti would often use to try and be accorded as having 'class'; it was her style of conduct to gain an equal footing with her non-Māori counterparts. It could also be seen as Māori becoming more familiar with Pākehā culture of song and dance so that they could use these kinds of performances in their concert repertoire. Werry's depiction of Makareti reinforces my argument that, unwittingly, Makareti was party to creating a tradition by moving between cultures in her selection of repertoire that saw her beginning to hybridise the repertoire by translating the popular Pākehā tunes for her concerts. Werry continues:

> It is tempting to interpret Makareti's remarkable career as a triumph of indigenous agency in a cosmopolitan key. Yet to the extent that agency was enabled by liberal

> mechanisms it was also constrained by them: what were the terms of racial intelligibility and individual exceptionalism that determined Makareti's global mobilty and membership, and what were the political costs of living by those terms? (50)

Werry examines the liberal mechanisms of the state looking at 'conduct'. For Werry it is 'conduct' that Makareti uses to enculcate herself into spaces and places of the 'gentry' that allow for her to gain global mobility and membership. This conduct is:

> ... the codes of civility that constituted the state's normative, privileged social idiom, securing and expressing mutual recognition and moral obligation between members of the liberal political community. Conduct of this kind was likewise a performative medium, manifest in the minutiae of social interaction, the formalities of hospitality, and the intimacy of the embodied encounter. During the rise of the liberal democracies, "conduct" became synonymous with the social bearing of the "respectable classes" who formed their most politically enfranchised caste; the demonstration (or withholding) of reciprocal respect through conduct was the coin of membership. (47)

From what I can see in these accounts, Makareti appears to have used the opportunity to perform as Māori while being culturally correct in a Pākehā environment much as I did a half a century later. That is, she was rewarded for separating her 'song and dance self' from the 'civilised self'. She found a way to perform on stage that was not possible in other aspects of daily, colonised life. It also meant perhaps that 'performing Māori' became differentiated from 'being Māori'. Just as we wear costumes of old today when we perform, and adorn ourselves with feathers and moko to look the part, so too did Makareti garb herself in the clothes and accessories of her ancestors when on stage.

These instruments of performance that she wore helped her recreate a Māori presence and mood on stage for the audience. It was what was expected so she gave them what they wanted to see. To wear these kinds of clothes (that is, kahu kiwi, kura huia and piupiu) in her daily life, or to behave as she did on stage, would not have served her purpose of wanting to endear herself to the gentry of the time. It would not have supported her need to become acceptable in the Pākehā circles that she strove to conquer.

Werry goes on to make comment in relation to racial difference that emanated from the practice of ethnic tourism. She states:

> ... the practice of ethnic tourism offered Māori guides a novel tactical field. In ethnic tourism's acts and arts of embodied encounter, dialogic exchange, narrative improvisation, self-presentation and hospitality, guides could appropriate these repertoires of conduct, countering the spectacle of racial difference with claims of affinity, confronting social exclusion with the assumption of civic membership, and meeting colonial surveillance with the gaze of reverse anthropology. (47-48)

That is, Werry views the act of Māori guiding as giving the tangata whenua an opportunity to meet the tourist on an equal plane even though the rest of the Māori world at that time may not have been viewed in the same way. In these performances, acts of guiding, Māori were learning to perform <u>as</u> Māori in new ways. Māori were no longer just there to entertain the tourists. They were becoming entrepreneurs as they became more and more involved in the business side of tourism. Makareti placed herself in a position where at times she was in control of defining her own world for herself but also being a propagator of the nation state. This is a contradiction that predominates Māori experience – a two-sided experience that I also had in school of using Māori performance in service of a dominant culture that otherwise denied the value of my identity. Here again is something of the truth of the modern Māori

identity, the tension of denying the force of ritual and reo whilst turning it on and off for the entertainment of the coloniser. Werry describes this position relating to Makareti:

> Through a finely calibrated performance of Māori modernity and self-cultivation Makareti claimed membership in a cosmopolitan public of travelers, a global bourgoisie that transcended the ethnic strictures of the colonial nation-state. But she also crucially *proposed* a public that redefined the terms of a liberal recognition. Her community of address – those who numbered themselves among "Maggie's friends" or followed her doings in social columns and travelogues- took indigenous expression not as a disqualification but as a form of social distinction. This valourization of Māori difference, I suggest, bore (however indirectly) on the state, for which Makareti was also a de facto representative, occasional critic, and ambivalent adjunct. (48)

Werry continues to discuss what happened in Rotorua, from a tourist's point of view, which exemplified how the whole nation gained a particular identity. She states:

> For Rotorua's patrons - the wealthy, independent, largely British or Commonwealth travelers and the weekenders drawn from the rapidly growing urban middle classes of the colony – the state-made town was the puppet capital of an imagined nation, "Maoriland." It was a brand of national distinction and a premonition of Pākehā (non-Māori) modernity: a paradise of rationalized, democratized leisure and a paragon of state-of-the-art civic planning. It was also the public testing-ground of liberal strategies in racial governmentality and the only place in the "two worlds" of this ethnically bisected nation where tourists (either urban New Zealanders or international visitors) were likely to rub shoulders with Māori. Makareti's guiding performances, then, took place on the spotlighted stage of a national theater. (51)

Let us move on to examine some of the earlier concerts in a different light. Concert parties were a common component of the New Zealand social experience throughout the 20th

century, even after the introduction of television to most areas, bringing together Māori and Pākehā as both performers and spectators, following the model established by Makareti. In *The rhythm and life of poi*, a book for which I served as editor, the author Ngamoni Huata confirms the details of the repertoire that Makareti, along with her sister Bella, composed at the time:

> In 1911, at the conclusion of the Tūhourangi tour, some members remained in England with Rangiuia, an East Coaster, to play in London Music Halls and other English cities. The repertoire of the group included haka, canoe poi, and other poi and love ditties. At home, choirs and youth clubs were being established all over the country. The programmes consisted of haka, poi, ditties and hand games. (63)

This programme is consistent with other programmes of the time. Haka and poi were constants as these were the items brought through time and place from ritual performances on the marae and in preparation for war. Ditties, which were smaller songs, either in English or Māori, were popular with audiences and we see the emergence of hand games into the concert programme. Hand games, like poi, allowed for the interaction of the performing rōpū with the tourist audience, so playing out the 'harmony' proposed earlier in the chapter, an acting out of identity of unity in a nation of two peoples. The hand games incorporated hand moves where the idea was to always come up with different moves. The opposition got out if they came up with the same action as the opponent. Hand games were a way for performers to maintain a certain amount of dexterity when performing haka and using weaponry. Te Awekotuku again makes comments on Māori performing arts of the early twentieth century in relation to iwi identity. She says:

> I will also discuss the self-centred belief that Te Arawa has retained much of its demonstrable Maori identity because of - not necessarily in spite of – tourism. Te Rangihiroa, a fatuous Maori leader and academic, observed ... survivals occur in a

> tourist frequented district such as Rotorua where groups of local Maori give regular entertainments for commercial purposes. In addition to Maori dances and songs, such as games such as matimati and touretua were revived to add variety to the programme. As a result, many exponents have become expert. ... I realize that I would be asinine to assert that Te Arawa held the "Maori culture flag aloft"; although Te Rangihiroa certainly suggests it, and so do a myriad of Te Arawa elders, many of whom are my own most valued informants. Activity in the performing arts – haka, poi, waiata – was undeniably vigorous in other parts of the country during the lean and dismal early decades of the twentieth century. Examples are Waikato and Tairawhiti, spurred primarily by the political events of the period. (149)

Huata notes the high status of Makareti's audience, and includes Kiri Mātao in this context as another early presenter of Māori performance. Kiri Mātao earned fame, just as Makareti did, as a guide and a great performer but also as a subject of one of Lindauer's famous paintings. Huata says:

> The first royal visitor to New Zealand was Prince Alfred Ernest Albert, the Duke of Edinburgh (1844 – 1900). …On the occasion of his visit in 1869, he saw performances of haka in Wellington and Nelson and was accorded an official welcome in Rotorua. In 1870, he bathed in the hot pools and saw a display of haka and poi dances led by Kiri Mātao. (63)

Makareti and tourist performance had their foundations in a colonial New Zealand. Now a modern society, Aotearoa/New Zealand is being identified with Māori cultural performance, first to non-Māori who reside in Aotearoa/New Zealand and then to the wider world. This is a double edged sword as there is some economic and social capital gain for Māori, but also a kind of minstrelisation, relegation of Māori culture to tourist edification. It is possible then to view Kapa Haka now as serving the same purpose – a kind of keeping

Māori in a box for special occasions, whilst expecting full assimilation in the 'real' world of modern Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

In *The rhythm and life of poi*, Huata discusses concerts happening in other areas of the country such as, Ruatorea on the East Coast, New Plymouth on the West Coast and Ngāruawahia, the home of the Kīngitanga. She highlights Mervyn McLean's comments on the mixture of 'traditional' Māori song and dance with some other, somewhat far-flung influences:

> . . . a 1908 programme at Rotorua by a group called the Māori Mission Entertainers – probably predecessors of the Rotorua Māori Choir – directed by Rev. F.A. Bennett, contains haka, poi and two American 'plantation' songs, but nothing resembling action songs. An alternative programme by the same group similarly lacks action songs. They are also absent from a 1914 programme of the 'original and famous Maori Choir of Rotorua' of Ngati Whakaue under the direction of a Mr D. Smythe Papworth, which consisted of haka, poi, the matemate hand game, part songs, and songs such as 'The Old Folks at Home' in Maori and again 'Home, Little Maori Home' together with a set of orchestral waltzes especially composed by Mr Papworth. (64)

Let us go back and look at the reference to 'plantation' songs. It is not accidental that Māori were singing these kinds of songs. Besides the fact, that Māori could relate to the position that American Blacks found themselves in (for example, being dispossessed of culture and language, and losing power over their own economic stability). The resonances of the music as expressed in the lyrics of the songs 'The Old Folks at Home', and, 'Home Little Maori Home', the echo of one form of entertainment to another, was evident. The Māori concert performance frequented by non-Māori resembled the kinds of minstrel entertainment favoured by racist whites in America. It is not surprising then that in a colonised country such

as Aotearoa/ New Zealand these same kinds of tourist performances favoured racist whites in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

Huata lists a great many examples of concerts in the late 19th and early 20th century, especially in relation to Māori involvement in fighting the world wars and noting the way these early practices have carried on to the present day.

> With the outbreak of World War II in 1939 Ana[50] threw herself into touring New Zealand again to raise funds for the soldiers. Meanwhile guiding and concerts continued in the village. War had a profound effect on our people, especially with the absence of the men. The remainder of the village people had to cater to the needs of the American troops who were based in Galatea. (71)

Te Awekotuku gives a number of accounts of performances, which got varied receptions from the spectators, in her chapter on the 'Tourist Stage'. I would have liked to retell the full collection but have rather chosen some that include comments by Tā Apirana Ngata because of their descriptive nature. She also mentions 'song borrowing' which I have not yet talked about in detail but which is still common today. There is not much mention of a movement towards the creation of a modern Māori identity, which is the focus of this thesis and which I claim affects all participants in Kapa Haka, but tribal identity in relation to her iwi, Te Arawa, is certainly to the forefront. She makes a comparison between Te Arawa and other iwi in terms of reasons for performance. This brings us to the nineteen seventies: She invites us in to her story:

> Keen to expand their repertoire, during this time, the polished performers of Te Arawa did not hesitate to borrow items from other areas nevertheless often stressing their claim to being the most richly, actively, colourful Maori tribe of the day. Rivalry with

[50] Ana Hato, of Ngāti Whakaue descent, was a well-known Māori soprano and is often found on early recordings of Māori music, either as a soloist or sometimes as part of a duet with her cousin Dean Waretini.

> other tribes was frequent, and the traditional theatres of war were replaced by the playing fields, and games courts, where robust battles of another sort were won or lost. Constant display in the tourist genre inevitably inflated those of Te Arawa prone to arrogance anyway, and the grand denouement occurred at the Waitangi Treaty Celebrations in 1934, at the opening of the magnificent new meeting house. "I took a concert party up to compete in the competitions for the Rehia cup which was donated by Lord Bledisloe. Our action song was Uia Mai Koia. We'd been on a fund-raising tour to pay for the carved archway and the carvings along Baulcomb Avenue. We travelled up to the East Coast and at Whangaparoa they did Paikea for us. We learned it from them, and then Bella and Kanea's husband changed the words, and made it all about us, Te Arawa, and we won the cup with this song! And afterwards the old man, Apirana, came up to me and said, It's ironic, isn't it, you won on a song you got from us!" (150 – 151)

She continues with further comments on tourism and its effect on tribal identity. I must add that she wrote her thesis leading up to the year 1981 so some of her comments apply to a time before the first National Kapa Haka Festival and some since. Therefore it is interesting to note that Maori cultural performance in the time of her writing was not yet called Kapa Haka:

> ...Such stories aside, one factor does make the people of Takiwa Waiariki unique in the Maori world. This is a continuous tourist presence; families from certain hapu of Te Arawa are involved in tourist entertainment every day of every year, and have been since the first visitors came five generations ago. Many – like the Morrisons – are themselves descendants of the first white colonial tourist entrepreneurs. Thus Te Arawa is distinguished from those tribal districts where dance performance and competition would rise in response to a specific need, or event – political expression, fundraising, the opening of buildings and ceremonial occasions – and then would recede. Only in

> the last decade, with the dramatic revival of the Maori performing arts, has there been a comparable continuity of dance performance outside the thermal regions. This is partly due to immensely successful annual competitions financed in part by the government. Until very recently, the need for such cultural renaissance was not recognized – now, it is a forcefully bonding phenomenon of assertive Maori, even of New Zealand, cultural identification.
>
> Because of this ongoing involvement with a tourist audience, some dance forms in Te Arawa have become either entrenched, or experienced drastic reinterpretation and innovation. Offerings on the contemporary stage present the range – from the earliest format and repertoire, mislabelled "traditional" by the performers, to the most daring modernistic experiments. The latter has usually been initiated by "outsiders" – Maori people from other tribal areas and dance backgrounds – who have in the last ten years appeared on the stage formerly monopolized by the Te Arawa dancers. (156)

The following excerpt from her writings takes us back to a concert about a century before. Included are detailed descriptions of not only performance but also of costume which is quite different to any other description of costume and a type that performers of today would question as to its authenticity. This concert took place before the eruption of Tarawera in 1886 and gives some information as to how a repertoire would be constructed.

> For a consideration, the Maori entertainers of even a century ago were selecting their repertoire from a variety of styles to accommodate travellers' tastes. Senior describes a well organized operation of 1880. "And we saw the Maori dance, called a Haka, and also had to pay for it heavily. The old chief was there dignified as ever, and not overburdened with clothes. The entertainment took place in the large meeting house ... candles, stuck with their own grease upon sticks planted in the ground, lighted the spacious gloomy interior ... There were about forty performers, laughing and

shouting. The front row consisted of about twenty women "young and old, good looking and ugly"; in the back rows were men and boys. The women were nicely dressed, and in all their finery; the central couplet plump young parties with white muslin bodices and short scarlet petticoats, were the principal performers and they had taken great pains to decorate their wavy blue-black hair with flowers. Save the legs, these women were less exposed than European ladies in evening attire. The men had blankets twisted round their loins ••• It was a singular performance ••• The performers ••• formed in capital line, eyes to the left. The conductor ••• continued his promenade in front of the line, walking and talking quickly ••• reciting a poem, and at the end of each line, the performers, at first softly, chanted a response, simultaneously beating time on the ground with the right foot, which was gracefully advanced, and by the clapping of the hands. As the fugleman worked himself almost frantic, the performers got excited too; the movement with hand and foot quickened and strengthened; and at intervals the performers shouted a deep-drawn and prolonged Hah-hah-hah! , accompanied by a quivering outward and upward movement of the hands. The strict time of the chant was never lost, and when the moment was at its height the excitement was catching. The movement and sounds swept you along with it. It suggested inspiration, respiration and perspiration. The bodies of the performers swayed and twisted, and represented a variety of movements, some of them assuredly deserving of all the hard things said of them. The two leading women were admirable actresses, throwing themselves heart and soul into the spirit of whatever was going, becoming positively ecstatic when the topic was love, and hideously furious in war. The notebook, the costume, and the performance predict the trends of the coming decades. (160)

I want to end this section on a quote by Tā Apirana Ngata that Te Awekotuku records as being made by him in 1940. It goes some way to helping the reader understand why tourism in Rotorua was also important to the rest of Māoridom because it paved the way for the growth of a national Māori consciousness as to the value of Kapa Haka to identity today. He said:

> Of all the tribes, Te Arawa, because of the continuous tourist traffic, has had a particularly close contact with the pakeha, but this appeared to have resulted in the heightening and intensification of tribal consciousness, and pride. (160)

As the years passed we saw many other groups appearing, circulating throughout the North Island, who became equally engaged in preserving and presenting performances that were both generically 'Māori' and specific to their iwi, young people learning from and performing for their elders in ways that remained mostly incidental to their real lives as English-speaking students in New Zealand schools. This was something I discovered, again almost by accident, when we were sent to the Hui Aranga that year (1962) to compete as it was being held in Taranaki at Normanby, about fifteen kilometres from our school. The Hui Aranga was, and still is, a national, biennial gathering of Catholic Māori, who come together to celebrate being Catholic and Māori at the same time, by sharing mass together and also competing in sports and Kapa Haka.

The Hui Aranga was different to Waikato's Kīngitanga celebration, the Koroneihana, as it celebrated religion rather than iwi. It was not that the Koroneihana did not engage in religion – it did – but the kaupapa was, and still is, more about celebrating iwi of the Kīngitanga. The biggest difference at the Hui Aranga was that the religion we celebrated was the Catholic religion and that religion guided what took place and when. In general people would attend service on Good Friday in their home towns and then travel to the venue for the

Hui Aranga, Competitive sports and Kapa Haka took place on Saturday and Sunday and prize-giving and departure on Monday. So it was usually a three day hui.

We would celebrate mass every morning before the start of the day's activities and have a smaller prayer service at night to conclude. Besides the karakia we all said, there were many hymns sung. Although they were Pākehā hymns by tune, we sang them in Māori. Again I do not remember understanding the meaning of the words, but I had rote-learnt them and could sing them well. What I do remember was enjoying these services more than I did the regular Sunday services we attended at home, which were always held in English. Perhaps it was because I was surrounded by Māori people singing, and I felt some sort of stronger identity because of this.[51] This 'stronger identity' is difficult to explain. It was probably an awakening to the realisation that singing in te reo was bringing me closer to feeling Māori, to being Māori, something that did not happen when I sang in English.

This was my first ever Māori Performing Arts competition that I remember. It was the first time we saw groups like ourselves performing. All of a sudden, I could see myself as Māori in the mirror they provided. I saw my mother as Māori as if for the first time, as she was also present as a judge of the Kapa Haka.[52] The festivities included competitive sports of netball and rugby.

This competitive pattern of sports and Kapa Haka was followed by other Māori hui held elsewhere in the country such as the Hui Tōpū. This was and still is a way for Māori to be able to continue to 'fight' against each other; to find a winner in a more peaceable way than war. When a kapa haka exits the stage after a competitive performance, the performers are seen to be perspiring profusely, with chests heaving, gasping for breath. These are the

[51] In contradiction to this as an adult I ceased following my Catholic religion as it came more and more in conflict with what I was learning about my Māori world and how to be Māori.
[52] She was also an umpire of netball, one of the sports that was part of the competition. She was a devout Catholic and often attended local and national Māori Catholic gatherings such as the Hui Aranga.

signs of a 'battle' well fought. Michael King in his book *The Penguin History of New Zealand* supports this with the following comment:

> The focal point of the Maori community was the hui. People who could no longer fight one another came together to compete in other ways: to surpass the hospitality of their previous hosts; to issue oratorical challenges and display astonishing feats of memory in recitation of genealogy and tradition; to debate other people's versions of genealogy and tradition; to display prowess in haka, action song, wielding the taiaha and handling canoes; to celebrate who and what they were. (252)

In that context, our performances might be seen less as theatre and more like netball or rugby, less aesthetic, more athletic. Kapa Haka pulls from all sorts of activities– sport, religion, Pākehā culture, western song. When I create and perform Kapa Haka I draw from all of these activities. At times it is difficult to divide a non-Kapa Haka performance from a Kapa Haka one. I cannot divide my being, so how do I divide the performance? I cannot be Te Rita the performer in two places at one time.

Then as now, Koroneihana celebrations lasted a whole week with specific activities scheduled for each day. These included a kawe mate for Tainui waka the first day, then a kawe mate for the rest of the country on the second day. Usually the third day was reserved for welcoming government and overseas officials so pōwhiri onto the marae happened in a continuous flow, one after the other. This involved the older people from all around the rohe of Tanui waka, who descended on Tūrangawaewae marae annually for this celebration. While these activities took place on the forecourt of the marae, sports competitions in rugby, rugby league and netball took place in another arena. There were also displays of historical or current kaupapa that were and are significant to Waikato-Tainui. Wandering around to view the exihibits filled in the time between pōwhiri and Kapa Haka performances and allowed us to dabble in nostalgia for a while, for example viewing photographic exhibitions of past

tūpuna, who through the years had held important positions in tribal government. They were all instrumental in moving Waikato-Tainui iwi from debilitating poverty after the New Zealand Land Wars, to increasing posterity after negotiating directly with the government resulted in successful land settlement claims.[53]

Religious activities did and do take place though are not the main focus. Every morning and night a Pai Mārire service is held. This is accompanied by the raising and lowering of the current monarch's flag. Pai Mārire is a Māori religion that is a Christian hybrid faith based on the scriptures of the Bible, translated into te reo Māori, with other unique prayers added in. In a way it can be said it is like Kapa Haka, keeping what is essential from the Māori world; that is, tikanga and reo, and combining it with the new from the Pākehā world; the musical octave scale. Pai Mārire was founded by Te Ua Haumene,[54] originated in Taranaki and was brought to Waikato by his contemporary, Kīngi Tāwhiao, the second Waikato King. Waikato and Maniapoto are now the iwi who worship via that religion. The prayers are all in te reo and some of the words are particular to Pai Mārire and not found in any other religion of this country for example, 'Koterani, teihana. Karaiti titi kai. Kopere, teihana. Rire, rire, hau!'. Most of these words are transliterations and meanings are obscure but the rhythm and beat of the words are more important than the meaning. This is because they were first, an imitation of the marching beat and the make-up, for example, Scottish=Koterani, of the constabulary of the time, when they were on the move, and second because they used to be chanted as they danced around a Niu Pole[55], making rhythm and beat important. This meant that they did not bang into each other and break the flow of the prayer. To break the flow of the prayer was considered a bad omen and utu would have to be sought.

[53] Waikato-Tainui did not use the Waitangi Tribunal as a vehicle for settling land claims. It negotiated directly with the Crown.
[54] Te Ua Haumene was the founder of the first Māori Christian based religion, Pai Mārire, also known as the Hauhau movement.
[55] Most iwi no longer have Niu Poles and have ceased using them, but one still stands on the Matamata side of the Kaimai Ranges. They were constructed in the fashion of May Poles.

On the last day of the Koroneihana an interdenominational service is held on the marae ātea for all to attend. This is often quite a spectacle with ministers from many different faiths, Māori and Pākehā, dressed in their own, unique celebratory robes, standing together to pray and sing. What is interesting is that we Māori knew the hymns from all the different faiths and sang with great gusto. I often felt that we were more excited to be singing rather than praising God and I still feel the same way. Haupai Puke shares another memory that echoes my experiences. She says:

> When we still lived at Te Tahi Road & even later church services were held at different family homes where those in the neighbourhood gathered for service & we learnt and sang hymns from different denominations. I can remember this happening at Uncle Boy's house especially when Uncle Karena was still alive. [56]

Singing in praise of God and understanding why is not the same as understanding what I am doing when singing and dancing in te reo. It was also one of the best ways to learn and practise the rhythm of te reo. This is not unlike many young people and how they relate to singing and dancing in whatever context. Now as then, I count on the joy of performing, of singing and dancing, to draw people into Kapa Haka and try (as my tutors ultimately did) to draw the youth from there into the deeper meanings, both of the performance and of performing Māori.

For both these major hui on the calendars of Māori people, the draw card was more often than not Kapa Haka. We would eagerly watch out for the programme at the Koroneihana to see which visiting rōpū of national experience would be attending to perform. Rōpū like the famous Waihirere kapa haka were annual attendees. Te Waka Huia, whose original tutors, Ngāpō (Bub) and Pimia (Nen) Wehi were foundation members of Waihirere,

[56] Haupai Puke personal correspondence October 2014. Te Tahi Road is a road in Pirongia where my whānau lived. I was not yet born when they lived there. My mother was an only adopted child so her maternal cousins were like brothers and sisters to her, hence my sister referring to my mother's cousin as Uncle Boy.

continue on with this kaupapa.[57] Many other iwi rōpū have followed in their footsteps so some years it is a real feast of Kapa Haka. There were performances from Waikato-Tainui rōpū who were called on to entertain the manuwhiri. There were competitions for visiting rōpū at all levels from junior (primary school age), intermediate (secondary school) and a senior open grade competition. There would always be songs and haka performed that pay homage to the monarch of the day, for example 'Korokī', composed by Bill Kerekere for the kapa haka Waihirere to perform, and others about current issues.

As there was often attendance by members of the Crown, a number of compositions would be performed that related to injustices by the Crown towards Māori people. Though the Crown representatives more often than not did not understand what we were singing about, we did. These compositions were a way for us to reaffirm our collective need to right these wrongs; that is, if we kept singing about those injustices we would remind ourselves that we needed to continue to work with the Crown to gain compensation for those injustices. We also needed to remember our tūpuna who gave their lives in war so that we could live in a better world.

Many years on from my first attendance at the Hui Aranga, the old standard, Whakaaria mai, has been made popular by Māori and is a hymn sung by all denominations, both Māori and non-Māori. Te Kenana Wi Te Tau Huata translated the words of the hymn, 'When I survey the wondrous cross', into te reo but the words are sung to the tune of the hymn 'How Great Thou Art'. He did this because the tune of 'How great thou art' was better known and therefore would make the hymn easier to learn.[58] The late Sir Howard Morrison, who had a close association with Te Kenana, approached him to ask if he could use it in his

---

[57] There are whānau ties between members of Waihirere and the Kīngitanga. Tangiwai and George Ria, the current leaders of Wahirere kapa haka, are god parents to Tōmairangi Paki's, (a daughter of the late Māori Queen Te Atairangikaahu), son, Tūrongo.

[58] This was the technique used by early composers of waiata-ā-ringa such as Tuini Ngawai, e.g. her song 'E Te Hokowhitu' composed to the tune of Glen Miller's song 'In the Mood'.

repertoire as he felt it gave him scope to display his voice well. I also believe he wanted to use this song because he could sing it in te reo Māori which helped him reinforce his own identity as Māori. Te Kenana agreed and eventually Sir Howard Morrison recorded the song and made it famous by singing it in his national and international concerts.

The Hui Ahurei is a case in point in terms of an iwi trying to maintain the markers of its traditional identity, for example te reo and tikanga, but also trying to establish a modern identity to take them through this century and future centuries. The Hui Ahurei is a biennial hui of the Tūhoe iwi, held over the Easter Weekend holiday, every consecutive year to Te Matatini.

It began in 1970 at a hui called by John (Hoani) Te Rangiāniwaniwa Rangihau, to find ways of preserving te reo and tikanga of the Tūoe iwi. Mona Riini recalls the third hui in an article in a *Te Ao Hou Magazine.*

> I te Paraire te tuarua o ngā rā o Hūne, ka tīmata te Hui ā Tūhoe i Ruātoki. He tuatoru tēnei mō ēnei huihuinga. Ko ngā hui tuatahi, tuarua, i tū ki Mātaatua, ki Rotorua. Ko te hui tuatoru nei e tika kē ana ki te marae o Te Tira Hou ki Ākarana, engari i roto i ngā uauatanga, pēhea rānei, ka kore e taea e rātau te whakatutuki. Nō reira ka whakahokia mai ki Ruātoki E toru wiki i homaitia hei whakatikatika i ngā raruraru, i ngā marae, i ngā mahi e pā ana ki te hui nei. Ahakoa he poto noa tēnei wā, i tino kaha te komiti whakahaere ki te whakatikatika. Te marae hei whakaeke mō ngā tāngata, me ngā rōpu, ko Rewarewa. Tēnei marae, e rua ngā wharepuni me te hōro nui e mōhiotia nei ko ‘Anzac’. Ko ētahi o ngā marae moenga mō ngā tāngata, ko Ōhutu, ko Tūmātauenga, ko Tōtara, ko Tauarau, me Ngāhina. Ko Rewarewa te marae mō ngā koroua, kuia me ngā tāngata whakahaere i te hui. Te tumuaki ko Hoani Rangihau, te hēkeretari ko Piki McGarvey. Ō rāua hoa, ko te komiti whakahaere o te wā kāinga. Te

> komiti nui o te Hui ā Tūhoe, ko ngā māngai tokorua i whakahuatia ake me ngā tarikete tokotoru o ia rōpu.
>
> On Friday the second of June the Tūhoe hui began at Ruātoki. This was the third of this type of hui. The first and second hui were held at Mātaatua in Rotorua. The third hui was supposed to be held at Tira Hou marae in Auckland but a number of difficulties prohibited this from happening. So it was taken back to Ruātoki. There were only three weeks to fix the problems, make ready the marae and organise the activities for the hui. Even though time was short the organising committee worked enthusiastically to prepare for the hui. The welcome was held at Rewarewa marae. This marae has two wharepuni and a big hall called 'Anzac'. Other marae for people to sleep at were Ohutu, Tūmātautauenga, Tōtara, Tauarau and Ngāhina. Rewarewa was the marae for the elders and organising committee. Hoani Ranguhau was the Chairman and Piki Mc Garvey the secretary. Their support group were the organising committee from Ruātoki. The larger committee of Tūhoe comprised of the two above and three delegates from each group. (2)

Te Rangihau, as he was known, was raised as a leader of his iwi and assumed that role when required. I first met him as a student in the Tari Māori at the University of Waikato. He was a Research Fellow in the Research Centre for Māori Studies and was compiling a Ringatū Hāhi prayer and hīmene book. He was also an outstanding exponent of Māori performing arts, both that of ritual and entertainment and his pūkenga live on in his uri. I was fortunate to be tutored by him in the art of 'mau patu'. After I won the first ever trophy for kaitātaki wahine, for best female leader, in 1979, a competition where he was a judge, he approached me and asked me if I would like him to tutor me in the art of 'mau patu'. This was to be in utu for the assistance my mother gave him and his whānau on their arrival in Hamilton. For this, I will be forever grateful as it gave me another insight into Māori

performing arts and Kapa Haka and how I was able to assume another identity by the use of the patu. I was now not only a dancing and singing performer but also one skilled in weaponry use with an understanding of what it might have been like in earlier times when weapons like the patu were in common use – a time before the arrival of the Pākehā when traditional identity was not in question.

As an iwi, Tūhoe had not been affected by the loss of reo at that time. This was probably because they lived in a remote area of the Bay of Plenty, 'off the beaten track', so to say. But by the mid 1970's modernity was encroaching on those living in the valley of Ruātoki, the bushes of Ruātāhuna and the lakes of Waikaremoana. Tūhoe people who needed to leave their homes to go to the city to work and go to school, were bringing back English language and other customs, alien to their lifestyle, to the valley, bushes and lakes. The elders were aware of what had happened to other iwi, when they migrated to the cities in the 50's and 60's, to live and work and they could see that their iwi were being affected in the same way. Some feared not only the loss of reo and tikanga, but also of identity. To stem the flow of language and tikanga loss, Tūhoe have established a Whare Kōrero to maintain te reo and tikanga and also to keep their people upskilled in whaikōrero and karanga. The relationship of a Whare Kōrero to Kapa Haka is the performance and therefore maintenance of ritual processes such as karanga and whaikōrero. For the Tūhoe iwi, these changes have seen the evolution of a modern identity, but an identity that is still Tūhoe at its core.

As I mentioned earlier the Hui Ahurei began in 1970, immediately before the first Festival in 1972. Te Rangihau was a committee member when talks of having the first National Festival began in the late nineteen sixties. This must have inspired him to create a festival for his own people, based on similar reasons as the National Festival; that is, retention and revitalisation of tikanga and te reo.

The description of a Hui Ahurei is similar to other hui-ā-iwi, in most cases. There are competitions for netball, rugby, debates and Kapa Haka. The teams who compete in rugby and netball must also be part of the Kapa Haka rōpū. The repertoire is different from Te Matatini in that it focuses on te reo o Tūhoe, kawa and tikanga. The performance begins with a whakaeke and is followed by a haka pōwhiri performed by the whole rōpū. Next is a karanga from the kaitātaki wahine; a wero performed by a chosen male performer; a whaikōrero by the kaitātaki tāne and the remainder of the performance includes the waiata koroua, waiata-ā-ringa, poi, haka and whakawātea. Each rōpū may choose its own programme except the waiata koroua. This is a test piece which every rōpū must perform in exactly the same way as prescribed by their tūpuna. There is also an expectation that the wero will be performed as their tūpuna expect it to be - no extra embellishments are acceptable.

I mentioned earlier their move to creating a modern Māori identity. Although it is what I am debating in this thesis, it both gladdens and saddens me at the same time because of the part Kapa Haka has played in this. There was a time when the style and stance of Tūhoe haka performance was easily identifiable- hands and fingers kept straight and not stretched out too far from the body; feet moving but not to any great height off the ground; pūkana that was correctly done and meaningful. That is no longer the case. Some kapa haka of Tūhoe origin who have competed at Te Matatini, have been known to change their Tūhoe style to emulate that of other winning Te Matatini kapa haka. You would then presume that at a Hui Ahurei, these particular kapa haka would get marked down for assuming a different style to their own. Not so. Perhaps, it could be said that they do not lack the identity to the degree that many other people divorced from their tūrangawaewae lack.

Another much frequented hui, that I mentioned briefly earlier, was the Hui Tōpū of the Anglican Faith. Unfortunately, being Catholic and not Anglican, I never had cause to attend so I can not elaborate on it to any extent. However, from all accounts the programme

was similar to the Hui Aranga and the Hui Ahurei. The following is an excerpt from a *Te Ao Hou Magazine* article relating to the history of the Hui Tōpū.

> A glance at its history shows the nature of the Hui Topu. When in response to Maori demand, the Right Reverend Frederick Bennett was consecrated as Bishop of Aotearoa, he bacame suffragan or assistant to the Bishop to Waiapu. Each year the Waiapu Diocese dealt with Maori matters at the annual Synod, advised by resolutions passed in archdeaconry meetings in different parts of the Diocese. In 1953 all three archdeaconry meetings were combined and a Maori Synod was set up in Waipawa, Hawkes Bay. Thus, costing £766 with a credit balance of four shillings (!) the Hui Topu was born. Since then, at Tengae, Ruatoria, Wairoa and at Ruatoki this year, it has grown lustily. Besides the Synod there is a conference of Maori Youth, a debutantes' ball, a sacred music festival in which parish choirs compete and are judged, and a Maori cultural festival. Whilst the young folk have an opportunity to develop and display their talents, elders like to come to renew old acquaintances and to arrange tribal affairs. (13)

Kahu Pou talks about the Hui Tōpū when asked about her early recollections of performance:

> At an early age our family were exposed to Maori song, dance and protocol. Our grandparents were very strong with Te Reo Maori me ona tikanga Maori waiata, himene me nga karakia were from the Rawiri as our grandparents were very strong within Te Haahi Mihingare. Our father, an Anglican priest was also a very strong supporter of our culture and Te Reo. In the early 1950s-late 60s the Anglican Hui Toopu festivals were held yearly (normally during the May school holidays) with the exception when the pariha of Whangara were hosts, the hui was held in the summer vacation) These hui were held at various venues throughout Aotearoa and within the Diocese of Waiapu. Each pariha within the Diocese would have a Junior and a

> Pakeke roopu, on stage for about 20 mins, the disciplines as we have at Te Matatini, the choral item would be a compulsory himene, the kaiwhiriwhiri nominated by each pariha-KA RAWE. So for me when the Hui Toopu festivals ended the Polynesia Festivals began –Rotorua 1972. (sic) [59]

Another hui that was held in the fashion of the Hui Tōpū was the Hui Rātana. I do not remember ever attending. However Paraire Huata recalls attending and also talks about how he was able to learn other iwi tikanga by attending these many hui.

> By the time I was 16 I was a seasoned performer and knew the kawa and tikanga of every iwi. And was also familiar with large hui such as hui toopu, hui aranga, hui ratana and the koroneihana. It was at these larger hui that I saw other groups mostly a iwi delivering and first entered the competition arena. I realise now that doing your best was the order of the day rather than winning. I have that attitude to this day.[60]

In summary we see the beginnings of performances for international visitors of note such as the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall in the nineteenth century and the introduction of early concert parties as produced by Makareti Papakura. Although these performances were iwi specific they were still a way for the expression of a new Māori identity. This opened up the way for future developments in concert parties such as those set up by Tā Apirana Ngata and Paraire Tomoana including Ngāti Poneke Māori Club, as mentioned in the introduction, the first urban, pan-tribal concert party. They were the birth places of new kinds of urban whānau, divorced from their tūrangawaewae and therefore assuming their new modern Māori identity from the Māori concert parties that they belonged to. We ventured in to the stories retold by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku in terms of the tourist stage and its effects on the Te Arawa people and how those performances proceded the competitive performances we experience today. We also took a look at the different iwi hui around the country, comprising of sports,

[59] Kahu Pou personal correspondence, November 2013.
[60] Paraire Huata personal correspondence, November 2013.

debates and Kapa Haka and the processes they engage in to maintain an iwi identity, an identity that is modern and is representative of the times.

Chapter 3: Haka / 1972

Katoa:Taku taiaha!	Katoa: Behold my taiaha.
Kia hiwa rā! Kia hiwa rā!	Be on alert!
Whakahiwaia te ngākau o	Alert the heart of this group
Tēnei roopu	
He Toa Takitini. Hei!	He Toa Takitini.
He Toa Takitini. Hei!	He Toa Takitini.
Kaitātaki: Kia mau!	Kaitātaki: Be prepared!
Whakarongo ki te reo o	Listen to the voice of
Tūmatauenga. (5-6)	Tūmatauenga, God of War.

The first Polynesian Festival was staged in Rotorua in 1972, and I stepped onto the national stage for the first time. This is where we began perhaps paradoxically to develop our ideas of 'tradition' as a way of performing a new, modern Māori identity. The above verse is from a haka composed by Wi Te Tau Huata for his group, He Toa Takitini, of which I was a performer. We represented the wider Waikato, with our performance at the first National Festival. The haka is printed in *Ngā Waiata me Ngā Haka a Te Kapa Haka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato* with a translation by Tīmoti Kāretu. It invokes the God of War, Tūmatauenga, and calls on the performers to be alert, which is a usual process followed in a haka. What was unusual about this haka was that it was performed demonstrating taiaha moves. This is deemed to be different in today's performances but we see here that it happened in the very first Festival so really is 'old hat'!

This chapter is also where I start to argue through 'haka', through 'performance', that this time was where we, as a collective of different iwi Māori, created this new platform to express our thoughts and comment on the issues concerning our people in a more social and political way. Rotorua was and still is the heart of tourism and is the place that 'Māoriland'

meets the rest of the nation and beyond, or 'Pākehāland', in terms of Māori performance. It was where Makareti Papakura was based when she set up her concert party and left the legacy from what she had produced for tourist entertainment that coalesced into this Festival. This inaugural Festival set the stage for everything that followed, not only forty plus years of national festivals, but also iwi festivals and so much more.[61]

What better place than Rotorua to begin this new journey, one that would see Kapa Haka flourish as a new form of Māori performing arts. That the first National Festival was staged in Rotorua gains significance in restrospect. After all Rotorua was and still is at the crux of the encounter between Māori and Pākehā, especially insofar as the natives put on a show for explorers and settlers. Also it sits at the centre of the island and at a kind of border between the wilder bush and the rapidly colonised coasts. It was both the place where such performances were already customary, and also, perhaps, where the 'authentic' and the 'made up' were already being mixed. Rotorua was (and is) where Māori consciously construct representations of themselves as 'natives' for performance, and in performance move between that performance and their contemporary selves in explaining that construct to audiences.[62] But Rotorua is also at the edge of a vast area where Māori carry on marae centred lives, not immobilised as remote Amazonian indigenes, but as people who move back and forth between diverse communities including the cities.

We walked out onto the Festival stage 'like Brown's Cows'. There was no order, no set choreography. We were guided by the words; we illustrated their meanings with pūkana and hand gestures as we chose in the moment. If the word was 'rangatira', we brought our right hands to our brows, with the left covering our breasts, wiri-ing all the while. By performing the wiri, kaihaka are drawing from the earth, from Papatūānuku, strength to empower their wairua; drawing it up through their feet, into their bodies and out through their

[61] I have discussed these iwi festivals in Chapter Two.
[62] See again Werry.

fingers. This process only gains momentum as a kaihaka draws on his ihi to come out. If he is successful he will (whaka)wehi the audience and consequently his performance will have wana. The following is what Wharehuia Milroy has to say on ihi, wehi and wana in *Kia Rōnaki The Māori Performing Arts.*

> I roro i tēnā, i tēnā, i tēnā o ia tangata, ngā momo wheako o tōna wā, i a ia e tamariki ana tae noa ki te wā i a ia ka pakeke. Kai roto ngā wheako e noho ana i a ia, ka mutu, ki te kite ia, ki te rongo ia, ā-tinana, ā-wairua rānei, i tētahi āhuatanga, he aha rā taua mea, hai reira kua huihui katoa mai aua wheako rā ki te whakaputa i tēnei mea e kīia nei ko te ihi. (23)
>
> Within each and every one of us are things we have experienced from childhood to adulthood. These experiences dwell within us and if we see and feel physically or spiritually a particular thing we wonder what that is. All those experiences come together to produce what we call 'ihi'.
>
> Nā, e kore e taea te ihi mehemea kāore he wehi. Me wehi anō i roto i a koe ki te aha? E wehi ana koe ki tētehi āhuatanga he wairua kē, he wairua kē kei roto. Nā reira ka haere atu au ki te wehi nei, mai i te ihi ki te wehi, nā e kore e taea e te ihi te tū i tōna kotahi anake, engari me wehi anō ā-roto. Ko te wehi nei, ki ahau, ko taua atuatanga kai roto i te tangata, kua whakaputaina e te tangata taua atuatanga rā. (32)
>
> Ihi can not be present without wehi. What should you dread? You are fearful of something that has a spiritual element in it. Therefore I move now to wehi, from ihi to wehi. Ihi can not be present on its own. Wehi must also be there. To me, wehi is that part of a person that is godlike, the part of him that comes out that is godlike.
>
> Mō te āhua ki te wana nei, i te nuinga o te wā, ko te wana ki ahau, ko ngā rongo, ngā kare-ā-roto rānei e ara mai ana i roto i a koe, nā runga i tētahi mahi e mahia mai ana e tētahi tangata. Hai tauira māku, kāore e whāiti noa iho mai ki ngā mahi haka anake. I

> ētahi wā, ka titiro atu koe i te tangata, i te wahine e karanga ana, ana kupu, tana tū, tōna āhua, e whakakotahi mai ana i taua wā tonu, e mau atu ai i a koe, e whakamau atu ai i ōu whakaaro ki a ia, ko taua wā tonu rā, e taea ai te kī e koe, i roto i a koe, 'hū!'(33)
>
> As for wana, most of the time to me wana is what you feel, all the varying emotions one can feel inside as a result of what one does. As an example, it is not only present in haka performances. Sometimes, when you are watching someone, a woman doing the karanga, her words, her stance, her presence, all coming together at once, you are taken aback, your thoughts are consumed by her at that precise time and you are able to say, 'my goodness!'

Wiri is integral to preparation for the performance to follow, so wiri though not always uniform in its delivery, is an action of identification, and therefore supports a Maōri identity and is a way for Māori to be Māori in performance.

We performed a haka from our rohe, a 'haka ngeri' – announcing our presence and acknowledging the occasion as part of the whakaeke. We were not much concerned with the audience, beyond wanting them to applaud. In fact, we had had no more than a few practices before performing together as a group for the first time in 1972, and we had decided to begin by reverting back to what we felt we knew best, how to walk onto a marae. Tīmoti Kāretu recalls:

> I tae atu ai au ki Rotorua ki ngā taumāhekeheke tuatahi o te motu whānui nā te mea i tōia atu au e Wi Te Tau Huata ki tana kapa o He Toa Takitini. Waimarie i pau te kotahi wiki e haratau ana ka tū mātou ki te mura o te ahi. Ko tā Wī ko te tū o te ringa me te tautoko i te kaupapa ngā taonga nui ehara kē i te papatū ki ngā mahi.
>
> I went to Rotorua to the first national competition because Wi Te Tau Huata had dragged me into his group He Toa Takitini. We were lucky if we had a week to

> practise before we had to be on stage. To Wi it was more important to be there in person to support the occasion than to win any placings.[63]

That is, for us when we started it was more ritual than theatre. After that, what we performed was more like a concert.

We had been fortunate to be there because the regional competition in Waikato-Maniapoto, as the region was then known, did not eventuate as planned. Instead we were chosen, along with the rōpū Taniwharau, to represent Waikato by Te Atairangikaahu, the Ariki of the Kīngitanga at the time. Paraire Huata recalls:

> The call goes out to the motu come to Rotorua. We want representatives from each rohe. At the time there were only 3 significant Maori groups in Waikato. Ngati Hamutana, He Toa Takitini and Taniwharau. Dad led the first 2 so he put them together and he asked Te Arikinui for Taniwharau. Of course as you know our rehearsal time was minimal and our group numbers were fluid. I still have strong recollections about teaching the haka to Star Renata, John Coleman and Kima Hakaraia the haka the night before we were to perform. We were meant to have a regional competition, but that was flagged. The interesting thing was that we were all seasoned performers but not used to competitions at this level. So it was an interesting time.[64]

He Toa Takitini went to show the support of our Ariki of the kaupapa, but also because we were a group that was very visible in the community, performing and entertaining at many events locally, nationally and internationally. As a result we presented ourselves on stage as we knew from our ritual practices on the marae. We were the embodiment of our ancestors and were only concerned with expressing our identity as people from Waikato-Maniapoto, although some of our members at that time were from other iwi. As we had all grown up

[63] Personal correspondence with Tīmoti Kāretu on November, 2013.
[64] Personal correspondence with Paraire Huata, November 2013.

knowing and practising our kawa and tikanga as they related to our tribes, this way of performing was what we were most comfortable with and it also meant we were not subject to long hours of practising new items. We were proud to be representing our rohe and to be part of this new journey that the Māori people were all embarking on; that is, the creation of a new, modern Māori identity via Māori performing arts, via Kapa Haka.

Initially protocol was part of the style of performance – for example, whakaeke, entering the stage 'as if onto a marae' – but not necessarily its objective. Protocol was a part of our performance practice, that is, the way we knew how to do things like make an appearance before an audience. Similarly, karanga and whaikōrero were early constituent components, because these practices were part of our reflexive consciousness, automatically part of what was expected of us in engaging with others in public. That is, the preservation of protocol was not the primary objective; it was along for the ride because we were still attached to it in our daily lives, many of us at least. It was how we knew how to perform.

Being on a stage in competition changed all that, at least superficially. We turned to the audience and began to construct something new – a theatrical performance, with the expectation of applause at the end. In fact, at times it seemed that many of us worked harder for that applause than for the approbation of the judges. It was the judges who brought us back, repeatedly, to the challenges of making effective use of te reo and being true to the conventions of our own marae. And it was the judges who prescribed clarity in the use of protocol as it was progressively translated into a practice that could preserve our ideas of ourselves as Māori people still connected to the past but performing to the present audience. We could not just sing the old songs and wave our hands around; what we did was codified and identified, formalised into a new repertoire, called 'traditional' and, as time progressed, given the name Kapa Haka. Tīmoti Kāretu remembers:

> Ko te tino kaupapa hoki i aua wā rā ko te whakatenatena i ngā iwi kia whakaorangia mai ā rātou ake waiata, haka hoki, kia mutu te tiki atu i ngā rangi a te ao Pākehā, engari e noho ki te tito i āu ake, kia whakapikitia ake te kounga o ngā mahi ki taumata kē atu hei mātakitakitanga mā te hunga tāpoi mai i tāwāhi.
>
> The main purpose in those days was to encourage the tribes to revive their own songs and haka and to cease using Pākehā tunes therefore encouraging original compositions so tourists from overseas can see our culture has risen to new heights.[65]

If I look at how the stage is presented for our use now I am amazed at how far we have come especially as I was recently reminded as to how few props we used back then at the beginning. I spoke with Raana Tangira, nee Kerekere, who was a performer in Te Kāhui Rangatahi, a group from Wellington, at the first Festival. Raana said:

> We began the performances at the Rotorua Race Course, Rotowhio, but we got rained out so moved to the Rotorua Sportsdrome. We had no amplification and a bare stage, quite different from what we use now. You could be sure though, that what you heard was a true representation of what the performing group could put out in terms of vocal volume. You had no extra support and nowhere to hide, or nothing to hide behind.[66]

Others were very conscious of the theatricality of the stage and, better rehearsed, constructed their performances to please the audience as well as the judges. Our group was exceptional, not because of the politics one might read into it now – that we were holding to marae protocol against the imprecations of our first big encounter with the Festival stage in competition. We were doing the 'real thing' and the others were not. We were performing Māori, the others giving sway to the European frame. But this would not be truthful. We had been used to a 'curtains up' start, lights on, perform – the conventions of community theatre.

---

[65] Personal correspondence with Tīmoti Kāretu November 2013.
[66] Personal communication with Raana Kerekere - Tangira, May, 2014, at the funeral of Paraire Henare Tomoana Huata at Waipatu marae, Hastings.

It was the instruction to whakaeke, to enter as if onto a marae, that threw us out of the theatrical frame and back toward marae protocol, from theatre to ritual, in ways that were impossible to reconcile performatively. It did not fit. But it was a start. It was as if off the marae we had to perform Māori to be Māori and we were just learning how to do this, with no clear direction from anyone or anywhere but ourselves, we performed what and how we knew. We were performing in two cultures. We were not acting 'syncretic' in the way valorised by Christopher Balme. Rather we were bringing our understanding of what it meant to 'perform Māori' into a European frame as if it were transparent.

I have attached a copy of the Judges' Rules for the first Festival as an appendix to this document as it is quite interesting to see how things have changed. Note I did not say progressed because currently there are no rules, which are even close in nature to the initial rules, for judges of today to be guided by. There are rules for entry into the competition, for selection, for instrumental accompaniment, but no actual rules for judging the repertoire as performed, which the judges must adhere to. Judges are guided in what to look for and how to comment on why they gave particular marks, but ultimately it is up to them as to how they judge. In 1972 it had to be more explicit as not everyone could be expected to know as we embarked on a new journey of discovery about ourselves and our identity via performance. It was not just my rōpū who did not know, it was everyone. Everything had to be spelled out and started to be standard.

I look at the stage itself, as a platform for the performance of cultural identity, at the making of the rules and establishment of the set pieces, and at key performances within the whole, insofar as they offer ideas of how we performed and who we thought we were to be performing at that time. How might this performance – or collation of performances, really – define Māori identity as the status quo, and how might it have sought to consolidate or indeed transform that identity as a result of the events of the day? That is, how might this

performance have moved us as Māori towards a way of being through doing in a modern society, if in fact that was even possible? What might the primary elements of that state be if we were to be Māori in this context? Is it facility with reo and tikanga, an ability to enter as if onto a marae even when – as we did in 1972 – stepping onto a colonised stage?

Further, if we see the Kapa Haka Festival stage, in 1972 as now, as a liminal space outside the status quo of everyday New Zealand, in which we claim the freedom to express ourselves as Māori, what kind of liminality are we talking about? Could it be seen as 'liminoid' with the potential of provoking or performing the possibility of continuous change, or are the limits of the Festival stage more absolute – both in the way Kapa Haka looks to the past and in the way it meets its European frame? Would it be more appropriate, perhaps, to talk of Kapa Haka as performing Māori as no longer fully colonised but not quite not colonised? Ultimately, the question for this chapter is: how did the 'repertoire', the bits and pieces of performance, pre-1972 become the Repertoire (in Taylor's terms) of Kapa Haka?

Other than an extensive covering of the opening speeches of the first festival in a *Te Ao Hou Magazine,* and a copy of the festival rules and the first programme, there are few written records of this signal event, but it remains vivid in the living memories of those of us who were there. As such, I use our remembrances as material for analysis. I am especially interested in the diversity, to consider the contradictions in the stories we tell, because in spite of the careful planning and attention to kaupapa, the story of the event can be told in many different ways. As these narratives intersect and diverge, they can restore a sense of the complexity of the festival in performance, the range of meanings it produced then and its influences to this day. I want to re-visit the conversations and decisions that led directly to the Festival, the social and political imperatives, aspirations and expectations, driving its founding and given expression in performance, at the same time that I examine the construction of Kapa Haka as performance and as a competition.

The creation of a National Kapa Haka Festival served multiple purposes. In the first instance, the Festival was to provide an avenue for the retention and revitalisation of te reo through the composition of new songs alongside the old. It was also explicitly designed to professionalise performers working in the tourist industry. Kiore Enterprises Ltd. prepared a report for Te Puni Kokiri on *The Place and Role of Kapa Haka in Modern New Zealand Society. A Report To Inform Te Matatini*. It describes how the first Festival came to be and further on talks about the changes made to the name of the Festival that followed:

> The first festival of Māori performing arts was held in Rotorua in 1972, funded by the Māori Purposes Fund Board. Responsible for promoting health, education, social and economic welfare of Māori, the Māori Purposes Fund Board (constituted under the Māori Purposes Fund Act 1934-35) encouraged the teaching of Māori arts and crafts and the preservation of the Māori language. (2)

The programme booklet of the 1996 Festival says: 'These objectives were discussed in 1964 with the idea of constituting a committee to consider that the Board "sponsor and grant prizes for a National Māori Cultural Competition".'[67]

The Kiore Enterprises Report gives further comment on the establishment of the festival committee which brings us closer to the first Festival:

> The establishment of a cultural festival was supported at the 1969 National Development Conference. In 1970 the Minister of Māori Affairs established a committee to oversee and convene what were to become known as Polynesian Festivals (at both regional and national levels). (3)

Richards and Ryan note that the recommendations put forward at the conference were: "to an extent a confirmation of an existing framework of competition that already existed on a smaller scale at regional level" (99). Richards and Ryan state further that their view was that

[67] ATMPAS, (1996). ATMPAS Festival Rotorua. *Programme booklet*, unpaged.

the introduction of this new competition or Festival was probably less a desire to enhance and support Māori and Polynesian cultural aspirations as an opportunity to: "better Māori performance in the commercial arena of tourist productions" (100). It was generally felt among those who wanted to promote te reo and tikanga that the performances for tourists were lacking in this area and that there needed to be checks and balances to monitor tourist performance. Maybe the establishing of a new competitive arena should go some way to improving this. The Kiore Enterprises Report goes on to say:

> The involvement of the Tourist Development Council Sub-Committee on Polynesian Entertainment reinforced this position, as did Kāretu in his book 'Haka -The Dance of a Noble People', who wrote that the festival objectives were to: "raise the standard of performance for, primarily, tourist consumption and to provide an incentive for the tribes to actively revive the traditional chant and haka of their own areas". (80).

The programmes being produced by rōpū for tourist consumption were becoming repetitive and similar no matter where or who was doing the performing. As tourist performance was mostly found in Rotorua there was not a lot of scope for haka and waiata of other tribal rohe to be seen and heard, hence the encouragement of rohe and rōpū to revive in performance their own traditional songs and haka. Providing a national Festival as a platform for this was a beginning of this revival.

The Reverend Kingi M. Ihaka, M.B.E., J.P., Chairman of the Festival Committee is recorded in an article titled, Te Whētiwara o Poronīhia, Polynesian Festival, 1972, in a *Te Ao Hou Magazine.* He makes reference, in his opening speech at the first Polynesian Festival whilst welcoming their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Porritt, to the need for a Polynesian Festival; that is, the preservation of the Māori culture and encouraging people to write their own lyrics and tunes. He also makes comment about the kind of race relations and politics of the country that existed at the time:

> I believe that the reception by the Maori people to Her Majesty the Queen and members of the Royal Family at Gisborne in 1970, was a most spectacular and moving performance. This acted as a stimulus to those of us who had been concerned with the preservation of Maori culture as well as concern for the type of entertainment which has been labelled as 'Maori', to do something positive in this field. We felt that the time was opportune for the Maori to exhibit his talents and perhaps recapture the spirit of his ancestors, to compose his own songs, chants, haka and so on, rather than rely on the latest pop tunes, to move him to write lyrics. We felt also, that here in our country we have the best racial climate in the world, to promote through song and dance an even warmer climate in our relations with one another. (9 -10)

Kingi Ihaka was a 'man of the cloth' and believed that Aotearoa/New Zealand had reached a state of racial harmony between the coloniser and the tangata whenua. He was also a man who could reconcile being a traditional Māori with his Christianity as an Anglican. He was born and raised in the far north of the North Island which was where the Anglican faith was first introduced to this country. He was a native speaker of the Māori language and was well versed in tikanga Māori. Many Māori ministers of his ilk were able to move between both worlds quite comfortably and did not see the contradictions that were proposed. His kapa haka rōpū, The Auckland Anglican Māori Choir, became his vehicle for the performing of the new compositions he wrote in order to show the rest of the Kapa Haka world that what he proposed, in terms of writing new tunes and not using popular western tunes, was entirely possible. He goes on to talk about other avenues of cultural restoration that I am glad to say have eventuated for the most part:

> I am looking forward to the day, for instance, when radio and T.V. announcers will include as part of their normal language, Polynesian phrases. It would be good to be greeted on a cold, wet morning by, 'Kia Ora!' or 'Tēnā Koutou!' or 'Talofa Lava!' or

> "Kia orana koutou katoatoa! instead of 'Good morning!' when one is still tugging away at blankets to keep warm. (9 - 10)

Today we have twenty-two Māori radio stations and at least two television stations that deliver programmes in te reo Māori and the kind of greetings he spoke about are now commonplace. Here it can be seen that not only Kapa Haka is encouraging the creation of a modern Māori identity but that technology is increasingly playing its part in this movement. The National Festival brought together very diverse groups of Māori with differing ideas about themselves as Māori and therefore their performances reflected an Aotearoa/ New Zealand that was also intially diverse in identity.

In his reply recorded in the same article in Te Whētiwara o Poronīhia, Polynesian Festival, 1972 in a *Te Ao Hou Magazine*, the Governor-General does not necessarily answer or reply to any of the comments made by Kingi Ihaka, however what he says about race relations in the country at that time is worth noting:

> Today we add to representatives of all the Maori tribes (17 teams from eight Maori Council Districts) some hundred or more of our friends from the Pacific Islands – from Samoa, the Tokelaus, Niue and the Cook Islands. Indeed it is a noble and historic gathering! ... So, my friends, let us realise and appreciate straight away that, despite all present differences and difficulties, we have come a long way in a relatively short time in history to achieving that ideal we all in our hearts hold so dear – in your language kotahitanga – in ours living peacefully together in mutual trust and understanding. The aims and objectives of this Festival – the encouragement and promotion of Polynesian culture – have already proved to be a very important factor in producing this much-to-be-desired result and I have no doubt deeds of this weekend will greatly enhance that influence. (11 - 12)

He believed that Aotearoa/New Zealand was well on its way to becoming one nation in 1972 as epitomised by the appearance of unity of the nation of Māori and Pākehā on the Kapa Haka stage. A number of teams, even at the beginning of the Festival, had non-Māori performing:

> Pakeha who have earned their places not only by their ability and skill in the arts portrayed, but by their spontaneous enthusiasm for and love of what is being done. So does a modern New Zealand weld together its ancient traditions - from all sources. (11 - 12)

In this the Governor-General appears to separate the importance of what those 'minority factions' were trying to achieve in this country in terms of equality. He uses the fact that Pākehā were performing with Māori at the first Festival to overshadow cultural differences and political problems. For me, this belies the reality of our existence as tangata whenua in our own land.

Kaiwai in his unpublished Masters thesis *Pūkana rawatia! Mickey Mouse does the haka!* asserts that the role of the Māori Purposes Fund Board which had set aside $5,000 towards the staging of the inaugural event in Rotorua effectively recast the State as: "a benevolent body with 'apparent' benefits as well as providing the perfect medium for the symbolic and public expression of State bi-culturalism" (129). By this statement I believe Kaiwai sees the State, in its act of providing funds, minimal at that, as doing its part in supporting the tangata whenua and making everyone else believe that we were developing well as a bi-cultural nation. The inequity, however, of the funding of the arts in Aotearoa/New Zealand is still far apart even today, with the national orchestra, opera and ballet each receiving more than triple the funding to what tangata whenua get. What tangata whenua produce in terms of Kapa Haka is indigenous to this country, whereas the other art forms can be found almost in any other country in the world.

In the same article in the *Te Ao Hou* the Governor General acknowledges Ihaka's status as the driving force behind the idea of the first National Festival. He says:

> The Festival is the brain-child of Reverend Kingi Ihaka—it is he who nursed it from the inception of the idea—it is he with his bubbling enthusiasm, his flair for organisation and his slave-driving tactics, who has been, admittedly with many good friends, advisers, and helpers, responsible for the complex administration that has brought us all together today. (11 - 12)

The enthusiasm in wanting to participate in this newly proposed journey quickly spread across the Māori performing arts world. It created for us, as a collective of different iwi Māori, an opportunity to take what we knew to do off the marae and on to the stage. It gave us an avenue to show our identity, to perform as iwi Māori. The positive aspect of all this was being part of a movement to revitalise te reo and tikanga and create new compositions that would be recordings of a time in the history of Māori. It also, whether or not we thought of it at the time, created a tension for many of us.

The stage in 1972 was just a bare platform, with some narrow steps leading up, set into the open air of the Rotorua Racecourse. There was no proscenium arch, no artificial lighting on the stage beyond what was in place for the Racecourse otherwise, no amplified sound. I do not remember where the judges were, because the goal of my own group was to acquit ourselves honourably for our region – or at least not to embarrass ourselves and our community too much – and get off with grace so that we could watch the others. The audience sat on the ground and in the stands, as they do now. As I recall, we took our own food, a packed lunch from the marae we were staying at; the caravans, booths and alternative stages we see now, were not there yet. It may have been filmed, but it most certainly was not televised. It was not so rough and ready as much as it was part and parcel of its time. By that I mean we had yet to engage in the full theatrical use of a stage. As long as there was a space

to perform for the participating rōpū and a place for judges and the audience to sit and watch, that was sufficient.

We began the Festival at the Rotorua racecourse and that was where our rōpū got to perform our waiata tira. The next day the Festival was moved to the Rotorua Sports Drome because the racecourse got rained out and we performed the rest of our bracket on a different stage, on a different day. The waiata tira has always been a component of performance though not part of the aggregate score. The Anglican Māori Club, Sir Kingi Ihaka's rōpū, unfortunately did not qualify for the first Festival as recalled by one of his kaihaka, Kahu Pou. They were already well known for their expert choral singing as it was something they gathered together to do every church day so we were all expecting them to take out the waiata tira. But because they were not present another rōpū came to the fore in this item, Te Kauri from the north[68]. At the first Festival I remember being enthralled at the purity of sound Te Kauri produced and how well they blended their harmonies as a result of the great tutelage by their conductor Mr. Kelly Harris. To this day many other rōpū have yet to discover how to do that. By this I mean most rōpū just use the waiata tira as an item to warm up their voices rather than to excel in producing beautiful harmonies. And yet when it comes to other items in the repertoire they will go all out to create melodies with harmonies that allow them to move beyond the banal. Maybe this is because they do not see the waiata tira as a vehicle for expressing an identity, especially a modern identity.

There are a number of other kapa haka that I remember vividly from 1972. One was Waioeka who gained third place at the festival. This rōpū was from Whakatohea. Its movements and actions, as well as strength of singing, was very reminiscent of a rōpū, Ngā

[68] At the introduction of the Festival the North was not yet a separate rohe but instead competed in the Auckland regional competitions.

Pōtiki, led by one of their tūpuna, Rawinia Rangi.[69] I had seen the rōpū, Ngā Pōtiki, perform at Founders' Theatre, in Hamilton, in the 1960s. When I watch the current rōpū from that area, Ōpōtiki mai Tawhiti, perform, I am reminded how identity is linked to genes, as their styles, though decades apart, are reminiscent of their ancestors who performed in Ngā Pōtiki in the sixties. Ōpōtiki mai Tawhiti though is certainly in the business of developing a new modern Māori identity. It is constantly testing its own boundaries when it prepares it repertoire by being committed to maintaining their Whakatōhea traditions while always creating new and innovative performances that are indicative of the change in the make-up of the iwi in terms of town versus city experiences. Ngāti Hinekura is another rōpū I remember, not only for their performance which gained them some placings, but also because they were one of the few rōpū that spoke Māori on and off the stage. Paraire Huata recalls what stood out for him that day:

> There are five things that are strong in my mind and I often think about them. Dad stripped and in a kahu kiwi provided by Emily Schuster leading us on. Hinekura stacked with their oldies and showing their wealth in their kakahu and weaponry. They brought the ao kohatu sound. Ngati Poneke with the haka Titiro and Poi waeroa. They were so slick. Waioeka with their poi and muka bodices. Their sound was unreal. Taniwharau going all the way back to Ngaruawahia after their performance to get the tapu lifted so they could come back again to enjoy the rest of the festival.[70]

Huata talks about his father who as an Anglican Minister was never seen in anything but his clerical robes, on a daily basis. These clothes were his symbol of identity as an Anglican priest so everyone was amazed when he stripped to perform. One might ask, what does that signify about the way Kapa Haka then, and maybe now, provoked Canon (Te

[69] Rawinia Rangi was a close whanaunga of Ngāpō Wehi and is also a great grandmother of one of my mokopuna, Mere Ta Rau Aroha Hata-Huata. Today a number of her uri perform for Opotiki-mai-i-tawhiti.

[70] Personal communication with Paraire Huata, November, 2013.

Kenana) Huata to lose the layer of identity that showed he was a priest? What caused him to don a piupiu and a kahu kiwi to reclaim his inner identity, to reclaim himself as a Māori, as another kind of performer, as another kind of man? I believe that even though he retained his stance as the rangatira of the group by wearing a kahu kiwi for this performance he wanted to be counted as one of the group, to be seen as part of the collective rather than a man of God and therefore set apart from the rest of us by profession.

The fact that the rōpū Taniwharau found it necessary to go all the way back to Ngāruawahia to have their tapu lifted is interesting in that in order for them to perform waiata from their iwi, their rohe they needed to be in a state of tapu. This meant that they were restricted from engaging in any activites other than what they had prepared for. To be able to be part of the wider Festival they needed to have that tapu lifted. Rōpū of today may undergo that process but will always have someone in their company who can lift that tapu for them by performing the appropriate karakia which frees them up to engage in what else the Festival has provided for them.

The memories that Paraire Huata has of the first Festival echo my own. I remember watching the Poi Waeroa of Ngāti Pōneke and thinking they were smart to have chosen to perform a single long poi when every other rōpū was performing single or double short poi. They won the poi. Ngāti Hinekura represented Te Arawa, an iwi not known to be strong at speaking te reo in the performance arena in the ensuing years. Today that is not so. Now te reo is flourishing again amongst Te Arawa performers. Some of that can be attributed to the developing opportunities within Te Arawa to access classes to learn te reo; the growth of Kōhanga Reo; Kura Kaupapa Māori and some to performing in Kapa Haka rōpū.

I have long since had a question in my head about the way we perform the whakaeke and how we transport elements of the pōwhiri from the marae ātea to the stage, especially the karanga. A main element of conduct, which can be seen during the process of encounter on

the marae ātea; that is, the pōwhiri, is that reciprocity is expected. For example if a karanga goes out from the tangata whenua to a visiting ope, the manuwhiri, then there is a karanga in reply from the visiting ope to the tangata whenua, or vice versa depending on the iwi. However during a whakaeke on stage this does not happen. If the rōpū on stage sends out a karanga as part of their whakaeke there is no reply. Also there is confusion as to who the rōpū on stage is- tangata whenua or manuwhiri because, for most iwi, the tangata whenua send out the first karanga and await a reply. Most rōpū arrive at the Festival as manuwhiri therefore they know that the karanga they send out will be to the host committee and iwi associated with it- to the tangata whenua. But when you are a rōpū from the host iwi who do you karanga to? Do you karanga to the crowd of spectators whose make-up is a mixture of tangata whenua and manuwhiri? Do you instead karanga to the judges who again may be a mixture of iwi from the tangata whenua and manuwhiri. Or should ritual itself not be at question here because once the performance is removed from the marae and put onto the stage it becomes theatre and not ritual? After all the ritual part of pōwhiri has been satisfied by the mass pōwhiri to all manuwhiri the day before competition starts and therefore, according to ritual, once that happens we are all tangata whenua. In her paper 'Performing Māori: Kapa Haka on the Stage and on the Ground', Sharon Mazer has this to say in terms of ritual as opposed to theatre and goes some way to answering my questions:

> The act of *pōwhiri* – the ritual of encounter that welcomes guests and, for the duration of the engagement, lifts the taboo attached to strangers and binds all together under the roof of the *tangata whenua* (hosts) – is enacted formally as the competitors, commentators and judges *et al.* arrive. And then it is reiterated, cited and performed theatrically as each group steps onto the stage. As a result, the performance is essentially one of ongoing recognition: "You're Māori? Me too! Cher bro!" Participants come together as if for a hui (a traditional meeting), for a performative

> debate about the particulars of being Māori then and now, on a ground that has been made, through *pōwhiri* and through performance, temporarily common. (47)

She goes on to talk further about whakaeke and the ritual of encounter; that is, the pōwhiri:

> Critical to the successful *Kapa Haka* performance is the *whakaeke*, the entrance of the team onto the stage "as if onto a *marae*" – that is, each team must demonstrate its knowledge and respect for one of the most critical aspects of Māori protocol. The peaceful encounter of one *iwi* with another..... On the festival stage, each group begins its entrance as *manuwhiri*. Their lead woman *karangas,* and they promenade from stage right to centre, facing stage left as of towards an unseen group of home people who are welcoming them, calling them on; then turning to face forward, they erupt into a full frontal *haka pōwhiri* – that is, as they turn, they seem to transform themselves from guests to hosts. They literally take to the stage and make it their own, directing the rest of their performance to the spectators (and judges) seated in front of them. From the start, then, *Kapa Haka* performance explicitly opens itself outwards, from the ritualised encounter between two *iwi* and the diverse spectators on the other side of the proscenium arch. (48)

In 1972 the elements of performance, that is the repertoire, looked much as they do now. The waiata tira, which is a non-aggregate item, is no longer performed on a different day as was done in 1972 but rather it precedes the whakaeke. Usually rōpū come on to the stage, perform their waiata tira then they leave the stage to prepare for their whakaeke. The whakaeke begins the performance of the aggregate items. The rituals of the marae, karanga and whaikōrero, were performed as part of the whakaeke, just as now, though we are hearing and seeing less and less the whaikōrero. At the first Festival the whakaeke was a much more restrained performance than it is now. Rōpū did not choose to use cover tunes from Western popular music so much then but turned more to what was termed a traditional item. For

example the ngeri that we performed was a traditional waiata-haka. There was no sign of mimesis in the early days of the Festival. Drums and bells as accompaniment were rarely heard. They had yet to be transferred from the marae to the stage. Some groups of men may have been armed with taiaha, but not all were, and it was not an expectation that they would actually display their prowess at using them as rōpū like Te Mātārae i o Rehu[71] do today. Other kinds of props that would have been used in games and pastimes that we now see on the Festival stage, were not evident in 1972.

Then, as now, rōpū can choose what order they perform the rest of the aggregate items. However the next aggregate item that is usually performed is the waiata koroua as it supports the whaikōrero. Here we see rōpū trying to maintain some sort of marae protocol in their performance. The choice of waiata koroua has remained the same, that is, rōpū sang waiata koroua from their iwi, their rohe, just as they do today. However there has been a change throughout the years, as tutors choose to compose new waiata koroua based on the traditional style, about more current kaupapa. This item more than any other, except perhaps the haka, gives an identity to the rōpū performing it. More often than not, other iwi, which means other rōpū, usually because of the protocol of having attended pōwhiri around the country, will have some knowledge of the waiata koroua performed, if it is a traditional one. Because of the strong competitive nature of the Festival there has been some debate as to what type of waiata koroua is best to perform in order to win. Should a rōpū choose to perform a waiata tangi which is slow in delivery and does not seem to move the audience, let alone the judges, or a pātere which is faster and can stir up emotions in people watching? Ultimately rōpū must choose for themselves because even though Kapa Haka has grown and developed, one way in which a performer or rōpū gains and maintains an identity, traditional

[71] Te Mātārae i o Rehu is a rōpū from Rotorua tutored by Wetini Mitai-Ngatai from Te Arawa. They have been winners of the Festival in 2000 at Ngāruawahia and 2011 at Gisborne. They are especially notable for their taiaha exponentry.

or modern, is still strongly linked to the waiata koroua. This is because waiata koroua are written to commemorate an event, a particular person whose iwi is acknowledged and therefore gains an identity from that iwi.

The waiata-ā-ringa, poi and haka then follow in the order that a rōpū chooses. The waiata-ā-ringa is the most recent addition to a Kapa Haka performance although it has been part of the repertoire for over a hundred years. In 1972 one of the reasons for the Festival was to encourage the composition of new tunes for waiata-ā-ringa, not borrowed tunes, as had been the practice in the past. Some rōpū were able to do this but not all. Unfortunately this is still an area of the repertoire that has not grown many new compositions. Rōpū still choose to use popular Western tunes to enhance the words of a waiata-ā-ringa as it quickly gains the attention of the audience. However composition of waiata-ā-ringa has seen a distinct improvement of the type of te reo used. It also has been an agent in the development of a modern Māori identity through the type of te reo used and the kaupapa written about. In 1972 actions in waiata-ā-ringa were common throughout different iwi and were simpler.

The poi might follow the waiata-ā-ringa. The first Festival saw the majority of rōpū using double short poi that were also much shorter in length than short poi of today. It was rare to see long poi being used on the competitive stage then. That was why the poi waeroa performed by Ngāti Pōneke in 1972 was such a stand out poi. Everyone was surprised and impressed with its appearance and performance.

Haka performed in 1972 were usually haka taparahi, without weapons. That was another reason why the rōpū I performed in was different as we did a haka taiaha. Many rōpū performed the classic haka taparahi from their rohe or iwi such as Kura Tīwaka[72] from the East Coast.

[72] Kura Tīwaka was said to have been composed before contact with the Pākehā, therefore the composer is unknown.

The aggregate items usually end with the whakawātea. Rōpū in 1972 performed whakawātea that quickly got them off the stage with as little ceremony as possible and they actually cleared the stage. Today rōpū can already be on the stage to perform their whakaeke and neither do they have to completely vacate the stage in their whakawātea. This is now an accepted practice though not one all judges would agree with. Performances were also not as theatrical then as they are now. The current practice is to try and make performances more theatrical than ever though some rōpū would dispute this. The more props and innovative choreography a rōpū can put into a programme the harder other rōpū try to emulate them. At times these actions of rōpū trying to make their performance more theatrical seem to dominate the words and kaupapa leaving the props to do the explaining rather than the words. Leaders and accomplished exponents could be seen using patu and taiaha but not whole rōpū.

In terms of the politics of the performance there were whispers of kaupapa that were affecting some iwi especially those who were acknowledging themselves as pan-tribal way back then. Paraire Huata makes some mention of this while talking about the kaupapa of the Festival and includes words by Te Rangihau, who was a judge and member of the committee at the first Festival:

> I think on reflection the kaupapa for me was a twofold one. It was part of the renaissance happening at the time and the urban Maori especially in Auckland were looking for a platform to advance their dreams of by Maori for Maori. Of course the promotion of the reo was the flagship. The inclusion of nga moutere was more a brown brothers thing and an attempt to create a Polynesian thing.
>
> The other bit was influenced by the desire of some to test themselves against each other in determining who was the best at this.

> All in all in the words of Rangihau "we have created a litany of sound that will resonate beyond our lifetime " – (Puao te Atatu)[73]

When I refer back to what Rangihau said – we have created a litany of sound that will resonate beyond our lifetime – I believe he is not only talking about the kind of new sound Māori were producing as part of a Kapa Haka performance, but also a new identity via the sound produced and the kaupapa that were part of the compositions. The Kapa Haka performances in 1972 were commenting on the politics of the time, as Paraire Huata mentioned, but had not yet reached the point of inclusion in compositions as they are today.

Costuming in 1972 was similar to what rōpū wear now. The women wore tāniko or embroidered wool bodices that bore a Māori design of choice, usually one that identified where they were from, accompanied by an underskirt and a piupiu with a tīpare to adorn the head. In recent years the women's costume has also seen the return of the wearing of kaitaka, an ancient styled garment, worn floor length and leaving one shoulder bare. The men wore a piupiu and a tāpeka or bandolier across one shoulder. Most also wore a tīpare to adorn the head. Today men are no longer inclined to wear tīpare, though some rōpū are trying to revive its use, and they have all but ceased wearing tāpeka in place of tātua, a belt for the waist worn over the piupiu waistband.

The first Festival was won by Waihirere kapa haka from the East Coast under the tutelage of Bub (Ngapo) and Nen (Pimia) Wehi. When this couple moved from Gisborne to Auckland to live they formed the kapa haka Waka Huia. Tangiwai and George Ria then took over tutoring Waihirere. This kapa haka has won the National Festival five times out of a possible twenty and it is interesting to note that the only other kapa haka to match it is Waka Huia. One must only wonder what is in the water in the little East Coast village that is Waihirere to have bred such successful tutors. Both kapa haka have a unique style of

[73] Personal communication with Paraire Huata, November 2013. Puao te Atatu was a document about bi-culturalism written by John Rangihau for the Ministry of Social Welfare of the eighties.

performance and their formula has yet to be cracked. Certainly other rōpū have won over the years but not with such consistency as these two kapa haka. It is no wonder that other rōpū try to emulate them, but with little success. The quality of performance of Waihirere had already been seen and heard before the first National Festival at hui such as the Koroneihana, when it was under the tutelage of Wiremu Kerekere, so people were not surprised when they took out the first National Festival. As to who came last on the day, very few people remember. We were more engaged in the enormous pride we felt at creating a modern Māori identity through Māori performance that could now be accessed by a bigger audience than was possible in the past, especially as a regular biennial activity.

As I have named this chapter 'Haka' I want here to make mention of the haka that has become synonymous with the All Blacks international rugby team of Aotearoa/New Zealand and therefore identifies the country as well as the people. That is the haka 'Ka mate, ka mate!' This haka was composed by the Ngāti Toa Rangatira chief, Te Rauparaha, after he successfully hid from enemy who were trying to track him down and kill him. As a result of surviving he composed this haka. It was first performed before an international rugby fixture by the New Zealand Native Team in 1888.[74] One of the members of the team, Tom Ellison from Ngāi Tahu, taught it to his team. Following is the verse they used:

> Ka mate, ka mate! Ka ora, ka ora! Ka mate, ka mate! Ka ora, ka ora!
>
> Tēnei te tangata pūhuruhuru. Nāna i tiki mai whakawhiti te rā!
>
> Upane! Ka ūpane! Upane! Ka ūpane! Whiti te rā!
>
> It is death, it is death! It is life, it is life! It is death, it is death! It is life, it is life!
>
> Here is the hairy man who seized the sun to make it shine!
>
> He slashed and slashed its head so the sun would shine!

[74] Media.newzealand.com/en/story-ideas/history-of-the-all-black-haka/Tourism New Zealand. Accessed on December 18, 2014.

This haka is perhaps the most famous icon of Aotearoa/New Zealand known internationally and certainly works as an identity factor, since it was first used, to the present day. Due to some dissatisfaction with its use and the lack of recognition given today to the ownership of the haka by the iwi, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, another haka was composed to be used in its place. This haka was called 'Kapa o pango' and was composed by Derek Lardelli of Ngāti Konohi of Whāngārā in the rohe of Ngāti Porou iwi. The haka was unveiled before a match against South Africa at Carisbrook Stadium, Dunedin in 2005.[75] 'Ka mate!' as a haka is also used on the many occasions when Aotearoa/New Zealand is promoting itself and its industries at international Trades' Fairs. There is a certain amount of pride felt by all New Zealanders but also dismay when it has been used by some groups for different reasons, that is, not as an identity marker. There have been some controversies about its use in the recent past hence Ngāti Toa Rangatira wanting to reclaim ownership of the haka. The New Straits Times wrote an article about the controversy the Spice Girls caused when they did the haka in Bali. It read:

> Spice Girls' war dance angers Maori leaders. Wellington, Mon. The British pop group Spice Girls has angered Maori leaders by performing the haka, the traditional war dance of New Zealand's indigenous people, newspapers reported today. "It's denigration of a people's culture. It's like the Maori thumbing their noses and making a mockery of 'Rule Britannia'. It is unacceptable", a Maori Language Commission member, Tīmoti Kāretu was quoted as saying. (10)[76]

There are a number of other instances recorded where the haka has been used inappropriately or has not been well received. Regardless of the controversy performing the haka 'Ka mate!' has caused, it is also an indication of how far and wide the haka of the Māori has become so well known. Both Aotearoa/New Zealand and its indigenous people, the

[75] Media.newzealand.com/en/story-ideas/history-of-the-all-black-haka/Tourism New Zealand. Accessed Dec18, 2014.
[76] *New Straits Times*, April 29, 1997. Pg. 10. Accessed Dec 18, 2014.

Māori, have been thrown on to the world stage because of its use, not only by haka rōpū but also by many sports teams.

In 1972 seventeen rōpū, representing their various iwi and rohe, took to the stage to compete against each other thereby confirming the invention of a new tradition. That we were also beginning to create a modern Māori identity through Kapa Haka was not yet in our minds.That came much later as pan-tribal rōpū of Kapa Haka expanded to include rōpū in more cities than just Wellington. But we had taken a sigificant step towards creating this phenomenum of a new, modern, Māori identity, as more and more people accessed Kapa Haka performances as a way of feeling Māori as they performed being Māori.

Chapter 4 – Waiata-ā-ringa – The here and now.

E Tama e, nōu te moemoeā	Tama, it was your vision
Ki te whakahaumanu i ngā taonga a Hinerēhia	to revitalise the traditions of Hinerēhia
I whakatūria Te Wānanga Whare Tapere o Takitimu	Founding Te Wānanga Whare Tapere o Takitimu
I whakarewahia ngā tohu tuatahi o te motu	Where the country's first Māori performing arts Certificate, diploma and degree were conceived
Hei ako i ngā pūkenga o uki	Hence acquiring ancient skills
Hei hora i ngā puiaki tuku iho ki ngā whakatipuranga. [77]	Imparting the treasures for future generations.

The above verse is from a waiata-ā-ringa that was performed at the most recent Te Matatini Festival held in Christchurch, March 4 – 8, 2015. It was composed to honour a prior Chairman of Te Matatini, Tama Huata, who passed away on February, 2015. In the present day it seems that waiata-ā-ringa, rather than waiata koroua, which would have been the form used for this purpose in former times, have become the vehicle for Māori to use when composing in honour of the dead and remembering past deeds.

In the twenty first century Kapa Haka on the national stage began as the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival. In 2005, in order to re-establish itself as a kaupapa that is new and forward moving, the Festival was re-branded and given a new name – Te Matatini. The name means 'many faces' and was given to the society by Dr. Wharehuia Milroy. He makes a comment by way of explanation: "Māori Performing Arts brings together

[77] This verse is from a waiata-ā-ringa composed by Raiha Huata for the Te Matatini 2015 performance of the group Ngāti Kahungunu ki Heretaunga and is reprinted with her permission given March 21, 2015 via Facebook.

people of all ages, all backgrounds, all beliefs, Māori and non-Māori alike, participants and observers. When I look I see many faces, young and old".[78]

I have named this chapter Waiata-ā-ringa because the waiata-ā-ringa is the most recently introduced performance item in the Kapa Haka repertoire. This allows me to talk about Kapa Haka in the present even though the first waiata-ā-ringa was composed in the beginning of the twentieth century. We have been performing waiata-ā-ringa for over a hundred years but it is still the most contemporary item in the Kapa Haka repertoire. Waiata-ā-ringa is Māori in origin and brings forth into the twenty first century traditional styles of performance but also incorporates elements of western popular music. I want to discover whether what I have said in previous chapters about Kapa Haka creating a modern Māori identity still holds true for the here and now.

The beautiful surrounds of North Hagley Park, Pūtaringamotu, Christchurch, were the setting for Te Matatini - He Ngākau Aroha - 2015. The competition arena was constructed from the ground up. A huge stage supported by the Te Matatini carved mahau, which was freighted by ship from Rotorua to Christchurch in support of the Festival, was erected in the fields. There were a number of marquees set up on the fringes of the arena to house spectators, judges and various other activities, including food stalls, children's playgrounds and Festival memorabilia as had been seen at prior Festivals. Ngāi Tahu iwi and the Christchurch City Council were the hosts of the Festival named He Ngākau Aroha. The naming of the Festival in such a way was a tribute to all the peoples of Aotearoa/ New Zealand who helped the people of Christchurch after they suffered the terrible effects of the earthquakes of September 2010 and February 2011.

There was an expectation that the performances prepared by the competitive rōpū, would bring to the stage some new and not so traditional items, thereby pushing the

[78] www.tematatini.co.nz/tematatini/

boundaries of a Kapa Haka performance and with it the definition of a modern Māori identity, even further away from the traditional. There was certainly innovation: we spectators were confronted with some rōpū using theatrical props versus ritual or other performing objects and trying to make the performances more visually exciting. They were not in the majority, and overall were not effective in making their meaning clear and aligning them with their overall performance. There was also an extensive use of photographs acknowledging the recent dead related to the groups carrying them, being seen on the stage, mostly during the waiata tira, where groups give a static display and do not use choreography making it easy to hold the photos. In this way we saw props being used to enhance the meaning of what was being sung rather than leaving it up to the spectators to gain meaning of the performance from listening to the words.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the diverse ways performing objects were introduced into this year's festival. I will begin by looking at what I consider to be 'theatrical props' – that is, objects used to illustrate in ways that might be more appropriate on European stages, or simply for a bit of extra flash and dazzle. I will then look at objects that, while they might have initially appeared jarring in the context of what we think of as 'traditional' in Kapa Haka, were used in ways that brought them into line with the action and might even be seen to be growing our ways of thinking about what is traditional.

One group, Waka Huia, half way through their whakaeke, had a performer walk on stilts, moving from the back of his group through the middle towards the front as the group parted their ranks for him. He stomped around for a few steps and then moved backwards, again through the middle of his group and fell backwards as a couple of other members caught him and helped remove his stilts. The stilts were covered with what seemed like rows of yellow, orange and red feathers or cut up paper strips made to look like feathers. What was awkward about this performance was that the audience could not clearly grasp the meaning or

intent of this act. One explanation that circulated was that this performer was representing Ruaumoko – that he was, in effect, representing the force of the earthquakes that Christchurch has suffered. The problem for many of us watching was that the illustration captured our attention. We lost consciousness of the group as a whole, who were still using conventional actions in keeping with their song, and instead began to debate the effect of the colours, which seemed to represent the fire of a volcano instead of the shaking of an earthquake. This action was repeated by a different performer at the end of the performance in the whakawātea wearing different colours but again we were diverted away from the group who continued to perform their song.

Another group, Kataore, erected a mahau of a whare at the rear of the stage. They had a performer climb up one side and proceed to beat a cardboard cut-out of the sun as ropes were thrown over it by other performers, imitating the legend of Māui slowing down the sun. How this piece of theatre was supposed to identify the group on stage or their kaupapa was very obscure to those of us watching and listening. At the end of their performance a carved and painted pou of about ten feet in length or height was presented to Ngāi Tahu, the host iwi. This was a touching gesture to the hosts as the ritual of handing over was performed but how it had got onto the stage in the first place is a mystery as there was no formal ritual with its arrival on stage, neither was there any clear explanation in their songs as to what this was or why it was there. It seemed to be there for show, perhaps meaningful to the performers, but because it was not integrated into the customary vocabulary of the Kapa Haka performance, it was seen as spectacle for its own sake.

These kinds of incidences in performance have been encouraged in recent years but it seems that groups are relying less and less on the kupu to do the explaining of their items. These spectacular elements seem imposed on the Kapa Haka performance, as though the conventions of the genre are not sufficient to the task, neither sufficiently meaningful nor

showy enough on their own. This shows a tension between Kapa Haka as a distinctively Māori performance practice, where the song and dance are symbolic rather than literally representational, and the European, which is based in mimesis (theatre, film, television, and internet). This seems strange at a time when te reo is heard being used and understood more and more in public arenas, such as Te Matatini. On the one hand, Kapa Haka (and its allied movements) seems to have been very successful in strengthening the use of te reo on stage as well as off. On the other, groups seem less inclined to trust the words to carry their meanings.

Another group, Ngā Tūmanako, brought a huge kite shaped like a manu on to the stage during their whakaeke and took it off during the whakawātea. A couple of the performers held the kite aloft at the back of the group and followed the group as they moved backward and forward across the stage. What was slightly different about this performance was that we could clearly hear that the group was singing about their manu taking them on a journey to and from the Festival. Allowing that if other groups get paddles and row their waka in illustrative action, here this group sheltered under their big bird and moved forward together under its wings. The question still arises as to the validity of the kupu as opposed to the prop.

Some other groups used paddles, tītītōrea, stakes and matiti besides the often used taiaha and other rākau such as mere or kotiate, which, as I have mentioned in earlier chapters, have been around since the beginning of the National Festival. They are also usually used by all performers as part of the particular item that is being performed and do not seem out of context but rather support the kupu and the kaupapa. These acts seem to be me to be more about the maintenance of the traditional rather than the introduction of the theatrical. They are performing objects that carry symbolic as well as representational value and as such have become customary components in the conventions of the invented tradition that is Kapa Haka. What we see is still the group performing as a group, with the actions aligned to the

songs so that the audience can appreciate the way the symbolism in the choreography meets the poetics of the compositions.

Two groups' performances stand out as being groups who are making use of performing objects to embody their kaupapa or their ancestors in a very different way. During the whakaeke of Te Iti Kahurangi, they were completely armed with wooden toki and patu larger than paddles. These weapons were appropriate for this item and the 'larger than life size' paddles were used to great effect. The actions created with the toki and the mere indicated the chopping movements required to fashion the pounamu from the bare rock to a refined article, as is the tradition.

They also performed a haka that saw the Kaitātaki Tāne turn to the back and grab a cardboard cut-out of a television frame. The frame was bright blue and white, and decorated with kōwhaiwhai patterns. Through the performer's actions and the group's song, we quickly were given to understand that this pretty frame was an artful version of a television frame, meant to contain the performer, who then refused to stay behind it. It was not simply a prop; it did not mimic a television at all. Instead, it was symbolic, a performing object made meaningful through the actions and song of the company. The leader ran up and down his ranks and held the frame over his face, eventually putting the top half of his body through it. It certainly stirred the crowd, unlike some of the other groups' attempts to do so when using props. I believe, however it was not the prop that was doing this rather it was the kaupapa of the group's haka. They were complaining that the Māori channel was the same as Pākehā channels in that it reported the same news, especially when it denigrated Māori people. What was interesting was that the argument was carried by the haka as a whole. This later proved to be controversial and became an item of news on the Television One Channel Te Karere, as the haka had been wiped out of Māori Television screened highlights.

Their final performance I want to comment on was their whakawātea. The group sang a poroporoaki, ā capellla, as a farewell tribute to their former guitarist who passed away last year. Again a photo was present, held by one of the female members, with their two guitarists flanking her on either side. They held their guitars in front of themselves, but did not play. Paradoxically, in not being used to perform in their ordinary way, the guitars became performing objects, symbolic in their own right. To hear the song sung without accompaniment was to miss the sound of the guitar, and thus the man who played it, profoundly. For a moment we went from theatre to ritual; the traditions of Kapa Haka met those of the tangi and provoked in us a moment of spontaneous communitas. The women all wore parekawakawa wreaths on their heads as a sign of mourning. From where I was sitting there was not a dry eye in the house or arena. The wairua that was felt by this performance, right up until the closing karanga of farewell, was spread throughout the crowd and we were all swept up in the occasion and shared their grief with them. When the karanga ended they broke out into a rousing haka ngeri to get themselves off the stage and broke us out of our reverie. That we are performing tangi in such a way on stage is surely part of what I am trying to describe as a modern Māori identity. Kapa Haka can sustain the expression of beliefs, feelings and identity that – because it is a symbolic, poetic form – has the potential at its best to transcend the materiality of the stage and the details of action, song and object.

I want to end this discussion by looking at another team, Tūhourangi-Ngāti Wāhiao, and their performance of their whakaeke. This performance recalled who and what they were and how they came to be like this; that is, descendants of Maggie and Bella Papakura and the legacy that those sisters left behind in terms of tourist performance and guiding. Some of the current performers in the group are guides in their daily lives and tourist entertainers at night so the kaupapa they were performing was something they inherited and continue to live. They not only perform being Māori on the Te Matatini stage; they are seen being Māori on a daily

basis. Halfway during the whakaeke a gateway, which looked like a replica of the gateway at Te Puia, the entrance to the New Zealand Arts and Crafts Centre in Rotorua, based at Whakarewarewa, was erected. This is their home and their place of work. It is the home of the famous geysers and therapeutic hot pools that draw tourists from around the world to them, to watch their performances. Once the gateway was in place about six performers came through the gateway and moved downstage to continue to perform the song and dance of the whakaeke. The women had donned colonial style garments of long black skirts and long white sleeved blouses with red scarves around their necks, the recognised garb of the guides. They carried very short double poi and twirled them as they sang with movements reminiscent of yesteryear. They swung and moved their hips with quick, short, jerky movements just like the poi movements, all the while embodying their ancestors. The men wore blankets and waistcoats and one had a tīpare that looked similar to the one that Mita Taupopoki, one of their ancestors who travelled overseas in Maggie Papakura's group, Tūhourangi – Ngāti Wāhiao, always wore. They performed movements with their taiaha that again seemed as if they were showing us the effort to recall how their ancestors would have performed. It was evident to me, from the crowd's reaction, that there was remembering happening amongst them as they began to identify with what was happening on stage – a tableau, yes – but a moving tableau that was full of meaning. The tableau was full of meaning, because they were performing the desire to remember their more recent ancestors using those ancestors' ways of performing. They had adapted the convention of honouring ancestors by performing remembered actions of waka and haka to their specific sense of identity as the descendants of the guides. Here what we saw were performing objects that came into the realm of representation but somehow maintained symbolic value as well. Instead of breaking with our (invented) tradition, they filled in a gap in the story, performatively.

Another feature of performances today is the bringing on to the stage an object or objects in a ceremonial way with a kind of ritual attached. I am unable to label this part in a performance as ritual relating to something that iwi Māori might do on the marae or as part of any other tikanga Māori practice. Some groups brought wreaths on to the stage and laid them down at the front of the stage and then we heard them perform an item relating to soldiers who had died on the battle field or elsewhere. At the end of their performance the wreaths were unceremoniously removed. It was reminiscent of wreath laying at an ANZAC ceremony and therefore has colonial roots rather than Māori.

Others brought on items that we could identify belonged to their iwi, such as the pōhā from the south, that were placed at the front of the stage for the duration of the performance, but there was no interaction with these items and no particular ceremony attached to them. I was fortunate to speak to one Kaitātaki Tāne about this who confirmed my suspicions but added an element of explanation that shed some light on the use of the pōhā. The group wanted to acknowledge the manaakitanga required to be given by Ngāi Tahu to the manuwhiri by displaying aspects of food particular to the south as a gesture to say – come partake of our food! He however also acknowledged that there was no particular ritual attached to this action. There was meaning attached to the object, but because it was not incorporated into the performance, it was a static rather than a performing object, a distracting add-on. This may be a symptom of our modern life, the dissonance between systems of meaning, the Pākehā and the Māori.

Another group, Whāngārā mai Tawhiti, brought onto the stage what looked like hue for preserving food and acted out the lighting of a fire; they did not light a real fire, and it was difficult to follow the significance of this act. This happened at the beginning of their waiata koroua and ended with that song. It was as if the props appeared out of nowhere and disappeared the same way. From my point of view it did nothing to enhance the performance

but rather was a distraction for those of us trying to listen to the words. Objects used for illustration seem to come from outside the symbolic vocabulary of Kapa Haka. At best these representational diversions are a reminder of how difficult it is to maintain a coherent sense of Māori identity that is both modern and properly connected to the past.

Recently, Radio Waatea interviewed Darren Apanui, CEO of Te Matatini, and quoted his comments on the Festival's current circumstances and commented on the relationship between Kapa Haka and Maori identity:

> New research done for the Ministry of Culture and Heritage has confirmed kapa haka contributes to New Zealand's national identity, to positive health and educational outcomes, and to economic wellbeing. Darrin Apanui from Te Matatini says the report Nga Hua A Tane Rore from Waikato University's Te Kotahi Research Institute should help with future funding and support. He says it will help future researchers put hard figures on what had previously been anecdotal claims about the benefits of Maori performing arts. Major kapa haka competitions can cost roopu more than $100,000 each to participate, as well as thousands of hours of volunteer time, and they generate millions of dollars in economic activity for the host regions. It also has an international impact. "We believe kapa haka is the most unique cultural identifier to New Zealand and whenever you are overseas, if you see some form of haka, we automatically gravitate to the fact we are from New Zealand. Our uniqueness is in that, so therefore we have a responsibility to be able to showcase that properly and to say to the world we are from New Zealand, we are Maori and we are proud of what we do," Mr Apanui says. Kapa haka also has a critical role in the retention of te reo Maori, because it gives people a reason and focus for learning.[79]

79 https://secure.zeald.com/uma/play-podcast?podlink=MjQ2NDg=. www.wateanews.com

That Kapa Haka brings a range of benefits to the Māori people but also to Aotearoa/ New Zealand as a whole, has long been the belief of most people involved in Kapa Haka. The statement by Darren Apanui reinforces the place Kapa Haka has in cultural identity and its impact not only here in Aotearoa/New Zealand but also overseas. *Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore* report was commissioned by Te Manatū Taonga and Te Matatini. People who were interviewed talked about how Kapa Haka is not only a cultural identifier in today's world but that it is also signifies a modern Māori identity; a New Zealand identity therefore a national identity. Kapa Haka has come to signify an Aotearoa/New Zealand national identity in ways that go beyond the Māori. This is not un-problematic. If Kapa Haka is now constructing a national identity, for non-Māori as well, how does that work? It works in the way that Māori ritual and Kapa Haka is appropriated by non-Māori and used in all sorts of places for pōwhiri and entertainment: government departments, public schools, Universities to name a few. In the process of using Māori ritual and Kapa Haka the Treaty[80] partner, the non-Māori, can be seen to be moving more towards bi-culturalism and the constructing of a national identity that includes both partners. Following are some of the statements taken from the report that support Kapa Haka being a cultural identifier and furthermore a marker of a national identity.

> ... The first thing is ... it's our cultural identifier, it's our uniqueness....
>
> ... Definitely [it makes a contribution] ... I think that's what we're all saying, is that there is wider community social benefit, particularly in terms of strengthening of who you are, in terms of identity. ...
>
> ... Well, I think without a doubt, many New Zealanders be they Māori or non-Māori see the haka as being part of their national identity. I don't know though whether [the] practitioners of kapa haka are comfortable with that, and I think ... we have a really difficult tension there, and I think it would be wonderful to see this idea of the reo ...

80 Treaty here refers to the document signed by the coloniser, the Britsh, as well as various Māori chiefs of the 1800s.

> and our art form of kapa haka as being allowed to be part of all New Zealanders' identities, our national identity. (23 – 24)

Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore is the first real research completed on the subject in this way; that is, researching the value of Kapa Haka, not only to Aotearoa/New Zealand but to the world, as we expand our trading partners across the globe. The report records many instances where people who responded to the questions posed, indicated that their experience was that the maintenance of cultural identity was through Kapa Haka, but some also mentioned the role that Kapa Haka plays in creating a modern Māori identity. The report states:

> It was identified that for some people who, for various reasons, live away from their kāinga or home area, their kapa haka becomes a whānau, a refuge, a place to belong. ... " It's ok for those of us where this is home and you've got all your people and your whānau around you, [but] for people that are moving into the rohe we do become the whānau. So for Ahi Kaa Roa because we had such a big mix of all iwi ... I know for a number of them kapa haka meant not only whānau, but it also meant tūrangawaewae for them, because we then bought them into our whānau ... and this became their whare and their marae. And when we needed help out there, these were the people that would come and help us to work our marae and to look after our tangi and things like that. So it becomes a lifestyle, it becomes your whānau". (17 – 18)

As is evident here, the practice of Kapa Haka not only creates disciplined performers. More importantly it restores key aspects of community and communality that were lost during colonisation. By acting as Māori on stage, that is, practitioners and their whānau come to act more as Māori off stage. They do not 'go native'; they're still in the 21st century. But we see the older values of iwi and hapū being enacted in ways that strengthen and empower communities. The contribution of Kapa Haka to a resurgence of interest in Māori language

and culture is undeniable. The *Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore* report talks about Kapa Haka being a replacement for marae, hapū and iwi. It says:

> However many accounts were also shared of people who became involved in kapa haka at later stages in their lives, through work, through social or community groups, or through their children's schools. In these cases, kapa haka had provided a gateway into the culture for Māori who were not connected to their marae/hapū/iwi, or who lived away from their home areas, as well as for New Zealanders who came to experience kapa haka as a safe, inclusive activity through which to engage with Māori culture. (19)

This report and its comments reinforces for me that Kapa Haka today is a part of the process of creating and maintaining a modern Māori identity. This effect is especially profound for displaced Māori, those divorced from their marae and tūrangawaewae. Urbanised Māori have to find other ways in which to understand their identity and find other places or kaupapa in which to enact their identity. For many this is done through Kapa Haka.

The same problems can affect a few non-Māori who have long since become permanent fixtures on the regional and national Kapa Haka stages. Perhaps the modern Māori identity is more fluid, more about how one acts than about blood per se. Kapa Haka of course contributes to this by shifting attention to performing certain kinds of knowledge. Because it is an invented tradition – constructed through engagement with as well as resistance to the effects of colonisation – it produces a modern Māori identity that reflects this.

This phenomenon can also be seen in the many primary schools around the country who put up kapa haka to perform in their particular festivals and encourage their pupils to take part no matter what their ethnic background is, for example the Christchurch Primary Schools' Festival. As Aotearoa/New Zealand has immigrants from all over the world attending our country's schools, the makeup of these kapa haka are very multi-cultural. This

has become part and parcel of the new, modern Māori identity, though it engages many cultures present in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, not just Māori.

Te Matatini supports Secondary and Senior kapa haka at regional and national levels and also encourages Taikura participation, though not in a competitive mode. Taikura kapa haka are comprised of retired competitive performers and others who are fifty years and older. However their repertoire is prescribed for them in that they are expected to revive the old songs by not singing any song composed after 1972. This is not a hard and fast rule but it is interesting to note that in this corner there is a tighter rein on what constitutes 'tradition' and a concerted effort to preserve history. This is probably to ensure that this part of the oral tradition is not lost or it could be that these are the songs and dances that these people grew up knowing and in their singing of them they become our examples to follow. In this way traditions of performance style can be maintained.

Today Te Matatini has a full time staffed office that deals with the ongoing development of Kapa Haka throughout the country. The CEO of Te Matatini is appointed to his position and the Chair is elected from the thirteen delegates that represent their specific rohe. Matters of business are discussed at a regional committee level and recommendations made by regions are taken by their delegates to the national table of Te Matatini to be discussed and voted on. Te Matatini brings together Māori from all over Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia, and as such carries on a national and global conversation that not only governs the development of the art form but also, just as importantly, provides a year round platform for debate about how that art form embodies the state of the Māori nation.

The Te Manatū Taonga funds the association and extra remuneration is gathered during the National Festivals by other means such as selling entry tickets and working together with other major sponsors such as Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato and Te Puia. As mentioned by the CEO earlier it is a costly business to gain fame and prizes in the Kapa Haka

world. Many rōpū can be found fundraising leading up to their trip to Te Matatini to allay the heavy costs. But it is more than the fame or money gain, as there is none, that rōpū strive for. It is more about being recognised as the best in the art form. Rōpū are fighting to uphold the mana of their whānau, hapū, iwi, marae and rohe. Te Matatini creates value for participants in ways that emphasise iwi and rohe identities; it is still re-inforcing the local which means taking identity from a local marae to the stage, and in that move creating a modern Māori identity as described on these pages.

Te Matatini is the foremost gathering of Māori in the country and the desire to express one's iwi identity in a modern way through a Kapa Haka performance burns not only within each performer but also in each spectator who has turned up to support their iwi rōpū. Buses, trains and planes are reserved to carry thousands of performers and spectators to the current venue for Te Matatini. Mostly marae are used to house rōpū and motels and camping grounds are usually booked out well in advance by supporters. But what about the whānau spectators? What is their role at Te Matatini? In the first instance spectators are also, as are the performing Kapa Haka, grouped into rōpū or iwi identified clusters. Te Matatini represents a coming together not of individuals but of iwi creating one massive hui. Sharon Mazer in her paper 'Performing Māori: Kapa Haka on the Stage and on the Ground', goes into some detail as to what she sees when spectators become part of the performance of a group on the stage by performing a haka mihi from the crowd before and after a performance. She states:

> ...at the start of each group's performance, there is a flurry of action on the ground. Small groups – generally identifiable by their matching t-shirts and jackets as the families and friends of the groups about to perform – stand up, hit their chests and chant a *haka mihi*, a *haka* of greeting and challenge that halts the performance. It demands mutual recognition, and breaks the fourth wall of the stage from the

> outside.....in performing their *haka,* the spectators are not actually opposing the group onstage. Rather they are egging their team on.....It is not a "performance" in the theatrical sense, but rather close to a "performance" in its original ritual or everyday sense, more communicative than aesthetic. (48)

This shows us that the role of the spectator is not a passive one but rather one that is more physical and representative of their iwi and becomes bound up in the performance that happens on stage by its physical response. This is not just iwi performing and talking to iwi, but hapū honouring hapū, whānau praising whānau. It is definitely a connection through identity and a modern way of honouring each other and showing how proud they are of their iwi, hapū or whānau. Not only is the rōpū on stage 'standing up to be counted' in front of the Māori nation but they take their iwi, hapū and whānau with them. Just as indigenous people throughout the world feel proud when they see their culture portrayed on the stage so too do Māori. What this demonstrates is the knowledge on the ground, of tikanga and te reo, of the value of being Māori in a more everyday sense being reflected back to those who are performing it theatrically. Sharon Mazer talks more about this phenomenon in terms of its spontaneity:

> The spectator's *haka* is a bit rough, ragged even, lacking the sharpness and formal unity that we see on the stage. It is clearly not "composed" or "choreographed." The words and actions are being pulled from memory in the moment and fuelled by the proximity of the spectators to each other, their immediacy. The performers onstage are in costumes designed to emblematise their *iwi* affiliation and to emphasise their collective unity while being pleasing to the eye; the spectators may be wearing t-shirts in support of their team... (48)

As the migration of Māori to Australia has grown Kapa Haka groups have been established in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth. They have, what they term, a national

competition to see who will attend Te Matatini from Australia. August 29th, 2014 saw the gathering of the majority of national rōpū leaders and tutors, and those from Australia, at the University of Waikato at the invitation of Te Matatini. The university was offered up free for the hui as they are a major sponsor of Te Matatini and also because the university is central to most rohe for ease of travelling. This is another indication of how Te Matatini works the year round to engage Kapa Haka practitioners in a conversation not only about the form but how the form represents and sustains identity. The purpose of the hui was to enable the tutors and leaders to listen to those who had been nominated as judges for the forthcoming Te Matatini, describing their performing and judging talents in, and knowledge of, Kapa Haka. The judges are accorded with the task of identifying what is 'authentic' and 'traditional' or not, and it is they who determine who is successfully performing Māori and on what terms. The tutors could then go away and compose a programme and practise to perfect a performance that might go some way to being what judges were looking for.

Approximately 50 people nominated to judge were divided into groups and the leaders and tutors moved from room to room to listen to what they had to say. A time for questions was allowed after all prospective judges in each room had delivered their presentations. The presentations varied a lot in style but in most cases the observer was able to gain some insight as to what the prospective judges might be looking for in a competitive performance. This would then allow the tutors to compose a repertoire that was indicative of their iwi; their rohe but would also go some way to fulfilling judges' expectations. A point of contention that always arises about the judging is how can judges, who are from iwi other than the groups they are judging, know what to look for in the songs and dances of the many different iwi groups? In order to overcome this, the selecting committee tries to choose judges from a variety of iwi that have the skills of te reo and tikanga required to judge fairly. Judges are entrusted with ensuring that the continuity of the form is attached also to the

realities of rohe in some way, that they are identified both with their particular areas of performance expertise and with their rohe.

I was interested in the questions that were posed by the leaders and tutors as they tried to understand what the judges might look for. Theatricality came up for discussion first. There was a united belief that identifying theatricality was via props more than via performance. At this meeting the debate about the use of objects was especially intense. How far would groups be allowed to go in introducing contemporary items – theatrical props – into the performance of tradition? The struggle between 'authentic' and 'traditional' virtuosity versus making a 'good show of it' is not so unlike our own experiences in 1972 when we were torn between performing ritual and playing to the footlights as we might in a school play. To most kaihaka the stage is just a space created temporarily for them to perform; a space to fit 40 performers on comfortably to allow them to perform their repertoire; a space that can be amplified and lit up for the best television coverage. That it is a colonial tool for performance; a theatrical space indicated by the proscenium arch, is not something they take into consideration. Neither is the fact that by performing Kapa Haka on the stage this allows them to colonise that western space for the short time they are on it.[81] I spoke to some nominees outside of the open forums who believed that theatrical elements have been present in our performances for a number of years, but again only see those as indicated by props, supporting instruments or costumes. They do not see those elements in the actual choreography or performance of words and lyrics. The major concern is that props are increasingly being used in place of actions that are supposed to convey the meanings. This might be a symptom both of performers and spectators losing fluency in the vocabulary of performance. It is perhaps a side-effect of the increasing fluency in te reo, as they come to

[81] See Smith's Masters Thesis *Decolonising the stage.*

understand the words they lose familiarity with the gestural language and seek to illustrate the words using the visual language, of their contemporary, globalised, mediatised world.

It seems that the theatrical side of performing Kapa Haka is growing. That is becoming more evident by the increased use of varying props and instruments. The rule for instrumental use on the competitive Te Matatini stage is two acoustic guitars and any number of traditional instruments or taonga puoro, as they are collectively known, as desired. So, besides the two acoustic guitars there can be seen or heard pūtātara, pūkaea, porotiti, kōauau, pūtōrino, pūrerehua. Often the use of taonga puoro seems to me a useless exercise as they were initially created for purposeful use such as porotiti for healing chest complaints. Kapa Haka is often quite loud and vibrant in its delivery whereas taonga puoro are very quiet. Unless there is complete silence and stillness on the stage when they are being played it is very difficult to hear them as specific amplification is not allowed, other than that provided for the whole rōpū. However rōpū are nothing if not persistent and continue to find a way for how best to play them during a Kapa Haka performance. Other instruments that are heard on a regular basis now are the big drum of Taranaki rōpū and bells of the Ringatū faith. As they are not mentioned specifically in the rules, rōpū are advocating their use as traditional instruments particular to an iwi or a faith and so far judges have conceded.

The use of the variety of weaponry that Māori have has not been as widespread as the introduction of the many instruments. I was a judge at the 1985 Auckland regional competitions where Te Rautahi, a rōpū from West Auckland, performed a whakaeke where all the kaihaka held and used mere pounamu. However they were not made of pounamu but were instead made of wood. As I had been taught that using a mere was only for the few and accomplished performers I found this performance disturbing and accordingly marked them down. Mere pounamu or whale bone kotiate, both varieties of short patu, are quite heavy to wield hence the skill required. I was sure I was going to be vilified by the group's tutor,

Irirangi Tiakiawa, an expert himself in the use of patu, but that was not the case. He spoke to me after the event about my comments which he supported. He said he was just trying ‘to push the envelope’ and grinned when he read my comments. Today it is more common-place than not to see a complete rōpū using patu, something, that in hindsight, I am sure Irirangi predicted would happen and he put himself in the position of being the trailblazer for that change.

In the early years Kapa Haka had the capacity to make people go beyond the expected just as they do now. These performing objects, because they are identified with traditional, pre-colonial practices, seem to fit into the Kapa Haka frame and are made meaningful when the song and dance reflect this.

A question arose about how judges judge the ‘x factor’. Of course that brought forth another question as to what was the ‘x’ factor in a Kapa Haka performance. As described earlier in this thesis by Wharehuia Milroy and Tamati Kruger, the Māori concepts of ‘ihi’, ‘wehi’, and ‘wana’ are what set apart an ordinary performance from an extraordinary performance. It is what we Māori have inside us that are inherited from our ancestors and when we express our performance in these ways it is our ancestors performing through us. This is the ‘x’ factor and kaihaka not being aware of these elements indicated for me a further detachment and movement away from what was traditionally Māori about performance to something more modern in the understanding of performance.

Although there is a regional committee appointed to administer and run each Te Matatini there are, at times, up to four hundred plus volunteers who support the running of a National Festival. Te Matatini is a kind of iwi unto itself – a kind of uber-iwi structure that defines itself, the form and what it is to be Māori through the involvement of diverse participants all with a stake in the outcome.

As a competition, Te Matatini is structured around ideas of fairness, so that at a fundamental level all groups – and by extension the people they represent - can be seen to be starting as equals. The position of performance at a Festival is determined by drawing the name of a rōpū out of a hat. As they are drawn they are divided into three groupings or three pools and will perform over three days. The three top qualifying rōpū from each pool will perform in an aggregate final on the fourth and last day which is usually a Sunday. The position for performance in the aggregate finals is drawn out of a hat. Individual item placings and overall aggregate winners are announced and prizes distributed on Sunday before the close of the competition. These prizes are usually spread around the rōpū that make the finals but sometimes a rōpū who did not make the finals can gain a prize. After that the slate is wiped clean and the rōpū competing on the final day do so for the overall aggregate trophy only, but must perform their complete repertoire again, minus the waiata tira. Some rōpū still choose to sing their waiata tira to warm themselves up. Judges are required to write down helpful comments for improvement, if required, that support their marks for each item they judge. Te Matatini is moving to become more digital in the way the marking is done but that does not seem to have taken hold. Most judges prefer to be able to be more personal in how they judge and report back to rōpū. This feedback loop is critical to Te Matatini's role in maintaining the form, but also the sense of communality in action.

One of the signs that the Kapa Haka movement as led and exemplified by the National Festival has been successful beyond anything that could have been imagined in 1972 is the proliferation of alternative competitions and festivals, among them Polyfest and, perhaps most provocatively, the "Super 12s". In December 2000 we saw the advent of the "Super 12s" at Gisborne. Only twelve rōpū representing their rohe from around the country were chosen to compete. There were regional competitions in some areas of the country for access into the national competition but mostly the first twelve rōpū who were able to pay the entry

fee were accepted into the competition. The competition was run by a company called Kapa Haka International and was not guided by any of the Te Matatini constitution or rules. The "Super 12s" rules were simple – 12 members perform for 12 minutes in te reo Māori. They must also perform elements of haka, poi and waiata-ā-ringa. They could be as 'contemporary' as they liked in terms of costumes and the design of the performance. The first winners were Te Iti Kahurangi from Waikato. This rōpū's formation was the genesis for the now 40 strong Kapa Haka rōpū that had multiple and major successes at the 2013 Te Matatini festival.[82] While the "Super 12s" competition was established as an alternative to Te Matatini, the result has been to reinforce the value of the National Festival, as can be seen by Te Iti Kahurangi progressing to the Te Matatini stage. The "Super 12s" held at Gisborne continued for a few more years but the Gisborne competition is no longer. I can only speculate why it did not grow 'legs'. It may be that whatever money was generated ran out or that it became increasingly difficult for rōpū to attend from all over the country to the same place year after year. It may be instead that because the rōpū were not necessarily aligned to any particular iwi there were limited elements of identity sought for or promoted. In other words the promotion of iwi or rohe through performance and therefore the maintenance of identity was not paramount. Rōpū seemed to concentrate more on the theatrics of performance and often, as we have done since Kapa Haka began, looked to other Polynesian nations and their movements and tunes to prop up their performances. Even though the politics of that time were as controversial as they had ever been, especially in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Super 12 rōpū left that kaupapa for the National Festival, of the 40 strong rōpū. Or, the competition may have ceased because some of these smaller kapa haka were part of bigger rōpū who spent the majority of their time preparing for Te Matatini.

[82] Even though I was present at this inaugural staging of the Super 12s I spoke to one of the founders and current male leader and tutor of Te Iti Kahurangi, Kingi Kiriona, to confirm this information.

Different rohe have also tried other forms of quick competition by setting up "Super 21" competitions but they too have not gained any real ground. Super 21 meant that there were able to be twenty performers plus one guitarist on stage during the competition. There is currently a new Super 12 competition sponsored by the 2 degrees telephone-company held in Auckland that seems to have gained some ground. I would suggest that it is because one, there is a substantial pool of money to be won and two, it still allows rōpū to develop repertoires that are essentially modern in their make-up and are not restricted or guided by tikanga or kawa. These groups are mixing the basics of Kapa Haka with contemporary popular performance – much as the olds did in their time – so perhaps they could be seen to be constructing a 21st century Māori identity.

Though I have questioned whether a lack of connection to any particular iwi identity may be a reason for those lesser competitions to have not survived there is one theatre group that in some way defies that, Kahurangi, as it is identified by its strong iwi connection. Kahurangi is a Māori theatre and dance company that was established in 1983. In order to validate the teaching that was carried out in Kahurangi, Tama Huata, with the support of his father Te Kenana Wi Te Tau Huata as the lead tutor in kawa, tikanga and te reo of Ngāti Kahungunu, created Te Whare Tapere o Te Waka Tapu o Takitimu. This became the academic arm of the company and was the first institution to offer certificates, diplomas and eventually a Bachelor's degree in Māori performing arts.

The company's programmes are heavily laden with Kapa Haka performances. The initial performers had to whakapapa to Ngāti Kahungunu and one of the main ideas behind the establishment of Kahurangi was to ensure that successive generations of Kahungunu iwi would know their own basic haka and songs that they could identify themselves through. In other words it was about keeping Kahungunutanga, Kahungunu identity, alive. The performers travelled the country in the 80s and 90s, (and still do), visiting a number of

educational institutions and libraries and performing in many theatres. This allowed for the members to be paid and so earn a living from Kapa Haka.

It is well known in musical and theatre circles that New Zealand is too small a country for any major amount of money to be made in this industry and as a result of this Kahurangi's main home base is now situated in Canada.[83] The troupe travels frequently around Canada and America carrying the message of Māori performing arts. Training of new performers continues here in New Zealand in Hastings and every Christmas holidays the new recruits give a performance to their whānau and any other interested parties. This ensures a clear identity that is Kahungunu is maintained and strengthened. This theatre company or dance company, as they like to be called, is at present the only tribal group that still exists in its original form and is able to earn an ongoing living from Kapa Haka. There are other pan-tribal rōpū earning money from performances as do the many small rōpū in Rotorua who perform for tourists, but the money earned is usually a 'top up' to the main income. My five oldest children are of Kahungunu descent and have all attended Kahurangi at some time, a tradition that is being followed by my grandchildren. This was in order to cement their knowledge of their iwi and its performing arts culture. They have carried this knowledge on into other areas of performance that they still engage in. I would like to suggest that Kahurangi as a Māori performing arts company, who also performs Western theatre, goes some way to maintaining the modern Māori identity that is Kahungunu. That is, the modern Māori identity is made most meaningful when it is seen to be underpinned by iwi or rohe. Kapa Haka, at its best, aids in this process of identification because it provides and maintains the repertoire of gestures and words in support of that identity.

[83] Aroha Huata, a younger sister to Tama Huata, a past chair of Te Matatini, married a Sarcee (Tsuu tina) native Canadian and lives on his whānau reservation, hence the base in Canada. They also have a connection in New York in Ata Papa, a current performer and producer, who organises the American tour trail.

Every year we see the archiving of performance growing so now modernity includes engagement with technology. The live performance no longer sits in the bush but is captured and transmitted. This means, perhaps, that performances are increasingly being composed as much for cameras as for live audiences. Does this change the way we see the performance and the way it is produced? And what about the stage that has been constructed as much for the cameras as for the spectators? For Te Matatini 2015 I decided to watch the final performance day via a television to see if I could ascertain what the change was in the viewing of the performances in this way and not watching them live. It was as if there was an invisible curtain divorcing me from the performance on stage and inhibiting me feeling the wairua of the performers; the atmosphere and emotions they produced. Even though I could identify the groups on stage and therefore their iwi and rohe, I could not react to how they were portraying their identity in the same way as if I was in their space. This tended to distract me from becoming immersed in their performances. However, I expect for those who could not be physically present at any stage of the Festival, having the opportunity to view the performances by technology at least goes some way to allowing them to participate in the performances albeit from a distance.

Television is starting to produce more programmes relating to Kapa Haka. Some of these programmes are ‘Haka Nation’, ‘Toi Whakaari’, ‘Iwi Anthems’, ‘The Kapa’ and ‘Kia Mau’. ‘Haka Nation’ shows performances of Kapa Haka from this year’s senior regional competitions and has commentaries interspersed from a selection of both performers and non-performers. ‘Toi Whakaari’ screens the national primary and secondary schools’ competitions and sometimes replays senior performances. ‘Iwi Anthems’ was a special programme that recorded iwi songs and dances that are well known throughout the country.

A new programme screened in 2014 ‘The Kapa’ clearly shows the confusion between understanding what is traditional and what is theatrical. For all performances the teams wore

costumes made from what looked like very thin material; rāpaki style for the men and strapless or over one shoulder tunics with black tights for the women. No woven bodices or flax piupiu were in sight. However the choreography, movement and songs were styled on what most teams produce for the national stage. When the teams were then asked in one episode to give a more contemporary, theatrical performance, there was the introduction into the choreography movements from other indigenous iwi from other lands or contemporary Pākehā dance movements that would be classed by the Pākehā as jazz dancing or contemporary dance. Teams also chose western popular music covers to perform ensuring the 'contemporary' sound. Some teams added other instruments to make their performance more 'contemporary', and made costume changes by adding more bits of wispy material and flowers, in this case red Pōhutukawa blooms. To me, the Pōhutukawa blooms did not seem to jar with the rest of the costume, but, in fact, were quite complimentary. If we recall Te Awekotuku's description of an early concert party and their garb, Māori were wearing flowers in their hair to perform before they decided to make the woven bodice and the flax piupiu standard uniform for Kapa Haka performance. Performers and tutors of Kapa Haka are clearly unsure as to what makes a performance theatrical and/or contemporary. This needs more discussion amongst performers and tutors in order to come to some agreement especially if we propose that Kapa Haka helps create a modern Māori identity.

'The Kapa' as a television programme is an example of how technology has become prevalent in its involvement of taking Kapa Haka to the world. 'The Kapa' was a programme that had performers audition for a spot in three different rōpū. These rōpū competed against each other with eliminations held until there were only enough kaihaka to form two rōpū. These two rōpū then competed against each other for the ultimate prize. The prize was a trip on board a luxury liner as a performing troupe which would give them an opportunity to

further develop their performing skills. The judges of this programme were or are well known performers of Kapa Haka.

'Kia Mau' is another television programme for tamariki to learn and enhance their Māori Performing Arts skills, Kapa Haka skills. Television Māori has been instrumental in producing these new Kapa Haka programmes and they also currently have the filming rights to Te Matatini performances. All of these archival Kapa Haka performances, those that are screened as television programmes, can be said to help in the support of a modern Māori identity. They are accessible online on Facebook and You Tube almost as soon after as they are performed publicly. They also provide an avenue for those who are unable to attend physically to be a part of the making of this new modern Māori identity, to experience being Māori in another way, though somewhat removed from the real thing, the real live performance. I mentioned earlier how computer technology was used at the most recent Secondary Kapa Haka competitions held in Gisborne in July 2014. Performances were live streamed to schools so that those not attending could watch their school perform as they stood on the stage. This was managed by giving each school a password to log on to the live streamed performance to watch. On the completion of the live streamed performance the password became invalid so no one else was able to watch the performance in that manner. Willie Te Aho was interviewed on *Te Karere* indicating that this same process was going to be available for Te Matatini 2015 in Otautahi.[84] The question arises as to whether a modern Māori identity created by Kapa Haka is in the future going to be determined through the growing use of technology for viewers to access Kapa Haka? Is the archival performance going to outgrow the live performance?

I watched a recent Television Māori programme questioning the relevance of claiming Māori identity today, when because of interbreeding we could easily pass as Italian or

[84] TVNZ screening of *Te Karere* on Tuesday, January 27th.

whatever. Māori have been interbreeding since the time of first contact with people from other lands but we continue to identify ourselves by our ancestors who we can whakapapa to, and carry that whakapapa on into Kapa Haka performances. One person's comments were that he did not think it was relevant that we continue to present ourselves as the old time Māori, performing Kapa Haka in full moko and costuming (grass skirts) whether in festivals or for the edification of the Pākehā tourist. When the performers at Mitai Village in Rotorua were questioned about this they said that getting paid to present themselves in that way was a bonus. They actually looked forward to their weekly performances where they had to apply full body moko, dress in old regalia and perform ancient songs and dances for the tourists. It took them away from the hustle and bustle of everyday life, living in New Zealand suburbia, a place that tried hard to suppress all that was Māori in them. This allowed them to represent themselves in a way that encouraged them to be Māori and gave them great enjoyment and satisfaction in being able to reaffirm their identity as Māori.

Another area where Kapa Haka is being studied and performed is in secondary schools. Kapa Haka is now part of the curriculum under the title 'Toi Whakaari'. Many students engage in Kapa Haka as a part of study because again it allows them to be Māori, to embody their identities as Māori through performance. Paul Whitinui explores this in his doctoral thesis called *The Indigenous Factor: Exploring Kapa Haka as a Culturally Responsive Learning Environment in Mainstream Secondary Schools 2007:*

> ... the study revealed quite emphatically that not only does kapa haka provide Māori students with an appropriate 'culturally responsive' learning experience, but that they also feel more confident and optimistic about school and their education. Moreover, kapa haka provides the opportunity for students to celebrate who they are as Māori and as 'culturally connected' learners in mainstream schooling contexts. In addition,

> Māori students through the kapa haka experience learn to 'protect', 'problem-solve', 'provide', and 'heal' their inner self-worth, essence and wellbeing as Māori.
>
> ... An overwhelming response by both students and teachers is that kapa haka should be timetabled as an academic subject to provide greater access to indigenous and cultural performing art that affirms their identity as Māori, and our uniqueness as New Zealanders. (ii)[85]

These are important issues raised by Whitinui's research. Māori children find a way to improve their academic progress through Kapa Haka while continuing to affirm and confirm their identity as Māori. They are felt more valued in their own schools and perform accordingly.

By what I am seeing and hearing the acquisition of song and dance that is Māori, of Kapa Haka, is the same as it ever was; the younger generation watch and imitate the older generation in sound and movement. What is different is that this younger generation have acquired and grown their knowledge of Kapa Haka, what it means to them and how to express it, through their native tongue, which is te reo Māori, and is also the language of Kapa Haka. Children of now, as we did, are embodying being Māori through performing Kapa Haka. I spoke to my oldest son, Taiporoutu Huata, who because of his age kind of sits between two generations, about his memories of being tutored by some of the most well-known Kapa Haka exponents. He said:

> I remember going to Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato practices as a young boy of ten or so, and instruction was always in te reo. When I was at secondary school all my tutors spoke English to us even though they were speakers of te reo themselves. Then when I left school and joined other groups the same thing happened. My tutors spoke English to us, those who were competent in te reo and those who were not. From what I had

[85] Quote taken from the abstract of the doctoral thesis by Paul Whitinui 2007.

> experienced earlier as a child with Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato I presumed that all groups were tutored in te reo but I was to discover that was not the case. Some of those who entered that Kapa Haka (Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato) with no reo, came out with at least some understanding, if not being able to converse a little. As a secondary teacher I try to emulate Tīmoti when I teach my kura group. It can be hard and frustrating, but I persevere. When I am tutoring my whānau group it is much easier as we all speak te reo, except for a couple who I find need the odd translation here and there, but that is improving too as these kaihaka stay around. So I believe having te reo allows for better and clearer instruction and it is part and parcel of the identity of kaihaka so we should use it as much as we can. They are learning more and more by being part of a whānau group. They know what our identity is and how we maintain that through Kapa Haka. Of course having a sense of strong whanaungatanga helps too. "THK! All Day!"[86]

That Taiporoutu makes a case for the use of te reo as the language of instruction for Kapa Haka is interesting because the majority of groups in my time were instructed in English. Here perhaps, there can be a case made for te reo as being a bigger player in the development of a modern Māori identity than was first thought. His support of whanaungatanga, in his case Ngāti Apakuratanga, is echoed in the following quotes from the *Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore* research report which talks about connectedness and whanaungatanga as being important for a modern Māori identity. The report says:

> With regard to the important components of kapa haka, the majority of participants spoke of the intrinsic link between kapa haka, culture and their identity as Māori, and of the essential element of whanaungatanga, the importance of people and

[86] Oral conversation with Taiporoutu Huata, December 2014. He ends his kōrero with the Te Haona Kaha whakatauākī that his younger brother, Raana Huata, coined to boost the kaihaka and the whānau.

> connectedness. It was identified that for people who live away from their kāinga or home areas, kapa haka becomes a whānau, a refuge, a place to belong. (67)
>
> ... Kapa haka was also perceived as a gateway into the culture for Māori who were not connected to their marae/hapū/iwi, or who lived away from their home areas, as well as for New Zealanders who came to experience kapa haka as a safe, inclusive activity through which to engage with Māori culture. (67)

Kapa Haka has become a chameleon following the path of a wheke. As a chameleon it changes to suit its surroundings and is being performed all over the place in various spaces. As a wheke it races across the bottom of the sea; that is, spreading across the land, to achieve its goals in the fastest time, covering the most space. The biggest and fastest changes have occurred in the last five years. We see and hear Kapa Haka more often. As Paraire Huata said: "... Electronic media means that repeats are played ad nauseum". I have to agree with him in terms of the effect that technology and the speed with which it develops has had on Kapa Haka. The inroad of television into the festivals to film them has exposed Kapa Haka to family homes, the nation and the world. This is perhaps one of the biggest indicators of how Kapa Haka is responsible for creating a modern Māori identity. What Kapa Haka reflects is the ability of Māori to respond to external events – the impact of colonisation and globalisation – creatively. Kapa Haka's repertoire, like Māori identity, is resilient in being able to maintain continuities with the past by putting innovations in their place, making them serve the present kaupapa.

Conclusion: Whakawātea - Exit

He aha rā kei taku uma	What is this in my bosom
E pākinikini nei?	That gnaws away at me
Pākinikini nei e.	That gives me grief.
Pūrari pokotiwha, e!	You need to take stock of
O mahi whakaparahako, e	Your acts of denigrating
I taku mana Māori motuhake e,	My precious Māori prestige
Koura mōkai Hone Kī....	John Key you iniquitous fellow
.....Hone Ki- no, e.	John Key...no.

The above verse is from the whakawātea performed by the kapa haka Te Whānau-ā-Apanui at the Te Matatini 2015, He Ngākau Aroha, held in Christchrch. It was written by Rikirangi Gage[87] in response to some of the actions of the Prime Minister of Aotearoa/ New Zealand towards Māori, especially those in the rohe of Te Whānau-a-Apanui, in terms of putting not only their livelihoods at risk but also their lives. One example of this is the encouraging of big conglomerates to test their sea coast for oil drilling, and the Trans Pacific Agreements under consideration. They are people of the sea and fishing is their livelihood; is their life and their tradition and could be seriously harmed by oil drilling. The words are consistent with the way they typically perform, so that the present meaning - John Key do not allow our seas to be contaminated – is supported by actions and gestures that they have retained from the past. Te Whānau-ā-Apanui always incorporate some item into their Kapa Haka repertoire that talks about their identity as sea people and their relation to the sea, often depicted by the men using long poi as nets which they act out throwing into the sea and hauling them back in. They are also a kapa haka that no matter where they perform or for what reason they continue to perform as their ancestors did, using the same ancient stance for

[87] The waiata is reprinted here with the permssion of the composer, Rikirangi Gage. Email communication March 20th, 2015.

both men and women, all the while making their performances pertinent for today. The way they swing their bodies and lift their feet is easily identifiable as belonging to the East Coast Māori, to them. In this way they maintain what is traditional but perform in a modern way with modern kaupapa. It is more often than not Kapa Haka that pulls their people away from their work places in the cities back to their marae to prepare for yet another Te Matatini campaign. They are an iwi still strongly connected to their marae while engaging with the problems of modernity through Kapa Haka.

In 1972 I could not have known that the performance we gave, as scattered and improvised as it was, as unconscious of the forces driving and surrounding us then, that forty-two years later I would be sitting in the VIP tent racing off to give television and radio interviews as an expert in the genre of performance known world-wide as Kapa Haka. Kapa Haka is now practised by thousands and central to who we have become as a people, to how we see ourselves and are seen by others. As performers we are ethnographers ourselves. We scrutinize, examine carefully, debate and discuss every move and sound created by Kapa Haka performances everywhere.

I have made a case for Kapa Haka as a major player in the creation of a modern Māori identity. This is not only done by Kapa Haka on the stage but in other places too, as has been noted throughout the thesis. This chapter is called Whakawātea because that is the last item in the repertoire of a Kapa Haka performance, and this chapter is the last major part of this thesis. The whakawātea sums up the complete performance. The whakawātea is usually much shorter in delivery than any other item, including the whakaeke. The idea is to get off the stage as quickly as possible while still farewelling the hosts and the audience with appropriate thanks through waiata and haka. The whakawātea is often quite strong in delivery with most kapa haka these days choosing to perform part of a cheeky tongue in the mouth waiata-ā-ringa to begin with, as we saw in the performance by Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, and then ending

with a ngeri/haka which is boisterous and vigorous (as I observed in the previous chapter when I discussed Te Iti Kahurangi's performance of their whakawātea).

There are some who may contest what I proclaim in this thesis and say that Kapa Haka maintains only a traditional identity. What Kapa Haka performs incorporates aspects of tradition, but performs a modern Māori identity. However I can, with justice, say "see, Kapa Haka is now a tradition, and that it was invented, in its present form, only forty years ago as part of a National Festival, makes it no less traditional now".

In the 21st century we see Kapa Haka everywhere and the festival itself is more and more big business and less and less grassroots as it was at its inception. What has been accomplished that was first envisaged in 1972 and what more could there be? It has gone national and international, and while it maintains a direct line to the local, increasingly what we see has its eye on the world stage – especially as the winners are given opportunities to tour and collaborate with non-Māori on aesthetic, touristic and multi-cultural projects.

I still believe there are some elements of Kapa Haka that were thought about when the first Festival was held that have yet to be fully explored, especially that of original compositions in the choice of tunes for whakaeke, waiata-ā-ringa and whakawātea. Teams still tend to choose a 'big item' number to do, for whakaeke and whakawātea, that incorporates a popular Pākehā tune. This style appeals to audiences who are familiar with the music and invites them to listen and look to see how the tune has been re-worked by the group – different words, traditional actions and gestures – often to produce totally different meanings. There are a number of composers working to create new tunes, using Māori harmonics. An example of this is Te Whānau-ā-Apanui's poi – Toutī Tangaroa. The tune begins with just the melody and as it moves forward harmonies at intervals of thirds are introduced until there is a full sound of blending voices. The composition of music needs to be recognised at Te Matatini. We might create another tradition.

Early in the thesis I talk about my whānau kapa haka performing in the 2012 Tainui regional competitions for the first time and the kind of thoughts that stirred up in me. Two years on they have just competed again in the 2014 Tainui regional competition and they came fifth for a second time. My understanding of how Kapa Haka has evolved in more local ways has deepened. I now see my children and grandchildren with a full vocabulary – language and gesture, song and dance – that is at once particular to their whakapapa and tūrangawaewae and at the same time partakes of the common vocabulary of Kapa Haka. The performance they give maintains a tangible – in their moving bodies and voices – connection to the past but it meets others – Māori and non-Māori – in a sustained dialogue about how to move forward as a people. For Te Haona Kaha it is about reinforcing their knowledge of and application of iwi identity, both traditional and modern, as a team from Ngāti Apakura, as a team from Ngāti Māniapoto. By exposure to the performance of protocol and entertainment, the group learns how to embody their own identity as descendants of Apakura, the eponymous ancestor. In every performance they reclaim their identity as tribal members of Ngāti Apakura through their historical stories they re-create in the songs and dances of their repertoire. This is the legacy that will be left to their uri.

In my early chapters I reminisced about being at home with performances all around me – singing and dancing (concerts) and also ritual acts (pōwhiri, tangi as examples) – that were meaningful because they were still as much a part of the old world as the new. I came to realise that this was exceptional, outside the dominant Pākehā culture. I engaged with that world, but felt most at home when I could immerse myself in the world of Māori song and dance. These realities have not changed so much. The dominant culture remains dominant, after all. But since the establishment of the National Festival and its rise to prominence, I experience myself as more than part of a handful of girls in an after school programme or on a mission of comfort to the olds with a priest who encouraged us to entertain. Kapa Haka has

created a place for Māori to experience themselves (ourselves) as a people across iwi differences and the alienations of urbanisation and globalisation. We have acquired critical mass as a people and we experience this in a visceral way at the Festival. If there is safety in numbers, Kapa Haka has made it experientially so. The performance of this invented tradition creates a platform for a present conversation about who we are as an iwi and hapū, and also as a people, here and now. In the debate about how to perform Kapa Haka there is also a debate about how most effectively to remain Māori in the face of the residual colonial and the global. In valuing the performance, the being is also valued.

Even the less respected components of Kapa Haka – in particular its roots in performance for tourists – can be revalued for their contribution to the resilience of the various practices, for the way they engaged non-Māori (for which they were rewarded financially and in other ways) and for how they negotiated the wavy lines between pandering to outsiders and making a go of being Māori when other avenues of expression and self-preservation were limited and repressed. The Festival was founded in part to lift the quality – the use of te reo and tikanga, and the aesthetics – of such tourist performances, so now when the winners of Te Matatini go on tour – say to Edinburgh – what is performed remains true to the form and the people. This is found in the whakaeke "Toia mai", about the landing of a canoe, performed by the combined group of kaihaka from Waka Huia and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui at the Edinburgh Tattoo in 2014.

Te Matatini provides a platform for those Kapa Haka who want to compete, but for other groups, entertainment and the participation in protocol and customary practice on the marae as a kapa haka is of equal value, especially in the preservation of te reo and tikanga. For this last group they are able to still keep abreast with the modern 'movement' of Kapa Haka by being part of the whānau that are the spectators. In this way both the performers on

the Te Matatini stage and the spectators on the ground are part and parcel of the make-up that is essential in the creation of a modern Māori identity.

The National Festival, held under a variety of names and now called Te Matatini, is only forty-two years old. Te Matatini, and Kapa Haka itself, are actually just stages in a much longer history linking the festivals of the past to what is yet to come. The stage itself has developed over the forty-two years – now fully proscenium, with lights and sound, and also set up for the cameras. These innovations may have seemed radical when introduced, but they have been absorbed over time; modern interventions that have been incorporated into our ideas of what is 'traditional' for Kapa Haka and the Festival. We can, it seems, look forward to further such developments – whether technological or theatrical – each to be debated and either rejected or assimilated by participants in the balancing act between old and new that Māori perform every day.

What are the strengths of Kapa Haka's contribution to Māori identity? One strength is the development of Māori culture and support of it in other venues such as protocol followed within government departments; and Kapa Haka in state schools. Certainly one of the major outcomes for Kapa Haka has been the increasing use of te reo by kaihaka. There was a time when one could walk around Te Matatini and know instantly who would be able to converse in te reo. That has changed for the better. There were so few of us then and we now hear more people, of all ages, conversing freely in te reo at Te Matatini and other festivals, and not only those who are tutors and performers. We still hear and speak English, but te reo is the default language for us at the Festival now and increasingly it is so in other Māori contexts. The participation of Kapa Haka groups in more national conferences and institutional events at universities and in arts festivals is increasing. There is more international exposure through attendance at overseas events such as the Edinburgh Tattoo, which was broadcast to a

television audience of 100 million people worldwide,[88] or attending World Trade Fairs as ambassadors for New Zealand. In fact New Zealand, more and more, uses Kapa Haka performances on the international stage to express the identity of this nation. This is more complicated and perhaps paradoxical. How odd, how strange to see a not-quite-post colonial country such as Aotearoa / New Zealand using its natives not as mascots (think American sports teams, like the Redskins) but as people whose performance of their culture has become a sign to which we all are attached.

Teams who do not win tend to change their delivery from one based on iwi and rohe to another to match that of the winning teams. In doing this they lose their individuality, their identity as a team from a particular tribal area, with its own traditions and its own form. I support Tamati Waaka's[89] statement when asked by a television interviewer after the finals' performance of Te Whānau-ā-Apanui at Te Matatini, He Ngākau Aroha – "What is your secret?" – His answer was simple- "Trust in your style!" It is important to maintain a balance between past practice and present performance, between the tikanga attached to the particular iwi and the desire to impress audiences and judges with their virtuosity. The festival is supposed to provide incentives for performing tikanga and te reo, not to be an end in itself.

As has been observed throughout the thesis in most areas there is at least one team who is referred to as a pan-tribal kapa haka. This phenomenon is easier to identify in big cities such as Auckland but smaller cities like Hamilton have them too. These teams tend to use the stories of the tribal area they live in but not the style of performance. For example, as I have argued in this thesis, for many of these type of groups Kapa Haka has allowed them to create their own marae and tūrangawaewae. That is in performing Kapa Haka these groups have established for themselves a place and space to be Māori in a modern Aotearoa/New

[88] A statement made by the Honourable Maggie Barry ONZM in the Festival programme, page 11.
[89] Tamati Waaka was the kaitātaki tāne for Te Whānau-ā-Apanui kapa haka 2015.

Zealand society. Being a member of a pan-tribal group is another way that iwi Māori perform a modern Māori identity.

In 1972 the act of performing Kapa Haka was radical in itself. Now it is ordinary, part of the everyday experience of Māori everywhere. Even those who do not like it for whatever reason know what it is and are generally articulate in setting themselves apart. The Festival is a powerful presence on the national stage, on television (and not just Māori television) and on the internet. It is a force to be reckoned with financially and socially. Lianne Dalziel, the Mayor of Christchurch, states in the Festival programme in support of the economic and social benefit to the community: "We are thrilled to welcome you – the 1,800 performers, the 1,300 people working behind the scenes to stage this event, plus the 400 volunteers, and the 30,000 people who will be entertained over the next four days" (6). She goes on to say:

> Christchurch, it's happening! I think this is a perfect way to describe what lies ahead for our city this year. We are open for business, we have a city full of opportunities and a plan to take us forward. The city of Christchurch fully supports the festival theme – He Ngākau Aroha – that is, we thank you all sincerely for all the aroha and support offered to us following the earthquakes. Our role in helping to host the Te Matatini 2015 is in part, a small way of saying thank you. (6)

After such a long time, one of the factors in bringing the festival to Christchurch was so that it could demonstrate Māori participation in the recovery of Christchurch after the devastating earthquakes. So too are the Māori people recovering, those who have in the same time fought successfully to regain lands and mana by way of the Treaty, through the government and on every social platform. We celebrate these victories at the Festival, as we debate new challenges.

And so, the Festival now carries on, carrying forward older ways of performing, incorporating innovations, testing the limits of performative expression. A modern Māori

identity does not repudiate the past, but activates it in service of the present kaupapa, whatever it may be. Who are Māori people now as a result of putting on piupiu and twirling poi? We are not doing that in our daily lives but somehow it makes a difference at that level. What is that difference? Is it internalised, a spiritual force – a faith in ourselves as people, a sense that what connects us to each other strengthens us in encounters with so many who are not connected in this way.

In the past, as now, we may have donned piu-piu and tossed a poi or two in performing for international visitors of note such as the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and in the introduction of early concert parties as produced by Makareti Papakura. In retrospect, these performances were indeed problematic. They might be viewed in the same way that minstrel shows are viewed now in the United States of America. And that may be so. But at the same time, in preserving and valuing iwi-specific cultural practices, these performances also paved the way for the performances of identity that we see now. From these early shows we saw the growth of concert parties such as those set up by Tā Apirana Ngata and Paraire Tomoana including Ngāti Poneke Māori Club, the first urban, pan-tribal concert party. These concert parties in turn became the birth places of new kinds of urban whānau, those people who were divorced from their tūrangawaewae and therefore were forced to create their own new modern Māori identities from the Māori concert parties and the kapa haka that they belonged to. Then as now we see different iwi and hāhi hui around the country, comprising of pōwhiri, sports, debates in te reo about their iwi history, and Kapa Haka performances, the processes they engage in to maintain an iwi identity.

During the 70s and 80s some of us who were Kapa Haka performers were also engaged in protest in the wider communities. We created performances in response to social issues, and used our performances to argue for social action. We took our performances to the streets, as in the Springboks Tour protests. Being part of this was part of a critical moment in

the development of my political conscience as a Kapa Haka performer. As we started developing Kapa Haka performances, we took our compositional cues from current events.

But what of the future? Who will carry Kapa Haka further into the 21st century and beyond? Many of the young faces we see on the Te Matatini stage were raised differently to my generation with more ready access to Kapa Haka in all its forms, both traditional and theatrical and with a better understanding of how it was created. What is the background of performers of today, performers in their early twenties, and what might define their contemporary Māori identities now in the 21st century? A high percentage of them have been schooled in their Māori world from Early Childhood schooling in Kōhanga Reo, to Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura. They have an understanding of their Māori world that was different to their parents; that is, they are native speakers of te reo and their schooling has been in a total immersion te reo Māori environment. They can figure out for themselves how to resolve Māori issues, including those pertaining to Kapa Haka, which would otherwise have stymied the older generation, which I belong to. They are attached to their whānau, hapū and iwi - in a number of cases, many iwi.

Theirs is the generation that inherited this modern Māori identity and they are also at the very heart of it. They are the children whose entertainment on a daily basis was watching Kapa Haka videos, compact discs and now You Tube. They absorbed the performances with a keenness that my generation did not experience for a number of reasons. They have, unwittingly perhaps, elevated Kapa Haka to a place and space beyond their marae. If, however, for them Kapa Haka is a big part of their modern society, Kapa Haka in the reverse tends to take them back to their marae. Kapa Haka is in better hands than forty years ago.

Kapa Haka is in our living rooms, in our houses day in and day out. It is on the marae and on the stage, and not just on Māori stages. We see pieces of Kapa Haka in plays, in dance concerts, and on Aotearoa/New Zealand television shows that have nothing to do with Kapa

Haka, or Māori, per se. We hear traditional waiata reworked into pop tunes – ballads and rock, reggae, hip-hop, and so on – in much the same way that pop tunes find their way back into Kapa Haka.

Allow me to close this whakawātea with the example provided by my youngest child, Te Wairere Ngaia. As her team, Te Haona Kaha, did not secure a place at Te Matatini, Te Wairere was asked by the tutors of a group that was successful, Te Pou o Mangatāwhiri, to help prepare their team for Te Matatini 2015. This honour was first of all an acknowledgement of her abilities and her understanding of her iwi and rohe identity. It also recognised what she has gained by being a performing member of her own group, of her own marae. She is the successor of the tradition and knowledge of Māori performance, of Kapa Haka, handed down from her tūpuna, whaea and older siblings. She has been identified in her rohe as having great poi skills and was party to the composition of their poi and the arranging of their songs and the overall tutoring of the group. She is not only an integral part of her own whānau group but can be a participant in another group.

Te Wairere, like many of her generation, is fluent in diverse Kapa Haka practices, not solely those of her own hapū. This means she has to navigate the two related but not identical performances of identity, using her knowledge – which is in continuity with the past but also fresh and present – to create a performance that was from her understanding and ability to perform poi, but one that would fit the abilities of the performers of this other team and also represent their identity as distinct from her own.

There was a need to create actions that would explain the kaupapa of the poi, the Hokioi manu[90] and the Hokioi newspaper, to the audience. She created actions where the women were weaving in and out of each other emulating the movements of the printing press.

[90] The Hokioi is an extinct bird of ancient times that was revered for its size and its flying skills. The Waikato- Tainui people named one of their first printed papers after the Hokioi. It is still delivered today to every beneficiary of the tribe.

There were other actions that saw Hokioi, the manu, flapping its wings as it flew up into the sky to traverse the universe as did their ancestors when they went to Austria[91] to acquire the printing press. She endeavoured to retain some aspects of tradition while being innovative at the same time in the combining of actions with body movement. In more traditional poi extreme body movement was limited and was more graceful in delivery. Being aware of that Te Wairere created actions that had intricate footwork while the rest of the body was stretched and swaying to the music. She had to make sure that the iwi and rohe identity of Te Pou o Mangatāwhiri was evident in the form and content of the poi. We know from history the flight was successful and people of her iwi and rohe still read the Hokioi newspaper today. So in performance, we saw a poi dance that communicated the specifics of this story, building on the ways this iwi customarily performs but also extending the movements to deepen our understanding not only of the content but of the group performing. The result was both 'traditional' and completely up to date. It set the stage for future collaborations and innovations across our two rōpū, and just as importantly it demonstrated the value of treating Kapa Haka composers and choreographers as artists in their own right.

Kapa Haka mai i tōku whakapapa	Kapa Haka born from genealogy
Kapa Haka te huinga tangata	Kapa Haka gathers people together
Kapa Haka te ao e whiti ana	Kapa Haka makes my world shine
Tū tangata mahi rangatiratanga	Stand tall, perform in a chiefly manner
Mō ngā uri he kawa tikanga`	That our descendants will know protocol and custom

[91] This printing press was used by Pātara Te Tuhi to print the Kīngitanga newspaper *Te Hokioi e rere atu na*.The press had been brought back to New Zealand by Waikato Tribal members Wiremu Toetoe and Hēmara Te Rerehau. The pair had travelled to Austria, where they were trained in printing techniques and gifted the press by the Archduke Maximilian. Pātara Te Tuhi was assisted by his brother, Hōnana Maioha, on the newspaper.
http//www.teara.govt.nz/en/object/42414/te-hokioi-printing-press

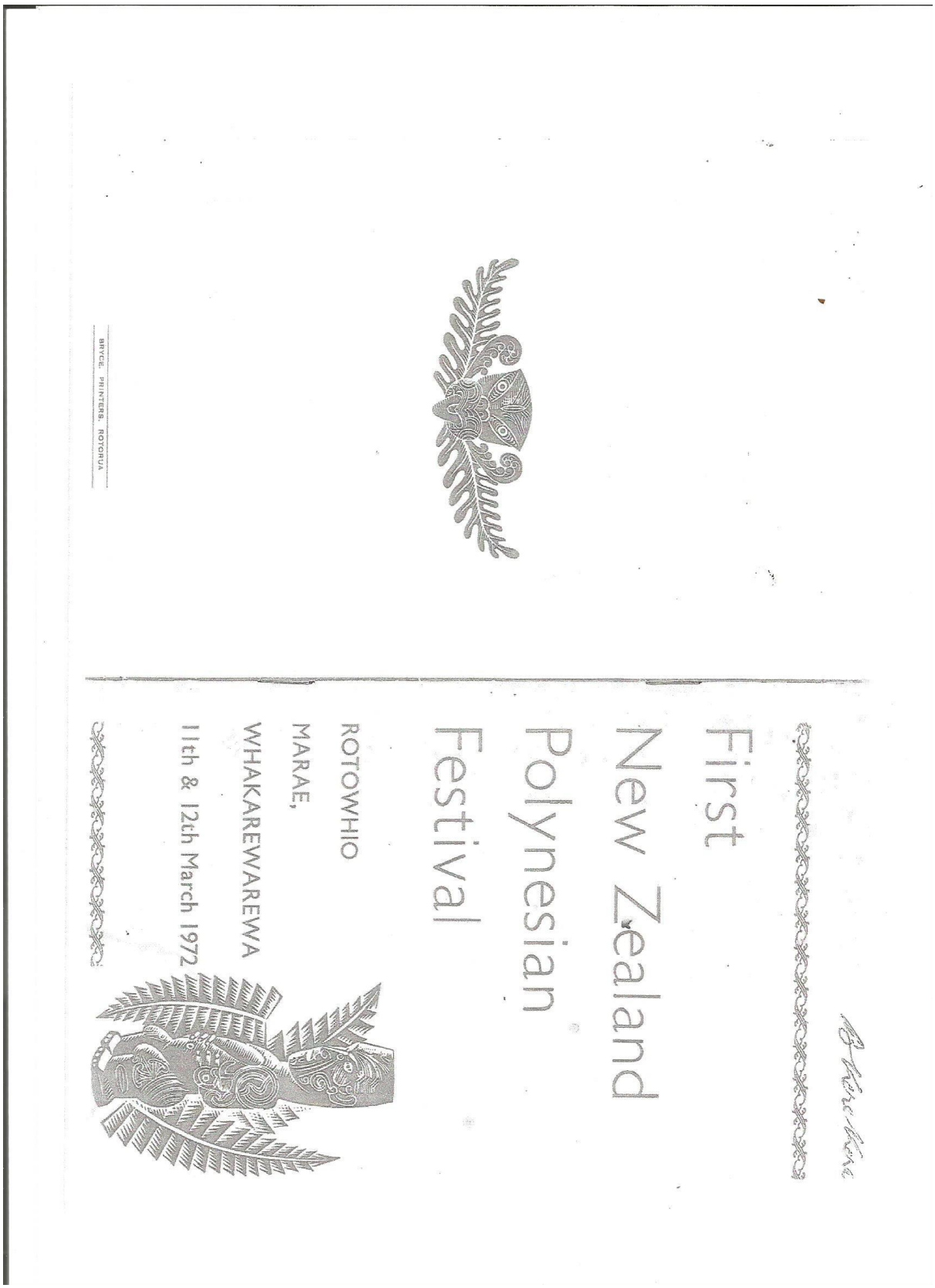
Kapa Haka ko tōku ao nei e. Kapa Haka is my world. [92]

To close off this conclusion, and so send this thesis on its way, I want to end on the words of Kīngi Tūheitia, te Kīngi Māori, in his welcoming speech to attendees at Te Matatini 2015, He Ngākau Aroha written in the Festival programme. It contains similar words and sentiments as the waiata written to open the thesis in the Whakaeke. The King says:

> Tukua ngaa mahi kia haere. Tuutakarerewa ki te aroaro o te motu. Tukua kia whiti. Whiti ki te matariki, whiti ki te rangiaahua, whiti ki te rangimaarie, titia iho, au, au, aue haa! (9)

[92] Composed by Te Rita Papesch to conclude thesis, March 31st 2015.

Appendix 1 Te Haona Kaha Kapa Haka Kaihaka Author’s children and grand children performers



Appendix 2 – First Festival Programme Cover Page 1

A message of welcome from the Hon. R. Boord, M r of Rotorua.

On behalf of the Citizens of Rotorua I extend a warm welcome to the many Visitors, Contestants and Supporters to our City for this, the first New Zealand Polynesian Festival.

We are very proud that Te Arawa land and in particular Rotorua City should be selected as the venue for this National Festival. We are sure that the facilities we have available and the preparatory work done by the National and the Rotorua Organising Committees, will ensure its success.

The bringing together of our Maori and Island people to present their best entertainers and entertainment is another positive step to ensure the maintenance of our traditional Culture.

As a tourist centre, Rotorua attracts many overseas and local visitors each year and a highlight of their stay is always the Maori entertainment provided by our many Cultural Groups.

We trust you all have an enjoyable weekend in our friendly City and we would particularly wish to thank the many Contestants for entering the competitions and wish them every success in their efforts.

RAY BOORD,
Mayor.

From The Hon. Duncan MacIntyre, Minister of Maori Affairs and Minister of Island Affairs.

To gather the best two teams from each of the eight Maori Council districts, together with representatives of four of the leading Pacific Island communities living in New Zealand, has been no easy task. It has been worth while if this, the first truly national New Zealand Polynesian Festival, can set a standard for the future cultural development of our country.

The Festival's main aim is to promote Polynesian singing and dancing, both the traditional and the newer songs and music. The running of such a competition is very much an experiment, and the organisers hope that the outcome will be regular festivals of a standard and variety not before attained anywhere else in the Pacific.

The Rev. Kingi Ihaka put the Festival proposal originally to the National Development Conference. The Maori Purposes Fund Board and the Government have helped to meet the cost of bringing the 900 performers to Rotorua. A National Committee, the Rotorua Organising Committee and numerous sub-committees and workers, together with the Arts and Crafts Institute, have all made this occasion possible.

The true essence of all this work, of course, is the effort the clubs themselves are making to give of their best.

I am proud to be associated with the aims and performances of this weekend.

DUNCAN MACINTYRE,
Chairman, Maori Purposes Fund Board.

PROGRAMME

Saturday, 11th March, 1972

OPENING CEREMONY

9.00 a.m. Welcome to Visitors by Te Arawa

10.00 a.m. Arrival of Vice-Regal Party

National Anthem

Me tohu e Te Atua
To tatou Kuini Nui
Kia ora ia
Meinga kia maia ia
Kia hari nui kia toa
Me Tohu e Te Atua
Tau tini noa.

Wero (traditional challenge) by Te Arawa.
Powhiri (traditional welcome) by Te Arawa
Speeches of welcome.
His Excellency declares the Festival open.
Service of dedication.

11.00 a.m. The Festival begins

FESTIVAL PROGRAMME

Each team will perform for 20 minutes. This includes, for the Maori teams, the entrance and exit, the traditional-style item, the haka, the poi and the action song.

The Pacific Islands teams will present their own dancing and singing. Each team will also sing a choral piece of its own choice, which is sung separately from the cultural items but is included in the maximum time of 20 minutes.

The morning session includes the opening ceremony and the following:

Ohau, of Waiariki.
Ngati Poneke, of Ikaroa.
Choirs — Mataura, Te Toa Takitini, Wellington Samoan.
Te Kahui Rangatahi, of Ikaroa.
Te Kauri, of Tamaki Makaurau.
Choirs — Waihirere, Waioeka, Niuean.

Saturday afternoon Session (starts 1.40 p.m.)

South Taranaki, of Aotea.
Waikawa, of Te Waipounamu.
Auckland Samoan cultural team.
Choirs — Te Ropu Manutaki, Auckland Cook Islands, Muriwhenua.
Wellington Samoan cultural team.
Waikato of Waikato-Maniapoto.
Mangatu, of Tai Rawhiti.
Niuean cultural (Auckland) team.
Choirs — Hinekura, Tuara Tokelauan.
Rangitikei, of Aotea.
Ruawai, of Tai Tokerau.

Evening Session (starts 7.00 p.m.)

Mataura, of Te Waipounamu.
Te Toa Takitini of Waikato-Maniapoto.
Cook Islands cultural team of Auckland.
Choirs — Ohau, Ngati Poneke, Auckland Samoan.
Waihirere, of Tai Rawhiti.
Waioeka, of Waiariki.
Choirs — Te Kahui Rangatahi, Te Kauri, South Taranaki.
Te Ropu Manutaki, of Tamaki Makaurau.
Muriwhenua, of Tai Tokerau.
Hinekura-Tuara, of Waiariki.

Sunday, 12th March (starts at 9.00 a.m.)

Choir — Waikawa, Waikato.
Tokelauan cultural team of Wellington.
Choirs — Mangatu, Rangitikei, Ruawai.
Presentation of prizes and trophies.
Service of Thanksgiving.
End of Festival at noon.

MAORI COMPETITION DISTRICTS

KEY

1 TAITOKERAU
2 TAMAKI
3 WAIKATO-MANIAPOTO
4 WAIARIKI
5 TAIRAWHITI
6 AOTEA
7 IKAROA
8 TE WAI POUNAMU

NATIONAL FESTIVAL COMMITTEE

Chairman: The Reverend Kingi M. Ihaka, M.B.E., J.P.

Members: Miss I. Te Uira, Dr. P. H. Jones, The Reverend Ta Upu Pere, The Reverend L. I. Sio, Messrs J. M. McEwen, K. Waaka, G. Newson, J. McBean, P. Gordon.

Secretary: Mrs H. Knopfler

Advisory assistance has been given by Messrs W. Herewini, W. Kerekere, W. Parker, H. Tuia, H. Stanley.

ROTORUA ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Chairman: Mr A. M. Linton, C.B.E.

Members: Messrs H. Rogers, A. T. Bennett, D. J. Ewert, J. Minty, K. Waaka, J. B. Mullooly, J. Rangihau, W. T. Kaua, G. Brennan, P. Hemana, S. Newton, H. Hunuhunu, B. Franklin, F. Rooke, J. Pomare, M. Tamehana, P. Parata.

Minute Secretary: Mrs M. Paul

Appendix 2 – First Festival Programme Page 4

First New Zealand Polynesian Festival

ROTOWHIO MARAE, WHAKAREWAREWA

11 AND 12 MARCH 1972

Patron:

His Excellency, The Governor-General, Sir Arthur Porritt, Bt., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B.E.

Appendix 2 – First Festival Programme Page 5

The Festival Committee gratefully acknowledges prize money and trophies presented by the following organisations, business houses and individuals:

J. Wattie Canneries Ltd.
Tuhoe Trust Board
Bay of Plenty Savings Bank
General Motors Ltd.
Dominion Breweries Ltd.
U.E.B. Industries Ltd.
Shell Oil (N.Z.) Ltd.
New Zealand Forest Products Ltd.
Whakatohea Trust Board
Wi Pere Trust
A. H. & A. W. Reed
Waiariki District Maori Council
Hon. Duncan MacIntyre
Mr J. M. McEwen
Te Waipounamu District Maori cultural teams
Tai Rawhiti District Maori cultural teams
Aotea District Maori cultural teams
Ikaroa District Maori cultural teams

Appendix 2 – First Festival Programme Page 6

The New Zealand Polynesian Festival Committee

"Whaia ko te iti kahurangi"

P.O. BOX 2390
WELLINGTON, N.Z.

ADJUDICATION AT THE NEW ZEALAND POLYNESIAN FESTIVAL

(MAORI ITEMS) READ & REMEMBER !

General: Throughout the judging of the Maori section of the competitions the judges will especially be listening for correct pronunciation of Maori, particularly the consonants T,R,NG, and the vowels. Teams consist of a minimum of 24, and a maximum of 36, of both sexes. The minimum age is 16 years for performers.

1. ENTRANCE AND EXIT

(i) Starting and Stopping: Do they work together? Is the beginning effective?

(ii) Actions and Feet: Are the actions appropriate to the words? Do the feet movements as they enter, synchronise with the actions? Are eyes and head following the actions?

(iii) Singing - Song, chant or haka: Are the words appropriate and clearly enunciated?

(iv) Movement and Co-ordination: Do they get on the stage smoothly? Do they finish up well spaced and ready to swing straight into their actions?

Marks 50

2. POI

(i) Rhythm: Is it constant? Is it too slow or too fast?

(ii) Singing: Quality and volume. Are any of the poi performers not singing? Individual teams decide whether men sing or not.

(iii) Foot and Hip Movements: Are they rhythmical - not stiff.

(iv) Poi Technique: Intricacy of pattern. Deduct for noticeable faults. Are poi movements in time to the music? Gracefulness? The overall effect is the important thing. The loss of a poi should not disqualify a whole team. The accompaniment may be traditional or modern song.

Appendix 3- First Festival Judges' Rules Page 1

(v) Eyes and Head: Do the eyes follow the leading poi?

Marks 100

3. ACTION SONG

(i) Technique: Judges will judge firstly on the overall impression made by the team. They will also look for faults in individuals, and in each category points will be deducted for obvious and serious faults. Because of the possible lack of time to scrutinise individuals, judges may have to be content to award points from a general impression of the following factors.

(a) Hand Action: Faults are: lack of good hand tremble, stiff actions, indefinite movement or lanquid or over-exaggerated actions.

(b) Foot Action: The type of foot action varies from tribe to tribe. Within a group, however, all competitors should have the same foot action.

(c) Eyes and Head: Head and eyes should normally follow right hand action or that hand which executes the principal action. Deduct for performers who look all over the place and who grin at one another.

(d) Expression: Do they look relaxed and natural? Are their actions performed with confidence?

(ii) Composition: A maximum of ~~20~~ TEN points will be allocated for originality for both words and music. Other points are given if the actions are appropriate to the meaning of the words - and if the words fit in easily.

(iii) General Effect

(a) Grouping and Movement on Stage: Are they arranged neatly and do they move smartly on stage, or as a mob? Do they fill available stage space or are they crowded together?

(b) Starting and Stopping: Is it crisp? Do they work together?

(c) Teamwork and Leadership: Do they work as a team? Is the leader effective? Do they all know the actions? (Watch the back rows!) Are the individual performers confident or do they have to follow those in front of them or beside them? Are there any "passengers" (people not singing, etc?)

Appendix 3 – First Festival Judges' Rules Page 2

(d) Singing: How do they sound? Is there ample volume? Do they harmonise well? Are they in tune? Is the rhythm appropriate and well maintained from start to finish?

Marks 100

4. TRADITIONAL STYLE CHANT

(a) Examples of these are: waiata, patere, oriori, pao, haka powhiri, pokeka, tangi, apakura, karakia, rangi poi.

(b) It is essential that all members know the words well.

(c) Good enunciation is important.

(d) If actions are used they should not be rigidly uniform. Stance and expression should be appropriate to the item.

(e) Up to 20 marks will be given for original composition.

Marks 100

5. HAKA

1. General

(a) The overall effect is the important thing. Points may be deducted for obvious faults in individuals. Co-ordination (everyone working together as a team) is important for all types of haka. Watch particularly the back rows. In peruperu, all legs should be together during the leaps.

(b) Start and Stop: These must be crisp and all must work together. Ensure all performers "hit" the first words of each chorus part particularly at the start of the item.

(c) Rhythm: Rhythm must be appropriate to the haka.

(d) Words: Every member of the group must say them. Check for clarity. Can they be heard or are they just a mumble?

(e) Leadership: Has he good control over group? Has he a good presence? Is the kaea part well done (words clear and correct)? Does he handle his weapon correctly? There may be more than one kaea.

(f) Grouping: Arrangement on stage.

Appendix 3 – First Festival Judges' Rules Page 3

2. TECHNIQUES.

(a) Initially the stance should be one of alert readiness. The backs should be straight. The body should be well balanced.

(b) Expression: Expression must be vigilant and fierce, and points will be deducted for grinning. Check use of pukana, pikari, whakapi, whatero. Are they used appropriately?

(c) Eyes and Head: Eyes generally will watch enemy (audience) but may follow hands for a significant action. Eyes will follow weapon for peruperu.

(d) Actions: They must be crisp, decisive and vehement (stirring and determined). Watch feet. Check that hands do not flap but have a controlled vibration (wiriwiri). For peruperu, note weapon handling.

3. COMPOSITION. 10

Up to 20 marks may be allotted for an original composition.

Marks 100

6. COSTUME AND APPEARANCE.

1. Piupiu: Men's piupiu should not fall below knee; women's below the knee. Are they ragged? Are waist bands tied neatly with cord ends out of sight? Men can wear rapaki.

2. Men's Shorts: Deduct points for rolled up trousers, excessively long shorts, or tops of underpants or shorts appearing above waistband ofpiupiu.

3. Underskirts: Are they of appropriate length.

4. Bodice: Are they well designed and do they fit properly? Are colours appropriate (i.e. in harmony with each other)? Watch for safety pins, etc. The general effect is more important than strict uniformity.

5. Cloaks: Wearing of cloaks is optional and either traditional or modern cloaks may be worn. Uniformity is not to be regarded as essential.

6. Adornments: Uniformity is not insisted on. Deduct points for those wearing watches, rings, etc. (other than engagement and wedding rings).

7. Feathers: May be worn in any position according to local practice.

Appendix 3 – First Festival Judges' Rules Page 4

8. Moko: This is optional, (marks must not be deducted if not worn) but teams must guard against excessive and inartistic use.

9. Hair: Length of hair is a personal matter, but it must look tidy and trim.

Marks 50.

* * * * *

Appendix 3 – First Festival Judges' Rules Page 5

Pukapuka Tautoko - Works Cited

Abbeele, Georges van den. "Sightseers: The Tourist as Theorist" *Diacratics 10,* 2 – 14 December 1908. Print.

Andersen, Johannes.C. *Maori music with its Polynesian background*. Wellington, N.Z., Polynesian Society. 1934. Print.

Armstrong, Alan. *Maori Customs and Crafts: A Picture dictionary*. Paraparaumu, NZ: Viking Seven Seas Ltd., 1973. Print.

Armstrong, Alan. *Māori games and hakas: instructions, words and actions*. Wellington, N.Z., Reed. 1964. Print.

Balme, Christopher. B. *Decolonizing the Stage: Theatrical Syncretism and Post Colonial Drama.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Print.

_ _ _ and Anne Carstensen. "Home Fires: Creating a Pacific Theatre in the Diaspora." *Theatre Research International Vol 26|no 1|*pp35 – 46. 2001. Print.

_ _ _ "Hula and Haka: Performance, Metonym And Identity Formation In Colonial Hawaii And New Zealand". *Humanities Research No 3* pp 41 – 58.1998. Print.

_ _ _"Staging the Pacific: Framing Authenticity in Performances for Tourists at the Polynesian Cultural Centre". *Theatre Journal 50:1(March 1998). 53–70.Theatre, Diaspora and the Politics of Home.* Published by John Hopkins University Press.

Banks, Joseph. *The Endeavour journal of Joseph Banks 1768 – 1771*. J.C. Beaglehole, Sydney, Australia, Trustees of the Pubic Library of New South Wales in association with Angus and Robertson, 2. 1962. Print.

Barlow, Cleeve. *Tikanga Whakaaro: key concepts in Māori culture*. Auckland, N.Z., Oxford University Press. 1998. Print.

Best, Elsdon. *Games and Pastimes of the Māori*. Wellington, N.Z., Govt. Print. 1976. Print.

Bharucha, Rustom. “Notes On The Invention Of Tradition.” *The Twentieth Century Performance Reader.* Pages 72 – 84. Michael Huxley and Noel Witts, eds. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.

_ _ _ *Theatre and The World: Performance and The Politics of Culture.* London and New York: Routledge, 1993. Print.

Best, Elsdon. *Games and pastimes of the Māori: an account of the various exercises, games and pastimes of the natives of New Zealand, as practised in former times, including some information concerning their vocal and instrumental music.* Wellington: Government Printer. 1976/1925. Print.

Burke, P. B and J. E Stets. “A Sociological Approach to Self and Identity”. Department of Sociology Washington State University. Chapter for *Handbook of Self and Identity,* edited by Mark Leary and June Tangney, Guilford Press, Forthcoming. Print.

Carter, L.J. *Whakapapa and the State: Some case studies in the impact of central government on traditionally organised groups.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Auckland, Auckland. 2003. Print.

Clements, Dave. *The Story of Haka.* Second ed. Hamilton, NZ: The Haka Book Ltd, 1998. Print.

Clifford, James. *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997. Print.

_ _ _ *The predicament of culture: twentieth century ethnography, literature and art.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988. Print.

Crapanzo, Vincente. *Hermes’ Dilemna and Hamlet’s Desire: on the epitemology of interpretation.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992. Print.

Desmond, Jane.C. “Invoking ‘The Native’ Body Politics in Contemporary Hawaiian Tourist Shows”. *The Drama Review 41,* 4 (T156) Winter 1997. New York University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Print.

Dewes, Te Kapunga. *Ngā Waiata Haka a Henare Waitoa*. University of Victoria. Unpublished Master’s thesis. 1974. Print.

Diamond, Paul. *Makareti: Taking Maori to the World.* Auckland, NZ: Random House, 2007. Print.

Fabian, Johannes. *Power and Performance: ethnographic explorations through proverbial wisdom and theatre in Shaba, Zaire.* Madison: Wis: The University of Wisconsin Press, c1990. Print.

Fraser, Tina.N. *Māori-Tūhoe epistemology: Stages of sustaining tribal identity through Tūhoe performing arts* (Unpubished doctoral thesis). The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. 2009. Print.

Gardiner, Wira. *Haka, A Living Tradition.* Auckland: Hodder Moa Beckett Publishers. 2001. Print.

Geertz, Clive. *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays.* Basic Books, Inc. Publishers. New York. 1973. Print.

_ _ _ *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali.* Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980. Print.

Goffman, Erving. *The Preservation of Self in Everyday Life.* London: Allen Lance, 1969. Print.

_ _ _ *Frame Analysis: an essay on the organisation of experience.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975. Print.

Grace, Patricia & Ramsden, Irihapeti. *The Silent Migration: Ngati Poneke Young Māori Club 1937 – 1948.* Wellington: Huia Books. 2002. Print.

Haami, Brad. *Ka mau te wehi: Taking haka to the world: Bub and Nen's story.* Auckland, New Zealand: Ngapo and Pimia Wehi Whanau Trust. 2013. Print.

Hill, Richard. S. Paper presented to the New Zealand Historical Association Conference for the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies titled**,** *'Social Revolution on a Small Scale': Official Maori Committees of the 1950s.* Pages 24-27, Nov 2005. Print.

Hovarth, Dovey. K. *Nau Mai Rā E Poi.* Radio New Zealand, Replay radio, 1987.

Huata, Ngamoni. *The rhythmn and life of poi.* Edited by Te Rita Papesch. Auckland: Harper and Collins Publishers (NZ) Ltd. 2000. Print.

Huata, Taiporoutu "Profile of a music educator: Hirini Melbourne". *Sound Ideas, Canterbury studies in Music Education v.2*, no. 1, July 1998, p. 22 – 28. Canterbury University Press, 1998.

Huxley. Michael. and Noel. Witts, ed. *The Twentieth-Century Performance Reader*. London: Routledge, 1996. Chapter 10. Print.

Kaʻai-Mahuta, Rachel, Kaʻai, Tania. & Moorfield, John. (Eds.) *Kia rōnaki: The Māori Performing arts.* Auckland. New Zealand. Pearson. 2013. Print.

Kaʻai-Oldman, Rachel.T.A. *Tākina ko au, tākina ko koe! Te āhuatanga o te whakataetae kapa haka (Unpublished master's thesis).* University of Otago, Dunedin, NZ. 2005. Print.

Kaʻai, Tania. *Ngoingoi Pewhairangi: An extraordinary life.* Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers. 2008. Print.

Kaiwai, Hector.M. *Pūkana rawatia!: Mickey Mouse does the haka* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. 2003. Print.

Kaiwai, Hector, & Zemke-White, K. Kapa Haka as a "web of cultural meanings". In C. Bell & S, Matthewman (Eds.), *Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: Identity, space and place.* Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University of Press. 2004. Print.

Kāretu, Tīmoti.S. *Haka: te tohu o te whenua rangatira – the dance of a noble people.* Auckland [NZ]: Reed, 1993. Print.

_ _ _ *Nga Haka me Nga waiata a Te Kapa Haka o Te Whare Wananga o Waikato.* Hamilton [NZ]: University of Waikato, 1987. Print.

_ _ _ *Ngā waiata me ngā Haka a Ngāi Taua, a Te Iwi Māori.* Hamilton [NZ]: University of Waikato, 1983. Print.

King, Michael. *Being Pakeha: an encounter with New Zealand and the Maori renaissance.* Auckland, N.Z.: Hodder and Stoughton, 1988. Print.

_ _ _ *Being Pakeha Now: reflections and recollections of a white native.* Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin, 2004. Print.

_ _ _ *Pakeha: the quest for identity in New Zealand.* Auckland [N.Z.]: Penguin, 1991. Print.

_ _ _ *Te Ao Hurihuri: aspects of Maoritanga.* Auckland [NZ]: Reed, 1992. Print.

_ _ _ *Te Puea: a life.* Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 2004. Print.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage.* Berkley: University of California Press. 1998. Print.

Kita, S. *Pointing; where language, culture and cognition meet.* Mahwah, New Jersey. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers. 2003. Print.

Leathem, K. *Waiata Mai. 35 Māori songs.* Godwit Press, Auckland, N.Z.:1991. Print.

Matthews, Nathan. "The Physicality of Māori Message Transmission – Ko te tinana, he waka tuku kōrero". *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* (3: Body) pp.9 – 18. ISSN 1 – 877139 – 65 -. 2004. Print.

Matthews, Nathan. & Paringatai, Karen. Nga mahi a Tane-Rore me Te Rehia: Peforming arts. In T. Ka'ai (Ed.), *Ki te whaiao: An introduction to Māori culture and society.* Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Longman. 2004. Print.

Mazer, Sharon. "Performing Māori: Kapa Haka on the Stage and on the Ground*". Popular Entertainment Studies, Vol. 2,* Issue 1, pp. 41 – 53. ISSN 1837-9303 2011. Published by the School Of Drama, Fine Arts and Music, Faculty of Education & Arts, The University of Newcastle, Australia. 2011.Print.

_ _ _ "You talkin' to me? Eavesdropping on the conversation at Te Matatini Māori Performing Arts Festival". *Performance Research,* 16(2), 44–49. DOI: 10.1080/13528165.2011.578729. 2011. Print.

Mead, Hirini. M. *Customary Concepts of the Māori.* Wellington, N.Z., Dept. of Māori Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. 1984. Print.

_ _ _ *Tikanga Māori Living by Māori Values* Published by Huia Publishers, Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand, 2003. Print.

Metge, Joan. *A new Maori migration: rural and urban relations in northern New Zealand.* London: University of London, Athlone Press; Parlville, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1986. Print.

_ _ _ *In and out of touch: whakamaa in cross-cultural context.* Wellington [[N.Z.]: Victoria University Press, 1986. Print.

_ _ _ *Maori society today: discussion course.* 10 lectures bound in 1 vol. Photocopy of Auckland: Council of Adult Education, University of Auckland. 1962.Print.

_ _ _ *New growth from old: the whanau in the modern world.* Wellington, N.Z.: Victoria University Press, 1995. Print.

Morgan, Eruera. *Whare tapere: Whakaeke.* Interviews by Tamati Waaka with Milroy, W., Paunaki, T., and Williams, K. Māori Television in-House Productions. 2007. Television.

_ _ _ *Whare tapere: Waiata-ā-ringa.* Interviews by Tamati Waaka with Papesch, T., Puanaki, T., TaiTin, Hemi. Māori Television in-House Productions. 2007. Television.

Murphy, Hineihaia. Haemata Ltd. Etita Mātaamua. *Enhancing Mātauranga Māori and global indigenous Knowledge.* Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Qualifications Authority. Contributors: Black, T; Hunkin, L; Doherty, W; Grant, D; Fraser, T.N.; Greenwood, M; Finau, S; Meyer, M; Mercier, O; Porsanger, J; Procter, J; Sadler, H; Palmer, F; Zuckerman, G; Hapeta, J. Chapter, 'Shaping Mātauranga Māori Opportunities Through Kapa Haka'. Donna Mariana Grant. 2014. Print.

Murray, David. "Haka Fracas? The Dialectics of Identity in Discussions of a Contemporary Maori Dance". *The Australian Journal of Anthropology,* 11: 3, 345 – 357. 2000

Ngata, Reupena. *Maori action songs: words and music, action and instructions.* Auckland [N.Z.]: Reed, 2002. Print.

Ngata, Sir Apirana Turupa. *Na to hoa aroha: From your dear friend: the correspondence bewteen Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck, 1925 – 50 /* Edited by M.P.K. Sorenson [Auckland, N.Z.]: Auckland University Press in association with the Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust and the Maori Purposes Fund Board, 1986 – 1988. Print.

_ _ _ R*auru-nui-ā-Toi Lectures and Ngāti Kahungunu Origin.* Second 'Introductory Address' (pp. 4 - 7). Wellington: Victoria University. [Reprint edition of original lectures from 1944]. 1992. Print.

_ _ _ *The past and future of Maori.* Christchurch [N.Z.]: Printed by Christchurch Press, 1893. Print.

_ _ _ *The price of citizenship: Ngarimu V.C.* [Wellington. N.Z.: Printed by w. & t., 1945] Print.

Orange, Claudia. *The Treaty of Waitangi,* Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1987. Print.

Orbell, Margaret. *Waiata, Māori Songs In History.* 1991, 2000. Print.

Orbell, M. and M. McLean *Songs of a Kaumātua* sung by Kino Hughes, March 2002. 350p. musical notation, 2CDs, ISBN1 86940 258 8.

_ _ _ *Traditional Songs of the Māori.* 1975, 1990. Print.

Paenga, M. D. T. A. *Te Māoritanga: Wellbeing and identity: Kapa haka as a vehicle for Māori health promotion* (Unpublished master's thesis) Auckland University of Technology (AUT), Auckland, NZ. 2008. Print.

Papesch, Te Rita. "Kapa Haka" *State of the Māori Nation*: *Twenty-first issues in Aotearoa.* Malcom Mulholland, ed. Auckland: Reed Publishing (NZ) Ltd., 2006. Pages 33 – 40. Print.

_ _ _ *Kapa Haka: From the margins to the mainstream.* Paper presented at the New Zealand Postgraduate Conference, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington. 2009. Print.

_ _ _ *"Pupuritia Ngā Purapura I Mahue Mai Rā".*Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Waikato. 1990. Print.

Rangihaeata, P. K. *Ka ora ngā kōrero hītori o Ngāti Konohi mā roto mai i ngā mahi whakaata waiata i te Kapa Haka o Whāngārā-mai-tawhiti* (Unpublished master's thesis). Victoria University, Wellington, NZ. 2011.

Richards, P & Ryan, C. "The Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival 1972 – 2000. A case study of cultural event maturation". *In Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change,* 2 (2): 94 – 117. 2004. Print.

Rikihana, Toby. *Waiata Māori: wāhanga tuatahi.* Te Ropu Tautoko i Te Reo Māori, Takapuna, 1992 & 2006. Print.

Rosaldo, Renato. *Culture and Truth: the remaking of social analysis.* Boston: Beacon Press, c1989. Print.

Riini, Moana. *Te Ao Hou Magazine* No 74 November 1973. Print.

Rollo, Te Manaaaroha. *Kapa haka whakataetae: kua tīni haere te kanohi o te mahi kapa haka i te ao hurihuri nei: kapa haka whakataetae, 1972 – 2006.* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. 2007. Print.

Royal, Charles. Te A. *Te Whare Tapere – Towards a Model for Māori Performance Art.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand. 1998. Print.

Salmond, Anne. *Between Worlds – Early Exchanges Between Māori and Europeans 1773 - 1815.* Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd. 1997. Print.

_ _ _ *Eruera: the teachings of a Maori elder.* Auckland [N.Z.]: Oxford University Press, 1985. Print.

_ _ _ *Hui – A Study of Māori Ceremonial Gatherings.* A.H & A.W. Reed, 1975. Print.

_ _ _ *Maori research register.* Auckland, Dept. of Anthropology. University of Auckland, [1978-] Print.

_ _ _ *Two worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642 – 1772.* Auckland, N.Z.: Viking, 1993. Print.

Scherer, J. "Promotional culture, indigenous identity, and the All Blacks Haka. Questions of commodification and authenticity". In J. Higham & T. Hinch (Eds.), *Sport and Tourism: Globilization, Mobility and identity.* Oxford, England and Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heineman. 2009. Print.

Schechner, Richard. *Between theatre and anthropology.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c1985. Print.

_ _ _ *Performance Studies An Introduction.* Second Edition. London and New York: Routledge 2006. Print.

Schneider, R. *The Explicit Body in Performance.* London and New York: Routledge. 1997. Print.

Shennan, Jennifer. *The Maori action song: waiata a ringa, waiata kori, no whea tenei ahua hou?* Wellington, N.Z.: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1984. Print.

Smith, Linda.T. *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* Dunedin: University of Otago Press. 1999. Print.

Smith, Valance. *Colonising the Stage: The sociocultural impact of colonisation on kapa haka.* (Unpublished M.A. thesis). University of Auckland 2003. Print.

Sissons, Jeffrey. *Maori Tribalism and Post-settler Nationhood in New Zealand*. Oceania 75, 2004. Print.

Taewa, B. *He Koha: a gift of Māori Music.* Complied by Blossom Taewa and Stuart Pearce, Auckland, N.Z.: Reed 2001. Print.

Taylor, Diana. "The Archive and The Repertoire". 2003. *The Invention of Tradition*. Edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Canbridge University Press (1992). Print.

Te Ao Hou Magazine No 69 1971. Print.

Te Karu, Sonny. (Ed.), *Te Ngahurutanga o ngā tau o te kapa o Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato.* Hamilton, New Zealand: Te Ngahurutanga. 1989. Print..

Tuini; Her Life and Her Songs. Compiled by N Pewhairangi. Hokowhitu-a-Tu, Tokomaru Bay. 1985. Print.

Turner, Victor. *By Means of Performance*. PAJ Publications. New York. 1990. Print.

_ _ _ *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play.* PAJ Publications. New York. 1982. Print.

Turner, Victor. with Edith. Turner. "Performing Ethnography*" The Performance Studies Reader*, Henry Bial ed. 265 – 278. London and New York: Routledge, 2004. Print.

Varea, Fetunnai. “Te Puea Herangi and Her Influence in the Waikato 1833 – 1952”. *NZ Journal of Public History. Volume 2*, No 1. November 2013. Published by THE PHRU, History Programme, The University of Waikato. ISSN 2253 – 153X. Print.

Walker, Ranginui.J. “A Paradigm of the Māori View of Reality”. Paper delivered to the *David Nichol Seminar IX, Voyages and Beaches: Discovery and the Pacific 1700 – 1840,* Auckland, 24 August 1993. Print.

_ _ _ *Nga Tautohetohe: years of anger.* Auckland [NZ]: Penguin, 1989. Print.

Werry, Margaret. *The Tourist State Performing Leisure, Liberalism, and Race in New Zealand.* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, London. 2011. Print.

Whitinui, Paul. *Indigenous Factor: exploring kapa haka as a culturally responsive learning environment in mainstream secondary schools.* Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Auckland, 2007. Print.

Williams, H. *Dictionary of the Maori Language.* Legislation Direct: reprinted Wellington, 2003. Print.

Wikiriwhi, Hone. *Te Ao Hou Magazine* No 72 1973. Print.

Young, R. C. *Colonial Desire: hybridity in theory, culture and race.* London; New York: Routledge, 1995.Print.

Ā Te Ipurangi - Web Sources

All Blacks: Haka Faces UK Challenge. nzherald.co.nz By Gregor Paul Nov 14, 2010. Accessed Nov 16, 2010.

'Apirana Ngata leading the haka1940'. nzhistory.net.nz/media/photo/apirana-ngata, haka – waitangi – 1840, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 7 – July – 2014. Accessed September 12, 2014.

Biddle, Te Urikore. "The mediation of tikanga in haka competition". *Te Kaharoa: The e-journal on Indigenous Pacific Issues,* 5(1), 63 -79. Accessed on September 9, 2014. tekaharoa.com/index.php/telaharoa/issues/view/13.2012

History of Māori language – Maori Language Week | NZHistory, New Zealand his... Accessed on September 9, 2014. nzhistory.net.nz/culture/maori-language-week/history-of-the-maori-language

Hopes and reality – Urban Māori – Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed on September 9, 2014. teara.govt.nz/en/urban-maori/page-2

Horsley, F. Kapa Haka: Guardian of the dance. Danz Quarterly (8), 14 – 16. Accessed on September 9, 2014. search.informit.com.au/documenttSummary:dn-199547157008219;res-IELNZC

June Northcroft-Grant. 'Papakura, Makareti', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* Updated 17 – Dec – 2013. Accessed January 2014.

Māori Language Issues – Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori – Māori Language Commission. History. Accessed September 9, 2014, tetaurawhiri.goovt.nz/english/issues_e/hist/index.shtml

Maori Party Congratulates Kaumatua for Stand. Scoop Independent News. 24 May 2006. Accessed May 24, 2006, scoop.co.nz/stories/PAO605/SOO586.htm.

New Straits Times, April 29, 1997. Accessed Dec 18, 2014. Overview - The 1970s| NZHistory, New Zealand history online. Accessed September 9, 2014. nzhistory.net.nz/culture/the-1970s/overview

Pettersen, M. K. *Kapa haka: Traditional Māori performing arts in contemporary settings (*Unpublished master's thesis). University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway. Accessed on October 12, 2009. duo.uio.no/handle/10852/16635

Souvenir of the Ngarimu Victoria Cross Investiture Meeting and Reception to His Excellency the Govenor General SIR CYRIL NEWALL Whakarua Park Ruatoria East Coast 6 October 1943. Programme and texts of items. Accessed on November 3, 2014. 28maoribattalion.org.nz/audio/ngarimu-vc-investiture-part-4-te-urunga-tu.

stuff.co.nz/national/10461258/Controversial-haka-moments-relived. Accessed Dec 18, 2014.

Te Rito, Joseph. "Whakapapa: A Framework for understanding identity". *MAI Review*, Article 2. review.mai.ac.nz 2007. Accessed September 9, 2014.

Urban and tribal authorities – Urban Māori – Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand Accessed on Urban Māori protest movements – Urban Māori – *Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand.* Accessed on September 9, 2014. teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/4218/urban-maori-protest-movements.

Urbanisation – Urban Māori – Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand accessed on September 9, 2014 teara.govt.nz/en/urban-maori/page-1

Urbanisation – Urban Māori – Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand accessed on September 9, 2014 teara.govt.nz/en/urban-maori/page-1

_ _ _ "Kapa Haka counts: improving participation levels of Māori students in mainstream secondary schools". *MAI Review*, 3, 1 – 14. Accessed on September 9, 2014. its.auckland.ac.nz/ojs.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php./MR/article.viewArticle/187

Wikitera, Keri-Anne. “Māori Spaces in Foreign Places. The case of Hinemihi o te ao Tawhito”. Conference Abstract in *MAI Review,* 2007. Accessed on February, 2015.