Chapter 7

Haka 'Haka'

Globalising 'Home'

While the issues relating to change and transformation, documented previously, are significant for Māori *kapa haka* in Melbourne with respect to their perceptions of their culture and sense of identity as Māori, other issues have recently come to the fore as being equally relevant to *kapa haka*. Globalisation and ownership are issues that have affected *kapa haka* performance in recent years, particularly the performance of *Ka Mate*, more commonly known as the 'Rugby Haka'. Issues such as exploitation of *kapa haka*, inappropriate use and misuse, the role of the media and traditional ownership have been raised in the world media and by Māori authorities in New Zealand. The situation of the Māori in Melbourne and the issues that they are dealing with are local manifestations of wider global issues that are affecting Māori culture. The occurrences are not isolated geographically to Melbourne or New Zealand, but occur as a direct result of the globalisation of Māori culture. This chapter will explore the issues relating to globalisation and ownership, particularly in relation to the *haka Ka Mate*, and discuss the rights of traditional owners with respect to these issues of ownership by examining three examples of exploitation and misuse of *Ka Mate* since 1996. This chapter will also examine the concerns of the Māori community with respect to the changing demands on *kapa*

haka performance as a result of Māori migration and the globalisation of their culture.

The Māori have seen their culture brought close to extinction by government policy earlier this century, only to be revived and made stronger with the emergence of the *Mana Motuhake*, 'Separate Power', political party during the early 1980s (Kelsey 1984). Combined with the support of then Prime Minister Norman Kirk, and the election of the late Matiu Rata, the first elected Māori politician, the Māori political machine gained strength throughout the 1970s. This led to a new found awareness of their rights and a pride in their culture, culminating in political rallies. One incident is particularly relevant to this discussion, the *He Taua* incident at the University of Auckland in 1979. The '*He Taua* Incident' happened in response to the annual 'capping stunt', a mock *haka*, performed by group of non-Māori engineering students at Auckland University. Angered by what they considered to be a denigration of their traditions, a group of Māori students who called themselves *He Taua*, 'War Party', then confronted the engineering students. Violence erupted and riot police were subsequently called in to quell the unrest.

> Within five minutes, *He Taua* brought to an end decades of cultural violence which ten years of letter writing had failed to achieve. They were charged with riot and serious assault. Their defence was a cultural one based on the sanctity of the *haka* and their right to defend that cultural heritage. Almost all were convicted. (Kelsey 1984:20)

Despite the conviction of those involved, the *He Taua* protest ended the annual capping stunt and reasserted Māori ownership of those elements of their culture that had been appropriated by the wider *pakeha* society of New Zealand. Central to these protests was the exploitation and trivialising of Māori tradition and identity – and

the essence of Māori identity is the *haka*, in particular the so-called 'rugby *haka*', *Ka Mate*.

Ka Mate

The most famous *haka* is *Ka Mate*, also known as 'the Rugby *haka*' or the 'All Blacks *haka*'. *Ka Mate* is a *haka ngeri*, not a war dance as generally believed and touted by the media, although its connections with war are obvious when its origin is considered. Te Rauparaha, a famous warrior chief of the *Ngāti Toa* tribe, created it to celebrate his escape from capture and death at the hands of his enemies, the *Ngāti Tuwharetoa*. At that time the *Ngāti Toa* lands stretched from Porirua, north of Wellington, to near the town of Levin. While on the run from his enemies, Te Rauparaha sought aid from his ally Te Wharerangi. Te Rauparaha was forced to hide in a *kumara* pit, while Te Wharerangi's wife, Te Rangikoaea, sat over the entrance to the pit, possibly to shield him from the incantations of his pursuers. In Māori belief female genitals produce negative energy, thereby neutralizing evil or bad influences (Barrow 1984). This is also the reason that all Māori door lintel carvings are female. Te Rauparaha uttered the words "*Ka mate*! *Ka mate*! ('I die! I die!')", under his breath as the *Ngāti Tuwharetoa* arrived. When his ally Te Wharerangi suggested to Te Rauparaha's pursuers that the *Ngāti Toa* chief had left the village, he murmured "*Ka ora*! *Ka ora*! ('I live! I live!')". But when they remained unconvinced he muttered "*Ka mate*! *Ka mate*!" again. When his enemies finally left, convinced that he had in fact fled northwest towards Taranaki, he cried out "*Ka ora*! *Ka ora*! *Tenei te tangata puhuruhuru nana nei i tiki mai whakawhiti te ra*!" ('I live! I live! For this is the hairy man who has fetched the sun and caused it to shine again!'). The "hairy man", *tangata puhuruhuru*, refers to Te Wharerangi, who was, apparently, a particularly hairy individual. An alternative explanation is

that *puhuruhuru* ('covered with hair') does not refer to Te Wharerangi but is a reference to Te Rangikoaea's pubic hair, as it was her genitals that shielded him from the evil intent of his pursuers (Pouwhare. K. Pers. comm. 5 August 1999).

The late Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones, the noted Māori scholar, wrote the following translation. The archaic style of the translation used by Dr Te Hurinui Jones is, perhaps, indicative of the formality of speech associated with a Māori chief exhorting his troops to greater valour on the battlefield. Dr Pei Te Hurinui Jones was the leading Māori scholar of his day, so respected by Māori that the consensus among Māori is that this is a true and accurate translation (Hallett. G. Pers. comm. 9 March 1999). Certainly, the presentation of a speech at a *hui* or *pōwhiri* is accompanied by much formality, and the structure of the oratory includes repetition that reinforces an idea or image. Therefore, the archaic English used in Te Hurinui Jones' translation may be the closest to an accurate rendition of the Māori version (see Examples 9 and 10 on accompanying video cassette and Track 4 on accompanying audio cassette).

Example 7.1: *Ka Mate* (Composed: Te Rauparaha)

Kikiki!
Kokoko!
Kei waniwania taku hika;
Kei tara-wahia!
Kei te rua i te karokaro
Hei pounga rahui!
He uira ki te rangi!
Ketekete mai hoki to poro kai-riri;
'Mau au, e Koro, e?
'I a, ka wehi au, ka mataku!'
Ko wai te tangata kia rere ure?
Tirohanga nga rua rerarera
Hei a kuri ka kamukamu
Ka mate! Ka mate!
Ka ora! Ka ora!
Ka mate! Ka mate!
Ka ora! Ka ora!
Tenei te tangata puhuruhuru

Nana nei te tiki mai
I whakawhiti te ra!
Upane! Upane!
Upane! Ka Upane!
Whiti te ra!

Translation: Dr. Pei Te Hurinui Jones

Solo: Let your valour arise!
Let your temper rage!
Chorus: We'll ward off the desecrating touch;
We'll ward off the impious hand;
We'll ne'er let the foe
Outrage our cherished ones!
We'll guard our women and our maidens;
And be thou, O Leader, our boundary Pillar

Solo: For ye all, I'll defy the lightning of the Heavens!
Chorus: The foe, he will stand frustrated;
In his mad and impotent rage!

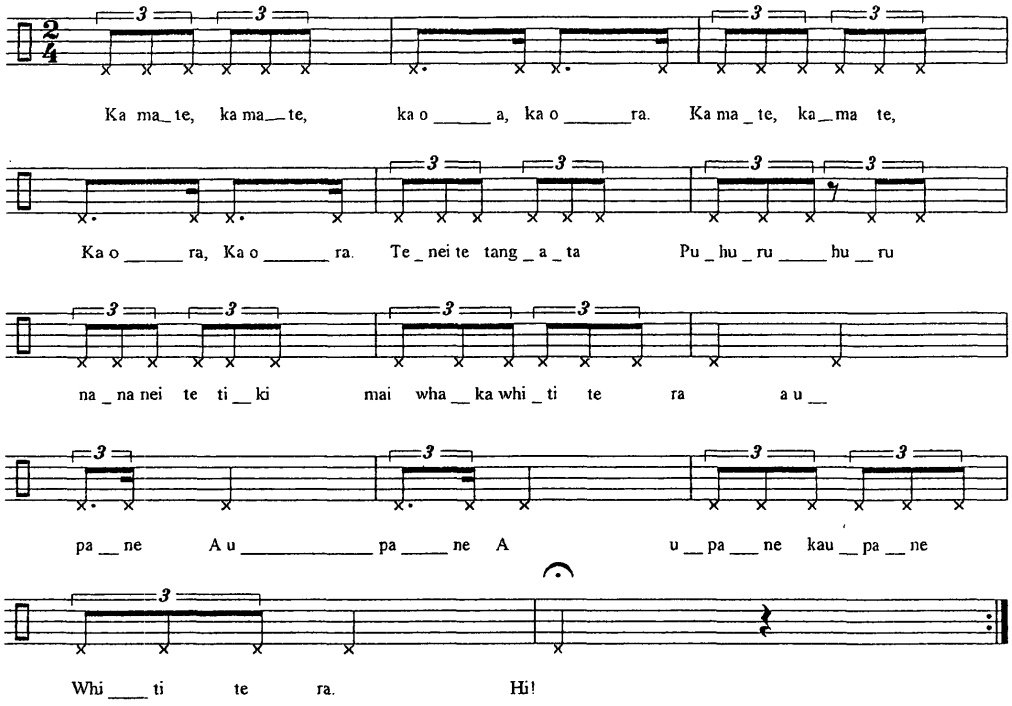
Solo: Mine ears will then be spared
The maiden's despairing cry
'Will ye, O Sir, possess me?
The thought it makes me quail'
Chorus: Who, in his manhood will stand affrighted;
Or in his terror, flee?
For he will surely perish
And in the refuse pit will lie
As food for the dogs to gnaw with relish!

Solo: Avaunt, O Death! Avaunt, O Death!
Chorus: Ah, 'tis life! 'tis life!
Solo: Avaunt, O Death! Avaunt, O Death!
Chorus: Ah, 'tis life! 'tis life!

Behold!! There stands the hairy man
Who will cause the sun to shine!
Solo: One upward step! Another upward step!
Chorus: One last upward step; Then step forth!
Into the Sun, the Sun that shines!

Transcription 7.1: *Ka Mate*

Transcribed: D. Marshall 2001



Ka Mate, as it is performed today, is a men's only *haka*, although women sing in the background and perform a modified version of the men's gestures. The *kaea tane* calls the long introduction to the chant and the men respond. The main body of the chant follows, with the *kaea tane* taking the solo part. He calls "*Ka mate, ka mate*" and the *rōpū* responds "*Ka ora, ka ora*". All the men chant from "*tenei te tangata*". In mixed gender performances, the body of the chant will be repeated, with the men performing alone the first time, and the women joining in on the repeat. The gestures are generally fixed, with the men slapping their thighs on "*Ka mate, ka mate*", and pulling their elbows back to their sides, with their arms at right angles on "*Ka ora, ka ora*". They may *wiri* while performing this gesture. The

gestures that follow include raising their fists, slapping their chests and gesturing towards the audience. The performers *takahia* throughout the entire performance, but the stamping is more forceful than in other genres. The men may also *pūkana* and *whētero*. The women join in only on the repeat, and only chant with the *rōpū*. Their gestures are modified versions of the men's, as women do not slap their thighs and chests, solely providing a supporting role in the *haka*[32].

Known around the world as 'the rugby *haka*', *Ka Mate* has become synonymous with the New Zealand Rugby team, the All Blacks, and their pre-match ritual. Formally adopted by the All Blacks in 1905, *Ka Mate* has become very much a pan-Māori *haka*, and can be witnessed anywhere that Māori gather. The New Zealand Native Team performed the first rugby *haka* during the 1888-89 tour of the United Kingdom (New Zealand Rugby Museum 2001), although it has not been documented which *haka* was performed. It wasn't until the overseas tour in 1905 by the 'Originals' that the name "All Blacks" was first used, and it was on this tour that *Ka Mate* became established as the pre-match *haka*. The legendary 'Invincibles' further cemented *Ka Mate* as part of the All Blacks tradition during the 1924 tour. This team was dubbed the 'Invincibles' by virtue of their never having lost a match. A website detailing the history of the All Blacks and the team's link with *Ka Mate* is listed on the World Wide Web. Over the decades, the gestures used by the performers have become standardised, and a jump has been included after the final line "*whiti te ra*". According to Karetu (1993:68), jumping is not part of the traditional *haka* dance style, and *haka* purists, including Karetu, frown upon this development. However, it has become so firmly rooted into the rugby tradition that it continues to be a feature of *Ka Mate* when it is performed by the All Blacks.

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[32] An attempt by the Aotearoa Festival committee to ban women from performing this supporting role in the *haka* in 1980 resulted in a boycott by several groups and an act of open

By the 1950s, *Ka Mate* had become a symbol of a wider New Zealand identity for many individuals and sporting teams, both Māori and non-Māori, who travelled and lived abroad. It identified the performers' place of origin, and was even used in secondary schools in New Zealand. Far from being regarded as being an exclusively Māori tradition, it was viewed by the dominant *pākehā* as symbol of New Zealand. Many *pākehā* schoolboys grew up performing *Ka Mate* at their schools, and this tradition continued until the 1970s, culminating in the *He Taua* incident at Auckland University (Murray 1999). According to Murray, *Ka Mate* is no longer viewed by *pākehā* as their property, but is regarded as a Māori icon, although it continues to be performed by mixed groups. Members of the Melbourne Māori community use *Ka Mate* frequently at Regional competitions to welcome performers when they enter. Hosts may perform *Ka Mate* to welcome guests to formal meetings. Alternatively, it may be used as a response to a performance. The enthusiasm and volume of the *haka* can be intimidating for the uninitiated, who could be forgiven for thinking that a war could break out at any minute. At the 1998 Regional Festival, *Ka Mate* was performed no less than ten times by the audience to express support and encouragement for the performers on stage. On this use Karetu says,

> ... it can send a chill up the spine when performed spontaneously by a host of people who might be using it to welcome guests, to endorse remarks made by orators or to give vent to strong feelings. (1993:68)

Both men and women can be involved in a *haka* but there are distinctively different male and female actions. Typically male actions during a *haka* performance include a wide legged stance, chest and thigh slapping, kneeling and beating the floor or ground with their fists, shaking of fists and *whētero*. Women

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defiance by a female adjudicator, who argued that both men and women traditionally

retain an upright posture and perform gentler versions of the men's actions. For example, instead of beating their chests they fold their arms in front of their breasts and *wiri*. There are various social tribal taboos on women performing such dances and handling particular weapons, such as *taiaha*, although these taboos vary from tribe to tribe. While these taboos are generally known within the Māori and wider New Zealand community, they are not necessarily known and understood outside, and this ignorance can lead to misuse, as demonstrated in 1997 when the Spice Girls joined in an impromptu performance of *Ka Mate* on stage in Bali (cf. p. 228). It is widely perceived that the Māori are fiercely possessive of their culture, and take umbrage at any perceived attempts by outsiders to exploit aspects of their culture for financial gain.

Since the early 1990s there have been at least three instances where the issues of taboo or commercial exploitation of Māori culture have been observed in the media and, interestingly, all three cases have involved *Ka Mate*. Each time, acknowledged Māori authorities have come forward to denounce the abuse. It would be true to say that most Māori know *Ka Mate* and that many non-Māori only know of one *haka*, *Ka Mate*, and that for these non-Māori *Ka Mate* is synonymous with, and therefore representative of, all things Māori. It is most likely for this reason that *Ka Mate* has become the most widely used and abused icon of Māori culture. Even Karetu notes that:

> *Ka Mate* has since become the most performed, the most maligned, the most abused of all haka.... Many sports teams and individuals travelling from Aotearoa abroad tend to include *Ka Mate* in their repertoires as an indication of their place of origin. ... *Ka Mate* will continue to be performed by many who know nothing of its background or meaning. (1993:68)

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participated in the performance of *haka* (cf. p. 149).

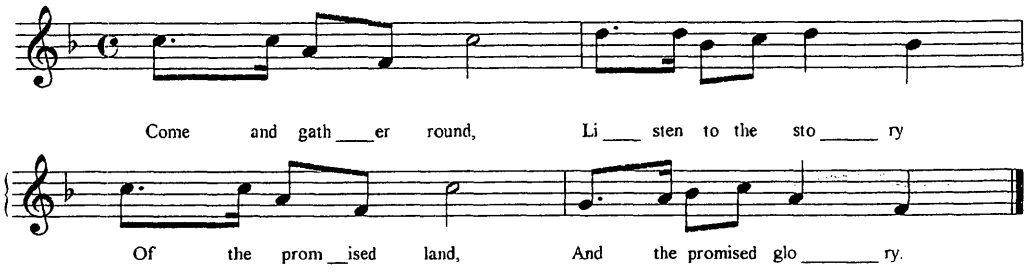
Ka Mate as a Commodity

Karetu's observation with respect to the performance of *Ka Mate* has been confirmed on at least three occasions in the past decade. In 1997, Coca-Cola in the USA commissioned a series of advertisements for its 1998 advertising campaign, specifically targetted to males aged 20-29. The brief to the advertising agency was that the commercials should be irreverent, fun, and have an unusual twist (White, K. Pers. comm. 18 June 1998). The result was three commercials, two to be screened worldwide during the summer months, and the third produced for screening during winter. The summer campaigns featured young men dune-surfing and engaging in a water fight respectively, and the winter commercial showed a group of men playing rugby with watermelons. Simply dubbed *Watermelons* by the advertisers, the commercial was produced somewhere in the United Kingdom. However, the opening sequence of the commercial featured the rugby players performing the chorus section of the *haka Ka Mate* in an All Blacks style pre-match challenge. The song *Let's Learn Gaelic* (see Transcription 7.2 below) accompanies the footage of the actual rugby game, and has no obvious relationship to the *haka*. This commercial was screened worldwide in its entirety. However, an edited version was produced exclusively for broadcast in New Zealand. Possibly fearing a backlash from outraged Māori, Coca-Cola had the *haka* sequence edited out prior to launching its winter campaign in New Zealand. Even so, they did not escape this potential Māori backlash entirely. Both Coca-Cola South Pacific and McCann-Erikson, the Sydney based advertising agency employed by Coca-Cola South Pacific, received complaints from outraged Māori in Australia (White, K. Pers. comm. 18 June 1998). This appropriation of *Ka Mate* in an advertising campaign most likely resulted from the *haka*'s association with rugby, and illustrates the global influence of *Ka Mate* in the sporting world. This immediate association by a world audience may well have

been behind the concept of the commercial, and the desire to link *Ka Mate*, an icon of both rugby[32], with its 'manly' image, and Māori culture, with the image of Coca-Cola.

Transcription 7.2: *Let's Learn Gaelic*

Transcribed: D. Marshall 1998



Ka Mate had been at the centre of a storm of controversy just twelve months prior to the screening of *Watermelons*. In April 1997 the British pop group Spice Girls performed at a promotional concert in Bali. Broadcast on Bali television, footage aired at the time showed the girls on stage performing *Ka Mate* in full rugby style, complete with wide legged stance and thigh slapping. Soon the 120-strong audience, men and women, had joined in. The incident caused uproar in New Zealand, with their behaviour variously described as a "denigration of a people's

[32] Coca-Cola also owns the rights to the beverage 'L & P', another icon from New Zealand. Originally bottled in Paeroa, a rural town north of Rotorua, 'L &P' was made from lemon juice and the local mineral water (Lemon and Paeroa, hence 'L & P'). In 1907, Coca-Cola bought out 'L & P' and had the pipes from the mineral springs in Paeroa capped to prevent

culture" (*Ngā Kōrero*, May 1997), "totally inappropriate" (*E! Online News*, April 1997) and "not acceptable" (*MTV Newz Gallery*, April 1997). Willie Jackson, a Māori cultural advocate in New Zealand, responded:

> The Spice Girls are on dangerous territory by rubbishing our culture, and worse still, mocking our haka. We're sick of people bastardizing our culture, and we have ways of dealing with them. (*E! Online News*)

In an apology, Spice Girls' manager Bart Cools explained that the Spice Girls were responding to two New Zealand men in the audience. They had not intended to mock Māori culture and were unaware that they would cause offence (*The Kiwi News Overseas,* April 1997,p.3).

Within four months of the Spice Girls incident, Sirius Music, a Melbourne-based recording company, produced a techno-dance CD titled *The Haka*. Using a recording of *Ka Mate* by an unidentified Māori man from Sydney, the producers sampled the *haka*, producing a series of dance tracks for use in nightclubs around the country. The CD caused a small stir when released in New Zealand, but the producer, Adrian Marchesani, defended his decision to exploit *Ka Mate*, citing the work of French duo Deep Forest and their self-titled album in which they sampled music from many indigenous cultures. When it was pointed out that Deep Forest had sampled material from recordings that they had subsequently failed to credit and had erroneously cited the origins of one of the songs (Zemp 1996), (Mills 1996), Marchesani responded that there was money to be made from such recordings. He also argued that if he hadn't sampled *Ka Mate* and marketed it, then someone else would have (Marchesani, A. Pers. comm. 6 August 1997).

The CD itself comprises four tracks. All four tracks are similar rhythmically, with the same relentless 4/4 electronic percussive patterns. The first

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access to the Paeroa mineral water. 'L & P' is now manufactured in Auckland from

three tracks are called *The Haka*. Track 1 is sub titled '*Everybody Haka' Mix* and runs for three minutes and thirty-three seconds. Track 2 is the extended '*Everybody Haka' Mix*, running for five minutes and twenty-nine seconds. Track 3 is sub titled '*Native Mix'* and is identical to Track 1 except for the occasional overdubbed recording of a large crowd cheering. Why this is dubbed '*Native Mix'* is unclear. Track 4 is called *Club Haka* and sub titled '3AM Mix'. *Club Haka* is somewhat different from the three preceding tracks, opening with the cheering and a male voice exhorting the crowd, "I want all yous [sic] to get up on your feet. I want all yous to get up on your feet. Get up on your feet. Get up on your feet". The background cheering continues as part of *Ka Mate* is sung, then altered in the rap 'scratchy record' style. The percussion and rhythm remain the same, but the synthesized sounds are different, reminiscent of the sound of the 1970s synthesized hit *Popcorn*. *Club Haka* runs for six minutes and fifty-eight seconds.

Example 7.2: *Everybody Haka* Mix (from *The Haka*) Duration 3'33"

(Track 3 on accompanying audio cassette)

Au toru rawara waurau
Kia ru te ringa paki a waewae takahia
Kia piro rai hoki
Ka mate, ka mate ka ora ka ora
(with echo) *Hi*!
(2 bar 'music' intro)
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Hi! *Ka mate, ka mate Hi*!
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
(change rhythm, 8 bar 'music' fill)0
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
(change rhythm)
Tenei te tangata puhuruhuru
A upane ka upane
Tenei te tangata puhuruhuru

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carbonated water, sugar and 'flavours'.

A upane ka upane
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Au toru rawara waurau
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Au toru rawara waurau
(change rhythm)
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
(change rhythm)
Nana nei i tiki mai whakawhiti te ra
A upane ka upane
Nana nei i tiki mai whakawhiti te ra
A upane ka upane
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Au toru rawara waurau
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Au toru rawara waurau
Hi!
(2-bar fill)
Kiaru te
Hi!
(2-bar fill)
Ka mate, ka mate ka ora ka ora
Hi!
(change rhythm)
Kiaru te
Hi!
Ka mate, ka mate ka ora ka ora
Hi!
(2-bar fill)
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
Everybody, everybody, everybody *haka*
(glissando rush of sound/roar of crowd)
Tenei te tangata puhuruhuru
A upane ka upane
Tenei te tangata puhuruhuru
A upane ka upane
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Au toru rawara waurau
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Au toru rawara waurau
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!
Au toru rawara waurau
Hi! Ka mate, ka mate Hi!

Au toru rawara waurau
(with echo and reverb) *Hi!*

The *Sunday Star Times*, an Auckland newspaper, printed a report on July 13, 1997. Titled "Song and dance over Aussie haka", it takes a distinctly unbiased approach when interviewing the concerned parties, primarily Adrian Marchesani and several Māori observers. Marchesani is quoted as saying, "What we're doing is in the same vein as what Paul Simon did for African music. He revived interest in African music and culture. This could do the same for Māori". However, Willy Jackson, Māori cultural advocate and record producer, was not impressed: "They're just pillaging our culture. It's happening around the world and now here". What Marchesani failed to appreciate was that his work was not the same as Paul Simon's. Paul Simon worked within an existing popular music genre, *mbaqanga*, and collaborated with the South African musicians on his album (Meintjes 1990). Simon was working within an existing convention, creating new songs using a musical genre that had already been invented and performed by the musicians with whom he collaborated. His collaboration assisted the musicians by increasing their global exposure, and in the process, all the artists involved made money from sales of their recordings. Marchesani, on the other hand, recorded a traditional Māori chant, performed by an uncredited Māori man dubbed 'Māori Chief', sampled it, rearranged the lyrics and produced a recording that bore no resemblance to the original version, and the only ones to receive any of the profits from sales of the recording were Marchesani and his company, Sirius Music. The Māori observers were angered, not just because Marchesani turned a *haka* into a piece of techno-funk dance music, but because he used *Ka Mate*, the one *haka* that is viewed as central to Māori identity both in New Zealand and abroad, the one *haka* that has been so commonly used by non-Māori as a symbol for New Zealand.

With *kapa haka* viewed by Māori as such an integral part of their identity, the use, or misuse, of any part of this tradition needs to be examined with respect to both the Māori view and its perception by outsiders. The Māori have used *Ka Mate* outside of its original context, as a *haka* celebrating the victory of a chief over his enemies, for many years. It is regularly used in concert performances, as a response by the audience to *rōpū* on stage during competitions, at celebrations and at rugby matches. It has also been used regionally in Australia. *Ka Mate* is used in the international sporting arena by the All Blacks which, though the New Zealand rugby team, is not an exclusively Māori team. The use of *Ka Mate* by non-Māori at a global level, either intentionally for commercial reasons, in the case of Coca-Cola and Sirius Music, or unintentionally, by the Spice Girls, raises a number of issues. While *Ka Mate* will remain inextricably linked with the All Blacks and rugby, the issue of ownership and misappropriation needs to be examined. While it is no longer possible to question Marchesani about his understanding the protocols of 'borrowing' *Ka Mate* (Sirius Music is no longer in existence), there can be little doubt that the advertising agency that produced *Watermelons* understood the implications of using *Ka Mate* in its advertising campaign. Instead of seeking permission to use *Ka Mate* from the relevant tribes, they relied on the fact that oral music belongs in the public domain and is not covered in international copyright law (Mills 1996), (Seeger 1996). They then protected themselves from the financial backlash by screening an edited version of the commercial in New Zealand.

Jackson's observation about exploitation of indigenous music around the world raises an issue that is central to an ongoing debate in ethnomusicology. In a traditional context, permission, generally verbal, needs to be sought before a song or dance can be performed. On Yap in Micronesia, for example, *churuq*, 'dance-chants', belong to the village for which they were created. If another village wishes

to perform a *churuq* that belongs to a different village, then permission and appropriate payment, usually in the form of *yar*, 'shell money', and food, must be arranged. In New Zealand, the All Blacks have permission from the appropriate tribes, primarily the *Ngāti Toa* and the *Ngāti Tuwharetoa*, to perform *Ka Mate* (Karetu 1993:68), although in June 2000, the *Ngāti Toa* tribe lodged a demand with the New Zealand rugby board for $216, 924 for the use of *Ka Mate*[34].

Western composers and songwriters have been recording and arranging folk songs since the nineteenth century. When, however, does this become exploitation? Percy Grainger (1882-1961) collected English and Scandinavian folk songs, and Dvorak (1841-1904) and Sibelius (1865-1957), among others, drew inspiration respectively from Czech and Finnish folk tunes for their compositions. More recently modern composers and songwriters such as David Fanshawe and Paul Simon have achieved fame and even notoriety through their recordings and arrangements of indigenous music. Originally an arranger of English folk tunes, Fanshawe is perhaps best known for *African Sanctus*, a choral work using the words of the Latin Mass. Fanshawe spent some months travelling Africa collecting recordings of many tribal songs. He then used these recordings to create a backing tape that accompanies the choral performance. A minor composer who worked mostly for television, *African Sanctus* made Fanshawe famous. Some years later he tried to repeat his success, this time with another large-scale work titled *Pacific Mariner*. Released by Polygram in 1989, *Pacific Mariner* took the form of a collection of vignettes from over the Pacific region, including New Zealand, interspersed with a number of Fanshawe's own compositions and arrangements. The recording was deleted from the available list some years later. Between 1978 and

[34] In 2001, a new *haka*, created especially for the Māori rugby team was released in Rotorua (*nzherald.co.nz*, July 23, 2001). It was unclear from the report if this *haka* was for the

1988 Fanshawe visited many of the islands in Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. He brought along a film crew to document his work, which was then edited for use as a television documentary called *Pacific Mariner*, and broadcast in Australia on the ABC in 1989. Footage of his attempts to record a performance in Tahiti shows him encountering a problem with flat batteries in his tape recorder. In the middle of the dance he stopped the performance, explaining that he needed to replace his batteries. He then asked that the performers wait until he had fixed the problem, and then start the performance again. He made his mark in Micronesia in a similar manner.

An Australian ethnomusicologist, visiting the region at the end of 1989, found herself the subject of considerable scrutiny by both scholars and locals who questioned her motives in coming to the islands (Rubenstein, D. Pers. Comm. 28 December 1989). The underlying concern was that she would appear once, behave inappropriately and, with a lack on sensitivity for the performers and the performance, and then disappear with the recordings, never to be heard of again. The story from Micronesia was that on one island, Fanshawe had requested permission to record a Mass, but had another problem with flat batteries. He then interrupted the priest and requested that Mass be started over once the problem had been rectified. He was asked to leave the island (Thall, A. Pers. comm. 22 January 1990). In 1995, Fanshawe released two CDs of recordings made during his Pacific travels, *Spirit of Micronesia* and *Spirit of Polynesia*. Both CDs consist exclusively of Fanshawe's field recordings. Each track has some limited documentation concerning place, the artists and the background to each recording.

In contrast, Paul Simon's *Graceland* album was produced in a studio rather than as the product of fieldwork. Fascinated by the sound of *mbaqanga*, or township

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exclusive use a particular team or for rugby teams in general. It was also unclear whether this

jive, a popular music genre from the streets of Soweto in South Africa, which he described as "familiar and foreign-sounding at the same time" (Simon 1989), Simon arranged to make an album with several *mbaqanga* bands. The result was *Graceland*, an album that put *mbaqanga* onto the international music market. The bands featured on the album already had contracts with local recording studios but because of their collaboration with Paul Simon they became international artists. This led to bands such as *Ladysmith Black Mambazo* securing a place in the 'world music' market. The album itself gets its distinctive sound from the instrumentation, rhythms (some of which are a little reminiscent of zydeco), and its extensive use of harmony and African vocal technique. Even so, the album has a more polished feel in spite of the gritty subject matter of some of the songs, and Simon is credited with writing the lyrics and music for seven, and the lyrics of another four out of the eleven tracks. He is credited as collaborating with African composers for the music of these remaining tracks. He also owns the copyright on all the tracks, which raises issues of ownership of material (Meintjes 1990). Why does Simon own the copyright on the entire album when he collaborated and co-wrote most of the material? Why don't Simon and his co-writers own the copyright on *Graceland* jointly? Simon has been criticised for the *Graceland* project, and issues such as the ownership of the material only serve to reinforce this criticism and to lend weight to suggestions that the co-writers have been exploitated.

Issues of globalisation and ownership were raised at the 1999 conference of the International Association for the Study of Popular Music, where many scholars discussed issues relating to indigeneity, locality, identity, globalisation, difference and commoditisation of styles of popular music. The keynote paper, 'Anxiety and Celebration: Mapping the Discourses of World Music', by Stephen Feld, explored

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haka would replace *Ka Mate* as the pre-match *haka* for the All Blacks.

issues of globalisation and commoditisation of indigenous musics and their mass marketing under the banner of 'world music', with the potential for commercial exploitation and increasing cultural homogeneity. Feld expressed concern that the 'world music' phenomenon is "shaping a kind of consumer-friendly multiculturalism", but "the existence and success of 'world music' returns to one of globalization's basic economic clichés: the drive for more and more market niches". In the drive to secure a place in this market, indigenous artists may be forced to compromise their artistic integrity and produce marketable material rather than music that is true to their traditions. Feld's concern is that this phenomenon could eventually disempower traditional music by turning it into a commodity for the wider world market, with artists neglecting those elements of their musical heritage perceived as less appealing to the global audience.

Music as a Commodity

Changes in technology and the global market have had a significant impact on the way many products are produced and marketed. Increasingly music is becoming a commodity, to be mass-produced, marketed, distributed globally and sold. With the development of the internet, composers and musicians can digitally produce their own recordings with the aid of computers and CD burners, and then market and distribute their recordings globally via the internet. Computer technology can be, and has been used to digitally sample pre-existing recordings for use by other composers. Increasingly music produced by the major recording companies is driven by the amount of money generated in sales, and the record producers select the groups and music made available to consumers, manipulating the industry by creating bands and vocal groups with a particular look and sound. This was especially evident during the 1990s with a plethora of 'boy bands' and 'girl bands'

(Nsync, Five, Spice Girls), which were brought together via auditions by studio executives to cater to a particular section of the marketplace. The music had a uniform, banal, slick, highly produced studio sound. Originality and musicality was never an issue, as commercial viability remained the bottom line[35].

Alongside the changes being wrought by the globalisation of the music industry and the easy access to music from all over the world come ethical issues related to misappropriation of indigenous music for commercial gain, ownership and copyright. Up until the 1990s debate in ethnomusicology had largely ignored this problem.

> ... no major figure in the field of ethnomusicology ever defined the object of our study in terms of rights and obligations, conflict, or adjudication. The issues simply were not raised by our 'ancestors' and have rarely been part of our theoretical reflections since. (Seeger 1996:346)

The issue of copyright, ownership and the rights of the traditional owners is one that has yet to be resolved, particularly where there is a commercial interest involved. Understandably, these matters have generated much debate and discussion among ethnomusicologists in recent years. A 'Copyright and Ownership Study Group' has been established under the auspices of the International Council for Traditional Music, and a part of their 1995 international conference was dedicated to ownership and copyright. The following year, they devoted part of their journal the *Yearbook for Traditional Music* to papers on this subject that had been presented at the conference. The most significant feature of these papers is the close involvement

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[35] More recently this phenomenon has been exploited in Australia with the 'reality-TV' television series *Popstars*, in which hundreds of 'wannabe' popstars from all over the country audition for a place in a pop group. The first series, aired in early 2000, produced Bardot, a five-member girl group *à la* Spice Girls, which produced one album and disappeared from the charts. The second series, which screened in early 2001, produced yet another five member pop group, three females and two males, called Scandal'us. By early 2002, the band had had limited success. As with their overseas counterparts, originality and

of ethnomusicologists both with the traditional owners and the record companies (Zemp 1996). Indeed, the ethnomusicologist who has collected and documented the recordings often becomes the go-between, as it were, for both parties, raising ethical and professional issues for ethnomusicologists worldwide. Should they allow the music that they have collected with the co-operation of the traditional owners to be used for commercial reasons – advertising campaigns, popular music recordings, and the like? If so, how much money should they request in exchange, as money is always the bottom line in such a venture. To whom does the money belong? To the collector, who invested in the equipment and who produced the recordings? To the performers, who gave their time and expertise to make the music for the recordings? To the original composer, if he or she is still alive? What about the misuse of certain genres such as religious or spiritual song? And if the ethnomusicologist refuses to grant permission, who or what is to stop the music being used without authorization? After all, the contents of the recordings belong in the public domain and are not protected by current copyright law.

There have been a number of documented cases in the 1990s where composers and record producers have misappropriated music from the Pacific region. As a result of these events, one issue that is being debated more and more in ethnomusicology is the legal and ethical responsibility associated with ownership of traditional musical forms. The most celebrated of these cases involves the highly successful French group Deep Forest and their self-titled album. Zemp (1996:36–56) discussed this case in detail, drawing on his experiences as an ethnomusicologist acting as a go-between for traditional owners and commercial interests and his personal involvement in the Deep Forest controversy. He wrote:

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musicality are not the issue. None of the performers is an instrumentalist, and none of them writes their own material for the group. Again, commercial viability remains the bottom line.

> More and more, ethnomusicological research and commercial exploitation are getting intertwined. While most ethnomusicologists probably make field recordings, deposit them in archives, participate in radio programs, and sometimes release parts of them on commercial labels, few have publicly discussed the legal and ethical implications. (Zemp 1996:36)

Zemp's discussion of the obligations of the ethnomusicologist to the subjects of his or her research is timely, and invites further discussion. His paper was published as one of three in Volume 28 of the *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, all of which dealt with issues of traditional ownership and copyright. The issue of ownership of any recordings made during ethnomusicological fieldwork is delicate, and Zemp discusses this and asks whether, ultimately, ownership of the music belongs to the collector, the musician or the composer, and whether the 'music' is the content of the recordings or the recordings themselves. The central issue of Zemp's article, however, relates to the misappropriation and misuse of traditional music. This has been an issue for many years, and there has been an ongoing dispute in Māori *kapa haka* with respect to the ownership and performance of *Ka Mate*.

Ownership

The issue of ownership was one of the themes of the 1995 international conference of the International Council for Traditional Music. Copyright lawyer Sherylle Mills dealt with these issues in relation to ethnomusicological research at a session dedicated to ownership. She published her paper the following year (1996:57–86). Mills presented her summary of the current state of copyright law and its shortcomings in relation to non-western ownership. The basis of her discussion revolved around the essential differences between the perceptions of music in different cultures. The cornerstone of copyright law is that a piece of music is created by an individual or small group of people, is documented in a tangible way,

i.e. via notation or a recording, and is an 'original' work, that is created or at least arranged by that person. This view of music has evolved since the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and today is tied up with the fact that the music industry is worth so much – approximately $US62 billion dollars worldwide in 1994, an 11.3% increase on the previous year. This is continuing to climb each year (Mills 1996:58). Piracy, on the other hand, costs between 15% and 20% of the market share each year. Copyright law has been designed to protect artists from the financial loss caused by the unauthorized use of their recordings and music. However, copyright law, as is currently exists, does not protect traditional music and artists as this music does not generally meet the criteria for copyright; that it be created by an individual or small group, be 'tangible' and original. Many non-western musical forms cannot meet these criteria as they are not composed so much as 'captured' in dreams (in indigenous Australian music), or created by non-human life forms such as plants and animals (in certain South American beliefs) (Seeger 1996). Many songs cannot be recorded or written down because of beliefs about death and the spirits of the dead, or because they possess certain powers and should not be heard outside of a given context. Finally, many songs must be passed on unchanged in order to maintain their power or to retain a link with the past, so they cannot be considered as original works as originality is not desirable. So this music is relegated to the public domain where it can be used and abused by any commercial interest that so chooses.

At the 1994 meeting of the nations involved in the Uruguay round of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) talks, a series of anti-bootlegging laws was developed. Though designed specifically to prevent piracy of commercial recordings, these laws provide some protection for traditional artists and communities against the exploitation of their music by making it illegal to record

any live performance without permission from the performers. The copyrightability of the music is irrelevant, and infringement renders the guilty party liable to civil and criminal action, with up to five years imprisonment for a first offence. A new statute also provides protection against digital sampling and clandestine recordings both in the United States and internationally. The laws, however, are not self-policing, and it is up to interested parties to initiate legal action should any violation of these laws be discovered. These laws also impact on field recordings by ethnomusicologists, who must now obtain written authorization when making any field recordings. Unfortunately, traditional music will remain in the public domain while the copyright statutes require an author, tangibility and originality as the distinguishing features that qualify any music for copyright protection; features that, as Seeger (1996) illustrates, are not applicable to all musical forms, particularly those belonging to non-western oral traditions.

Seeger takes the discussion of the issues of ownership and responsibility for recorded music further (1996:87–105). As then-curator of the Smithsonian Institute archive and head of Smithsonian Folkways records, Seeger was well placed to explore the rights and responsibilities of the archive with respect to the music deposited by ethnomusicologists. He is also acutely aware of the limitations of current law in protecting music that does not fit into the conventionally accepted norms. Drawing on examples from his own and others' fieldwork experiences, his discussion centres on specific examples of music and cultures where music is overlaid with extra-musical meanings that disqualify them from protection under current copyright law. Music such as that performed by the Suyá of Brazil is not composed by humans, but is collected by them. Under current copyright law it is impossible to copyright music that is composed by a plant or an animal of the rainforest. Another difficulty in protecting music relates to shifts in the meaning that

is attached to that music. His paper moves on to discuss ethics relating to the necessary evil of producing recordings of music from fieldwork, and issues of compensation and protecting the interests of all parties.

Tribal ownership of songs is an important issue among the Māori. Many *kapa haka* groups in New Zealand are regionally based, and are thus dominated by a specific tribe. These groups can therefore claim a direct link to the past traditions of their tribe. Their *kapa haka* ('performing arts') belong to their tribe and deal with issues and events relating to their tribe. To this end, the *Ngati Toa* tribe, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, has lodged a claim against the New Zealand Rubgy Union for compensation for the use of *Ka Mate*. Their claim is that the use of the *haka* contravenes Māori cultural and intellectual rights and was used without permission or consultation (Morris. Y. Pers. comm. 13 August 2001). On the other hand, those *rōpū* that are based in urban centres with a mixed tribal membership in New Zealand and elsewhere (for example, Melbourne) do not have an unbroken link to one specific tribal tradition, and may possess a multi-tribal membership. For these clubs, ownership and performance of traditional material presents its own problems, which are frequently overcome by the creation of original material for performance.

The issue of ownership and questions of authenticity are equally as relevant for the *kapa haka* clubs in Melbourne, which are in a similar situation to the urban Māori in New Zealand, but for many of these Māori the desire is to learn and perform 'traditional' *kapa haka*. But in a multi-tribal setting which 'tradition', should be taught? The essential difference is that these clubs not only have a multi-tribal but frequently a multi-national membership. In fact, this is the very reason that the founders of *Ngā Hapu Katoa* chose the name, believing that the words *hapu* and *katoa* summed up the membership of the club. Many of the culture clubs have similar membership. Consequently, the pool of knowledge that each club draws

upon is considerably wider that that found in one tribe. For many of the tutors, the solution is to teach from their own tribal tradition, and to supplement their material with original compositions. Aware of the need to cater for the tribal backgrounds of their members, many tutors will also teach *kapa haka* from other tribes, aided by members of their *rōpū* from that particular tribe. Each member of the club is able to contribute their knowledge from their tribe. The people who become the club tutors can teach the music that they learned as children and young adults, and the rest of the club can benefit by developing a much wider repertoire of *kapa haka* than they would back home in New Zealand. But the issue of 'tradition' and ownership of material remains important, and many tutors believe that they have a responsibility to maintain tradition, and this responsibility includes an awareness of appropriate use of song and dance, particularly with respect to traditional ownership. Many of the older 'traditional' songs and dances, such as *mōteatea*, *waiata* and *haka*, remain in the public domain and are open to misuse, as in the case *Ka Mate* discussed above, and even the most well-intentioned action can result in a misunderstanding. There has always been the potential for problems to occur when tutors have attempted to teach *kapa haka* from their own tribe, or from other tribes. Sometimes this has related to the history involved, where a song deals with the deeds of an ancestor of a member of that tribe. In these cases ownership is a significant issue, as performance of that particular song by members of another tribe may be deemed inappropriate. These situations have generally been averted when a responsible tutor seeks advice from those more knowledgeable about the song and its meaning and obtains permission to perform the song from the composer (Roa. L. Pers. comm. 4 January 2000). Other problems may arise when a tutor attempts to break with tradition, either knowingly or in ignorance of acceptable practice, leading to conflict with older or more knowledgeable people. This was observed in early 1999 when

Tangi Tuhi, the men's tutor with *Ngā Hapu Katoa*, taught the men a *haka* medley he had created from *haka* from different tribes. However the traditional genres that still use the old-style chants such as the men's *haka*, the *waiata* and, on some occasions, the *haka poi*, must be performed in their entirety (Dennis, T. Pers. comm. 13 March 1999). Only action songs, choral arrangements and non-traditional *haka poi* using western melodies may be performed as a medley. As previously documented, a visiting *kaumātua* attending the concert stopped the men from completing their performance, expressing outrage at the desecration of tradition. Tangi subsequently resigned as tutor (cf. p. 139).

Change is inevitable in music and culture, and has been at the centre of debate in ethnomusicology and anthropology for several decades. Coplan has documented deliberate and conscious change in African music, and Kartomi and Nettl debated musical change over several years. The decision to change the performance conventions of *kapa haka* is a conscious one, but necessitated by the changing circumstances of the performers. It is entirely possible that the pressure applied by global forces and the 'world music' niche in the music market may produce further changes in the composition and performance of *kapa haka* both here in Melbourne and even in New Zealand.

Plate 14

The most widely used and abused *haka* is *Ka Mate*, first created by *Te Rauparaha* in the early nineteenth century. Best known as the the 'Rugby *Haka*', it has been used in the international sports arena since the 1920s.

Plate 14: Men from *Ngā Hapu Katoa* perform *Ka Mate*. *Springvale Carnivale*, February 1995.
Photo by the author.

Whakawātea 'exit'

Conclusion

The recontextualisation of a culture can occur for any number of reasons, but the main factor in this process appears to be a desire to maintain a link with the absent 'home' of the migrant while establishing a new 'home'. Music and language are invariably the two main mechanisms selected for this recontextualisation, which may be an unconscious action on the part of the individual or group involved. This thesis has documented the situation of the Māori community in Melbourne, examining the process of recontextualisation and the way in which the process alters the meaning of the performance for both the performers and the audience. Foremost in this recontextualisation is the fact that, for many Māori in Melbourne, involvement in culture is a part-time interest, with performers balancing the demands of performance in around the demands of work and family. Musical changes, made for the benefit of both the performer and the audience, have also contributed to the process of recontextualisation. And underlying this is the perception of the performer and what the music means to them.

The recontextualisation of Māori performance in Melbourne has been the result of several factors – migration, multi-tribal performance practice, language loss, and the composition of new material with Australian themes, performance by non-Māori, and the use of *kapa haka* as a tool for teaching culture to English-speaking children. This recontextualisation of performance alters the meaning of that performance, as the expectations, symbolism and the backgrounds of both the

performers and the audience are different. In addition, the context of the performance has changed. *Kapa haka* in Melbourne is not performed by a politically active and culturally powerful group within the society, asserting their traditional rights through the performance. On the contrary, the performers are migrants, members of a minority community, possessing, in many cases, a limited background in their traditional culture. For them, *kapa haka* is about themselves, about finding some sense of their identity and establishing a link with a 'home' that, for many, exists only in their memory. For others, particularly those born here, the meaning is different again, and their motives for participating are, likewise, different. It may be a response to peer pressure (they do it to be with their friends), their parents want them to do it, or because they genuinely enjoy performing (of any kind, *per se*).

Kapa haka is an eminently approachable art form, entertaining and enjoyable to perform. While not initially difficult, there are levels of skill that require practice. *Kapa haka* combines movement, costume, drama, language and song. Children enjoy participating, and culture clubs rely on the teaching of *kapa haka* to perpetuate Māori culture in Melbourne. While it is Māori culture and bears outward similarities to the culture that can be observed in New Zealand, it is also unique and precious because of the people who perform it. They are reinventing their culture in a new and different social reality from the one they left behind. They lack all the advantages of those Māori who have remained in their homeland – government funding, bi-lingual education – but work incredibly hard to create a culture that has meaning for their children. With less than ten per cent of Māori residents speaking Māori, this new *kapa haka* may, for the most part continue to be created using English, with most *rōpū* performing and competing within Australia and only returning to New Zealand as tourists. The context of this performance is, therefore, quite distinct from a similar performance in New Zealand, where it is

indigenous and an expression of both national pride and a sense of place '*in situ*' as it were.

This thesis has not set out to examine the performance practices of *rōpū* in New Zealand, nor is it the intent of this study to compare the performance practices of New Zealand *rōpū* with those of *rōpū* in Australia. There are currently two anthropological studies being undertaken within Australia that address both of these important issues. This thesis has endeavoured to examine the situation of the Māori in Melbourne with respect to their performance and composition and to examine issues that affect them, as migrants, as performers, and as members of an increasingly global society. Many of the issues affecting them are common to all Māori, but others, such as the recontextualisation and re-construction of their culture are, in many ways unique to them, due to the nature of the society in which they now live and work. Each chapter of this thesis has examined a particular aspect of the re-creation of *kapa haka* in Melbourne, discussing the issues and the process of cultural change, musical syncretism, the intentional modification of traditional genres and the controversies associated with such actions, methods of teaching and promoting culture and motivations for involvement in culture in Melbourne. For many Māori, involvement in culture brings them closer to that culture, and to a sense of Māori identity, an identity that they have a need to reinforce through participation in *kapa haka* performance, socialising with other Māori, and, as asserted in the Introduction, the wearing of Māori decorations such as bone carvings, greenstone and *paua* shell jewellery and clothing bearing mythical Māori images. Deprived of regular meaningful contact with their own *whānau* and traditional links with their *iwi* and *katoa*, Māori migrants have created new iwi. These 'defacto' *iwi*, the culture clubs, fulfill the role of *whānau*, offering social and sporting clubs, and providing (limited) opportunities to learn *kapa haka*, *te reo*

Māori, and *kohanga*. Culture clubs are an invented tradition, and are needed because of the changes to traditional Māori lifestyles caused by urbanisation, migration and industrialisation and the increasing isolation from their tribal origins. This is why they have their origins in the cities of New Zealand, and are so significant for Māori in Australia.

In Melbourne, this reconstructed tradition has been taken one step further, replacing the multitude of institutions available to the Māori in New Zealand, but without the level of expertise and funding. The responsibility for the transmission of culture rests with the tutors. Tutors are not employed by the clubs, and they receive no salary for their work. They are people who have some knowledge and an interest in teaching, and the responsibility they have is enormous. The tutor must be choreographer, composer, language teacher and translator. In short, he or she is the cultural articulator, making the culture accessible for people who may know nothing of that culture and may not even be Māori. And it is this very context that changes the meaning of the performance. Through this recontextualisation of all aspects of Māori culture – language, performance, and even the identity of the performers, the meaning of that culture has changed – not just for the Māori, but also for their children and for the audience for whom they perform. Rather than re-creating 'home' the Māori have constructed a new 'home', built on their life experiences. The Māori in Melbourne are endeavouring to assert their identity as Māori, a need, as stated in the Introduction, which is more fundamental to them here in Melbourne, where they are isolated from their heritage, than it would be in New Zealand. Performing *kapa haka* is a mechanism for the creation of this sense of identity, but it is also a statement about place, about the need to create a sense of place and belonging, a place to call 'home'. Māori migrants constantly speak of 'home'. 'Home' is frequently used to describe New Zealand, a place where they were born.

But 'home' is also a spiritual place. The spirits of the Māori do not reside in New Zealand after death, but travel to Hawaiiki, the fabled land of the Māori ancestors. Even the Māori in New Zealand are migrants, yearning for 'home'. For the Māori living in Melbourne, this need to create a 'home' can be reflected in their membership of culture clubs and their participation in culture. The subsequent recontextualisation of *kapa haka* in Melbourne is leading to the creation of a new Māori culture and identity, one that combines aspects of both Māori and Australian influences.

The changes that have occurred in Māori culture during the last century, and more importantly during the last thirty years, are significant. Māori culture has returned from the brink of almost total annihilation and marginalisation, and been the subject of a massive revival in New Zealand. Māori culture has a new clientele, however, and new institutions have been established to ensure its survival, not as an artifact in a museum but as a dynamic part of society. Much of contemporary Māori culture, however, is not 'traditional' Māori culture. On the contrary, contemporary Māori culture retains links with its past, but has essentially been re-constructed to meet the requirements of contemporary society and socio-political beliefs. Each tribe traditionally had its own language and customs. There was no one Māori culture, so contemporary Māori culture is a homogenisation and recontextualisation of many Māori cultures from the past. It is a re-construction. The construction of 'home' is linked with the need to identify with a place, and therefore is linked to the sense of belonging and identity with a group. For the Māori in Melbourne, their link is with two places, Melbourne and New Zealand, so they are re-constructing 'home' in Melbourne using *kapa haka*.

The issue raised by the Hiki Te Kani at the 'Polynesian Night' about debasing tradition is fundamental to the difficulty that Māori in Melbourne currently

face, concerning the accurate preservation and rendition of *kōhanga*, *kapa haka* and *tikanga*. The very issue of preservation lies at the heart of Māori performance, and yet the recontextualisation of a performance essentially changes its meaning, whether the performance is an arrangement, as in the case of the *haka* medley, or a traditional *waiata* from the *Nga Puhi* tribe. *Kaumātua* from other Melbourne clubs were present that night, including the current president of the Polynesian Festival committee, but only the visiting *kaumātua* stood up to defend his *kōhanga*. As a visitor to the Māori community in Melbourne he was unaware that what he had witnessed in the *haka* medley was indicative of the way that the Māori culture was observed and performed across the whole Māori community in Australia, as earlier chapters in this thesis have shown. It is not uncommon for tutors to teach songs and dances from other tribes, or for club members to unwittingly break the rules of the *pōwhiri* ('formal meeting') through ignorance of the social conventions or protocols (Brown. W. Pers. comm. 10 June 1999). While it is up to the *kaumātua* to correct and educate their people, the *kaumātua* in Melbourne do not necessarily have the knowledge or experience in all aspects of Māori culture to remedy the situation. Some Māori believe that their silence in this matter condones the degradation of protocols caused by the ignorance of such matters in the younger members of the community. But there is another way of viewing these changes in the application of Māori traditions in Melbourne: that these changes are beginning to reflect a new way of interpreting Māori traditions in a way that is immediately relevant to the younger generation, born into Australian society, speaking English and surrounded by friends of many nationalities.

At the *hui* at *Te Amorangi* on 23 May 1999, protocols and the role of the young people in keeping these traditions alive were the dominant themes of the discussion. All the *kaumātua* present called for the Māori of Melbourne to turn to

'home', that is New Zealand, for help and expertise in promoting the culture and keeping it alive. One woman reminded the assembly that there is only one Māori people and that they need to be unified by a common language and culture regardless of their distance from their homeland. Many of those assembled agreed with her. Even so, the difficulty for the Māori is in finding common ground. Tribal differences within the clubs and the wider Māori community can mean that there is no one correct way of doing things. The very act of entering the *marae* has associated *tikanga*, and the correct protocol for one tribe may be insulting to another. At present, it is left to the club officials and *kaumātua* to run the formal gatherings, using their own *tikanga*. The younger club members, who may be called upon in years to come, learn by observing their elders.

There has been a movement within the Melbourne Māori community in recent years to educate the young people, particularly those born in Melbourne, formally in *tikanga*. *Kōhanga reo* classes attempt to provide a general education in language, performance and protocols. Such classes, however, are mostly informal and may not run from week to week depending on the other commitments of the people running the classes and the availability of a venue. The Māori community remains fragmented. While much of this disunity may be a result of tribal affiliation, it is mostly related to geography and politics. Unlike many other migrant communities, which may live in close proximity with each other in a particular suburb (for example the Jewish community around Balaclava and the Vietnamese community in North Richmond), the Māori community is scattered throughout Melbourne, with the largest pockets located in the north, near Broadmeadows, in the west, around Altona, and in the southeast, near Dandenong and Frankston (cf. p. 27) Individuals and families live in other areas as well and may be the only Māori in their suburb. The location of the major clubs reflects these demographics and,

consequently, the responsibility for the education of the children falls to members of the clubs in these locations. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Māori community has purchased land for a *marae* but has been unable to build on the land[36]. *Ngā Hapu Katoa* acquired a lease on clubrooms for its own use. Many Māori believe that there is a pressing need for the community to develop facilities for the use of the entire community in order to create a focus for all activities related to the culture. If it does not, then Māori culture will remain isolated within the mainstream and the Māori will continue as a fragmented sub-section of the Melbourne community.

The cultural separation experienced by the Māori because of their migration has been accelerated by the pervasiveness of technology, media and popular culture. No longer a dominant political and cultural force within their home community, they have become isolated from their language and culture and seek to reassert their identity through their music. The connection of music with their social identity as Māori is intensified by their isolation from home, and musical practice, through *kapa haka* performance, maintains that link with an idealised 'home'. Traditional music is being subjected increasingly to global influences via the Internet, radio, television, and the popular music phenomenon, including 'world music'. The immediate, local concern of maintaining links with the perceived past has become

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[36] The *marae* has become a sensitive issue in the Māori community and is viewed by many as a pipe dream. Part of the problem may remain with health issues relating to the use of the land. The community would be unable to hold *tangi*, 'funerals', on the site (Hallett. G. Pers. comm. 9 March 1999). Another issue is the location of the land. The property is located at Digger's Rest, and was purchased because of its proximity to Tullamarine Airport, allowing visitors from New Zealand easy access to the *marae*. It is not, however, easily accessible from the southeastern suburbs, being close to a two hour drive from these areas, and the most direct route to the land has been recently upgraded and is now subject to a toll. As such many Māori living around Dandenong and Frankston feel disadvantaged and have been agitating for the community to sell the land and purchase something in a more central location. Even so, many Māori believe that their own community centre will not only help to unite the community, but provide opportunities for the education of their children, offer sporting facilities and a focus for their social and cultural activities. Given a location that is 'Māori land' may also reinforce a sense of Māori identity that tends to get lost among the daily grind of office and factory, school and family.

especially important to the Māori in Melbourne. *Kapa haka* is the preferred mechanism for this process, most likely by virtue of its multi-faceted nature, employing language, music, movement and uniform. *Kapa haka* provides an immediately recognisable, visually arresting statement about the performers and their identity, history and origins. Even so, there have been innovations in the music produced by the Māori, suggesting that, while there will continue to be common threads between the Melbourne Māori and those in New Zealand, there will also be differences between the groups. Continued migration of Māori from New Zealand to Australia and back, however, may counteract many of these differences, as will the availability of technology such as video recordings of footage of performances in New Zealand, which are freely available and are exchanged between family members on both sides of the Tasman.

Māori culture is a dynamic force in Melbourne – dynamic and changing. Athough this study finished soon after *Ngā Hapu Katoa* stopped performing, Māori performance in Melbourne continues. There are other culture clubs performing in Melbourne, the Victorian Regional Festival continues to run, attracting participants from as far away as Brisbane in Queensland, and Māori continue to settle in Melbourne from New Zealand and, occasionally, to return to New Zealand to live. Māori culture continues to absorb mainstream influences and the children grow up and have their own children who may or may not become involved in culture. Efforts continue to establish and maintain *kōhanga reo* for these children in an effort to preserve the link between the old 'home' and the 'new', and there are still many elements of Māori culture in Melbourne that need to be surveyed. The continuing role of the Federation, the status of the *marae*, continued migration, the development of *kōhanga reo* and the involvement of children in 'culture', even the continued

participation of *kapa haka* groups in the wider Melbourne community, these are all areas that could be the focus of continued research.

In time, *kapa haka* in Melbourne may be even more different from that in New Zealand, although innovations music and performance in New Zealand will most likely continue to influence much of what happens here. Even so, the context, and therefore the meaning will always be different for the Māori and their children in Melbourne. But participation in the performance of *kapa haka* will remain a fundamental part of the Māori perception of themselves as Māori, in the education of their children in that identity, in maintaining that identity in the wider community, and in the construction of their new 'home'.

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Greetings to you all.