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THE STATUS OF CONTEMPORARY MĀORI MUSIC

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

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ABSTRACT

Music has always been an integral part of day to day living in both traditional and contemporary Maori society. Significant to Maori music is a distinct philosophical and cultural perspective. Essentially these principles encapsulate the notion of Maori defining their own priorities, expressions, locality and collective aspirations within the realm of music making. For these reasons, the scope of Maori music extends beyond the individual artist and therefore performance. It is concerned with reasserting self determination and collective purpose thus situating itself within the broader context of Maori development.

This thesis examines the status of contemporary Maori music, its priorities, distinctive features, and social realities. The research undertaken highlights the historic decontextualisation of Maori worldview, language, music and culture emphasising how western approaches to music making are privileged rendering Maori music systems invalid. Significant to this research has been the determination of an ideological shift referred to as the augmented identity. This reconstruction situates contemporary Maori music in its own distinct space although adjacent to traditional Maori music culture and likewise western popular culture. In addition this study presents a pictorial framework in which to conceptualise the range of influences that assist in the reconstruction of an augmented identity.

Another crucial area of this thesis has been the collation of views drawn from a small sample group of practitioners and organisations involved in the contemporary Maori music sector. The research proposes that contemporary expression utilises selective elements of traditional Maori worldview as a premise of cultural validation. Additionally this research claims that artists of Maori descent utilising western performative and aesthetic characteristics generate a false impression of contemporary Maori music and its priorities. As a result Maori worldview and language is often a site of contention for Kaupapa Maori music makers in the national music scene.

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DEDICATION

E tika ana kia mihi au ki tōku kōka a Atareta Rarere Karini o Ngāti Rongomaiwahine ki Te Māhia. Nāna i toko ake te whakaaro kia hīkoi, kia tinana tēnei rangahau kia aro ki te ao muramura tawhiti o te pūoro. Mai anō i a mātou e tamariki ana e whāngaihia ana mātou e rāua ko tōku pāpā e Hauraki Pio Karini o Ngā Uri o Kuri o Te Aitanga-ā-Hauiti o Ngāti Porou ki te kupu o te pūoro.

Whāia ka tika kia titiro ki aku tamariki aroha, me taku whānau whānui. Ko koutou katoa te whakatinanatanga o te ‘aroha’ kā tika!

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Lastly I would like to acknowledge the support of colleagues at the Southern Institute of Technology and the Māori Student Support Team at Massey University in Palmerston North.

PREFACE

It is generally a prerequisite for one to establish who and where one comes from within the context of 'Kaupapa Māori.' In doing so, one identifies the relational and tribal context of personal heritage and identity. In this preface I declare my tribal and social affiliations so that the reader understands that this work derives from the perspective of an insider working in an arena I am familiar with and a part of.

Ko Te Marua O Te Rangi te maunga

Ko Hikuwai te awa

Ko Kuri te tangata

Ko Ngā Uri o Kuri me Ngāti Kuramui ngā hapū

Ko Ōkuri te marae

Ko te whānau Karini tēnā

Huia Te Kai!

Ko Rakauwhakatangi te maunga

Ko Kopūāwhara te awa

Ko Rongomaiwahine te tangata

Ko Te Hokowhitu o Ngai Tū te hapū

Ko Te Poho o Rongomaiwahine te marae

Ko te whānau Makahue, Kara me Rarere tēnā.

Ko Hauraki Pio Karini toku pāpā

Ko Atareta Rarere Karini toku kōka

Ko Angela Piki Karini ahau

Ko Ani Piki Rapua i te Rangi Tuari taku tamahine

Ko Tatana Horomona Te Ana rātou ko Tame Hoake Hone Te Rua me

Hamiora Houkamau Iwikau Tuari āku tama

My tribal affiliations derive from Ngāti Pōrou and Ngāti Rongomaiwahine despite having been born and raised in Invercargill. Music making has always been inherent, a tradition handed down from my mother manifesting in the form of singing and from my father; guitar playing. As a child, group singing was a recreational activity our family regularly pursued and it was so enjoyable that we assumed everyone could hold a tune or locate harmonies¹ at the ‘drop of a hat.’ My mother’s family was especially musical having produced a broad range of instrumentalists and vocalists strongly influenced by my grandfather Kahukuranui Rarere, (Chappie La) a piano player in his own right.

Ironically we had to travel 40km up the road to the township of Mātaura to be amongst other Māori families, as in our street; we were the only Māori family. The deliberate situating of Māori amongst European families was actively reinforced by government legislation throughout the 1950’s to the 1970’s. Mainstream New Zealand sought to assimilate Māori families migrating to the city for employment by situating individuals and families amongst other European families (often referred to as pepper-potting²) so as to eradicate tribal social systems. As a result, many families resisted their own cultural heritage and actively pursued acculturation. Such families severed their links with other local Māori, tribal networks, as well as practices supporting the retention of Te Reo Māori.

¹ The harmony construction I am referring to in this sense is the production of two or more notes sounded at the same time.

² This is a common social descriptor depicting the mix of cultures namely Māori and European living in the same suburb, street etc...

Mataura was a thriving hub of activity in those days and many closely related Māori families settled there having attained employment at the local freezing works, paper mill or shearing sheds. It was during these visits we became accustomed with the songs of Apirana Ngata³, Tuini Ngawai,⁴ Ngoi Pēwhairangi⁵ and even more so, cultural customs (karanga, whaikōrero, mōteatea, tangihana, pōhiri, huri tau) associated with the kawa of the marae. As the family grew, my parents became involved in local community based activities raising funds to help build marae, support associations such as the Murihiku Māori Wardens, Te Puka a Maui Kapahaka Council, the Mahia Families Society and Te Taurahere o Ngāti Porou ki Murihiku.

It was the performances of singers such as Erana Clarke, Bunny Walters and Mark Williams (as opposed to Suzanne Prentice, the local Southland and National songstress) that inspired my desire to be a professional singer. Living in Southland one could not escape the phenomenon of the Gore Gold Guitar Awards and the various country music clubs littering the landscape of Invercargill. I entered the country and western circuit for about five years utilising that experience as a platform for performance development before joining a series of local cover bands and setting off to tour in New Zealand and Australia under the auspice of the late Prince Tui Teka and his talented wife, Missy Teka from Tokomaru Bay, East Coast.

When I returned to New Zealand, I remained in Auckland for three years ‘gigging’⁶ in the nightclub circuit as well as attending performance workshops co-ordinated by Television New Zealand. By 1985 although I had returned to Invercargill, I continued ‘gigging’ locally and nationally until the arrival of my four children throughout 1988 to 1994. I returned to music in 1995 and began the journey of formalising my musical knowledge initiating a decade of singer song writing, audio production and arts administration. As the children grew, so too did my knowledge

³ Sir Apirana Ngata is a renowned historical advocate for Māori. His talents were numerous; politician, orator, composer, researcher etc... Sir Apirana Ngata originates from Ngāti Pōrou.

⁴ Tuini Ngawai was a prolific composer originating from Te Whānau o Ruataupare. She was often referred to as a protégé of Apirana Ngata. Her songs captured the heart and soul of the rural lifestyle as well commemorating the Māori soldiers lost during the Second World War.

⁵ Ngoi Pēwhairangi, a protégé of Tuini Ngawai was a prolific composer of songs that focused on the retention of ‘Te Reo Māori’ and relationships.

⁶ The term ‘gigging’ is a colloquial term often utilised by working musicians to describe the act of music making in accordance with a set fee.

base and I began to move further afield conducting choral work with local and north island kapa haka for national competitions as well as advocating for the development of Māori performance in the regions of Southland & Otago in tandem with representation at a national scale. I also completed an undergraduate degree in Māori Performance at Te Whare Wananga o Takitimu and Massey University while administrating the block course locally.

In most recent times I have been working closely alongside my daughter and friend developing ‘Māori Diva’⁷ an intuitive approach to music composition and performance incorporating cultural concepts discussing the femineity of Māori women utilising classical poetry, Te Reo Māori, head voice,⁸ cello⁹ and poi. Presently I am a lecturer at the Southern Institute of Technology specialising in Practical Studies, Singer Song writing Studies, Professional Studies and Māori Performance. Ironically I seem to have spent a lifetime of performing, teaching or advocating on behalf of music or kapa haka. As a second generation descendent of Ngāti Pōrou and Ngāti Rongomaiwahine born outside of tribal boundaries, I have grappled with cultural identity within western music and vice versa music construction within my own culture. This thesis therefore represents the beginning of an enquiring journey that will hopefully provide a framework of understanding for those in similar circumstances as well as inform other inquisitive minds wanting to conceptualise the nature of contemporary manifestations of Māori music.

Mauri ora! Mauri e

⁷ Diva in this context refers to notion of a professional singer that has a vocal capacity to sing to audience with or without amplification.

⁸ The head voice is commonly referred to as the head register or in this context; the soprano voice.

⁹ The cello is a stringed instrument that can be plucked or bowed. This instrument is generally featured in an orchestra.

Introduction

THE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

Two themes become apparent throughout the discourse of this research. One is the tenuous position of Māori self determination;¹⁰ the other is the historic and continuous decontextualisation of Māori culture and music making. While this study is concerned primarily with distinguishing the features of contemporary music making, it also makes connections with culture, identity, acculturation and commodification at both an individual and collective level subsequently establishing a Māori music development framework in which to conceptualise the advances and future of the Māori music industry.

Chapter one locates contemporary Māori music within the context of the New Zealand music industry. It considers the impact of assimilation and marginalisation specific to the Māori music industry particularly at a collective and individual level. In addition I introduce a chronology of Māori music emphasising the diversity, individuality and efforts of Māori music makers¹¹ predominantly situated in the mainstream industry.

Chapter two examines the range of historic Eurocentric definitions considering the far reaching effects of Eurocentric narratives upon Māori music thereby revealing the prevailing issues that exist for contemporary Māori music and its makers in current times. The domination of Eurocentric narratives and the breadth of decontextualisation endured by Māori music are discussed revealing the extent of universal classification and the subsequent de-essentialised status of tribal worldview and music making.

¹⁰ Mason Durie (1998:4) states that self determination *is essentially about the advancement of Māori people as Māori and the protection of the environment for the future. It signifies a commitment to strengthening economic standing, social wellbeing and cultural identity both at an individual and collective level.*

¹¹ In this context I am referring to the practice of creating and performing both the lyrical and melodic components of music.

Chapter three examines one exemplar of Māori identity reconstructed or contemporised within popular music. Specifically chapter three explores the sound and video recording *Tangaroa*¹² (2007) composed, performed and produced by Tiki Tane. In addition I also consider the relationship between dancehall and tribal philosophy as a basis of discussing ways in which contemporary ideology perforated with elements of Māori philosophy are related to cultural identity. I introduce the notion of an augmented identity and a relevant framework in which to conceptualise this reconstruction.

Chapter four discusses the range of methodologies utilised throughout the course of this study and presents the viewpoints of consenting contributors. The findings propose that the status of the Māori music sector continues to be marginalised, under resourced and confined to a respective community that supports and values musical expression espousing Māori worldview.

Chapter five discusses the final conclusions of this study and the future of contemporary Māori music.

¹² Also available on YouTube: *Tangaroa* by Tiki Tane

Chapter 1

THE STATUS OF CONTEMPORARY MĀORI MUSIC

Like popular music, the term contemporary Māori music is similarly precise “yet elusive in its meaning at the same time” (Allan¹³ in Bennett, 2003). In one sense the genre is deemed universal yet specific to a contemporary space. Other definitions prescribe ethnic qualifiers as a means of relating the resonance of performative qualities. Still, these definitions are not necessarily shared by all Māori music makers especially those conveying tikanga Māori¹⁴ and kaupapa Māori¹⁵ by means of te reo Māori. Nonetheless despite the diversity of opinion; definitions of contemporary Māori music remain non specific therefore subject to interpretation.

1.1 COMMERCIAL FOCUS

When Douché (2001) released his scoping review of the New Zealand Music Industry almost eight years ago, Māori music was characterised as an under-developed resource lacking infrastructure, vision and political voice. By 2003, the Māori Music Industry Coalition, a voluntary board of Māori practitioners initiated under the auspice of the New Zealand Music Industry Commission was set with the task of identifying a collective industry vision. Following a national round of consultation initiated amongst coalition membership and key Māori stakeholders; the coalition achieved two major objectives; the release of the *Te Hukuroa* report (Martin, 2005); a five year strategic plan towards the future of the Māori music industry and the introduction of the Apra Maioha award which is a contemporary acknowledgement of commercial focused compositions in te reo Māori espousing kaupapa Māori (Aperahama, 2006: 119-121).

¹³ In the editor’s foreword

¹⁴ Tikanga Māori practices pertaining to the marae or the auspice of customary values often associated with Mātauranga Māori.

¹⁵ A specific philosophy or theme that draws upon traditional Māori worldview but is often adapted and utilised within a contemporary framework.

What is significant about the Māori Music Industry Coalition is that it did not perceive its role as purely advisory but more so as an entity with inherent rights and entitlements derived from the Treaty of Waitangi; a viewpoint that asserted self determination and the right to characterise Māori music, its challenges and solutions in tandem with directing negotiations with the Crown, the New Zealand Music Industry and other relevant bodies.¹⁶ However this was not a viewpoint shared or supported by the New Zealand Music Industry Export Development Group¹⁷ as later revealed in the *Creating Heat – Tumata Kia Whita* export strategy (2004:41-44). Accordingly the coalition's role jointly defined by the New Zealand Music Industry Commission and Export New Zealand was one specific to advocacy, needs analysis and advice brokerage. The coalition, the report stated was in a process of defining a collective vision towards the development of Māori music, a view that not only contravened the findings of a consultation round¹⁸ undertaken amongst Māori music makers by the Māori Music Industry Coalition in 2003 but also undermined the coalition's stance of self determination.

In addition the report declared that the Māori music industry could be characterised by two divergent groups: “those that record and perform primarily in English and those that perform and record in Te Reo Māori.” (*Creating Heat – Tumata Kia Whita*, 2004:44). This assertion is particularly perplexing for a number of reasons; the most obvious is the pitting of English language bearers against Māori language bearers. According to Smith (1998:63) a distinctive trait of imperialism was the repositioning of the indigenous person as non-standard. This practice legitimised western superiority and enabled the subjugation of indigenous worldview. As a result, indigenous peoples were often situated as ‘outsiders’ to their own culture and routinely classified and subjected to imposed clichés and stereotypes by mainstream culture. Then again the

¹⁶ According to the Maori Music Industry Coalition website the MMIC was established to provide a long overdue Maori driven representative coalition that could engage and create a meaningful partnership with the New Zealand Music Industry and generate opportunities for industry members. This relationship is to reflect through the rights and obligations of Mana Maori, as reaffirmed by the Treaty of Waitangi (2003).

¹⁷ The Music Industry Export Development Group was a joint initiative between the New Zealand Music Industry Commission and Export New Zealand.

¹⁸ In 2003, the coalition collated information from two workshops (one each in Auckland and Wellington). The information highlighted concerns regarding mainstream's inability to represent Kaupapa Māori, to engage effectively with music makers, the need for a credible entity to represent Kaupapa Māori music vision and needs, a lack of a coherent and co-ordinated strategy and the need to grow Kaupapa Māori commercially and internationally. (Te Hukuroa, 2005:12)

inference of sameness between artists of Māori descent utilising the English idiom versus performers projecting a Māori worldview in te reo Māori is not only incredulous but markedly distorted highlighting the authority of monoculturalism and the acceptance of a universal typecast particularly where Māori music makers¹⁹ were concerned.

1.2 ETHNIC & STEREOTYPICAL TRAITS

During the 1950's commercial Māori music was openly defined in accordance with ethnic and stereotypical traits accommodating mainstream bias. The emergence of the Howard Morrison²⁰ Quartet in the late 1950's marked the arrival of rock n roll,²¹ 24 hour dance marathons and a fledgling recording industry.²² Utilising a blend of polished harmonies, quirky charisma and a repertoire of primarily popular covers and rearranged waiata,²³ the quartet quickly became a household name (Morrison & Costello, 1992:59 - 67). Berry (1962:5) argues that despite the quartet's meteoric rise to fame there was a tendency to under-rate their achievements due in part to the "Māori natural talent being taken for granted and the impression of being unrehearsed." While there is little doubt that the quartet did possess a flair for rearranging imported British covers, as did fellow peers such as Ray Wolfe²⁴ and Ray Columbus.²⁵ The point of difference seems to have been their clean cut image (a paradox in terms of colonial typecast of the Māori savage) tight harmonies, quirky vocal nuances, charisma, showmanship and the ability to read the mood of a mainstream audience. Put another way, the quartet possessed an in-depth understanding of the performative qualities relevant to western genre and subsequently it could be argued that it was this level of professionalism (as opposed to inherent impetus) that guided their success.

¹⁹ Refer to footnote 11

²⁰ Tribal affiliation is Te Arawa.

²¹ Johnny Cooper from Ngāti Kahungunu was integral to the development of Rock n roll in New Zealand achieving a one hit wonder 'Pie Cart Rock'.

²² The song 'Blue Smoke' was the first original song to be pressed and released in New Zealand. It was written by Ruru Karaitiana of Rangitane.

²³ One of the bands greatest hits was a remake of the song 'Tomo Mai' written by Henare Waitoa of Ngāti Porou.

'Tomo mai' is a song that celebrates the return of the Māori Battalion from the Second World War.

The Quartet's remake included a name change 'Hoki mai' as well as a change of intent which inferred a universal welcome to all people.

²⁴ Ray Woolfe migrated from England to Auckland in 1962. He was a regular on the cabaret circuit and became a regular on the television popular music show *C'mon* hosted by Peter Sinclair.

²⁵ According to Eggleton (2003:22) Columbus represented the teenage mood of the time (during the 1960's). As a result he was well placed in terms of introducing the first wave of beat music or 'Mersey sound' to New Zealand prior to the invasion of the Beatles.

We had to sing covers because none of us could create songs. We turned them all around and inside out. We were, not cannibalising, but we were putting our own charismatic touches. Gospel was always in our background. When we started singing seriously our epitome was the harmonies of the Four Aces and especially the Mills Brothers...These are the songs that still inspire me today.

(Sir Howard Morrison in Higgins, 2001)

The controversial remake of the Lonnie Donegan sensation²⁶ re-titled *My old man's an All Black* (1960) represents a defining moment²⁷ in the quartet's career while specifically highlighting the lyrical bent of one of its' members. Adapted by Gerry Merito during the launch of the 'Showtime Spectacular Tour',²⁸ *My old man's an All Black* (1960) criticises (in a light hearted manner) the exclusion of George Nepia²⁹ from the All Black squad touring South Africa at the time.³⁰ Moreover the lyric described as "a bitter sweet parody" (New Zealand History Online, 2008) emphasised the dual connotations of the term 'hori',³¹ a racial slur commonly used to mock Māori in tandem with being an allusion to George Nepia. While the comical send-up of the remake established a run away hit for the quartet achieving record sales of 60,000 copies, (Morrison & Costello, 1992:70-74) the parody also stressed the inverted tolerance of apartheid within New Zealand society although rationalised as being in the best interest of international rugby development and future relationships with the Springboks.³²

1.3 MULTI-FACETED ENTERTAINERS

Beyond question one of the most outstanding practices associated with Māori music has been the ability to showcase multi-faceted entertainers. Alternatively another equally impressive trait of the 'showband' experience was a seemingly inherent ability to churn out all-round entertainers such as Ricky May³³, Prince Tui Teka,³⁴ Billy T

²⁶ *My Old Man's a Dustman* (1960)

²⁷ The single *Battle of Waikato* released in 1959 would be the impetus for future parodies the quartet would become renowned for performing as a part of their act.

²⁸ The Showtime Spectacular Tour was an entertainment event initiated by Harry Miller. Miller's first 'Showtime Spectacular' concert was held at Western Springs Stadium generating a crowd of 20,000.00 people which during the 1960's was one of the largest entertainment crowds ever in New Zealand (Berry, 1962).

²⁹ Tribal affiliation is Ngāti Kahungūnu

³⁰ The All Blacks were touring South Africa that same year, 1960.

³¹ The term 'hori' was also a transliteration for the Christian name, George.

³² The name of the national South African rugby team.

³³ Tribal affiliation is unknown.

James,³⁵ Rim D Paul³⁶ and instrumentalists such as the late Thomas Kini.³⁷ According to Eggleton (2003:12) the ‘showbands’ appropriated the fashion and zeal of Italian – American idols (Mario Lanza, Frank Sinatra, Tony Bennett and others) injecting their own cultural idiosyncrasies while also developing a reputation in New Zealand and Australia for versatility. Still, the show bands were also renowned for espousing pride in their cultural heritage. Ensembles such as the Quin Tiki’s, the Māori Hi Fi’s, the Māori Troubadours, the Hi-Quinns as well as the Māori Volcanics toured internationally as self appointed ambassadors for New Zealand dispensing a unique Polynesian multi-instrumental infused style of entertainment, including kapa haka, covers, five part harmonies and comedy set within a cabaret context (Bourke, 2009).

We could have been just called the volcanics, or could have just been the New Zealand volcanics but when you put Māori in it, to us well we always figured that’s really important, we’re saying who we are, where we are from and as ambassadors for the country even a bigger thing...

(Mahora Peters³⁸ in Higgins, 2001)

Like the Howard Morrison Quartet, the essentialist skills of the showbands focused upon performance and western genre stylistic features although some fleeting cross-over attempts made headlines such as the bi-lingual release *Poi, Poi Twist* written in 1962 by Rim D Paul, a prolific arranger and member of the Quin Tiki line up. The bi-cultural ideology of the song followed a similar approach initiated by a Jewish composer and arranger of bi-lingual compositions throughout 1949 to 1960’s; often referred to as Kiwiana.

1.4 EUROCENTRIC PASTICHE

For many, Freedman was considered the master mind of the Kiwiana genre. His extensive repertoire of nostalgic songs centred upon romantic notions of mythical Māori figures such as the forlorn ‘Pania of the Reef’³⁹ or alternatively terms of address

³⁴ Tribal affiliation is Ngai Tūhoe.

³⁵ Tribal affiliation is Tainui.

³⁶ Tribal affiliation is Te Arawa.

³⁷ Tribal affiliation is Te Aitanga a Māhaki.

³⁸ Tribal Affiliation is Te Rarawa.

³⁹ According to O’Strange (2008) Freedman’s first song was recorded in 1949 and up until the 1960’s he released over 300 published copyrights.

as eluded to in his infamous composition; ‘Haere mai, everything is ka pai’. Despite his ethnic origin, Freedman’s songs embodied the languid temperament of its generation exacerbated further by the pastiche of Māori mythological figures and sporadic utterance of te reo Māori cultivating a musical form of ‘kitsch’⁴⁰ at the expense of authenticity and Māori society at large.

Today his arrangements are still the gold standard of much Maori music. So much so that few Pakeha or Maori realise the way the songs are now performed are probably not in the so-call traditional form, but in the way he ‘collected’, adapted and then polished them. In fact many would be surprised to find that several ‘Maori songs’ are not traditional at all. And not written by a Maori but the son of Jewish immigrants...Freedman’s best-known song these days is Haere Mai, thanks to a recent Air New Zealand advertising campaign. Other remembered songs include Pania of the Reef; When My Wahine Does the Poi; Waikaremoana...

(O’Strange, 2008)

1.5 TE REO MĀORI INTEGRATED INTO POPULAR MUSIC

Another turning point in the evolution of Māori music was the emergence of ‘te reo Māori’ narratives⁴¹ overlaid upon ‘break beat’ with an infusion of haka and poi performed by a tribal based kapa haka.⁴² Dalvanus Prime formerly of the Australian cabaret act ‘Dalvanus and the Fascinations,’ was beginning to grow tired of the slick Las Vegas crooning and cabaret lifestyle towards the end of the 1970’s. Following the death of his mother in tandem with a desire to return to his ‘taha Māori’,⁴³ Prime facilitated a collaborative project with Prince Tui Teka and Ngoi Pēwhairangi⁴⁴ resulting in the single *E Ipo*; a love ballad in te reo Māori which shot to number one in 1982 achieving gold⁴⁵ status. This success was immediately repeated by the Consort’s release *Māoris on 45* (1982) achieving a number three ranking on the record sales charts for the same year (Eggleton, 2003:132 - 133).

⁴⁰ The term kitsch is a German word literally meaning worthless. It is commonly used in reference to popular culture icons or mass produced objects. In New Zealand the term is generally associated with products or songs fitting the Kiwiana genre.

⁴¹ What is interesting about these narratives is that they began to take on the verse, chorus, hook and sometimes instrumental characteristics of a commercial popular song. Although the integration of te reo Māori and imagery portrayed were reminiscent of tribal composition; the framework in which the themes were situated followed a repetitive cycle indicative of a popular song format thereby ensuring that the ‘catch phrase’ or ‘central hook’ was remembered by all audiences. Such examples exist in the chorus of ‘Poi E’, the tribute song to Ngoi Pēwhairangi and others where Prime was a part of the arrangement team.

⁴² The term kapa haka is used to describe a cultural group in which disciplines such as haka, poi, chant and many other genre are performed for either formal or informal traditions.

⁴³ Cultural Heritage

⁴⁴ Tribal affiliations are Ngāti Porou; Te Whānau o Ruataupare.

⁴⁵ More than 7, 500 record sales in New Zealand.

Prime, reveling in his new sense of identity as a Māori record producer, got busy setting up his own record company, Maui Records. Prime also launched into writing a Māori rock opera, entitled Raukura, with Ngoi Pēwhairangi. In the space of one month they came up with twelve songs, with Pewhairangi providing the lyrics and Prime working out the musical accompaniment on ukulele and piano.

(Eggleton, 2003:133)

Yet it was the single *Poi E* (1984) that firmly established Prime as a pioneer of contemporary cross over with a Patea Māori Club infusion of te reo Māori, haka poi and break dance.

Māori songs have rarely hit the charts in New Zealand. That all changed in 1984, when the hit 'Poi E' blitzed the charts for 22 weeks, including four weeks at number one.

(New Zealand History Online, 2009)

Unlike Freedman's work, the genesis of Prime & Pēwhairangi's compositions appealed to the Māori sense of sentimentality and even more so mainstream notions of bi-culturalism reinforced by conversational language, a catchy tune, the projection of happy faces and the infusion of western dance themes and dress symbols. Although initially ignored by radio stations, *Poi E* (1984) achieved major interest at a range of cultural events subsequently gaining airtime on news based programmes such as the 'Eye Witness News' and the Māori alternative, 'Te Karere'. By May 1984, the single featured on the home grown musical programme 'Ready to Roll' having hit the top of the charts without radio airplay. Moreover *Poi E* (1984) became the best selling single in the country over a period of six weeks in 1984 attaining 7,500⁴⁶ record sales nationally in tandem with an international release (Eggleton, 2003:134) challenging the misnomer⁴⁷ of te reo Māori music lacking commercial grunt and foresight.

⁴⁶ 7500 record sales equates to gold status in the New Zealand record industry.

⁴⁷ Te Reo Māori music is often perceived as lacking universality and commerciality by primarily New Zealand industry players. There is a perception that the only language that is universal is English.

1.6 THE INSTRUMENTAL APPROACH

Billy Te Kahika⁴⁸ is commonly touted as the Pacific's equivalent of Jimmi Hendrix and similarly like fellow guitarist Tama Renata, and, the members of the yesteryear band Golden Harvest; utilised souped up Hendrix's guitar stylings as part of their repertoire (Eggleton, 2003:135). However a central core of Te Kahika's musical journey has been the quest for spirituality and likewise the manifestation of this phenomenon in his music.

They call me the Hendrix of the Pacific. Once you're stuck with a label, I suppose, it goes with you all the time. I feel that we were almost in the same frequency at the same time and he (Hendrix) took feedback and stuff and he made it into an art-form.

(Billy TK in Higgins, 2001)

Raised in Palmerston North and heavily influenced by the musicianship of the Ratana Church, Te Kahika went on to develop the art of controlled feedback and wah wah peddles throughout the 1960's.

I used to take out resistors and play around trying to get an understanding of how the mechanics worked. I was experimenting with feedback before 'Hey Joe' was released. That grounded me for the 'Instinct' where I always had customised fuzz and wah wah peddles.

(Billy TK in Newman, 2003:2)

Following a three year stint with the cult progrock trio Human Instinct and the subsequent release of three successful albums, disagreements over musical direction and creativity led Te Kahika back to Palmerston North where he formulated the band Powerhouse, performing with them during the mid 1970's. However time with the band was cut short prompted by a desire for spiritual mentorship leading Te Kahika to Los Angeles and the Maharajji. Still the lifestyle proved too difficult for Te Kahika who had, as a means of survival, resorted to selling recycled bottles before returning to being a session musician (Billy TK in Newman, 2003:4). Ironically his American associates had heard of Māori music and haka and as a consequence showed little

⁴⁸ Te Kahika's tribal affiliations are unknown.

interest in the originals repertoire⁴⁹ Te Kahika had prepared for the intended recording session. Inspired by their interest in Māori music and the potential of cross-over, Te Kahika⁵⁰ returned to New Zealand to begin a decade of incorporating Māori lyric and traditional themes infused with styles such as blues, jazz and rhythm & blues alongside a reformed line-up of Powerhouse, renamed Wharemana (Newman, 2003).

We'd combine the rhythms of rock and all different things to get a waiata to make it more powerful. That's what made me really aware of the Maori side, you know? ...Cos as you started going into it, you started to identify with the history of it. When I started identifying with it the history I started to see all the things have happened that I didn't know about.

(Billy Te Kahika in Higgins, 2001)

1.7 KAUPAPA MUSIC

The influence of Bob Marley, reggae and the religion of Rastafarianism had a profound effect on contemporary Māori music and likewise bands such as Chaos, Herbs, Dread Beat & Blood, Sticks & Shanty and Aotearoa.

At the beginning of the 1980's, reggae music had revolutionary value; it seemed slightly threatening. But by the end of the 1980's, reggae had become an accepted part of the mainstream musical landscape.

(Eggleton, 2003:136)

Above all else, reggae brought with it a positive and self affirming vibe underscored by moralistic messages and cultural aspiration.

It meant that we could combine powerful political messages which were right for it's time with sweet sounds which suited Māori or wider Polynesian themes.

(Williams in Higgins, 2001).

If Chaos represented the manifestation of Rastafarianism and radical political advocacy, the reformed version of the band in the 1980's Dread Beat & Blood, although maintaining the tenet of moralistic themes was subtle in comparison utilising soft harmonies and muted rock-steady beats as a backdrop for their themes. At the

⁴⁹ Te Kahika intended to record original songs centred upon western ideology and English as the medium of communication.

⁵⁰ Te Kahika would later join the Ratana Church.

other end of the scale was Aotearoa, a kaupapa⁵¹ driven band that utilised ‘skank’⁵² and messages pertaining to cultural restoration, asserting Māoritanga and cultural pride to urban youth. Formulated by singer songwriters Ngahiwi Apanui⁵³ and Joe Williams⁵⁴ during the mid 1980’s (Eggleton, 2003:136) Aotearoa, including Moana Maniapoto and Maaka McGregor⁵⁵ went on to produce a host of politically charged songs articulating ‘tino rangatiratanga’ and the synonymous notion of being proud to be Māori.

Aotearoa grew up organically in context. The context was a powerful reawakening among young urban Māori that started in the 1970’s and reached critical pitch by the mid 1980’s but it was inevitable, if it wasn’t us, somebody else was going to be doing it.

(Williams in Higgins, 2001)

Amidst the turmoil of government legislation such as the acquisition of Māori land⁵⁶ interests, the protest marches,⁵⁷ land occupations,⁵⁸ the emergent Māori radio networks during the 1970’s, the establishment of language nests (Te Kohanga Reo) and the Kura Kaupapa⁵⁹ movement of the early 1980’s; Aotearoa created a repertoire of songs appealing to the soul of the marginalised urban Māori⁶⁰ while also evoking widespread awareness concerning the historic constitutional injustices imposed upon tribal entities by successive governments and representatives. The band’s most famous bi-lingual single *Maranga ake ai* was released in 1985 and banned by some radio stations considered ‘too activist’. Nonetheless despite the lack of national airplay the song climbed to 34th placing on the New Zealand top fifty playlist of the same year (Higgins, 2001). Whereas Aotearoa confronted the plethora of constitutional bias, Moana Maniapoto⁶¹ accused commercial radio of racism highlighting the disparity of Māori music on the airwaves (Reid in Mitchell, 1994:54). A previous singer of Aotearoa,

⁵¹ Refer to footnote 15

⁵² A percussive guitar strum associated with the style of reggae.

⁵³ Tribal affiliations are Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Hine and Te Whanau a Apanui.

⁵⁴ Tribal affiliations are Ngāti Pūkenga and Te Arawa.

⁵⁵ Ngāti Raukawa, Te Ati Haunui a Papārangi and Ngāti Whakare.

⁵⁶ The Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 enabled the compulsory ‘improvement’ of Māori lands including the compulsory acquisition of ‘uneconomic interest’ in the land ignoring the cultural and spiritual links to the land as upheld by Māori descendants.

⁵⁷ The Waitangi land march in 1975.

⁵⁸ Bastion Point from 1977 to 1978.

⁵⁹ A total immersion primary school equivalent.

⁶⁰ An example of lyrics performed by Aotearoa: *Hey Māori people stand up and fight for your rights, don’t let the system oppress you, no more, no more, no more.* (Aotearoa in Higgins, 2001)

⁶¹ Tribal affiliations are Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Te Arawa.

Maniapoto's solo career was set in motion following the release of her first single '*Kua Makona*' under the guidance of Dalvanus Prime in 1984. By 1989 Maniapoto had extended the line up incorporating Mina Ripia⁶² and Teremoana Rapley⁶³ as sidekicks performing under the auspice of Moana and the Moahunters. The trio released in 1990 a remake of Phil Spector's 1960's 'Black Pearl' hit. Cast within an urban context the song affirmed Māori women encouraging them to be influential leaders and caregivers⁶⁴ to future generations. Alternatively the song showcased a new element; the rap of Dean Hapeta,⁶⁵ an emergent performer from Wellington cast in the supportive male role and reiterated by an optimistic rap (Mitchell, 1994:54). In the face of flailing commercial airplay (circumstances that would also plague their succeeding recordings) the repackaged single achieved gold status on the national dial (Eggleton, 2003:133-134). When Moana and Moahunters were invited by the Neville Brothers⁶⁶ in 1992 to perform at the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival so as to assist in the release of their latest album featuring three waiata Māori, all efforts to gain national funding were futile. In the end Maniapoto and cohorts⁶⁷ were forced to rely upon personal fundraising efforts and donations received from friends and supporters (Mitchell, 1994:54) thereby meeting their commitment to the Neville Brothers, as well as opening up a new chapter in their musical direction. Like Te Kahika, Maniapoto would be inspired by the power of her own cultural heritage.

When I got to New Orleans and we performed there, the bits of our performance that people really sat up and listened to were the bits that had a strong Māori influence. So, that's when I started recording in Māori and doing what I am.

(Maniapoto in Higgins, 2001).

Moana and the Moahunters attempts to reconstruct their commercialised persona met success when *Akora Te Reo* (1992) a bi-lingual release from their debut album *Tahi* (1992) hit the mainstream charts. The song encouraged the public to learn the Māori language and was recognised at the New Zealand annual music awards in that same

⁶² From Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Whatua and Ngāti Kahungūnu.

⁶³ Tribal affiliations unknown.

⁶⁴ In the video version the Moahunters are nursing children. The symbolism implies that the children are the future leaders.

⁶⁵ From Ngāti Huia o te Manawatu.

⁶⁶ Moana and the Moa hunters had met the Neville Brothers during a visit to Mangere in 1991.

⁶⁷ Teremoana Rapley and Mina Ripia.

year. In addition, Teremoana Rapley,⁶⁸ one of the Moahunters, won the most promising female vocalist award. Almost a decade later, with a fourth album under her belt, Moana and her new line up consisting of an acoustic support band and kapa haka performers (commonly referred to as the 'tribe') continue to traverse international stages with a distinctive musical style articulating traditional narratives in te reo Māori couched within western genre accentuated by kapa haka, taonga pūoro and film-making aesthetics.

The emergence of rap, hip hop culture and urban resurgence made itself known in the release of the single 'E Tu' by Upper Hutt posse in 1988.

'E Tu' was all slogans. Set to a bare-bones hip hop beat, the rap exhorted young disaffected Māori with 'kia kaha' – be staunch. It was a cry of self affirmation by a new generation.

(Eggleton, 2003:144).

According to Mitchell (1994:66-67) the song praises the headship of past Māori leaders such as Hone Heke of Ngā Pūhi descent, Te Kooti of Te Aitanga o Mahaki, Te Rauparaha of Ngāti Toa as well as the soldiers of the 28th Māori Battalion accentuating the prevalence of tribal symbolism and perhaps even more so, the invocation of spiritual essence as derived from past leadership for the purpose of restoring connectivity and cultural identity.

Before these 'warriors' stormed the stage, Maori music was generally marginalised like an exotic trinket of the past, used in the 'ritual of entertaining tourists. By rapping in their language and incorporating the sounds, values and history of their people, Hapeta and like-minded artists shatter stereotypes of what it is meant to be Maori.

(Buchanan, 2000)

⁶⁸ Tribal affiliations unknown

1.8 NORMALISING MĀORI WORLDVIEW

The creativity, mentorship and musicianship of the late Doctor (Hon)⁶⁹Hirini Melbourne⁷⁰ left an indelible impression on the landscape of contemporary Māori music raising an awareness of nature and the many ways melodic and lyrical development could be inspired by Māori worldview. Central to Melbourne's creative approach was his genius in terms of reconstructing the traits and personality of wildlife and natural phenomenon. Utilising a range of poetic devices in te reo Māori, Melbourne accentuated the imagery, colour, personification and subsequently the individuality of his subjects by creating melodies that drew attention to their distinctive voice, gestures and disposition (Wakahuia, 1989). Therein Melbourne's quest in terms of restoring the muted voices and cultural context of ancient taonga pūoro located throughout the museums of New Zealand seems to have been a natural progression for him thus paving the way for the resurgence and inclusion of ancient voice within contemporary Māori music while also adding to the vitality of Māori language revitalisation as well.

The success of *Oceania*⁷¹ in 1999 generated worldwide acclaim attributed to the fusion of traditional Māori sentiment and taonga pūoro subsumed within western genre. Described as the most commercially viable Māori language album to date achieving more than 70, 000 worldwide sales as well as double platinum⁷² in New Zealand, *Oceania* highlighted not only the collaborative efforts of Mohi and Coleman but also the prevailing relevancy of ancient 'taonga,'⁷³ cultural heritage and language. Beyond this, Mohi is commonly regarded as the trail blazer of the bi-lingual version of the New Zealand national anthem and likewise the catalyst for the establishment of the Rakatauri Musical Therapy centre opened in 2004. Her other talents include television production and guest appearances at various cultural event. Ironically it was Mohi's performance of the national anthem sung in te reo Māori at a world rugby cup match that instigated an outpouring of national criticism in New Zealand highlighting the

⁶⁹ Honorus Causa

⁷⁰ Hirini Melbourne affiliates to Ngai Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungūnu.

⁷¹ Composed by Hinewehi Mohi of Ngāti Kahungūnu and Ngai Tūhoe descent alongside Jazz Coleman. Mohi was also a former student of the late Doctor Hirini Melbourne.

⁷² Platinum in New Zealand equates to 15,000 record sales.

⁷³ A familial treasure

fragility of biculturalism as well as the status of te reo Māori within New Zealand. “They didn’t know we were dealing with biculturalism and bilingualism” Mohi advised in an article recalling the historic event. “But in so many places around the world monolingualism, or only English, is just not an option” (Mohi in Tahana, 2007). Nonetheless despite the critics, Mohi’s determination and devotion to te reo Māori and cultural heritage survived the aftermath (Tahana, 2007) later to be recognised as a role model of cultural integrity and diversity.

Like Mohi, Hareruia (Ruia) Aperahama⁷⁴ is also passionate about normalising te reo Māori. Composer and performer of the classic New Zealand song *What’s the time Mr Wolf* (1994), Aperahama achieved national and international status when the song featured in the blockbuster film, *Once were Warriors* (1994). According to Aperahama (in Higgins, 2001) the song espouses a myriad of issues impacting upon Māori and New Zealanders; in particular politics, economy and spirituality as implied by the various signifiers and symbolism depicted in the narrative. As Aperahama states:

The story behind ‘What’s the time Mr Wolf’ was inspired by a korero or kauhau delivered by Ratana’s daughter Te Reohura. She said ‘beware of a big black wolf gonna be coming; running around with a big bag of money. That was her way of describing the era of treaty settlements coming and being wary of commercial and capitalism. Also there’s a clock outside our temple; the time of the clock is pointing to three minutes to twelve and it’s a prophecy that Ratana left behind regarding the clock and the twelfth hour. I wanted to use something familiar with people and it was that, what’s the time Mr Wolf – 1 o’clock.

(Aperahama in Higgins, 2001),

Four albums and fifteen years down the track, Ruia has firmly established his brand of commercialised ‘te reo’ music, has been a past chair of the currently inactive Māori music coalition, published articles concerning the state of contemporary Māori music, co-hosted talent shows on Māori Television and won numerous awards at both the mainstream and Māori music awards in tandem with fronting a talk back show for Radio Waatea based in Auckland.

⁷⁴ Ruia affiliates to Te Iwi Mōrehu however his mother originates from Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Pīkiahuaewae and Ngāti Tūrangitukua. His father originates from Ngāti Kuri, Te Aupōuri and Pohutia.

In a similar vein, Whirimako Black's⁷⁵ mesmerising vocal and cross over agility (from acoustic soul ballads to traditional jazz) while retaining the integrity of te reo Māori has situated her musical expression in a league of its own. Her rise although understated has been pervasive generating both national and international attention. Black has produced and released a series of six albums, collaborated with other musicians such as Salmonella Dub as well as performed alongside the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra. In 2006, she was awarded the New Zealand order of merit for services to Māori music (Toi Māori Aotearoa, 2009) and has since won further awards⁷⁶ in the mainstream industry for her bi-lingual jazz albums. According to Walder:

...she is motivated by her passion for the Māori language and is recognised for the quality of her music...It is this ability to transcend language barriers that places Whirimako and her music on the international stage.

(Walder in Panoho, 2007)

1.9 THE SITE OF STRUGGLE

Undeniably the pursuit of commercial success for music makers conveying a Māori worldview in te reo Māori especially in an industry that perceives the English language as a privilege and likewise a universal characteristic of a developed world (Douché, 2001:26) is biased and translates as a 'site of struggle' for Māori producing music beyond the boundaries of mainstream consumption. One stand out practice that continues to undermine indigenous narrative and expression is the elevation of western based artistry by performers of Māori ancestry. In the past artists such as Kiri Te Kanawa,⁷⁷(classical) Howard Morrison (cabaret) and many others were categorically groomed as exemplars of Māori achievement, a template that is often impressed upon mainstream based artists like the Runga sisters,⁷⁸ (popular music) Anika Moa⁷⁹ (popular music) and bands Katchafire (roots reggae) and Kora (Dub). Nonetheless in spite of Māori descent, the fundamental crux of their work endorses mainstream or western ideology. It is these differences that are repeatedly overlooked or perhaps

⁷⁵ Tribal affiliations are Ngai Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungūnu.

⁷⁶ In 2009, Whirimako Black was awarded the New Zealand Music Industry Tui for her bilingual jazz album released in 2008.

⁷⁷ Tribal affiliations to Ngāti Porou.

⁷⁸ Tribal affiliations to Ngāti Rongomaiwahine.

⁷⁹ From Te Rarawa.

disregarded by key stakeholders in the New Zealand music industry rendering a Māori music industry situated in the premise of tikanga Māori; marginalised. Clearly an increasing number of individual and collective Māori music makers are signaling that they no longer wish to be defined in accordance with tokenistic gestures or compromise the principles of 'tino rangatiratanga' by maintaining advisory roles that service primarily the needs of mainstream doing little to service Māori self determination. Even more so it is evident that there is a desire to redefine the terminology and context of Māori music as an increasing number of music makers fluent in te reo Māori no longer wish to be defined by ethnic qualifiers thereby sidestepping music makers of Māori descent drawing from the English worldview and idiom.

While there is little doubt that the works of artists such as Hinewehi Mohi, Moana Maniapoto, Wai 100%, Ruia Aperehama and Whirimako Black are certainly challenging the creative license of the New Zealand musical landscape of New Zealand and likewise historic typecasts of Māori music, their individual efforts must be viewed as exceptions to the rule as opposed to the normal standard for all Māori music makers. All things considered the New Zealand music industry must be regarded as a 'site of struggle' for practitioners articulating a Māori worldview in te reo Māori and likewise collectives such as the Māori Music Industry Coalition asserting self determination. Mason Durie (1998:79) argues that Māori self determination distanced from identity and likewise authenticity is one dimensional and equally superficial. This concept can be specifically applied to the muzzling of the Māori Music Industry Coalition and the manner in which the New Zealand Music Industry Commission and Export New Zealand silenced assertions of self determination forcing Māori music makers to retreat and relocate in alternative avenues supporting kaupapa Māori. Therein the future of Māori music cannot exist as an extension of mainstream paternalism or even more confined by the passivity of advisory contribution necessitating Māori worldview leadership and likewise industry based autonomy.

In conclusion this chapter has located contemporary Māori music within the milieu of mainstream dogma and has discussed the extent of assimilation and marginalisation endured by music makers of a Māori worldview at both an individual and collective level. It has been determined that despite a history steeped in assimilation, individuality and diversity, contemporary Māori music continues to assert priorities indicative of Māori worldview necessitating Māori worldview leadership and autonomy so as to sustain a future according to Māori self determination.

Chapter 2

THE IMPACT OF EUROCENTRIC DEFINITIONS UPON MĀORI MUSIC

While traditional Māori music is often considered an authentic transmitter of cultural values, its contemporary kin is often afforded lesser recognition (Aperahama, 2006:117) considered an obliteration of traditional cultural expression, (Mitchell, 1994:60) acculturated (Barrow, 1965:21) or in terms of economic viability; a commercial ‘flop’ (Douchè, 2001:38). However even notions of traditional authenticity are controversial, tending to rest upon historic assertions of legitimacy as defined by descent criteria (half blood or more) or alternatively published accounts of Euro-centric commentators such as explorers (Cook) anthropologists (e.g. Best, Cowan, White), missionaries (e.g. Taylor, Cervantes) (Durie, 1998:54) characterising perceived traits of ‘maori-ness’. Yet the scope of contemporary Māori music also encompasses the length and breadth of localised musical idiosyncrasies articulating indigenous socio-political and economic nuances indicative of a particular time and place throughout history.

From songs espousing tribal uniqueness thereby strengthening cultural identity,⁸⁰ to the language nests of the Te Kōhanga Reo Movement, or, localised reconstructions of western genre (typified by the uncanny use of harmony, rhythm, vocal technique) exemplified in the works of singers such as Sir Howard Morrison, Mahinarangi Tocker,⁸¹ Ruia Aperahama and Moana Maniapoto. Still, manifestations of social conscience⁸² represented in the works of bands like Aotearoa, Kora and Salmonella Dub or alternatively the mainstream⁸³ success of artists such as Tiki Tane,⁸⁴ Anika Moa along with many others implies that the long expressed notion of a homogenised or universal Māori identity and therefore static

⁸⁰ According to Mason Durie (1998: 57-58) cultural identity derives from a combination of ancestry and participation in customary activities

⁸¹ From Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto

⁸² According to Corfield (2007) bands such as ‘Homefire Burning’ utilise traditional Māori concepts such as ahi kaa in acknowledgement of their identity as Māori.

⁸³ According to Aperahama (2006) Māori artists performing in the mainstream context are more likely to be recognised as successes as opposed to artists performing in the Māori community.

⁸⁴ Tribal affiliations to Ngāti Maniapoto.

musical style, is not only questionable but fails to explain the divergent representation of musical expression formulated within the various spheres of Māori society whether tribal, urban, Christian, secular and everything else in between. This chapter briefly examines the far reaching effects of Eurocentric narratives otherwise referred to as the 'mainstream' and its subsequent force and disruption upon the indigenous music of Aotearoa for the purpose of examining the prevailing issues endured by contemporary Māori music and its makers.

2.1 KNOWLEDGE AS A TERRITORY

Studies relating to Māori song and dance are continually evolving (McClean, 1965; Ngata & Hurinui, 1974; Orbell, 2003). A great majority of published works concerning the history and culture of the Māori has been fashioned predominantly by non-Maori commentators propagating views⁸⁵ vastly removed from either customary beliefs and or practices steeped in Māori philosophy.

Whereas European science sought to plumb the mind of God by means of mathematics and taxonomy, Maori philosophies described the world by means of whakapapa (geneology), networks of interactive links being of different kinds, and sought to influence by ancestral power.

(Salmond, 1997:32)

Mason Durie (1998:54) alleges that the imperialistic notion of a universal Māori identity systematically enabled Eurocentric views and subsequently cultural domination facilitating a range of definitions⁸⁶ that actively disabled tribal organisation and distinctiveness. Likewise the reconstruction of indigenous history was a persuasive discourse and indicative of colonial plunder and, for that reason, the growth of Māori music represented a struggle for cultural power (Lamb in Mitchell, 1994:56).

⁸⁵ According to Soutar (1996:43) records of tribal histories gathered over one hundred years ago were dominated by non-Māori male settlers with fixed values and beliefs that perpetuated their narratives.

⁸⁶ Durie (1998:52-79) indicates the various influences that have impacted upon the changing perceptions of Māori identity. The Māori Economic Report (2003:41) further highlights various definitions of Māori identity.

One of the supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we could not use our minds or intellect. We could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, invent things, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the 'arts' of civilization.

(Smith, 2003:25)

Additionally Salmond asserts that western interpretations of Māori society were often based upon a precarious combination of bewilderment,⁸⁷ prejudice⁸⁸ and notions of violence (Salmond, 1997:17). Commentators wielded science and ideologies of race⁸⁹ as 'weapons of imperialism,'⁹⁰ perpetuating the views and self interests of Pākehā society, (Smith, 1997:17) while also facilitating the extension of intellectual territories, and, scholarly superiority in the interests of sovereign and state (Salmond, 1997). By engaging systemic methodology as a framework for validating enquiry, examination and classification, native institutions such as the music domain were invalidated, providing commentators with a self serving platform in which to define and interpret others.

We have a history of people putting Maori under a microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define.

(Merata Mita in Smith, 2003:58)

2.2 THE THRUST OF IMPERIALISM

In 1845, George Grey was established Governor General of New Zealand. At the time of his arrival, antagonism between the Māori tribes and crown representatives was rampant. Charged with ensuring the rights of the Māori were fairly represented alongside the new settlers, Grey soon realised the enormity⁹¹ of the task further complicated by (what he perceived as) the incomprehensible language and customs

⁸⁷ Salmond (1997:23) asserted that first ideas of Maori were crafted from the ten records of Tasman's visit to Taitapu in 1642. The interpretive accounts highlighted the difficulties the sailors faced in terms of distinguishing not only the ethnicity of the Māori but also their social practices.

⁸⁸Salmond (1997) highlights the Dutch visit of 1674 in 1746 by Prévost recounted Maori as savages and barbarians disregarding that Maori were simply defending their harbour from strangers who had (unbeknown to them) accepted their challenge (pūtātāra - moorish trumpet) to fight.

⁸⁹ Pihama (1997:61) accentuates the notion of a racial hierarchy.

⁹⁰ Smith (2003:21) asserts that imperialism consisted of four interwoven tendrils.

⁹¹ Grey (1995) recognised successful governorship was reliant on an understanding of Māori customs and language.

(Grey, 1995). Motivated by Crown responsibilities and the increasing agitation between Māori and Pakehā, Grey attempted to readdress the situation by familiarising himself with the concerns of the native people therein establishing an adhoc study⁹² of their language and customs. At a later date, Grey's conclusions were published and disseminated throughout universities as a body of credible knowledge.⁹³ Nonetheless, the methodology adopted by Grey was problematic. Enamoured with the notion of cultural superiority and therefore assuming the right to objectify the practices and beliefs of Māori, Grey published edited accounts of narratives gathered from Te Arawa contributors such as Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke,⁹⁴ as a universal representation of tribal narrative thereby de-essentialising other iwi versions for the purpose of reconstructing a pseudo reconstruction of Māori society so as to substantiate supremacy.

Western scholars often speak of knowledge as a kind of territory which is divided by topic into 'areas', 'fields', and 'domains'. Human experience of the world is ordered by sorting it into fields such as economics, law, politics, religion, history anthropology, sociology, etc... These metaphorical spaces act as a device for sorting interpretations into categories – conceptual boxes whose contexts can then be more precisely indexed, co-referenced and compared.

(Salmond, 1983:315)

Te Awēkotuku⁹⁵ (1999) asserts that Grey purposely romanticised or decontextualised collected narratives so as to appease western constructs of acceptable human behaviour, reinforcement of patriarchy as well as ensure hearty readership⁹⁶ and personal status amongst his peers.

One fine example is the story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai. We are continually reminded that this is the greatest romance of all time, which is why it is such a popular tourist tale, presented in song, dance, and active storytelling. Hinemoa defied her parents and swam the midnight waters of the lake to win her flute playing beloved, Tutanekai. Yet people overlook some critical elements. She swam to him. She took the initiative. He was much more interested in Tiki, his

⁹² Over a period of eight years, Grey was assisted by a myriad of Māori informants he came in contact with during his travels as Governor in chief.

⁹³ Salmond (1983:309) relates the origin of scientific anthropology and the means of dissemination.

⁹⁴ Reed (1963:14) cites that the Te Arawa legends recorded by Sir George Grey were written in Māori by Wiremu Maehe Te Rangikaheke. Note the spelling error in the second name i.e. Maehe as opposed to Maihi.

⁹⁵ Tribal affiliations to Te Arawa.

⁹⁶ According to Soutar (1996:51) the motivation of the writer determines whether the writer is researching for the benefit of those being researched or for personal acclaim.

comely male companion, so to get Tutanekai's attention, in Rangikaheke's version, Hinemoa masqueraded as a man. She presented with a male voice and sent Tutanekai's friend back up to him and then lured him down as a male, not as a woman. The story offers an intriguing perspective on sexuality and gender roles in the ancient Maori world; yet we are left with a quaintly colourful telling of the 'Great Maori Romance'.

(Te Awekotuku, 1999:5)

Then again while Grey grasped the importance of genealogical recital, (often expressed through chant in relation to explaining the Māori worldview), he also discounted what he perceived as linguistic idiosyncrasies and philosophical theogony⁹⁷ as delusional. That their traditions are puerile is true; that the religious faith of the races, who trust in them is absurd, is a melancholy fact (Grey, 1995) thereby implying that such values were akin to savagery⁹⁸ and therefore repulsive to the cultured European ear and mind. Salmond (1983:310) contended that a common hallmark of western scholarship was to perceive “native explanations of the world as deceptions and delusions “thereby enabling hegemony and the right to define others⁹⁹ according to fixed racial stereotypes. Subsequently tribal accounts were routinely disembowelled resurfacing as sanitised “myths,” legends” and “traditions” (Salmond, 1983:310) purposely shaped for eager Pakehā readership and circulated throughout the world as an authentic truth; a disruptive discourse fully understood by many iwi and likewise documented in song form by tribal composers such as Tuini Ngawai.

*Te Matauranga o te Pākehā
The knowledge of the Pākehā
He mea whakatō hei tinanatanga
Is propagated for whom?
Mō wai ra?*

*Hei patu tikanga
To kill customs,
Hei patu mahara
To kill memory*

⁹⁷ The study of primal gods and their creative, generative, and parental powers (Reed, 1963:15).

⁹⁸ Grey (1995) highlights that his work will enable European readership an understanding of the heathen world of the Māori.

⁹⁹ Loomis (2000:896) contends that indigenous peoples have been typified by theories of colonialism and modernization.

Mauri e
To kill our sacred powers
(Tuini Ngawai in Pēwhairangi, 1985:70)

2.3 THE THRUST OF TAXONOMY

Alternatively Anderson's generic¹⁰⁰ conceptualisation of a music system built upon the sightings of various explorers¹⁰¹ as well as studies conducted by learned societies proved to be influential in defining Māori music. According to Smith (2003) learned societies were integral to the perpetuation of decontextualised models of human society and human nature.

The significance of these societies for indigenous peoples, however is that they defined, produced and reproduced 'culture': not just for scientific culture, but the culture of knowledge, the culture of elitism, and the culture of patriarchy.

(Smith, 2003:86)

Anderson's *Maori Music* published by the Polynesian Society in 1934 represents an anthology of narratives preoccupied with descriptions of mathematical taxonomy, chronological organisation, artistic representations of instrumentation, (sketches) observations conducted, as well as commentaries concerning the presumed qualities of musical expression in accordance with western forms of music making.¹⁰² Primarily musicologists sought to identify the presence of a musical system amongst Māori by superimposing Eurocentric conventions as terms of reference and comparison. Many of the accounts in Anderson's *Maori Music* reiterate the imposition of western forms of music making and philosophies. Although questionable and even somewhat simplistic in approach at times, the nature of such practice highlight the force of monoculturalism, and even more so, adversity to idiosyncrasies and devices inherent within dissimilar music systems; despite assertions of objectivity.

¹⁰⁰ Smith (2003:86) heighthed the scientific drive and models of universality.

¹⁰¹ Anderson (2002:1) indicated the earliest sources of information concerning Polynesian music derived from Cook and Banks accounts.

Joseph Banks was already a member of the Royal Society when he set forth on Cook's first voyage to the South Pacific in 1769. (Smith, 2003:86)

¹⁰² According to Bennett (1987:3) the term style is used to describe the characteristic manner in which composers of different times and of various countries combine and present the basic musical elements of melody, harmony, rhythm, timbre, form and texture. Bennett asserted that it is the manner in which the composers treat, balance and combine the elements which in tum distinguishes or "provides characteristic fingerprints".

In a study of any aspect of what we are pleased to call primitive or less developed cultures, two points of view, two avenues of approach, are possible. By means of the first we may examine the phenomena from the vantage ground of our own development. In doing so, however, the danger of comparison lies in a tendency to regard cultural phenomena other than our own inferior, and also to read into them premises which may not exist. Having being steeped in our own culture, we find it impossible totally to divest ourselves of it in order to examine, with the apperceptive equipment necessary to complete understanding, that culture which has grown from another branch. By following the second approach we may be well aware that exotic cultural phenomena are, like ours, to be regarded, not as abortive or defective growths, but as also living, budding endpoints of development probably as long as our own. The danger of depending too heavily on abstractions made on this basis is that we do not know positively what the beginnings from which the various branch sprang were.

(Roberts in Anderson, 2002:181)

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In one account, musicologist Helen Roberts¹⁰³ alleges that the limited tonal devices of the Māori vocal style represented undeveloped attitudes toward music development. While Māori appeared relatively comfortable with fractional interpretations of minor thirds; they possessed little inclination towards major scales. Alternatively Davis¹⁰⁴ proposed that the 'exotic airs' of Māori melody could be explained by a quarter tone theory having transcribed four respective melodies following this premise. Still, Davis himself could not vouch for the exactitude of the scores, having noted his subjects' inability to replicate the given melodies maintaining the same modulation he had scored. Over a century later, Mclean

¹⁰³ Helen Roberts was a musicologist and research assistant in anthropology at Yale University. She did a large amount of research on traditional music in Hawaii in the early part of the 20th century. Roberts, like George Herzog, established herself as a leading theorist in comparative research on North American Indian music through several important publications in the 1930s. (American History of Anthropology)

¹⁰⁴ Featured in Anderson's studies concerning Māori music.

(1996:245) would challenge the validity of the quarter note theory. Having analysed over 800 waiata,¹⁰⁵ Mclean determined that the Māori melody was best explained by the diatonic two note scale; involving the most melodic steps of a major second and minor second. However he had also noted that depending on the type of waiata performed, further notes such as the minor third were often added above or below the tonic generating a tritonic or three note scales. In significantly rare cases, a four note scale had been distinguished however the overall findings suggested that the single note scale or 'paororo'¹⁰⁶ seemed to be the most preferred alternative (to the diatonic and tritonic scales) thereby challenging the notion of a prominent quarter tone scale as proposed by Davis's study of four songs in 1855 (Mclean, 1996:235-249). Nevertheless Anderson¹⁰⁷ did sympathise with Davis's endeavors, acknowledging the continuum of inflection as being problematic in terms of scribing and explaining the Māori music system. Unlike Robertson and Davis, Anderson's reconstruction of the Māori music system would rely upon flute like instruments such as the koauau, porutu, whio and rehu. Stressing the importance of design as significant in not only the reproduction of sound but also uniformity, Anderson (2002:245-246) established a hybrid scale consisting of fractional intervals¹⁰⁸ based upon the proximity of tuning holes, length and shape of the koauau.

However Anderson's (2002:231-242) efforts were thwarted with difficulties for example locating expert performers, distinguishing correct blowing techniques, fingering positions as well as tracing authentic models in which to trial. Still, in the process of discovering that the blowing technique of the koauau simultaneously enabled the performer to chant and extract a tune, Anderson came to realise the inadequacies of his speculations. By establishing that the holes (wenewene) of the koauau were determined by the finger joints of its maker, and in turn the length, by the respective forefinger, the assumption of uniformity was quickly discarded.

¹⁰⁵ Mclean was assisted by Arapeta Awatere of Ngāti Porou in the collection of traditional chants throughout tribal areas where te reo Māori continued to flourish despite the onset of assimilation. The types of waiata collected ranged from waiata tangi, oriori to waiata aroha

¹⁰⁶ Awatere identified that the term referred to a continuous sound such as the waterfall or rolling sustained sound of thunder (in Mclean1996:235).

¹⁰⁷ Anderson (2002:192) highlighted the dilemma inherent within various scales.

¹⁰⁸ In melodic intervals the use of accidentals such as sharps or flats generally denoted a semi-tone or half of a tone. Anderson's scale incorporated partial tones that represented ½ of a semi-tone.

Alternatively the idea of a universal fractional scale as proposed by Anderson(2002:244) also lacked reliability as his explorations revealed players would either plug existing holes (so as to alter intervals) or, construct another instrument in search of a new melody.

Moreover the notion of a six note scale appeared somewhat adventurous considering that by Anderson's (2002:244) own admission only three of the sighted five holes produced notes. Nevertheless the notion of partial or covered fingering over holes (so as to enlarge the range of the instrument as in the circumstance of the flute or recorder) also previously discounted by Anderson (2002:244) reinforces the unlikelihood of a five note scale bearing in mind the one note per wewewene attitude of the player and the assertion of a tritonic scale by Mclean (1995:245). However despite the expanse of evidence, Anderson seemingly attributed the intuitive nature of the Māori as the deterrent in his efforts to scientifically explain the Māori music system.

These "attempts" prove two things: firstly that there were no recognised definite distances between the holes, or at least that there were there such they were unknown to the markers of the altered flutes; secondly, that there were certain intervals that pleased the ear certain that displeased it. The conclusion appeared to be that the Maori was 'feeling' for the intervals; unconsciously it may be, as he was feeling for melody. When a rangi koauau was composed, the rangi, or air, would evidently have been made to conform with the intervals of a certain koauau; it is definite intervals of singing, since the intervals on the various koauau do not correspond.

(Anderson, 2002:242)

Ngata's¹⁰⁹ revolutionary *Ngā Mōteatea* series¹¹⁰ later completed by Pei Te Hurinui¹¹¹ in 1959 embodied the finest literary examples of Māori poetry determined by tribal experts¹¹² in addition to being published in te reo Māori with English translations. Ngata specified that previous studies such as George Grey's collection lacked insight and depth relating to the language, history, traditions and cosmogony

¹⁰⁹ Tribal affiliations to Ngāti Porou.

¹¹⁰ Ngata (1988) claimed that *Ngā Mōteatea* was a collection of works suited to the bilingual and bi-cultural Māori.

¹¹¹ Tribal affiliations to Tainui.

¹¹² Walker (2001:206) indicated that Ngata had recognised the need to record the 'airs' of tribal songs and laments before living exponents of Māori culture died out.

of the Māori and therefore could not be suitably understood (Ngata, 1988). In addition, the series provided a medium for a distinctive tribal and composer viewpoint outlining an overview of each composition including explanations related to the motive of the composition, ‘whakapapa’ of ancestors referred to throughout passages as well as battles, ancient words and their significance to the tribal area including rituals related to ancient gods (Ngata, 1988) therein reflecting the diverse experiences of indigeneity without imposed cultural assumptions.

2.4 ALTERNATIVE THEORIES

Then again, Orbell (1991) accentuated the role of the socio-political environment and its influence on the nature of Māori composition arguing that the arrival of new people bearing alternative technology, processes and opposing values gave composers much to discuss. Not only did the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 pave the wave for Christianity and new governing policies; it also triggered the erosion of ancient rituals, warfare and genre previously written to honour those lost to battle or enslavement which in turn were replaced by biblical stories reflecting the impression of Christianity.

*E Hōhepa e tangi, kāti ra te tangi.
Me aha tāua i te pō inoi, i te pō kauwhau?
Me kōkiri koe ki te wai Hōrana...
You're crying, Hōhepa, but don't cry any more.
What must we do on the night of prayers, the night of preaching?
You must leap into the waters of Jordon...*

(Orbell, 1991:3-4)

Whereas the linguistic strengths of Māori chant played a prominent role in many studies (Grey, 1995; Ngata & Hurinui, 1974; Simmons, 2003) mid twentieth century musicology endeavoured to provide an ‘emic’ overview of melodic structure and instrumentation as sanctioned by validated tribal experts. Mclean (1965:133 - 143) emphasised the usage of pre-modal scales and rhythmic accents employed during performance; a conclusion that would result in the transcription of several ancient melodies in conjunction with a framework outlining intervals and appropriation for

chants collected. For some scholars this outcome was a major achievement in that previous research had either attempted or recognised the need for documentation although lacked the necessary skills or resources in which to transcribe or likewise capture (onto an enduring medium) the intricacies of the chants (Ngata & Hurinui, 1974; Grey, 1995:225-243).

McLean's studies also considered the qualitative elements of chant distinguishing that it was the imagery depicted in the 'waiata' that provoked an emotional response as opposed to the influence of the chordal arrangement (for example a major chord producing a bright tone or mood, whereas the minor chord produced a melancholy mood) as prevalent in western music (McLean, 1965:137; Pickow & Appleby, 1988; Webb, 1998:156-157). Alternatively Barrow (1965:7) accentuated the seafaring nature¹¹³ of the Māori as being integral to the development of 'open air' music by recognising the association of rhythm and melody alongside natural phenomenon such as the surge of the waves, or as bird song thus reinforcing the notion of imitative composition as opposed originality.

The important fact in relation to Maori music is that we are studying sea people. They lived with the sea; they felt the rhythmical surge of the wave: they watched the undulating flight of the ocean birds. They felt a nostalgic longing for distant homeland left and never to be seen again. The song of the birds, the sound of bush streams and breaking surf, the song of the wind, and other natural sounds may be detected in the words and rhythms of Maori music. Bird song which could be imitated or which sounded like human voice had a special appeal, for example the tui with its short sharp song suggested phrases to the old time Maori and, for this reason it was a special favourite.

(Barrow, 1965:7)

However Barrow overlooked the intrinsic correlation between genealogical narrative and ritualistic customs¹¹⁴ disregarding such systems as rigid; ¹¹⁵laden with superstitious notions steeped in a phenomenological world of bygone times.

¹¹³ Walker (1990:25) contended that the portrayals of Polynesian maritime achievements were often denigrated and romanticised.

¹¹⁴ Bishop (1996:25) highlights that historically Māori have enabled a diverse range of mechanisms for the dissemination of oral culture that is underpinned by their spiritual beliefs.

¹¹⁵ Barrow (1965:6) contends that customs were rigid and disallowed personal freedom of expression.

Nonetheless Barrow did infer various stages of musical evolution aligned to the phases of colonial expansion.

2.5 GLOBALISATION

The globalisation of western music thrust the culture of popular music into the private realms of the lounge and public domain of the workplace and ‘marae.’ Indoctrinated into the musical ways of the west, youth abandoned traditional values in pursuit of self expression and independence (Bennett, 2003:1-22). Nonetheless, the permeation of western music and practices also signified the erosion (Ngata, 1988) of aural¹¹⁶ and tonal elements central to the transmission of customary values. Smith (2003:28) implied that the aforementioned erosion paralleled fragmentation; a deliberate consequence of imperialism which effectively normalised and validated western forms of music (Staff & Ashley, 2002) while also de-essentialising any forms of music making that incorporated customary priorities and language; ushering in a counter wave of hybridization which is crucial to our understanding of contemporary Māori music in current times.

Since exposure influences taste, and taste can in cultural terms be broadly or narrowly based, the predominance of international hits for musical aesthetics with Aotearoa/New Zealand. Taste grows upon what one is fed, and when cultural dietary regimen is to a high degree homogenous, this is likely to engender prejudice to other musical forms and styles not encountered in the process of everyday media consumption.

(Pickering & Shuker, 1994:84)

The first record “*wholly*’ recorded, produced¹¹⁷ and pressed”¹¹⁸ (Eggleton, 2003: 11) in New Zealand was entitled ‘Blue Smoke’ and was released as a ‘78’ by Pixie Williams and the Ruru Karaitiana Quartet in 1949. Courting the attention of American crooner; Dean Martin, the song generated a successful cover version in

¹¹⁶ Ngata (1988) bemoaned the increasing dependence upon reading and the subsequent lessening influence of oral transmission.

¹¹⁷ Released by the Tanza label.

¹¹⁸ The first pressing plant in New Zealand was situated in Kilbirnie, Wellington.

the United States and signaled the entry of successful hybridization as well as active commodification¹¹⁹ of a musical resource by a Māori artist. In addition, New Zealand's first Māori cowboy 'Johnny Cooper'¹²⁰ launched the sound of indigenous rock n roll (albeit an emulation of Bill Haley and the Comets version nonetheless Cooper later released a home-grown effort 'Piecart Rock and Roll') and by 1956, hailed the 'undisputed King of Rock and Roll' (Eggleton, 2003:9-12). Nonetheless active acculturation in tandem with consumerism impressed other genre as well producing a counter-culture of Māori entertainment that appealed to western sentimentality as best exemplified in the rise of classical artists, Inia Te Wiata¹²¹ and Kiri Te Kanawa. Servicing the notion that Māori could achieve greatness by ascending into high culture, both Te Wiata and Te Kanawa were touted as international role models of Māori success and modernity.

Following in suit, the smiling plethora of Māori showbands¹²² persistently wooed audiences around the world with sentimental polyphonic harmonies, comic cabaret and instrumental versatility subsequently establishing the individual careers of Sir Howard Morrison, Eddie Lowe,¹²³ John Rowles¹²⁴ and the late Billy T James¹²⁵ and Prince Tui Teke¹²⁶ (Dix, 2005:1; Staff & Ashley, 2002: 67-73). Yet the rural sector suffered phenomenally under the impact of the war years and the increasing youth attraction to western socialization as exemplified in the urban migration which literally emptied the marae leaving the elderly with the responsibility of 'ahi kaa'.

Following World War 2, urbanisation resulted in major migration from country areas to towns and cities, and by 1976 more than 80% of the Māori were living in urban centres, a quarter in the greater Auckland area.

(Durie, 2003:122)

¹¹⁹ Dix (2005:330) emphasises the contribution of Māori performers.

¹²⁰ From Ngāti Kahungūnu.

¹²¹ Born in Otaki.

¹²² Dix (2005:258) determines that in post war years the popularity of Māori concert parties decline paralleled by the rise of the Māori show bands.

¹²³ Tribal affiliations unknown.

¹²⁴ Born in Whakatane.

¹²⁵ Of Tainui descent.

¹²⁶ Tribal affiliations are Ngai Tūhoe.

As a means of readdress, Māori composers began to appropriate and recycle American melodies (that dominated the radio waves) in accordance with their needs; installing Māori themes and linguistic phrases that enabled metered hand sequences ushering in the development of the modern action song otherwise known as the waiata-ā-ringā (Ngata & Armstrong, 2002:13). Tuini Ngawai gained great notoriety as a composer of 'waiata-ā-ringā'. Hailing from the East Coast region of the North Island, New Zealand; Tuini Ngawai penned songs that Pēwhairangi (1985:19-25) described as summaries of struggles and joy of day to day life.

In doing so, Ngawai created a genre for various occasions and moods, as depicted in the solemn mood of the plaintive waiata 'Arohaina mai' imploring the mercy of God, ranging to the comical mixture of Māori and English lyric in shearing songs such as 'Big Ben' a metaphorical inference to the infamous London clock tower eluding to the conclusion of the daily grind at the end of the day. Ngawai's lyric overlaid upon American big band tunes reflected the labour intensive existence of her people, the importance of Christian faith while also accentuating the significant shift away from traditional spirituality. Still, Ngawai's compositions did embrace the centrality of 'whanaungatanga' and the importance of "relationships between people; between people and the physical world; and between people and the gods."(Williams, 2000:224)

According to Pēwhairangi (1985:22) the basis of the melody was of little significance; of primal importance was the expression of sentiment that appealed to the Māori soul. A somewhat stark contradiction when considering the original purpose of appropriating popular tunes however aligned to the philosophy of a tribal poet. While traditional song utilised significant figures of speech evoking imagery pertinent to a particular tribe or circumstance, Ngawai's songs espoused and motivated a generation of rural and urban Māori culturally and economically oppressed from the mid 40's to 1963 dispensing the importance of kin relationships and the reciprocal responsibility of both the collective (whānau, hapū and iwi) and individual to each other.

In conclusion then, this chapter has highlighted the domination of Eurocentric narratives and the breadth of decontextualisation endured by Māori music. Alternatively the superimposed notion of homogeneity, a repercussion of imperialism, taxonomy and globalisation has proven to be a destructive force and continues to oppose diversity of expression, de-essentialise tribal uniqueness and simultaneously entrench the marginalisation of Māori. Together with the impact of urbanisation and cross cultural pollination, definitions of Māori music have germinated into an assortment of styles and expression. Nonetheless despite the appropriation of western idiom, contemporary Māori music continues to draw from a traditional base as a source of inspiration, affiliation, cultural identity and distinctive heritage.

Chapter 3

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF MĀORI IDENTITY

IN POPULAR MUSIC

It is an undisputed truism that contemporary Māori music can be readily associated with cultural nationalism (biculturalism) and, the likelihood of appropriating a range of practices and beliefs fundamentally at odds with customary¹²⁷ priorities (Martens, 2007:119). While many argue that the premise of traditional oral culture derives solely from tribal authenticity, thus preserving cultural distinctiveness, (Karetu, 1992:28; Papesch, 2006; Reedy in Horsley, 2007) others recognise the increasing fragmentation of contemporary cultural identity, (Durie, 1998:59) and, therefore resultant negotiations manifested as reconstructions of a universal Māori identity (Thomas in Marten, 2007:121).

Māori musicians are now working in the genres of hip hop, dub, reggae, blues, junk, soul, classical, contemporary, electronica and rock. In many of these genres, Māori musicians have joined with Pasifika artists to create a unique 'south pacific sound'.

(Te Puni Kokiri, 2005)

Alternatively the prevailing issues of marketability, (Black in Panoho, 2007; Mitchell, 1994:66) access and autonomy within the mainstream milieu, (Maniapoto in Mitchell, 1994:53-54; Puanaki, 2008) as well as the emergence of commercial based entities such as maorimusic.com, (Douché, 2001) Māori television, (Aperahama, 2006) and Iwi radio, (Wilson, 1994) suggests that Māori music as a form of cultural capital, is commonly accepted in both the Māori and mainstream community.

We have these changes because as Māori we now place a strong economic value on who we are as indigenous peoples, our art, our music, stories and dance, and

¹²⁷ Traditional Māori practices implied

fill our maraes and homes with these symbols. In that sense I believe that mainstream New Zealand is open to embracing our success.

(Nicholas in Panoho, 2007:44)

While the premise of contemporary Māori music like popular genre is concerned with developing economic relationships so as to sustain areas of creativity, performance, and, reproduction, (Shuker, 2008:4-5) at the same time, it is also concerned with perpetuating identity as a means of either propagating matauranga Māori, (Aperahama, 2006:116-117) differentiating oneself in the mainstream marketplace, (Taisha in Williams, 2004:88) or alternatively, creating counter realities as a basis of constructing meaning and identity in the contemporary realm (Hall, 1997:24-25).

On the other hand, Māori music has many faces, aspects, attributes and characteristics that each generation, with their own trends, belief systems and motivations, have defined and determined for themselves and to the rest of the world.

(Aperahama, 2006:118)

The primary aim of this chapter is to explore ways in which Māori identity is reconstructed or contemporised within popular music by examining the sound and video recordings of *Tangaroa*¹²⁸ (2007) composed, performed and produced by Tiki Tane. I also consider the relationship between dancehall and tribal philosophy as a basis of discussing ways in which contemporary ideology perforated with elements of Māori philosophy are related to cultural identity.

*Are you ready?
Now this is it...my turn to bring a new shit
Dark and its heavy...show me if you're ready...rough
My turn to bring a new sound...*

(Tiki Tane, 2007)

¹²⁸ Also available on YouTube: Tangaroa by Tiki Tane.

3.1 BACKGROUND

The latest musical force,¹²⁹ Tiki Taane Tinorau is the eldest son of Uekaha Taane Tinorau of Ngāti Maniapoto lineage and Lyn of English and Scottish descent. Born and raised in the Heathcote Valley of Christchurch, New Zealand, Tiki is the third eldest of four children. From all accounts, Tiki was a wayward adolescent; devoting his time to wandering the streets and skirmishes with the law. Ironically it would be the fateful gifting of an acoustic guitar that would lead Tane into a series of important career choices launching a productive and international profile alongside some of the finest acts¹³⁰ of this decade (Tikidub Productions, 2008).

Beyond all of this Tiki created a mythos around himself, a mythos that became self-perpetuating. He was a dreadlocked, tattooed, half Maori, half English musical monster, raga, hip-hop raps, sung choruses playing guitar to the studio and back. He was underground, but he could write pop hooks that could and did crossover into the mainstream. Hip Hop, Reggae, Jungle, Dancehall, Dub, Rock, House, what style of music couldn't he do, what group wasn't he involved in on some level?

(Pepperill, 2007)

By his own admission, as well as being immortalised in song form, Tiki Tane has been saved by music and is the first New Zealander to have achieved platinum status (downloads) for the acoustic single *Always on my mind* (2007). Nonetheless, despite the commercial success, (of the single) Tane has credited other tracks from his debut album as liberating his 'former self' thereby unleashing a new sound, personhood and the confidence to fly solo.

Tangaroa means 'God of the Sea'. This was the first song I wrote for my album; I started it a good four years ago. Since then I have come to realise it was the catalyst for all the changes I have been through the last few years. I wanted to make something that was challenging and progressive, yet at the same time united the past and the future as one. I clocked a haka recording and discovered the speed was about 110 bpm, which is a great tempo for writing dancehall at. I threw in some tribal elements and came up with a rhythm that was very powerful

¹²⁹ Nominated for 9 Tui's at the 2008 New Zealand Music Awards and won Best Aotearoa Roots.

¹³⁰ Shapeshifter, Salmonella Dub

even without the haka on top, so when my father laid one down, it just took it to a whole other level. In my heart I believe this song embodies the power and mana of Tangaroa and haka.

(Tiki Tane, 2007)

3.2 MYTHOLOGICAL ORIGINS

A distinctive element of the album *Past, Present & Future* (2007)¹³¹ is the vernacular of classical idiom¹³² including the recital of mythological origins as highlighted in tracks entitled Tangaroa and Tainui waka. According to Walker, (1992) the central tenet of Māori evolution is concerned with the depiction of a phenomenological world and three sequential phases of existence. The first phase, Te Kore (the void), nurtured the universal seeds¹³³ of potential resulting in the eventual formation of the earth mother (Papatūānuku) and the sky father (Ranginui). The second phase, Te Pō, (the dark) observed the self generative powers of Ranginui and Papatūānuku in tandem with their resultant progeny, the primal gods created to rule over all aspects of nature.

Disgruntled and unhappy with the darkened and overcrowded conditions caused by living within the confines of their parents' marital embrace, the children conspired to alleviate their circumstances by separating the embrace of the primeval pair resulting in the final phase of the creation cycle; Te Ao Marama depicted as the world of enlightenment and knowledge. It is during this time that the underlying dichotomy of human society was established following the aftermath of the separation and the ensuing sorrow and revenge of Tawhirimātea (personification of the wind) against his brothers (Reed, 1963:23-25). Walker (1992:182) argues that the fundamental purpose of mythology was to provide not only a mirror image of authentic cultural behaviour but also a logically arranged system of social norms, morals and values inherent to its people.

In contrast Hall (1997) asserts that cultural meaning can be broadly defined by the manner in which language is applied and likewise interpreted. Referring to three

¹³¹ Past, Present and Future maintained a top 40 status on the New Zealand Charts for over forty weeks.

¹³² Tane utilises whakapapa, Te Reo Māori, karakia, haka taparahi and haka poi in the song.

¹³³ Primeval matter of the universe.

approaches Hall (1997:24) highlights the reflective approach as being concerned with the notion of a fixed and binary context in which language acts as both a definer and visual cue. For example the word 'rose' not only identifies a living object but also evokes a visual image of a rose. Alternatively the intentional approach posits that language and cultural meaning can be constructed according to the personal preferences of an individual. For example the word 'rose' may be used to convey or communicate a concept that exhibits little correlation with the typical garden variety. Within this context the individual re-negotiates the linguistic intent and therefore the basis of meaning (Hall, 1997:25).

The third model referred to as the constructionist approach acknowledges the public and social character of language and suggests that individuals and groups construct representational systems (concepts and signs) as a basis of constructing meaning. Therefore a 'rose'¹³⁴ is defined in accordance with its symbolic function or alternatively what it signifies to its respective community highlighting that meaning is not necessarily fixed to a materialistic or physical interpretation of reality (Hall, 1997:25).

On the other hand, Walker's hypothesis favours a relational context (genealogical narrative) reinforced by linguistic narratives (for example whakapapa, pepehā, whakatauaki) and visual symbolism (for example, whakairo, tā moko). In opposition to Hall's theories, cultural meaning is determined by the way in which individuals link or relate (whakapapa) to each other (whanau, hapū and iwi) and the land (maunga, awa, waka, marae). This highlights that the conventions of language (in the tribal sense) as opposed to being mechanisms of definitions are utilised for the purpose of reinforcing and maintaining a unique worldview, custom and language base. In a contemporary setting, as opposed to solely internalising tribal or customary philosophies, artists will often appropriate and evolve western genre and philosophies as a means of conveying the significance of identity augmentation, new technologies and economic realities (Aperahama, 2006:117).

¹³⁴ An example of representation is depicted in the Irish beauty competition referred to as the Rose of Tralee.

If Tiki can be described as a musical monster, then 'Tangaroa' was the equally formidable child of such a beast. Huge brutish dancehall rhythms detailed with a drum and bass aesthetic were overlaid with a powerful charging haka performed by Tiki's father, this was then blended with semi apocalyptic stabs, synths and thunderous percussion, raining down on the listener like crashing waves of the ocean. The accompanying video matched the song in power on so many levels. I had to ask myself, was this my generations 'Poi E'?

(Pepperill, 2007)

3.3 REPRESENTATIONS OF IDENTITY IN SPIRITUALITY

The portrayal of tribal symbolic practices in *Tangaroa*, (2007) can be likened to Hall's constructionist approach of cultural representation. Tane aligns a personal struggle with drug addiction with symbolic reference to the separation of the primeval parents (Ranginui and Papatuanuku) and the eventual new world represented in Te Ao Marama heralding in accordance with Tane's narrative; rehabilitation by means of cultural renaissance.

I'm trying to live more in the present and update one of our traditions, this is my contribution.

(Tane, 2007).

In doing so, Tane offers the notions of spiritual and cultural transformation, a personal statement and similarly mythical origin (bare face to mataora, mute to full voice, displaced and troubled by drugs to being culturally centred and secure; previously an individual to now a member of the collective) accentuated by the adornment of symbolic Māori identity.

It's just like really getting in touch with my tupuna and all my ancestors who have gone on before me...pulling on that strength and for me that is very Māori.

(Tane, 2007).

The appropriation of signifying practices such as the genealogical recital as well as the utilisation of symbolic references as depicted in the wearing of the korowai, mataora and possession of the taiaha represents a counter version of reality in tandem with a projected desire to be recognised and affirmed as Māori.

Furthermore the presence of pastiche and oppositional imagery as distinguished by the blackened backdrop (isolation vs. harshness vs. shady underground vs. spiritual vs. dangers of the world) offers a fragmented perspective of Māoriness somewhat removed from the traditional narrative of mythology and identity yet suited to contemporary idealism.

The moment we were perceived, one of their women made a signal to us, by holding up a red mat, and waving it in the air, while she repeatedly cried out at the same time in a loud and shrill voice, haromai, haromai, haromai, [sic](come hither,) the customary salutation of friendship and hospitality.

(Nicholas in Mclean, 1996:83)

3.4 REPRESENTATIONS OF IDENTITY IN KARANGA

The symbolically inferred karanga featured throughout Tangaroa (2007) is cyclic and unceasing having more in common with the temperament of *ostinato*¹³⁵ as opposed to custom. While the connotation of paranormal is implied particularly by the quality of timbre; verbal articulation is indistinct (perhaps a sound scape placement issue) making it difficult to comprehend the intent (apart from ‘i pamamao’ and ‘ora e’) of the idiom. Salmond (1996) argues that the customary role of the karanga was perceived as the female equivalent to *whaikōrero*. Drawing upon a range of mythological and poetic phrases, the karanga initiated the sequential stages of *whakanoa* (Barlow, 1991:39) elevating the emotional atmosphere of the *marae* by either issuing greetings of welcome, invoking the dead or acknowledging a specific *kaupapa* or gesture (Salmond, 1996:137). The call and response exchange between the *maioha* (local *kaikaranga*) and *tīwaha* (visiting *kaikaranga*) consisted of a set order of text matched in accordance with the purpose of the occasion. Mclean (1996:84) argued that the spoken rhythms of karanga adhered to the rules of linguistic syntax therefore a formal musical structure was non-existent. Nonetheless he did concede that the standardised cry rested upon a single note, (mono – tone) apart from the micro-tonal leap (ranged between a minor second to a minor third)

¹³⁵ *Ostinato* can be defined as a repetitive motif or phrase. In popular music *ostinato* is generally represented by guitar or keyboards riffs.

that launched the penultimate¹³⁶ word at the end of message. Once the kaikaranga had concluded her final phrase, she was seated and the process succeeded by the ritual of whaikōrero.

By the time the callers have finished the dead are almost tangibly present on the marae. All the group, living and dead members alike, are brought back together, making a long unbroken chain of kinsmen that stretches right back to Hawaiki and the Pō (Underworld).

(Mclean, 1996:29)

In contrast Tane's representation of karanga seem resistant to the natural rhythms of te reo Māori (linguistic patterns) favoring the demands of common time.¹³⁷ Although the vocalist situates the majority of the karanga on a single note, the discernable vowel nuances such as 'o-ra-e' and 'i-pa-ma-ma-o' are sorted into a fixed metre as determined by the rhythmic division of dance hall. In addition it is the distinctive qualities of the appoggiatura¹³⁸ that launches the penultimate word repetitively throughout the reoccurring eight bar phrase. Consequently, due to the incomprehensible nature of the lyric in tandem with the amalgam of style inflections, one is left to surmise the purpose or meaning of the never-ending wail.

3.5 REPRESENTATIONS OF IDENTITY IN HAKA

When Hēnare Teōwai of Ngāti Porou, an acknowledged master of the haka, was on his deathbed he was asked by the late Wiremu Parker, broadcaster extraordinaire, "What is the art of performing haka?" Hēnare Teōwai's reply was, "Kia kōrero te katoa te tinana" (The whole body should speak).

(Karetu, 1993:22)

Like the karanga, the haka encapsulates a range of encounters that vary in functions and tone according to the occasion (Ngata, 2002:11).

¹³⁶ The penultimate word is generally next to the last syllable in a word.

¹³⁷ A musical term referring to four crotchet beats situated within a bar.

¹³⁸ A musical term referring to set of passing notes.

In earlier times when warfare was endemic and strangers were probably enemies, these rituals were used as a finely balanced mechanism to manage encounters in peace...

(Salmond, 1990:115)

Given the nature of ritualistic encounter, “tribal reputation often rose or fell on their ability to perform haka” (Mahuika in Gardiner, 2007:25) highlighting the significance of performance and the ability to convey in the fullest sense the language of the soul by means of posture, body, eyes, tongue, feet, hands, legs, body and voice (Armstrong & Ngata, 1964). On the other hand Gardiner (2007:26) stressed that variations of haka were determined by utility or similarly purpose. The most common style was ‘haka taparahi’ generally used for welcoming guest, amusement or alternatively communicating a particular opinion. In contrast, the traditional styles of ‘haka peruperu’, ‘haka puha’ or ‘haka tutūngārahu’ exemplified the true nature of war dance. These styles featured a range of weaponry and were utilised during preparations for battle or alternatively celebrating victories.

In terms of mythology, the origins of haka derive from the dance of Tanerore (male personification of shimmering air) the son of Tama-nui-te-rā (male personification of the sun) and Hine-raumati (female personification of summer). The wiri depicted in the quivering hand movements symbolised the dance Tanerore performed for his mother Hineraumati (Gardiner, 2007:17). In a similar fashion Flintoff (2004) insists that traditional music also derived from mythological origins rationalising the reliance upon nature as the primary source of inspiration.

Tunes are named after the Sky Father Rangi, and rhythms come from the heartbeats of Papa, the Earth mother. Their descendents brought us the instruments to join rhythm and tune. Tāne Mahuta, the God of the Forest and its creatures, gave the trees from which many instruments are made. Hine pū te hue, one of his daughter, became the ancestress of the gourds and began by using her own body as a sounding vessel. Another daughter, Hine Raukatauri, loved her flute so much that she chose to live inside it, and became the Goddess of the flute music. Tāwhirimātea, the God of the Winds, gives breath to the spinning instruments. Tangaroa, the mighty God of the Seas, is father of the fish which gives us sea shells, some of which are made into instruments.

(Flintoff, 2004:13-14)

3.6 A NEW ERA OF HAKA?

However, there is a marked difference between the haka of old and haka of contemporary times. As a traditionalist, Karetu (1993:83) bemoans the quality of language performed in haka (particularly national level competitions like Te Matatini)¹³⁹ characterising the expression as relatively mediocre with unfortunate prevalence given to minor factors such as choreography (movement, actions) or alternatively audience appeal. Displays of incompetence he insisted lowered the standard of high performance and therefore ruthless condemnation was a necessary measure so as to ensure integrity (Karetu, 1993:84). Then again representations of contemporary haka, specific to the sporting domain have fuelled a range of debates particularly in regards to property rights rugby tradition the appropriate mindset as well as performance competency or legitimacy. As eluded to by Gardiner, (2007) the significance of haka, particularly for sports and national teams, is the notion of power and authority manifest not only in the portrayal of the haka but also in their profession. Therefore the reconstruction of meaning highlights the indirect nature of decontextualisation.

The appropriation of signifying practices such as the haka taparahi and haka poi depicted throughout the transformation excerpts of the video version of Tangaroa (2007) accentuate a level of intensity and flair indicative of both styles, yet similarly highlights the awkwardness of Tane's portrayal. Moreover the addition of synthetic effects (double tracking and flange) in tandem with variations of *pase doble*¹⁴⁰ alter the timbre of the chant; rendering a mood that could be described as oscillating¹⁴¹ aggression, subsequently contradicts the intent of the lyric, as well as haka styles featured. Royal (2005) argues that displays of aggression were commonplace, particularly in representations of the haka, due in part to mainstream popularity, as well as the general misconception of haka being solely a war dance.

¹³⁹ Te Matatini is a bi-annual Kapahaka competition comprised of regional representatives competing against each other at a national level. The competition features the nation's supreme exponents of Māori composition and performance.

¹⁴⁰ A latin dance rhythm or dance movement.

¹⁴¹ Oscillation in this sense implies a built up wall of sound repeating itself in a regular cycle or washing in over itself to build up a sense of tension.

Even more so Royal (2005:2) posits that in the absence of tactile or ‘in body’ experience, the synchrony of psychological and physical expression sought in the totality of haka was often askew resulting in a bedlam of widespread parodies¹⁴² lacking honesty, poignancy and spiritual purpose.

*Life on the street is murder, every day is a struggle
Every day is a struggle, if it wasn't for music,
I wouldn't know where I would be
Music has given me life, away from the streets and mans' strife
No more guns, no more knives
Music has saved my life*

(Tiki Tane, 2007)

3.7 NOTIONS OF CONTRADICTION

Notions of contradiction and identity resolution permeate the various concepts introduced in *Tangaroa* (2007). The most evident example is the portrayal of spiritual sickness as derived from drug addiction yet metaphorically implied in the video version of *Tangaroa* as a consequence of cultural displacement. Subsumed within a matrix of psychological trauma, Tane is depicted as realigning¹⁴³ himself in the summoning of the celestial powers (ngā tūpuna, ancestors) as a means of not only conquering drug addiction (and the implied vices of urban lifestyle) but perhaps also an assertion of Māori identity with a contemporary twist.

It made me look at myself and throughout that process I started to connect the dots about who I am and where I am heading and my position as a young Māori man in the world...

(Tiki Tane in Corfield, 2007:27)

Given the cathartic undercurrent of *Tangaroa* (2007), it is hardly surprising that opposed to a pure tonality of voice commonly associated with traditional chant, Tane has adopted a wall of synthetic oscillation as a means of not only projecting the

¹⁴² In 1997, popular girl group the Spice Girls staged two mock performances of haka which sparked controversy amongst Māori and New Zealand at large. Some commentators argued that the performance was offensive primarily as the haka is generally performed by men. Nonetheless the most likely injury was cultural insensitivity, decontextualisation and lacking ‘in body’ insight.

¹⁴³ In the DVD version, Tane is portrayed as receiving a major revelation and therefore makes the decision to transform.

chant but perhaps reflecting his own disenchantment with his prior circumstance. In contrast, analogies of turmoil that existed in the celestial realms (prior and following the eventual separation) and similarly Tane's continued struggles against drug dependency are equally implied, further accentuated by the incessant chanting of celestial ancestry underpinning the series of static contemplation close ups. While an implied devotion to the gods could be construed as a form of godliness, another interpretation of the circumstance is explainable by means of the cultural continuum. According to Evans (1989:19-20) the Māori perspective of contemporary ideology is explainable by means of a cultural continuum in which segments such as the past, present and future are considered indivisible. In this sense, time exists as a holistic and fluid dimension enabling the enmeshment of tradition and future. Alternatively the continuum allows spiritual communion between ancestor and descendent despite the passage of time (Tapsell, 1997:321-327). While such characteristics clearly feature throughout *Tangaroa* (2007) the song is equally contrasted by the utilisation of dancehall.

3.8 THE CULTURE OF DANCEHALL

According to Stewart (2002:3) dancehall can be described as a Jamaican sub-culture, a combination of music and dance, or alternatively a platform for venting the social concerns or complexities of life occurring within or outside of dancehall parties. In one sense the music is symbolic, as it reconstructs representations of reality yet it is simultaneously actual or real, as performers generally display spontaneous feelings and behaviours throughout performances. Alternatively dancehall has been likened to the moral decline of consciousness, characterised as sparse, rhythm centred, antagonistic, larger than life, rough and then again exciting particularly to a self obsessed generation. Still, dancehall is more than just a musical style; it is also a distinctive culture which sets it apart from other Jamaican genre. Stewart (2002) lists ten primary principles underpinning the philosophical nature of dancehall. I will list the primary principles as determined by Stewart and alternatively add comparative commentaries in relation to *Tangaroa* (2007), which as previously mentioned utilises dancehall as a stylistic backdrop.

1. THE SUMMONING OF DEITY

The first belief system entails simultaneous invocation of the Christian God and Rastafarian deity Haile Sellassie. The summoning of the deities does not necessarily imply that participants have to sustain a faith system or commitment level as a follower. The incantation is performed as a ritual of convenience or public display (Stewart, 2002:6). In contrast, *Tangaroa* (2007) refers to primarily Māori deity although some visual cues suggest notions of Christianity for example, the footprints in the sand prompts and angel of death symbolism on Tane's tee-shirt during the hongis scene of the video version. Otherwise, Tane's internalised and externalised voices chant genealogy related to Māori cosmogony.

2. PSYCHO-PYSIOLOGICAL RELIEF

The second standard relates to dancehall being used as a form of stress release or alternatively psycho-physiological relief – a way of relieving day to day pressures (Stewart, 2002:6). In *Tangaroa* (2007) there are several themes that articulate the turmoil of Tane's internalised world depicting temptations, identity resolution, relational difficulties and the need for affirmation. Nonetheless *Tangaroa* (2007) does represent a cathartic experience for Tane which is clearly depicted throughout the video version and is less obvious in the aural account.

3. ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENT

Alternatively the third point is related to economic advancement and the idea of generating financial gain from dancehall activities solely (Stewart, 2002). While *Tangaroa* utilises the stylistic conventions of dancehall, the most lucrative song on the album *Past, Present and Future* (2007) can be described as a popular acoustic love ballad. Given that Tane is a renowned 'multi-tasker' (soundman, frontman, composer, lyricist, producer, DJ) and winner of many awards for various roles; one could suggest economic gain however his handiwork has transcended dancehall and has moved into other genre which clashes with dancehall culture.

4 - 5. RESULTS DRIVEN

The fourth and fifth principles are similarly related in that one epitomises the idea of generating urgency for the purpose of attaining fast results (producing new songs before the current ones go out of style) while the emphasis of the fifth principle is centred around the idea of being end result driven with little regard for ethics, morals or illegal activities (Stewart, 2002:7).

6-7. VISIBILITY

The sixth and seventh belief systems objectify ideas relating to visibility and the notion of ensuring that the manifestation of dancehall on both a intraculturally and intersubculturally level are evident throughout the community whether made noticeable by means of garish clothing, specific hairstyles, excessive velocity, bold and offensive lyrics or alternatively public behaviour within or external to the confines of dancehall party (Stewart, 2002:7). In many ways these specific ideas articulate the notion of spectacle and in this sense, the visual components of the *Tangaroa* (2007) video articulates a range of indigenous representations that could be considered fresh and exciting to either outsiders or non indigenous observers.

8-10. SELF

The final three principles are concerned with notions of self and how self is publically constructed and subsequently validated. The internal self is de-prioritised in favour of the external self. Added to these ideals is the theory of self being fluid, adaptive and therefore a type of chameleon within the confines of not only the music but also lifestyle. Alternatively participants seek to transcend boundaries of normality in favour of gaining a higher social status within their community (2002:8). The projection of 'self' in *Tangaroa* (2007) is centred upon Tane's representation of personal trials and tribulations in regards to primarily drug addiction, cultural displacement and ideas of originality and distinctiveness. While initially Tane commences the song with a pretext of internalised dialogue; this is ultimately dominated by the externalised chanting and physical displays of haka

representation following the revelation and transformation scenes concerning the acceptance and outworking of cultural identity. Therefore ‘self’ in this context is portrayed as initially lost and marginalised and evolves into transformation and the acceptance of cultural identity. Given that representations of moko can be deemed as abnormal or frightening through the eyes of western society, it is relatively the opposite end of the spectrum in Māori society. Tane’s donning of the mataora implies a desire to be recognised and accepted as Māori, and it is this signifying practice that elevates him from a previous state of kūwaretanga.¹⁴⁴

3.9 RECONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Tiki Tane’s reconstruction of identity as depicted in the audio and video recording of *Tangaroa* (2007) is elaborate. While there are certainly strands of intentional redefinition (or modernisation of traditional themes) as well as inferred symbolism relating to universal Māori ideology and practices; there are also equivalents pertaining to transculturation, commodification and popular music culture thereby producing an augmented sense of self and culture.

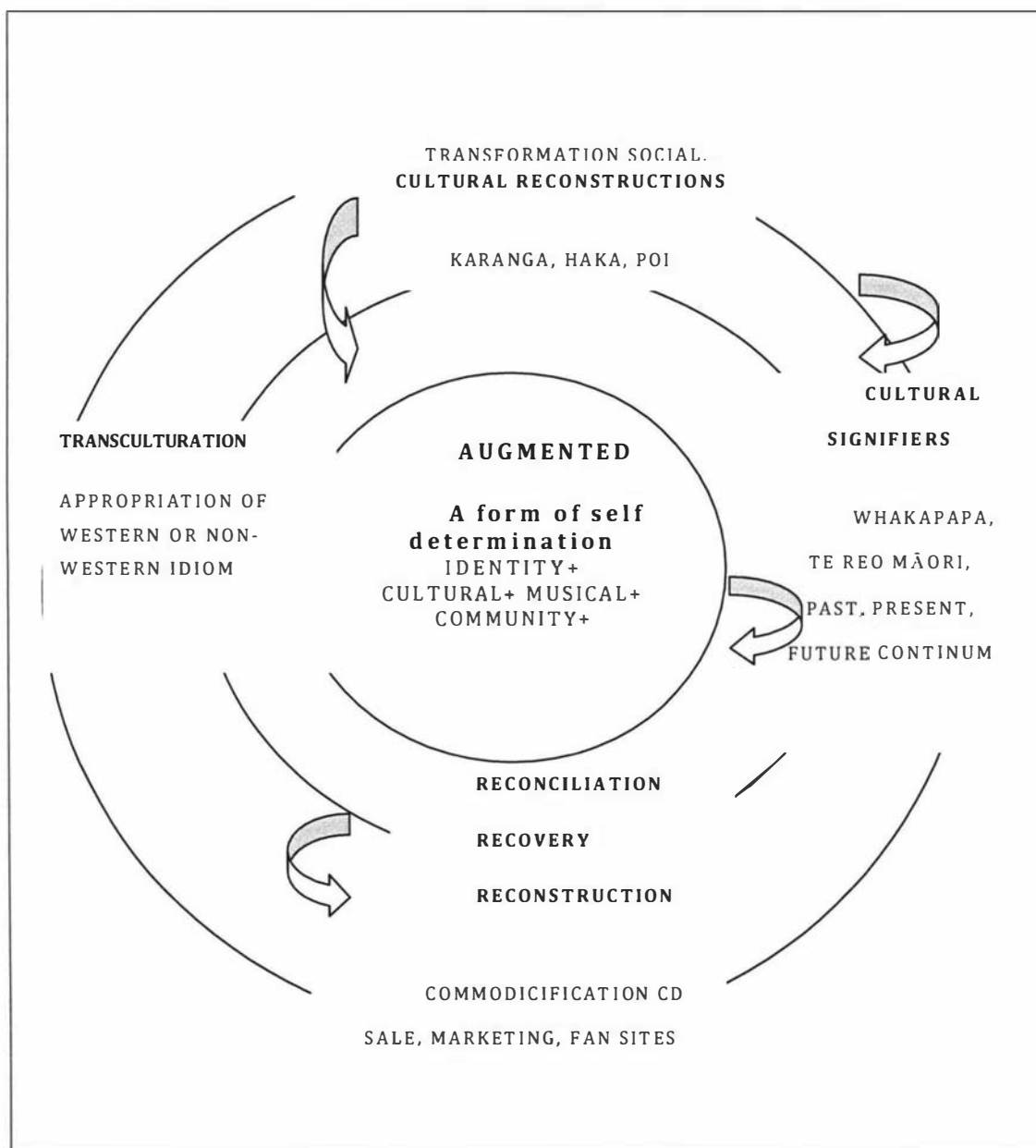
The following model highlights the constructs utilised by Tiki Tane in *Tangaroa* (2007). Each circle represents a phase in the development of identity although the pursuit of new knowledge is often instinctive as opposed to planned and can be influenced by social, economic or environmental factors as opposed to cultural conventions indicative of an indigenous upbringing. Contemporary augmentation recognises cross cultural exchange as a positive mode of engagement and subsequently works towards a state of confidence and trust with Māori and non Māori alike at various levels of interaction whether at the interface of musicianship; sales and industry or alternatively in accordance with the perceptions of audience and likewise fan bases. Nonetheless beyond the elements of cross cultural exchange and contemporary adaptation, *Tangaroa* (2007) is fundamentally about the plight of one man and the pursuit of identity, community and purpose. Put another way;

¹⁴⁴ Tiki Tane refers to kūwaretanga as a form of oppression in his video version of *Tangaroa*. *Ka warea te ware. Ka area te rangatira – Ignorance the oppressor. Vigilance the Liberator.* (Taanetinorau, 2007)

Tangaroa (2007) is about the quest for self determination, a theme inherent to Māori music whether traditional or contemporary based.

RECONSTRUCTION OF AN AUGMENTED IDENTITY

Figure 1



In conclusion this chapter has explored one specific example of how Māori identity has been contemporised and adapted within popular music. It has been determined that amidst the plethora of philosophies, the artist and therefore the soundtrack *Tangaroa* (2007) persistently confronts conventional ideals related to Māori identity, heritage and music for the purpose of asserting self determination although often situated within the context of a contemporary or commercial setting as opposed to iwi based forums.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Royal (1993:15) asserts that “research can take many paths, although the purpose of the journey remains the same. It begins with yourself and an appraisal of what you feel you need from research”. It is from this vantage point that my quest in terms of examining the nature and status of contemporary Māori music commenced. Throughout the initial stages of developing this research project I was intrigued by a range of questions pertaining to the nature of definition and stylistic features of contemporary Māori music. For example were there other distinctive elements beyond the standard qualifiers of language and ethnicity? How did semi professional composers of contemporary Māori music approach melody, harmony and rhythm? Were there predominant themes in contemporary Māori music that espoused a distinctive viewpoint; was this relative to conventional attitudes and how did contemporary expression fare within the context of the commercial marketplace? Essentially I wanted to define the creative and commercial persona of contemporary Māori music so as to document the range of influences shaping musical expression in the twenty first century. With this view in mind I contemplated a range of operational tasks and data gathering techniques that would not only engage contributors but accommodate cultural protocols,¹⁴⁵ manageability,¹⁴⁶ geographical¹⁴⁷ distance, an insider perspective, full time employment and the responsibilities of parenthood. As a result I determined that a small scale qualitative¹⁴⁸ study situated within Māori discourse utilising genealogical narrative,¹⁴⁹ waiata, individual based interviews, questionnaire¹⁵⁰ and content

¹⁴⁵ Elements such as ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ – face-to-face contact.

¹⁴⁶ I am the sole researcher and collator.

¹⁴⁷ I commenced the project recognising that the majority of contemporary Māori music practitioners and support agencies resided in Te Ika a Maui – the North Island of New Zealand. I live at the bottom of Te Waipounamu – the South Island of New Zealand therefore geographically distanced from the specific scene.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Qualitative’ implies a direct concern with experience as it is ‘lived’ or ‘felt’ or ‘undergone’ (Sherman and Webb in Baxter, Hughes & Tight, 2001:64)

¹⁴⁹ Genealogical narrative is a framework used by Māori to explain relational connectivity as well as origin and evolution. It is commonly referred to as whakapapa.

¹⁵⁰ *The unstructured interview has been variously described as naturalistic, autobiographical, in-depth, narrative or non-directive.* (Baxter, Hughes & Tight, 2001:171)

analysis¹⁵¹ was a suitable backdrop for examining the distinctive features of contemporary Māori music. Nonetheless a significant review of literature elucidated the dominance of western forms of interpretation and likewise colonising knowledge about indigenous peoples and their music as exemplified in chapters one and two. With this view in mind, the project moved from a prior position of explanatory based investigation to one of utilising research as an agent for change. By doing so, Māori forms of knowledge; values and practices were given priority and therefore legitimised thus situating the research within cultural parameters that serviced not only moral praxis but the formulation of interpretations in keeping with Māori worldview spirituality and principles integral to autonomy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:10).

As a result this chapter examines the research undertaken amongst a selection of national Māori music makers. I introduce a range of ethical considerations that have been integral to culturally appropriate practice followed by an outline of research methods undertaken with contributors. The chapter concludes with two distinctive tables presenting a summary of practitioner viewpoints concerning contemporary Māori music.

4.1 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Karakia is a ritual that acknowledges the phenomenon of spirituality. Barlow (1991:37) posits that karakia formed the premise of intercession on behalf of the concerns mortal men held in regards to their personal affairs. Essentially the karakia sought divine guidance, protection and direction. Alternatively Royal (1993) asserts that the Māori mind is comprised of two important facets. The memory or 'te puna mahara' is likened to a storage system whereas the 'te wānangā' generates the capacity to develop new ideas. Nonetheless Royal (1993:21) argues that both facets are unified in spirit thus accentuating the spiritual nature of conceptualisation and dialogue and likewise the importance of divine direction as facilitated by karakia. With this view in mind, karakia was viewed as intrinsic to the research paradigm

¹⁵¹ Musical Analysis conducted in this project has been approached from a stylistic feature angle.

informing study time, travel related to the project, communications with contributors, supervisor, supportive colleagues, family and ultimately the conceptualisation of research outcomes.

‘Pono ki te tāngata’ is an idiom used in Ngāti Rongomaiwahine to articulate the essence of truthfulness and transparency when dealing with others. Like ‘Aroha ki te tangata’, the idiom implies a respect for people and urges researchers to consider wisely the ways in which they represent the views of contributors. Alternatively this standard also conveys the notion of accountability whether in terms of access, feedback and commitment to a specific community (Powick, 2002:24). As a result, contributor confidentiality and the return of all correspondence related to this research and relevant parties will be returned at the completion of this project as articulated in the initial ethics proposal¹⁵² developed for this study in 2007. Each contributor will also receive a bound copy of the completed research. In addition, ‘Pono ki te tāngata’ is integral to my working relationship with my immediate supervisor, supporting colleagues and future interaction with declining artists and organisations.

‘Manaaki te tāngata’ is a holistic principle which informs the ways in which researchers work alongside individuals or groups engaged within the phenomenon of research. This standard may involve the provision of kai, koha or similar undertaking however it is generally accepted as a practical outworking of generosity and good intent towards others as exemplified in the interview section of this chapter (Powick, 2002:25).

In a similar vein, the principle of ‘titiro, whakarongo, korero’ conveys the spirit of humility particularly when engaging with contributors. This standard facilitates the notion of the researcher setting aside personal agendas, perceptions of knowledge and expertise so as to present open minded and ready to engage with the contributor. “The researcher must be patient, as they will often be required to watch, listen and

¹⁵² See appendices pages 100 -114

observe before they will be allowed to speak or begin to ask questions”. (Powick, 2002:25)

4.2 THE CONTRIBUTORS

Two types of participants; individuals and organisations were sought as suitable contributors in terms of completing the questionnaire and interview phases of this research project. The contributors criteria was focused upon music practitioners that self identified as Māori and had released a minimum of one album at national level and in addition, a proven longevity of 10 years or more in the music industry of New Zealand.

The five contributors involved in the questionnaire realm were singer songwriters, musicians or companies involved in popular Māori music. Geographically the contributors were located in Invercargill, Christchurch, Hamilton and Auckland. For the purposes of confidentiality, I assigned the following descriptors to the distinct groups as follows:

1. Singer songwriters as ‘Pūoro reo’.
2. Musicians as ‘Pūoro tangitangi’.
3. Music companies as ‘Pūoro umanga’.

From the questionnaire intake, five contributors indicated their availability for ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ unstructured interviews however only three contributors were available during the period set aside by the researcher for the purpose of interviews. The interviews were conducted in Invercargill, Wellington and Hastings during the week of 28 to 30 May 2008. The interviewees consisted of primarily musicians and one singer songwriter.

4.3 THE QUESTIONNAIRE APPROACH

Each contributor was sent a comprehensive questionnaire¹⁵³ which included a selection of seventeen in total multiple choice and open ended questions centred upon answering key areas namely:

1. The distinguishing elements of contemporary Māori music.
2. The types of motivators or themes that stimulated the composition of contemporary Māori music.
3. The extent and role of popular mass culture in the development and contextual status of contemporary Māori music.
4. The types of mandates underpinning performing arts organisations supporting the development of contemporary Māori music.
5. The identification of characteristics defining traditional and contemporary Māori music for the purpose of developing an information base.
6. The determination as to whether characteristics of traditional Māori music have been transformed beyond recognition within contemporary Māori music?
7. Operational issues in the contemporary Māori music sector.

Each contributor was asked to complete the questionnaire in their own words and return the completed questionnaire along with the consent form within a period of 28 days either by means of email or postal service.

¹⁵³ See appendices

4.4 THE INTERVIEW APPROACH

Holland & Romanzanoglu in Blaxter, Hughes & Tight (2001:171) maintain that unstructured interviews can be likened to a social event that occurs between two people. Commonly referred to as the naturalistic or an autobiographical style, unstructured interviews enable in-depth yet narrative forms of interaction. To enable a successful engagement, a series of emails were conducted between the researcher and available contributors so as to ascertain the most appropriate setting and time for the interview. As indicated previously in this chapter, interviews were arranged and conducted during the weekend of 28 to 30 May 2008. Royal (1993:44) maintains that researchers must always be prepared to make adjustments within the process of engagement allowing the opportunity for the contributor to be involved in the design of the interview so as to enable a cultural safe environment for the purpose of sharing personal history and experience. As a result, interviews were conducted primarily in the home environment although one interview took place in a cafe environment.

Of the three interviewees, two contributors considered a meal was an appropriate way of welcoming me as the researcher into their home and life for the brief time assigned for the interview highlighting the importance of 'manaakitanga' inherent to the engagement. Alternatively I reciprocated by offering tīti,¹⁵⁴ a delicacy of the Ngai Tahu iwi (relatively accessible when one resides in Invercargill) as a koha to the hosting contributor. These interviews were recorded onto a digital dicta-phone and copies of the original recording in tandem with a summary of major points derived from the interviews were sent to each contributor. The final contributor, due to work commitments could only meet in a café. Cognisant of this obligation, I organised a flow of refreshments so as to enable continuous conversation and informality despite the limitation of time. The informal 'chat' concluded with an hōngi which was an emotional and cultural appropriate convention initiated by the researcher in recognition of the personal narratives that had been shared by the contributor throughout the meeting. This interview provided an oral response to all

¹⁵⁴ Muttonbirds

questions outlined in the questionnaire and then provided an in-depth overview of personal history. These narratives were recorded in a handwritten fashion and a copy of the summary and questionnaire responses were sent to the contributor.

4.5 COLLATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

As mentioned previously in this chapter consenting contributors were asked to complete a questionnaire consisting of seventeen questions focused upon the persona of contemporary Māori music. The focus of the first six questions addresses components related to stylistic features of contemporary Māori music and were answered by pūoro reo, pūoro tangitangi and pūoro umanga. The remaining eleven questions of the questionnaire focus upon the operational and developmental issues of contemporary Māori music and were answered by pūoro umanga solely. It is important to note that originally there were eighteen questions listed in the questionnaire sent out to contributors however as this question¹⁵⁵ remained unanswered by all consenting parties, it was not included in the following summary.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY MĀORI MUSIC

Table 1

	Pūoro reo	Pūoro tangitangi	Pūoro umanga
Themes in contemporary Māori music	Whenua Whirau Whakapapa Aroha Iwitanga Te hau kāinga Matauranga Te Taiao Taohi	Te Reo Māori	Te Reo Māori Whakapapa of the artist or musician Messages or intentions; conveyance of the artist's worldview Āhua or appearance
The role of lyrics	He kaw e iō whakaaro He tohu tohu, he whakaitiāpiti Kōrero tukuiho Start point	Not first consideration	To communicate and articulate messages and stories that evoke thoughts, touch people and that they connect with.

¹⁵⁵ Question 12 required the contributor to add further comments regarding contemporary Māori. It was an open ended question type.

The role of melody	<p>Melody is important for waiata that are song-based or have a pop-style format with verses and choruses.</p> <p>When the melody is set, the lyrics need to fit in with this, so the lyrics are partly determined by how they fit with the melody. Nāku a nō ngā rangi i whakaarohia me te kōre aro atu ki te rangi o tangata kē.</p>	<p>Structure to carry the lyrics and support the actions. Demonstrates the messages.</p> <p>Contemporary music influenced by western forms.</p>	<p>To shape the emotion or intent behind or within the song. To be the message itself; evoking thoughts, emotions and images</p> <p>To give support to or enhance the lyrical story, message or intent unless the melody comes first and then it may behave as the foundation from which the lyrics grow.</p>
Styles or genre that distinguish contemporary Māori music	<p>Māteatea. I don't think there are styles.</p> <p>Octave leaps derived from contemporary pop music techniques.</p> <p>The setting that I perform them in i.e. on a stage, concert etc...</p>	<p>Contemporary music influenced by western forms.</p> <p>Females sing tend to slow the melody down as part of their singing style. Perhaps relate to spirituality?</p>	<p>Kapa haka is the only style which is distinguishable as non contemporary Māori. Styles such as acoustic folk, and hip hop can be found in contemporary expression.</p>
Locations where contemporary Māori music is best received		<p>Overseas</p> <p>Music festivals</p> <p>Mixed audiences</p>	<p>Kaupapa Māori events</p> <p>Festivals like Pani haka and Pao Pao festivals, Māori expos</p> <p>Iwirādo</p> <p>Māori organisations</p> <p>World indigenous stages e.g. Woma of festival</p> <p>Anywhere there is an open heart and mind</p>
Instrumentation	<p>Voice</p> <p>Electronic instruments</p> <p>Taonga Pūoro</p> <p>Pounamu</p> <p>Rakau</p> <p>Kohātū</p>	<p>One man band approach</p> <p>Natural singing</p>	<p>Guitar</p> <p>Sounds of nature</p> <p>Voice</p> <p>Guitar</p> <p>Taonga pūoro</p>
		Pūoro umanga 1	Pūoro umanga 2
Mediums of storage that have impacted upon contemporary Māori music		Not sure	Digital is the new medium of delivery of music to younger and emerging audiences. This is the new form of distribution, marketing and sales for the industry. This is the new opportunity to present and sell to global audiences via this medium of delivery. This allows any individual artist to sell and to communicate to the general public.
Values transmitted in contemporary Māori music		<p>It depends on whether artists is knowledgeable in iwi/hapu values although inherently they may transmit those things in ways whether they are 'studied' or 'raised' in them or not. Contemporary Māori music is a mixed bag distinguished by many different features and on many levels.</p>	<p>Each artist draws inspiration from their personal knowledge, influences or view of the world. This could be related directly and obviously from their knowledge of Māori culture, which can be transmitted lyrically in a contemporary form of composition.</p> <p>Whether it can be specifically identified as an iwi, hapu or whanau value or belief, this could be up to the composer or listener and whether it is based clearly around tribal whakapapa and other core identifiers.</p>
Stereotypes in contemporary Māori music		Tends to be stereotypically rationally defined. Need to move into a global stereotype reaching and appealing further and wider than others in the past.	<p>Māori music is defined by differing formats; this 'id' could be from both a composer and audience perspective. Contemporary Māori music has no formal guidelines that have been agreed to by either the composers, industry or Māori onid, however there are strikingly obvious examples that are recognised as contemporary Māori music and therefore songs which could be debatable. Currently a major identifier is the Māori language lyrically. Other 'ids' are traditional instruments within a contemporary composition. Perhaps contemporary Māori music lacks a strong underlying core musical form that can allow focus towards a specific genre.</p>
Is contemporary Māori music a commodity?		<p>It definitely is if that's how the artist chooses to 'label' it. Music products are being sold all over the world no doubt by contemporary Māori musicians but how successful are they? It is how they're being made and put out in my opinion that makes them worth viewing as commercial commodity.</p>	<p>Contemporary Māori music is a commodity because there is a global music industry market and a demand for the commodity. Composers want to participate and to access the market to profit financially from the performance and sale of the music. The size of the market is currently a small percentage in New Zealand and I estimate is reflective of the general percentage of the global market.</p>

Other influences that affect contemporary Māori music		Politics	The market interest, the economy, government policy, tribal or pan-tribal support and organisations as well as education systems.
Advantages or disadvantages that influence the development of contemporary Māori music particularly within your sector of the industry.		Advantages: 1. Whānau based business 2. Self determination Disadvantages: 1. Poor quality	Advantages: 1. Funding support 2. Promotional opportunities 3. Some government agencies in a good position to advise or influence government policy and direction but not sure which direction to go. Disadvantages: 1. Seems to be a lack of networking and co-ordination within government departments and this hinders artists and industry players. This then affects planning and ability for companies to sustain, maintain and grow.
Support provided by music industry organisations		Relationship or contract basis Support in accordance with kaupapa alliance Collaboration Iwi radio Promoters	Different organisations support via networking, funding support and promoting the artist, song, achievement and event.
Underdeveloped areas		Personal success plans Production arena Marketing and promotion Performance Open-ness	Songwriting and artist development Investment Interest at a media and sales level Ongoing issues concerning New Zealand identity.
Initial engagement between yourself and artist.		Whānau gataŋga Contact through website	Hear about us, word of mouth Common interests
Ways in which Māori artist mandate your organisation		Open minded artists who have a goal, a plan and a willingness to explore new territories.	Mandate is mutually agreed upon by terms and guidelines developed by both parties.
Would artists develop without your intervention		For sure! We are by no means the 'be all and end of' all music and with the emergence of more organisations that are kaupapa Māori focused, we see a promising future for Māori music.	Artists start independently of companies and this is noticeable globally as the industry is undertaking a major transformation due to technology. However most artists need someone or a company to fulfil many of the roles they do not wish to personally undertake, from management, administration to marketing.

4.6 COLLATION OF INTERVIEW DATA

As previously mentioned in this chapter, interviews were conducted in accordance with the contributor's wishes and while set within the context of contemporary Māori music focused upon the contributors' personal history and experiences related to contemporary Māori music. According to Bishop:

...stories are a way of representing truth. Different stories give different version of and approach to truth. As a result, stories allow the diversities of truth to be heard, rather than just one dominant version.

(Bishop, 1996:24)

The following summary utilises the descriptors pūoro reo and pūoro tangitangi as mechanisms for distinguishing the different responses collated during the interviews and maintain contributor confidentiality. The left hand column divides music into four sectors so as to reflect the scope of music related experiences shared by the contributors.

DISTINCTIVE EXPERIENCES RELATED TO CONTEMPORARY MĀORI MUSIC

Table 2

	Pūoro reo	Pūoro tangitangi 1	Pūoro tangitangi 2
Socio-cultural	<p>My foundations are customary – I have been raised in te reo, karakia, whakapapa but also exposed to a range of expressions in music. Often experienced a sense of isolation and reversed racism as possessed technical musical skills. Māori are often perceived as possessing natural music skills which negates the need or invitation to use formal templates, techniques in music.</p>	<p>Music has been an integral element of childhood reflected in family group singing.</p> <p>Grew up listening to covers and recreating them in covers bands.</p>	<p>Encouraged to learn western instruments but not reading. Late in life raised children in the Rudolf Steiner pedagogy.</p> <p>New Zealand music tends to be defined by singer songwriters which therefore limits the entry of instrumentalist expression.</p> <p>There is a perception that Te Reo based music is the only viable expression.</p> <p>Funding agencies can be blinkered.</p>
Ideology	<p>To me te huarahi o music whether it's traditional or contemporary or transitional is whakarongo, tiro and then korero. My father taught me that. What is contemporary Māori music? Its about being Māori. All my whakaaro comes from a traditional base but it has been expressed through vocabulary I have been exposed to, marae, church, whānau and then whānau tangata.</p> <p>Contemporary Māori music came from a grounds well, from the roots - Papatūānuku, kau papamū. Meeting the needs o iwi or hapū.</p>	<p>Te Reo Māori and customs are distinctive to contemporary forms.</p> <p>The collaboration of music between Māori and Pakehā.</p>	<p>Te Reo is very important, it's the oral tradition, passing on our history and traditions. It can be tangible.</p> <p>My perception is I am Māori through and through even though I have been brought up in a classical and Pakehā upbringing. As a Māori instrumentalist, Māori music is intangible, a feeling of knowing it feels just right... it's around you can't hold it... it's held inside of you. Integral to the music is Te Reo, actions, the holistic integrity of the expression.</p>
Performative	<p>Contemporary Māori music often utilises poignant melodies, dynamic chord progressions with inversions.</p> <p>Completed pianoforte exams and has been a member of various singing groups specific to popular music.</p> <p>Reads and teaches contemporary Māori song.</p>	<p>Have been working with an infusion of Māori and Celtic music.</p> <p>Reads and arranges score.</p> <p>Teaches musical performance.</p>	<p>Unlike carefully considered collaboration of Māori and Pakehā composers in repertoire.</p> <p>Primarily classical based although cross over into popular music for some pieces.</p> <p>Reads and teaches musical performance.</p>
Aesthetic	<p>Produces and distributes own music.</p> <p>Continues to work regularly locally and nationally.</p> <p>Markets own music.</p>	<p>Extensive overseas touring and television work. Works locally and nationally.</p> <p>Innate ability to adapt and cross over to various genre and feel.</p>	<p>Continues to work regularly locally, national or international at a range of venues including television.</p> <p>Some instruments are labeled non-Māori and as a result the musical expression becomes typecast in the same manner.</p>

4.7 STRATEGIC SELF DETERMINATION

It is evident that contemporary Māori music draws upon theories related to strategic development, the reaffirmation of cultural identity and the pursuit of self determination. Mason Durie argues:

...that that the aims of self determination are practical and intimately bound to the aspirations and hopes within which contemporary Māori live. Essentially Māori self determination is about the advancement of Māori people, as Māori, and the protection of the environment for future generations.

(Durie, 1998:4)

These views are certainly embedded within the responses of practitioners involved in this research. Undeniably the scope of responses received from consenting contributors has to some degree restricted the initial intent of this research which was to provide a comprehensive study concerning the status of contemporary Māori music. Nonetheless the responses received do suggest that while contemporary expression utilises selective elements of traditional Māori worldview as a premise for establishing cultural identity, there are also performative elements such as the integration of western composition techniques, arrangement, genre and instrumentation that sets contemporary expression apart from traditional Māori music values and it is these strategies that are relative to the nature of augmentation as highlighted in chapter three.

It follows that a similar divergence occurs when contemporary Māori expression is situated within the popular music sector. As highlighted in chapter one; Māori music has been historically defined in accordance with the ethnicity of the performer as opposed to stylistic or lyrical features and this particular theme is highlighted in the table of responses as well. This tendency to define music in accordance with racial qualifiers is a common hallmark of hegemony or put another way; assumes the right to define others in accordance with fixed stereotypes as discussed in chapter two. On the other hand it could be argued that contemporary Māori music has no stylistic features at all and as a result the only distinguishing factor is ethnicity. This

is a self serving argument nonetheless perpetuating notions of monoculturalism and an aversion to alternative musical systems.

One of the most successful Maori contemporary musicians says New Zealand Music Month has little to offer artists who record in te reo Māori. Mina Ripia from the electronica duo Wai has been touring the world for seven years on a ground breaking first album that fuses kapa haka and techno beats. Ms Ripia says while its music is embraced by international audiences, Wai struggles to get airplay in this country outside Maori radio. She says music month represents a lost opportunity. "Opportunity for mainstream radio stations who don't play any Maori language music to play it for that month, and that would be great if that happened, but I know it doesn't and I'm just trying to stay positive on music month kaupapa but it's just a weeny bit one sided," Ripia says.

(Waatea News, 2007)

Still, it is not all 'doom and gloom'. A greater majority of responses indicated that Māori music in its current context encompasses a range of cultural prescriptions such as haka, taonga pūoro, kaupapa Māori, mana Māori, whakapapa, whanaungatanga, whenua and likewise wairuatanga highlighting the importance of tikanga Māori me ōna reo. This would suggest that the stylistic features of contemporary Māori music extend beyond the totality of either ethnicity or language. Along with the increasing rise of composers and performers situated within the consciousness of 'iwitanga' contemporary Māori music is increasingly asserting legitimacy of worldview and a shared agenda in terms of asserting indigenous aspirations of self determination and for these reasons, organisations such as the Māori Music Industry Coalition have a role to share in the development of a Māori music industry alongside other stakeholders such as iwi and practicing music makers. It is obvious that the mainstream music industry continues to propagate embedded practices of monoculturalism. As a result, Māori music as defined by Māori paradigms is consistently marginalised, misunderstood and therefore devalued and it is for these reasons that it is imperative that Māori music

makers are afforded alternative means in which to flourish and grow their music beyond the margins of biasness.¹⁵⁶

In conclusion this chapter has discussed the importance of methodology steeped in indigenous consciousness for the purpose of ensuring that the nature of interpretation values cultural paradigms that are intrinsically Māori or even more so; tribally based. Alternatively this chapter has presented a table of practitioner responses in regards to distinguishing contemporary music stylistic features as well as highlighted the tensions between western and Māori constructs of contemporary forms of music.

¹⁵⁶ Often bias derives from a preconceived notion. It is implied that Māori music can be prejudiced not only by the mainstream but sometimes within its own circles.

Chapter Five

THE FUTURE OF CONTEMPORARY MĀORI MUSIC

Without a doubt the meaning and significance of commercial Māori music has altered substantially since the 1960's when the term was synonymous with ethnic distinguishers and western based performance qualities. Throughout the 1970's, urban based composers resonated bi-lingual assertions of self determination, whereas in the 1980's and 1990's, music makers launched a tirade of localised musical expression in te reo Māori determined by socio-political agenda, education priorities, religious motivations and nationalism often distorting conventional values beyond their original context.¹⁵⁷

By the 21st century, Māori music makers have become more concerned with reconstructing cultural identity and asserting self determination indicative of a Māori worldview. It is this mode of advancement that clashes with mainstream attitudes defining New Zealand identity and even more so the notion of a blended multi-cultural nation in the distant future.

An additional challenge for Māori music makers is the negotiation of identity, cultural heritage and popular music priorities. Although this thesis has conducted a musical analysis as a start point towards distinguishing the features of contemporary Māori music thus highlighting ways in which identity, culture and popular music priorities are facilitated; it has been limited by its scale. As a result future research in this area should consider a wider range of practitioners input spanning both the commercial and tribal sector so as to develop long term solutions towards the

¹⁵⁷ It is implied that non Māori and Māori composers alike would use western themes conveyed in te reo Māori or alternatively romanticise Māori persona or views so as to be appealing to mainstream audience.

productivity¹⁵⁸ and marketability of Māori music in accordance with Māori worldview and successively self determination.¹⁵⁹

Significant to this thesis has been the determination of an ideological shift referred to in the research as the augmented identity. This identity situates contemporary Māori music in its own space although adjacent to traditional Māori music culture and likewise western popular music culture. The study has produced a pictorial framework in which to conceptualise the range of influences that assist in the reconstruction of an augmented identity so that musicians operating under this auspice can be supported and likewise valued for their creative contribution as opposed to being judged 'less' Māori. While it has been determined that contemporary Māori music is reliant upon traditional sources in which to draw a distinctive and relevant identity from; it is equally the same for composers. Still the musical framework needs to be relatable to the sentimentality of a generation increasingly mobile, multi-racial and digitally attuned with the world.

Another crucial area of this thesis has been the facilitation of questionnaires and interviews conducted amongst a small sample group of consenting practitioners and organisations involved in the contemporary Māori music sector. Data collated suggests that contemporary expression utilises selective elements of traditional Māori worldview as a premise for reiterating affiliation in tandem with distinguishing a unique cultural imprint; despite the inclusion of western performative features such as composition techniques, arrangement, genre and instrumentation thereby distancing contemporary expression from traditional Māori musical forms. However beyond the composition and performance realm, the commerce sector of the Māori music industry sector is negligible. Research and data collated suggests that the sector remains under-developed, under resourced and politically mute; a viewpoint also substantiated by previous studies centred upon the Māori music industry.

¹⁵⁸ Areas such as profile development, marketing, distribution and exporting.

¹⁵⁹ While the Māori Music Industry Coalition has been referred to as one example of self determination; the tribal systems are more enduring and possess inherent powers of accountability beyond the mandate of a legal entity.

A criticism remains that Māori language music is rarely heard on New Zealand mainstream radio neither is it recognised and celebrated at mainstream industry events. The perception exists that Māori music has little value and a domino effect is that Māori music is given minimal attention by retailers. There is a perception that the New Zealand Music Industry supports an environment which is not proactive or encouraging of the creation of original music in Te Reo.

(Martin, 2005:12)

In contrast the mainstream industry is reportedly thriving¹⁶⁰ although it is suspected that the emphasis upon commercial success has been at the expense of the distinctive local voice.

Such concerns are linked to the importance of popular music as indicator of cultural identity operating at the levels of the self, community, and the nation. Songwriters frequently draw on themes of homeland and the nation to both situate regions, but sometimes the nation, are identified with particular locales. Such themes and connections to local culture can arguably be lost when the preoccupation is with producing 'international repertoire.

(Shuker, 2008:220)

Undeniably concepts of localised identity as referred to by Shuker (2008) also operate within the auspice of contemporary Māori music although often distinguished as principles¹⁶¹ imbued with Māori worldview. However a crucial element of localised Māori culture is its capacity to be understood and appreciated by international audiences (unlike New Zealand) as depicted in the significant international profile of artists such as Wai 100%, Moana and the Tribe, Hinewehi Mohi and in most recent times, Whirimako Black. Then again, perhaps these examples are exceptions to the rule and not necessarily an avenue for all contemporary Māori artists?

It can therefore be concluded that the status of contemporary Māori music varies in accordance with its state of functionality and likewise the ideology employed (or

¹⁶⁰ Shuker (2008:219) asserted that the New Zealand Music Industry's expo initiative – 'NZ Out There' has contributed to the international success of artists such as Hayley Westenra, Bic Runga and Scribe. During 2005 Fat's Freddy's Drop topped the charts at 90,000 copies while also winning World Wide Album of 2005 at the BBC's Radio 1 Giles Peterson's Awards. Alternatively New Zealand met the code of practice ratio of 20% air play on commercial radio in 2006.

¹⁶¹ The following is a selected list of principles : Mana Tūpuna – the principle of identity and heritage; Mana Whenua – the principle that upholds the lore of the land in accordance with Māori worldview; Mana Motuhake – the principle of autonomy, governance and nationhood; Mana Māori – the principle of determination and development (Durie, 1998).

deployed) by either the composer, performer, label or producer throughout the phrases of creativity, performance and marketing of the musical expression. For these reasons an understanding of the philosophical and cultural parameters of Māori worldview is crucial to the process of authenticity.

While Kaupapa Māori centred composers and performers view contemporary Māori music as a vehicle for asserting cultural identity alongside musical values; these values are contrary to the mainstream definitions of Māori music whereby the performance of western ideologies as articulated by artists with Māori descent tends to be favoured. Subsequently definitions of Māori music must be legitimised by Māori alone in accordance with tikanga Māori me ōna reo to attain the authenticity and status of Māori music.

Beyond the ideological, performative and aesthetic realms, there remains little doubt that the status of contemporary Māori music possesses minimal industry clout at this present time. Even more so, the development of contemporary Māori music remains vulnerable and directionless without specific infrastructure in which to advocate political and economic strategies towards the advancement of Māori music stakeholders situated within the national and international context. For these reason cohesion and collaboration between tribal entities, communities, coalitions and companies servicing Māori music under the auspice of tikanga Māori are integral to maintaining a future that is supported by Māori, for Māori.

In these challenging times, the paradox for Māori music makers is that while they are bound to a respective cultural identity they are also compelled to seek out economic opportunities beyond the shores of their native lands so as to sustain a presence and livelihood that is not reciprocated within New Zealand.

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Glossary

A

Aotearoa land of the 'Long White Cloud' a Māori translation for New Zealand

H

Haka a posture, a highly charged physical expression involving every part of the body
Hapū sub-tribe
Huri tau birthday

K

Kapa haka a group of performers (kapa) performing a range of haka and waiata (songs)
Karanga a call or wail to invoke ancestors and to welcome visitors. A ritual of encounter initiated by women during a pōhiri
Kawa rules
Kaupapa purpose or objective

M

Māoritanga Māori worldview
Manaakitanga care and respect for another individual, the highest expression of hospitality
Mataura a township situated 40 kilometers north of Invercargill
Mōteatea ancient chant

N

Ngāti Porou tribal grouping situated on the East Coast of Te Ika a Maui, New Zealand
Ngāti Rongomaiwahine tribal grouping situated on the Māhia Peninsula of Te Ika a Maui, New Zealand

P

Patea a township situated on the west coast of Te Ika a Maui
Pōhiri a ceremony of welcome
Poi the traditional poi was fashioned out of harakēke however contemporary versions tend to be made out of wool and foam inners. Commonly described as a tiny ball on string

T

Takitimu ancestral waka of the Ngāti Kahungūnu people
Tangihana a ritualised ceremony that is conducted when a kinsman dies
Tino Rangatiratanga the pursuit of self determination in accordance with Māori worldview
Te Kohanga Reo a language nest for pre-school children immersed in Te Reo Māori
Te Kura Kaupapa a primary school immersed in Te Reo Māori
Te Reo Māori language of the Māori people

Te Puka a Maui	anchor of Maui, a name depicting the positioning of the Stewart Island in relation to Te Waipounamu and Te Ika a Maui. The name also represents the regional boundaries of Southland and Otago
Te Whare Wānanga Tūpuna	translation for higher form of learning in Māori society ancestor

W

Whaikōrero	a formal speech generally conducted by an orator of great ability and talent
Whakapapa	geneology, oral narrative, history of geneology
Whakataukī	proverb
Whānaunga	kinsman