Chapter 5

Haka poi 'Poi dance'

Recreating Home

The amount of time and effort that clubs and their tutors put into devising and rehearsing programs for performance at festivals is an indication of the importance attached to competitions by the clubs. As discussed in Chapter Four, the role of the tutor as a teacher and an inventor of culture is pivotal to the recontextualisation of *kapa haka* in Melbourne, and the work of tutors with respect to preparing material for the competitions is demanding not only of time but in the expectation that the work of tutor will lead the club to victory. Competitions are an important part of a culture club's commitment each year. Māori *kapa haka* clubs, such as *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, rely on paid gigs and council-run festivals to make money; but competitions, which do not primarily have an economic function, help to define the club's standing in the Māori and wider Polynesian community. This chapter takes up the issue of the development of competitions as a medium for both the preservation of traditional *kapa haka* and the creation of new material for performance. A relatively new phenomenon for Māori, formal competitions, in the guise of 'cultural festivals', provide Māori, both in Australia and New Zealand, with an opportunity to perform *kapa haka*, an opportunity that would not otherwise exist. This chapter will examine the role of these Festivals as both an occasion to showcase traditional Māori values and culture and as a cause of innovation and

change in *kapa haka*, and will document the preparation by *Ngā Hapu Katoa* for the 1999 Festival – their final performance before a period of inactivity that has continued until 2002. This chapter will also describe the 1999 Victorian Regional Festival and will discuss several issues that arose from that particular festival.

'Tradition', and the perception that it must be preserved, is the primary motive behind Māori cultural festivals. For many clubs, competitions have become an integral part of their annual program. The prestige that goes with winning the various sections of a competition has a considerable effect on a club's group self-esteem. If a club fares badly at the hands of the judges, it can suffer from a decline in membership, and may even fold completely. On the other hand, a new club that is competing for the first time is given considerable moral support from the other clubs at the festival, even if it does not do well. Tutors spend a considerable amount of time on the creation of material for their clubs to perform at festivals, and festivals have become a significant factor in the composition of new songs and dances. Competitions are a new medium for showcasing 'traditional' culture and, in themselves, represent a new context in which Māori *kapa haka* is not only performed but also created.

While dance competitions are part of the fabric of life in other areas of the Pacific, for example on Yap, where *mitmit*, inter-village dance contests, were held regularly (Marshall 1994), Māori dance competitions have appeared only recently in Māori history, with the first Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival held in 1972. The popularity of these dance competitions is perhaps indicative of the competitive nature of the Māori. In pre-contact times, *kapa haka* was restricted to the *marae* and was an integral part of the rituals associated with formal gatherings such as *hui* and *powhiri*, rituals in which *rōpū* attempted to outdo each other in displays of eloquence and skill:

> Only the best karanga women invite the guests onto the marae and only the best karanga women among the guests acknowledge that call of invitation. ... This is also true of the orators – only the most articulate, the most eloquent and the most learned rise to speak. The chants to conclude the speeches would be performed by those who perform the best and the haka of welcome, the haka to follow the chant, the haka to acknowledge the koha [gift] presented by guests are performed with all the gusto, panache and style that the hosts can muster. The response from the guests is in a similar vein because the reputation of both host and guest depend to such a high degree on the quality of performance from the wahine karanga to the orators, to the chanters, to the haka people. Even if it is not articulated as such, Māori rituals of encounter engender a healthy competition and the sighs and expressions of admiration are audible to all around the marae. (Karetu 1993:84-85, see Example 5 on accompanying video cassette)

All these competitive elements are encapsulated in modern competitions – intense rivalry, uniformed and *moko*-ed warriors, weapons and the desire to win. But the development of formal competitive festivals may also suggest a need for Māori to demonstrate their 'authenticity' through the language and the actions of the *kapa haka*. Competitions may even be the result of a desire to counteract the decline of Māori culture and language caused by a more than a century of neglect by a predominantly British government, a concern for many older Māori who have retained their links with culture: "It is fortunate that the impetus with regard to the language is emanating mainly from the young which augurs well for the future" (Karetu 1993:84).

Festivals

As mentioned above, competitions are not part of the Māori tradition. Music and dance served a specific social function, as still witnessed on the *marae* today. While dance contests belong in other Pacific traditions, there is no evidence to suggest that they did in Māori tradition. Instead, the modern Māori festival appears

to provide an opportunity for club (read *iwi*) rivalries to come to the fore without bloodshed. Egos may take a battering by the judges, but the club can retire intact to muster its resolve to do better next time. The Regional Festival is just one of the two major competitions held in Australia. The other is the National Festival, held biennially at Easter. These two Festivals operate independently of each other. Every two years the National Festival is hosted by one of the States and teams may travel interstate to compete. All *rōpū* may enter the National Festival, but many teams do not, preferring instead to concentrate on their programs for the more significant annual Regional Festivals held in each state. The Regional Festival also serves as the qualifying round for cultural groups wishing to go home and compete in the Aotearoa Festival. The Federation committee decides on the date and venue for the Festival and then notifies the clubs. The Victorian Regional Festival, officially known as the Polynesian Federation Māori Regional Festival, is held annually in Victoria between June and October.

The Aotearoa Festival

The genesis of the Aotearoa Festival can be traced to a meeting of the Māori Purposes Fund Board in Wellington on 11 August 1964, which passed a resolution that:

> ... a committee be appointed to consider and make recommendation on a proposal that the Board sponsor and grant prizes for a National Māori Cultural competition. (www.atmpas.org.nz/history1)

On April 28 1970 the Tourist Development Council sub-committee on Polynesian Entertainment finally endorsed the idea of "annual regional Māori festivals and a national Polynesian Festival", and decided "that a committee be established to inaugurate annual Polynesian festivals on a regional and national basis"

(www.atmpas.org.nz/history1). The Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival was born, and the first festival was held in Rotorua in 1972. The festival was held biennially from 1973 until 1983. After a three-year break, the festival was held again in 1986 and has run biennially since then, and each of the official regions (except Australia) takes turns hosting the festival. The Aotearoa Festival has become the premier Māori arts festival in the Pacific region, attracting an audience of 50,000 from New Zealand and overseas. In 1998 the New Zealand government formally recognised the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society, which runs the Festival, by allocating $NZ1.103 million in its May budget. This was the first time that Māori performing arts had been allocated funding from the budget, which served to elevate the Festival to the same cultural league as the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra and the Royal New Zealand Ballet. This move was applauded in a press release in which the Associate Treasurer, Tuariki John Delamere, stated that he was "delighted that Māori performing arts were being recognised as an integral part of the arts sector in New Zealand" (*New Zealand Executive Government News Release Archive*, 7 May 1998).

Table 5.1: Host cities and years for the Aotearoa Festival.

Year	**Host City**
1972	Rotorua
1973	Rotorua
1975	Whangarei
1977	Gisborne
1979	Lower Hutt
1981	Auckland
1983	Hastings
1986	Christchurch
1988	Whangarei

1990	Waitangi
1992	Ngaruawahia
1994	Hawera
1996	Rotorua
1998	Wellington
2000	Ngaruawahia
2002	Tamaki

Table 5.2: Regional Areas as prescribed by the Aotearoa Festival.

AREA	**LOCATION**
Tai Tokerau	North of Albany
Tamaki Makau Rau	Auckland to Hamilton
Tainui	Waikato area
Te Arawa	Rotorua and Taupo
Mataatua	Coromandel to East Cape
Tai Rawhiti	East Cape to Gisborne
Aotea	Taranaki area
Kahungunu	Wairoa to Palmerston North
Rangitane	Palmerston to Otaki
Te Whanganui-a-Tara	Wellington area
Te Tau Ihu O te Waka a Maui	Northern South Island
Waitaha	Christchurch to Dunedin
Te Puka-a-Maui	Southern South Island
Te Whenua O Te Moemoe	Australia

New Zealand competitors must win one of the thirteen New Zealand based regional festivals to qualify for entry into the Aotearoa Festival. Each of these thirteen areas is based upon the traditional tribal areas (see Table 5.2). The fourteenth regional area covers the entire of Australia. Australian *rōpū* can qualify for entry by winning a state festival, but can only represent its home state. If a Sydney team wins the Victorian Regional Festival it cannot represent Victoria at the

Aotearoa Festival. This rule also means that Australia can field more than one *rōpū*. As Victoria is one of the few states in Australia to offer an annual Regional Festival, it is not uncommon for clubs from interstate, particularly New South Wales and South Australia, to compete. All teams wishing to compete must qualify by the date set for each region by the Festival committee. These are posted on the official Aotearoa Festival website. At the three day national festival all *rōpū* compete in an elimination series, divided into three rounds. The preliminary rounds are held on the Friday and Saturday, the first two days of the festival. Fourteen trophies are awarded during this series, and the first and second place winners in each pool qualify to compete in the final on the Sunday. The final six teams are the *rōpū* with the highest aggregate scores. Teams need to perform consistently in all sections in order to score high marks. A *rōpū* that wins two or three sections but comes last in the others will have a lower aggregate score than a team that picks up second place overall. Items fall into two categories, 'aggregate' and 'non-aggregate' (see Table 5.3). Although each section is viewed as competitive, the final winner of the festival is determined by the combined marks on the aggregate items only. Aggregate items are the actual *kapa haka* performances. The winning *rōpū* represents New Zealand at national and international festivals, trade fairs and sporting events, as required by the government of New Zealand.

Table 5.3: Classification of items in the Aotearoa Festival.

Aggregate Items		**Non- aggregate Items**	
Whakaeke	Entry	*Waiata tira*	Choral (optional)
Mōteatea		*Kaitataki wahine*	Female leader
Waiata-a-ringa	Action Song	*Kaitataki tāne*	Male leader
Haka Poi		*Haka Poi*	Best original composition
Haka		*Haka*	Best original composition
Whakawātea	Exit	*Waiata-a-ringa*	Best original composition

Mōteatea	Best original composition

Competitors in the Aotearoa Festival are governed by strict rules of performance covering numbers of performers, accompanying instruments including guitarists, *rōpū* membership and age. If any of the rules are breached the *rōpū* is automatically disqualified. Similarly, the selection of judges is subject to strict guidelines. The national committee is responsible for determining these rules. This committee is made up of delegates assigned from each of the regions (see Table 5.2). The guidelines for the competition have changed over the years, and not always do the competitors greet the committee's decisions enthusiastically. One of the most controversial decisions was the banning of women on stage during the *haka* for the 1980 Festival. As women have traditionally performed the *haka* with the men, the committee's decision preventing women from participating in the *haka* saw many groups refusing to follow this rule:

> It was ironic that at this particular festival, in 1980 in Auckland, that two of the women judges performed a haka just to make the point to the national committee that they were not being endorsed by either the judges or the majority of the performing groups. (Karetu 1993:83)

In the face of such strenuous opposition, the committee was forced to rethink its decision (Karetu 1993:80).

The primary role of the Aotearoa Festival is to raise the standards of *kapa haka* performance at a national level and to encourage *iwi* to revive and preserve their own *kapa haka* traditions. But it is, in many ways, a facilitator of innovation. As very few of the groups that compete are exclusively tribal (Karetu estimates fewer than twenty percent), many of the groups choose to compose their own material for performance. This has resulted in innovations that are generally deplored by traditionalists. One of the principal concerns relates to the loss of

language and the emphasis on actions rather than words. Karetu writes that this has produced *haka* that are more "play acting" than *haka* (Karetu 1993:83). In spite of this, the standard of performance has continued to improve, although "the revival of classical haka" (Karetu 1993:83) has not been realised. The Aotearoa Festival committee has also posted a web site with all the rules, sections and criteria clearly outlined. While posting a web site in itself is not an unusual action, the use of a web site by an organisation dedicated to the preservation of the 'traditional' performing arts has implications for the dissemination of traditional music at a global level. The World Wide Web is pervasive, anonymous and impersonal, a virtual world ruled by the Webmaster. The culture presented on the Web can be viewed as both transformative and innovative as well as 'traditional'. It also makes the point that 'tradition' is a contingent category, dependent on the agency of people and given structure by particular technologies, not the simple, reified understanding that tends to be taken for granted by scholars. The culture that has been observed in the Māori community in Melbourne is also transformative and innovative as well as traditional. The work of the tutors is primarily as educators, maintaining traditions and ensuring the continuance of the language and culture through *kapa haka* performance. However, as has been demonstrated previously, tutors are also innovators, reinventing the traditions of the past and making them relevant in a new social and geographic context.

The Victorian Regional Festival

The Victorian Regional Festival, held annually in Melbourne, is generally touted as a showcase of traditional performing arts. The Festival is planned and run by the Polynesian Community Federation of Victoria (hereafter referred to as the 'Federation'), established in 1984, and the organising committee comprises

interested members of the Māori community living in Melbourne. Culture clubs may also become members and appoint delegates to attend meetings and report on decisions made by the Federation. The committee generally meets monthly, although their busiest time is in the months leading up to the Festival. The committee decides on the date and venue for the Festival and then notifies the clubs. The Festival is usually held on the Saturday of the last weekend in October, although on occasions it has been held on the Saturday of the Queen's Birthday weekend in June.

The Victorian Regional Festival has much in common with the Aotearoa Festival. The structure and format have been modeled on the Aotearoa Festival, as have the judging criteria. Judges are expected to have experience both as *kapa haka* performers and as judges, although the selection process is not as formal. The Federation invites at least two judges from New Zealand to attend the Victorian Regional Festival. The rest of the judging panel consists of people from Melbourne. Mirroring the Aotearoa Festival, the Victorian Regional Festival takes place in a different geographic location each year (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Venues for the Victorian Regional Festival from 1996-1999.

1996	South Melbourne Town Hall, South Melbourne
1997	Broadmeadows Town Hall, Broadmeadows
1998	Williamstown Town Hall, Williamstown
1999	Bayside Secondary College, Altona

The Aotearoa Festival has established a convention of rules and program format that has been adopted by both the Regional and National Festivals. The National Festival is not covered in this study. It does not provide qualifying status for *rōpū* wishing to compete at the Aotearoa Festival. In 1999 the Victorian

Regional Festival committee prepared a booklet titled *Victorian Traditional Māori Performing Festival Competition Rules for 1999*. This eight-page document outlines the rules for the 1999 Festival and is divided into five sections. Section 1.0, "Acceptance of Roopu [sic.]", details the material to be performed:

> Roopu that compete in the Victorian Māori Festival Competitions will be accepted, subsequent to all relevant fees and registration forms have been acknowledged [sic] by the Festival Co-ordinator. (p.1)

Section 2.0 deals with "Roopu competing in the Victorian Māori Festival", and covers the rules applying to members of the competing *rōpū*. Section 3.0, "Items for the Nationals", individually outlines each section of the aggregate and non-aggregate, including maximum number of points and number of judges per section, penalties, originality, verification and scrutineers. Section 4.0, "Adjudicators", contains three sub-sections: "Choral", "Method of Judging" and "Judges Briefing". Section 5.0 is "Accompaniment", but Section 5.1 relates to the awarding of the *taonga* (trophies) to overseas or interstate competitors and to qualifying for the Aotearoa Festival. Section 5.2 outlines the number of translations required for the judging panel.

Club loyalty tends to colour the way in which members of different clubs deal with each other and with particular situations at the Victorian Regional Festival. The Regional Festival is rarely without controversy and this has been the case during the past four years. The most controversial issue to arise out of the Festival in recent years relates to the judging. As noted earlier, the Federation invites judges to attend the Victorian Regional Festival, and this Festival is a qualifying round for the Aotearoa Festival. Past judges have included such well-known and respected people as Dr Pita Sharples, Timoti Karetu and Piri Ciacia. In 1999, the Federation wrote to several New Zealand judges, but received only one acceptance – from Te Rangihau

Gilbert, a musician and television celebrity. Once the replies have been received the remainder of the judging panel will be made up from people within the Melbourne Māori community. The Federation committee selects the local judges, but the selection criteria are not as stringent as those of the Aotearoa Festival. The Aotearoa Festival website lists the criteria for judges as follows:

> To qualify as a judge, numinees must be:-
> - A Fluent Speaker of **Reo Mäori**
> - Aware of and Practice **tikanga Mäori**
> - Able to Demonstrate the Category or Categories they will be judging
> - Able to judge 2 items (one after the other)
> - Physically and Mentally Alert
> - Professional in All They Do
> - A Good Administrator
> - Knowledgable of other Tribal Tikanga
>
> They must also have been:-
> - A Kapa Haka Performer
> - A Kapa Haka Tutor
> - A Kapa Haka Leader
> - A judge at either of
>
> *A Secondary School Competition*
> *A Regional Competition*
> *Any other type of kapa haka Competitions*
> *A previous or several previous National Competitions*
>
> Other Criteria
> - Final selection must also take into account
>
> *Tribal Origin*
> *Female & Male Mix*
> *Mix of Young & Old*
>
> (www.atmpas.org.nz/criteri1.htm)

To qualify as a judge for the Victorian Regional Festival the person must have some fluency in *te reo Māori* and have previous experience in judging. In the case of a person selected having no prior judging experience the Federation designates him or her a 'probationary' judge (Tukapua, M. Pers. comm 15 January 2000). He or she remains a probationary judge for three years, judging non-aggregate sections, which do not contribute to the overall outcome for the competing

rōpū, and are generally regarded as less significant sections (see Table 5.5). Above all else, however, the judges must be seen to be fair and impartial. This can pose a problem for the local judges, as they have all been involved with the local *kapa haka* groups at some time. Often they are still involved with a particular club. As such, local judges can find themselves compromised by club loyalty. Of the five local judges at the 1999 Victorian Regional Festival three were *kaumātua* with links to *kapa haka* groups, the fourth was married to *Tāku Mana*'s *kaumātua*, and the fifth was both president of the Federation and closely associated with one of the competing groups (his children were performing with that *rōpū*). The judging panel for the 1999 Regional Festival consisted of Te Rangihau Gilbert, a guest judge, Hiki Te Kani, a *kaumātua* from the *Ngāti Porou* tribe, Te Anu Daphne Hughes, a Melbourne *kaumātua*, Erina Manuka Hallett and Maahi Tukapua, the president of the Federation. Erina Manuka Hallett was designated a probationary judge and judged *te kākahu* in the non-aggregate section. Each of the remaining judges judged two sections each.

The Festival is always held on a Saturday and begins at 9:00am with a *pōwhiri*, a formal assembly, at which the guests are welcomed, prayers are spoken, and the judges are introduced. The Federation generally invites Elders and members of the local Aboriginal community to attend, and to open the Festival with a speech and a performance of 'traditional' music and dance. The performers are invariably young men, accompanied by vocals, clapping sticks and didjeridu. The performance may consist of several dances, each having a theme, such as an animal, an emu for example, or a natural phenomenon, such as a w*illy willy*, ('a small whirlwind'). A demonstration of solo didjeridu may follow, and at the conclusion of the performances an indigenous Elder may bless the assembly. The competition then begins. Not all the groups that participate are competing, and many clubs perform as

'entertainment' groups, taking the opportunity to perform without the pressure of being judged. These *rōpū* perform in between the competitive groups, helping to stagger the program so that the competition doesn't finish early. There is a one-hour break for lunch, before the competition resumes. The second half of the program begins with a performance by a culture group from another part of the Pacific, either Papua New Guinea or another Polynesian country such as Samoa or the Cook Islands. The Festival concludes with the presentation of the trophies, *taonga*, and a *karakia* at about 5:00pm. A social is held in the evening for all competitors and supporters. Sometimes these are family affairs, but children are not always included in the social, especially if alcohol is being served, and many families do not attend. This also provides an excuse for those clubs that feel that they have been badly treated by the judges' decisions to go home early.

Performances may begin with an optional *waiata tira* ('choral song'). The *rōpū* lines up on stage before the curtains open. One of the women conducts the unaccompanied song and the curtains close while the *rōpū* takes its position for the *whakaeke*. Before each *rōpū* moves onto the stage the *kaea wahine* issues a *karanga*, cry of welcome, to the audience. The cry may then be taken up by the women in the audience who welcome the *rōpū* on stage with their own *karanga*. *Rōpū* from other clubs generally stand at this point and perform *Ka Mate*. Men in the *rōpū* on stage frequently break ranks at this point to move to the front of the stage and respond with their own performance of *Ka Mate*. This serves to heighten tension in the audience, and generates excitement and anticipation for the performance. Following the *whakaeke* is a *waiata* and then a *haka poi*. The male *kaea* delivers his *whaikōrero* in *te reo Māori*. Next the *rōpū* performs a *waiata-a-ringa*, then the men's *haka*, a *mōteatea* and finally the *whakawatea*. All competing *rōpū* must meet all the criteria, and the performance must run for no longer than twenty-five

minutes. Apart from the aggregate sections, all of which are based only on the actual performance of each genre, *rōpū* are also judged on other elements of the performance in the non-aggregate sections and trophies are awarded to the competing clubs for each different sections of the competition (see Table 5.5). As mentioned previously, clubs may also enter the Festival as non-competitive *rōpū*. These groups are listed as entertainment and perform between the competitive entries in the program. This is also when the children's *rōpū* and *kōhanga reo* groups perform.

Table 5.5: Classification of items in the Victorian Regional Festival.

Aggregate Items		**Non- aggregate Items**	
Whakaeke	Entry	*Waiata tira*	Choral (optional)
Waiata-a-ringa	Action Song	*Kaitataki wahine*	Female leader
Haka Poi		*Kaitataki tāne*	Male leader
Haka		*Whaikōrero*	Oration
Mōteatea	Lament	*Kākahu*	Uniforms
Whakawātea	Exit	Composition for *Poi*	
		Composition for *Waiata-a-ringa*	
		Composition for *Haka*	
		Composition for *Mōteatea*	

The classification of the items and the content of the aggregate and non-aggregate sections of the Victorian Regional Festival are very similar to that of the Aotearoa Festival (cf. Table 5.3). The role of the Victorian Regional Festival as a qualifying round for the Aotearoa Festival best explains the similarity of content and format.

The judges' decisions in all sections are final, and the results are announced at the end of the Festival. The program is divided into aggregate and non-aggregate sections (see Table 5.5), with the non-aggregate sections announced first. The

competing *rōpū* win trophies for these latter sections, but the scores do not contribute to the overall results. Each judge is responsible for judging a particular section, based upon his or her expertise and experience. In 1999, Erina Hallett was appointed as a 'probationary' judge as she had never previously judged *kapa haka*. Occasionally two judges may judge a section. The maximum number of points a *rōpū* can earn in a section is 100. An additional five points may be awarded if the item performed is an original composition. If two judges are judging a section, then the maximum a *rōpū* can earn is 205 points. This is a perfect score, and is very rare.

Controversy is never far from the Victorian Regional Festival, and after the 1999 Festival it became public knowledge that *Te Ao Hurihuri* had been awarded a perfect score for their *haka* and subsequently won that section. The man who judged the *haka* section, however, claimed that he had not awarded any of the *rōpū* a perfect score, and that he had marked *Te Ao Hurihuri* third in the *haka* (Pirere. M. Pers. comm. 15 November 1999). Charges of 'fixing' the marks were leveled at Maahi Tukapua, although nothing was proved as the score sheets from the 1999 Regional Festival and the marks were not available for public scrutiny. When this was queried, Maahi responded that the marks were "copyright" and could only be made available to each *rōpū* on request. He also claimed that only two placings had been awarded for the *haka* section as the replacement judge had filled in the forms incorrectly, invalidating all the other marks (Tukapua, M. Pers. comm. 15 January 2000). Such controversies only serve to damage the credibility of the organisation and of the Festival. The disappointment felt by individuals can have a great impact. In the months following the 1999 Regional Festival Karlene Pouwhare resigned as club tutor with *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, believing it was her fault that the club had failed to gain more than one second placing. She was also very disappointed that the *rōpū* was not placed in the *haka poi*. Many members of the *rōpū* and audience believed

that this dance was one of the best she had created, and one she and the *rōpū* had devoted a lot of time to in practice. The tutor and the *rōpū* may spend many months preparing for the Regional Festival, rehearsing an entirely new program prepared by the tutor. Alternatively the tutor may use an existing program, particularly if there are time constraints, as was the case for the tutors of *Ngā Hapu Katoa* in the 1998 Festival.

Preparing for a Festival

In 1999 the Regional Festival venue and date was announced in June, giving the clubs four month to prepare their performances, if they had not already done so. Karlene Pouwhare had returned as tutor in January 1999, and three *rōpū* had been practising since early in the year. There was no male tutor, however. Tangi Tuhi had resigned in March and had not been replaced. Instead, the men worked together, led by Alan Paniona, the club captain and *kaea tāne*, and Tamai Pouwhare, Karlene's husband. The men worked on their own actions independently of the women, coming together when Karlene needed to combine the groups. Practice began in earnest soon after the Federation's announcement. Karlene was not willing to compromise her family and scheduled rehearsals to fit in with her private life. To this end, practice was held between 12:00pm until 6:00pm on Sundays at *Te Amorangi*. Only in the last two weeks did she schedule Saturday practices. Typical practices began at 3:00pm give or take a few minutes, with a *karakia* 'prayer', led either by Karlene or Alan. The *karakia* generally thanked God for bringing everyone together and called for His blessing on those present. Karlene then announced which song she wanted the *rōpū* to sing. She strummed the guitar and sang the words. If the key wasn't quite right she would experiment with chords until she found a comfortable range for all the singers, although her main concern was for the women.

There are generally more women than men in a *rōpū* and their voices are generally more prominent in the performance of most of their material. All three of *Ngā Hapu Katoa*'s *rōpū* entered the 1999 Victorian Regional Festival.

Karlene planned a program for the 'babies', the pre-school *kōhanga reo* group, and the seniors, and rehearsed them all separately. The 'babies' practised before the seniors and the *tamariki* had their own practice time on Saturdays with Moana Pirere and Leeanne Roa. Karlene created one original song, *Kia Ora Kiwi* for the babies (cf. p. 127), and reworked three other songs, *Hoki Toki* (*Hokey Pokey*), *Upoko Pakihiwi Kupe Hope Waewae* (lit. '*Heads, Shoulders, Abdomen, Hips, Legs*'), *A E I O U* and *Oma Rapeti* ('Run, Rabbit, Run') (Track 1 on accompanying audio cassette). Aware of the need to keep practices fun for the children, Karlene encouraged the mothers to be involved in the singing and dancing with their children. Departing from standard Pacific dance formation practice, the children were not positioned in lines like the adults but in a circle where they could see each other. Frequently Karlene would have the adults and children join hands and walk in a clockwise direction while singing the songs. She would then stand outside the circle playing the guitar and calling out the instructions. Occasionally she would divide the group into babies (under five years of age), and older boys and girls. Then Karlene instructed the older girls (six years of age and over) in the *haka poi* while her husband, Tamai, taught the boys the *haka* (cf. p. 115). The mothers sat with the other children and rehearsed the songs and actions with them. Then the group would come together again as a circle and go through the entire program without stopping.

Adults' practices were more structured. The men always stood in the back row, only coming to the front for their *haka*. While the *kaea wahine* generally stands in the middle of the front row, the rest of the positions are not so easily determined.

Generally newer or less-confident performers will stand in the second or third line, although this is not necessarily the case. When teaching a new song Karlene would write out the Māori words on large sheets of paper and attach the pages to the wall. Clothes pegs were fitted to the wall of *Te Amorangi* to assist the tutors in this matter. One of the first things Karlene did was to provide an English translation. She believed that this was vital as most members of the *rōpū* understood only a smattering of Māori and without a translation would be unable to imbue the words with appropriate expression and feeling. Aware of her own limitations in speaking *te reo Māori*, Karlene went to great lengths to ensure the accuracy of both the Māori text and the English translations, seeking advice from others more knowledgeable than herself, including her own *kaumātua* in Turangi (Roa. L. Pers. comm. 15 January 2000)[24].

Once the text had been taught Karlene would start teaching the melody by singing and playing guitar. The *rōpū* would read the lyrics and sing the melody as Karlene sang it to them. Once the *rōpū* were confident with the melody Karlene added actions. These actions included hand and body movements. The *takahia* ('stamping') is a standard movement for performers from most tribes and as such is not choreographed. Although many Māori in Melbourne have not been socialised in tribal groups, the *takahia* is understood by all as a pan-Māori *kapa haka* action, and observed in most *kapa haka* performance. Karlene had the *rōpū* repeat the songs and actions until they were confident. After several weeks the *rōpū* was expected to have memorised the lyrics and the sheets were taken down. The translation was vital in providing a sense of meaning in the Māori lyrics, and with the memorisation of the Māori comes the sense of what it is to be Māori. For those Māori not raised in New

[24] Not all tutors work with English translations. Kamana Dennis, tutor for *Te Ao Hurihuri* and son of Tuini Dennis, only works from the Māori text. His reasoning for this is that the

Zealand and not immersed in the culture this may be the most explicit element of 'Māori' identity formation. Throughout the next few weeks Karlene introduced extra actions and additional songs until the entire program was known. Only then did she add the movements for the *whakaeke* and the *whakawātea*.

For the 1999 Regional Festival the *Ngā Hapu Katoa* seniors' *rōpū* had eight women, five in the front line and three in the second line, with six men in the back row. Of the sixteen women and twelve men who competed with the *rōpū* at the 1996 Regional Festival, only four remained. The remaining performers were either new to the club or had moved through the ranks from the *tamariki*. Three had joined from *Tāku Mana* and five had left to join *Tāku Mana*. The *tamariki* was the largest *rōpū*, and the 'babies' had thirteen children, assisted by six parents. The uniforms were distributed at the final practice on the Sunday prior to the Festival and the seniors had one final practice two nights before the Festival. With the venue almost a two-hour drive for many of the club members the committee hired a hall in Altona for a club sleepover. The club charged a flat fee per family to cover Friday night's accommodation, and breakfast and lunch on the Saturday, although lunch was provided for all competitors and children on the day. The Federation provides free entry passes to all performers, including children, club officials and parents accompanying the children. *Ngā Hapu Katoa* was provided with almost one hundred passes for the 1999 Regional Festival.

The 1999 Victorian Regional Festival

In retrospect, the 1999 Victorian Regional Festival was significant for *Ngā Hapu Katoa* as it was to be the last festival they were to enter. It was held in the hall at the Altona campus of Bayside Secondary College in Melbourne's west. The day

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English translation detracts from the meaning of the Māori (Dennis T. Pers. comm. 31

commenced with a *pōwhiri* at 9:00am. After the official welcome was made to the competitors, audiences and judges, the presence of guests from the local Koori community was acknowledged and their Elder was invited to address the gathering. A demonstration of indigenous Australian dance and didjeridu playing followed. The *pōwhiri* concluded with a *karakia*. The *kapa haka* performances began with *Poi Atareta*, a non-competitive entry from Adelaide. *Poi Atareta* is a small family group. Its seven members include children, teenagers and older adults. At least one of the children has a disability. The *Ngā Hapu Katoa* 'babies' followed, with the Kiwi making his first appearance. The children were so delighted at seeing 'Kia Ora Kiwi' that several of them forgot to sing the song. As with all children's performances, many of the parents went on stage to help the children with the songs and the actions. Aside from the practical considerations of the parental presence – keeping the children away from the edge of the stage – the parents are socialising the youngsters into a particular construction of 'culture', i.e. not performing on the *marae* in New Zealand but performing on a stage in a school hall in Melbourne. Effectively, the parents are recontextualising the culture for their children, making it accessible for them, as the culture outside of this new context has a different meaning for the children than for their parents.

The first competitive group of the day was *Te Ao Hurihuri*. The *rōpū*'s numbers were fewer than in 1998, with five men and eleven women in the line-up. The *kaea tāne* was Kamana Dennis, club tutor and son of club *kaumātua* and founder Tuini Dennis. The *rōpū* took their places on stage for a static *whakaeke*, and then performed a *waiata-a-ringa*, the *whaikōrero*, a *waiata*, a *mōteatea*, a *haka poi*, a *haka* and then the *whakawātea*. The men moved to the front of the stage wielding their *patu* as the women knelt at the back in the lead-up to the *whakawātea*. The

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women stood and backed away to the right hand side of the stage as the men performed their exit before posing in front of the women. This is a standard exit pattern for *whakawatea*. The norm is for *rōpū* to enter from the left and exit to the right. The *whakaeke* may be static, with the *rōpū* standing in formation in the middle of the stage before moving into line, or it may begin on the left of the stage with members of the club moving across the stage to take their places. Karlene Pouwhare, the tutor with *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, generally choreographed moving *whakaeke* but many tutors favour a static *whakaeke*.

The next non-competitive entry was the *Ngā Hapu Katoa tamariki*. The children were accompanied on stage by parents and members of the senior rōpū, who stood behind them to lend support with morale and volume. The *tamariki* program contained many of the same sections as the competitors – the *whakaeke*, a *haka poi*, a *waiata-a-ringa*, a *haka*, a *mōteatea* and the *whakawātea*. The *whaikōrero* section is not, however, a part of the children's program, and *moko* 'tattoos' are not necessarily a part of the children's uniform. Children need the permission of their parents to wear a *moko* in a festival (Roa. L. Pers. comm. 5 January 2000).

The final performance before the lunch break was from *Te Ruawhenua*. Of all the clubs, *Te Ruawhenua* has had the most consistent membership over the years. Many of the members were with the club when Dunphy did her survey with them in 1995 (Taiapa. L. Pers. comm. 6 January 2000). One of her respondents, a man named Tui, was the *kaea tāne* in 1996 and still held that position in 1999. In 1998 *Te Ruawhenua* appeared for the first time in their new uniform, which included cloaks, and since then they have always begun their Festival programs with a choral performance in which they wear their cloaks. After their song they exit, remove their

cloaks and then take their positions for the *whakaeke*. The *rōpū* was made up of eleven women and six men in the 1999 Regional Festival.

Outside the hall were many stalls selling food, Māori art and children's activities including face painting. This was the first year that the Festival had offered such a range of peripheral services. In previous years the majority of non-competitors attending have remained in the hall for most of the day, leaving only during the designated breaks in the program or to sit outside and smoke. Fast food and soft drinks have generally been for sale during the lunch break if the hall had the facilities. *Hangi* food was available for purchase in 1998. The food (pork, beef, pumpkin, potato and cabbage) was cooked off site, then packaged in foil boxes and transported to the hall where it was sold during the lunch break. In 1999 no fewer than seven food stalls provided cooked food, beginning with breakfast from before 8:30 am and serving snacks and meals until after 4:30 pm. The stalls included a food van offering 'Kiwi' fare such as mussels in batter, fish and chips, hot pork rolls and 'Kiwi' dogs, an Islander stall with Island style food including raw fish salad, a drink stall, two barbecues offering sausages in bread, and a stall run by *Koro* George Hallett. This stall offered a range of foods including a curry dish and another that resembled a Māori 'boil-up'[25].

With such a range of foods and prices, competitors and non-competitors remained together in and around the hall throughout the entire lunch break instead of seeking food further afield as they had in previous years. The lawn outside the hall was packed with people eating, drinking and mixing outside of their usual social circles, although no food or drink was permitted inside the hall out of respect for the trophies, which, as *taonga*, are *tapu* ('sacred'). There was no obvious delineation of

[25] A 'boil-up' resembles a thin stew of pork, beef or chicken boiled in water with vegetables such as pumpkin, kumara (sweet potato), potato and either *pūhā*, a type of thistle, or cabbage

rank in the social activities. Elders were greeted and treated with respect, but were not necessarily offered food before any one else. The children were fed first in the family groups, whilst single people purchased their own food and ate where and when they pleased. The families of *Ngā Hapu Katoa* sat together on the lawn and shared a communal lunch of sandwiches, pie and cake that had been prepared by the catering group that morning. Families had brought additional food and drink, ensuring that the children were not seeking food from the stalls. These ancillary activities complement and consolidate the construction of 'traditional culture' with its associated institutions the extended *whānau* and the de-facto *iwi* of the culture clubs.

The second half of the Festival commenced soon after 1:00 pm with a Cook Islands dance troupe, which was greeted enthusiastically by the audience. *Tāku Mana* was the first competitive group to perform after the break. This was their first appearance in two years. They had been preparing since Sonny Abraham had returned as tutor in July. Sonny chose not to begin with a choral item. Instead the *rōpū* began with a static *whakaeke* in a 'V' shape. For the *waiata* the men wielded *taiaha* 'long clubs'. The women moved to the sides of the stage and the men took centre stage, wielding the *taiaha* with force and dexterity. At the end of the *waiata* the women returned to the front of the stage and the men laid down their *taiaha* at the back of the stage. The *waiata-a-ringa* began as a *waiata*-style chant, becoming more melodic as the piece progressed. Sonny's choreography incorporated different levels in the *haka poi* with the front row kneeling for the duration of the dance. The *haka* followed the *haka poi*, but was interrupted when a pet dog found its way onto the stage. After a short delay while one of the judges, Maahi Tukapua, chased the dog, the men moved forwards, wielding their *patu* 'short clubs'. Tucking their *patu*

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added later. The dish is brought to the boil and cooked until tender (Smith, B. Pers. comm.

into their *piupiu*, the men began the *haka* in earnest. As the chant finished the women moved forward to join the men, carrying the *taiaha* and handing them to the men as they began the *whakawātea*.

Another entertainment group performed and was followed by *Te Puna Waiora*. This club had come from Sydney to compete. *Te Puna Waiora* began with the optional choral, and revealed an unusual voice in its midst. One of their women had been trained in classical vocal style, complete with vibrato. She took the soprano part which she sang in head voice while the rest of the women sang in the more commonly heard chest voice. From their choral positions the *rōpū* moved into a 'V' formation for the start of the *whakaeke* then into straight lines. While the *karanga* 'welcome' was called the women grasped their *poi* at the base of the ball, shook them and hissed. Towards the end of the *whakaeke* the women moved to the sides and the men moved forward wielding their *patu*. The gestures became more aggressive and volume of the chant got louder, and the audience went wild. A *waiata*, then a *waiata-a-ringa* followed the *whaikōrero*. The choreography for the *waiata-a-ringa* was innovative in the way it paired the men and women. The men initially turned their backs to the audience, standing back to back with the women. Then each couple pivoted, and the women now stood slightly upstage on the right facing their partners. The footwork for these moves was based on the footwork for *taiaha* training, a form of traditional Māori martial arts similar to Japanese *kendo* (Abraham, S. Pers. comm. 6 March, 2000). They faced each other for most of the song, performing as couples, before the men retired to the back as the women did a 360° turn on the spot (see Example 6 on accompanying video cassette). The *rōpū* then alternated between men only vocals, women only vocals and combined singing. The woman with the trained voice continued to sing in operatic style an octave

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above the rest of the women. The innovative choreography continued in the *haka poi* with the women resting their *poi* on their shoulders as they alternated between single and double *poi* movements. At the end of the *haka poi* the men moved into the 'couple' position from the *waiata-a-ringa*, and each couple stood in a waltz-style stance for the end of the song. From this position the women moved to the back of the stage and the men performed their *haka*. The performance concluded with the *mōteatea* and the *whakawātea*. As in the preceding sections, the operatic voice soared an octave above the voices of the rest of the *rōpū*. The audience response to *Te Puna Waiora* was enthusiastic. The operatic voice, however, generated some debate on the day, with some *kapa haka* purists in the audience disapproving, although the consensus was that the blending of the operatic head voice with earthier chest voices enhanced the performance (see Example 7 on accompanying video cassette). The choreography was viewed with considerable excitement, with one elderly audience member heard to remark that watching *Te Puna Waiora* perform was like being back 'home', that is at the Aotearoa Festival.

The final competitive entry was the *Ngā Hapu Katoa* Seniors. Karlene had opted to begin with a choral. Jo, a new member who had competed with *Te Ao Hurihuri* in 1998 and previously with *Tāku Mana*, conducted this. At the completion of the song the *rōpū* left the stage and took an 'L' shape formation at stage left, with the men standing in the 'elbow' of the 'L'. Jasmine Patuwairua called the *karanga* and the *rōpū* began the *whakaeke*, moving into their places, finishing with men standing in the centre of the formation while the women knelt around the outside. Alan Paniona performed the *whaikōrero*. Next followed the *waiata*, the *haka poi*, the *waiata-a-ringa* and the *haka*, the *mōteatea* and the *whakawātea*.

At the conclusion of the competition there was a thirty-minute break during which time the judges collated their marks and were moved onto the stage with the

taonga for the presentation ceremony. The non-aggregate trophies were presented first. Each section was named, with the top three *rōpū* announced in reverse order from third place to first. Representatives from each winning *rōpū* went on stage to greet the presenting judge and accept the trophy on behalf of the club. These representatives were generally the people who had won the section, such as the *kaea tāne* or *kaea wahine*, or the club captain. As in previous years, there were murmurs of discontent among members of the audience and the *rōpū* when the results of many sections were announced. The biggest surprise of the day was when *Te Ao Hurihuri* won the *Haka* section in the aggregate. Alan Paniona from *Ngā Hapu Katoa* had won both the *Whaikōrero* and the *Kaitataki tāne* sections of the non-aggregate. The general trend in *kapa haka* competitions is that the team that has the best *kaea tāne* and *whaikōrero* wins the *Haka* section. More than any other result, this one generated the most debate. The results of the aggregate also had people questioning the impartiality of the judging panel (see Table 5.6). The general perception was that *Te Puna Waiora* had been the best team. It was awarded second place, in spite of the fact that it had won four of the six aggregate sections and came second in a fifth. The winning *rōpū*, *Te Ao Hurihuri*, won one section and came second in three. Clearly these figures did not add up, and while questions have been asked of the Federation president by the tutors and club captains, no answers have been forthcoming. Another issue that came out of the 1999 Festival was the lack of a third place winner for the aggregate section. If the results are examined, then *Tāku Mana*, with one first place and one second place, should have been awarded third place, and *Ngā Hapu Katoa* and *Te Ruawhenua* should have both been awarded the encouragement trophy, as they were both placed equal last. *Te Ruawhenua* was awarded the encouragement *taonga*.

Table 5.6: Aggregate placings for the 1999 Regional Festival.

(Third place winners are not announced if second place is tied.)

Section	First Place	Second Place	Third Place
Whakaeke	*Te Puna Waiora*	*Tāku Mana*	*Ngā Hapu Katoa*
Mōteatea	*Tāku Mana*	*Te Ao Hurihuri/ Ngā Hapu Katoa*	none awarded
Haka Poi	*Te Puna Waiora*	*Te Ao Hurihuri /Te Ruawhenua*	none awarded
Haka	*Te Ao Hurihuri*	*Te Puna Waiora*	none awarded
Waiata-a-ringa	*Te Puna Waiora*	*Tāku Mana*	*Te Ao Hurihuri /Te Ruawhenua*
Whakawātea	*Te Puna Waiora*	*Te Ao Hurihuri*	none awarded
OVERALL	*Te Ao Hurihuri*	*Te Puna Waiora*	none awarded

While the results of the 1999 Victorian Regional Festival generated heated debate among the participants, this is not a new phenomenon for the Regional Festival. Since this research began in 1995, the same issue, that of the apparent lack of impartiality in the judging panel, has been raised repeatedly. Many competitors have left previous Festivals feeling that they have not been treated fairly by the judges. There is a perception among the performers that a *rōpū*'s success at the Regional Festival can have as much to do with kinship ties to the judges as it does to the standard of the performance. Clearly there are political processes at work in the Victorian Regional Festival, and there are people in positions of authority prepared to work the system to their own advantage. There is no financial gain involved, but the winning *rōpū* earns the right to represent the state at the Aotearoa Festival in New Zealand and takes home the majority of the *taonga*.

The *taonga* are generally perceived as being of more immediate value to a club than the opportunity to compete at the Aotearoa Festival. As the Victorian Regional Festival is generally held well after the qualification period for Australia has closed, most *rōpū* enter to win the *taonga.* Individuals or families from Victoria or back home in New Zealand have donated each *taonga* over the years, often in memory of a deceased loved one. The *taonga* are mostly freestanding carvings, although there are also at least five carved shields. Most of the carvings use the abstract traditional forms of the *manaia.* A bone *manaia* is used in the centre of one shield. Other *taonga* use *tiki* images, standing human figures or faces with protruding tongues. Most *taonga* are decorated with feathers, cloaks, and *paua* shell or carved bone. The Māori believe that the *taonga* contain *aroha* 'love'. This *aroha* is given to those *rōpū* that win the *taonga* and strengthens the bonds within those clubs (Pouwhare. K Pers. comm. 6 March 2000). The teams that win nothing frequently feel disillusioned, particularly when there appears to have been undue bias on the part of the judging panel. Over the years, this apparent bias has seen individuals and teams leave the Festival, or else look to interstate Festivals as a medium for fairer judgements. One of the most recent casualties has been Karlene Pouwhare. Her decision to relocate to Sydney with her family in June 2000 was partly due to her disillusionment with competitions following the 1999 Victorian Regional Festival.

While it appears unlikely that that the culture clubs will desert the Victorian Regional Festival, the Federation has already been deserted by the southeastern clubs, which no longer send delegates to the Federation meetings. The only clubs currently involved in the Federation are *Te Ao Hurihuri*, *Te Ruawhenua* and *Tāku Mana*, the three clubs with ties to the western and northern suburbs. This means that the views of the southeastern clubs can no longer be represented at meetings and

they are no longer involved in the consultative and decision-making processes of the Federation in relation to the Festival. The Federation has marginalised the southeastern clubs, particularly *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, and it appears that the issue at the centre of this isolation is *Ngā Hapu Katoa*'s continued opposition to the community's push to build the *marae* at Digger's Rest. The politics of the Polynesian Federation and the Māori community in general serve to destablise the community, keeping it fragmented. Ironically this is the very thing that the Māori community is trying to avoid by building a *marae*. The community looks to the precedent set by the early Māori settlement, *Te Arepa*, at Emerald Hill (cf. p. 12), which had a meetinghouse. The contemporary Māori community wants a facility to call 'home'. While there are similarities between these two Māori communities (members of both groups have come to Melbourne to engage in paid employment) the essential differences now are that the modern Māori community is isolated by the suburban sprawl, is no longer related by tribe and has been changed by one hundred and sixty years of western influence. Their culture has been marginalised and in turn revived, their language has come close to disappearing and they have been integrated into modern, urban society.

As a result of these enormous cultural and social changes, the present day *kapa haka* is quite distinct from that of the early nineteenth century. Modern developments such as the adoption of the acoustic guitar and competitions have altered the way *kapa haka* is performed all over the world. Further influences upon *kapa haka* in Melbourne have ensured that, in time, the *kapa haka* created and performed here will be as distinct a form as the regional *kapa haka* is in New Zealand, and will be instantly recognisable as such to both performers and judges from New Zealand. Modern Māori music is distinct from the traditional chant forms, the *haka* and the *waiata*. Modern forms have embraced western harmony, scales and

accompaniment. The traditional chants are still governed by strict rules of performance, although a number of Māori have attempted to bend the rules, as observed with Tangi's *haka* medley. It may be that, in time, the rules that govern *kapa haka* in Melbourne may, like the performance, become distinct from those back home. Certainly the New Zealand Māori have perceived the Australian *kapa haka* groups that have returned to New Zealand to perform as 'different'. New Zealand Māori have commented that Australian Māori sing with a 'twang' not heard in the local groups (Roa. L. Pers. comm. 5 January 2000). The differences may become more noticeable as the children of this generation take over the teaching and composing of new material. The process of change will continue, creating a distinctly Australian style of Māori *kapa haka*, and further reinforcing the dichotomy evident in Māori perceptions of performance and identity in Melbourne – 'plastic' versus authentic, urban (disenfranchised) versus *marae*, 'Aussie' versus 'Kiwi'.

These issues of authenticity have very real meaning for Māori in Melbourne and their sense of identity as Māori. The role of the Festivals in promoting *kapa haka* performance and encouraging the creation of new performance material is one example of the recontextualisation of the culture, both in Australia and New Zealand, and participation in the performance of *kapa haka* is a significant mechanism for Māori seeking an identity, although there are clearly issues relating to the integrity of the organisation of the Victorian Regional Festival that need to be resolved if tutors and creators of new *kapa haka* material are to be encouraged rather than put-off by perceived inequities.

The recontextualisation of culture that accompanies migration has moved selected elements of Māori tradition, such as performance, out of that tradition and into the mainstream. As argued previously, the tutor remains a central figure in this

process, as the articulator of change and cultural invention. The result is a change in the intrepretation and the context of the performance. Change, recontexualisation and invention are the focus of Chapter Six, which will deal with the changes that have been observed in the Māori community in Melbourne. The recontexualisation of *kapa haka*, issues of musical change, and the invention of home will be examined in the light of current literature dealing with these processes.

VICTORIAN TRADITIONAL MAORI PERFORMING FESTIVAL[1974]

COMPETITION RULES FOR

1999

FOREWARD

Please note that these rules are for the Victorian Maori Festival Competitions. Each Roopu, while retaining its autonomy, should organise its competition as close as possible to the following:

1.0 ACCEPTANCE OF ROOPU

Roopu that compete in the Victorian Maori Festival Competitions will be accepted, subsequent to all relevant fees and registration forms have been acknowledged by the Festival Co-ordinator.

1.1 Performing Members

Roopu competing at the Victorian Maori Festival Competitions should have a **minimum of 24 performers** and a **maximum of 40** on stage. (Refer to rule 1.7). Guitarists must come from within the group's performers (40) and must not number more than two.

1.2 Composition of Members

Roopu must include both men and women and all performers must be aged 14 years and over. No more than one-third of the Roopu may still be attending school.

1.3 Competition Criteria

All Roopu in the Victorian Maori Festival Competitions must compete in the following:

1.3.1 Aggregate Items

Waiata-a-Ringa
Poi
Haka
Whakaeke
Whakawaatea
Moteatea

1.3.2 Non Aggregate Items

Kakahu
Waiata Tira (Optional)
Kaitaataki Wahine
Kaitaataki Tane
Composition for Poi
Composition for Waiata-a-Ringa
Composition for Haka
Composition for Moteatea

1.3.3 Moteatea

The Moteatea will remain compulsory, but will not be judged.

1.3.4 Perform

All Roopu members must perform in all items where appropriate.

2.0 ROOPU COMPETING IN THE VICTORIAN MAORI FESTIVAL

Roopu that have entered into the Victorian Maori Festival Competitions will conform to the requirements of these rules. **A failure to do so will result in an automatic disqualification.**

2.1 Exclusions

Roopu competing in the Victorian Maori Festival Competitions cannot include performers from other Roopu who are competing in the same competition.

2.2 Access to Performers

Roopu may access their performers who are living outside of their region to perform for their Roopu, provided they have not performed for another Roopu in the same competition.

ITEMS FOR THE NATIONALS

3.1 Roopu will be judged in the following:

3.1.1 Waiata-a-Ringa

Roopu will be marked out of 100 points. An extra 5 points maximum may be gained by the Roopu for an original composition. Originality is defined in Section 3.3 below.

3.1.2 Poi

Roopu will be marked out of 100 points. Any of the different poi dances may be presented (ie. single, double short, single long, double long, multiple long or any combination of these) in either modern or chant form. An extra 5 points maximum may be gained by the Roopu for an original composition. Originality is defined in Section 3.3 below.

3.1.3 Haka

Roopu will be marked out of 100 points. Any of the different haka forms may be presented (ie. taparahi, tuutuu ngarahu, perperu etc). An extra 5 points maximum may be gained by the Roopu for an original composition. Originality is defined in Section 3.3 below.

3.1.4 Poi, Moteatea, Waiata-a-Ringa and Haka Composition

For the composition for the poi, waiata-a-ringa, moteatea and haka, the decision will be a consensus one made by the judges who will judge each individual item.

3.1.5 Whakaeke

Roopu will be marked out of 100 points. Roopu may approach from either or both sides, or even the centre rear of the stage.

3.1.6 Whakawatea

Roopu will be marked out of 100 points. Roopu may exit to either or both sides, or even the centre rear of the stage.

3.1.7 Kakahu

Roopu will be marked out of 100 points.

3.1.8 Kaitaataki Wahine / Kaitaataki Tane

The leaders will be marked out of 100 points. Female and male judges will judge female / male leadership.

3.2 Aggregate

All Roopu will compete for the individual category trophies, with the top Roopu winning the overall aggregate trophy.

3.2.1 Aggregate Points

The aggregate marks will consist of the sum total of the two middle judges marks in the following items.

Item	Item Mark	Original Mark	Total Mark	Two Judges
Waiata-a-Ringa	100	5	105	205
Poi	100	5	105	205
Haka	100	5	105	205
Whakaeke	100		100	200
Whakawaatea	100		100	200
Maximum Possible Aggregate Points				**1015**

3.2.2 Aggregate Penalty / Time Limit

Aggregate points will be deducted if the total time of 25 minutes (where there is no choral) or 30 minutes (where there is a choral), is exceeded. In both cases, a penalty of 10 marks will be deducted from the aggregate mark. No Roopu should be on stage for more than 20 or 30 minutes, total time.

3.3 Original Compositions and Original Bonus Marks (See 3.1)

3.3.1 Original Definition

(a) An original composition shall be the **sole** work of a composer or composers in both words and music.

(b) Such original compositions do not include **adaptations** of the music of other composers.

(c) The item must not have been performed by any other Roopu.

3.3.2 Claiming Original Composition

Any composition claimed as original must be clearly signed by the composer or composers of the words and of the music, stating that the work is their own original composition composed for the Roopu which is to perform it at the Festival. If the tune is one which has been composed by someone else and slightly altered, no marks are to be awarded for originality. Words may be considered even if they include whakatauki or other sayings, provided the whole composition is substantially new. The composer/composers should also state the date on which the composition was composed.

3.3.3 Integrity

The Festival Co-ordinator and the Judges relies entirely on the integrity of the Roopu when claiming originality bonus points.

3.3.4 Originality Bonus Marks

The poi, haka and waiata-a-ringa aggregate items can earn an extra 5 points per item for original composition where the maximum mark for each is 100. In theory therefore, a team performing a perfect action son with original music and words could get 105 marks.

3.3.5 Verification of Originality

This section is aimed at the composer or composers.

3.3.5.1 To Submit Original Script

Roopu are asked to submit a copy of their script for originality to the Festival Co-ordinator, 184 Queensville Street, WEST FOOTSCRAY VIC 3012, **15 days before** the start of the festival competitions.

3.3.5.2 Specification

If Roopu wish to claim originality they must specify this in the following manner:

Example Only

Action Song	"Te Patikitiki"
Original Composition:	
Words Composed By:	Jack Brown
Signature:	
Music Composed By:	Jill White
Signature:	
Date Composed:	12 May 1999

3.3.5.3 Signature

The composer(s) of both words and music must sign the paper for an original work to be considered. Where no claim for originality is made or where claims are not signed, this section of the judging sheets will be blacked out. In the case of items composed by the Roopu, the leaders only need sign on behalf of the Roopu.

3.3.5.4 Confirmation

Before each Roopu performs, the Festival Compere will confirm any original claims with the Roopu leader and names of the composers for each item claimed original, will be read out to the audience.

3.3.6 Original Scrutineer

A person **knowledgeable in music** will be appointed by the Victorian Committee to act as scrutineer at the Festival for items where originality is claimed. Any queries regarding originality are to be handled by the scrutineer whose decision will be final.

3.4 Choral Item

Each Roopu may perform an optional choral item. Words must be submitted. A choral trophy will be presented, but marks do not go towards a Roopu's aggregate mark. The use of up to two acoustic guitars for this item is also optional. A conductor for the choral item may be either one of the performers or be an additional person.

4.0 ADJUDICATORS

At the Festival there will be 2 Judges for each of the aggregate items.

4.1 Choral

There may be one or more Judges for the Choral section.

4.2 Method of Judging

The method of judging will be according to the judging form, which will be administered to Roopu Delegates.

VICTORIAN TRADITIONAL MAORI PERFORMING FESTIVAL
COMPETITION RULES FOR
1999

4.3 Judges Briefing

Judges briefings may be held at which the judging system for the Festival will be explained and discussed. Samples of judging papers will be provided and explanations made of any rulings and procedures. All judges for the Festival must attend these briefings.

5.0 ACCOMPANIMENT

Maori traditional musical instruments may be used in the performance of a Roopu. However, the only modern musical accompaniment allowed is up to **two acoustic guitars.**

5.1 Participation

Interstate and Overseas groups are welcome to participate in Victoria Competitions provided:

- a 'Certificate or Cup' is received in place of a taonga in the event of a first place position.

- the highest placed Victorian State Roopu is the team that represents this state if in the event they wish to participate in the Aotearoa National Festaival.

- interstate groups will have to hold their own festivals in order to compete in the Aotearoa Festival.

5.2 Performance Items

All groups must submit a copy of their compositions, each item must show a translation in English.
Depending on the number of Judges participating will show how many copies are required.

- for 1999 (7 Judges)
- for 2000 (7 Judges)
- for 2001 (7 Judges).....

Plate 12

The Victorian Regional Festival is held annually in Melbourne. It is the most significant event on the Māori calendar for clubs that wish to compete in the Aotearoa Festival. The *rōpū* that wins the aggregate for the Regional Festival qualifies to compete in New Zealand.

Plate 13

Te moko Māori

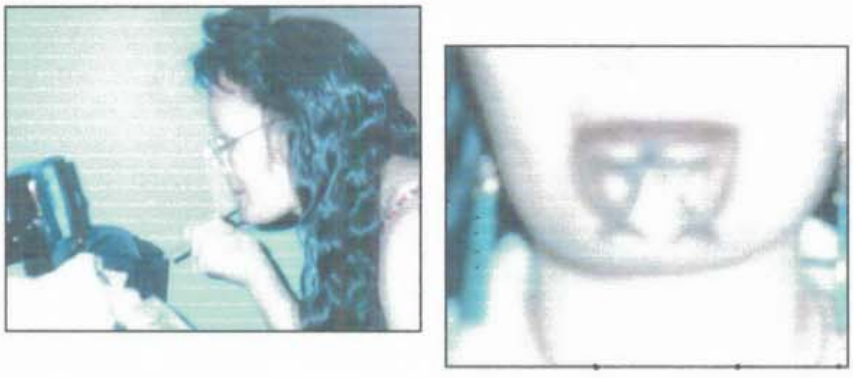

Plate 12: *Taku Mana* compete at the 1999 Regional Fetival. *Te Ruawhenua* compete at the 1999 Regional Fetival. Plate 13: Cedric Mehana applies a *moko* to his son Brett. Moana Pirere applies a *moko* to Ashton Brittliff Jr. Trish Graham applies her *moko*, designed for her by her brother.

Chapter 6

Whaikorero 'oratory'

Changing Home

The preceding chapter examined the role of the cultural festival as a mechanism for the maintenance of existing performance traditions and the creation of new material for performance. Festivals have arisen out of the need to address the decline in Māori performance as a direct result of the historical and social changes that have occurred throughout the last two centuries. This change has, in turn, influenced Māori knowledge and perceptions of their culture. This chapter will locate this thesis in a broader theoretical context, by examining examples of innovation and change in *kapa haka*, exploring ways the recontextualisation of the performance changes the meaning of the performance and aids in the invention of a 'new' tradition. Relevant literature dealing with issues of musical change and cultural invention is examined, and ideas and theories that have been expounded in contemporary scholarship are placed in the context of the Māori experience in Melbourne. Much of the literature surveyed discusses issues relating to cultural invention, musical change and the music of migrants. These issues are of increasing importance as more people join the global diaspora, whether as displaced persons or through migration in search of work, and for the Māori in Melbourne, for whom *kapa haka* has become representative of their identity in the recontextualisation of 'home'. In engaging with the literature and some of these key concepts, this chapter

will endeavour to explain how the recontextualisation of performance alters the meaning of the performance.

Change

If there is a common thread throughout the writings on culture, tradition, invention and acculturation, it is that change, whether intentional or not, is an ongoing process and is common across all disciplines and studies and that the agents for this change are the individuals and the society in which they live. This change has been variously described as invention, construction and acculturation, and all of these terms are accurate. All change is a process that relies upon the conscious will of the individual or group making that change. Even a gradual ('evolutionary') change in music is a conscious process that occurs over a period of time and by individuals. Whether the change is a deliberate invention (some could suggest fraud), as in the *Book of Ossian* (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), or the result of the gradual incorporation of musical elements from diverse traditions by musicians, seen in the creation of reggae, jazz-rock and *mbaqanga* (township jive), to name just three styles, the result is inevitably the same: the creation of a new tradition. Blacking writes that change and innovation should not be viewed as a negative process, but that we should be more concerned by 'non-change' as a sign of a stagnant musical system, and during the last century ethnomusicologists have changed their perceptions of music from a static phenomenon to a dynamic and changing one.

While the idea of a 'new tradition' sounds like an oxymoron, this is, nevertheless, what is happening in communities all over the world. Current research among the Māori community in Melbourne supports this notion of change and 'new tradition', and this is able to happen because of the recontextualisation of the

existing body of knowledge of Māori culture in a community in which they are not a dominant force, but merely one minority community among dozens. The promulgation of the culture is restricted within a small population that relies upon those members with particular talents to pass on to others within the community the knowledge that is deemed desirable, such as language and dance. By looking inwards, the community is already engaged in recontextualising certain elements of the culture. The use of language is restricted to certain ritual events, such as prayers and formal greetings in particular locations such as *hui*, and festivals. The same is true of *kapa haka*, which is restricted to use at formal competitions, or else is used for public entertainment in the wider community. The meaning changes in this latter context, and the dance becomes a novelty rather than the powerful social and political tool that it represents in New Zealand. Such meanings lose their power in Melbourne, as they are not relevant in the wider community and the link with a particular place, i.e. the tribal homeland, is lost and new meanings need to be created.

The Creative Process: Invention vs. Construction

The ideas discussed in this chapter all examine the themes of invention, construction, acculturation and change in both musical and extra-musical experience. As these activities are frequently seen to overlap (Blacking 1995:149), it would seem logical to explore them as part of the same phenomenon, especially as the unifying theme throughout both these experiences is one of change. Culture and cultural processes are not static, but exist in a constant state of flux, whether through the acculturative processes suggested by Nettl and Kartomi, or through a deliberate act of cultural innovation, discussed by Merriam and McLean, among others, or cultural invention as a conscious or deliberate act, as explored by Wagner, Hanson,

and Hobsbawm and Ranger. Other writers, including McDonald, have examined the concepts and interpretation of tradition and invention and applied them to specific cases. The translocation of any given culture or elements of that culture into a new social or political setting, and its subsequent modification are, in effect, forms of 'cultural invention'. The term 'invention' can, however, be misinterpreted and even misrepresented when used outside the scholarly context in which it is used. It was subject to considerable debate in the both anthropological writings and the New Zealand popular press when it was interpreted as meaning fabrication and falsehood following the publication of Hanson's work in 1989 (see below).

The phenomenon of 'culture' has been at the core of discussion and debate in both anthropology and ethnomusicology throughout the past century. Early sources attempt to define 'culture' by what it is and is not. Many of these attempted to separate culture from tradition. MacDonald discussed this very problem, writing that "some authors ... use the terms culture and tradition synonomously ... and others avoid using the latter altogether ..."(McDonald 1996:106-107). Without committing themselves to a specific definition Hobsbam and Ranger have decided that tradition is what people do, while culture is the overlying system in which tradition was performed. Therefore culture is the set of shared values and ideas through which people express themselves and by which they live. Tradition is dictated by custom and is the manifestation of culture through action. These theories of cultural invention, acculturation and the acculturative processes have formed the basis of considerable discussion in the existing literature in anthropology and ethnomusicology during the 1980s and 1990s. Writers including Blacking, Nettl (1985), Kartomi, Hanson (1989), Linnekin, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Wagner (1981) and McDonald (1996) have all discussed and debated terminology, theory and the practical application of these processes in their respective disciplines, while

many have provided examples in support of their findings. Kartomi and Nettl have been unable to agree on definite terminology in their discussions on acculturative processes in ethnomusicology, and writings in anthropology have indicated that the term 'invention' is, in itself, too open to misinterpretation outside of the scholarly realm of publication and debate to be used without controversy, particularly in the popular press, as evidenced by the furore caused by Hanson (1989).

The translocation of a culture or aspects of that culture, and its subsequent modification are, in effect, forms of cultural invention, no less than the revival of Welsh culture or the 'discovery' of the *Book of Ossian* (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). As mentioned in the introduction to this section, the term 'invention' has been misunderstood previously as meaning fabrication. Hanson (1989) explored the notion of culture invention in Māori belief systems. His article examines two fundamental tenets of Māori historical and spiritual belief - the 'great fleet' of seven *waka* 'canoes' that, according to legend, arrived in approximately 1350, bringing the ancestors of the modern Māori from Hawaiiki to Aotearoa, and the creator-god Io, whose deeds resemble the deeds of the Judeo-Christian god in Genesis. Hanson asserts that early British historians and scholars around the turn of the century created both these legends in an attempt to find sufficient similarities between the British and the Māori to justify the assimilation of the Māori into British colonial society, and by identifying the Māori as a lost Aryan tribe. While the British attempted to use these two (false, according to Hanson) truths to justify the assimilation of the Māori into their society, it is these two beliefs that the Māori are now using to explain their distinctiveness and justify New Zealand's bi-cultural personality. Many Māori take great pride in tracing their ancestry back to a *waka* of the Great Fleet, and knowing the name of their *waka* is an essential part of their

pride and identity[26]. Attempts to find links between people linguistically, socially, etc. are continuing in New Zealand. There has been an attempt to link the Māori with the Japanese by virtue of similarities in pronunciations in the language. Such attempts are not new, as early British scholars found similarities between the Māori language and Sanskrit.

The original Māori creation myth (Grey Nd.) describes the separation of *Rangi*, 'the sky', and *Papa*, 'the land', by their children, the early gods of nature and ancestors of mankind. Sir George Grey, the New Zealand governor who suppressed the Māori Wars in 1845, collected many Māori myths and published them in his book *Polynesian Mythology* on his return to England. The first legend he relates is 'The Children of Heaven and Earth'. In it he tells of the separation of *Rangi* and *Papa* by their children and the coming of light to the world. There is no reference to Io in the legend. However references to Io can be found in modern genealogical chants. One particular chant[27], taught to the Māori culture club *Nga Hapu Katoa* by their tutor Karlene Pouwhare in 1998, and used to accompany a *haka poi*, outlines the ancestry of *haraheke*, the flax. Flax is the chief material used to make the traditional *poi*, although modern *poi* may be made from coloured wool, plastic shopping bags and acrylic wadding. The chant begins the list with Io and his wife, then their children, *Rangi* and *Papa*, their grandchildren, great grandchildren, and finally the flax. While Hanson's paper raises the important issue of cultural invention for political advantage (in this case by the British administration in New Zealand), Jolly and Thomas (1992) discuss the politics of invention in the Pacific

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[26] One of the homework tasks set for the *kohanga reo* children by Karlene was to find out the name of their *waka* and to bring the information to the next class. Not all the children were able to successfully complete the task.

[27] The *poi* in this case was a chant in the old style, unaccompanied, strongly rhythmic, with a limited tonal range and no European-style melodic structure common in modern *poi*. This suggests that, though this particular chant may post date the post-colonial myth of Io, it may pre-date the twentieth century (cf. Chapter 3).

and suggest that the term 'invention', as used by Hanson, was inflammatory, as it suggests falsification and fabrication of a tradition, although this was not the author's intention. Jolly and Thomas suggest that Linnekin's use of the word 'construction' is a more neutral term, in spite of support for Wagner's use of the term 'invention'. The problem with the term 'invention' arose when it was taken out of scholarly context, in an abbreviated version of Hanson's paper, published in the *New Zealand Herald* with the title 'Maori Myths Invented'. The controversy culminated in a public debate in the Anthropology Department at the University of Auckland. Māori speakers at the debate challenged Hanson's authority, as a *pākeha* scholar with no first hand experience, to speak for them on matters relating to their perceived heritage and they "... stressed the importance of preserving tribal memories for aesthetic, political and moral reasons ..."(Mitchell 1994b:56), but acknowledged that there were fictions in Māori history and that these should be addressed. Mitchell believes that this debate is important and sees Māori music as a potential factor in contributing to the debate on authenticity and invention. He writes:

> Maori Popular music could be regarded as an important vehicle for this kind of discourse, and its struggle for recognition is a struggle for cultural power. (Mitchell 1994b:56).

By raising the issue of terminology, Jolly and Thomas are bringing the debate out into the open. Terminology and its use or misuse is an issue that needs to be openly discussed by writers. Cultural invention has been the buzzword in anthropological circles, and to a lesser degree in ethnomusicology, since the mid 1980s, but it has received very little in the way of constructive discussion or development. As used by Hanson, it describes an attempt to justify the integration of two distinct cultural groups while establishing the introduced culture as the dominant force by creating a false historical and religious background that suggested

a common ancestry between the two cultures. As used by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), however, it can suggest pure fiction, such as the falsification of history in the *Book of Ossian* and the design of plaids in different colours to be worn by each clan in Scotland (Trevor-Roper 1983), in an attempt to reassert a diminished or impoverished cultural or political group, and this is appears to be the issue with respect to Hanson's use of the term 'invention' – the notion of 'fabrication' and the implication of falsehood. The term invention does suggest a deliberate or conscious decision or act of creation. However, as other writers have demonstrated, the creative act of invention is not necessarily a 'bad' thing. It is, in fact, a dynamic force that keeps culture, and traditions, alive. Hanson examined the influence of British invention on Māori traditions, but cultural invention is not the sole preserve of western cultural impact on non-western societies. Cultural invention has been practised in many countries, and can be observed in the revival of druidic practices and the eistedfodd tradition in Wales many decades and even centuries after these practices had fallen into disuse, in the Scottish attempt to develop a Gaelic identity separate from historical links with Ireland through the 'discovery' of the (alleged) historical document *The Book of Ossian* and in England with establishment of the royal coronation as a significant public event and the relatively recent tradition of the Queen's annual Christmas message (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Coplan (1993) documents the creative act of developing new 'traditional' dances targetting the tourist market in Africa, and Moyle (1997) examines the discovery of a 'traditional' Fijian war dance, which was performed by (Fijian) rugby players in response to the *haka* performed by the New Zealand rugby team. Hanson's attempt to identify invention among the Māori of New Zealand in fact identifies an attempt by the British to justify the integration of the Maori people into British society

through the invention of a compatible belief system and a parallel spirituality. This invention has passed into popular belief and has become accepted as historical fact.

The phenomenon of invention was discussed with respect to European societies in *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), exploring the 'invention' of traditions as a means of legitimising history, political ambition, and so forth, through creation, embellishment and absolute falsification. Hobsbawm and Ranger put the notion of invention into its theoretical perspective, while the ensuing essays in the book each deal with issues from royal rituals to the creation of entire cultures. Hobsbawm and Ranger stress the need to distinguish 'tradition' from 'custom'. Tradition is synonymous with invariance while custom does not preclude innovation and provides continuity within a society. They write, "'Custom' is what judges do; 'tradition' [in this instance the 'invented' tradition] is the wig, robe and other formal paraphernalia and ritualised practices surrounding their substantial action." (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983:3). In this thesis 'tradition' is defined as "an established and shared social or cultural experience and the actions and activities that define that experience" (cf. Chapter 1, p. 9), while 'custom' relates to "established and accepted codes of behaviour within the group" (cf. Chapter 1, p. 9). This behaviour gives meaning to the actions and activities that are the tradition. Hobsbawm and Ranger draw a distinction, too, between 'tradition' and 'convention'. Conventions require invariance but are not traditions in that their justifications are pragmatic, not ideological. Dietary prohibitions, justified for reasons of hygiene, for example, are considered a convention, not a tradition. When there are no longer any practical constraints, then an object can acquire symbolic meaning, for example, a barrister's wig. Inventing tradition is a process of formalising rituals and linking them with the past, and this is not easy to document when it happens over a period of time or when traditions are only partly invented.

New symbols are invented and/or old ones manipulated to suit the new tradition, and many traditions are re-invented after a break with the past, as in the Welsh eistedfodd (Morgan 1983). Other traditions are invented in a conscious effort to break away from tradition. Hobsbawm and Ranger identify three overlapping types of invention: traditions that relate to the membership of a group or community, those that establish or legitimise an institution or authority, and those relating to beliefs, values, behaviour and socialisation.

Illustration 6.1: Hobsbawm and Ranger's three overlapping types of invention.

Perhaps the most significant recent invention documented is the invention of the 'nation', with the associated symbols of flag and national anthem, and nationalism. These, Hobsbawm and Ranger point out, "rely on social engineering which are often deliberate and always innovative" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:13) while claiming to be rooted in the past. This has become the case not just for New Zealand, but also for the Māori, in recent times. Divided in the past by tribal wars and linguistic and cultural distinctiveness, contemporary Māori society has been subjected to a degree of homogenisation with the development of *te reo Māori* and the notion of a unified Māori political presence. Particular icons have become

asssociated with 'Māori' in general, icons such as *Ka Mate*, the 'rugby *haka*', which has become a global icon. The globalisation of *Ka Mate* will be discussed further in Chapter Seven. Urbanisation of the Māori population and its increasing isolation from the *marae* and tribal heritage over the past century, and education exclusively in English led to a decline in tribal languages and customs. The desire to arrest this decline prompted a combined Māori effort during the 1970s, resulting in the '*He Taua* Incident' at Auckland University in 1976 and the founding of the *Mana Motuhake* political party. This apparently single Māori culture is a recent innovation, brought about by circumstance and necessity, and serves to illustrate that cultural invention is a deliberate act, for a pre-determined outcome.

> Words like "invention" and "innovation" are often used to distinguish novel acts or ideas, or things created for the first time, from actions, thoughts, and arrangements that have become established, or habitual. Such a distinction conceals an assumption of the "automatic" or determined nature of ordinary action quite as much as deterministic notions do. By extending the usage of "invention" and "innovation" to the whole range of thought and action, I mean to counteract this assumption and to assert the spontaneous and creative realization of human culture. (Wagner 1981:37)

Wagner maintains that culture is about invention, and that all culture is symbolically produced, or 'invented'. He challenges the notion that cultural invention is a random act, and asserts that it is a deliberate action on the part of individuals within the community, and it is an ongoing process. This has been observed both in the creation of *waiata-a-ringa*, with the adoption of western scale patterns, harmony and instrumental accompaniment and in the development of *te reo Māori*. Once the new concept has been invented, however, it becomes independent of the individual and assumes its own life:

> ... [T]he invention of culture, and of culture in general, often begins with the invention of one particular culture, and this, by the process of invention, both is and is not the inventor's own. (Wagner 1981:9)

Over time, the author asserts, these changes become accepted as being part of the 'tradition'. *Waiata-a-ringa* is accepted as part of the 'traditional' *kapa haka* performance, alongside such 'old' song styles as *mōteatea* and *waiata* and, in time, *te reo Māori* will replace the dialects spoken by the many tribes. Invention remains part of the creative process of cultural development, as does 'construction'.

> The premise that culture is symbolically constructed or 'invented' has become a hallmark of social-science scholarship ... anthropologists working independently in a number of Pacific Islands societies began to view 'culture' – alternately 'tradition' or *kastom* – as a symbolic construction, a contemporary human product rather than a passively inherited legacy. (Linnekin 1992:249)

Like the term invention, the concept of construction has attracted its own share of discussion and debate. Linnekin expresses concerns about the politics of cultural invention and how this "... 'plays' outside the academy ..." (Linnekin 1992:249). She expresses concern over the inflammatory nature of terms such as 'fabication' (Trevor-Roper 1983) and the response provoked by Hanson (1989).

> The tenor of these responses points to a fundamental problem: that 'invention is itself an inflammatory word, inescapably implying something fictitious, 'made up' and therefore not real. (Linnekin 1992:249)

Even so, the concept of 'cultural construction' does not lie easily "... because the concept implicitly challenges our own ethnographic authority ..." (Linnekin 1992:250), however the move away from the perception of culture as " ... amenable to scientific description, and an increasing tendency to view culture as symbolically produced or 'constructed' in the present ..." (Linnekin 1992:250-1) across the social sciences has necessitated the use of terminology to describe the process of creation. This, in turn, challenges the notion of culture and traditions being handed down from past generations.

> Cultural construction implies instead that tradition is a selective representation of the past, fashioned in the present, responsive to contemporary priorities and agendas ...". (Linnekin 1992:250)

The term 'construction' was also used by Berger and Luckman (1971), Schieffelin (1985), Sinclair (1990), Keesing (1989) and Tsounis (1995) and is preferred by Jolly and Thomas (1992) because 'invention' "... implies *de novo* creation, or even falsity and fabrication ..." (Jolly and Thomas 1992:242). The term 'invention' was used by Wagner (1981) to describe " ...the continuing manipulation of symbols to create new meanings ... " (Jolly and Thomas 1992:242), and it " ... emphasizes cultural creativity and the dynamics of imagining entailed in the process of historical transformation ..." (Jolly and Thomas 1992:242). Even so, the political implications, no less than the theoretical, need to be considered, particularly in the light of the Hanson debate and the accusations by indigenous groups that this thinking constitutes an attack on the authenticity of their claims for land and other rights:

> There is no guarantee that by having good intentions or being scrupulous about terminology that anthropologists will escape such accusations. (Jolly and Thomas 1992:242)

> ... [C]areful wording and sophisticated theoretical language in academic discourse is often translated in journalistic political debate as as assertion that 'they made it up'. And given that many Europeans construct Pacific cultures as eternal essences, this is tantamount to saying that a tradition is false or a fabrication ... Irrespective of how we perceive 'invention', then, there are reasons for preferring a more neutral or less inflammatory word, such as 'construction'. (Jolly and Thomas 1992:243)

Construction implies a creative process that is tangible and develops or builds on previously existing ideas and activities. It does not suggest creation in a vacuum or the need to make up an idea in the same way that invention does, even though the process of construction, no less than invention, is a creative one. It instead suggests that those values, traditions and customs that are central to the culture are integral to the change that is happening.

The concept of 'tradition', and what it is and isn't, has been the focus of many studies, in history, politics, social sciences, law and philosophy, whether as a part of the process of social construction, or for its own sake.

> Tradition is a core concept common to ethnology, folklore and ethnomusicology, and its use has remained current and indispensable despite its inherent contradictions, doubtful empirical status, and ideological entanglements. The central contradiction revolves around the necessarily social and historical origins of tradition, in opposition to its status in both native and scholarly discourse as something immutable, a structure of historical culture fundamentally immune to history. (Coplan 1993: 36)

What emerges in the literature is a lack of agreement between authors and across disciplines with respect to common terminology and consistent definitions. Many authors have attempted to define difficult concepts, but subsequent authors may take an opposing position on the same issue and thus offer a different perspective and definition. Tradition, culture, custom and invention – the use of any or all of these terms has been fraught with danger across both ethnomusicology and anthropology. This, in turn, presents all writers with an interesting conundrum: how to define these terms to make them universally relevant and accurate, thereby identifying the common ground, if there is any, on which the majority of authors agree. McDonald, especially, examines what he views as the major stumbling blocks in defining tradition and culture, particularly the tendency to define them as the same thing. This, he writes, should not be the case. Tradition and culture are two distinct concepts, and need to be examined as such (McDonald 1996).

Part of the difficulty with the use of the term tradition stems from the contradiction that Coplan refers to, but also from the tendency of some writers to use the terms 'culture' and 'tradition' synonomously, or else to avoid using the term at all. At the beginning of the twentieth century "... [T]he concept of tradition ... was simply identified with culture" (Coplan 1993:47). The problem that faced

subsequent researchers was that the term 'tradition' was manipulated and analysed to such an extent that it became an historical concept, firmly rooted in the past, with no relevance to what was actually happening in contemporary societies.

> A closer examination of contemporary forms, however, reveals the survival and even progressive development of the distinctive principles, values, and structures of cultural tradition. (Coplan 1993:47)

In spite of change, elements of tradition remain, even in contemporary forms. The development of a new musical form may mean the selective loss of those musical elements that are no longer perceived as relevant. This is true of many musical cultures other than Māori, and many older musical forms have become the preserve of folklore groups or institutions such as conservatories and academies. Western art music has been 'preserved' for centuries, as has the court music of Central Java, *kabuki* music in Japan and the Beijing opera. This is true, too, of 'popular' or 'folk' music and dance. These old or 'preserved' forms can experience one or more revivals over time. Celtic music, dance and language have seen a global resurgence of interest in recent years, although " ... 'Celtic tradition' in Britain has a strong tendency to display late eighteenth and early nineteenth century features" (Chapman 1997:41). Māori *kapa haka*, too, has experienced a revival, thanks, in part, to the development of the Aotearoa Festival.

As in many other parts of the world, external forces have their part to play in both the maintenance and invention of traditions in music and performance. The burgeoning worldwide tourism industry has its part to play in this matter.

> Thomas Blakely (personal communication, 1986) noted the discovery during ethnomusicological research in Zaïre, that groups whose performance styles were judged insufficiently spectacular to merit attention or resources from western-trained government officials often developed new "traditional" dance displays more in line with the aesthetic standards of the Tourist Bureau and the Ministry of Culture. (Coplan 1993:37)

Not always does tourism lead to full-scale invention, but the demands of tourism can lead to innovation in performance and performance elements. This can be observed in the use of more durable plastic tubing to replace flax *piupiu* and the synthetic materials used in the construction of *poi* among the Māori groups that perform nightly for tourists in New Zealand (Murray 1999). These materials are tougher than the natural materials used in *poi* and *piupiu* construction, are readily available, cheaper and easier to construct and endure the rigours of daily use more readily than the flax equivalents (see also Footnote 28). Innovation can also be observed in the use of commercially produced fabric in the skirts and synthetic fibres used in the tapestry bodices worn by the women, and are selected for their economy, availability and durability[27]. These materials are often brightly coloured, and each *rōpū* selects colours that possess some symbolic meaning for members of each club. While some of the colours are reminiscent of colours that may have been produced in 'traditional' ways, many are not and are innovative in that they represent a change in tradition. In the case of Māori uniforms, the women of the Māori culture club *Ngā Hapu Katoa* in Melbourne made the uniforms, including the tapestry bodices and headbands, using synthetic yard, tapestry canvas and tapestry needles. They did not make the flax *piupiu* that were worn over the women's uniforms, but bought them during visits to New Zealand[28]. Tapestry is an introduced handcraft, and its incorporation into the production of bodices represents both innovation and the development of a new tradition. Even the wearing of bodices is an innovation. Before the arrival of the British missionaries Māori women, like other Polynesian

[27] It can be argued that the use of synthetic materials in this case has less to do with modernisation than innovation, as the competitive *kapa haka* groups in New Zealand still use traditional materials in the construction of their *piupiu* and *poi*.

[28] These *piupiu* were made in the traditional way, a process that involves rolling lengths of flax to form narrow hollow tubes, then stripping the outer membrane to form a pattern, weaving the ends together to form a waistband and burying the completed garment in mud

women, went bare breasted. Māori women may no longer produce flax kilts for daily use, but they can sew and make tapestry. This represents a change in the way clothing, in this case uniforms for performing, is produced, and the women, who traditionally produced the clothing, have developed different skills from their ancestors based upon different social conditions and technology.

Traditions, whether deliberately invented or not, belong to a dynamic and changing world. Whether this change is the result of external forces directly bearing on a musical tradition, or of internal forces within a society or culture, anthropologists have been exploring change through the concept of cultural invention – the conscious or unconscious creation of new traditions. Ethnomusicologists have been aware of this for more than half a century and have been studying music as a fluid and changing cultural phenomenon.

> ... [T]raditional music inevitably changes in response to encompassing social and cultural movements... (Coplan 1993:36)

> ... [F]or tradition lives in ... new genres of self-expression, rooted in the historicity of ... being in the world, in the very ground of ... conscious existence. (Coplan 1993:47)

The volume of articles and books discussing syncretic music, and the attempts to classify and name the variants on the phenomenon are indicators of the seriousness with which change is viewed by researchers in the field. Scholars such as Blacking (1977), Nettl (1978, 1985) and Kartomi (1981) have endeavoured, with mixed success, to classify and name the types of change. Other issues such as the role of music in shaping perpectives on identity, ethnicity and gender, music in education, popular music and the place of music within the global community among others have become the focus of ethnomusicological research since the 1990s. Invention and innovation are key features in the dynamics of music and culture. As the writers

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for several weeks to stain the exposed fibres and colour the pattern the characteristic

discussed in this chapter have suggested, change and its many mechanisms are part of the dynamic of contemporary society, and contemporary society will always adopt what is relevant and necessary at a given time, though there will always be musical and historical links with the past (Coplan 1993). It is unlikely that any musical culture will totally reject its music in favour of another musical form. Even when a tradition is invented (Hanson 1989), it is often derived from an existing tradition that has been embellished in some way. Change is necessary for a tradition or a culture to survive, particularly if people relocate (Cohen 1985), as with the Māori in Melbourne.

Many scholars, and not just ethnomusicologists, including Cohen (1985), Linnekin (1992) Coplan (1993), Marshall (1994) and MacDonald (1996), have contributed significantly to discussions about the impact of culture change in the area of music. Many books have been devoted to discussions of culture and the changes observed in many world cultures. Anthropologists and sociologists including Geertz (1973, 1980), Wagner (1980), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Hanson (1989), Keesing (1989) and Erlmann (1996), have likewise explored the dynamics of change throughout the late twentieth century. To summarise, a number of writers have focused on the phenomenon of invention, the intentional creation or re-creation of a new tradition within a culture. And as ethnomusicologists have grappled with appropriate terminology to describe and define concepts of musical change, so scholars in other fields have struggled with terminology that has the potential to be misunderstood. The very word 'invention' suggests a deliberate and conscious act of creation, which can be misinterpreted by those not involved in the debate as meaning a deliberate and conscious falsehood or lie (Hanson 1989). Other scholars have suggested that terms such as re-creation, construction and innovation

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grey/brown found in *piupiu*. Traditional *piupiu* cost several hundred dollars to purchase.

possess similar connotations as invention but are viewed less negatively (Jolly 1992), (Jolly and Thomas 1992). The problems associated with the use of the term 'invention' have stemmed from its application outside of the realm of scholarship and its arbitrary use in the media (Hanson 1991). Even so, as this thesis has argued, the term 'invention' can be applied to the situation of Māori *kapa haka* in Melbourne, and the act of re-creating the dance and the performance is, in itself, an act of cultural invention in that both the meaning and situation of the performance have changed.

Acculturation and Change

While it is not the aim of this thesis to document the development of the field of ethnomusicology, it is important to locate the development of concepts of cultural change within the broader history of the field. Ethnomusicologists in the early part of the 1900s approached their subject with distinctly different perceptions and concepts from ethnomusicologists in the closing decades of the twentieth century. The early researchers were trained in classical western music history and theory and their fieldwork was generally conducted as part of the missionary and colonial movements of the time (Born 1903), Walleser (1917), Müller (1917). Non-western music was often viewed as static, impoverished (when compared with the classical music traditions of Europe) and as operating in isolation (from other musical cultures). Early descriptions by missionaries collecting music frequently contain value judgements based on a European aesthetic that is entirely foreign to the music being studied. Early descriptions of a number of Pacific music traditions, including performances of Māori music, display value judgements based on comparisons with western music traditions. By the 1950s the focus was shifting to the place of music within society and music was now viewed as a dynamic and

changing cultural form with relationships with other extra-musical forms and external musical styles. Musical change became the focus of much of the research in ethnomusicology. One of the earliest ethnomusicologists to make a long-term study of change was Alan Merriam, who spent fourteen years documenting change in the music of a single African tribe. In *The Anthropology of Music* (1964), Merriam identified differences in change resulting from external forces, i.e. outside the culture, and those resulting from changes from within the musical tradition. Influences from both within and without the society are reflected in the process of change and can be observed in all societies. In Māori music, change has been documented throughout the twentieth century (McLean 1965, 1977), and such change is consistent with changes documented elsewhere (Kartomi 1981, Nettl 1985, Coplan 1993, Marshall 1994).

Culture contact and the acculturative processes of cultural change have been extensively discussed and documented throughout the latter part of the twentieth century, particularly with relation to its effect upon the music of non-western cultures, although the phenomenon has been occurring for considerably longer. Authors including Nettl, Kartomi, Zemp, Arom, Coplan and Marshall have all documented examples of changes in indigenous musics caused by direct contact with introduced musical styles. Books and journal articles dedicated to the definitions of appropriate terminology to describe the processes of musical change and cultural invention were published during the late 1970s and early 1980s (Nettl 1979, 1983, 1985) and Kartomi (1981).

First and foremost in this notion of a musical change is the introduction of musical elements from outside of the traditional musical realm, which may result in the development of a 'new tradition'. Possibly the most significant example of this is the six-string acoustic guitar. First rising to prominence in the seventeenth

century, the guitar is of Eastern origin and images of it appeared as early as the thirteenth century (Apel 1982: 362). Possibly due to its portability, the guitar was the instrument of choice for travellers in the nineteenth century, and has made its way into the musical traditions of many Pacific nations. Today it it considered a 'traditional' instrument in Hawai'i, where a distinctive sound and playing style has also developed. The guitar is widely played by Māori in New Zealand and it is the only accompaniment instrument allowed in the Aotearoa Festival. The guitar is also used to accompany contemporary songs in other parts of Polynesia, and its presence has been documented on Yap in Micronesia, although the development of the portable keyboard, with its preset rhythms is fast overtaking the guitar in popularity there (Marshall 1994).

For the Māori in Melbourne, this notion of a 'new tradition' incorporates the performance and perpetuation of traditional musical genres such as *waiata* and *haka*, albeit in a new context, and considerably more recent styles such as *waiata-a-ringa*, guitar playing, and the creation of new material to educate both their children and the wider community about Māori issues. For Māori in Melbourne, and Australia, the 'new tradition' is as much about educating others as it is about preserving their sense of Māori identity, and this lies at the core of the recontextualisation of *kapa haka*. 'New tradition' implies change, and, as discussed above, this decision to make change is often conscious. Not all changes are the same, and the motivation for change can be different from culture to culture and tradition to tradition. Acculturation has been described as the result of processes at work, processes directly caused by a series of events in which two or more cultural forms are exposed to each other and create change, though not necessarily within the existing forms (Nettl 1985). In short, acculturation is about change, whether it is the 'revival' of an earlier cultural form, as has been attempted by the Aotearoa Festival

committee with the introduction of the *waiata* section to keep the tradition from dying out, or the creation of an entirely new one, as in the *waiata-a-ringa*. In the process of reviving an earlier form, the performers are, in effect, creating an entirely new form, which resembles the old form in structure but is possessed of a new meaning, imposed by the re-interpretation of the old form in a contemporary (and therefore different) context. This context may include the loss of the original language through the homegenisation of *te reo Māori*, multi-tribal performance settings caused by urbanisation or migration and performance as entertainment (in tourist establishments) or competition (in regional festivals) rather than symbolic or ritualistic (on the *marae*).

The idea that music and society are inextricably linked, and that to study one without the other is to lose the meaning inherent in the performance and reduce the music to an analytical exercise, was discussed by Blacking (1977), who asserted that many so-called 'musical changes' are in fact musical variations caused by social change, and that the concept of musical change must "denote significant changes that are peculiar to musical systems, and not simply the musical consequences of social, political, economic, or other changes" (Blacking 1977:2). Therefore, any change within a musical system needs to be unique to the music, and not be reflected in a corresponding social or political change, otherwise it is not merely musical change but indicative of wider social change: that is, that the music is inextricably linked to the society in which it operates, and reflects that society and the changes that are occurring. "This is why truly *musical* changes are not common and why they reveal the essence of music in a society" (Blacking 1995:54). Music and music making do not operate in isolation from a society. This is why so many musical styles have disappeared over the centuries, and why so many new styles have appeared. The concept of discrete musical change, however, is not so clear and

is, in fact debateable, as even many of Blacking's writings point to the interdependence of music and the society in which the music operates, therefore musical change reflects change within the society or parts of the society in which it is based. Blacking also describes what he calls 'three concurrent musical traditions' (which, presumably, may be found on any society), "traditional", "syncretic" and "modern" in his study. These can be applied to other musical systems including contemporary Māori music in New Zealand and can be observed in the content of *kapa haka* repertoire. His assertion, then, is that that music making has evolved as a conscious human invention, arising out of specific conditions – social, economic or political. Musical change doesn't miraculously happen, but is the direct result of a conscious decision among music-makers, which presupposes cognitive change, a specific moment in time when that decision is made to change the music. Blacking concludes his paper by urging that musical change be given attention as an autonomous area of study as the concept of change is unclear and needs expanding upon, particularly what he describes as the "micro-variations within the system" (Blacking 1995:17). He then lists approaches to the study of change and seven processes that he considers the major forms of musical change. This paper was to become the blueprint for both Nettl and Kartomi to develop their own theories of musical change. Both writers identified each of Blacking's processes with a specific name to describe the process and engaged in some debate over the classification of different types of change.

Nettl (1978) identified eleven cultural responses as a direct result of transculturation, from complete abandonment of a musical form through preservation to modernisation, where a musical tradition is enhanced and updated in an effort to protect itself. Kartomi (1981) pared down and refined Nettl's eleven responses, identifying six distinct stylistic responses to the acculturative process, all

of which apply to musical change through cultural contact of any type, not just with western musical forms. Kartomi was critical of several of Nettl's categories precisely because they dealt almost exclusively with the result of western musical influences. Since transculturation occurs as a result of contact between many cultures, it is not the sole domain of western musical influence upon non-western music. Therefore, Kartomi rejected those responses that related exclusively to western musical influence, rejecting, too, what she possibly identified as some degree of ethno-centric bias in Nettl's work. In reality, however, the western musical impact on music around the world has been profound. Most societies have experienced western music, whether through British, French or Spanish and Portuguese colonialism, or by more recent influences from the United States. Nettl's work is located in this field, in western music and the study of its impact on non-western musics. In the case of the Māori living in Melbourne, the issue of western musical impact is two-fold, through British colonial and post-colonial influence originally in New Zealand, and in Australia for members of the migrant Māori community.

Nettl later expanded upon many of Blacking's ideas in *The Western Impact on World Music* (1985). A slim volume of short essays, it contains numerous examples of the myriad changes caused by western musical influences from the minor through to the more significant. This book is an important work in ethnomusicology, as Nettl uses each example to illustrate the direct effect that exposure to western (European or North American) musical forms has had on specific musical traditions. Nettl deals with each example through a series of short essays, either by himself or other ethnomusicologists, dealing with key topics in ethnomusicology. Subjects include musical instruments, western harmony, and

religious music. Nettl explores specific examples of western musical influence and the broader issues of western influence, including types of acculturative processes.

In a short essay titled "Migrants", Nettl discusses briefly the fate shared by millions of indigenous people around the world, beginning with a brief look at urban indigenous Australians, removed from and isolated from their past traditions, and their search for a "musical symbol as an emblem of cultural identity", mostly found in the Protestant hymn tunes taught on the mission stations (1985:69). Nettl compares their experiences with a mixed group of Native Americans performing in a powwow in Chicago. Both experiences, he writes, are similar in that both groups of people have become dispossessed and urban on their own lands as a direct result of British colonisation. In contrast, he notes that urban black South Africans have a thriving musical culture, in which traditional tribal and introduced western musical elements have been successfully combined in a "western/African syncretism" (1985:71). Nettl's only explanation for the musical success of this one group of 'migrants' and the seeming failure of the previous two groups to successfully integrate traditional and introduced musics is the musical compatibility of the two different traditions. While it is not suprising that Nettl would draw this conclusion, given that many features of western popular music have their roots in African-American music, thus making them musically similar, he is basing his approach to syncretism on Waterman's theories (Waterman 1952) which, even by the time of Nettl's writings, were considered limited in scope. In recent years there have been several cases of indigenous Australian bands such as Yothu Yindi successfully combining elements of traditional song and musical instrumentation within the rock and popular music medium, for example the songs *Treaty*, *Djapana* and *Tribal Voice* on their 1988 album *Tribal Voice*. Other musicians to include indigenous material in their songs include Tiddas, Coloured Stone, Christine Anu, and

singers/songwriters such as Archie Roach and Ruby Hunter. And yet, according to Nettl, indigenous Australian musical systems are essentially incompatible with western musical systems and cannot be successfully integrated.

Specific examples of western influences can be identified in the development of modern Māori musical traditions and in the abandonment and loss of old songs. McLean (1996:274-76) writes that there are central features and non-central features in both European and Māori music, and it is the conscious and unconscious decision to ignore or, alternatively, to incorporate these features into newer compositions that determines what type of change a music will undergo. Māori music reflects several types of acculturation and examples of these changes have been documented (McLean 1996). 'Rejection' can be observed in the decision not to transfer harmonic elements of hymnody, a central feature of European music, onto traditional song which ensured that older chants such as *haka* and *waiata* remained independent from European influenced forms such as hymns and *waiata-a-ringa*, and remnants of 'old-style' Māori music can be found in the still performed *waiata* song style, a chant with a limited tonal range of two or three pitches, the *haka*, men's dance and chant, and in the chant used occasionally to accompany the *poi*. 'Abandonment' through song loss can be observed with many of the old songs, many of which had specific functions, such as watch songs, paddling and canoe making songs, and in the loss of traditional musical instruments. Hymns and European instruments have replaced these. 'Co-existence' can be observed in the bi-musicality of many Māori musicians who successfully combine both Māori and European musicality. Much of the music used in modern Māori performance is based upon existing western melodies and western-influenced Māori melodies. Popular music melodies are most commonly used, even in dance competitions. For example, in 1996 a Māori culture group in Melbourne competed at the Victorian

Regional Festival with a *waiata-a-ringa*, an action song, using Māori lyrics set to the melody of *Amigos Para Siempre*, the theme song from the Barcelona Olympic Games (see Example 8 on the accompanying video).

Thus the survival of some older chants, the adoption of elements of western musical elements and their incorporation into newer, distinctly Māori musical forms, and Māori bi-musicality are clear evidence of musical change and innovation. The development (invention?) of new mechanisms for musical expression, starting with the concert parties of the late nineteenth century and continuing with the 'culture clubs' of the twentieth century, the continuing employment of entertainers in the tourist regions and the fostering of new compositions through the development of the cultural festivals in the 1970s, have led to the creation of *kapa haka* and its position at the heart of 'traditional' Māori performing arts. Even so, for many Māori *kapa haka* is not just a musical expression of Māori culture, it is also an expression of Māori identity. This is particularly true of the *haka*. That the *haka* is viewed as a Māori phenomenon and that it generates an emotional response among both the performers and the audience is evidenced by its effective use at international sporting events. Thus the *haka*, as an instantly recognised manifestation of Māori culture, and therefore identity, can be viewed as an example of 'affective culture',

> ... cultural manifestations that implicitly and explicitly reflect the values of a given group of people through consciously devised means that arouse emotional responses and that strongly reinforce group identity. (Kealiinohmoku 1979:47)

Music and dance that are a strong and dynamic force, cutting vertically through the barriers of caste and age to include anyone with the talent or the inclination to perform, have a greater chance of surviving changes in socio-political circumstance (Kealiinohmoku 1979). Music that is dynamic, like the society that makes it, taking on external musical ideas and incorporating them into new genres,

has a greater chance of surviving and maintaining broad appeal across the generations. This can be observed in the development of the *waiata-a-ringa* dance genre that has developed in the last century. This flexibility, in taking on external musical elements and incorporating them into new genres, ensures that the music remains relevant to the society. It also indicates a conscious decision making process, that the creation of these genres was a deliberate act. Musical change can, however, be a positive rather than a destructive force, whereas rigidity in musical performance and creation can leave a music at risk of dying out when it no longer appears useful or relevant in the light of change within society, and when that music is not 'owned' by the society, that is, it is not affective culture. Inflexibility can be the downfall of a musical form or, as illustrated by Kealiinohomoku's discussion of the old Hawaiian hula, an entire cultural entity. The ability to 'roll with the punches', musically speaking, is also reflected in Māori musical styles. The combination of chants and western melodic forms in the different dance styles and in the use of educational songs used to instruct children in *te reo Māori* are all indicators of the flexibility of Māori musicians and performers to move with the times. Circumstances for the Māori have changed – there has been a significant population drifted into the cities (and overseas) to be nearer to paid employment, western musical forms, particularly popular music, have, in many ways, replaced the older song and dance forms, and have forced a change in Māori musical forms. Government policy and educational practices in the early twentieth century led to a decline in Māori language and culture, which was addressed in the 1970s and 80s with the formation of Māori language schools and funding to Māori performing arts. All this represents a shift in the attitudes towards music and musical transmission discussed by McLean (1977) with reference to *waiata* and transmission of traditional chants.

Inflexibility in performance style has been demonstrated in the Māori approach to certain traditional genres such as *haka* and *waiata* (McLean 1977), and in the reaction to the '*haka* medley' created by Tangi Tuhi, cited previously. Four years later the controversy is still discussed, and the general consensus among many Māori in Melbourne is that Tangi hadn't done anything 'bad', and that the *haka* medley had meaning for the men performing it (Graham, T, Pers. comm, 12 February 2002). Accuracy in the performance and teaching of traditional Māori chants, such as *haka* and *waiata*, is widely understood among the Māori, and was discussed by McLean (1977). He writes that this stress on absolute accuracy in reproduction of chants such as *waiata* is possibly a result of the decline in the singing of *karakia*, a particularly sacred group of esoteric recited songs, which have since been replaced with hymns and predominantly Christian religious practices[30]. Mistakes and omissions in the transmission of these *karakia* were regarded as potentially fatal due to the *tapu* associated with the songs. It is McLean's belief that this association was transferred to *waiata*, despite its non-esoteric nature. Consequently, innovation in *waiata* performance is frowned upon and accuracy of pitch, metre and intonation are vital. Even so, many old *waiata* have been reworked over the years as other tribes have copied them. This has led to variants in melody, pitch and lyrics. Changes have also been made to the position *waiata* holds in contemporary Māori society. *Waiata* were traditionally sung at formal gatherings on the *marae*. The urban drift of Māori to major cities, has led to a decline in *waiata* singing. To counter this a *waiata* section has been introduced to the inter-tribal cultural competitions, alongside the *poi*, *waiata-a-ringa* and *haka* sections. In all, McLean noted two distinct changes to the *waiata*, those within the musical system, i.e the number of versions of the one song, and imposed acculturative changes, such

[30] Modern *karakia* are merely spoken prayers, usually, but are an important feature of all

as scale and harmonies and a lack of familiarity with *te reo Māori*. This apparent paradox, of accuracy versus change, appears to have resolved itself out of necessity. Changes within Māori society have forced change upon the performance and practice of *waiata*. These changes have been necessary to ensure its survival otherwise it too may have been discarded as archaic and out of step with the demands of modern Māori musical practice, once again demonstrating its nature as an 'affective culture'.

Among the Māori in Melbourne, the model of the inter-tribal cultural competition has been adopted, with clubs learning and performing *haka poi*, *haka*, *waiata* and *waiata-a-ringa*. Many of the *waiata* taught belong to the tutor's tribe, as are other dances and songs. The practice of teaching songs and dances belonging to another tribe is another example of change in Māori performance practice, but one based on necessity. As outlined in Chapter Two, the culture clubs in Melbourne are essentially multi-tribal, so it is inevitable that members of these clubs will perform *haka* from other tribes.

There has been, however, some innovation in the creation of new songs and dances that are particularly relevant to Melbourne. These have been created using existing popular music melodies and adapted with new English or Māori words and appropriate actions. The motives behind the creation of this new material have been mostly as a means of dealing with the multi-tribal make-up of each club. This situation occurs in the major cities of New Zealand as well, with members of many of the urban culture groups coming from different parts of New Zealand (Sissons 1993). Rather than risk offending a member of the club or the wider community, tutors will create an entire new repertoire. In Australia, where the pool of skilled people is smaller, tutors will often turn outside of Māori tradition to create new

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Māori gatherings in Melbourne.

melodies and actions.[31] The Australian Māori, though geographically removed from their New Zealand relatives, are still able to maintain many musical links by revisiting 'home' at will, but this is not the case for many traditions, where the entire musical culture has been relocated for reasons other than employment (Cohen 1985).

The important issue in all of this scholarly discourse is that a living tradition survives by being adaptable and flexible, and inflexible musical forms are in danger of becoming irrelevant and, in time, obsolete. Flexibility, Cohen (1985) argues, is the key to the success of a musical style or genre. While McLean has noted a degree of inflexibility in traditional Māori musical forms such as the *waiata* and the *haka* (examples of this inflexibility have already been discussed in this thesis with respect to *kapa haka* performances), there has been a willingness on the part of the Māori to adopt a number of musical elements which has led to the creation of new musical genres. At the same time, there has been a willingness to let go of those musical elements that no longer hold meaning in the new genres. The addition of guitar accompaniment and the consequent adoption of western musical intervals is a prime example. The loss of the language and its symbolism is another. The change in the context of a performance is yet another. While such changes occurred prior to the current Māori presence in Melbourne, further changes and innovations unique to Melbourne have occurred. Action songs developed specifically to involve a non-New Zealand audience by using aspects of local popular culture is just one example, performing to a paying audience, whether at a cultural festival or by being available for hire for weddings and other functions is another.

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[31] In 1996 Karlene Pouwhare, in creating an action to accompany the line "*Aue, aue, he*", used a lower arm rolling gesture that finished with the right arm horizontal and parallel with the chest and the left arm at right angles with the right, elbow and fingers almost touching. Her inspiration for this action was a similar action performed by John Travolta in the disco movie *Saturday Night Fever* (Pers. comm 19 May 1996).

In recontextualising the performance of *kapa haka*, the Māori of Melbourne are consciously or unconsciously altering its meaning. In teaching the words and movements to their children and non-Māori, those words and gestures come to mean something different from what they mean in New Zealand. They may still be essentially Māori, they may still embody Māori identity, but they lose any attachment to a place or a time, they are from 'somewhere else' and no longer possess the meaning that might be understood in New Zealand. This recontextualisation of meaning comes about as a result of several factors, but all of these factors are affected by the translocation of a culture and the subsequent re-invention of that culture.

Māori in Melbourne create new songs and dances. These are inventions – conscious acts of creation to compensate for changes in the structure of the Māori community and the social dynamic of a minority, migrant community operating within the wider multicultural community of Melbourne. Flexibility is the key to survival. Kealiinohmoku has illustrated this in her comparison of Balinese and Hawaiian dance forms (Kealiinohmoku 1979), and Māori *kapa haka* has proved its flexibility by adopting elements of western music such as scale and instrumentation. Māori *kapa haka* continues to be flexible as it is adapted to suit the needs of a new generation of Māori. It is still an important part of the identity of the Māori. It continues to provide a link with the past. It is still a tool for educating the young in *te reo Māori* and *tikanga*. What it also provides now is a link with a foreign country for children who are, by birth, Australian citizens and who may never live in New Zealand and may marry outside the Māori community. Contemporary approaches to *kapa haka* composition and performance in Melbourne provide examples of change at work, although developments in syncretic musical styles in Māori musical traditions are not restricted to Melbourne.

As has been discussed throughout this thesis, many aspects of Māori culture have changed during the twentieth century. Apart from the obvious musical changes, changes in lifestyle and society have led to changes in performance style. Involvement in culture is a part-time interest for most of the Māori who live in Melbourne, and performers need to incorporate the demands of performance within the demands of work and family. Other changes, such as technology and the availability of cheap, easily acquired synthetic materials have led to changes in the construction of the traditional-style clothing that is used for performing. As can be deduced from examining the literature, many of the changes that have been documented as occurring in the Māori community in Melbourne can also be observed in other cultures and among other communities. Several genres of Māori music exhibit syncretic features, demonstrating a capacity for change – and, therefore, survival. Aspects of Māori music have been part of a global phenomenon and have been exploited and misused for commercial purposes (*The Sunday Star Times*, 13 July 1997) and through ignorance, (Johns 1997). And in all of these occurrences, the meaning is different. For the members of the Māori community, performing *kapa haka* means a range of different things. For some, it is a statement of identity. For others, it is an activity to be enjoyed with their families. For others, it is an attempt to maintain a link with home and their heritage. For the non-Māori audience it is a novelty and provides entertainment. But ultimately the recontextualisation of *kapa haka* is about educating the participants, in language, music and protocols.

Recontextualising *kapa haka* is an important device in establishing a sense of belonging, of creating a home for Māori in Melbourne. But recent incidents have taken the recontextualisation of Māori *haka* beyond what are considered acceptable boundaries, and represent an extreme case of cultural invention, and on a global

level. The next chapter will examine three recent examples in which *Ka Mate*, the 'rugby *haka*', has been removed from its context and used not only at a global level, but also by non-Māori.