

FROM KAPAHAKA TO HIP HOP:
Maori Popular Music in Aotearoa/New Zealand

By,
Aruna PANDAY

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He aha te mea nui o te ao?

He tangata, he tangata, he tangata!

What is the greatest thing in the world?

It is people, it is people, it is people!

ABSTRACT

Like many underprivileged people Maori are drawn to Black Atlantic music – typically reggae and hip hop. They listen to these forms and (re)create their own versions. Through interviews and new media research, I found Maori use this music as a non-violent, non-aggressive strategy to resist neo-colonial stresses. Maori make links with the Black Atlantic by invoking similar shared histories of colonial distress. In the music, they flip and appropriate tropes, teach alternative histories, promote Maori solidarity and build support for *Maoritanga*. Their lyrics are linked to traditional poetry and storytelling styles. The sound juxtaposes old Maori music with new genres. In hybridizing and “Maorifying” the music, Maori negotiate tricky and complex questions of personhood, and belonging. This is significant for it shows borrowing is neither an act of imitation nor of copying. In ascribing Maori specific meanings to the musical genres and affiliated cultural styles, the global is localized.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Appendices.....	vi
Glossary.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter Two <i>The Maori</i>	19
Chapter Three <i>Background</i>	38
Chapter Four <i>Reggae</i>	61
Chapter Five <i>Hip Hop</i>	92
Conclusion.....	129
References Cited.....	142

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A	
<i>Treaty of Waitangi</i>	152
Appendix B	
<i>List of Musicians</i>	153
Appendix C	
<i>List of Songs</i>	155
Appendix D	
<i>Informed Consent Forms</i>	157
Appendix E	
<i>Cold Letter</i>	160
Appendix F	
<i>Interview Question Themes</i>	161

GLOSSARY

Included here are all words that appear more than once in the text and are not glossed within it each time.

action song	song with actions, accompanied by a guitar
<i>Aotearoa</i>	land of the long white cloud, Te Reo Maori name for New Zealand
<i>aro</i>	1. love
	2. creative, generous life-force energy
<i>arohanui</i>	compassion, great love, devotion
Babylon	the “Western” system, government and institutions who discriminate against and oppress blacks and oppose Jah
baroque bugle	a valveless brass instrument used in the military
b-boy b-girl	break dancers, the act of dancing is called b-boying
beat box	using the mouth, tongue, lips, teeth, soft and hard palettes to create sounds
bopping	Samoan pronunciation of “popping,” its practitioners called it a “sport” as a way to masculinize the act of dancing
break beat	percussive part of a music track, isolated and repeated
breaking break dance	a style of hip hop dance
conscious hip hop	sings about political and social issues
crew	hip hop group
diss	hip hop slang meaning to disrespect someone or their creative endeavors
DJ	disc jockey, verb – to deejay
down rock	break dance moves performed on the ground
F.O.B.	“fresh off the boat,” pronounced either as one syllable or spelled out, used to refer to recent or unassimilated immigrants
flow	the interaction between the lyrics and the music in hip hop music
<i>haka</i>	1. posture dance that is “fierce” and rhythmical
	2. monotonic recitation to accompany <i>haka</i> posture dance
<i>haka peruperu</i>	<i>haka</i> with weapons performed by men that incorporates <i>patu</i> and <i>taiaha</i>
<i>hapu</i>	clan, sub-tribe
<i>harakeke</i>	flax
Hawaiiiki	Maori ancestral homeland, possibly Rarotonga in Cooks Islands or Ra’iatea in Society Islands
<i>hei</i>	ornamental pendant/amulet often made of pounamou, bone or <i>paua</i> shell
<i>hui</i>	meeting

hypeman	supports the main rapper and “hypes” (excites) the crowd to bring attention to the lyrics
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
Jah	the Rastafari name for the creator
<i>kapahaka</i>	a combination of songs, action songs, <i>haka</i> , <i>poi</i> dance and other components that are performed together and often in competition.
<i>katere</i>	<i>patere</i> acknowledging the presence of spirits
<i>karanga</i>	prayer, vocal invocation, sung by a female
<i>kawanatanga</i>	governance, government
<i>kihaki</i>	relish/zest of <i>waiata</i> in ending and completing the address
<i>koauau</i>	most common Maori aerophone
<i>kohanga reo</i>	1. language nest, pre-school or primary school, taught in Te Reo Maori stressing <i>Maoritanga</i> 2. the <i>kohangareo</i> movement began in the early 1980s to advocate for Te Reo Maori bilingual/immersion education
<i>korero</i>	speak, news
<i>koru</i>	fern, a stylized <i>koru</i> pattern is used in art and logos to represent Maori and Aotearoa/New Zealand
krump	a style of hip hop dance
<i>kura kaupapa</i>	Te Reo Maori immersion high school
<i>kuria</i>	old women
<i>mana</i>	prestige, strength, authority, integrity, also a person’s life force
<i>manaaki</i>	to take care of and respect people
<i>Maoritanga</i>	an umbrella term representing Maori culture, values, language, way of life and worldview, Maori perspective
<i>marae</i>	compound composed of a courtyard and a meeting house where Maori gather for important activities such as funerals
MC	rapper and hypeman, verb – to emcee
<i>moko</i>	Maori tattoo
<i>moteatea</i>	sacred chant sung by women a capella and in unison
<i>nguru</i>	a nose flute
one drop reggae	the first beat is dropped in 4/4 bar, reggae rhythm
<i>oriori</i>	lullaby
Pakeha	person of European origin living in Aotearoa/New Zealand
<i>pakuru</i>	resonant rod, held between the teeth and tapped while singing
<i>pao</i>	news report genre of music
<i>patere</i>	monotonic recitation, rhythmical chant
popping	a style of hip hop dance

<i>porotiti</i>	spinning discs made of stone, wood or bone
<i>pounamu</i>	green jade indigenous to Aotearoa/New Zealand <i>patu</i> a club-like striking weapon
<i>paua</i>	abalone, mollusk prized for its blue shell
<i>poi</i>	1. flax ball or gourd attached to a string that when used as an instrument produces a percussive or whirled sound 2. action songs emphasizing the use of long or short <i>poi</i> in the action
<i>powhiri</i>	ritual invocation or welcome, opening ceremony
<i>puha</i> composition	Maori poetry that is brief, elliptical and dynamic
<i>puipui</i>	flax skirt
<i>pukaea</i>	wooden trumpet
<i>pukura</i>	enlargement of eyes by women
<i>putatara</i>	a conch shell that is blown
<i>putorino</i>	a long, multi-voiced aerophone
<i>rangatira</i>	chiefly families, noble
real	a hip hop value, keeping it “real” refers to being honest and true to one’s self and one’s place, maintaining a sense of one’s roots
<i>rehu</i>	long flute
ridim	reggae music without the vocals or the overall feel of a piece (flow), may also refer to the rhythm
<i>roria</i>	wood or bone mouth harp
skanking	dance of reggae
sound system	mobile discos in Jamaica in the 1960s and 1970s
taggers	graffiti artists
<i>taiaha</i>	a stick-like fighting weapon 1.5 – 2 m long
<i>Tangata Maori</i>	ordinary people
<i>Tangata Whenua</i>	people of the land, local people, invokes Maori indigeneity
<i>tangi</i>	funeral or lament
<i>taonga</i>	intangible and tangible treasures such as language or a family <i>hei</i>
<i>taonga puoro</i>	Maori musical instruments
<i>tapa</i> cloth	Polynesian cloth made made of bark, often mulberry, painted with natural pigments
<i>taparahi haka</i>	ordinary <i>haka</i> performed by men and women that uses no weapons
<i>te korero-awaha</i>	oratory speech genre
<i>Te Reo Maori</i>	Maori language
<i>tikanga Maori</i>	Maori customs
<i>tiki</i>	Maori stylized carving that represents humans
<i>tino rangatiranga</i>	1. absolute sovereignty, self-determination 2. true chiefness
<i>tirako</i>	long stick demonstration for suppleness in wrists

<i>tititoria</i>	short stick, more difficult than tirako
toasting	spoken or chanted lyrics performed over music, the Jamaican precursor to rap
<i>tohunga</i>	specialist
<i>tokere</i>	concave pieces of wood, bone or shell that are struck together using fingers
<i>tokotoko</i>	stick held by an orator and used to gesture in a dramatic manner
top rock	break dance moves performed standing
tremelo	volume oscillation
Tui	a local beer
<i>tumutumu</i>	tree stump or stone and striker
<i>turangawaewae</i>	having a place to stand, support, roots
turntabling	manipulation of turntables to play music or create a percussive sound
vibrato	pitch oscillation
vocable	meaningless sung syllable
<i>waiata</i>	song
<i>waiata haka</i>	song with haka movements, a type of action song
<i>waiata ngahau</i>	song for entertainment, a type of action song
<i>waiata-a-kori</i>	song moving with the entire body, a type of action song
<i>waiata-a-ringa</i>	song with or of hands, a type of action song
<i>waka</i>	boat that Maori arrived to Aotearoa/New Zealand in from Hawaiiki
<i>whai korero</i>	formal speech acknowledging the creator, <i>whakapapa</i> and spirits
<i>whakaaraarapa</i>	sentinel compositions with amplified speech innotation
<i>whakaeka</i>	singing in group unison
<i>whakaeke</i>	entrance component of <i>kapahaka</i> performance
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy
<i>whakawatea</i>	exit component of <i>kapahaka</i> performance
<i>whanau</i>	family and extended family
<i>whetero</i>	tongue protrusion
<i>wiri</i>	trembling fingers and fluttering hand motions that symbolize life force

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On a grey November evening in 2006 I was excited to mingle with the crowd at the John Basset Theatre lobby, in Toronto. That night my mum, my sister, pow-wow friends, First Nations colleagues and I gathered with hundreds more people to celebrate the eighth annual Canadian Aboriginal Music Awards (CAMA). Songs and music filled the air. Then, unexpectedly, the host announced a contingency of indigenous people from Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Maori, would be performing. The development of the CAMA in Canada had inspired the Maori to create their own music awards. In that darkened theatre I shifted forward in my red velvet chair, an observer among many of this celebration.

Afterwards, I would occasionally search for news of the Maori awards; it was not until two years later that the Waiata Maori Awards would be launched. In the meantime, I had become intrigued by the music Maori were producing.

This thesis develops a contemporary perspective on the function of the appropriated musical genres of “Black Atlantic” music for Maori, the indigenous population of Aotearoa/New Zealand.¹ The Black Atlantic refers to African diaspora populations that reside in the UK, the United States, Canada, Latin America and the Caribbean. This designation re-contextualizes and transcends borders and nation states (Gilroy 1993:19). It is a way of rethinking centers of production and circulating ideas by way of technology such as ships, books and albums. Paul Gilroy (1993) showed African diaspora literary, philosophical and popular culture creations reveal entanglements that

¹ Aotearoa is the Maori word for the same land Dutch explorers called *Nova Zeelandia*, later anglicized (by James Cook) to New Zealand.

are more complex than either a simple rejection or alternative to “western culture.” He says music is:

The grudging gift that supposedly compensated slaves not only for their exile from the ambiguous legacies of practical reason but for their complete exclusion from modern political society, [it] has been refined and developed so that it provides an enhanced mode of communication beyond the petty power of words – spoken or written (Gilroy 1993:76).

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the value of Black Atlantic music and its functions for Maori. The meaning of such music derives from its lyrical content, the sound and the genre and from the way musical forms employed index other cultural positionings. Bonita Lawrence and Enaksi Dua (2005) stipulate there is a need for scholarship that is serious about how to better understand the ways in which indigenous people resist ongoing colonization. In exploring the interplay between invocations of “tradition” and explorations of hybridity, I postulate this genre provides a space for Maori to represent themselves in relation to their own groups and the wider society. Moreover, one of the primary functions of this music is its use as a strategy of resistance to neo-colonial tensions. Music is the entry point for a number of discussions of social significance; even Plato and Aristotle “considered music so relevant to political theory that they dealt with it solely in their political writings rather than in those devoted to the discussion of art and aesthetics” (Sorce Keller 2007:105). In this thesis, I analyze the value of Black Atlantic music for Maori as a way of making a space for themselves in the context of a neo-colonial environment that empowers them to claim genres like hip hop and reggae as expressions of their Maori identity. Identification as Maori is based on a primordial construction – belonging is fixed through *turangawaewae* (belonging to a specific place) and *whakapapa* (one’s genealogy or lineage) and it is based on choice.

Furthermore, the state census provides two ways of being Maori — ethnic (based cultural affiliation, 13.6% of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s population) or descent (primordial, based on blood, 15.5% of the total population) (Statistics New Zealand 2006) — and most Maori take the “ticking of the boxes” as somewhat ironic (Kahawai, personal communication August 8, 2008).

The title of this thesis, *From Kapahaka to Hip Hop: Maori Popular Music in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, references the musical journey Maori have taken, and the forms that emerge from mixing their “traditional” style with outside influences. I examine the value of such artistic creations as strategic. I argue that Maori (who, according to my friend Hritik, have more reggae bands per capita than Jamaica) have chosen to align themselves with the Black Atlantic for, among other reasons, perceived similarities in their identities based on shared histories of racism and oppression. Identity, how one views and positions oneself, encompasses the realm of personhood, the nation and gender, for example. Identity is continually constructed through a negotiation of choices. These choices are usually made in situations of stress or confrontation. Identity is based on perceived differences that may also be real differences. Studying identity is useful as it gives explanations for the choices Maori make and how they choose to position themselves in the world and in relation to the Black Atlantic. Colonization in Aotearoa/New Zealand continues in the form of neo-colonialism and materializes as racism, forced dependence, underdevelopment, stigmatization and maintenance of the colonized on the periphery (Said 1989). The impacts are: loss of/limited access to resources, language loss, erosion of generational logic, systematic discrimination, the creation of state centered identities, alienation from the market place and culture clashes.

Maori responses to (neo)colonialism have been to look both inward and outward for coping mechanisms. Looking inward to their own history, Maori seek to re-develop cultural attributes of social networks – building urban *marae* (meeting places), reinforcing the meaning of *whakapapa* (genealogy) and maintaining *whanau* (extended family networks). They have created institutions for *Te Reo Maori* language acquisition, Maori studies, and encourage artistic and musical traditions. Looking outward, the appeal of Black Atlantic music genres, particularly reggae and hip hop, are forms of non-violent protest partly rooted in an aesthetic appeal and partly based on a certain soul-identity and searching-affirmation that is inherent to the music.

This thesis argues Maori use of Black Atlantic music functions as a way to resist the stresses of neo-colonialism. Maori align themselves with the African diaspora, whose people, like the Maori, have endured much humiliation and struggled through efforts to resist both assimilation and exclusion. To demonstrate this proposition reggae and hip hop will be employed. Roots reggae and conscious hip hop, the genres Maori make and use, actively contest everyday hierarchical institutions through the maintenance of communities of individuals determined to protest ongoing subjugation. The colonial stereotypes of Maori are many: dangerous, aggressive, ignorant, and on the flip side, weak and noble. This good-bad, weak-strong dichotomy appears simplistic, yet, at the same time the binary speaks to a dualism all humans face when confronted by an aggressor-stressor: hope-fight. This in turn manifests in a preference for a certain music genre. Reggae may appeal more to those inclined to hope (pray), while hip hop fits those who are moved to fight. The dynamic quality of both is seen in their dance forms. Skanking is a firm movement but gentle and controlled while popping-breaking–

krumping require a lot of physical energy to execute the rigorous movements. The style of the music and the lyrical composition also reflect this dichotomy. Neither strategy is better than the other. Like seeds that seem dead but sprout when fire burns them, multiple strategies ensure success.

METHODOLOGY

I knew nothing about contemporary Maori music when I sat down at the 2006 CAMA awards. The Kahurangi Maori Dancers gave a *kapahaka* performance that was dynamic and different than anything I had seen. And yes, it was also beautiful. So I would occasionally search out other Maori music and rarely would I find it. It is incredible how many artists have an Internet presence four years later. In fact, even in 2008 when I was preparing for my fieldwork trip, there were not even half of the resources available that there are today.

After roughly one week in Auckland I managed to find a house-mate in Onehunga, a south Auckland neighbourhood eight kilometers from the downtown core. Despite the fact that I had submitted my ethics proposal months earlier and it had been accepted with *a* minor change, there were some bureaucratic bumbling and it was well into mid-July that I would get clearance to contact people.

So, in the meantime I profited from the beautiful natural environment and cityscape, and spent a lot of time on walking adventures. I quickly discovered some of the best music shops and music listening venues. On the lookout for some sort of gig guide I also quickly discovered the *Groove Guide*; a weekly, free, nationwide guide of musical events in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It has ads, reviews (albums, movies, video

games, electronics), musician profiles and, weekly and upcoming concert listings for all the major cities: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Queenstown. There were also some websites I would frequent (eventfinder.co.nz; whatson.co.nz) but in the end I found the *Groove Guide* to be comprehensive and portable. Each Wednesday I would head out to pick up a fresh copy so that I could sit down on a terrace with a cup of tea to hunt through its pages and plan out my week. Unfortunately, since I was there during winter (June to August 2008), there were no outdoor shows and few indoor gigs. In addition, the shows that did take place were generally only on Thursday, Friday and Saturday evenings, so I had a lot of time to explore other things. In this way I became acquainted with my community and the people that lived there. I would visit the Onehunga library regularly, take random bus trips to “dangerous” Mangere and Otara, go shopping at the weekly market in Aotearoa Place in the city centre and visit with Caro, my friend’s sister who had been shipped “down under” from France, to do something productive – learn English.

Though I was enjoying myself and certainly getting an experience of Aotearoa/New Zealand that I could never have had from course work or a major research paper, I was getting frustrated at not being able to do what I had gone there for — talk to musicians. So, my housemate and I decided to cut out of Auckland and we went on a road trip south through the Waikato region and finally ended up in delicious sulfur-y smelling Rotorua. In Rotorua, as is the tradition of the region, I partook of the thermal waters and of a cultural performance (that will be discussed in Chapter Three). It was also in Rotorua that I first saw and bought what would change my life in Aotearoa/New Zealand — a copy of *Mana* magazine. *Mana* is the major Maori English language

magazine. Since 1990 it has been published on a bi-monthly basis. *Mana* covers a range of topics: local, national, international, Maori, and other indigenous. Derek Fox, *Mana*'s editor, responded favourably to my cold letter e-mail and agreed to meet me in Wellington. Fox told me the language they use is informal and lacks jargon because, many of their readers are old Maori people who have not had high levels of education. Fox also said the aim of *Mana* is to tell stories.

I would scour the Internet and music shops for musicians, building their bios and contact information and waiting for the day when I would be permitted to talk to them, and now I had a new source to comb through. I found many of the stories and profiles about people to be fascinating and useful for learning more about Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the meantime, just by getting “out and about” I was meeting lots of people — my experience is that Aotearoa/New Zealand is populated with some friendly folks. People would constantly approach me and when I told them what I was doing they would inevitably have someone they wanted me to meet, or somewhere they wanted to take me. In this way, I was able to meet a lot of contacts through the “snow ball effect.” The snowball effect refers to meeting a contact through a contact, and so on. My earliest example of this in Aotearoa/New Zealand actually comes from Canada. A former colleague of mine invited me to a party so I could meet a friend of hers who was visiting Ottawa. Jack and I hit it off and I promised to visit when I went to Wellington. Once there, he suggested I visit the high school he worked at, which I was happy to do. At school, Jack introduced me to Sam, the social worker. Eventually, Sam told me about the Wellington kapahaka competition — that I went to with Jack.

Sometimes, I met people by a fluke of luck. For instance, one such experience came when I went to the opening night of the documentary *From Street to Sky* (Evans 2008). In the theatre there were some fellows in front of me that looked familiar; I thought they were the band Cornerstone Roots. They were not. It was Unity Pacific. One thing led to another and I ended up meeting some people crucial to the Aotearoa/New Zealand music scene that night including Tingilau Ness and his son Che Fu. Another day in early July, I was excited to go to the Matariki Native Noise concert. When I showed up I saw a lot of people I recognized from other places including the guys who were in the Auckland War Memorial Museum's cultural show. They were working the door. Inside, after wandering around by myself, I decided to get a drink and, since there were no chairs, I sat on the floor sipping my *Tui* and making notes, when a woman who was also by herself approached me. One thing led to another and I ended up in the VIP section and made a friend who lived in Royal Oak, a five-minute drive from my place.

Eventually, the day came when I was informed that I could begin my work. Immediately, I began calling people and I had the same conversation over and over again; people were willing but not available. Logan Bell was on-board to help, but Katchafire was leaving to the United States and Europe the next day and would not return until after I had left. It was the same story with Moana Maniapoto (though I did meet her bassist at a random gathering some time later). Maniapoto was touring Europe and happened to make a stop at the Montreaux Jazz Festival in Switzerland. Extraordinarily, some friends of mine (Caro's brother and his wife) happened to take in that performance and e-mail me about it! In an effort to reach as many people as quickly as possible, I sent out the

“cold letter” e-mail (see Appendix E), that had been approved by the ethics department, to all my contacts and waited. Still anxious, I decided to send out the message to all the people I thought were interesting in my *Mana* magazines to see if anything would happen.

My approach to interviewing people was fairly informal and consisted largely of semi-structured interviews. Two people I spoke with (both in media) requested I e-mail my questions to them, which I did. I would meet people where they told me to: bars, cafes, their offices, their classrooms and, at their homes. I also had several conversations in people’s cars.

I began by explaining the consent form (see Appendix D) and the privacy policy – if they were a public figure certain information would be identified but anything they chose to be un-identified would be kept confidential. I would then seek and gain permission to record the interview. I also showed them how to stop the recorder in case they wanted to make any “off the record” comments. The ethics department approved a list of twelve interview question themes (Appendix F) and I built a list of roughly two hundred questions to fit these themes. I would take these with me to my sessions though I never asked all of the questions. Depending on who the person was, and what they seemed interested and comfortable talking about, determined what I would ask. In addition, depending on what their responses and stories were, new ideas would come to me and I would divert from the list, posing additional, spontaneous queries. This list of themes and topics helped me lead the discussion but the tone of the interviews was kept conversational and I tried to elicit information that they wanted to tell me.

I was lucky that many people were extremely generous to give me their time and care. After some intense interviewing sessions, fantastic music, fabulous dinners, amazing walks and great conversations I made my way back to North America.

Once settled in Canada I took time off the project to attend classes. In addition to sometime-e-mail-communication with the folks down under, for the first time in my life, I spent a substantial amount of time on-line. Maori Television has an on-line presence that was great for me – I could keep up with things in Aotearoa/New Zealand by watching their television in Canada. Like that I discovered the annual breaking competition/TV program *Bring it On* (2010). Furthermore, the speed at which musicians have developed their social media presence has been phenomenal. Whereas in 2008 a Google search would yield little information, today there is a vast amount of data to be culled. Many of the most popular songs are on-line either on YouTube and MySpace pages. Artist profiles, discographies and songs are on music.net.nz and amplifier.co.nz, and many artists now have Facebook pages and their own websites. I found YouTube to be incredibly interesting place particularly for the comments viewer/listeners would make either about the video, the song or other comments. In fact, one of the more interesting things was observing the conversation between invisible participants and the dialogue they engage in over issues that arise with this music, such as authenticity, representation, racism, and honesty.

The balance of the research was based on standard anthropological methods: discourse and text analysis (liner notes, song lyrics, concert posters); digital media analysis (video, music); literature reviews (scholarly and popular media) and participant observation. In the roughly three months I was in Aotearoa/New Zealand I spent the bulk

of my time between Auckland (Onehunga) and Wellington (Tawa). I attended musical events like jam sessions, live concerts, club gigs and DJ performances. When the opportunity arose I attended kapahaka competitions, cultural performances, TV program recordings, film festivals, dinners with locals, and gallery openings. I was lucky to speak with almost thirty Maori and Pakeha musicians, educators, artists, dancers, researchers, social workers, and writers in addition to “regular” people. The content of this thesis reflects my understanding of the perspectives of those individuals.

This methodology was the best for the research. I was prepared and knew what the scene was and what I wanted to ask. However, I was also open to learning all that I could and engaging with all sorts of people — not just musicians. Allowing myself to take suggestions of who I should meet and where I should go and what events I should attend, gave me a broader and richer understanding of Maori in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand than I might otherwise have had. Since the distance is so great between my home and my field site, active engagement with the Internet gave me the ability to “fill in some of the blanks” when I returned to Canada. The major shortcoming of this work is I feel I could have been more engaged with the rich outdoor concert and active music scenes. This could have happened if I had planned my visit to coincide with their summer (perhaps missing some of the other perspectives I had gained) or if I had made an additional trip (building on my experience). Unfortunately, neither my schedule nor my finances permitted me either of these options and fortunately, I have had this magnificent opportunity.

THEORY

Hybridity is what results when more than one type of thing, music in the case of this paper, meets and transforms into something that is different than either of the original “things.” The main function of this project is to understand what the new forms mean to its creators. As such, hybridity is the theory with which this project is framed. According to Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (2007[1994]), colonial power produces hybridity; the function of hybridity is the rejection of the process of domination (2007[1994]:159). This rejection is a sort of resistance to the dominant and it is not solely active opposition, nor exclusion; resistance is the result of the uncertainty of the relationship between the dominant and the dominated (Bhabha 1995[1985]: 33). The action song, in the case of Maori, for example, is the hybrid product of the meeting of old Maori and European music. Maori musician and politician, Apirana Ngata valued his ability to interact in the Pakeha world but he knew that for many, Maori assimilation into the dominant Pakeha mode of living would ensue if there were not an alternative (Unitec n.d.). Ngata instigated the formalization of the action song (song sung with actions) structure for which there was a Maori audience receptive to this new art form (Unitec n.d.). The action song actively aids Maori to resist assimilation into the dominant European culture, yet incorporates aspects of European culture into this new form. Thus, as Bhabha would assert, hybridity is a product of social antagonism that directly contests cultural authority (1996:58). It is denied knowledge penetrating the dominant to become heard (Bhabha 1995[1985]:156). Bhabha puts it succinctly:

Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the ‘pure’ and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the

assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but replicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back up on the eye of power. For the colonial hybrid is the articulation of the ambivalent space where the rite of power is enacted on the site of desire, making its objects at once disciplinary and disseminatory – or in my mixed metaphor, a negative transparency (2007[1994]:159-160).

As “the articulation of the ambivalent space,” hybridity emerges in “third spaces,” the neither here nor there, in-between spaces where strategies of self-hood can be created and negotiated (Bhabha 2007[1994]:2). Notwithstanding the hybrid properties inherent to hip hop, this genre (which began by occupying a “third space” of its own) and reggae are used in Aotearoa/New Zealand to create spaces that situate practitioners at once outside the discourses of Aotearoa/New Zealand biculturalism and *Maoritanga*, but not completely within that of the Black Atlantic history and present. Opening up these spaces gives Maori the opportunity to create and negotiate their identities for themselves and for others.

Hybridity and the “third space” are critiqued for being an account of history rather than ethnographic description (Sahlins 1999:412), but I argue even if it is taken as an account of history it gives scholars the reflexivity to ask questions about these spaces. Is this not what theory and ethnography are based on? Hybrid’s etymological roots stretch to the seventeenth century Latin *hybrida*, the “offspring of a tame sow and a wild boar” (The New Oxford American Dictionary 2005). These biological origins of hybrid became part of common speech, and had associations with sterility and racist terms like “half-breed” and “mulatto.” Ultimately, much of that racist past has been shaken, and now hybrid generally refers to something that is a combination of more than one thing.

Disapproval of the term for its broadness and generality (Baulch 2007:38; Thomas 1996:9) led Thomas to suggest fusion as a replacement concept; yet in popular culture “fusion” and “hybrid” are interchangeable terms. Moreover, Thomas does not present a strong argument for “fusion” as a superior term. His links with cold fusion (bunk science) are unappealing and he himself does not seem to be convinced of the validity of his argument.² Despite the assumption of anterior purity in the term, hybridity is in common use as a framework for thinking about the reaction in the meeting of two or more cultures, and until now there has been no better substitute.

Hybridity is also critiqued for its implication that everything is hybrid (Chakravorty Spivak 1988; Hutnyk 2000:35). In the case of Aotearoa/New Zealand, we trust that old Maori music must be hybrid in some way (following the course of all human creation as the diffusionists tell us) but we lack the information to pick apart how that may be. In later music, such as Maori hymns, ethnomusicologists know what are the characteristics of European hymns and are able to locate them in the Maori hymns. Nevertheless, after more than one hundred years, do those Maori hymns not become a valid and authentic form of expression? Does the music, and do the performers, still care about the origins of its components? Does it matter? What does it take for a thing to belong to the creator? How long does it take? In Aotearoa/New Zealand (and likely in other places) the creators have reasons for picking and choosing some components rather than others to incorporate into their music. For example, the quintessential old Maori musical instruments, flutes, are not used in reggae. The reason for this is twofold: the

² His list of publications on his website does not list it. I also disagree with Nicholas Thomas’ suggestion (Thomas 1996:11) that McEville’s “blend” implies smooth homogeneity. He clearly has never used a blender; the product is generally lumpy and takes a long time (depending on how firm the material is) at high speed with lots of pulsing to become sooth and homogeneous. Ultimately, homogeneity is not the outcome of hybridity.

solidification of Maori reggae style came when there was no common knowledge about how to play these instruments; and second, the most important part of the sound of reggae is the rhythm — for that the sound of the flute has no place. Picking and choosing leads to new realities that are hybrid and may be the result of colonial interactions, but they may also be the result of other things even though the heart/core of a culture may be stable. Cultures have never had clear-cut boundaries; everything is based on that which came before. If, as Bhabha (2007[1994]) suggests, the colonial interaction fixes identities and in this case it does – people become Maori, they become New Zealanders and they become indigenous through these colonial relations. Yet, the hybridity emergent from the third spaces creates, at the same time, people who can navigate fluidly through and between their various identities and what it means to be any these identities may fluctuate. The ability to perform one identity, for example “New Zealander,” is a strategy whereby Maori speak in the voice of the dominant (Fanon 2008[1967]:78) so they can advocate for and get what they want.

The role of technology (books, albums, Internet, airplanes) cannot be underestimated in the spread of ideas. The technologies of these “technoscapes” (Appadurai 1996:34) move quickly across boundaries that almost seem to not exist. Sitting in my Toronto home, I can watch Maori Television, not via “old fashioned” satellites, which likely would not pick up their signal strength, but from my computer. Via the Internet I can access their homepage to watch *Himai Te Pakipaki* (a karaoke program) or *Hip Hop Central* (a show that started after I left Aotearoa/New Zealand). Things look different depending on the point of view and the role one plays in society. Therefore, watching a Ngatapa Black video on YouTube has different meanings for me

as a student of Maori music, than for my Macedonian neighbour, a grandmother who speaks little English and has never been to the Pacific. Hannerz in *Cultural Complexity* (1992) states: “perspectives are perspectives towards perspectives knowingly or unknowingly in contacts with people, one takes their perspectives into account, as one construes these” (1992:67). In attempting to understand the interlocking and overlapping perspectives that make up Aotearoa/New Zealand society, I hope to convey my understanding of the perspective of the artists towards their music and the genre, how the narratives are communicated, and how they speak to ideas of resistance and identity formation.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the “fixing” of the “hybrid” Maori may seem puzzling, for how can they be hybrid and encourage hybridity at the same time “Maoriness” is striven for? There is a primordial connection to the land through the invocation of *turangawaewae* and to one’s lineage through the recitation of *whakapapa*. In this way, there is a “biological” mixing, one may *choose* how one wishes to view oneself. The *enactment* of what it means to be Maori – in terms of practice – may shift. Maori take new technologies, materials, practices and ideas and incorporate them into their culture. For example, *kapahaka*, which will be discussed in Chapter Three, is hybrid in nature because its influences come from European and Maori practices but it is Maori because Maori invented it, practice it and consider it to have Maori social function. It has been almost two hundred years since sustained contact between Maori and Europeans. While we can believe that these contemporary practices are Maori (because they are so different from European practices), we cannot be sure that Maori ancestors (who also surely saw change over time) would have agreed that *kapahaka* is very Maori.

It is essential to consider hybridity that examines the meeting of difference, as a theoretical framework for this project. On different continents and opposite hemispheres, dramatically different sounds meet and it appears that something new emerges. In an endeavour to untangle these complex relations, one must put oneself out of one's positioning to try to see the multiple perspectives that are involved in the orchestration of these new forms.

OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

Chapter Two is an overview of the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Specifically, the experiences of the Maori are emphasized and the reggae and hip hop genres are introduced and situated in an international and national context.

Chapter Three is devoted to a study of the genres of Maori music that existed before the introduction of reggae and hip hop. I begin the chapter with a historical discussion of old Maori music: that which appears to be the pre-colonial contact form. One of the goals of the chapter is to outline these characteristics so they can be discerned (in some way) within the hybrid forms. The importance of the colonial influence and the inception of new musical forms are equally important. The development of the action song and kapahaka that comes out of this are focal points for the early twentieth century Maori revival. After a discussion of post-World War Two popular music, I end the chapter by discussing the ways in which all these different forms meet various social and emotional requirements of personal expression and how they reflect the here and now for Maori.

Chapter Four investigates the meaning(s) of reggae to Maori and how the creation of an Aotearoa/New Zealand chapter of the Rastafari sect, the Twelve Tribes of Israel, localizes the meaning(s) of reggae and Rasta. It starts with an account of the reggae scene and the importance of Bob Marley to the Aotearoa/New Zealand scene. The music, the lyrics and the genre all hold meaning in ways that are related to old Maori music. Maori do not see a conflict between Maori identity (who you are) and a Rasta identity (your faith). The chapter exposes the links between political positionings, spiritual beliefs and Maori values and how they are manifested through the performance of reggae.

Chapter Five centers on the position of hip hop in Aotearoa/New Zealand and a narrative of the history of the hip hop scene in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The role of the United States in the development of Maori hip hop begins the chapter. Hip hop is a pastiche genre that welcomes, and is characterized by, technological and sound innovation. Maori use this genre to reflect their identification with its originators and by localizing it, they assert their own identity as Maori. Artists do this through lyrical content, using Te Reo Maori instead of English, incorporating old Maori music sounds, and especially through visual cues in videos.

In Chapter Six I examine the decision by Maori to use Black Atlantic music, rather than kapahaka, as a mode of self-expression. I also examine the appeal held by different genres; what, for example, is the difference between reggae and hip hop? The chapter concludes with a commentary on some of the broader themes of popular indigenous music.

CHAPTER TWO: THE MAORI

In this section I give the reader (and listener) a brief overview of some key historical moments in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In this way, one may grasp more easily the links Maori make between their histories of colonization with the experience of the African diaspora in the Americas. This is important since much of the discourse surrounding the appeal of these genres lies in perceived historical similarities. In addition, historical references Maori musicians make in their lyrics will be more significant to the reader.

Though there are different stories about how Maori arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand it is generally agreed that some of them arrived in *waka* (double hulled boats) from their homeland Hawaiki (possibly Rarotonga in the Cooks Islands or perhaps Ra'iatea in the Society Islands) between eight to twelve hundred years ago. The period of first contact with European explorers began in 1642 with Abel Tasman who was on a quest to discover Oceania. James Cook arrived next. On his second visit in 1773, he noticed differences that had come about since his first visit, things like an increase in the production of cloaks, jade adzes and carvings for trade (Walker 1990:78; Simmons 1982:1-8). Before 1830, Pakeha (New Zealanders of European origin) came mainly as individuals and settlement was haphazard. That changed in 1837 when the New Zealand Association, reformed in 1838 as the New Zealand Company, collaborated with the colonial government to promote planned settlements of immigrants of mainly lower class British citizens. Populating Aotearoa/New Zealand with UK nationals was a vital component of the British colonizing project. This mass migration to Aotearoa/New Zealand could be noted as the beginning of Maori marginalization. Interaction between

Maori and Pakeha had to be mediated in some fashion and took the form of negotiations that, in 1840, would lead to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (a discussion will follow shortly).

James Belich observed that in the twenty years following the signing there were three nations: Aotearoa, an independent Maoridom; the “Old” New Zealand of traders and sailors; and the “New” New Zealand marked by mass European immigration (Belich 1996:192). The “New” New Zealand impacted Maori through violent conflict, “swamping” (mixing with and dependence on Pakeha that led to loss of independence) and religious conversion (Belich 1996:192). This process set in motion a period of cultural disturbance; wars, the destruction of Maori land tenure, and the establishment of assimilation schools. Rampant disease and fighting decimated the indigenous population; in the sixty years after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed the Maori population declined from 100,000 to 42,113 and by 1901, the Pakeha to Maori population was ten to one (Belich 1996: 193). As colonization set in, cultural decay provoked the “abandonment of many social structures and practices” (Askie, personal communication, August 6, 2008). Aotearoa/New Zealand was in a period of immense upheaval in undergoing adjustment to new circumstances, *many* new kinds of people, a new language, and different worldviews.

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI

On February 6, 1840, the representative of Queen Victoria I in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Captain William Hobson) met with forty-three Maori chiefs at Waitangi to sign the Treaty of Waitangi (the treaty) based on an earlier oral agreement between the two

parties. Though not all chiefs in Aotearoa/New Zealand would sign, five hundred more would do so in the succeeding months. Scholar Mason Durie has said, “there might have never been a treaty at all were it not for the Declaration of Independence signed five years earlier in 1835” (Durie 1998:176). Human Rights Commission executive Hemi Askie explained to me that the treaty created a set of relationships and responsibilities: the authority to govern, the authority to protect and develop *taonga* (treasure of natural resources), and the authority to belong as equal citizens (personal communication, August 6, 2008). However, some argue that the Treaty of Waitangi was the crown’s strategy of instigating British rule and rationalizing land purchases in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Durie 1998:176). The treaty permeates all that has to do with Maori; land ownership and access; language preservation; offshore rights and all that is considered *taonga*³ (treasured). While contemporary Pakeha may see the treaty as something that separates Aotearoa/New Zealand from Australia and England, Maori see it as sacred (Denoon 2000:123) and its importance is repeatedly stressed. As Etera Ahaura said; “Whakapapa establishes the right of Maori to be in New Zealand. The treaty establishes the right of non-Maori to be in New Zealand” (personal communication July 23, 2008).

There are discrepancies between the English and the Te Reo Maori versions of the treaty. In English the crown gains complete ownership of the land, whereas in the Te Reo Maori version *kawanatanga* (governance) is ceded (Walker 1990:91). The first article in English says:

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without

³ Examples of *taonga* include Te Reo Maori (Maori language) and precious objects.

reservation, all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective Territories and the sole Sovereigns (Walker 1990:91).

The Te Reo Maori version of the same passage, translated into English reads:

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs not in that Confederation, cede absolutely to the Queen of England forever the complete governance⁴ of their lands (Walker 1990:91).

This complication of property (custodianship rather than ownership) was not the only point of difference between the two versions; power was also at stake. For the Maori power was something to be shared between English and Maori, but the English saw themselves as having complete jurisdiction over Aotearoa/New Zealand. A significant treaty breach came in 1877 when the colonial government court ruled, “Maori did not constitute a body politic... Maori therefore had no customary rights enforceable in the courts; and the court had dismissed the treaty as a nullity” (Denoon 2000:124-125).

Associate professor of Maori Studies at Auckland University, Ranganui Walker has pointed out other legal complications with the treaty: firstly, a treaty is made between states and in 1840 the Maori did not constitute a state; secondly, the heirs of the Queen were not bound to the treaty (Walker 1987:74). Today, what Maori feel the treaty can give them is recognition of their cultural heritage rights and self-determination⁵: both are guaranteed in Article Two.

⁴ In Maori the word is *kawanatanga*, a word introduced by missionaries. The term that would have corresponded to the English would have been *mana*. However, if the translator did this intentionally knowing the Maori would never have signed away their *mana* will never be known (Walker 1990:91).

⁵ *Tino rangatiranga* or absolute sovereignty is guaranteed over all Maori *taonga* (treasures) in Article Two. (Walker 1990: 93). Refer to Appendix A for the full treaty.

REVIVAL

Throughout the nineteenth century there had been many strong Maori leaders: Chiefs Te Pauparaha, Patuone, Ne Moetera and Tuwhare fought in the early nineteenth century; Hone Heke and Te Kawaiti began the Northern Wars that would eventually become the New Zealand Wars. Te Kooti would end these wars and develop Ringatu, a syncretic religion. Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Matane Te Whiwhi proposed the idea of a Maori King in 1853; in 1858, their idea came to fruition with the crowning of Te Wherowhero as the first Maori King. In 1862, Te Ua Haumene developed another syncretic religion, Hauhau, based on the principles of *pai marire* (goodness and peace). Titokowaru, a former Methodist lay preacher, Hauhau prophet and soldier, won many battles during the New Zealand Wars. Other prophets Te Whitio Rongomai and Tohu of Parihaka in Taranaki advocated passive, non-violent resistance to occupation of Maori land.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century many Maori politicians emerged: among them, Apirana Ngata who, with James Carroll, Te Rangi Hiroa and Maui Pomere formed Te Aute College Students Association in 1897 that would become the Young Maori Party in 1909. All “Western” educated, these young politicians were concerned with Maori welfare, health, education, land retention, and revitalizing Maori arts. Sir Maui Pomore, developed the Royal Commission in 1926 to help with land issues and other labour aligned policies; they had many successes in the 1930s. It seems evident to me these young Maori understood that total resistance to the dominant state would be futile and complete assimilation would dishonour their heritage, and so they sought to combine the best of both milieu to create new ways of being in this new world. During

this time of cease-fire and having adapted to foreign diseases, Maori populations increased, though they were still considered to be a dying people.

URBANIZATION

Between 1945 and 1966, the urban Maori population increased from 26% to 52% (Teara Encyclopedia of New Zealand 2010). From the 1930s to the 1960s, there were mass influxes of Maori into urban centers where they looked for work when economic depression hit Aotearoa/New Zealand. During the Second World War, Maori who were not eligible to fight worked in factories that supported war efforts. After the end of the war there was stagnation in the countryside and a demand for labour in the urban centers. As well, many young people were captivated by the idea of a more exciting, modern life in the city.

In 1960, the Aotearoa/New Zealand government released *The Hunn Report*. With no Maori consultation, the report's aim for the country was that through "integration" the state could make Maori culture "modern" and create one nation, with no Maori and no Pakeha (Denoon 2000:374-375). The strategy was to encourage Maori rural emigration by promises of accommodation and employment and active suppression of Te Reo Maori - students were punished corporeally for speaking Te Reo Maori. Urbanization and marginalization were difficult for many Maori: coming in closer contact with Pakeha they experienced much more racism; they lived in overcrowded conditions and often felt alienated from urban life. They were removed from social network connections of *whanau* (extended family). Enduring language loss and the pressures of assimilation

made this the lowest point in history for many Maori. Gangs and urban *marae* (meeting places) emerged as coping strategies during this time.

THE CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

In the 1960s a cultural revival began, known colloquially as the cultural renaissance. Through resistance to the asymmetrical relationship with the state, Maori began attempts (that continue today) to renew the principles most disputed in the treaty: *kawanatanga* (governance) and *tinio rangatira* (true chiefliness). This cultural revival was, and is, a slow process. As well as having a long, internal history inspired by influential Maori Chiefs like Hone Heke, external inspiration for the cultural revival was drawn from the Black Panthers and Malcolm X, for example. The Maori were aware of their disadvantageous position vis-à-vis the state. Moreover, conscious of United Nations advocacy of indigenous rights and alert to worldwide decolonization, Maori activists began making noise about the negative treatment they received from the state. Maori mobilization was rapid, and the mid-1970s to mid-1980s were marked as a period of protest and anger (Walker 1987).

The 1960s Civil Rights Movement influenced indigenous, and minority and oppressed people around the world who began to challenge the status quo through sit-ins, marches, and delegations to visit the Queen (McMillan and Yellowhorn 2004:322). In Auckland, increasing unemployment, urbanization, marginalization, and aggressive police action (random checks, dawn raids, arbitrary arrests), gave rise to the Polynesian Panthers and various newspapers and organizations, designed to rally people together to respond to acts of violence. Distinguished Maori scholar Maarire Goodall (Ngai Tahu)

went to the United States in the 1960s because there was no work for him in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In Chicago, he was regarded as a “man of colour” and became involved as a strategist, tactician, and organizer for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. He made several trips to Mississippi to support various activities until a warrant was put out for his arrest as a civil rights activist. Goodall compares the Maori and African American experiences: “to me there seemed many parallels between our struggles to defend our mana and our homeland and those of Native American Indians and the blacks who have struggled against colonial oppression” (Archie 1993:16-17). Malcolm X was also quite popular, especially during the 1990s, when Spike Lee’s film *Malcolm X* (1992) was released. Not unknown among the Maori community, W.D. Fard, 1930s spear header of the Nation of Islam, was born to a British father and a Maori mother. This knowledge makes for an interesting de-centering of the experience of race in the Black Power movement. These personal stories highlight a general sentiment of affinity with African Americans, the Civil Rights movement, and the Black Power movement. This sentiment of recognition and social consciousness are reflected in the appeal of conscious hip hop.

In this section I will discuss in more detail some of the key events of this period such as: the development of the Waitangi Tribunal, protests over land, the Springbok Tour, and the establishment of the Maori Language Act.

In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was established as a commission of inquiry to hear and investigate cases relating to the treaty. Since its inception, the tribunal has attended to over three thousand cases; only twenty have been resolved successfully, and in no instance were the claimants fully granted what they requested (Mutu 2003; Human Rights

Commission 2009). There is much evidence that has been presented at the tribunal to show neglect by the crown on guarantees of self-determination and control over resources. However, the tribunal cannot bind the crown but only make recommendations; though these recommendations are thought to hold significant political and moral weight, they have in fact been mostly ignored (Watson and Solomon 2001:2). Maori Studies professor Dr. Kahawai grew agitated speaking to me about the tribunal. He said the process is slow and the tribunal is under funded; in 1994, the government planned a one billion dollar cap on settlements. Moreover, funding for all historical claims is less than the cost of building a twenty-six kilometer stretch of road (personal communication, August 8, 2008).

Also in 1975, thousands of people led by Whina Cooper, walked from Te Hapua in the North one thousand and fifty kilometers south to the parliament buildings in Wellington in order to draw attention to and protest against land alienation in what is now called “The Maori Land March.” For five hundred and six days in 1977 and 1978 Maori, Pacific Islanders and Pakeha (whites) peacefully occupied Bastion Point in Auckland to protest the local *iwi* (tribe) Ngati Whatua’s land being sold to American housing developers. It ended when six hundred police brutally dragged off protesters (Walker 1990:215-219; Denoon 2000: 377). As protester Tingilau Ness said, “It was pretty scary but in our hearts we knew we were doing the right thing standing up for our people” (personal communication, August 12, 2008). The period after the Bastion Point occupation was marked by radical protest activity, particularly by the Waitangi Action Committee, Pakeha Against Racism Campaign and the Ponsonby Black Women’s Movement (Walker 1990:220-221). Maori activists here were using the word “Black”

not as a descriptor of skin colour but as a descriptor in meaning, creating parallels between their experiences and those of African-Americans as subjugated peoples. In 1978, Eva Rickard and sixteen other protesters were successful in their occupation of a Raglan golf course to have the ancestral land returned to Maori.

In 1960 Pakeha established “No Maori No Tour” protests against the Rugby Football Union and in 1969 “Halt all Racist Tours” (Denoon 2000:376). In 1981, the Springbok Tour incited protests against South Africa’s racist apartheid policies and the New Zealand government’s compliance (Denoon 2000:379).⁶ This phase of activism would give rise to a calmer period of reaping the benefits of this protesting: in 1988, Bastion Point land would be returned to Maori; in 1985 it was declared the Waitangi Tribunal could hear cases retroactively to 1840, and in 1987 the Maori Language Act was passed making Te Reo Maori an official language. That calmer period would be one in which youth would start learning Te Reo Maori in immersion schools and settling into urban life.

In the last ten years technological advances have facilitated the production and transmission of Maori arts and news. The *kohanga reo* movement (for Te Reo Maori language education) is now established and the success of its graduates proves its creators right; language and cultural pride are the building blocks of success. When their tolerance for the school system failing their children had reached its limit, the solution Maori devised was the development of bilingual and immersion language schools.⁷ The Maori

⁶ They were successful; Aotearoa/New Zealand would not play against South Africa in any sporting activities until 1990, when apartheid was officially dismantled.

⁷ Pakeha were not always supportive of these initiatives. Pakeha Anne said to me when the language revitalization started and things happened like a Maori teacher teaching the kids in Te Reo Maori folk

community opened the first kohanga reo (kindergarten) in 1981, funded by the Department of Maori Affairs. By 1987, almost five hundred centers had opened (Spolsky 1996:10). In 1991 it was estimated the kohanga reo movement was producing roughly three thousand Te Reo Maori speakers per year, though the actual level of use and knowledge were low (Spolsky 1996:11).

Sam Papahu, a high-school social worker, disclosed his thoughts, informed by his position in the school system:

When we were at school, the assumption that, even if you're a good student, or a good musician, you're going to be a labourer. I think that it became a belief subconsciously. At that time it was "as long as I've got a job it was okay." Our fathers worked those jobs and it was seen as honest hard work, which it is, but our fathers busted their asses on their jobs because they wanted us to have the better education and get ourselves further...with all the immersion programs and our TV stations, things are bound to even out. It is changing; there are more opportunities for our youth to utilize Maori, in science, and in math, which is "urg." And you know what, it's the delivery that's the problem. In our days the Maori kids were set up to fail. Ten, fifteen years ago kids were coming out of school saying, "I'm just going to go on the dole." And that was okay. Now the kids are saying they want higher learning (personal communication, August 12, 2008).

Even though the numbers are lower compared to the general Aotearoa/New Zealand population, more Maori are staying in school and completing studies than before. In 2004, Maori Television went to air for the first time and four years later that station would launch a spin off station, Te Reo, completely in that language. At a thermal bath in Rotorua, I started a discussion with a woman who happened to work for a radio station. She invited me to call her when I returned to Auckland. I did, and we went for supper with her friend Etera Ahaura. Ahaura is a part-time musician and full-time educator who is passionate about bilingual and immersion education. Ahaura says the highest achieving secondary students in the country are coming out of kura kaupapa, but

songs, there were Pakeha who were saying, "if they teach that language in my child's school I will remove my child from that school" (personal communication, June 28, 2008).

unfortunately only 3.3% of Maori students are enrolled. Ahaura reckons that while Maori see this type of schooling as good for developing a comfort with one's identity, it has a greater overall effect for achievement (personal communication, July 23, 2008). Ahaura says the reason why these children are achieving so well is they are being respected: "taught in their own language, they have positive role models around them...they are learning everything any global student would but from a Maori perspective." Learning one's maternal language is important for cultural pride and maintenance; language has a host of social and political functions and it is our "primary semiotic tool for representing and negotiating social reality" (Bailey 2007:257). That being said, all is not suddenly utopia. Maori represent about 15% of the Aotearoa/New Zealand population, yet make up 50% of the prison population (Kahawai, personal communication August 8, 2008). The government spends more than double the amount of money to maintain roads in Aotearoa/New Zealand than on maintaining indigenous culture (Kahawai, personal communication August 8, 2008). The mainstream settler population does not see it like that; they are quick to label government support as "Maori Privilege." Yet, as Kingi says, Maori have the worst overall educational outcome, the highest rates of smoking, the lowest life expectancy, the lowest level of house ownership, the highest level of unemployment, the highest level of incarceration, and therefore "fail[s] to see how this is Maori privilege" (personal communication, August 6, 2008). Moreover, alienation between Maori individuals and their history, as well as land alienation, leads to very complex issues. Social structures like whakapapa evolved over hundreds of years and have a fundamental link with the land. Producer, composer, musician, lyricist, husband and new father, Ihaka Delaney does not think that Pakeha directly resent the government

for this, but their views stem from ignorance through no fault of their own. He says, “they haven’t been given the tools or the education...negative stereotypes are constantly reinforced through the media, they start believing the shit they see on television and not the people they know, across the fence” (personal communication, August 9, 2008).

Writer and communications manager at a media company, Nicole Hana says of her community, “the problems Maori face are century old problems, it’s a big issue, they are in very poor health, poor housing, high crime rates, loss of language, loss of identity, well that’s what happens when you colonize” (personal communication July 28, 2008).

This overview of the major incidences in Aotearoa/New Zealand history functions to present Maori struggles that the Maori themselves speak of in parallel with African-American experiences. These experiences of violent and peaceful protests, marches, institutionalized racism, struggle for recognition from the state, and the emergence of charismatic leaders happened in both New Zealand and in America, with the Maori taking inspiration from African-Americans. Conscious hip hop and roots reggae (the forms Maori use) are lyrically driven and emphasize social issues. With this in mind, it becomes evident that successful philosophical and strategic coping—protest styles were borrowed from the United States and adapted to Aotearoa/New Zealand; music, an additional philosophy and strategy, would also be borrowed.

MAORI & MUSIC

A fascination with Black Atlantic music is not new, and appreciation for various genres (jazz for example) cross many cultural and colour lines. Reggae and hip hop themselves emerge from many complex exchanges to negotiate marginalization and both have

become globally accepted–appropriated forms. Links between indigenusness and reggae are constructed externally and internally. Through the adoption of Jamaican style dress (the use of red, gold and green in their colour palette, informal style, often home-made–styled items like crocheted hats) and through use of Jamaican English (accent, vocabulary and intonation), Maori affect a sort of external mimicry of Jamaican-ness to signify their internal connection with the music (reggae), lifestyle (relaxed, non-aggressive) and religion (Rastafari – local variations of which are discussed at length in Chapter Four). Moreover, by combining these styles with *moko* (Maori tattoo), Maori symbols (like *tiki* on clothing for example), and the use of Te Reo Maori in their everyday speech and Aotearoa/New Zealand imagery and content in their lyrics, Maori musicians localize reggae and globalize Maori.

Because Jamaican reggae music is about Jamaica and black people and because Rasta is Afrocentric, there can be the misconception that there is no room for non-Black or non-Jamaican people in the genre. In Steckles, Bob Marley’s response to that viewpoint was,

My music defends righteousness. If you’re black and you’re wrong, you’re wrong. My music fights against the system... There should be no war between black and white. But until white people listen to black people with open ears, there must be, well, suspicions (2009:200).

Reggae and Bob Marley mean different things to different people. For Balinese it is beach music that tourists like; it’s the freedom to not work (Baulch 2007). Global marketing in Balinese and in Jamaican tourism has altered the meaning of Marley’s music to construct reggae as happy party music, in spite of its origins. Conversely, Jawaiian, Hawaiian reggae, is taken seriously. Sung in English to music that incorporates the ukulele, Jawaiian expresses Hawaiian concerns and values (Crowe 1998:166).

Curious as to why people in Tanzania prefer Bob Marley instead of Peter Tosh (the better musician and song writer of the two⁸), Moyer found that people had no problem in answering that it was simply a matter of aesthetics: “Bob is a beautiful man you see, and Peter Tosh is not⁹” (Moyer 2005:46). The ambiguity he embodies is a result, in part, of his mixed parentage. With his medium brown skin tone, European features and single fold eyelids, he could easily “pass” as many different kinds of people, making him less foreign and more accessible to those who see themselves in him. I had the opportunity to ask a number of indigenous people (Cree, Maori and Wai-Wai) who they all thought was the better musician and all said Marley. When I asked about his looks they agreed: his ambiguousness *was* appealing.

The draw of reggae is its roots in Rasta. Commonalities between Rasta and indigenous people are seen to be located in a love of the land, a deep spirituality and colonial angst. Alvarez (2008) argues the connection between global indigenous artists and their fans constitutes a diaspora. This diaspora is not based on ethnicity nor on identity, but on shared history and ongoing struggle against neo-colonialism. Maori may see themselves in the phenotype of Marley (they also often have single fold eyelids and medium brown skin). His physical ambiguity that stems from his “mixed” parentage (his mother was black and his father, white) also reflects their physical ambiguity as Maori who are often “mixed-blood” and rejected (like Marley was rejected by his father) by their white brethren. This complex relationship of inter-racial “hybrid” offspring is seen in much of the colonial world. So Marley represents for the Maori, not only the spirit of

⁸ Moyer notes this is as a general observation (2005:46). Until 1974 when they went their separate ways, Tosh wrote much of the music normally attributed to Marley, such as “Get Up, Stand Up” (1973).

⁹ Tosh’s skin was much darker than Marley’s and he had a more intimidating countenance than Marley.

the colonized that speaks about a certain type of Jamaican experience but also, in his body he symbolizes the anxieties of hybridity.

Hip hop is the other main Black Atlantic genre Maori appropriate, the sound and style of which are adored by many indigenous and minority populations globally. One of the challenges in the study of contemporary indigenous music is, quite simply, finding material. Most information available investigates old-traditional genres. Adam Krims is one of the very few hip hop writers that includes First Nations music. In *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity* (2000) he discusses Cree hip hop. This is important to consider for there are many similarities in the histories of these British settler colonies as well as the discourses of articulating indigenous attraction to hip hop. Here Krims speaks of the general absence of First Nations in the Canadian imagination:

Nevertheless, the relative absence of Native Americans from the North American imagination tends to hide the difficulties associated with quite a few of their communities. One probable cause of this hidden status is the segregation of large numbers of Native on 'reserves' ... they tend to be back grounded in media representations (except in cases of spectacular anti-social behaviors) (2000:181).

Though Maori are slightly more visible in the Aotearoa/New Zealand imagination than First Nations are in the Canadian vision, there is nonetheless a sort of separation between Maori and Pakeha that resonates in Krims' analyses.

Hip hop and its practitioners have often been persecuted by the state and mainstream media. In Saudi Arabia, hip hoppers have had to hide for fear of persecution (Higgins 2009:103). In France, hip hop act NTM were imprisoned for singing their song "Nique la Police" (Fuck the Police), which addresses French police brutality against North Africans. The French state also blamed hip hoppers for instigating the 2005 riots between police and young Magrebans in the Paris suburbs, and

even brought a lawsuit against seven rappers for inciting hatred toward the government (Higgins 2009:107-108). In the UK, Apache Indian's music is labeled as subversive because of songs critiquing issues like AIDS, drugs and the dowry system (Hutnyk 2000: 12; Mitchell 1996:64). The international appeal of hip hop, according to LeVine, is that it provides a choice that opposes mainstream regional sounds and an oppositional quality which is seen as superficial (2008:55). Moroccan Berber Reda Allai expresses this sentiment, "we are all fed up with mainstream [music]...how can they [Rai performers] still sing about romance, seeing what's going on in our region?" (Levine 2008:55). Mitchell explains in *Global Noise* (2001) that hip hop made outside of the United States often has political overtones:

In its recombination into local linguistic, musical and political contexts around the world, rap music and hip hop culture have in many cases become a vehicle for various forms of youth protest. They are also used in different local contexts to espouse the causes of ethnic minorities... and to make political statements about local racial, sexual, employment, and class issues... They are also used as the basis for musical experimentations that combine local vernacular traditions and influence with break beats, scratching, MCing and signifying adapted from U.S. hip hop (2001:10).

In a similar vein, ethnomusicology doctoral student Karl Swinehart writes about Amaya hip hoppers in Bolivia. These youth, Swinehart says, perform power that links the unity of the performer and the audience "against a common enemy" (2008). Like Maori, Amaya, Cree, and other minority and indigenous performers, are not endeavoring to reproduce the content but the outwardness of the genre (Keeler 2009:8). Indigenous performers are continually making links between themselves and African-Americans. Reservation rapper Kasp says:

The reservation is like the [American] ghetto, and the ghetto is like the reservation. The four elements of hip hop and the elements of aboriginal culture

are very similar. Powwow dancing is the same as b-boying, emceeing is like storytelling and powwow songs. Graffiti is like aboriginal art and deejaying is like the powwow drum... they all express themselves through those forms and tell their story through those forms (Higgins 2009:62-63).

Maori music and hip hop are also aligned for similar reasons. Maori oration and song are very highly developed; they often make references to the mythic past in poetry recitations (Simmons 1982:95). Furthermore, characteristics of spoken prose, *powhiri* (welcome ceremony) or *tangi* (funeral speeches) for example, include tribal history, myth, proverbs, and plays on words, which are also characteristics of rap. Global hip hop stays true to its roots of being real; staying true to oneself, to one's place and to hip hop culture (Clarke and Hiscock 2009; Armstrong 2004; Cutler 2007).

Yet, indigenous artists consistently preserve elements of their "old music" when they make new forms of Black Atlantic music. They challenge conventional ideas about the authentic, about belonging and assimilation. Choosing to align themselves with reggae and hip hop, both genres that have generally been seen as outlaw music (Ullestad 1999: 65; Thobani 2007), implying that artists are not interested in the mainstream for either personal or commercial reasons (Ullestad 1999:65). The mainstream is the site of the dominant culture that suppresses the "authentic." Embracing commercial success is seen as an acceptance of that dominant, as a dismissal of "third spaces" and the fact of hybridity. Ultimately though, international performers may put their own spin on the genres: all hip hop is black (Schloss 2004:9) as is reggae (Marley *In Taite* 1979). Though there may be perceived contradictions in embracing hip hop, such as flashy-ghetto, or superficial-conscious, things are not so simple. What is black? What is hip hop? Hip hop comes from somewhere else but then how can it be "real?" These contradictions make the genre. The originators say *all* versions are black versions and the appropriators say it

expresses who they are; but if this is so, and if the first statement is valid, then is what the Maori are creating, black music? Perhaps it is. If we consider black to be not a marker of ethnic or cultural affiliation with a place (e.g. Africa, Jamaica, United States) but as a symbol of a shared history of some sort of oppression (from slavers, colonials or rich proletariats) then yes, these artists are black and they create black music. They affiliate themselves with Black musicians because they see themselves as similar. Palestinian MC Abeer, for example, says, “I sing most types of black music: hip hop, R&B, whatever. Because I’m Arab and I’m Palestinian, I’m black” (LeVine 2008:124). Thus, Maori rapper Dean ‘D-Word’ Hapeta says there is no clash and, “although I love and respect hip hop being Maori I only take from it what doesn’t compromise my own culture. But in spite of this I have found them both very compatible” (Mitchell 1996: 249).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the reader (listener) to Maori history and to the principle genres being discussed and to establish different perspectives toward the genres. With this knowledge, we can now go ahead with our eyes open – looking for some things and seeing others. Chapter Three will continue the discussion of Maori music that was started here and go into more detail about the history of Maori music up until the late 1970s.

CHAPTER THREE: BACKGROUND

Innovations and inventions arise in response to new situations and have within them references to a historic past. These allusions to history serve to recognize that past, thereby (re)establishing social solidarity and legitimizing action (Hobsbawm 1983:4). Innovations involve, to a certain degree, what Renan calls ‘moments of forgetting’ (1939:11). What this means is that in the sometimes intentional and sometimes spontaneous creation of new cultural forms, there is a decision to exclude (or not exclude) certain historical details, or to remember them differently than they were. It is valuable to gain a slight understanding of this older music, for new Maori music contains aspects of the older forms. Contemporary musicians deliberately or spontaneously incorporate aspects of these styles into their current work. Thus, to properly understand the forms of Black Atlantic music Maori actively create (that have within them references to the past and which build on and incorporate aspects of prior musical forms), a sense of what came before is necessary. Maori music can be divided into three periods: antiquity, kapahaka and urban pop.

ANTIQUITY TO FIRST CONTACT

The limitations in determining the characteristics of Maori music before the nineteenth century are attributed to the absence of early notation among the Maori and few material remains. Some knowledge of this time has been gained through modern scholarship by

ethnomusicologists Merve McLean and Margaret Orbell,¹⁰ who conducted fieldwork and wrote on the subject. Also important are musicians Richard Nunns and Hirini Melbourne (until his 2003 passing), and carver Brian Flintoff, who for over thirty years have researched (especially museum collections), carved and figured out how to play *tonga puoro* (Maori musical instruments). There are four parts to this classic Maori musical base: vocal performance, poetry, rhythm and instruments.

There are two types of vocal performances: recited and sung. Recited genres include the following: *patere*, any monotonic recitation; *kapatere*, a *patere* acknowledging the presence of spirits; *whakaaraarapa*, sentinel compositions recited with amplified speech intonation; and *haka*, which accompanies the posture dance of the same name and is characterized by amplified speech intonation, call and response and chanting in unison. Genres of melodic song are *pao* (news reports), *oriori* (lullabies) and *waiata* (songs). The most extensive category is *waiata*, of which varieties include: laments for the dead. songs of love and longing, sweetheart songs, and songs of complaint. A favorite love poem–song, composed by a Ngati Kahununu woman, laments a betrothal forged by her parents when she loves another:

The tears gush from mine eyes;
My eyelashes are wet with tears.
But stay, my tears, within,
Lest you be called mine.
Alas! I am betrothed.
It is for Te Maunu
That my love devours me.
But I must weep in vain (Baker 1861:50).

The language of *waiata* is elaborate. Musically they have stable pitches, are melodically organized and sung slowly to emphasize the words. Pauses in the singing were

¹⁰ The material is a synthesis of the research of McLean (1961; 1965a; 1965b; 1969; 1977; 1996); Orbell 1991 and Flintoff 2004.

considered bad luck, so waiata were sung in *whakaeke* (group unison). The group leader would set the pace in breathing, pitch and tempo. Women composed and sung waiata; they owned their songs and passed them onto their whanau (family) and descendants. Even though songs belonged to individuals or to *hapus* (clan), reworking was not considered plagiarism as adaptations were seen to make a legitimate new song.¹¹ Maori music used four notes and had six hundred and fifty one scales that could be put together in infinite combinations. Other vocal characteristics of old Maori music are: an absence of meter, constant tempo, presence of vocables at the end of phrases and a marked glissando at the end of the line.

Maori poetry is distinguished from prose because it is always sung or chanted. It is constructed in ways that disregard grammar; it is abrupt and elliptical and its verses are unequal in length. The themes favoured are: tangi (laments) for land, ancestors and life that is no more; historic narratives, and love. Verses are often in the form of what is called *puha* composition; they are short, spirited, dynamic and humorous. However, as Baker said, the complexities of Maori wit were difficult for foreigners to understand (Baker 1861:47-59).

Rhythmic complexity defines old Maori music percussion. Tanerore, the son of Hineraumatira (summer) and Hinetakira (winter) created the main percussive form, haka. There are two categories of haka: *haka peruperu* and *taparahi haka*. Haka peruperu is a war haka that only men perform. It incorporates *patu* (clubs) and *taiaha* (spears). Taparahi haka is the ordinary haka that uses no weapons and can be performed by both men and women. Characteristics of both forms include leaps where the legs rise up touch

¹¹ Like sampling in hip hop is seen as a legitimate mode of creation and like making adaptations when singing cover songs or creating songs out of a different genre (reggae, jazz, hip hop) is also a legitimate adaptation.

the underside of the body, body slaps (thighs and chest), stomping the feet (to keep time), hitting hands together, rustling the *puipui* (flax skirt) and *wiri* (trembling fingers). The movements are performed in unison; they have clean lines and are executed with vigor.

Tonga puoro, or Maori instruments, fall into two broad categories: whirled/stuck and blown. The latter accounts for the majority (quantity and variation) of instruments, though in all cases the sounds produced are subtle and gentle. *Poi* are balls (either flax fibers or gourds) on the ends of a chord. Poi were once used for exercising wrists in military drills but were also valued for the sounds they make: both a bird-like twittering when twirled in the air and a soft percussive when the poi hits skin. *Porotiti*, discs made of stone, wood or bone were, like poi, attached to a chord and made a humming sound when spun or blown. These discs were often used to set the rhythm of songs and to heal arthritis and sinus pain. Other percussive instruments include: shakers, *tumutumu*, stone and striker; *roria*, a kind of mouth harp made of wood or bone; *tokere*, a kind of castanet (wood, bone or shell); log drums that measured between one and nine meters long; and *pakuru*, a kind of resonant rod held between the teeth that was tapped whilst singing at the same time. Tane, the God of birds and the forests, gifted his father Rangi (sky father) with a *putatara*, a conch shell instrument that was (and is) blown to announce something important, like the birth of a baby. Other blown instruments were made of stone, wood or bone. The *pukaea* is a wooden trumpet, used to welcome people and to announce important occasions. Carved from wood the *putorino* measures between 227 mm – 655 mm and is used to accompany songs or to signal a chief's return. It can have either a male or a female voice, depending on which opening is used to play. Putorino resembles an insect called *hine raukaturi* and its sound mimics that of the insect; sorrowful and

lamenting. *Rehu* are long flutes, while *nguru* are played with the nose. *Koauau*, the most common of the flutes, has an opening at either end possessing three to six holes.¹²

Much of our contemporary knowledge of these instruments comes from recent studies. Brian Flintoff, Richard Nunns and Hirini Melbourne worked together, starting with researching literature, then studying museum artifacts and making replicas of those instruments (Flintoff 2004:10). There were no recordings or oral memory to learn how to play, so they contrived plausible methods (Flintoff 2004:8). Later, they traveled around the country trying to find out more about these instruments. They found the sound of the playing triggered memories of the music in fragmentary forms. These memories were held almost exclusively by *kuria* (old women) and eventually enough of these memories and some supposition helped them to understand what the sounds of the various tonga puoro likely were. Maori sung and played these aerophones in microtones, making delicate adjustments of the lips and tongue to achieve sounds that mimicked the sounds of nature. The music was characterized by improvisation owing to fact that tuning is particular to each instrument (there is no absolute pitch reference), there is no written notation system and there is no systematic way to combine instruments. Melbourne said the music is related to the land. The sounds of the environment (waves, birds, insects, instruments and wind) are used to inspire waiata, songs and chants (*Te Ara Puoro* 2008). Moreover, instruments are not only for musical entertainment but for deeper roles such as aiding pregnancy, easing the pain of childbirth, welcoming a baby, announcing a birth, healing broken bones, planting food, and bidding farewell to the dead.

¹² There are several versions to the most famous Maori love story about Hinemoa and Tutaneki. Some say Hinemoa fell in love with Tutaneki only from hearing him play his flute. Other versions say when she renounced her family to go to him she had to cross a lake and it was the sound of his flute that guided her in the right direction. In all versions, the flute that plays a central role in uniting them was the *koauau*.

Old Maori music was polyrhythmic and its instrumentation subtle; the emphasis was on the world and on a feeling. Consequently, the genre is defined by a stress on vocal style and story telling that is often improvised and performed polyphonically. Significant characteristics of Maori narrative to keep in mind are the dynamism and complexity of language and rhythm and the legitimacy given to reworking pieces.

KAPAHAKA

The history of kapahaka is to a large extent a history of cultural activists, driven to create new variations of Maori performance that pushed Maori to respond actively to the assimilative pressures of colonialism. Such pressures included missionary attempts to stamp out haka and other art forms (Kaiwai and Zemke-White 2004:147). The Native School System (developed in 1867), missionary schools and legislation such as the *Tohunga Suppression Act*¹³ (1907) were key instruments in assimilation policies (personal communication, Hemi Askie August 6, 2008).

At the beginning of the twentieth century Sir Apirana Ngata (1874-1909) coalesced the “action song” into its current form as a way to protect Maori music. The action song is essentially a song with actions that combines Maori mimetic dance movements and Te Reo Maori lyrics with European instrumentation and harmonies. In the 1930s, Princess Te Puea Herangi first organized kapahaka performances to showcase Maori performing arts, including the action song. This section will review the impact of Christianity on Maori music and how it led to the development of the action song and kapahaka and their role(s) in Maoridom.

¹³ The goal was to prevent *tohunga*, specialists, from passing on their (religious, musical, carving, weapon) knowledge.

Fanon wrote, “colonialism is the conquest of a national territory and the oppression of a people” (1957:81). Anyone left unassimilated in the colonial process is a threat to national unity (Bhabha 2007[1994]:xxii). Thus, an important component of the British colonizing policy was to assimilate its colonized subjects through religious proselytizing and conversion. Samuel Mardson preached the first Aotearoa/New Zealand Christian sermon in 1814 at the Bay of Islands. In 1827, the Church Missionary Society (the missionaries affiliated with the Church of England) orchestrated the printing of the first hymnal in Te Reo Maori. In 1837, the Wesleyans did the same and included sections from Gospels in their hymnals. Music was an integral part of their services and their proselytizing process. It seems likely these missionaries were directly responsible for the loss of early Maori songs, since they were hostile towards what they perceived to be “idolatrous,” “indecent,” or “lascivious character” (McLean 1965b:299). They taught the Maori to sing hymns and psalms in the monotonic group chanting style they were familiar with. Many missionaries, including William Brown, gave testimony of Maori commitment to singing. In 1840 he wrote in his diary: “they sing hymns every morning and evening – a species of devotion in which they appear to take great delight, notwithstanding their utter want of all musical talent” (McLean 1996:280). Lady Ann Martin, actively involved with St. John’s College and St. Stephen’s School for Native girls made this comment:

The Maori boys and girls between the speeches sang English glees and catches with great spirit. It was a pleasant surprise to find that the New Zealanders, when properly taught, had much musical talent and very good voices. We had noticed, from the first, the perfect time that they kept, not only when responding in church, but when singing songs as they paddled. But their native music, when they chanted their old songs, was harsh and monotonous, and their attempts to follow our hymn-tunes most deplorable. No sooner, however, were the young people in the school taught to read music by the figure system, and trained by regular

practices weekly, than we found out the gift of song that was in them (McLean 1996:297).

Europeans praised Maori for their perfect time and their ability to be in unison — qualities Europeans valued — and were antagonistic toward the native style considered monotonous and discordant. Beginning in the 1850s at St. John's College (a missionary school), Maori students were taught musical notation and how to sing in harmony, accompanied by a harmonium or sometimes a tuning fork (McLean 1996:310).

Transitional songs, those that combined elements of European and Maori music emerged despite the “incompatibility” between the central elements of Maori and European music. Around 1871, there were reports of Tawhiao Matutaera (the second Maori king) singing Maori songs to European melodies (McLean 1996:311). The two-line structure of pao made it easier for it to be paired with a European type melody. However, the distinguishing feature of transitional music was its unpredictability. Non-Maori elements were incompletely integrated and some musical rules had been broken. The poi piece “Example 100,” illustrates this meaning. It uses European 2/4 time but with three phrases rather than the usual four and the last two are spoken rather than sung (McLean 1996:311).

Action songs are considered to be a hybrid form combining dance and vocal elements from Maori and European styles.¹⁴ The moment of its exact emergence is unclear, though it seems to have been sometime in the early twentieth century. Some of this ambiguousness is attributed to the lack of clear definition of what exactly constituted an action song. By the 1930s, action songs were included in concert programs and by

¹⁴ Attempts to link action songs to old Maori music have said they are a variation of *haka waiata*. Evidence does not support this: the first mention of *haka waiata* was in 1925. Also, *haka waiata* is a term that is a contradiction in itself; *haka* is recited and *waiata* sung (McLean 1996:337).

1940, they were firmly established. Apirana Ngata, “dedicated to the protection and advancement of the Maori culture” (Unitec n.d.), was responsible for coalescing it into its current forms. Ngata was also an avid composer of the genre. Maori participated in this form because, as scholar Jennifer Shennan puts it, “they themselves wanted to express their ideas and hopes, and the burgeoning dance form allowed them just this expression” (Shennan 1984:21).

Tourists flocked to Rotorua for views of the Pink and White Terraces (destroyed by volcanic activity in 1886) and dips in the thermal water of the volcanic region. Subsequently a tourism industry, including cultural tourism, developed fairly quickly. In the 1860s Maori songs (especially poi) sung to English melodies were said to be a product of that industry. Ironically, despite the colonizing attempt to suppress Maori culture, tourists appreciated Maori music and arts. Perhaps, since Maori were now considered a dying race (disease and war were taking their toll), they were no longer considered a threat as they once were and could now be patronized.

There are four types of action songs: *waiata-a-ringa* (song with or of hands), *waiata-a-kori* (song moving with the entire body), *waiata haka* (to draw attention to haka movements) and *waiata ngahau* (entertainment songs). The European influence in these pieces is the use of European harmonies,¹⁵ melodies, the use of vibrato and portamento and rhythms. European rhythms most often used were 2/2, 3/4, and 4/4 rhythms though, as discussed earlier, the rhythms were performed in a Maori style and in unison. Maori vocals are distinguished by open sounds rounded for volume and expression and occasionally the shouted declamations and rhythms of haka. Action songs are always set

¹⁵ Keep in mind, the European music here is largely hymnal and folk music that is pentatonic and has deep feeling. They have highly crafted melodies with a two or four beat rhythm that pulls the songs forward in a predictable way.

to music – usually a guitar. Singers perform movements that come from a variety of places. First, the pre-colonial Maori dance–music–poetry tradition used stylized non-mimetic movements (in the *paterere* form for example). The exemplar is the *wiri*, a type of hand fluttering symbolizing life energy. Secondly, the use of less stylized movements that embellish and reinforce the sung movement is believed to be possibly Samoan or Tongan in origin. Themes of strength, unity, courage, emotions, interpersonal relations and hostility are recurring. These themes are often linked to events; the texts serve to record history and in this sense can be seen as successors to the older *pao* form. By way of illustration, after the Second World War, there was a flood of anti-Hitler songs, farewell to soldier compositions honouring dead soldiers, and welcoming home soldier songs.

“Call to Them,” is a poignant example of a war song:

Call to them! Call to them!
 Welcome these people!
 The numerous dead, come (in spirit)
 To this gathering of love for you, Wi Pere [a person]
 Love and sorrow bite deep.

The many who died, the many who died
 In France, bring them (in spirit).
 Let us mourn them on this *marae*
 At this lovely gathering to honour you (who fought with) the French.
 Love and sorrow bite deep.

Blood was shed! Blood was shed!
 Blood streamed and bespattered
 The distant land,
 Calling on this great gathering
 Always to remember the fallen with love and gratitude (Shennan 1984:35).

Action song texts were simpler than those of *waiata*; the topic and (borrowed) melody were the appeal, rather than the artistry of the lyrical composition. In adopting the action song as Maori tradition, the community had the opportunity to recognize and connect with the past and make sense of the present, as with the war genre. Moreover, this

appropriation of European music by the indigenous Maori gives them a space in which to discriminate against colonial power in the sully of its purity.

Maori created a number of organizations to bring the various iwi together.

Kotahitanga, a self-determinist group was organized in 1892. In 1858 the Kingitanga, a pan-tribal Maori association, was formed to unite the middle northern tribes of the Waikato region. One iwi was selected to be the kingly iwi (Kingitanga) from which a representative king or queen would be the Maori equal to the UK king or queen. Maori political groups such as the Te Aute Students Association (1897) and the Young Maori Party (1909) created new platforms for the performance of powhiri, haka and poi. These groups were linked with the Waikato King movement, and promoted Maori culture through touring concert repertoire of action songs, while in Rotorua action songs were performed mainly to entertain visitors.

Sir Apirana Ngata, the first Maori university graduate, is today considered to be “The Father of the Action Song.” Ngata had a vital role in developing and popularizing this song form, principally through his translations of English songs into Maori with his partner Hone Heke (1869-1909). A favorite then and now, and the first action song, is “Home Sweet Home/ Te Kaianga Tupu.” Here is the chorus:

John Payne 1822	A. Ngata & H. Heke 1902	English Translation
Home, home, sweet sweet home There's no place like home, There's no place like home.	Te Kainga tupu! Te ai ona rite E kore e rite	The place where you grew up! There is no comparison Nothing like it.

(Ngata et al. 2008).

In this translation we can see that the sense of the meaning of the original song is retained but the translated version uses the Maori poetic complex language style (more so than the source piece that relies on idiomatic expressions, in themselves tricky to translate) while making it something dynamic (even when read!). Ngata organized fundraising concerts featuring and promoting action songs for the Maori Soldier's Fund throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand during the First World War. In 1944, he delivered the Raurau-nui-a-Toi lectures containing the rules for the performance of action songs that still frame the delivery of this art style today. It is plain to see that the development of the action song, which incorporated and transformed outside influences (both European and Pacific Islander), was both intentional and unintentional. European missionaries surely never intended or imagined this outcome, nor likely did the first Maori who embraced a new art form. These new traditional forms are rooted in older ones. They incorporate and shift patterns of meaning, as circumstances allow, establishing their collective identities and cultural patterns as legitimate.

Concert parties started more than one hundred years ago. Standard repertoire consisted of poi songs and haka performances at hotels, tourist venues and social functions. Many Maori entertainment groups traveled locally and internationally (Australia, UK) to perform. It appears tourism played an important role in vitalizing these arts. Huata indicates, "how fortunate I was to have been born, in 1946, into a family in Whakauerewa village. There we were all steeped in a living, active culture made vibrant, I believe, by the influence of tourism, which resulted in innovative changes and certain survival" (Huata and Papesch 2000:13).

In 1922, Princess Te Puea Herangi (1884-1952) organized her first famous concert party with forty-four performers. In 1923, the group went on a national tour. A typical press reaction to the Princess' first concert party observes:

The concert...was really first-rate...It includes men's haka parties, women's *pois* and Hawaiian hula dances, and a dozen little Maori maids, whose charming dancing was one of popular [*sic*] features of the show. There was a fine string band consisting of steel guitars, mandolins, banjos and the popular ukuleles. The stage was well set as a typical *pa* [village], and the use of *pungas* [eel traps] and *nikau* [palm trees] in the decorative effect gave the whole performance a pleasing harmony (McLean 1996:329).

The program was divided in two; the first half featured Maori haka and poi and the second half featured comedy and singing (McLean 1996:329).

Out of these concert parties came the kapahaka performance that would be for Maori (rather than tourists or Pakeha), and that would be a way for Maori to retain elements of old Maori art performance. Princess Te Puea Herangi organized kapahaka (team haka) in the late 1930s as a means of preserving Maori song and dance that were threatened and being lost as a result of the effects of colonization (Kouka 1999:11). Kapahaka is a performance by Maori for Maori whereas concert parties¹⁶ are performances for entertainment and tourist purposes. Kapahaka is performed at hui (meetings) or competitions and festivals. Losing the humour¹⁷ and spectacle factor of the concert party, a kapahaka performance combines a number of Maori art forms into a performance that is usually a competition between different kapahaka groups. A group can be comprised of several dozen people who are usually from a particular geographic region or have ties to a common marae. While it is in effect a Maori form, kapahaka was

¹⁶ That label is still used today though most often it is called a cultural performance.

¹⁷ The humour in tourist performances is more about mocking the audience ineptitude in attempting to imitate the Maori performance, from what I have seen, and this aspect is not present in the kapahaka performances I have attended. That is not to say kapahaka performances are staid, they are dynamic with an element of admiration from the audience not seen in tourist audiences.

highly influenced by European contact and contains some European elements (e.g. that of the theatrical performance), and so became something new in which the components are set. In this ritualized rendering, each element serves a specific purpose. The group begins with a *karanga*, a vocal invocation that calls to those living and departed, sung by a female. Then the *whai korero* is given. The *whai korero* is a formal speech that acknowledges the creator, *whakapapa*, spirits and the purpose of the meeting. Next the group performs a *moteatea* (sacred acapella chant by women and men in unison), action songs, *haka* (posture dance), poi song, and demonstrate the *tirako* and *tititoria* (long and short stick weapons). The first regional *kapahaka* competition was at Gisbourne in 1950, and the first nationals took place in 1972 in Rotorua; both continue to be held annually (Kingi and Battye 2009). At a *kapahaka* competition the performers are judged on aggregate and non-aggregate components. Aggregates are: *whakaeke* (entrance), *moteatea*, *waiata-a-ringa*, poi, *haka* and *whakawatea* (exit). Non-aggregates are: proficiency of Te Reo Maori recitation, the male leader, the female leader, outfits, overall performance and their *whai korero*. At the Wellington regionals in 2008, I was pleasantly surprised to witness what is called a support *haka* that audience members (whanau, friends and/or fellow competitors) perform to show appreciation for the skill demonstrated. It is clear the spirit of *kapahaka* remains true to Princess Puea's desires, to retain some of the old artistic styles and to bring Maori together.

Ethnomusicologist Christopher Scales speaks at large about some of what powwows do in a North American indigenous context. Powwows serve a very similar function to *kapahaka* competitions:

The very idea of a "Native American" social or cultural group is a product of the structural position of the various indigenous tribal groups within modern

geopolitical states. Competition powwows, in mediating the traditional and the modern, help not only to forge intertribal relationships, but also help shape the very nature of “Native American” or “American Indian” ethnic identity... The shared experience of competition allows powwow participants both to “imagine,” and to actually share and experience a broader, national (and international) “Native American” identity (Scales 2007:25).

By the end of the Second World War tourism was on the increase in Aotearoa/New Zealand. There was a resurgence of Maori culture and they were opening meeting houses and war memorial halls. Youth clubs were formed to foster Maori arts, in which kapahaka was a dominant component. A rural exodus would also mark this period. The countryside was the heartland of waiata and other old Maori music styles. Immigration to cities began just before the Second World War but increased significantly after the War went into full swing. The state built high-density housing estates near Auckland (Otara, Mangere and Te Atau) and Wellington (Porirua, the Hutt Valley and Wainuiomata) in the 1960s to relieve overcrowding. These centers would very quickly fill up with working class people. The distance between the city and one’s town led to a deterioration of song transmission because of loss of contact with social institutions such as marae and whanau, where music was learnt; loss of contact led to a loss of language that led to an inability to learn the songs.¹⁸ People felt alienated living in cities; they were the abode of Pakeha where colonialist racist attitudes were still rampant (Walker 1990: 56). The double change of urbanization and alienation generated frustration and tension among Maori. The responses to that frustration came in various forms: the inception of gangs, kapahaka vitalization, building urban marae and activism. Kapahaka (like powwows in North America) are localized pan-Maori celebrations that function to make the collective stronger in many ways. Their cultural communities are strengthened

¹⁸ Today learning requires more of an effort – joining urban cultural groups or taking classes at university if one is not lucky to come from a bilingual home or school environment.

and there is a pride in the collective through reinforcing, celebrating and shaping Maori identity to prioritize their self-identity: not as iwi members or even as New Zealanders but as Maori.

URBAN POPULAR MUSIC

It is important to remember that no single innovation from the nineteen and twentieth century in Aotearoa/New Zealand represents all music, which is a blend of many influences. Each generation has their own style that reflects wider global trends, and changing economic, cultural, spiritual and linguistic requirements. Geographically isolated, most of the music Maori (and Kiwi) heard (and hear) came (and comes) from the United States. According to my friend Hritik, a “computer music guy” who lives in Ponsonby, they also listened to some British music and to some music from other countries (personal communication, June 6, 2008). From the 1950s to the 1990s, popular American music that found a place with Maori were ballads, big band jazz, and country music.

Older popular music included 1950s show bands, influenced by music from the United States and Hawaii, played predominantly in a country and western style. Sailor Ruru Karaitiana wrote “Blue Smoke” when he was onboard the RMS Aquitania in 1940. It is a song that sings of love, family, and home at a time of war with little trace of the waiata sound; instead it follows the country road. Hugely popular, in 1948, “Blue Smoke” became the first track to be recorded by anyone in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the first track recorded by a Maori.¹⁹ Johnny “The Maori Cowboy” Cooper recorded a cover of Bill Haley’s “Rock Around the Clock” in 1955. Aside from the artist having a

¹⁹ Shelley Hirini re-introduced this song to Aotearoa/New Zealand with her cover version in April 2010.

smoother voice and crisper enunciation than the original, there is no Maori influence that can be deciphered. Cooper recorded his original composition “Pie Cart Rock and Roll” and became a mentor for many of the Pakeha rock and rollers when that scene (which did not find a following among Maori) took off in the 1960s. Hawaiian music continued to influence Maori, as did the big band and popular sound. “Haka Boogie” in 1955, blended Maori waiata with popular dance music as did Rim D. Paul’s 1962 “Poi Poi Twist.” Other well-liked songs of the time were cover versions of songs by artists like Frank Sinatra, Bobby Darin, Elvis Presley and Dean Martin among others (Mitchell 1998:35).

Sir Howard Morrison (1935-2009) is unquestionably the most famous of the Maori crooners of the 1950s and 1960s. In 1990, he was granted knighthood for over forty years of contribution to the Aotearoa/New Zealand music industry. In 1955, Morrison organized the Ohinemutu Quartet, later renamed the Howard Morrison Quartet. Morrison’s “repertoire of mostly sentimental ballads...expressed little Maoritanga but nonetheless contained identifiably Maori inflections in their smooth harmonies” (Mitchell 1998:35). A couple of his songs expressed Maori positions. “My Old Man’s an All Black” (1960) was released to protest the exclusion of Maori in playing rugby against South Africa’s Springboks and it was true, his father, Tem Morrison, was a member of the “All Blacks,” the national rugby team. Another of Morrison’s songs expressing a Maori sentiment, “The Battle of Waikato,” (1960) celebrated a successful war the Maori fought against British colonials. In the late 1970s, feeling unfulfilled as a musician, and having become aware that 75% of Maori students were leaving university without qualifications, Morrison managed to be appointed as a consultant on youth development with the Department of Maori affairs. The development programs he designed were so

effective that in 1979 he was appointed Director of Youth Development in Maori Affairs. That year he organized the nationwide Tu Tangata tour where the quartet played to raise awareness and funds for these educational issues. A friend of Morrison's, Billy T. James (1948-1991) was a comedian and cabaret singer. As a comedian he was often militant and "politically incorrect." As a singer he performed cover versions of songs like "The Way We Were" in Te Reo Maori. Up until this point in history, the popular music performed, created and covered by Maori had little to no Maori waiata sensibility and few lyrics that spoke of Maori experiences. Perhaps it was as Franz Fanon believed; Black children raised in colonial environments came to have contempt for themselves and attempted to resolve those tensions by thinking of themselves as white (Fanon 2008[1967]:ix). One way this profound inferiority complex in Maori would manifest itself was in this virtual dismissal of any Maori component to the music.

So, even though Morrison had a few songs that promoted Maoritanga, the bulk of his repertoire did not. This is not to say that Morrison thought of himself as "white," but this disavowal of Maoritanga in popular Maori culture suggests that perhaps many Maori *did* (and do) have contempt-shame for themselves as Maori. This, it seems, may be directly linked to his audience who found solace in the dulcet tones of his music but who, nonetheless, were trying to ignore the fact of their non-white-ness.

In the 1970s, Maori began incorporating old Maori music into their popular musical performances. Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, other indigenous movements and the worldwide crumbling of colonial empires, Maori were taking control of themselves. In addition to the protests mentioned in the first chapter, there were other forms of activism. For instance, two newspapers were established in 1968 to draw

attention to important matters; *Te Hokikoi* was concerned with environmental damage and *Maori Organization on Human Rights* was concerned with the oppression and discrimination against Maori. Considering the disdain of the 1950s and 1960s that the state and society held for Maori, it was inevitable that many Maori would internalize that. By the 1970s children of the original urban migrants, who were accustomed to the urban lifestyle and alienated from their rural roots, knew they did not fit it and wanted to find new ways to express themselves. They were, therefore, motivated to look outward to African-American society as a “how to” model. Increased cultural pride and cultural awareness gave musicians strength to reveal their private selves by incorporating aspects of old Maori music into their new creations rather than hiding them, as had been the case with the earlier pop. Also, the changing styles reflect the different forms of music imported and made in the United States. As they began to look more to black artists, and identify with and favour Black Atlantic sounds, funk and blues began to infiltrate the Maori music scene.

Jimi Hendrix and Carlos Santana were major influences on Billy T.K.’s guitar playing, which he combined with aspects of waiata and Pacific rhythms.²⁰ These prodigious guitarists also inspired Tama Renata. Renata plays with the funk band Herbs and he has also released solo projects. On his album *Workshop* (1989), he combined Hendrix-like guitar sounds with reggae, soul, blues and funk. The forerunner for the 1980s soul scene was Ardijah. They spent the early eighties playing covers until 1987 when they released their self-titled album. Ardijah blended Polynesian log drums and ukuleles with soul, funk and dance. The most popular performers in the 1980s were

²⁰ The music he makes now mixes old Maori music chanting. In 1996 he had the opportunity to play with Santana himself.

producer Dalvinus Prime (1948-2002) and singer Prince Tui Teka (1937-1985). Prime's ambition was to provide Maori kids with Maori role models. Prime performed "Poi E" (1982) with the Patea Maori Club, combining big band style, waiata vocals, poi rhythms Polynesian drumming, funk sound and in the video, break dancing (for the first time in Aotearoa/New Zealand). "Poi E" reached number one on the Aotearoa/New Zealand charts in 1984 for four weeks, staying on for a total of twenty-two weeks (Patea Maori Club 2009). It won Best Polynesian Record at the 1988 New Zealand Recording Industry Awards, went gold in 1994, and inspired a musical (Mitchell 1996:241-242). The twirling poi is a symbol of a young woman's affections and the lyrics of "Poi E" reflect that:

E rere ra e taku poi <i>porotiti</i> Titahataha ra, whakararuru e Porotakataka ra, poro hurihuri mai Rite tonu ki te tiwaiwaka e ... Poi E, whakatata mai Poi E, kaua he rereke Poi E, kia piri mai ki au Poi E, e awhi mai ra Poi E, tapekatia mai	Swing out rhythmically, my feelings Lean out beside me, so deceptively. Swing round and down, spin towards me Just like a fan tail ... O my feelings, draw near, O my poi, don't go astray O my affections, stick to me O my instincts, take care of me O my emotions, be entwined around me.
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(Archer 2010).

Dalvinus Prime believed firmly in marketing the Maori language and wrote "Poi E" as a way to teach young people to be proud of themselves. No record company could see an audience for Prime's music so he formed his own company, Maui Productions. Prime said,

We designed "Poi E" using that marketing strategy. Apart from a calculated urban consumer-oriented publicity campaign, "Poi E"s strength was its rural roots, the promotion of Te Reo Maori...Ngoi asked me how I would describe what I have done. I said it is a hybrid of our rural roots and urban influences. This sound was

a product of the urban drift when our rural jobs were lost and she agreed with me (Archer 2010).

The soundtrack *Once Were Warriors* (1994) for the eponymous film was the first recorded compilation of contemporary Maori music. Most of the songs feature elements of Maori and non-Maori music. Tama Renata composed and played the theme song that features virtuoso guitar playing, highlighted with haka declamations and flute sounds. The whirring of the *purerehua*, signaling deep emotional anger, is particularly disturbing. This film features a family that experiences much personal heartache, but music begins to heal the wounds of alienation, colonialism and neglect.

The engagement with different genres of music reflects worldwide developments and innovations in music technologies and styles. Maori embrace new forms but use them in ways that reflect their sense of stability in society. This combination of Maori and other styles was another strategic response to alienation that typifies how adept Maori are at incorporating, appropriating, and neutralizing potential threats to their “Maoriness.”

CONCLUSION

Music is a social activity that includes some people and ideas and excludes others. It is a product of the creativity of the human mind that endeavours to entertain and enlighten. From the first musical exchange, when Abel Tasman arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1642 and sounded his baroque bugle and Maori responded with an answering pukaea, to the development of the action song and kapahaka, to the hybridization of Maori musical elements and music from the United States, we see that musical traditions are invented.

These invented traditions are not static nor are they locked in the past, though the past is referenced in order to serve contemporary purposes.

The emotional impact of urbanization (starting in the nineteenth century) and the decline of Maori social institutions cannot be underestimated. Parallel to the different stages of urbanization and interaction with Pakeha colonials, Maori have internalized these adaptations and their musical expressions reflect those changes. The one commonality for all genres of Maori music is the importance of the lyrics. They must be accurate and be pronounced precisely, for the message is the heart of the song. Though there is certainly overlap in the styles (most of which continue in some form today) a brief synopsis could begin with transitional hymns that were fun to sing; singing them in Maori facilitated comprehension for non-English speakers. Hymns and Christianity also gave Maori a new means with which to understand and interpret the world. Action songs, were “fun with a purpose,” they retain important elements of old Maori music but in a way that could fit with the new Pakeha sounds and way of life. Concert parties were to entertain and introduce tourists and Pakehas to Maori music in a form of “self-commodification” (Bunten 2008) that helped to keep some of the old stuff alive. Kapahaka, like action songs, were fun with a purpose – they combined the European form of a show performance with old Maori cultural elements and innovated the competition component. This was a way to maintain and transmit the old, while bringing Maori together. Early pop came at the lowest most vulnerable moment for Maori, it was fun and happy with a heavy dose of denial. Later, pop expressed the private self in a public format, where Maori were beginning to know more about old Maori music.

Though there are many serious purposes to music, such as have been discussed in this chapter, I can stress none too lightly the joy of music. Music is, above all else, a beautiful, pleasurable, joyful and delightful product of the human body and mind. It is only because of its captivating qualities that it can serve alternate motives such as communication, creating communities, communion with a spiritual presence or expressing emotion. Maori do not exist in a vacuum; they are active citizens of Aotearoa/New Zealand and of the world. Maintaining the Maori element in music is a way for them to resist assimilation, but using other styles is a way to embrace the world. Music will continue to adapt and to reflect new influences. Elements borrowed from other cultures must be adapted (Hall 1966:100) for them to work to create a sense of cultural authority out of positions of inequality or friction (Bhabha 2007[1994]).

The next section will take us in another direction and demonstrate how Maori embrace Jamaican music (reggae) and religion (Rastafari). How these genres are adapted and imbued with Maori values to create music that is authentically Maori is the focus of Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR: REGGAE

Over the last decade, the increase in reggae production in Aotearoa /New Zealand has been substantial; the country has more reggae bands per capita than any other place, including Jamaica.¹ This chapter constructs an exploration of the progression of reggae in Aotearoa/New Zealand among Maori. Here I address the questions “how is reggae understood as a symbol of Maori cultural identity in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand?” and, “how do reggae’s associated images and ideas take on different meanings in a non-Jamaican society?” This investigation aims to decipher reggae’s meaning within the context of Maori cultural identity by looking at: the discussion about the genre by Maori musicians and followers of reggae; values ascribed to or revealed through reggae; how Maori cultural identity is mediated and informed by the sound of the music; the lyrics themselves; and lastly, by the adherence to Rastafari, the religious tradition associated with reggae.

BACKGROUND

Reggae has been part of the music scene in Aotearoa/New Zealand since the late 1970s and there is no stereotypical audience member: young and old, Maori, Pacific Islander, Pakeha and the rest appreciate reggae.² In 1975 Wellington based Chaos, notorious for playing Jimi Hendrix, Carlos Santana and psychedelic rock, was the first cover band

¹ This may be an urban myth, desire or fact. I heard this statement from a number of individuals. There *are* many bands and most of them do not have CDs, many do not create original music and most fluctuate (changing names and members).

² Maori are by no means the first nor the only indigenous people to find meaning in and connection with reggae. Chris Blackwell at Island Records pointed out that Bob Marley’s hit “Buffalo Soldier” (from 1983’s posthumous release *Confrontation*) resonated for a goodly number of American Indians in its proclamation for self-determination. Blackwell said of the appeal, “many young Apaches consider him to have been a kind of re-born Indian chief – Marley’s cry at the beginning of “Crazy Baldhead” is identical to that of an Apache war-whoop” (Bordowitz 2004:140).

known to have played reggae publicly in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Until 1979, reggae remained a minimal presence in that country. Though popular today, the scene is still largely underground. Only a few bands have a good following and it ebbs and flows (Ras Stone 2009). There are three phases of reggae in Aotearoa/New Zealand: the Rasta Revolution, cover bands, and the current period where musicians are media savvy and have more exposure.

On April 16, 1979, thousands of spectators gathered at Auckland's Western Springs Amphitheatre to see Bob Marley's only Aotearoa/New Zealand concert, a stop on his *Survival Tour*. A *powhiri*²³ greeted Marley and his band. They spent a couple of days touring the country. Marley's attitude to the Maori (interested and interactive), the sound of the music, and the narratives in the lyrics especially captivated the Maori and other Pacific Islanders. For the first time their plight was represented to them by a person from the other side of the world who had experienced a very similar sort of oppression, poverty and challenges at the hands of their respective colonizers, all in a way that made sense in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Everyone I spoke with had a common recollection of Bob Marley as the real beginning of reggae in New Zealand.

In the mid-1970s another cover band, Back Yard, had started playing a bit of reggae. They had the chance to attend the "Survival" concert and the opportunity to spend time with Marley when he toured around Aotearoa/New Zealand. After this meeting, they took the advice Bob Marley gave them — to play not the music of Jamaica or anywhere else, but to play the music of the Pacific — and changed their name to Herbs (Eggleton 2009). Herbs incorporated the Polynesian pop sounds of lighter guitar strum; fine patterned drumming and chorale harmonies with the Jamaican reggae one drop

²³ *Powhiri* are Maori ritual greeting performed on important occasions.

rhythmic style. Though not seen as reggae²⁴ by purists, Herbs played the first original Aotearoa/New Zealand music influenced by and incorporating reggae. They were the first to have songs on the radio and on the local charts; “French Letter,” a song that protests nuclear testing in the Pacific, spent eleven weeks on the 1982 charts. The other influential band that helped define the local scene of that era was The Twelve Tribes of Israel,²⁵ founded by Hensley Dyer and Carl Perkins. They combined elements of the original genre, in particular social and political activism, and mixed it with the sounds and voices of the South Pacific (representing its multi-origin members). The Twelve Tribes of Israel members were attracted not only by the music but also by the philosophy of Rastafari. Many perceived Marley, an adherent to the Twelve Tribes of Israel way of life in Jamaica, to be the voice of the people. Marley talked about the “oppressor,” but through music that made people feel good about themselves and uplifted. Band member Tingilau Ness said, “as well as that [the connection to Bob] was the music, the lyrics, encouraging us to be who we are and be proud of it” (personal communication, August 13, 2008). Ness along with his then wife Miriama, founded the Aotearoa/New Zealand branch of the most liberal of the Rastafarian groups, The Twelve Tribes of Israel.

While only a couple of the early reggae bands are remembered in popular lore, there were masses of cover bands, young kids mainly, who would get together and play gigs at local dances and parties. Exploring new forms of reggae inspired young musicians and in 1992, the scene started to shift and expand away from covers. Two main forms of music would come out of these cover group dance sessions: dub electronic and conscious roots. At Taki Rua Depot in Wellington, Cambridge Ice and The Roots Foundation

²⁴ Herbs’ sound is sometimes called “Pacific Reggae.” They have not released original material since 1990.

²⁵ Tony Mitchell suggests this appellation can be linked to British Colonial Governor Samuel Mardsen’s declaration in 1819 that Maori were one of the lost tribes of Israel (1998:30).

Sound System started playing more and varied roots reggae, reggae, raga and dub which would inspire the formation of bands such as Salmonella Dub, Trinity Roots and Fat Freddy's Drop.²⁶ Sparse (often political) lyrics blended with funk–hip hop–roots–drum and bass sounds, and use of modern technology to make their music, are the primary characteristics of these dub electronic bands.

The popularization and commercialization of Aotearoa/New Zealand conscious reggae began in the early 2000s, and its growth and success has increased significantly since the mid 2000s (Corfield-Matata 2008:13). Popular music festivals like Soundsplash Raglan (2001-2008) and the Kaikoura Roots festival (since 2000) gave the opportunity for many of these bands to give live performances and become well known. Conscious roots reggae is concerned with Rastafari, Jah (God) and social issues; it has become modernized and commercialized through modern media. The emergence of the *Conscious Roots* (2004) compilation CD, an annual reggae institution in Aotearoa/New Zealand, would hallmark the beginning of this era. Subtitled “The Awakening of the Aotearoa Roots Movement,” the compilation aims to “showcase the growing full band live roots music scene in Aotearoa New Zealand” (*Conscious Roots* Liner Notes 2004). Having a song on the album is prestigious, as only the finest works are included. It does not matter how established the artist is, fledgling musicians are welcome and most of the tracks are previously unreleased. Making the cut can give a budding artist much

²⁶ Powerhouse front man Tiki Tane left Salmonella Dub in 2007 to pursue his solo career. Trinity Roots disbanded in 2005 and lead vocalist Rio Hemopo is actively pursuing a solo career as well. I had the opportunity to see Fat Freddy's Drop DJing at Khuja in Auckland. No reggae sounds were on their repertoire that night – it was mainly drum and bass. Their sound, though it may incorporate some aspect of roots reggae (political and percussive), and while they do sometimes have some reggae songs (“Roady” for example) Fat Freddy's Drop is not a reggae band but would be better classified as electronic funk.

exposure. The role of the media in promoting this genre is a complex topic that warrants investigation that is beyond the scope of this project.

Today most Maori reggae bands' repertoire consists of original compositions (though many bands continue to cover Marley songs and this practice bodes further research to understand the continuing appeal this style of performance). Most of the songs are manifestly Maori in style (i.e. the Pacific sound influence and the localized references), yet at the same time there is a continued "Jamaican-ness" about the music insofar as the adherence to the one drop rhythm and the noticeable devotion to Jah. Roots reggae's ongoing appeal may be interpreted as a convergence of musical and social factors. It brings people together through live performance and festivals and it unites people through the Rastafari philosophy. Some straightforward explanations for the popularity of reggae are: the global popularity of some forms of reggae, and/or the perceived similarities between the "island" lifestyles and attitudes (though not the climate). Some more nuanced connections may lie in the importance both groups place on the past, the high level of spirituality attributed to both cultures, and the desire to return to their homelands — Africa and Hawaiiki (Tiki Tane recently made the trip). Or perhaps there is some sense of shared history, both having endured boat journeys to get to their islands.

Another explanation frequently given to me by Maori themselves is a desire to share a musical style with Jamaicans because of perceived similarities between Jamaicans and Maori historically and, to an extent, contemporarily oppressed populations.²⁷ After having a lovely veggie dinner punctuated by sips of a spicy white wine with my friend

²⁷ Not all who appropriate reggae do so with the desire to identify with Jamaicans. Uyghur musicians, for example see reggae as part of the Wild West and cowboy imaginings (Harris 2005: 633).

Hemi, I walked over to Cuba Street – Wellington’s timelessly hippy chic area to meet up with Ihaka Delaney before he played a gig at the Matterhorn. His sister had electronically introduced us and so Delaney and I had chatted and e-mailed but this was our first face-to-face. New dad to one very smiley Rongo, Delaney is also an extraordinary musician — he is a composer, music producer, broadcast-audio engineer who has worked with most high profile contemporary Maori recording artists including Aotearoa, Dalvanus, Upper Hutt Possee, Moanan & the Moa Hunters, Southside of Bombay, Scribe and Dam Native here. Bob Marley, without a doubt, is one of Delaney’s biggest influences. Here he explains his attraction,

I like the sound, the bass, the construction, the composition. I like the lyrics, I like the catchy way he sings, the phrases he uses to describe things. Even when it may have seemed he was speaking cryptically, for me it seemed quite straightforward. And his life is very practical. Definitely what he sings about we can relate to it (personal communication, August 9, 2008).

Reggae and Rastafari have become central to many Maori. However, what defines this reggae-Rasta culture, and how are its values expressed through roots reggae?

Maori self-identification with roots reggae can be further understood through an exploration of terms, which Maori use to describe themselves. For instance Maori reference themselves *tangata whenua*, the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

On the development of indigenous identities Smith, Burke and Ward write:

For ethnic identity to emerge in Indigenous societies, the people in these societies first had to suffer incorporation into a complex society after which an often diverse sense of distinct populations commonly became combined into a single category, such as ‘Indian’ or ‘Aboriginal’. It is possible to view indigenous ethnicity as an artifact of colonization, since it was colonization that created a sense of indigenous peoples as Other (2000:5-6).

Historically a pan-Maori identity began to emerge after the arrival of the Europeans, prior to which Maori were not a unified people. Europeans homogenized the indigenous population²⁸ calling them Maori (ordinary) from the Te Reo Maori, *Tangata Maori* (ordinary people). Driving from one place to another, Maori Rasta Daniel Harawira said to me, “even today they [Maori] would not say, “there goes a Maori from Tainui... [Instead] he’s a Tainuiian, he’s Te Arawa and so on. Maori is a label that was given by Pakeha and so is indigenous” (personal communication, July 30, 2008). Between Maori there tends to be a focus on tribal affiliation. This does not mean that they do not get along with each other. However, as discussed in the background chapter, interactions between Maori and the rest — Pakeha, other indigenous people and the government — there is generally a united pan-Maori identification.²⁹ On another level, Maori also think of themselves as New Zealanders.³⁰ the difference in appellation and identification being dependent on what sort of outsider one is relating to. This tactic of shifting identification is not unusual, for self-representation can never take place in isolation and, as Thomas writes, “it is frequently oppositional or reactive... constituted in reaction to others” (1992:213). This identity creating is not specific to a colonial situation but in the colonial case it is more obvious. A new nation requires citizens. Those citizens must be loyal to their newly imagined nation. Pakeha-Kiwi identities are co-produced for in order to have a strong Kiwi citizen made, that has to be defined against another kind of identity, in this case the Maori. Culture always has an inner dissonance. For example in the sense of the

²⁸ Homogenizing Maori and indigenous is bad because it removes the possibility of individual expression (Fanon 1955:17-27) but it’s good because it gives the collective a stronger more supported voice – Apirana Ngata “saw collective activity as key to the survival of Maori as a distinct (and distinctive) group” (Rosenblatt 2003:178).

²⁹ Not all Maori have the same perspectives on things but the divisions between tribes are nowhere nearly as intense as those among First Nations in Canada.

³⁰ To my understanding Kiwi is an appellation used by primarily by Pakeha and other non-Maori New Zealanders.

Englishness of people there is a sense of the dissonance within it. In purging the dissonance Englishness is made (Bhabha 2007[1994]). This is important to think about in the hybrid context because hybridity is about coming together but, the creation of the “original” culture is about a reaction to the other.

GENRE

Reggae is the music of Rastafari and the songs could be called Rasta devotional songs. Music is always imbued with class status (Sorce Keller 2007:99). From its origins of poverty, reggae was seen as outlaw, hippie, subversive, and protest music (Davis and Simon 1997[1992]; Steffens 2004; Veal 2007; Higgins 2009; Dyson 2010). However, despite its marginal status, reggae soon became a powerful force in Jamaica and across the world, spreading messages of love and anti-oppression and as a conceptual cornerstone for influencing the development of new sorts of music.³¹

Political messages are explicit and expected in roots reggae.³² Marley established a political undercurrent to his music that signaled it as the music of the oppressed; it was meant to strengthen people so they could better manage the violence and intimidation of neo-colonialism. These messages are inherent in the music and follow the Rasta value of wisdom. As Mortimmo Planno, a Nyabingi elder, says, one must know you are black, know you are African and know you are suffering from colonialism or neo-colonialism (Ishmahil 2003). This aspect of social and political commentary is one that Maori (and

³¹ Such as DJ culture, electronic music and remix culture, which all come out of the Jamaican sound-system technologies (Veal 2007:221).

³² The world of political parties is not one that Rasta or reggae musicians typically become involved in or hold allegiance to. Politics is seen to divide people and Rasta-reggae messages and goals are to unite people peacefully. Unexpectedly there was a Rasta, Nandor Tanczos who was elected to Aotearoa/New Zealand parliament from 1999-2008 as a Green Party representative. This challenges conventional meanings of Rasta. Whether the broader Rasta community would accept this is unsure.

other Pacific Island) people embraced. That being said, reggae is not at the centre of any political movement; it provides a reflective format for addressing critical issues. As Prince Jesus Emmanuel said, the Rasta prophet Marcus Garvey taught that you cannot depend on any outsider to do something for you, you must do it yourself, and that comes through self-awareness, self-reliance and self-confidence (Ishmahl 2003). Maori musicians actively embrace this aspect of the music and write about issues and things in their lives such as apartheid, pro-Maori activism and racial profiling.

I first met Tingilau Ness when I went to the premier of *From Street to Sky*, a documentary based on him, his life experiences, and his Auckland based reggae band Unity Pacific's first eponymous CD. Some weeks later, seated in his verdant garden, we spoke about many things, including music. My preferred song on their first CD was "Red Squad." Something about the harmony captivated me – it is at the same time both sorrowful and hopeful. I put it here in full because it is such an important song:

Hear the tale of the Red Squad story yes
 Hear the tale of the pain and glory yea
 Cause I hear the sound of the beating down touched so low they kissed the ground
 That's what I know about the Red Squad story yeah

Hear the tale of the Red Squad story yes
 Hear the tale of the pain and glory yea
 When I heard the sound of the beating down touched so low they kissed the ground
 That's when I turned and faced the red squad story yes
 Ooo brother said turn face the red squad yeah

Hear the tale of Stephen Biko yes
 Hear the crying of my people yea
 Can you hear the sound of the beating down touched so low they kissed the ground
 That's why they know about the Red Squad story yeah
 Ooo the buck stops here for the Red Squad story yeah

Hear the tale of the Red Squad story yes

Hear the tale of the pain and glory yeah
 Cause I heard the sound of the beating down touched so low they kissed the
 ground
 That's when I turned and faced the Red Squad story yea
 Ooo the buck stops here for the Red Squad yeah (*From Street to Sky* 2002).

Ness wrote Red Squad in the mid-1980s. According to musicologist Alistair Williams, in black music “the habitus is the African-American struggle for power” (2001:92). South Africa during the mid 1980s was still under an official apartheid system and prohibited non-white rugby players from entering South Africa. In 1994, they were scheduled to play in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Many New Zealanders (Maori, Pacific Islander and Pakeha) protested the Springbok Tour³³ for this racism and contended that allowing them into the country was tantamount to Aotearoa/New Zealand's support of apartheid. The protest, which was initially peaceful, became violent when the Red Squad (the most brutal branch of the Auckland police) arrived to “deal” with the situation. The police chased everyone and when Ness and others were running they eventually came to a point where there was nowhere to run. Ness looked around and asked the man next to him, “What should we do now?” The man, the leader of the King Cobra gang said, “Turn around.” He did, and everyone else followed suit. The Red Squad put on the brakes and a battle ensued. This song is Ness' narrative of this day when he and others confronted the Red Squad (personal communication, August 13, 2008).

Social and cultural lives are subjective and continually being manipulated. In this case, the consumption and production of this music (and accompanying ideologies such as Rastafari) is neither passive nor is it intentional, but it is nevertheless a form of resistance. In the articulation of this narrative, deeper discourses are revealed: those of identity clashes, apartheid, oppression and resistance. While the narrative is an obvious

³³ The Springboks are South Africa's rugby team.

one of resistance, in putting pen to paper and producing this song for mass consumption it continues the discourses of resistance by remembering and teaching.

Ngahiwi Apanui has a long history in the music business of Aotearoa/New Zealand. He was the leader of the band Aotearoa, and among other posts, is currently the Chairperson of Puatātangi (contemporary Maori Music Committee). Aotearoa was tremendously socially active; Apanui's brothers and sisters would call his behaviour radical, but for him it was not about being anti-white but about being pro-Maori. Most of the lyrics on Aotearoa's two albums, *Tihoi Mauriora* (1985) and *He Waiata Mo Te Iwi* (1986) are in Te Reo Maori, but there is a sampling of English as well. Aotearoa's music was mainly easy listening R&B. The lyrics, however, were potent and more about encouraging youth – “you can make a big contribution” (“Korero Maori” 1986) or inspiring – “it's been a long road but our feet won't stumble” (“Singing for Our People” 1985) and resistance – “you struggle for your future,” and “freedom from oppression, that's what my people need” (“Sweet Child” 1985 and “Maranga Ake Ai” 1985). After a while, Apanui said he got tired of “beating [his] chest and saying ‘we are Maori, be very afraid’” (personal communication, August 8, 2008). The catalyst for that moment was playing a gig with a band of four “skinny white guys” – Sneaky Feelings. At the sound check the “buff Maori guys” in Aotearoa gave Sneaky Feelings a hand with their gear and invited them to supper with them. While they were eating Apanui had an interesting conversation with one of the fellows from Sneaky Feelings. Apanui recounted part of it to me over a cup of tea in the Wellington Library café:

Sneaky Feelings: You know we've heard all kinds of stories about you, you know that you don't like white people.

Apanui: Who told you that bullshit?

SF: Oh it's just you know, everybody who listens to your music.

A: You know, our culture is about looking after people you know, and tonight it's not just our show, it's your show as well and if we can help you to have a good show then we'll have a good show as well...the issues we sing about are the issues that Maori people deal with (personal communication, August 8, 2008).

Katchafire lead singer Logan Bell reiterates Apanui's sentiment in his revelation, "Bob Marley's music has always had special relevance for Maori because he sang a lot about cultural pride, about mana and about the struggle and hardships that oppressed people face – we could immediately identify with that [but] with lyrics about our own life experiences" (Smithies 2003).³⁴ Their song "Frisk Me Down" concerns the experience of racial profiling in Aotearoa/New Zealand. I myself had occasion to witness a young, Maori, urban-styled, man (who as far as I could see — I had been watching him and the streetscape for a while — had done nothing in particular), be thrust bodily into a police vehicle. Delaney a young, large, Maori man explained to me,

As a young person of colour in this country you get profiled, as a young guy, musician, whatever. I could be walking down the street and if anyone's done anything; some robbers done something, the cops will come up and search me. I get stopped every Friday night at my car, I look like the type of person who shouldn't be driving a car (personal communication August 9, 2008).

"Frisk Me Down" narrates this experience:

Restricting me from movement
That should be a criminal offence
But first they have to prove it
With some concrete evidence
Them a do everything in their power
Them a pull every string in their area code
We must hold our head high
True dread I
Knock, knock come in
Enter at your own risk
Don't frisk me down
Because of my brown skin (*Slow Burning* 2005).

³⁴ Bell's voice is astonishingly similar to Marley's; the difference being that Bell actually has a very good singing voice. Marley conveyed emotion well and was a powerful storyteller and a beautiful man but he was not a beautiful singer.

Maori roots reggae musicians actively embrace reggae as a way to communicate socially conscious messages, relate to society, and resist the oppression of the dominant society through education. Resistance for Bhabha is not necessarily political intention, nor is it nullification or exclusion of the content of another's culture, but it is the result of ambivalence of dominant and dominating discourses that deny that which makes possible the present in order to preserve authority (2007[1994]: 33). Reggae is a medium adopted by Maori and other historically and currently marginalized people. These artists share their struggles and hopes using a musical genre that has become globally appropriated, recreated, and circulated. Reggae welcomes those who have been ostracized and provides a medium to reflect on shared instances of humanity.

VALUES

Maori identity is expressed through various moral or character traits. Different people may express certain individual traits more emphatically in different circumstances. For example, one might respond, "a lot of Maori and Pacific Islanders" (personal communication with Paheka Gary, July 19, 2008) to my question, "who are the reggae musicians in Aotearoa/New Zealand?" or "people who feel the roots vibe and are conscious" (personal communication with Rasta Maori Simon, August 2, 2008).

Aotearoa/New Zealand roots reggae spirit, music, and lyrics reflect some Maori values. In this section, I will discuss three of these values Maori musicians actively interpret as corresponding to Rastafari values: land as a taonga (treasure), whanau (family) and *aroha/manaaki* (love/care giving).

Maori describe themselves as *tangata whenua*, people of the land. This makes a connection with Rastas who value living as purely as possible; the green in their flag³⁵ symbolizes nature. Maori researcher and scholar Te Kani Kingi says, “our natural environment describes us as a people” (personal communication August 6:2008). This relationship to those particular islands in the South Pacific, lasting for hundreds of years, gave rise to social structures like whakapapa that have fundamental links to the land, which includes the earth, air and waters. The English version of the Treaty of Waitangi gives Maori complete ownership of the land; in the Maori version governance is ceded (Walker 1990:91). Land is seen as a taonga and much angst has transpired over not only its dishonest acquisition but also its mistreatment. *Paua* is a multi-blue hued shellfish used commercially for jewelry and the flesh is eaten. There are limits on catch quantity (ten per day), method of harvest (only without scuba gear) and what can be exported (only polished shells). Unfortunately, there is a major poaching industry that has negatively affected the quality and quantity of Paua available today. Roots reggae band Cornerstone Roots, from the west coast of the North Island, do not write about Paua, but they do write about sustainable resource management in “Wake Up”:

Wake up wake up and see the wealth in green subsistence
 Flax roots sustainability
 Remedies derived from mother earth
 Take only what u need and purify greed
 Wake up and check your identity (*Free Yourself* 2008).

Sculptor Len Hetet lives Lower Hutt, a suburb of Wellington. The grey-green hills of the Hutt valley surround his home, marae, and studio. As we strolled around the area I asked, ‘Is there anything up there?’ indicating with my head the hills, expecting the

³⁵ The Lion of Judah is superimposed on a background of three horizontal bands of colour: green, gold and red.

answer to be “no.” “O yeah,” he said, “deer and boar. I take my sons out and we go hunting. There’s also a lot of native plants.” Hetet went on to explain and identify a number of plants and their medicinal purposes; lore that is neither common knowledge nor lost. Cornerstone Roots invokes Maori knowledge and harvesting of plant material and calls for rejection of consumer greed. *Harakeke*³⁶ (flax) is particularly special to Maori; it was used to make clothing and basketry and to create beautiful environments. Implicit in this song is an appeal to respect nature and treat it like the taonga it is.

The land of one’s home and family is also a taonga and the Cornerstone Roots’ song “Home” was written as a tribute to their hometown, Raglan:

Home is where I love to be sometimes alone with my family
 Home is where I love to be sometimes alone yes I’m talking with my family
 When I need inspiration
 I walk down to the sea swim in the ocean black sands beneath my feet
 I look to Karioi and she smiling down on me a quick glimpse of a doorway

Where spirits roam and souls are free on a journey of discovery
 I take a piece of home with me woven around my neck close to my chest
 A piece of land and sea as seasons change summer autumn winter spring
 My memory fades of the ways it used to be
 As seasons change summer autumn winter spring

The greenstone shall remain and the dawn maiden summons me memories fade of the way it used to be (*Free Yourself* 2008).

This piece localizes the meaning of home, through reference to sand colour and naming a mountain; all Maori have a mountain sacred to them to which they belong. Ruawai, the composer, belongs to Mount Karioi. The final line speaks of the eternal and precious aspect of *pounamu* or greenstone, a material often used to make *hei*,³⁷ pendants worn by

³⁶ Today weaving flax is still special. It is encouraged in an advertisement that is a fun example of hybrid English–Te Reo Maori used to promote cross-generational language learning: “Learning to weave harakeke [flax] with your tamariki [grandchildren] is not only fun, it’s a great time to korero [chat]” (Team Up 2006).

³⁷ *Hei* are typically made of bone, shell or stone.

many Maori.³⁸ Pounamu is renowned for its rich green colour and hardness that will last even when Ruawai's body is finished and gone to the land of death over which Hinetitama, the Dawn Maiden, presides. In the cryptic tradition of reggae and of Maori poetry, lyrical understanding is not easy if one does not already have a specific sense of the story. The uncluttered instrumentation of the four-piece band is rhythm-focused, and the music draws the listener in; its primary function is to support the lyrics, and the aim is the share knowledge and experience. Despite the lyrical complexities of both traditions, in these examples we see importance of the land. One of the main goals of Rastas is to live as naturally as possible; that reflects the Maori sentiment of nature as a taonga.

Musicians define Maori culture in reggae terms and reggae music in Maori terms. Of fundamental importance to Maori is their whanau or extended family. While Pakeha or Europeans often state the importance of family in their lives, the family they value is generally limited to their family of orientation and/or their family of procreation. Whanau has a much broader meaning and importance in quotidian life; cousins, aunts and uncles abound and relations that are not "blood" are often valued as highly as those that are. Concern for the conditions of the world of children is high. Southside of Bombay ponders this in English and in Te Reo Maori in, "All Across the World/*Putā Noa Te Ao*":

What happened just the other day
When all the children went out to play
Does anyone want to believe?
All across the world we can be free (*All Across the World* 1992).

Unity Pacific expresses the same concern in "Juniors Song":

Look at the way our children suffer
Look at the way we're forced to live
Born to crime and degradation
What kind of future is that to give (*From Street to Sky* 2002)?

³⁸ Non-Maori may also wear *hei*, sometimes for fashion and sometimes because it holds meaning for them.

In reggae, the music is a medium for relating to society. In the lyrics, they write about what they see in their neighbourhoods. Reggae began amongst the poorest people in the ghettos of Kingston, Jamaica. The socio-economic realities of a Kingston ghetto are no different from the ghettos of Porirua or Mangere; as Bob Marley used the music to spread the word of Rasta and oppression, so Maori musicians are using this genre to put a spotlight on their stories and the family values cherished by both Rastafari and Maori.

The roots reggae repertoire upholds the values of aroha and manaaki that are cherished and nurtured as important ways of being in the world for Maori. Aroha loosely translates as love but can also be explained as a creative, life energy that is generous. The translation of its derivative, *arohanui* may be more easily understood: in English it becomes compassion, great love or devotion. The partner of aroha is the duty manaaki,³⁹ to care for and to respect all people. ‘1000 Nights’ is the fifth track on Unity Pacific’s second album:

I’d rather live one night at the door of my Father
 Than a thousand nights in the tents of luxury, yeah
 I’d rather live one night at the door of my Father
 Than a thousand nights in the tents of the wicked you see

For the choice in life is free, for you and for me
 And the gift of Jah is life for all eternity

Why can’t we learn to live and love one another?
 I look to you, you look to me – yeah
 Children hold your heads up high
 Said it won’t be long now,
 In a twinkling of an eye you’ll change
 For the gift of Jah is life for all eternity
 And the gift of Jah is life for you and me (*Into the Dread* 2007).

³⁹ *Mana* is the root of *manaaki*. *Mana* is a complicated term to translate. Some feeling of that word can be had by some English words like: prestige, strength, authority, integrity or also the life force of a person.

House of Shem leader Carl Perkins has over thirty years of experience in the music business having gigged with bands like Herbs and the Twelve Tribes of Israel. It takes talent, dedication and time to achieve success. Shem is the third son of Noah and he excels in all things spiritual. The music of the House of Shem, a roots reggae band, grounded in the Rastafari faith, is very spiritual as the songs on their debut album, *Keep Rising* (2008), attests. The band members take turns singing at live shows and engage the crowd really well – they know the words, they dance and pay attention. The words are mainly reggae sung with some rapping. When House of Shem was playing much of the crowd, myself included, “got into” the music, and skanked almost hypnotically. In “1000 Nights,” aroha is referenced in the Rastafari value that there is nothing better than love, equality and unity. All people are deemed to be created equally by Jah, who gives the gift of life and who is the ultimate caretaker. Perkins collaborated with his sons Te Omeka and Isaiah to lift us up with “Keep Rising,” the title track from their eponymous CD. They sing:

Masses of the people keep moving
 Movement in a positive vibration
 Working and learning together
 Aotearoa New Zealand
 Land of the long white cloud o Maui
 We the people love to sing and dance
 Our homeward bound
 Keeps our love alive (Aotearoa)
 Keep Rising

Give a little love, give a little love
 Give a little love, give a little love

Our hopes and our dreams
 Our only solution
 For this world a better place
 For our children and their children

To live and be happy eternally
 Land of the long white cloud o Maui
 We the people love to sing and dance
 Our homeward bound (*Keep Rising* 2008).

“Keep Rising” makes reference to Maui the ancient personage, seen sometimes as a trickster, who is said to have hauled the North Island up from the depths.⁴⁰ This invocation of Maui (“o Maui”) and naming New Zealand “Aotearoa” (the literal translation of which is the subsequent line) “Maorifies” the song and, like “1000 Nights,” references both Rasta and Maori values of aroha in the call for love as the path to create a better world. The feeling of aroha evoked in both of these songs is fundamental to both Maori and Rasta epistemologies. The Rasta term *irie*, loosely translated as being at peace with the world, in a very real way is parallel to the value of aroha and as Hemi repeatedly said to me: “manaaki and aroha are at the centre of who we are and what we do” (personal communication August 4, 2008).

SOUND

Part of Aotearoa/New Zealand roots reggae’s meaning is certainly situated within the sound. There are four parts to the sound that are useful to address; the rhythm, the singing style and the use of brass instruments. The fourth component is actually not a sound but what is done to the sound – dancing.

The pulse or the rhythm of reggae is based on four/four timing; the bass, drums and guitar all play separate roles in maintaining and creating rhythms. The bass establishes the rhythm, the drum sets the syncopation and the guitar plays the melody. Most of the reggae in Aotearoa/New Zealand is based on a one drop beat. In this pattern

⁴⁰ A South Pacific personage he also brought up Tahiti and the state of Hawaii’s island Maui.

the emphasis is on the third beat and the first is empty or dropped. Bob Marley played one drop reggae; his drummer Carlton “Carley” Barret created the one drop sound (Steckles 2009:69). That is the root of the roots and the reason why musicians in Aotearoa/New Zealand do not deviate from that one drop pulse.

Musicians do however, take liberties with the vocals and most often perform in an R&B singing style, rather than emulate Marley’s sparse vocal style.⁴¹ Maori reggae has more vocal harmonies and back up vocals – Katchafire’s “Seriously” for example. Their vowels are extended with an open and relaxed voice quality; Cornerstone Roots’ “Jah” illustrates that sound well. Nicole Hana told me this singing is “the Maori style” (personal communication July 28, 2008). Most Aotearoa/New Zealand reggae bands started as cover bands, but so did the Wailers who were at it for nine years before they began making original music. And both groups were exposed to R&B and jazz early on in the history of the genre. Christian church music influenced both groups. Maori, unlike other groups that appropriate reggae, rarely use Jamaican *patois* (the local Creole) – in either their daily speech or song construction, instead Te Reo Maori is substituted. Further investigation into this vocal lineage and linguistic preference would likely yield some interesting data.

Jamaican reggae is rhythm driven and while Aotearoa/New Zealand reggae does maintain that rhythm, there is more of an emphasis on the harmony of the music that is portrayed through the voice of the singer and the voice of the horns. The first time I listened to Katchafire’s “Hey Girl,” which begins with extremely bright horns, I thought they were taking inspiration from ska, reggae’s enthusiastic bubbly and brassy

⁴¹ Even his back up singers did not harmonize to the extent of Maori and Pacific musicians.

predecessor. Yet with a bit more digging, I realized Katchafire⁴² (like their forerunners Southside of Bombay and Herbs) uses a lot of brass in keeping with the “Pacific sound”. The sound of the brass is a colonial artifact. A typical brass band is made up of fourteen to twenty-eight performers playing tubas, bass and tenor trombones, baritones, horns and other brass instruments plus percussionists. As we have seen with the church, music was an important component of the colonizing project. Brass bands, particularly those of the British Royal Marines, are another form of popular colonial music. They performed at state and civic ceremonies, vice-regal balls and public concerts in Aotearoa/New Zealand and other islands of the South Pacific. The first Aotearoa/New Zealand generated brass band is believed to be the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles formed in 1859. For many years after, virtually every township had its own band.

The last element of the sound is the movement, or dancing, that which is done to the sound. Moving – dancing to reggae music in a rhythmic fashion is called *skanking*. The body moves up and down, knees flex and arms alternate. Each part of the body, including the head which bends forward, has its own separate rhythm unified by the bounce that is sustained and unified by the core of the body to create what looks a bit like flourished bounces. The bodies go down, like people putting you down but coming up like rising up against oppression. “Frisk Me Down,” a Katchafire original, is an excellent example of the way one drop Reggae is both Maorified and localized while remaining true to the original genre. The instrumental beginning of the song features a complex horn melody at a medium tempo, bringing the Pacific sound to the forefront. Throughout the video, lead singer Logan Bell dances against various urban backdrops. All the while

⁴² Katchafire is a very hot group. Thousands of fans around the world (Fiji, Holland, Japan, Argentina, Hawaii...) have received them. In Hawaii there is a Katchafire song on the radio every six minutes (Corfield-Matata 2008:12).

Logan is skanking and he is very good. A skilled dancer is so completely immersed in the music and taken over by the rhythm that one is unaware of the complexity of the movement. Watching him is almost as hypnotic as skanking is itself for the performer. As he begins singing with emphasis on his loose vowels, we realize the rest of the band is missing and the music in this video is non-diagenic (the source of the sound is unseen); in this way the viewer is forced to focus on the only movement — Bell's skanking.

“Frisk Me Down” is a model example of the four elements of the reggae sound. In addition to the skanking, the brass, the singing style and the rhythm are exemplars of Maori reggae. Each musical phrase is mirrored in a visual cue — the scene cuts to a different background — and is punctuated by dramatic and emotional brass sounds that perform a clever call and response pattern between the human voice and the brass voices. The use of vibrato (pitch oscillation) rather than tremolo (voice oscillation), and many brass instruments playing in harmony give this one drop reggae its unique Maori⁴³ sound. Pacific reggae combines the Jamaican one drop, steady bass and chopping guitar with Polynesian log drums, bone flutes, ukulele and electronic beats but in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the Maori sound takes influence from Jamaican reggae, Pacific sounds and their own musical history to make their own version of reggae. Their sound, like the original and the Pacific versions, retains the emphasis on rhythm: the one drop, the syncopation and the chopping guitar. Musicians elaborate the rhythm through the R&B vocal styles and harmonies and the emphasis on bright, emotional brass creating and performing reggae in a Maori fashion, thereby repositioning the sound possibilities of reggae in the Pacific and internationally.

⁴³ Aboriginal Taiwanese reggae artist Red-I says, “there’s not an island here in the Pacific where you don’t have a vibrant reggae scene” (Brownlow 2007). This comment is interesting on many levels including the de-centering of the Pacific and the separation from Mainland China, are a couple.

RASTA

Reggae is central to the construction of Rasta identity and has been negotiated by Maori in different ways. Rastafari is a syncretic tradition indigenous to Jamaica. It is a religious, philosophical, class and race movement that has its roots in the Back to Africa and pan-African movements of the late nineteenth century. Marcus Garvey is their prophet, who predicted the coming of a Black king. When Ras Tafari Makonnen was crowned Haile Selassie I the 111th Emperor of Ethiopia in 1930, many Jamaicans believed he was the king named by Garvey and by the Bible, who would lead all oppressed people to the promised land. There are variations in the practical application of Rasta belief; reading a verse from the Bible every day is encouraged and some are pure vegetarians while others are not, for example. There are nevertheless some central beliefs: Babylon is the modern western civilization that oppresses. To separate themselves from the stigma of slavery and colonization, they call God “Jah.” Ras Tafari is – was the living God and redemption for blacks can only be had through repatriation to Africa. Maori adopted Rastafari as a response to assimilationist policies and political and economic oppression that gave rise to identity and belonging conflicts. While there are those who are only fans of the music and fashion dreads, there are also communities of people who adhere deeply to the philosophical aspects of Rastafari. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, there are two main types of Rastas: the Twelve Tribes of Israel and Ngati Dread.

The most “Christian” of the branches, Twelve Tribe members read one chapter of the Bible each day and accept Jesus as their lord and saviour. They believe in the salvation of all people (no matter the skin colour) and they consider themselves descendants of the twelve sons of Israel (Daniel Harawira, personal communication July

30, 2008; Rastafarian.net; Jamaicans.com). Dreads, which indexically mark one as a Rasta, are a sign of livy or righteous living; Leviticus 19:27 and Numbers 6:5-6 say that a man must not shave his face or head hair. Rasta hair was plaited into locks that became known as Dreadlocks⁴⁴ (dread to denote the relationship between Rastas and authority) (Davis and Simon 1992:70). The most liberal of the Rasta groups, it is the one that Marley followed.⁴⁵

Rasta, reggae musician, father, grandfather, husband and ex-husband Tingilau Ness talked about the spiritual quandary and upheaval in Aotearoa/New Zealand when Marley came in 1979:

We were being beaten down and had no way to feed ourselves spiritually. When Bob came along, he did just that. Feed our spirit, feed our soul so that we did not feel like the oppressed and we were slowly getting beaten down...Bob Marley was the voice of the people. He talked about the oppressor but through music that made us feel good about ourselves, feel uplifted. The music and the lyrics encouraged us to be who we are and be proud of it... The music also revealed Rastafari to us (personal communication, August 13, 2008).

Ness realized he was a Rasta at the point of his incarceration, following the Springbok Tour. Up until this point he was a fashion dread (cultivating the locks but not the Rasta spirit), but Ness chose to use his time in prison productively; he read voraciously and sang hymns. In prison, he realized the strength of the Golden Rule and changed his thinking. As an early member of the Pacific Panthers he believed the path of revolution was a solution to the problems of brown (Maori and Pacific Islander) people in

⁴⁴ Not every Rasta has dreads and not every dread is a Rasta. Other symbols are the red, gold and green of the Ethiopian flag, the Lion of Judah (represents Jesus and Haile Selassie), marijuana and the Star of David.

⁴⁵ While the Twelve Tribes of Israel adherents live in society and dress quite "normally" the other two branches of Rastafari separate themselves from society by special dress and living in isolated communities and are more extreme in their practices and perspectives. Nyahbingi followers observe Ethiopian Sabbath (Tuesday), speak Amharic, want repatriation to Ethiopia, focus on Haile Selassie as supreme deity and pledge an oath against all oppressors but carry no weapons. Bobo Shanti followers consider their leader Trevor Steward to be the reincarnate Black Christ. Their founder Prince Emmanuel Charles Edward and Haile Selassie are considered Gods while Marcus Garvey is a prophet.

Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, the revolution of Black Panthers and Che Guevara was too aggressive and violent for Aotearoa/New Zealand. Che was inspiring because he said the struggle against oppression was international: “that meant that it included us down here” said Ness, “all people, Maori, PI [Pacific Islander], black, brown are united because they have the same oppressor, in general rich people in authority who, for the most part, are white” (personal communication August 13, 2008). So Ness felt he had to go another way and that was through music: “change the way of thinking. We can do that with music rather than force,” and so he turned to reggae and realized he was in fact a Rasta.

When he came out of prison Ness, along with his then wife Miriama Rauhini-Ness, worked to establish an Aotearoa/New Zealand branch of the Twelve Tribes of Israel because, as she said, “they were looking for a better life, a faith they could relate to” (Hauti 2004). This adherence to Rastafari is seen throughout the music. Unity Pacific wrote a tribute to Garvey and places him in Aotearoa/New Zealand in “A Poor Man (saveth a city)” to remind listeners to love Jah in “Unity” and praise Jesus in “King of Justice.” House of Shem sing, “Beware of Babylon...Babylon don’t know the truth of I father” in “Cries of the Youth” and to trust in Jah in “Jah Bless.” These efforts define these artists as Rasta and introduce the positive role of reggae to younger generations.

Despite many people who related to the non-violent teachings of Rasta and the positive feeling of the sound of reggae music, some Maori thought (and think) Rastas are odd: particularly because of the outward changes in appearance (mainly through wearing dreads) and the perceived incompatibility with Maori traditions. For example, if being a Rasta means a desire for repatriation to Africa as the mythical homeland, how does that

relate to the Maori homeland Hawaiki? Drummer, composer and producer Daniel Harawira grew up going to monthly dances where his dad gigged, and he would see everyone dancing to reggae music. It would take about another ten to fifteen years before he would accept Rastafari for himself. I met Harawira at the opening night of *From Street to Sky* (2008) a documentary about Unity Pacific, one of the bands he plays with. He invited me to his recording session with a female jazz/blues vocalist a few days later. Driving around with him after the session, Harawira explained his Rasta faith to me. A follower of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, he has read the Bible daily for the past six years. Harawira does not feel there is a conflict with being Maori and a Rasta, because “we’re open minded” (personal communication July 30, 2008). He also believes, “we come from Africa, because everyone comes from Africa as far as we’re concerned, because Africa was the first place spoken of in Genesis Two, it’s the cradle of civilization, it’s just a natural thing” (personal communication July 30, 2008). Harawira invokes scientific and Rastafari discourses to explain his philosophical adherence to both Maori and Rasta cultures.

Most Maori, both Rasta and non-Rasta, do not see a conflict between being Rasta and being Maori. “It is something separate,” said Che Fu, “Rasta is your faith, it is your deal with God” (Hauti 2004), whereas “being Maori is who you are” (Simon, personal communication, August 2, 2008). Maori see and create similarities between themselves and Rastas but they also engage in an active process of interpretation to make alliances between Maori and Rasta ideas. A significant point regards the Rasta ideal of repatriation to Africa as their homeland. This may seem contradictory to Maori because their homeland, Hawaiki, is in the South Pacific, not a far away continent. When I asked

Harawira about this he invoked a scientific — quasi-primordial discourse and explained to me that Africa is the original homeland of all people since it is the cradle of civilization.

In Ruatoria the Ngati Dread, who are also known as the Ruatoria Rastas, combine Maori self-determination with Rastafari beliefs and with Te Kooti teachings. As we saw in Chapter Three, Maori often blended Maori and foreign music to make new forms. They have a similar history with religion. In the 1830s the new religious tradition, Papahuriha, mixed Maori and Judeo-Christian beliefs. They were anti-Christian and identified with Jews, with whom they felt they had much in common. Hauhau was the first openly anti-Pakeha Christian-Maori syncretic tradition, started in 1863. Its founder Te Ua Ituamene, after having visions from the Angel Gabriel and communing with his god Te Atua Pai Marire (The Lord Good and Peaceful), realized that Maori were outnumbered in the wars being fought at the time. In order to be successful, they would have to come up with a different strategy. Te Kooti Arikirangi Turuki formed the Ringatu sect as an offshoot of Hauhau, focusing more on the Old Testament. The newest syncretic tradition, Ngati Dread, combines and reshapes Rasta and Maori belief systems. Following Rastafari teachings, Ngati Dread believe Haile Selassie is God or the second coming of Christ. They use marijuana and believe they are descended from the lost tribe of Dan mentioned in the Bible. Ngati Dread refer to Ngati Poru's sacred mountain Hikurangi, as Mount Zion, a kind of utopic place that Rastas believe is in Africa and the Jews believe is in Israel. Following Te Kooti's teachings they are skeptical of Pakeha; they feel an affinity between themselves and Jews who were also driven off their land and they believe God will also save them for they too have been harshly treated (by

colonizers). Ngati Dread look forward to the coming of a spiritual leader who will be born on the east coast of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Finally, they see Christianity as a failed derivative of Judaism because it does not serve humanity as a whole, having aided colonization and the assimilation of Maori culture (Ngati Dread Maori Rastafarians n.d.; Gilles 2009; McCormick 1994). In response to the question of the compatibility of Rastafari and Maori beliefs, Ras Caleb states, “we are a living force of God’s people; a new generation of Maori descent. You know, we are proud of our Maori descent. We know that the reo [Te Reo Maori] is not number one, God is” (Douglas and Boxill 2008: 88). Ngati Dread blend Maori self-determinism, the Ringatu religion (already a blend) and Rasta symbols and practices in a way that expresses their desire for autonomy within the context of their own history and authority. Both Jamaicans and Maori in the encounter with the Christianity of missionaries and British colonial projects developed syncretic religious traditions. Protestant Christianity emphasizes the New Testament of the Bible; yet, interestingly, both Maori and Jamaicans actively choose to favour the Old Testament that details the stories of the Jews with whom they see shared experiences of oppression and subjugation.

Any group can appropriate the resources of another, transforming them. Marley’s answer to the question “Can reggae be copied successfully outside of Jamaica?” is clear; there is no copying, only mnemesis. He said:

It can be copied but it’s not a copy, it’s the feel. It carry a feel. Where if you ask plenty musicians they know it but they can’t do it. So people still searching for this truth here which this reggae music bring cross to them and the only purpose it serve it to tell the people about Rastafari (Taite 1979).

In this way, the followers of Rastafari in Aotearoa/New Zealand can probably be said to have come closer to copying the music than non-followers. Yet at the same time, they

have added their own flourishes that make these transformations fit into spaces that did not previously exist, thereby allowing them to exist. It gives them the possibility to build up pride in themselves, replacing the shame and anger of this ongoing colonial encounter. Partaking of multiple models does not necessarily result in identity crises – in fact they may help resolve them. My guide (and Rasta) at the Franz Josef Glacier, Simon, said to me, “everyday I read one verse from the Bible to remind me of Jah... I’m also Maori and I honour my ancestors and my culture” (personal communication, August 2, 2008). The Rastafari tradition of the Old Testament and interpreting the Bible as a text of emancipation is consistent with the older Maori prophetic and syncretic traditions of Hauhau, Ringatu and Ratana. Reggae is a vehicle for Maori to express their discontent as tangata whenua and their experience of colonial domination.

CONCLUSION

February sixth is both Aotearoa/New Zealand’s national holiday celebrating the signing of the treaty — Waitangi Day — and Bob Marley’s birthday. Both are celebrated, the former with speeches, church services, powhiris and reenactments: the latter with concerts. Nandor Tanczos says the ‘One Love’ concert is a commemoration of Waitangi Day and Bob Marley: “it is not only a day of togetherness but a day of unity and respect” (Meschino 2007).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, reggae culture and Maori culture can coexist peacefully. There are tensions, and not all Maori accept outside influences: especially those that are seen as “competing” with Maori values – is a discussion worthy of further analysis but, that is beyond the scope of this project. However, the Maori who I met were

able to reconcile those tensions in ways that made sense to them as musicians, Rasta and Maori.

In this chapter, I have tried to interpret some of the ways in which Maori reggae has emerged as a musical form. The meanings of musical appropriation may be varied and complex but it is clear that the appropriation is not merely an act of imitation or copying but of transformation and localizing, in a way that makes sense to the creators and their audience. Maori make sense out of reggae in a way that is different than the way that other people, including Pakeha, do.⁴⁶ Traveling to perform, musicians have opportunities to interact with other musicians and to play and create new sounds. These musician artists support and create communities of imagination, and in so doing expose themselves and others to new ways of being in the world. What do Jamaicans think about the legitimacy of Maori reggae? Collaborations and performances alongside reggae superstars like Luciano, Ziggy Marley, Arrested Development, the Wailers, and Burning Spear are a few Jamaican artists that authenticate Maori reggae, resulting in what Gaztambide-Fernandez describes as “hybridization though globalization” (2004:231). In this way, Maori become legitimate members of the international Rasta community. In being transported to a new location, reggae has taken on the meanings and values of the imported environment and has contributed to the transformation of Maori religious and musical communities.

⁴⁶ When asked about the appeal of reggae in Aotearoa/New Zealand the sentiment of the average Pakeha was quite different than the average Maori. Pakeha tend to be focused more on the “laid back” quality of the music. Pakeha manager of a ska band, Gary gave a typical response. He said, “The appeal is just the way reggae seems to fit my culture. Especially in summer time, never being far from the beach, it just seems to sit on the same wavelength for my lifestyle. It’s positive, it’s chilled out. It’s easy to dance to. Then there’s the drug culture... reggae music and pot have strong ties” (Gary, personal communication, July 19, 2008).

Considering hip hop in the next chapter, I will demonstrate how Maori culture is enacted through the creation and performance of hip hop and how hip hop takes on those Maori meanings and values. I will also reveal the links between break dancing and *haka* that authenticate Maori as practitioners of the genre.

CHAPTER FIVE: HIP HOP

Since the genesis of the genre among West Indian New Yorkers in the late 1970s, what was once thought to be a local fad has become global. Hip hop refers to a genre of music and an associated set of cultural practices¹: graffiti, beat boxing (vocal percussion), rapping (rhythmically spoken poetry or prose), breaking (a dance form) and turntable-ing (manipulating turntables percussively and playing music). A basic hip hop crew (group) consists of an MC (rapper and hype man), DJ (turntablist) and producer (sound engineer). A larger crew will include taggers (graffiti artists) and b-boys –b-girls (dancers).

Dimensions of hip hop can and are performed without the other parts and individuals may be skilled in more than one role. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, those appropriating hip hop's musical style (strong rhythms, catchy hooks and verbally dexterous MCs) blend it with local elements (different languages, rhythms and instrumentation). In this chapter I ask the questions "how is hip hop understood as a symbol of Maori identity in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand?" and, "how do hip hop's associated images and ideas take on different meanings in a Maori system?" Here I explore how identity is mediated and informed by the genre for Maori hip hoppers and fans of the genre, how Maori culture is revealed through hip hop, and how the sound of the music (the lyrics themselves impact the meaning of the music).

Contradictions in embracing hip hop are resolved through a negotiation of what Maori hip hop is. For example, if one contradiction is that all hip hop is black music,

¹ Though some of these practices may be used by non hip hoppers. Break dancing (breaking) for example is touted as a fun weight loss exercise at many gyms.

then as per the standard British discourse, “if you’re not white, you’re black,” Maori are relationally black and can legitimately align themselves with the African diaspora.

BACKGROUND

Transnational in character and hybrid in form hip hop was introduced into Aotearoa/New Zealand in the early 1980s. In 1979, the Sugarhill Gang’s “Rapper’s Delight” was the first successful commercial hip hop single released in New Zealand.⁴⁸ In March 1980, less than one year later, “Rapper’s Delight” entered the New Zealand Top Fifty and maintained a presence in the charts for thirty weeks, peaking at number eighteen. While any music scene attracts an assortment of people, the majority of hip hop fans in Aotearoa/New Zealand are young and either Maori or Pacific Islander. The first hip hoppers of the late nineteen nineties are now in their late thirties – early forties. There have been a couple Pakeha hip hoppers but by and large the proponents of this genre are Pacific Islanders and Maori, and mostly male. Hip hop drummer Josh Carter says, “the music resonates better with men because of the energy, aggression, the beats... you can feel your heels kick” (personal communication July 24, 2008). From its inception, Maori hip hop has been comprised of lyric driven original compositions. This section of the chapter traces that history from its introduction into Aotearoa/New Zealand, the development of the conscious hip hop scene, and the contemporary period that seems somewhat less definable.

Breaking was introduced into Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1983 via Western Samoa where it was introduced from American Samoa that learned about it from the United

⁴⁸ The first ‘King Tim III (Personality Jock)’ by Fatback Band preceded them but did not make a splash.

States. DJ Kool Herc, break beat inventor, would isolate and play the most percussive part of a track, repeatedly alternating between two records to prolong the beat, creating what is called the “break beat” to which b-boys and b-girls break, or dance. There are three types of dance movements: athletic moves inspired by Japanese and Korean crews who incorporated a North East Asian martial arts style, top rock moves performed standing, and down rock movements performed on the ground. According to Tania Kopytko, breaking was first seen on the streets of Auckland and performed by young Samoans; the dance style quickly caught on among mainly male Maori and Pacific Island youth who would sometimes refer to it as a sport so as to not seem effeminate (Kopytko 1986:22). These young men were seen as the “bottom of the heap” and faced social, class, and/or racial discrimination (Kopytko 1986:24). Though these were not the first Maori influenced by the Black Atlantic, this generation again looked east for inspiration:

The picture of black ghetto kids doing their stuff was a compelling trigger for black kids here (New Zealand) who were already solidly identifying with the television image of Black America – Michael Jackson, Diana Ross, Fame, Roots. It wasn’t long before mainly Black kids all over the country were boning up their moves...The dedication was enormous (Scott 1984:11).

Breaking was a way to give these youth a positive sense of self-identity and to raise their self-esteem (Kopytko 1986:25). Some Maori elders also encouraged the dance form and instigated competitions at their local marae as a way of “encouraging young Maoris back to their cultural roots” (Kopytko 1986:25). The b-boys and b-girls embraced all of hip hop, and they appropriated the music (including the cassette and mixed tape culture), dress style (track suits, African jewelry), gestures, slang, and graffiti. Among the first to start the movement in Wellington was graffiti artist Darryl “DLT,” or “Slick” Thompson. He had read and been inspired by a *Life* magazine article about the (at the

time) new dance form. The second major American hip hop track, “Supperrappin” (1979), written by MC Melle Mel, was released shortly after “Rapper’s Delight” but did not have much of an impact. In its rebirth and reformulation into “The Message”(1982), it went platinum in less than one month. “The Message” spent seventeen weeks on the New Zealand Top Fifty singles chart in 1983, and peaked at number two. When Thompson heard it he said, “it was the first time I’d heard of oppression that was similar to ours on the other side of the world” (Aotearoa Hip Hop Timeline 2001).

The very first Maori song to incorporate any hip hop element was producer Dalvinus Prime’s “Poi E” (1984), sung by Prince Tui Teka and the Patea Maori Club. “Poi E” was intentionally developed to appeal to youth. Sung completely in Te Reo Maori, the music mixes funk with poi and sounds like a new sort of action song. The video brings in the idea of hip hop: after close-ups of women in old style Maori clothes singing the song and twirling poi⁴⁹ in front of a marae, the camera shifts focus. It lands on a man in western dress who stands aside from the crowd. He starts popping to the music.⁵⁰ The poi group moves onto the street, the man is still popping, the group members are still poi-ing and the streets come alive with Maori and Pakeha passersby who joined in the singing, popping or poi twirling. The video ends with everyone in an auditorium. The singers are on stage, and so is the dancer who is doing a low windmill to enthusiastic audience applause.⁵¹ As discussed in Chapter Three, the inclusion of hip hop was a deliberate strategy Prime used to appeal to youth. His motivation for this genre of

⁴⁹ Poi are a kind of a ball on a string that is twirled. It began as an instrument to perform military drills but today is used as a percussion and accompaniment to poi songs.

⁵⁰ A specific top rock move is body popping (popping) – isolating parts of the movement and performing them in a jerking (not to be confused with The Jerk) fashion. Samoans called this bopping and was seen as more female than the more athletic movements that women (at that time) did not do.

⁵¹ After the success of “Poi E” Prime and Pewhairangi went on to write a musical “Poi E” about the closing of a factory in their town and the impact it had on the community; that was the inspiration for the song in the first place. The musical was also a big hit. (Pewhairangi and Prime 2005).

music came from a chat he had with American producer Roger Davies. Davies told him people would not be interested in Maori R&B: “go home and find a Polynesian sound that’s going to emulate your own culture” (Prime 2003). But to Prime that was “like telling the Average White Band to pick up the bagpipes” (2003). Also, 1984 was the first year for the Bop Olympics — a breaking competition (The significance of which will be elaborated later on). According to Tania Kopytko, part of the appeal of break dance for young people was also the reason for its stigma; break dance represented working class Maori and Pacific people in an autonomous activity that gave the practitioners a sense of power and self worth that adults, especially Pakeha, had no control over (Kopytko 1986:27). The obvious juxtaposition of old Maori music and dance forms with funk musicality and hip hop performance was intentionally orchestrated to appeal to a young, modern audience. It also increased the “cool factor” of the old styles and made manifest the compatibility of things perhaps thought too different: modes of dress, ways of living, styles of performance, genres of music and ultimately, types of people – Pakeha and Maori are brought together by this dash of “blackness.”

Though there were dribbles here and there of dance crews starting in Aotearoa/New Zealand, battles being organized, and evidence of tagging (the act of graffiti), hip hop music began to gain momentum around the late nineteen eighties and early nineteen nineties. Dozens of hip hop sub-genres exist to fit almost any taste: education, Afrocentric, gutter, nerdcore, crunk, gangsta, hip pop, rapcore, and reservation rap are a few. However, among Maori, the preferred genres are political and conscious

rap with an old school beat.⁵² Old school hip hop coming out of New York is a sound that solidified itself around 1983. It is characterized by sparse beats, slow tempo, interludes of scratching virtuosity and strong vocals that are in time with the beat. Though the old school style does have “frivolous” songs about love and having fun, for the most part the lyrical themes are political and conscious. In the conscious Aotearoa/New Zealand hip hop, there are what I have called hardcore (conscious and political rap), “teaching,” Polynesian-influenced, and R&B-influenced.

Political rap is generally seen as having a strong political agenda while conscious rap is not as overt. However, the issues artists and rappers rhyme about are the same: social issues, religion and experiences of being black. Of the hardcore groups, Upper Hutt Possee and Dam Native stand out. MC and lyricist Dean “D-Word” (because he writes the words) or “Te Kupu” (D-Word Maorified) Hapeta and DJ Darryl “DLT” Thompson⁵³ formed Upper Hutt Possee (UHP) in 1985. Many Maori looked to African Americans for inspiration. An instance of that occurred when I met Tingilau Ness at this home. Ness proudly pointed out a massive Angela Davis poster he has hanging on the wall of his garden sitting room. “She came to Aotearoa a couple years ago and we got to meet her,” he said. Like Ness, Hapeta looked to African Americans like Malcolm X, whom he likens to Maori leader Hone Heke. He found inspiration in these personages because as a Maori in the 1970s he felt Pakeha were oppressive and racist. (When he was eight a Pakeha adult called him nigger). He was also frustrated, though, by the seeming

⁵² Gangsta Rap developed on the west coast at the same time conscious rap developed on the east coast. Yes, hip hop can be misogynistic, homophobic and superficial but that is not contained to this genre – it shows up in other genres as well.

⁵³ Thompson left UHP in 1995 to pursue a solo career.

subordination and apathy of Maori (Buchanan 2000). Hapeta turned first to reggae but then to hip hop. “Hip hop,” he said:

was the first musical-cultural force that offered a challenge to the immense strength of reggae...reggae told stories of struggles and its beats seemed as natural to us as the waves rolling upon the beach. However, hip hop offered something else, it gave a language bursting with rebellion, the process was one of an accumulated narrative of protest (Buchanan 2005).

For UHP, the compatibility of hip hop and Maori traditions is based on oral discourse, rapping, listening and the attitude. Hapeta said, “Although I love and respect hip-hop being Maori I only take from it what doesn’t compromise my own culture. But in spite of this I have found them both very compatible” (Mitchell 1996: 249). “My real gut affinity with hip hop,” continued Hapeta in 2000, “stems from a shared experience of European, Eurocentric oppression. What’s happening, in the so-called United States, throughout the Pacific, and throughout the world. It seems that you find hip hop coming up there with strong lyrics” (International Association for the Study of Popular Music 2000:205).

UHP’s strong, blunt, erudite rhymes embody the spirit of resistance:

White rule and injustice go hand in hand
So against that is where we stand
Don’t forget those who’ve fought before
Our struggle continues more and more (*Against the Flow* 1988).

I had a quick but intense (and intriguing) telephone conversation with Hapeta. Someone had given him my number and he called as I was standing on the Tawa train platform station waiting for a carriage to come and take me into Wellington where I had an hour before I caught my flight back to Auckland. It was sunny and windy as we talked about the importance of knowledge:

Everything is out there, he said, if you want to know, you can find it. There are a few people who are incredibly driven. Most people aren’t like that. Most people

don't have anyone encouraging them to do anything and they just fall into their lives (personal communication August 12, 2008).

"E Tu" was the first Maori hip hop single released. Hapeta was inspired by James Brown's "Say it Loud I'm Black and I'm Proud." He said:

Maori ain't got a song like that. I mean we do. We got kapahaka songs about self-pride, but we ain't got no rap songs about that, and anyway, we ain't got any rap songs at the time. There's no rap so, so shit, well I'm going to write it then, it's going to be about the leaders of old that inspired me (Pepperell 2009:28).

They pay homage to Hone Heke, Te Kooti, Te Rauaraha and other Maori Chiefs in "E Tu," released in 1988 in English and in 2002 in Te Reo Maori. In either language, Hapeta's lyrics are dense and require much specialized knowledge in order to fully understand and appreciate the complexities of the lyrics. A U.S. underclass rhetoric runs throughout their work with a distinctive Maori flavor that has been referred to as "Haka Rap," defined as "a challenge to young Maori to stand up for their communal rights and fight exploitation, whether by capitalists or drug dealers" (Archer 2006). In 1990 when Public Enemy visited Aotearoa/New Zealand, UHP toured with them and in 1992, UHP visited the United States as guests of the Nation of Islam. They were well received by the Americans and that reception legitimized their performance as rappers (International Association for the Study of Popular Music 2000).

I had made plans to go to the Kings Arms to check out Dam Native. But first was watching the All Blacks play some other team and drinking Tui on tap, at the Paddington, a sports bar in Parnell, with some Pakeha friends. Isobel and the gang wanted to come along to the Kings Arms with me and while I was not sure how that would affect my fieldwork, I could not "just say no," could I?

The crowd at the Kings Arms that night was less “white” than usual. Except for Isobel, none of the Pakehas I was with had heard of Dam Native (and in fact left early, citing mandatory morning early rising the next day). We sat at a table in the back chatting over more ale while the warm up act (a forgettable but decent ska band) did their thing. However, true to my music and anxious to not miss anything, I excused myself when Dam Native came on. I was not disappointed. Dam Native’s current live band line up includes: guitar, bass, keys, drums, and percussion. R&B hip hopper Che Fu made a special guest appearance and together they performed “The Son.” The crowd loved it, singing along and grooving to the fierce live hip hop beat.

Dam Native echoes UHP’s expression of the compatibility of Maori culture and hip hop. They say, “We don’t own it [hip hop]. All we can do is inject our own culture into it” (Mitchell 1996:250). Previously known as Native Base, Dam Native came together in 1992 and they are generally referred to as the pioneers of Aotearoa/New Zealand hip hop; for unlike UHP who focuses on the music, Dam Native embraces all aspects of hip hop culture. In 1997 they released *Kaupapa Driven Rhymes Uplifted* (KDRU). That album was the result of, according to Haimona, “an accumulation of 10 years hard work in Music and learning *Tikanga* Maori (Maori customs)” (1997). Though it is virtually impossible to find a copy of the album, the band will not re-release it. Prevalent thinking in the hip hop scene is that if you are popular in the mainstream or successful, you are a “sell out” and no longer “keeping it real” (the quintessential defining quality of a true hip hopper, keeping it real means being honest with and about oneself). MC Danny “Hype the Native” Haimona, calls himself the “pure lyricist king of hip hop” (Haimoana 2007). In keeping with that title, when onstage he performs the

stereotype of the rough, tough lyrical “gangsta.” Sometimes wearing a chinchilla coat and sunglasses, he gestures with a beer in one hand and a cigarette in the other. He hypes the crowd (though Pakeha do not seem to know the music or to respond) with call and response typical of the genre. Like UHP, and old Maori music, Dam Native’s music is lyrically driven. Perpetually popular in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Dam Native has only released one album to date (they have been working on a second, *Aotearoa...Nobody Does it Better*, since 2006). Dam Native is the first Maori band to win two New Zealand Music Awards (Best Group and Best Male Vocalist in 1996). They also won “Best Video” at the Flying Fish Awards (in 1996) for “Behold My Kool Style.” Their response to these accolades was to see them as token gestures lacking industry support. Sepia toned, to match the period costumes in the video for “Behold My Kool Style” (which has aged gracefully), the main orator gestures with his *tokotoko* (speaking stick) and raps:

Behold my kool style
While I greet the funk with my Maori
The incredible, lyrical and original
Sworn to wage war
I pledge allegiance to all *iwi*
Who cut ties with Liz and her people
Trying to deceive me (*KDRU* 1997).

Kool with a ‘K’ is perhaps homage to DJ Kool Herc or perhaps a nod to Te Reo Maori, which has no ‘c.’ “Kool” means ‘in control’ of his Maorified hip hop. Haimona belongs to Te Arawa; they did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi and Haimona here aligns himself with all *iwi* (Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Tuhoe for example) who did not align themselves with the crown and support Maori *tino rangatiranga* (sovereignty). Calling Queen Elizabeth, “Liz,” to represent the Crown, past and present, is neither a slip nor ignorance; it was an intentional device so the audience would understand quickly to

whom he was referring and to bring the past into the present. The informality of “Liz” also shows their lack of respect for the Crown. On the heels of these accolades Haimona said, “I’d achieved what I wanted to achieve. I wanted my name to ring in the music industry. I wanted to represent Maori in hip hop and I did that and started getting bored of it” (Haimoana 2007). Nevertheless, Dam Native gigs regularly performing their tracks from *KDRU* and audiences never seem to tire of their classic Aotearoa hip hop style.

“Teaching rap” is essentially an attempt of a non-hip hopper to create a rap for the express purpose of teaching something. Religious leaders or teachers who try to make learning fun often use this method. Maniapoto had noticed the appeal of Black Atlantic culture for Maori kids and attributed it to the stereotype they see on television of someone who is “funny, sassy, streetwise, who’s funky, who plays sports, who’s into music, who’s got all the quick one-liners, and who’s got all the gear on” (Ihaka 1993:12). Inspired, she tried to merge Maori flutes, poi slaps and haka stamps with dance beats as a way to come up with songs to inspire and teach Maori youth about their culture. Her first full-length album with the Moa Hunters, *Tahi* (1993), had a range of genres: new age, R&B, rock, pop, reggae and rap. These were not blended into one cohesive style, but each song belonged to one genre. “AEIOU (*Akona Te Reo*)”, a single from *Tahi*, intends to inspire the listener to learn Te Reo Maori (*Akona Te Reo* means “learn the language”), and the chorus consists of a repetition of the vowels of the Maori alphabet. She does a rap in the song:

Learn your history...
 Life doesn’t have to stay this way...
 Yes we are here to get you on the move...
 It’s knowing where you come from
 Where you’re going to (*Tahi* 1993).

Their second release *Rua* (1998) is more cohesive than *Tahi*. More of the songs are in Te Reo Maori and the music is mostly R&B and new age. Another teaching song, “Treaty,” was the most popular song from this album. It begins with a recording of a man saying “we’re Maori and we won’t get justice until we’ve got a Maori flag,” followed by a dynamic, old school beat, and Hapeta raps the rest. After these attempts, Moana and the Tribe essentially stopped trying to rap and instead embraced their own musical style that focuses on incorporating taonga puoro with other instruments. Moana and the Tribe market themselves heavily in Europe, to some this may be seen as a sort of “selling out,” or inauthenticity. Coupled with their reification of Maori as the noble savage on their album cover art,⁵⁴ their politics are perhaps perturbing to some.

Commercial radio ignored hip hop as it ignored reggae; “the media is racist,” said Maniapoto (Reid 1992). Even twenty years later, many continue to echo that sentiment: hence the demand for the development of separate media. Even Auckland-based Radio Aotearoa played mainly mainstream music. It was through stations like Mai FM radio — originally funded by the government to promote Maori language and culture (Hana, personal communication July 28, 2008) — that black music and culture was disseminated in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Thompson, who started the graffiti scene in Aotearoa/New Zealand and who had left Upper Hutt Possee to launch his solo career (1996’s “Chains” featuring Che Fu was number one for five weeks), was one of the key persons in developing radio and TV that reflected conscious contemporary creations (in addition to his other roles of producer and composer). When I spoke with Maori about the noble

⁵⁴ *Toru* (2002) in Europe showcased a western dressed Moana flanked by two topless men one with a face *moko* (tattoo) and *taiaha* (stick weapon) and the other with a buttock *moko*. The Aotearoa/New Zealand release (2003) graphic red and white *koru* (fern) design by acclaimed Maori artist Shane Cotton, on the cover.

savage imagery prevalent on post cards, most disapproved of the representation but understood the requirement for people (Maori posing as primitive warriors) to make money. Ultimately, this marketing strategy attracts many ‘world music’ fans. Imagery aside, Maori generally admire and respect Maniapoto and her music.

Otara Millionaire’s Club (OMC) was – is the biggest act to come out of Aotearoa/New Zealand, produced by Alan Jansson. In the eighties, Pakeha Alan Jansson⁵⁵ set up Voxpop studios in Auckland. Voxpop would become Uptown, then The Uptown, and today it is called Urban Pacific. After seeing the influence of hip hop and seeing some bands forming in Auckland, Jansson orchestrated the release of *Proud: An Urban Pacific Street Soul Compilation* (2000[1994]) and coined the term “Urban Pasifika” to describe the sound of music on that release.⁵⁶ This urban Pacific sound was a mix of punk, rock, disco, south Pacific acoustic guitar, soul, reggae, horns and hip hop loops. The only Maori band was OMC, though they can also be considered a Polynesian band since front man Pauly Fuemana is half Niuean. Their single, “How Bizarre” (1996), became number one in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, Ireland, Austria and Canada and did very well internationally. The track is bright with horn and R&B harmonies. A lot of people thought they were Cuban from their look and Mexican from their “funky” (KeyserSoze88 2010); “Mexican” (stopglobalswarming 2010); “mariachi” (Bloggertruth24 2010) sound. Their eponymous full-length album sold four million copies, the most of any Aotearoa/New Zealand production to date. “How Bizarre” seems to be a fun song but the lyrics are odd. About this ambiguity Fuemana said, “I put a lot of

⁵⁵ Jansson continues to be active today. He mostly produces pop and works with Pacific Island and Pakeha groups.

⁵⁶ Some of the acts on that release are Sisters Underground, Pacific Condensed, Vocal Five, Puka Puka, Rhythm Harmony and the Semi-MCs.

hidden stories in there so people could read between the lines and sense it instead of telling them, ‘Yeah, we got pulled over by the cops, and my mate got his head smashed in, and we got arrested, and they found some pot on him’” (Fuemana 2010). The allegorical lyrics of the song fit with the style of rap but also with Maori poetry composition – outsiders find the humor in the lyrics difficult to understand and it follows the *puha* composition style: short, spirited and dynamic.

R&B–influenced hip hop can be typified in the work of another Maori/Niuen hip hopper, Che “Che Fu” Ness. Che Fu has a smooth, soulful singing voice and his raps are a bit bouncy. Like *patere* they have very clear pronunciation, precise intonation and a constant tempo. Motivated by his Rasta faith, Che Fu is a conscious MC who puts reggae sensibilities to rap. For Che Fu, it is important to keep the music positive; “we’re not American, don’t do that stuff [trying to be gangsta]” (personal communication, July 26, 2008). “Chains” (1996) is a collaboration between Che Fu and Thompson that won the 1996 New Zealand Music Award Single of the Year. In it he raps:

How come I got Cyclops fish in my water
 Gifts from a land that I don’t even know...
 Did your heads think further than threads
 Come break my chains, come help me out (2b s. *Pacific* 1996).

“Chains” addresses the issue of the effects of pollution and nuclear fallout from French nuclear tests. It’s a wakeup call for people who put more attention on material things (a snub to French fashion) to open their minds. The form of this sound, if rapped in Te Reo Maori, could pass as haka, reflecting the individual contributions that Maorify Aotearoa/New Zealand hip hop.

The contemporary hip hop scene builds on the roots established by these hip hop pioneers, some of whom are still very active in creating new hip hop: notably UHP and

Che Fu. Additional initiatives that promote the dissemination of this music are music labels like Dawn Raid Entertainment/Music, that is a vehicle for young people to produce hip hop, and R&B that bigger labels in Aotearoa/New Zealand are still not too keen on. The Annual Hip Hop Summit promotes Aotearoa/New Zealand hip hop and *Back 2 Basics* – a glossy hip hop magazine spearheaded by DJ Sir-Vere that combines the best of the up and coming, the local scene, and global perspectives that are central cites of hip hop education. Aotearoa/New Zealand hip hop continues to grow locally and is beginning to have a bit of a presence abroad; Savage has a toe-hold in the U.S. market, Young Sid collaborates with Americans and Nesian Mystik market themselves in Asia and the Pacific. Ten years after Thompson and Che Fu released “Chains,” “Chains Reloaded” was released. Featuring P-Money and Savage, the newer track has a scratchier vocal texture and a rougher, more vigorous contemporary sensibility. The raps were also different as were the musical sounds — only the hook and the tempo of the syncopated beat are consistent with the original track. The sound is slightly more polyphonic and there is more scratching. As with the rise of the popularity of the genre among young artists who are influenced by the hip pop/gangsta rap generation (bouncier beats, less scratching, more materialistic, superficial, misogynistic and vulgar), there has been a shift in Aotearoa/New Zealand hip hop away from conscious rap to superficiality (notably among Samoan hip hoppers). In “Chains Reloaded” Che Fu comments on this development:

Weak MCs who are acting like they're from overseas...
 I love my hip hop, just like I love my rugby
 An international sound did it ever mean you had to start playing for another team
 It ain't about the accent, it's about the action
 Nobody questions if you sing country and western
 I've always been a Rasta

Dropping lyrics on your grill like a knuckle duster (*Hi-Score, The Best of Che-Fu* 2006).

The commentary here on the choice of hip hop as a means of self-expression is an interesting one; if white music is appropriated it is seen as normal but when black music is borrowed it is seen as inauthentic. Moreover as Che Fu points out, availing oneself of a different genre does not necessitate abandoning one's morals or culture in exchange for theirs. Newcomer Young Sid, from the South Auckland town Otara, had the opportunity to spend time in the United States to work with Black Americans to hone his craft. *The Truth*, his first album, won the "Urban Album of the Year" at the 2008 Maori Music Awards. In response to his song "Too Much Pain," where he raps about domestic violence and neglectful parents, a Young Sid fan commented:

evry nzer out there can relate 2 this. nzers r growin up 2 fast i reckon. wot happened 2 tha gud old dayz wen we all had nothing 2 worry about? and people sayin we tryna b 2 much like america Dam Native know what they talking about. i been thru so much pain since i can remember. jus coz we dont hav the full on ghettos dont mean they aint out there (69hoax69 2008).

In a way this comment is a response to "Chains Reloaded" and the "diss" of the more contemporary sound of young MCs. It also speaks to the meaning of hip hop in Aotearoa/New Zealand for the fans; even though contemporary Maori hip hop can have a more aggressive sound, or may be perceived as flashy, the music is still lyric-driven and that may be a substantial allure for the fans. Lyrics, supported by the beat, reflect the importance of Maori oration and song to Maori in their music powhiri practices. Spoken prose often includes myth, attributes of the living world, proverbs and wordplay and invokes tribal history (Simmons 1982:98) (like self-acknowledgement in hip hop). Naming oneself in hip hop is crucial; the moniker one chooses reflects personality,

values, style and creativity. It defines one's ability to be clever and tells the listener something about the group as well. "Nesian Mystik" triumphs in this; the latter portion of the name references reggae and the former describes their varied Polynesian origins. Based out of Auckland, they are successful locally; marketing themselves in the Pacific, Europe and Asia, their music reflects their global influences as well. Recentring meanings of what it is to be successful internationally, they look away from the United States and toward other markets such as North East Asia and the virtual world. Hip hop is a genre characterized by innovation and pastiche. It gives people the opportunity to articulate the experiences in their lives, and they:

make and re-make culture through appropriating the cultural "raw materials" of life in order to construct meaning in their own specific cultural localities. In a sense, they are "sampling" from broader popular culture and reworking what they can take into their own specific local cultures (Lashua 2006:5).

As OMC front man Pauley Fueamana said about music in 1994, "we can sometimes be accused of using our culture as a fashion and we make no apology for how we sound now because that's where we're at" (Mitchell 1996: 255).

The pastiche nature of hip hop makes it amenable to incorporating diverse influences. Furthermore, the innovation on which the creativity of hip hop is dependent matches the innovation we see in Maori society. Hip hop's entry "down under" was as dynamic as the athletic dance that carried it there. The access to a language of possibilities, – of protest or rebellion, – appealed strongly to a youthful population frustrated by the oppression and racism of the settler colony state and society. Hip hop practitioners see the genre as compatible and complimentary to Maori cultural practices, particularly since the emphasis in both cultures is to oral dexterity. Maori are not consumed by, but rather choose to use, new technologies to be successful in their

endeavors. Some Maori critique Maori hip hoppers and fans for “wanting to be black,” but these people ignore Maori history of innovation and tolerance. Kapahaka was innovative and promoted Maori culture to Maori. Hip hop is a vehicle for self expression, communication, musical expression, artistic endeavors and financial success. Maori are innovative in their production and marketing strategies, specifically when they cannot receive mainstream sanction for their work – they develop their own networks and organizations of dissemination.

GENRE

I was really keen to meet Moana Maniapoto. She is the original female Maori musician whose creativity led her to experiment with rapping in the early 1990s. Today Moana’s work is characterized by mixing Maori and non-Maori elements: *taonga puoro*, *haka* performances and Te Reo Maori are featured alongside jazz phrasings, pop and reggae sensibilities. In the past Moana and her band at that time “The Moa Hunters” (the title is an allusion to Maori ancestors) tended to emphasize rap as a means of reaching young people in what I have (perhaps some what glibly) chosen to call “teaching rap” — blunt – hit you over the head – cannot miss the message songs.

Maniapoto said, “We don’t hear enough of our culture, so we co-opt the next closest thing” (Ihaka 1993:12), as an explanation for the appeal of black culture to Maori. However, the reasons for the allure of hip hop are more complex than that. In fact, there are many reasons why hip hop may appeal to Maori: it is part of a world trend, there is a sense of shared history/struggle (Buchanan 1993), there is a similarity to haka (dance form and dance as battle combined with strong declarations), and unlike reggae there is

no religious or philosophical ideal that may conflict with Maori cosmology. The sense of the parallel between Maori and African-Americans is a strong one. Rapping, or toasting as it was then known, began in Jamaica in 1970 when U-Roy (né Ewart Beckford) became the first DJ to tune out the vocals on a record and perform his own monotonic commentary over the music (Davis and Simon 1992; Veal 2007; Higgens 2009; Dyson 2010). A mass exodus of Jamaicans to New York City in the 1970s brought their style and toasting became “Americanized.” Toasting was now called “rapping” and the records they rapped over were soul, funk, jazz and rhythm and blues. Hip hop was “poor people music,” but despite its marginal status it soon took over the airwaves. Critics of the genre said it would be a short-lived fad, but the endurance and global popularity of the genre has proven them wrong. Nevertheless, there has been regional variation in the reproduction of the music. International hip hop, for example, is seen as being more socially active and aware than American hip hop, which for the most part has become superficial and highly commercial (Codrington 2007:138). In fact, most international hip hop takes its influence from the “old school” genre and adheres to those aspects of the music. As hip hop became global, those appropriating the style have often taken to using African American vernacular, for example in “E Tu,” Hapeta uses double negation that is common: “don’t wear no gold chains cause we ain’t that kind.” Often, global practitioners will use English even if that is not their mother tongue; perhaps, like death metal musicians in Bali, they feel English authenticates the music (Baulch 2007:62), or perhaps like artists in Soweto performing at “Black Sunday Battles,” they see it as a reflection of the colonial practice of denying education in one’s language (Gilmer 2007:142). Swedish hip hoppers Looptroop suggest that rapping in Swedish sounds

“corny,” and that English gives them a far greater audience than Swedish would have (Whiteley et al 2005:119). On the other hand, though most of Maori hip hop is performed in English, there is nevertheless the inclusion of Te Reo Maori words on many tracks and some songs are entirely in Te Reo Maori (Che Fu’s “He Kotahi” is an example). This suggests that sometimes the concepts artists want to discuss are only for Maori ears (since very few Pakeha speak Te Reo Maori) or that translation would render them inauthentic. These words may also be too powerful to be translated (Raphael 1993), for within the use of one’s native language there is a power that challenges the power of English (Devitt 2008:111). Using Te Reo Maori is to both privilege and index Maoriness.

Maori, like other indigenous artists, see similarities in their cultures and hip hop culture. Reservation rapper Rob “Kasp” Swan links black and First Nations music:

The reservation is like the ghetto, and the ghetto is like the reservation. The four elements of aboriginal culture are very similar. Powwow dancing is the same as b-boying, emceeing is like story telling and powwow songs. Graffiti is like aboriginal art and deejaying is like the powwow drum... they all express themselves through those forms and tell their story through those forms” (Higgins 2009:62-63).

Maori music and hip hop are aligned for similar reasons: breaking is like haka, hip hop and old Maori forms are both lyric-driven genres, and they both emphasize percussion highlighted by occasional bits of harmony. There is, however, dis-harmony in the mainstream recording industry. Cherokee rapper Litefoot was offered a deal with RCA records, but only on the condition he didn’t rap about First Nation issues: “because Indians don’t buy tapes, they buy alcohol” (Diamond 2005:122). Rather than negotiate, Litefoot established his own label – Red Vinyl Records – a strategy many have had to take. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Tangata Records, Dawn Raid Records/Entertainment,

Mai Music and Young Sid's Smash Proof were developed because mainstream Aotearoa/New Zealand had no place for this type of music made by Pacific and Maori people.

Also appealing in hip hop is the sense of individual independence and freedom to create that is inherent in the spontaneity of the creation of rhymes and dance moves. Youth perform power, one that lies in the unity of the performer and the audience "against a common enemy," says Swinehart about Amaya hip hoppers in Bolivia (2008). Moreover, Amaya choose not to abandon their language in exchange for Spanish when they migrate to the cities for employment opportunities; this also positions them as strong. In fact, not conforming to the dominant mainstream is part of the appeal for indigenous performers. This displacement of the dominant is a strategy to create cultural authority in a place that was wrought with friction (Bhabha 2007[1994]:34-35). The spirit of hip hop lies in three main areas: in opposition (to state control), self-emphasis, and "keeping it real." Honesty is essential because of the deception one experiences from the colonizer, the government, and the dominant media. Nobody in the hip hop world wants to be part of that.

FUNCTIONS

Maori identity is expressed through various cultural functions or character traits. The influence of one's circumstances will affect which traits they focus more attention on. When I ask the question "what is Maori hip hop?" one response is "Maori hip hoppers have no idea about their Maori culture" (Brown 2005: 24). Another view is from Pio, a hip hopper I met at a bar in Christchurch. He said, "conscious hip hop is a way for us

Maori to express our history and what we're going through" (personal communication August 4, 2008). Educator Robin Roa believes Maori youth fit into one of three categories: those who speak – study Te Reo Maori and are active in kapahaka (about 30%); the majority of youth who are aware but not very interested in Maoritanga; and those attracted to Black culture (Brown 2005:24). Roa cannot understand the attraction Maori have for Black culture since she believes Blacks are not interested in Maori, so she says, "why would they form an affinity with our culture?" (Brown 2005: 24). Here, Roa is focusing on this as a reciprocal relation when it does not necessarily have to be. Few Maori disapprove of hip hop in general, and those that do are not fully informed about what is being created. Roa's ignorance of cross-cultural collaborations between the Black Atlantic and "south Pacific," for example, leads her belief that Blacks are not interested in Maori. In addition to unfamiliarity with the music itself, objectors to hip hop (and reggae) generally have strong roots in Maoritanga that they are not willing to compromise. These individuals are focused exclusively on all that is Maori and shun foreign influences while ignoring the component of Maoritanga in the Maori versions of this music. Virtually all of the hip hop created by Maori is conscious hip hop and used to convey messages of Maoritanga, a point that will be elaborated in this chapter. The style of the genre, the music and their lyrics, reflect aspects of Maori culture. In this section, I will discuss three of these: knowledge of Maori history, pride in Maori culture and the benefits of understanding Te Reo Maori.

A Maori student in the film *Thunderbox* (1989) confides to his father he is having trouble with his Pakeha teacher. His dad's response is to quote Mark Twain, "I never let my schooling interfere with my education," and encourage him to quit school because he,

“never had time for a school system that teaches us our history began with Captain Bloody Cook” (Hori 1989). Public schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand today have a slightly better reputation than twenty years ago, but these dominant style schools are still seen as mostly unsuitable for Maori children for two main reasons; there is still the presence of racism, and though modified, the curriculum is still essentially monocultural (Ahaura, personal communication July 23, 2008). Maori social worker Sam Papahu who works in a secondary school said to me:

I think the biggest problem for Maori as a people is we don't have Western values. For generations, we were taught our past through song. And these days our kids are the same; if they hear music they can remember every word that's said but if they're sitting there listening to a teacher after ten minutes they forget what's been said. I think the biggest problem is they expect our kids to break what's been in them for hundreds and hundreds of years. Now if you use music as an example, play the guitar with them, the teacher says “No, no, you must learn to read music.” But what makes the better musician, the one that can play or the one that can read? I know a lot of Maori that can play music, I can play guitar, bass, drums, piano but I can't read music (personal communication, August 8, 2008).

Where the public education system fell – falls short, conscious hip hoppers try to pick up the slack by delivering history lessons and analyses to their listeners. Upper Hutt Possee (UHP) demonstrates this alternative education in “E Tu.” Though their target audience is Maori and the song begins in Te Reo Maori, “*karanga rangatahi, whakarongo, whakarongo*,⁵⁷” “E Tu” potentially reaches Pakeha as well (since most of the piece is in English). UHP uses hip hop to teach about Maori history at a time when the education system had virtually no Maori content. Part of the lyrics are:

There's a lot of people who think they're tough today
But chiefs like Te Rauparaha would a blown dem away
Hone Heke he expressed his disgust by cutting down the flagpole
Pakeha killed Maori inna Matawhero so Te Kooti exacted it in a slaughter
Yes, the Maori battalion inna World War Two

⁵⁷ Calling to youth, listen, listen (The author's translation).

Stuanach on the battlefield dem had many clues
 Like Moana Ngarimu on hill 209
 Victoria Cross so true so strong
 Yes, the Maori was a fierce warrior
 Strike fear in the hearts of the Babylon soldier
 Yeah it's true, yeah it's true, I'm talking to you
 Kia kaha, kia kaha [stand proud] (*Against the Flow* 1988).

In this verse we see UHP does many things. They make reference to over one hundred years of Aotearoa/New Zealand history. Many of the figures (such as Te Kooti) and incidences were left out of the curriculum and not widely taught. Rasta philosophy is invoked in the reference to Babylon soldiers, who are agents of the State against Jah's rule. In the penultimate line, UHP quashes any doubt the listener may have by affirming the validity of his statements in the line, "yeah, it's true." In the ultimate line, *kia kaha*, reinforces Maori have a history and they can and should be proud of it. Plainly, Maori use hip hop as a way to teach Maori (and sometimes others) a history of Aotearoa/New Zealand that is often overlooked, especially in mainstream schools. Moreover, they do this using the orality that is undervalued in favor of literacy in "the West."

An essential mode of hip hop transmission is the music video. Both the genre and the music video became popular around the same time and have grown together. "Waka," from Che Fu's debut album *2B s. Pacific* (1996), features singer – rapper – producer – beat maker Teremoana Rapley. Essentially a love song, the duo sing about their eternal love and their longing for each other when they are separated. The video features many Polynesian elements: the sound of the *toere* (hollowed out log drum), a non-motorized bark/fiberglass waka, *tapa* cloth and Hawaiian Hula dancers. At the high point of the song, Che Fu and Teremonana are harmonizing heterophonically "moons will come and moons will go still there is you and I"; at the same time a full moon is high

in the sky and their profiles are in front of the Moai. The Moai are the massive, ancient stone statues of Rapa Nui/Easter Island that could possibly be (or it represents) Hawaiki, the ancient homeland of the Maori. The various Polynesian elements in this video and the reference to Hawaiki remind Maori (and Samoans, Tongans, Niueans, Rarotongans, Cook Islanders and all Pacific Island people) of their ancient (collective) history.

Ignorance often leads to cultural homogenization and racist stereotypes. Nesian Mystik's 2008 hit, "Nesian 101" flips these often-pejorative stereotypes in a lighthearted way and takes pride in them. This is not new in Maori music. In 1997 Dam Native attempted to reverse the derogatory "Hori" referring to Maori in "Horried One" and were somewhat more successful than Sir Howard Morrison's 1972 spoof "Mori the Hori" (1972). So when criticized "you're never on time," Nesian Mystik's response is "I never run my day by time. I run my time by change of sky." This irreverence to punctuality seems to perturb many Pakeha people. Yet, it is not as though Maori are not on time, but their sense of the value of time is different. If, for example, people are expected for a meeting, the meeting for Pakeha will begin at a certain time on the clock. For Maori, the meeting will begin when the attendees have arrived. The human factor is given more value (Walker 1982:59-60). Another line says, "you have your cappuccino, we on that cup of tea. Be rude to turn it down, so take it if it's free." Another differentiation is Maori are often critiqued for being common – drinking tea instead of posh drinks is the example here, but for Maori, and hip hop, the value is not to be pretentious and to keep things "real." The second part of that line refers to the Pakeha sense of what it means to be polite (to offer but not expect that which is offered to be taken) and the conflict with the

Maori politeness (the responsibility to offer (*manaake*) and the obligation to accept).

These critiques are subtly deflected and become points of pride.

One of the Maori arts *moko* (Maori tattoo) is most often worn by women on the chin and lips, and by men on their entire face, buttocks and thighs. Until the more contemporary use of tattoo guns & needles, specialists carved the moko into the skin with an *uhi* (a kind of chisel) that embedded the pigment into the skin in a series of complex and individualized patterns.⁵⁸ In old times, the moko was reserved for those of high rank – those of distinguished birth or accomplishment. The reasons for the moko were to enhance beauty and to show rank, status, scientific, artistic, medical and legal ability, and family membership.⁵⁹ Moko practice declined in the nineteenth century under Church and government influence (King 1972:26) but saw revitalization in the 1960s when there was a call for Maori, as a threatened minority, to assert their identity (King 1972:24-5). Though the meaning has changed, taking of a moko is not something done lightly; much reflection is essential as well as the approval of one's whanau.

Another teaching song, Moana and the Moahunter's "Moko" speaks bluntly about moko. The background music for the piece is forgettable but the lyrics are quite interesting. The chorus sings,

I wear my pride upon my skin
My pride has always been within
I wear my strength upon my face (*Rua* 1998).

Moana Maniapoto speak/sings the verses of the song in the style of a *pao* (news report) documentary describing the technique of moko, the tools, the sacredness of the process,

⁵⁸ The last moko to be revealed with a *uhi* was dated before 1925 (Simmons 1982:19).

⁵⁹ I disagree with the common narrative that *moko* is to make one look "scary" – if every one had this then it's not unusual and therefore not 'scary', that I think is one of the distortions made by Europeans. This can be a powerful way of contrasting oneself with the Other.

the types of moko people can receive, the symbolism of the markings and the purposes of taking it. The verses are punctuated by “so don’t use that word tattoo” (*Rua* 1998).

Like Maniapoto speaking bluntly, Dam Native also does not strive for subtlety in their video for “The Son,” where there is no mistaking these men, neatly dressed in black suits with feathers in their hair (a sign of chiefly-ness) for anything but indigenous Maori. In the video there is an old man, dressed in old style Maori clothes who performs a *patere* (monotonic chant) Te Reo Maori. The camera flips between the various performers and a wooden carving of (who seems to be) the Sky Father Ranganui (it is tricky to decide based on general appearance but it makes sense since “The Son” is speaking in part to his Sky Father: “the son – sun will always shine, chase white clouds away”). The rhythm is four/four syncopated and is used to support the lyrics; the beat gets your attention but the words make you pay attention. One of the most interesting things about the video is the use of the *tokotoko*, a stick held by the orator and used in the customary dramatic manner when speaking. Black Man and Haimona take turns rapping:

Spawn from the seed that combats greed
More millions for the *whanau* we could have had it but they took the land
So we developed strategies so the suckers won’t sell it
Free up the land
So understand, until we get it, it won’t finish (*KDRU* 1997).

They take turns holding the *tokotoko*. When they sing/rap the chorus in unison, more te kororo-a-waha (oratory) than waiata in style:

Aotearoa always represent,
kaupaupa driven 100% for the *rangatahi* shall never forget
cause you will all fall down with the oppressor (*KDRU* 1997),

no one is holding the tokotoko. Mixed with this pride in Maori symbols are the hip hop elements of the beat, a visibly present DJ scratching and break dancing (the band took turns doing complex head spins, the running man, some breaking and some popping).

Moana and the Moa Hunters’⁶⁰ “AEIOU” was part of the *kohanga reo* movement to encourage language acquisition among young Maori. The song prompted them to learn the language to:

Learn about yourself, your history
 Know where you come from
 Where you want to be
 Help you along the way (*Tahi* 1993).

Other musicians saw the value of Te Reo Maori acquisition. Somewhat more subtly, Che Fu’s “Lightwork” underscores the importance of a family support system (the Maori way) versus individual effort (the Pakeha way); he does this by making a song out of the Maori proverb *am tini ma mano ka rap ate whai* (many hands make light work).

“Lightwork” features beat boxing as the main form of percussion, which could be compared to the sound of the monotonic haka chant as percussion. Che Fu continues this theme on “Roots Man” that features Hazaduz.⁶¹ Hazaduz rhymes:

Who is he, who am I, where do my roots lie (*Navigator* 2001)?

And he answers himself,

Calculated timeline mission to master my native tongue tradition culture faster I
 yearn to learn. Grasping no longer asking is this me or a disguise. Roots man
 that’s where my roots lie (*Navigator* 2001).

⁶⁰ Another band with an American connection they were invited by the Neville Brothers to perform in the 1992 New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival and to support them on tour. They went but struggled to raise funds for the trip; a reflection of the value placed on music and Maori musicians at that time, which has not greatly changed since then.

⁶¹ Featuring artists is a common hip hop practice – it demonstrates musical collaboration and innovation, ties to the industry and is also a strategy to reach other fans. Hasaduz is an up-and-coming Maori rapper.

Learning the language does indeed, according to Che Fu, Hasaduz and many others, seem to be the path to sorting out questions of identity and culture. For the younger generation of fellows like Nesian Mystik, who grew up with Aotearoa hip hop as something “normal” and not new, speaking Te Reo Maori is also “normal.” They sing:

Brothers roll past
Speakers on full blast
Singing “*Korero Maori*” (*Elevator Musiq* 2008).

It seems that the shame-induced silence of Te Reo Maori in previous years has begun to turn around. Upper Hutt Possee’s re-release of “E Tu” in 2002 as a completely Te Reo Maori version, fourteen years after its original English release, perhaps signals the effectiveness of the *kohanga reo* movement and that Te Reo Maori has gained a stronger foothold.

Maori use hip hop as a way to express aspects of Maori culture, of teaching one’s history, developing pride in one’s culture, and learning one’s language. They link the narrative quality of the genre with the narrative quality of old Maori music to make new music in old and new ways that reflect themselves.

SOUND

While Maori hip hop is certainly lyric driven, there is also a particular appeal in the sound that, in part, informs the meaning of the music for Maori. There are two parts to hip hop music: the human voice and the instrumentation.

Rap vocals are spoken, rhymed or chanted with a percussive quality. The tempo, enunciation and fit with the beat vary depending on personal style and the hip hop sub-genre. Rap is likened to *patere* (monotonic recitations) or *haka*. Maori hip hop often

features live or sampled vocals of old Maori music performances in Te Reo Maori (as in Dam Native's "The Son" or Hamofide's "... And I've Seen the Truth"). This adds a local and "authentic" element to the performances, distinguishing Maori hip hop from Samoan hip hop (which is much more prolific and more superficial in Aotearoa/New Zealand than Maori hip hop). An additional "authentic" element is the use of the human as a percussive instrument. Engaging the tongue, cheeks, teeth, hard and soft palettes in various complex ways is called "beat boxing." Using the human mechanisms, but in different ways, men or women sing the hook (usually in an R&B style). The hook is generally the site of either local or international, guest performances. Unlike in English, where sloppy pronunciation is tolerated as regional variation, in Te Reo Maori, word clarity is essential in order to understand their meaning. The words in Maori rap are very easy to understand because of this precise pronunciation (though the content may be ambiguous); and is a its defining characteristics.

As rhythmic complexity defines old Maori music, so it also defines hip hop. Technology plays a crucial role in the creation of the rhythm. The syncopated rhythm is kept by a drum kit or by the human beat box. In addition to standard instrumentation (drum kit, guitar, and sometimes a bass), the main sounds in hip hop come from sampling and scratching. Samples are little bits of songs that are manipulated and altered to add value and create new sounds that are often indiscernible from the original. Nesian Mystik sampled the Soca Boyz's "Follow the Leader" on "Nesian 101," and replaced the steel pan and whistles with ukulele strumming. Another major technological innovation comes in the percussion form "scratching," that Grand Wizard Theodore invented in the mid-seventies. Scratching is one of the defining sounds of hip hop. It involves the

manipulation of the album, the needle and the cross fader to make scratching sounds on the record. Scratching can provide a beat, while virtuoso-scratching interludes may highlight a song. These layers of rhythm (instruments, scratching, the voice) appeal to Maori whose musical traditions are also filled with complex rhythmical layers (e.g. slaps, declamations and stamps in the haka).

The hip hop sound in Aotearoa/New Zealand is localized through the use of Te Reo Maori language in performing, the introduction of old Maori songs, and Maori specific content. However, it remains Black American in its form and purposes, with the emphasis on “keeping it real” and maintaining the flow. Hip hop’s versatility means that musicians around the world are putting their particular cultural style into one genre of music to create new pastiches (Higgins 2009:110).

BREAKING

The first year for the Bop [bopping] Olympics was 1984. Held in Auckland the Bop Olympics attracted over seven thousand people. Breaking, the third part of hip hop, is part of the performance of hip hop. In this section I will quickly discuss some opportunities that people in Aotearoa/New Zealand have to learn how to break and to exhibit their skills.

Youth Fest started in Taranaki in 2007. It is a ten-day event supported by many local artists who teach and mentor youth on all components of hip hop music. There they can participate in workshops on turntablism, b-boying, graffiti art, music production, song writing, music video filming, drumming, cartoon art, photography and light box art (Taranaki Arts Festival Trust 2007). For the younger crowd, and on a more regular basis,

there are alternatives to the Youth Fest like regular lessons in community centres, dance studios and gyms. Here I will speak specifically about an example in a community centre. Onehunga, a South Auckland suburb, was built up during the mid-twentieth century to accommodate the influx of immigration from various places in the Pacific and from formerly rural Maori. It is eight kilometers away from the central business district and about one kilometer away from Maungakiekie (One Tree Hill) (the site of some interesting historical activism). Gentrification has begun in recent years. The Onehunga community centre and library are located near the town's bus station. At a community centre after-school program, mainly Pacific Island and Maori kids under twelve learn how to break dance from b-girl Shelly. I was examining the bulletin board the Onehunga library one day and I saw the poster advertising hip hop lessons. I asked the coordinator if I could observe. She told me that would be fine but I should double check with the instructor. Shelly gave me permission and I sat in on a couple of her sessions and had the chance to chat with her about hip hop. Shelly was raised on country music and musicals until she started spending time with people other than her parents. At that point, hip hop and R&B became her main influences.

Shelly explained the difference to me between American and Maori crews. Maori crews use more “old school” songs because it is prestigious – a sign of how well the crew knows the whakapapa (roots) of the genre and how immersed they are in the scene. Americans are more concerned with the difficulty of the moves, whereas in Aotearoa/New Zealand the dance appeals to the audience through storytelling. This is, she explains, “part of our history to tell stories though dancing” (personal communication, July 22, 2008). An important facet of breaking is the battles between

individual dancers and dance crews. It is generally accepted that breaking was, in the beginning (1960s), a music-less, violent way for gangs to mediate conflicts (personal communication, Pio August 4, 2008). Uprock movements, for example, can be quite intimidating. Perhaps finding its roots in African martial arts (like Capoeira and Ladja), breaking practitioners learn many aspects of fighting and of haka: balance, physical discipline, control of spatial relationships and reading the emotional state of the opponent. As with haka, the most important component is control. Both breaking and haka are practiced but in performance, breaking has a mental and physical strategy of spontaneity that depends on the performance of one's opponents. When Shelly teaches the children, she constantly compares the movements to haka movements. Indeed they are similar; they require precision, athleticism and nimbleness not unlike that required for haka, where rhythmic unity is emphasized. "A leg pop," she explains while demonstrating, "is one like in the haka."

While the best crews aim to participate in American competitions like the World Hip Hop Champions in Las Vegas (Maori crews have done very well there), there are also opportunities for development nationally including a number of hip hop – breaking festivals – workshops throughout the country. Nationally and internationally recognized, Body Rock began in 1999 as an annual break dancing battle and is one such possibility.

Another opportunity is the Bring It On annual competition, the biggest hip hop secondary school event in Aotearoa/New Zealand for seven years. It is a national dance competition in which thirty-two crews compete to be the number one hip hop dance crew. Founder Talanoa Fonua wanted to develop "a platform that will actually impact our youth and change our youth so they can get out there and make an impact on our

communities through dance” (*Bring It On*, Episode One 2010). The participants cite many reasons for participating: love of dance, it’s fun, it gives them confidence, it provides a new community, they make friends, it is a creative challenge, they learn new skills and my favorite, “dancing is like dreaming on your feet” (*Bring It On* Episode Four 2010). Guided by mentors, the students learn how to create music mixes, design their costumes and choreograph their moves. Dedication to hard work can win them the \$5000 grand prize. They are judged, as in kapahaka, on multiple elements: flow, creativity, synchronization, level of difficulty, outfit, music mix, use of the stage and “wow” factor. Though the performance is one continuous piece, unlike the multiple components of kapahaka discussed in Chapter Three, the qualities they are judged on are remarkably similar.

The similarities between kapahaka and break dance competitions cannot be too lightly emphasized. Both require large groups/crews that practice diligently to master their strenuous physical performance. The vocal performance of the kapahaka is substituted with the musical mixes they perform to, that are quite sophisticated and draw from a number of genres and eras. Though they are different in their aims, the former celebrates pan-Maori identity and the latter positions Maori youth as global youth. They are similar in their function: to build pride of self and of community in their practitioners.

CONCLUSION

“Atahi” is, as Hapeta puts it, his “whakapapa song” (International Association for the Study of Popular Music 2000:203). It is the recitation of his involvement with hip hop, his influence, the Maori history important to him, and the various experiences he’s had.

His lyrical techniques (like flipping words) evades censors but also harkens to the trickery and double entendre characteristics of Black Atlantic music. He recognizes in his musical whakapapa Te Kooti, Hone Heke, Bob Marley, Steven Biko, Malcolm X, and Crazy Horse. In this recitation he makes musical and philosophical links to his heroes, who represent diverse music, history and geographic regions but who come together through the creative endeavors of this one Maori musician – activist. Hapeta is not alone in this; people all across the world combine American hip hop with local elements to create music that is at the same time Black, global and local. As hip hop crosses national boundaries, it maintains its basic forms and lyrical themes while picking up some local flavour along the way. It is a ‘voice for the voiceless’ that is used as an agent for social change (Hip Hop Action Network 2007).

Hip hop is characterized by a pastiche, and like all Black Atlantic culture is essentially hybrid (Gilroy 1993:73). The sound of hip hop is also hybrid; it is a collage of sounds and styles most easily visible in the technologies of sampling the genre depends on. If, as some say, all hip hop is black music (Schloss 2004:9), can it be considered intellectual property in the way that certain *koru* designs belong to Maori? Or does it mean that its practitioners become (in part) culturally black? If the appropriators become hybridized, does that mean their creations are not hybrid? Can it be said more specifically that all hip hop is *northern* U.S. black music? Do practitioners of the southern U.S. style crunk then become not innovators, but appropriators as Maori hip hop could be seen? Or, perhaps ultimately as hip hop producer Mr. Supreme says,

If you're a real true hip hopper – and I think a lot of hip hoppers aren't – like I always say, 'It's all music.' So if you really are truly into hip-hop how can you not listen to anything else? Because it comes from everything else. So you are listening to everything else (Schlols 2004:19).

According hip hop scholar Dalton Higgens, no matter how (in)authentic it may seem, or what the sub-genre label is, all hip hop “is pure artistic response to oppression” (Higgens 2009:12). As an initiative to that oppression, Hapeta has organized a six-part “rapumentary” – a musical documentary without narration that follows native and marginalized people active in arts and activism in twelve countries. The purpose is to highlight similarities and the vibrancy of the different groups who are linked together in a common struggle symbolized by hip hop culture. As Tony Mitchell said in the introduction to *Global Noise: rap and hip hop outside the USA* (2001), hip hop can no longer be considered only an African American vehicle of expression: “it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for networking local identities all over the world” (2001:1-2). As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the main hip hop audience in Aotearoa/New Zealand is young. The appeal to youth lies in the rebellious, outlaw nature of the genre, but conscious hip hop maintains that appeal for all age demographics. “Grown ups” may prefer the calmer, easier to understand lyrics of reggae rather than the dynamic, complicated imagery involved in hip hop. However, one of the main reasons for the young demographic is simply the newness of the genre itself.

This chapter traced the origin of hip hop in Aotearoa/New Zealand to the United States via American Samoa and Samoa. Hip hop, like reggae, resonated with young Maori because they heard their own experiences in the lyrics. Dance, in the forms of bopping and breaking echoed of haka and gave b-boys the opportunity to recreate the genre in their own way — emphasizing storytelling. Maori hip hop is conscious and its lyrics express Maori history and contemporary experiences, good and bad, and is used to

question themselves, the state and these histories. Maori hip hop is often misunderstood, as is the ethnic origin of its practitioners and their relationships with African-American hip hoppers. These ambiguities and the double meanings in the lyrics all lend to an air of inaccessibility that is part of its allure.

The rhythm of the poetry and the rhythm of the music are used to create connections of belonging with people seen to have similar historical experiences, and at the same time connections are made to their own specific historical pasts. Hip hop's ambiguity reflects black culture and the constant moving between black and white semiotic, linguistic and cultural systems in the same way that there is movement (on the part of Maori) between Maori and Paheka semiotic, linguistic and cultural systems. Hip hop is complicated and just like identity, making it is an ongoing process.

In Chapter Six, the ultimate section, these complexities will be probed more deeply.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Once, in a land down under, some time ago (eight to twelve hundred years), a great number of people left their homeland (Hawaiiiki) and migrated to a new land: Aotearoa. Then from even further away (the United Kingdom) and even closer in time (roughly two hundred years), some other people left their homeland and migrated to the same place but they called the land New Zealand. Some of the time the two groups got along reasonably well but eventually one group (it is questionable whether it was entirely intended) oppressed the other. Unhappiness (among other things) ensued and the oppressed tried to find ways to resist that maltreatment. The idea of music as a method of resistance to subjugation was introduced in Chapter One. This final section of this thesis will attend to the concept of resistance and elaborate on music as a kind of resistance. Then I will tackle the question, why this music? Finally, I will give a review of the key points in this project.

RESISTANCE

What is oppression? What is resistance? What is it that Maori are resisting? What are some ways of resisting? How is resistance enacted?

Resistance, simply put, is the, “refusal to accept or comply with something, the attempt to prevent something by action or argument” (The New Oxford American Dictionary 2005). The “somethings” Maori resist are oppression, subjugation, assimilation, exclusion, or any prolonged cruel or unjust treatment of control. Indeed we see in the material presented, Maori have refused to passively accept cultural losses and

assimilation into the dominant Pakeha white Aotearoa/New Zealand culture. Instead they actively and strategically oppose these dominant forces.

Specifically, what are the Maori resisting, or fighting against? As was discussed in the Introduction, despite the fall of the British colonial empire (largely in the 1960s and 1970s) colonization continues through ongoing racism, forced dependence, underdevelopment, oppression, stigmatization and maintaining the colonized on the periphery (Said 1989). Colonial strategies of subjugation are: assimilation, loss of rights, alienation from one's history, ongoing subtle and institutionalized racism implementing class stratification, government stagnation of land claims issues, and the imposition of education that denies one's language and culture. Further impacts of colonization are: loss of resources, limited access to resources, language loss, tribal break down, erosion of generational logic, generational differences, disrupted gender roles, systematic discrimination, conflict, normalization of violence, lack of empowerment, culture clashes, loss of individual – collective rights, creation of state centered identities, and alienation from the market place. Maori are striving for control over land, control over knowledge, and control over their present and their future.

The most visible and what are perceived to be the most influential forms of resistance manifests in violence. Violent opposition includes: armed rebellion, riots, and revolution movements. Less violent, but still aggressive, the most normalized forms of resistance are: rallies, marches, petitions, and boycotts (Scott 1989:5). Van Onselen says resistance does not have to be so dramatic, instead it, “should be sought in the nooks and crannies of the day-to-day situation,” such as loafing and petty crime (1976: 242). Nor does it have to *directly* confront the “concentrated forces of domination” (Comaroff

1985: 261). What James C. Scott calls the “hidden realm of political conflict,” indirectly confronts that centre. The “hidden realm,” is that which is largely ignored because it is not generally understood in the “usual” sense of politics for, it is neither declared openly nor does it fit into expected understandings of collective action. His argument is that much of the politics of subordinate groups falls into the category of everyday forms of resistance, that these activities should most definitely be considered political, that they do constitute a form of political action, and that any account that ignores them is often ignoring the most vital means by which subordinate classes manifest their political interests (Scott 1989:4-5). Examples of these everyday techniques of “first resort,” designed to be beneath notice, are: foot dragging, slander, false compliance, poaching, and parodies of authorities (Scott 1989: 5).

Folk music has often been used as propaganda, and much has been written on that subject (e.g., Czechoslovakia, Finland and England). Musicologist R. Serge Denisoff describes five primary goals of songs of persuasion that can be transposed to thinking of Black Atlantic music as resistance music. These goals are: 1. soliciting support of a social – political movement (learning Te Reo Maori, supporting the Treaty of Waitangi); 2. reinforcing values of active supporters of said social – political movement (aroha and manaaki); 3. promoting cohesion – solidarity – high morale toward that organization (support to one’s iwi, to Rastafari); 4. attempting to recruit individuals to that movement (this is not done actively), and 5. points to problems or discontent in society (police profiling, poor education) (1966: 581-589).

Michael Jackson says, “in Maori society there is an abundant evidence of the powerful emotional force of the spoken or sung word” (Shennan 1984: 39). In this thesis

I have argue the use of Black Atlantic music is a response to colonialism and is a form of active resistance. The appeal of reggae and hip hop as forms of non-violent protest are partly rooted in an aesthetic appeal and partly based on a certain inherent philosophical quality of these genres. How is music used as resistance? It is used to share stories. It is used as an entryway into a community of support. Co-existent with resistance is the notion of resilience. The joy in the sound of music supports the ability to recoil, bounce back after being crushed, bent or stretched, and to recover from difficult situations.

Social and cultural lives are subjective and continually being manipulated and in this case the consumption of this music (and ideologies such as Rastafari) is not passive but in itself a form of resistance (Williams 2001: 81). In the articulation of this narrative deeper discourses are revealed; those of identity clashes, apartheid, oppression, and resistance. While the narrative is an obvious one of resistance, in putting pen to paper and producing this song for mass consumption it continues the discourses of resistance by remembering and speaking of injustice and alternative histories.

WHY THIS MUSIC

The artists described in this work have extraordinary artistic skill. Hopefully, by this point, the curious reader has sought out and listened to some of this music and they will know the fine quality of the production. At the same time as learning about some aspect of the Maori, we can have a pleasurable listening experience. Yet, questions linger. Is there a preference for reggae over hip hop (or vice versa), and if so why? Why is Black Atlantic music used instead of kapahaka, and if so, in what context? Here, I will explain the difference between preferences for reggae or hip hop and why Black Atlantic music is used instead of kapahaka.

In the nineteenth century, Maori strategic reactions to Pakeha inundation were both political and religious (notwithstanding the sometimes political nature of religion). The political came in the form of the development of the Kotahitanga (a self-determinist group), Kingitanga (the Maori equal to the Queen) and various political parties of the early twentieth century (Young Maori Party was the first, and the Maori Party of 2005 is the most recent). Religious traditions that emerged combined various old Maori teachings with Judeo-Christian traditions, and all emphasized the Old Testament. They are: Papahuriha (1830s), Hauhau (openly anti-Pakeha), Ringatau (an offshoot of Hauhau) and in the twentieth century Ratana (emphasizing a pan-Maori ideal), and most recently Ngati Dread.

However, there is another site of coping strategies – contestation that is often overlooked – the realm of music. Transition hymns, songs of the nineteenth century and action songs of the early twentieth century, paved the way for Maori engagement with non-Maori music, in ways that could be used to effectively create spaces of resistance to external stresses. In the late twentieth century, the music of the Black Atlantic brought new possibilities for everyday explorations of music and Maori values. The similarities between roots reggae and conscious hip hop are many: they began around the same time in history, come out of economically poor areas, are lyrically driven genres that promote social, cultural and political awareness, are rhythmically complex, are Black Atlantic genres, and they are hybrid forms. Yet there are differences, notably in the sound: the beat of hip hop is faster than reggae; hip hop musical innovation is more dependent on “new” technology rather than classic instrumentation; and, in reggae the words are more “sung” than rapped as in hip hop. However, there is a more significant difference

between the two styles. As a hip hopper with reggae roots, Hapeta wrote something that when I read it gave me an “a-ha” moment – space to answer this question. He wrote:

Hip hop was the first musical-cultural force that offered a challenge to the immense strength of reggae...reggae told stories of struggles and its beats seemed as natural to us as the waves rolling upon the beach. However, hip hop offered something else, it gave us a language bursting with rebellion, the process was one of an accumulated narrative of protest (Buchanan 2005).

From this it seems to me that, from the start, there has been one purpose in dealing with colonial encounters: preservation of Maori culture and of mana. However, there have been two ways of achieving this: the “aggressive” path or the “gentle” path: armed conflict – trade, armed conflict – politics, politics – cultural shows, politics – music, war – syncretic religion, activism – music and eventually, hip hop – reggae. Those who choose to align themselves with reggae prefer a more “spiritual” way of coping, and hip hop is for those who are more “dynamic.”

Kapahaka and the Black Atlantic forms are all hybrid products that mix Maori and “foreign” culture. Why are they treated differently? Many aspects of Maori culture that had been discouraged were encouraged in the tourist displays of the late nineteenth century. Cultural advocates like Sir Apirana Ngata and Princess Te Puea vitalized and transformed those cultural performance forms into what are called kapahaka and action songs. How long does it take for something to become tradition? These practices solidified in their present forms about sixty years ago and have been considered “traditional” Maori culture. As is the habit with that which is traditional, people are often not permitted to make innovations. This is exemplified in the rigid voting system of the kapahaka competitions and the continued use of action song melodies that come from the

music of the 1930s and 1940s. In this endeavour to “preserve” Maori culture, Maori youth have been alienated from it. Filmmaker Merata Mita said:

If you put a Maori pattern on your shirt, people accuse you of prostituting the culture or selling out or it's too *tapu* [sacred]. We've created such mystique and negative enforcement that it's much easier for young Maori to take Afro-American symbols and wear them. Nobody's going to attack them for it (Ihaka 1993:13).

Not all traditional arts scorn innovation; Maori graphic art *tohunga* (specialist) Larry Holmes works in a field that is not ‘traditional,’ but in a “traditional” manner, for instance, he begins work with a prayer. To create a graphic pattern that is Maori, he explains that there has to be a conceptual process behind the design that has meaning. Hetet says:

You've got to keep up with the times. Using metal chisels and chainsaws to carve a *waka*, that's not traditional. My dad always says, ‘well if the old people had them they would use them’ (personal communication, August 10, 2010).

Nor does sculptor Rangi Kipa stand still when it comes to using new materials. He says, “as people crossed the Pacific they were moving on, not just in terms of travel but also in their culture and lifestyle.” Just as they discovered *pounamu* when they arrived in New Zealand, so he has discovered and now values corian almost as much as whale ivory for making his carvings (Feature 2006). Unlike in the case of sculpture, I think because music and dance are intangible, people are much more afraid that things will change or be lost and they may regard innovation fearfully. Turning to Black Atlantic genres gives musicians the freedom to innovate and create new sounds (within the boundaries of the new genre) that are fresh and pliable rather than untouchable.

“Third spaces” are in-between spaces where strategies of self-hood can be created and negotiated (Bhabha 2007[1994]:2). Maori negotiate identities of being Maori, of iwi “affiliations,” and of New Zealander (and others, as we all do). Those skilled in the various discourses move fluidly from one to another when the situations arise, and those less skilled are alienated from the sphere/identity they have difficulty accessing. These in-between spaces are spaces are the result of the failure of colonialism to maintain its “purity.” They are in-between sites of power contested where we consider the limits of our knowledge on how colonialism has created different ways of thinking about oneself in relation to others (Bhabha 2007[1994]: 37). Unable to identify with British heroes and systems that forced them to deny part of their social being, history and culture, and faced with a system of white superiority that serves to idealize and normalize British culture while discriminating and undermining ones own culture, unites colonized people. This is a form of racial discrimination that could not be tolerated if Maori were to continue to remain a distinct people and culture. By combining multiple cultural texts into one performance, and by impeding assimilation into the dominant group through the invocation of identities shared with other indigenes and marginalized people and old, local values, Maori actively create strategies to educate and mobilize themselves as they stand proud.

REVIEW OF THESIS

Chapter Two set the stage, as it were. I (re)introduced the reader to the essential history of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Here we see the elaborate clash in the merging of Maori and European cultural practices. Colonial relations are always complex. Multiple

new identities arise (Maori and Pakeha) out of these interactions. All “races” of people are involved in forming the “race” of the other (Fanon 2008[1967]:73) and it is really only when confronted with an other that the self comes into being. Moreover, in borrowing elements from another culture, those elements must be adapted (Hall 1966: 100) for them to make sense or work.

Chapter Three begins with a description of “old” Maori music so the listener can unravel the “old” and the “new” bits for themselves when reading later descriptions, or when listening to pieces referenced. In the space between “old” Maori and colonial musical forms, Maori responded strategically in creating hybrid kapahaka performances (of which the action song is a part) where Maori “preserve” older forms for Maori in an act of resistance to colonial assimilation and the loss of Maori cultural practices. Crystallized into a set formula, today, kapahaka has become “traditional” and stands for a pan-Maori identity and Maori solidarity.

Chapters Four and Five speak about Maori reggae and Maori hip hop which serve much the same function as kapahaka – the music emerges as a reaction to the space between urbanized, marginalized Maori and State neo-colonial practices. In these forms though, instead of seeking to preserve older music, the artists create these new Maorified hybrid Black Atlantic genres to connect with people who have similar histories and experiences and to position themselves globally. The values of Reggae, particularly love of people, nature and Jah are aligned with Maori aroha of whanau, nature and Jah. The music combines Maori-European hybrid styles (brass bands and harmonies) with the iconic one-drop rhythm. The lyrics sing of Maori specific issues in a reggae format (deceptively simple) that is ambiguous, a trait common to both groups. Hip hop on the

other hand, connects with Maori who are more dynamic. Maori hip hoppers see similarities between the style of the lyrical performance (rap as *patere*) and dance style (breaking as *haka*) and take advantage of the pastiche nature of the genre to introduce Maori sounds to their music. Both genres stress the link between the Black Atlantic and Maori storytelling. This storytelling inherent to the Maorified reggae and hip hop attracts listeners and garners support for their social, political and ideological values.

Kapahaka, reggae and hip hop are all hybrid music that serve the same function for Maori — resistance to the dominant structure. In all three genres Maori imbue the music with Maori values, which serves as a means of mediating Maori identity. The difference in the attraction to these styles is not only personal but also historical. In the beginning the most significant influence to the Maori were the Europeans and kapahaka is the offspring of that initial relationship. Power is relational (Foucault 1990[1978]) and so turning to the Black Atlantic in the late twentieth century for new influences, perspectives and possibilities, took the dominant out of the hierarchical Pakeha-Maori equation. They are creative, strategic responses to the pressures of neo-colonialism in Aotearoa/New Zealand. They are also mediums in which Maori people negotiate expressions of their indigenous and marginalized identity.

Maori have a strong desire to maintain a distinct Maori identity. This does not mean that identity is static: as has been demonstrated, it is in fact fluid. Maori move between multiple identities that reflect whanau, iwi, indigenous and musical influences. Each identity may be “used” or “invoked” when the situation calls for it. For example, an instance when Maori Rasta invokes Rasta identity is when collaborating with a Jamaican roots reggae musician, and that Rasta identity may be concealed in a job interview, for

example. Another thing that stands out is the *composure* with which Maori embrace difference by incorporating materials, designs, sounds, philosophies, and technologies into their ways of interacting with the world and recreating them as Maori.

LAST WORDS

Throughout this thesis I have postulated that Maori appropriation of Black Atlantic music reflected Maori identification with the original creators of Black Atlantic music. Indeed this is part of the answer, as we have seen. Nonetheless, it also seems to hint that there is much to reveal about changing ways of being in the world: for Maori, for Pakeha, and indeed for all those affected by colonialism. Identities are relational and fluid. Maori Rastas challenge conventional meanings of Rastafari and in so doing reveal new ways of being in a global world, ways that are informed and constructed through music. Not long ago, indigenous music was only acceptable to scholars, fans, and often the indigenous community itself if it appeared free of “Western” influence. The artists discussed here and many more are challenging those (and many other) misconceptions. Moreover, we way we may consider the music one creates to legitimately belong to that person regardless of their inspiration. In this thesis, many threads have been hinted at such as the issues of power of the media in shaping identity construction and nationhood. Is the invocation of tradition ultimately based on strife? Who owns culture? What does “brown” mean as a category of identification? What is the effect of touring on globalization? These allusions, and others, are left without conclusion in the awareness of the complexity with which this project is fraught, and the hope that it is not an end but a beginning.

~

Thirty years ago, Tingilau Ness along with many others ran up Queen Street in Auckland and because they had nowhere to go; they stopped, turned around and faced the Red Squad, New Zealand's most dangerous policemen. Ness then wrote a song about this experience. Thirty years later, at the lower end of the same street, I was sitting in an auditorium in Auckland Town Hall watching the dress rehearsal for *Our Street*, a musical a Tongan taxi driver had told me about — his son was playing in the brass band. Set on a street in Mount Roskill, the musical featured families of different geographic and cultural origins (Maori, Samoan, Indian, Somali, Pakeha) over a backdrop of two “intercultural weddings.” The participants connected through dance and music ranging from bhangra to krump.

Colonialism increased the speed of globalization, the speed of communication and exchange between various cultures. Expectations of what using multiple sources of inspiration means and rethinking centres of production can be complicated. As Gayatri Chakrovarty Spivak pronounces, the colonized under colonization cannot speak in an authentic voice (1988:27). If we consider neo-colonialism to be colonialism, then the Maori are, effectively, colonized. They are, as the colonized, beginning to speak in authentic voices. However, these voices are only partially addressed to the colonizers; they speak more and more to the colonized. In these instances then perhaps we can say that instead of trying to overcome the dominant, the colonized tune the dominant down in order to build themselves and each other up. In this way, music as a form of communication becomes a weapon: not of destruction, but of construction.

Ultimately, preference for any genre of music is influenced by many factors.

What memories, emotions or sensations the sound of the music evokes in the listener is an immediate draw. The significance of the lyrics is another attraction. The lifestyle of the practitioners vis-à-vis the listener and their ability – desire to relate and be accepted by those within those circles (or not) is also important. Sometimes, being a fan of a genre is not a passive act, and rarely is it such for the performers. An active involvement can sometimes create contradictions that are tricky to navigate. Occasionally, one must choose “either” “or” but for the most part complex renegotiations are made, similarities are invoked and values are ascribed to the genres so the genres themselves have new meanings situated within the old ones.

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Che Fu

1998 2B Spacific. New Zealand: BMG.

2001 Navigator. Epic.

2006 High Score; The Best of Che Fu. Epic.

Compilation

2004 Conscious Roots – The Awakening of the Aotearoa Roots Movement. New Zealand: EMI.

Compilation

[2000] 1994 Proud: An Urban Pacific Street Soul Compilation. Second Nature Records.

Cornerstone Roots

2008 Free Yourself. Auckland: Motherland Records.

Dalvinus Prime

1982 Poi E (single). WEA/Jayrem Records.

2003 A Man of Passion. WEA/Jayrem Records.

Dam Native

1997 Kaupapa Driven Rhymes Uplifted (KDRU). Auckland: Heart Music.

Forthcoming Aotearoa... Nobody Does it Better.

House of Shem

2008 Keep Rising. Auckland: Local Music.

Katchafire

2003 Revival. Mai Music.

2005 Slow Burning. Mai Music.

Moana and the Moahunters

1993 Tahi. Auckland: Tangata Records.

1998 Rua. Auckland: Tangata Records.

2003[2002] Toru. Auckland: Tangata Records.

Nesian Mystik

2008 Elevator Musiq. Bounce Records.

OMC (Otara Millionaire's Club)

1997 How Bizarre. Huh Records.

Southside of Bombay

1992 All Across the World/Putā Noa Te Ao.

Soundtrack

1994 Once Were Warriors Soundtrack. Milan Records

Tama Renata

1989 Workshop.

Unity Pacific (Reggae)

2002 From Street to Sky. Auckland: Moving Production, EMI.

2007 Into the Dread. Auckland: Moving Production, EMI.

Upper Hutt Possee

1988 Against the Flow.

Young Sid

2008. The Truth

APPENDIX A

The Treaty of Waitangi

Original English version (Walker 1990:91-93)

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands – Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects, has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorize me, William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant-Governor, of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

First article: The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereign thereof.

Second article: Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possessions of their Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the Individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Third article: In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her Royal protection, and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British subjects.

Māori version translated into English (Walker 1990:91-93)

First article: The Chiefs of the Confederation, and all the Chiefs not in that Confederation cede absolutely to the Queen of England forever the complete Governance of their lands.

Second article: The Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs, to the Tribes, and to all the people of New Zealand, the absolute Chieftainship of their lands, of their homes and all their treasured possessions. But the Chiefs of the Confederation, and all other chiefs, cede to the Queen the right to purchase over such lands as the proprietors are disposed to alienate at such prices agreed to by them and the purchaser appointed by the Queen on her behalf.

Third article: This (the third clause) is in consideration of the acknowledgement of the Queen's Governance. The Queen of England will protect all the Maori people of New Zealand. They will be given all the rights equal to those of the people of England.

APPENDIX B*List of Musicians***Non-Maori**

Alan Jansson
Apache Indian
Arrested Development
Bobbie Darin
Bob Marley
Burning Spear
Carlos Santana
Carlton “Carley” Barret
Dean Martin
Elvis Presley
Ewart “U-Roy” Beckford
Frank Sinatra
Grand Wizard Theodore
James Brown
Jimmy Hendrix
Kasp
Litefoot
Looptroop
Luciano
MC Abeer
NTM
Peter Tosh
Reda Allai
Red-I
Rob “Kasp” Swan
Roger Davies
Soca Boys
Sugarhill Gang
Teremoana Rapley
The Wailers
Ziggy Marley

Maori

Aotearoa
Apirana Ngata & Hone Heke
Ardijah
Back Yard (later Herbs)
Billy T. James

Cambridge Ice
Carl Perkins
Chaos
Che “Che Fu” Ness (Che Fu)
Cornerstone Roots
Dalvinus Prime
Dam Native (formerly Native Base)
Daniel Harawira
Danny “Hype the Native” Haimona
Darryl “DLT” “Slick” Thompson
Dean “D-Word” “Te Kupu” Hapeta
Fat Freddy’s Drop
Hasaduz (Haz)
Herbs (formerly Back Yard)
House of Shem
Isaiah Perkins
Johnny “The Maori Cowboy” Cooper
Katchafire
Logan Bell
Moana and the Moa Hunters (later Moana and the Tribe)
Moana and the Tribe (formerly Moana and the Moa Hunters)
Moana Maniapoto (leader of Moana and the Tribe and Moana and the Moa Hunters)
Nesian Mystik
Ngahiwi Apanui
Ngatapa Black
Otago Millionaire’s Club (OMC)
Patea Maori Club
Pauley Fuemana (front man for OMC)
P-Money
Prince Tui Teka
Rio Hemopo
Salmonella Dub
Savage
Sir Howard Morrison
Southside of Bombay
Tama Renata
Te Omeka Perkins
The Roots Foundation Sound System
Tiki Tane
Tingilau Ness
Trinity Roots
Twelve Tribes of Israel
Unity Pacific
Upper Hutt Possee (UHP)
Young Sid

APPENDIX C

List of Songs

Non-Maori

Buffalo Soldier	1983	Bob Marley
Crazy Baldhead	1977	Bob Marley
Follow the Leader	2000	Soca Boys
Get Up Stand Up	1973	Peter Tosh
James Brown	1968	Say it Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud
Ka Mate Haka	1820	Te Rauparaha
Nique La Police	1998	NTM
Rapper's Delight	1979	Sugarhill Gang
Round the Clock	1952	Bill Haley
Superrappin'	1979	MC Melle Mel
The Message	1982	Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five
The Way We Were	1973	Barbara Streisand

Maori

... And I've Seen the Truth	2003	Hamofide
1000 Nights	2007	Unity Pacific
A Poor Man (saveth the city)	2007	Unity Pacific
AEIOU (<i>Akona Te Reo</i>)	1993	Moana and the Moa Hunters
All Across the World	1992	Southside of Bombay
Behold My Kool Style	1997	Dam Native
Blue Smoke	1940	Ruru Karaitiana
Call to Them	1919	Apirana Ngata
Chains Reloaded	2006	Che Fu featuring Savage and P-Money
Chains	1996	DLT featuring Che Fu
Cries of the Youth	2008	House of Shem
E Tu	1988	Upper Hutt Possee
French Letter	1982	Herbs
Frisk Me Down	2006	Katchafire
Haka Boogie	1955	Morgan Clarke with Benny's Five
Hey Girl	2005	Katchafire
Home Sweet Home	1822	John Payne
Home Sweet Home	1902	Apirana Ngata
Home	2007	Cornerstone Roots
Horried One	1997	Dam Native
How Bizarre	1996	OMC
Jah Bless	2008	House of Shem
Juniors Song	2002	Unity Pacific
Ka Mate Haka	1820	Te Rauparaha
Keep Rising	2008	House of Shem

King of Justice	2007	Unity Pacific
Korero Maori	1986	Aotearoa
Lightwork	2005	Che Fu
Maranga Ake Ai	1985	Aotearoa
Moko	1998	Moana and the Moa Hunters
Mori the Hori	1972	Howard Morrison
My Old Man's an All Black	1960	Howard Morrison
Nesian 101	2008	Nesian Mystik
Poi E	1982	Prince Tui Teka and the Patea Maori Club
Poi Poi Twist (<i>Putu Noa Te</i>)	1962	Rim D. Paul
Red Squad	2002	Unity Pacific
Roots Man	2002	Che Fu featuring Hasaduz
Singing for our People	1985	Aotearoa
Sweet Child	1985	Aotearoa
The Battle of Waikato	1960	Howard Morrison
The Son	1997	Dam Native featuring Che Fu
Too Much Pain	2007	Young Sid
Treaty	1998	Moana and the Moa Hunters
Unity	2007	Unity Pacific
Waka	1997	Che Fu featuring Teremoana Rapley
Wake Up	2007	Cornerstone Roots

APPENDIX D

Informed Consent Forms

Musician Consent

To Whom It May Concern:

RE: Letter of information and invitation to participate in a research project:

My name is Aruna Panday and I am graduate student in the Anthropology department at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. I am engaged in a research project as part of the requirements for my Master of Arts degree. The objective of my project is to understand the interplay between invocations of tradition and explorations of hybridity in the way Maori individuals represent themselves in relation to their own group and the wider society. I would like to understand how Maori fuse black popular music, such as reggae, rap and hip hop, with Kapahaka to create new musical styles that reference politics, economics, history and social issues.

I am inviting you to participate in my research project, and to allow me to interview you. The interview session would be for approximately one hour at a place and time that is mutually agreeable to both of us. I will audiotape our discussion, and transcribe the information myself. You can decline from answering any questions, and you can withdraw from the interview at any time. Should you choose to withdraw early, you can decide whether or not I can use the information you have provided to that point.

The anticipated benefit of the study is a contribution to our knowledge of how and why indigenous peoples adopt other genres of music to explore life experiences.

The project poses more than minimal risk to participants since some of the questions address home life, political views, societal attitudes and personal opinion.

As you are a public figure, this researcher cannot offer participants anonymity with regard to issues that are public. You will be identified in the thesis in comments you make that reflect the public nature of your business. Comments you make that are not in the realm of your public persona will not be attributed to you if you so choose (instead a pseudonym will be used). However, because of the nature of the small music scene in New Zealand and since artists are sometimes identifiable by their comments about their industry and views, the researcher cannot offer participants a guarantee of anonymity and you should be aware that it is still possible that someone who knows of you may be able to recognize you, as an artist, in the comments you make.

Other forms of dissemination may include articles in books, academic journals, presentations at conferences/workshops, website publications and classroom presentations. I will provide participants with a soft copy of the completed thesis upon request.

I will store the data securely and will keep all information indefinitely in the event I continue research on this topic. Should I continue my research I will acquire your re-consent to use the data in new ways. If the study is discontinued, I will destroy the data.

Any material shared with me (music, lyrics and other art forms) will only be used with the artist's permission, and will be used only for academic purposes. This researcher will not infringe upon an artist's intellectual and commercial property rights.

My supervisor is Dr. Daniel Rosenblatt. His email address is Daniel_Rosenblatt@carleton.ca. Please feel free to contact him if you have any questions about the project or about me.

This research project has been reviewed and received ethics clearance from the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee. Should you have any questions or concerns about the ethical nature of this project, or your involvement, you may contact the Chair of the Committee:

Professor Antonio Gualtieri Chair
Research Ethics Committee
Office of Research Services
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Tory Building, Room 510B
Ottawa, Ontario Canada K1S 5B6
613-520-2517
ethics@carleton.ca

You may reach me at: apanday@connect.carleton.ca.
Or, by telephone at: 021.161.5011 (New Zealand) or 613.601.7603 (Canada)

CONSENT

I, _____, have read the letter above, have asked any questions about the project and have received satisfactory answers to my concerns, and voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

I, _____, would like my comments that are outside of the realm of my public persona to be anonymous/identified.

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of researcher

Date

Non-Musician Consent

To Whom It May Concern:

RE: Letter of information and invitation to participate in a research project

My name is Aruna Panday and I am graduate student in the Anthropology department at Carleton University in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. I am engaged in a research project as part of the requirements for my Master of Arts degree. The objective of my project is to understand the interplay between invocations of tradition and explorations of hybridity in the way Maori individuals represent themselves in relation to their own group and the wider society. I would like to understand how Maori fuse black popular music, such as reggae, rap and hip hop, with Kapahaka to create new musical styles that reference politics, economics, history and social issues.

I am inviting you to participate in my research project, and to allow me to interview you. The interview session would be for approximately one hour at a place and time that is mutually agreeable to both of us. I will audiotape our discussion, and transcribe the information myself. You can decline from answering any questions, and you can withdraw from the interview at any time. Should you choose to withdraw early, you can decide whether or not I can use the information you have provided to that point.

The anticipated benefit of the study is a contribution to our knowledge of how and why indigenous peoples adopt other genres of music to explore life experiences.

The project poses minimal risk to participants. Some of the questions address political views, societal attitudes and personal and professional opinion.

This researcher guarantees participants anonymity. You will not be identified in the thesis and comments you make will not be attributed to you instead a pseudonym will be used.

Other forms of dissemination may include articles in books, academic journals, presentations at conferences/workshops, website publication and classroom presentations. I will provide participants with a soft copy of the completed thesis upon request.

I will store the data securely and will keep all information indefinitely in the event I continue research on this topic. Should I continue my research I will acquire your re-consent to use the data in new ways. If the study is discontinued, I will destroy the data.

My supervisor is Dr. Daniel Rosenblatt. His email address is Daniel_Rosenblatt@carleton.ca. Please feel free to contact him if you have any questions about the project or about me.

This research project has been reviewed and received ethics clearance from the Carleton University Research Ethics Committee. Should you have any questions or concerns about the ethical nature of this project, or your involvement, you may contact the Chair of the Committee:

APPENDIX E

“Cold” Letter

Kia Ora (name of prospective participant),

My name is Aruna Panday. I am a Canadian student in Auckland until August 16, 2008. I am here doing research for my Master of Arts project where I am interested in learning about contemporary Maori music, lyrics and the fusion between traditional styles and outside influences.

I would appreciate meeting with you to talk about your experiences, creative process, influences and other issues that you feel are important and how these are expressed through your music.

I really hope that you could spare some time for me (roughly an hour).

I'll be in Auckland until August and hopefully we can meet to talk about your creative process and issues Maori deal with and how that's expressed through your music.

Please let me know if you are open to this via e-mail: apanday@connect.carleton.ca or by telephone: 021.161.50111

Noho ora mai! Thank you!

Aruna

APPENDIX F

Interview Question Themes

Themes approved by the Research Ethics Committee, Carleton University.

1. Entry into the business: motivation, skills, and difficulties.
2. Obstacles: racism, stigmas, from inside and outside of the Maori community and international as well.
3. Lyrics/Music: development of both, following Maori/Western styles of poetry/story telling, decisions on how to combine styles, purpose of fusion, inspiration.
4. Performance history: group formation, continued motivation, why?
5. Home background: socio-economics, gang lifestyle/criminal behaviour, family and feeling about their jobs.
6. Role models: who did they look up to, see themselves as such, volunteer work and leadership programs.
7. Gender: role of men and women in the music industry.
8. Musical influences: changes over time, attraction to various genres.
9. Education: academic, musical, informal and formal acquisition of skills.
10. Expression: of self, Maoriness, culture, politics, etc.
11. Indigenous artists: listen to other indigenous people, connection with, disdain for etc.
12. Maori v. Mainstream: differences and similarities (real and perceived), worldview, culture, economics, tropes, compatibility.