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A Japanese Theatrical Producer's
Encounter with Kapa Haka:
Māori Performing Arts, Education,
and a Democratic Community in the Making
in Today's Aotearoa New Zealand

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education,
Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki-Makaurau
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Abstract

This thesis presents my autoethnographic exploration of educational meanings of Kapa Haka in today's Aotearoa New Zealand. Kapa Haka is the contemporary term used for Māori performing arts, which has become very popular especially among Māori. Through my experience of learning Kapa Haka under an expert teacher and through conversing with kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka (teachers of Kapa Haka), I examined diverse aspects and roles of Kapa Haka. I then related my findings to the ideas of ‘education for democracy’ (Nussbaum, 2010) and the making of ‘democratic communities’ in public spheres (Berry, 1989; Greene, 1995; Zuidervaart, 2011).

The thesis argues that two primary purposes exist for practising Kapa Haka in Aotearoa New Zealand today, both of which function as acts of decolonisation and democra
tisation. Firstly, Kapa Haka retains and revives te reo Māori (the Māori language) and tikanga (cultural protocols), and it provides Māoridom with a “public sphere” (Habermas, 1991) where Māori people celebrate their cultural identity, their diversity and foster family-like communities. Secondly, drawing on Zuidervaart's (2011) concept of “art in public”, Levine’s (2007) notion of the “alternativist”, and Greene’s (1995) concept of the “social imagination”, this thesis suggests that Māori performing arts could become an effective and non-threatening vehicle for all New Zealanders to learn about te Ao Māori, the Māori world. This is framed as a further act of decolonisation and an opportunity for Aotearoa New Zealand to develop its bi-culturalism in a meaningful way and strengthen its democracy.
Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the following people:

my Kapa Haka teachers: Dr. Ngāpō Wehi, Angela Smith and Richard Wehi, who invited me to become a member of their wonderful whānau (extended family) of Kapa Haka,

my philosophy teacher and an extraordinary professor Maxine Greene, who encouraged me to continue my academic inquiry in the arts and education,

and,

my parents, Toshimi and Tomoko Sakamoto, who supported my life’s quest in Aotearoa New Zealand
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I would like to thank Dr. Susan Carter from the Student Learning Centre who gave me good academic advice. I thank Dr. Ralph Buck for inviting me to Aotearoa New Zealand and introducing me to a culture of academic research. I thank Prof. Margaret Mutu for giving me critical comments, suggesting I should move to education for this research. I would like to thank some of the librarians from the University of Auckland, Anahera Morehu, Troy Tuhou, Judy McFall McCaffery and Rukuwai Jury. I would like to thank some of the people who work at the University of Auckland, especially the ones from the international students office, the equity office, the Graduate Centre, staff from the Epsom campus, and the cleaning and security staff who often entertained me when I was writing alone in my office late at night.

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Special thanks to Dagmar Simon who proofread my thesis and helped me to edit it.

I think of my deceased friends whose souls have lived within me: talented architect Luigi, incredible thinkers Yukinobu, Noriyuki, and my “soul mate”, mentor and an extraordinary dance teacher, Lee Theodore.

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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT ............................................................................................................................... I
DEDICATION ............................................................................................................................ II
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .......................................................................................................... III

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................. 1

1.1 WHAKAPAPA (GENEALOGY) OF THE RESEARCH ....................................................... 1
1.1.1. Finding a Culture of Democracy in Performing Arts ............................................... 1
1.1.2. Becoming a Producer/Director in TV Drama and Performing Arts ........................... 2
1.1.3. Sharing Democratic Values with the Public through the Arts.................................... 3
1.1.4. Encounter with Prof. Maxine Greene and her Philosophy of Education ..................... 5
1.1.5. Coming to Aotearoa New Zealand .............................................................................. 7
1.1.6. Encounter with Kapa Haka through Dr. Ngāpō Wehi .................................................. 7

1.2. ON KAPA HAKA ............................................................................................................. 9
1.2.1. On Kapa Haka: What is It? ....................................................................................... 9
1.2.2. On Kapa Haka: Whakapapa (Genealogy) and Significance ....................................... 10

1.3. MĀORI TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSLATION .......................................................... 15
1.4. THESIS PREVIEW ......................................................................................................... 15

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE ....................................................................................................... 17

2.1. INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................................ 17
2.2. ‘EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY’ AND ‘EDUCATION FOR PROFIT’ ....................... 17
2.2.1. Is Democracy Failing? ............................................................................................ 17
2.2.2. Democracy as a Community .................................................................................... 19

2.3. MAKING OF A DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY ............................................................ 20
2.3.1. What is a ‘Democratic Community’? ....................................................................... 20
2.3.2. Education for Democracy in a Pluralistic Society ..................................................... 22
2.3.3. Diversity, Imagination and the Arts ......................................................................... 24

2.4. ART, EDUCATION AND PUBLIC SPACES IN DEMOCRACY ................................ 25
2.4.1. Art, Knowledge and Power ...................................................................................... 25
2.4.2. The Public Sphere as a Haven for Democracy: Lessons from Public Broadcasting .... 28
2.4.3. Art as ‘Alternativist’ in the Public Sphere .................................................................. 32

2.5. PERFORMING ARTS, EDUCATION AND MAKING OF A DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY 35
2.5.1. Performing Arts, Education and Epistemological Pluralism ...................................... 35
2.5.2. Performing Arts and Education: Embodiment of Cultures and Cross-Cultural Learning .............................................................................................................................................................................. 37
2.5.3. Culture, ‘Imagined Community’ and ‘Democratic Community’ ............................... 40
2.5.4. Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Globalisation ............................................................ 43
### CHAPTER 3. DESIGNING THE RESEARCH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1. Epistemology and Ontology</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2. Qualitative Inquiry</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.3. Decolonising Methodologies</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.4. Kaupapa Māori Approach and the non-Māori Researcher</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.5. Critical Inquiry</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.6. Phenomenological Approach</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. AUTOETHNOGRAPHY</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1. Shift towards Autoethnography</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2. Autoethnography</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3. Finding the Right Kind of Autoethnography</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. Merits and Issues in Autoethnography</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5. METHODS</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.1. Overview</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.2. Selecting the Research Participants</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.3. Data Collection and Interpretation Methods</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.4. Data Collection (1): Observation and Memories</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.5. Data Collection (2): Kōrero (Talks, Discussions and Interviews)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.6. Data Collection (3): Collecting Performance Items</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.7. Interpreting the Data</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.8. Influence by Television’s Interviewing and Editing Methods</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.9. Validity, Trustworthiness, Legitimacy and Accountability</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.10. Writing Styles</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHAPTER 4. ENTERING TE AO MĀORI: AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT

**OF LEARNING KAPA HAKA UNDER DR. NGĀPŌ WEHI, A MASTER TEACHER, AND HIS WHĀNAU [PART I]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2. MY ENCOUNTER WITH STAGE ONE KAPA HAKA</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1. Experiencing Pōwhiri (Māori Ritual of Encounter)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2. Learning Māori Social Values in the Kitchen and the Dining Hall:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holistic Approach to Whanaungatanga and Manaakitanga</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3. Learning the Performance Items</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4. The Final Performance</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3. DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AND STAGE ONE KAPA HAKA</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1. Pōwhiri: Overcoming Otherness</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.2. Whanaungatanga, Manaakitanga, and Making of a Democratic Community ................................................................. 89
4.3.3. The Performing Items: Between Colonisation and ‘Cultural Symphonisation’ ........................................................................... 90
4.3.4. Performing Together: The Mysterious Nature of ‘Kapa’ ................. 92
4.3.5. Mātātāngā Māori and Māori Ways of Knowing ...................... 94
4.3.6. Who Studies Stage One Kapa Haka and Why? .......................... 95
4.4. CONCLUSION ................................................................................................................................. 99

CHAPTER 5. ENCOUNTER WITH MĀORI VOICES: FURTHER KAPA HAKA LEARNING UNDER DR. NGĀPŌ WEHI AND HIS WHĀNAU [PART II] .......... 100

5.1. INTRODUCTION ......................................................................................................................................... 100
5.2. VISITING ROTORUA IN THE 1990s: ‘THE TOURIST STATE’ AND A NOT-SO-TYPICAL TRAVELLER ...................................................................................... 100
5.3. “SO THIS IS KAPA HAKA!”: ATTENDING AN AUCKLAND REGIONAL KAPA HAKA COMPETITION ................................................................. 103
5.3.1. First Encounter with the Regional Competition .......................... 103
5.3.2. Regional Competition .................................................................................................................. 105
5.4. LEARNING THE STAGE TWO KAPA HAKA ITEMS: SOCIAL VOICE OF MĀORI PEOPLE ........................................................................................................... 107
5.4.1. Mōrikarika: Encounter with Te Kooti’s Mōteatea .......................... 107
5.4.2. Mōrikarika: Learning to Listen to the Voice of Māori ................ 109
5.4.3. Karangatia Rā: Apirana Ngata and Waiata-ā-Ringa .................. 112
5.4.4. Ki kō: Te Ao Māori (Māori World) and Environmental Consciousness ......................................................................................... 115
5.4.5. Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Dr. Wehi’s Challenge in the Form of Haka ......................................................................................... 116
5.4.6. Kapa Haka as ‘Art in Public’ and Making of a Democratic Community ......................................................................................... 118
5.5. CONCLUSION ......................................................................................................................................... 120

CHAPTER 6. EMBRACING TE AO MĀORI: LEARNING ABOUT THE STATE OF KAPA HAKA UNDER DR. NGĀPŌ WEHI AND HIS WHĀNAU [PART III] ............ 121

6.1. INTRODUCTION ......................................................................................................................................... 121
6.2. THE TEMPO DANCE FESTIVAL IN AUCKLAND ................................................................................................. 122
6.3. DEEPER ENCOUNTER WITH THE CULTURE OF COMPETITIVE KAPA HAKA ......................................................... 126
6.3.1. Te Waka Huia Performs at Te Matatini ............................................. 126
6.3.2. Kapa Haka as ‘Art in Public’, Te Matatini as Public Sphere ................ 129
6.3.3. A Diverse Community: ‘Kaupapa’ of the Culture of Competitive Kapa Haka ................................................................................................. 131
6.4. THE STAGE THREE KAPA HAKA COURSE AT THE UNIVERSITY ......................................................................................... 133
6.5. CONCLUSION ......................................................................................................................................... 136
CHAPTER 7. CONVERSATIONS WITH KAIWHAKAAKO KAPA HAKA [PART I]:
MAINSTREAM EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS .......................................................... 137
7.1. INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................... 137
  7.1.1. Teachers’ Reasons and Aims for Teaching Kapa Haka ......................... 137
  7.1.2. Research Participants and Diversity .................................................... 138
  7.1.3. Kapa Haka in Mainstream Schools ..................................................... 138
  7.1.4. Questions and Related Topics ............................................................ 139
7.2. TEACHING KAPA HAKA IN MAINSTREAM EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS .... 139
  7.2.1. A Freelance Kapa Haka Tutor Teaching in Primary Schools: Kara ...... 139
         7.2.2. Māori and Pākehā Teachers Team Teaching Kapa Haka in and
               against the Culture of Intermediate School: Tau and Whai ............. 142
        7.2.3. Preparing Students for a Competition in a Mainstream College:
               Rangi ......................................................................................... 149
        7.2.4. Organising a Cultural Festival for the Community: Rau and Awhi .... 152
7.3. CONCLUSION ......................................................................................... 156

CHAPTER 8. CONVERSATIONS WITH KAIWHAKAAKO KAPA HAKA [PART II]:
MĀORI EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL SETTINGS ............................................. 160
8.1. INTRODUCTION ....................................................................................... 160
8.2. TEACHING KAPA HAKA IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN MĀORIDOM .. 161
   8.2.1. Te Kōhanga Reo ............................................................................. 161
   8.2.2. Kura Kaupapa Māori .................................................................... 165
   8.2.3. A Māori College ......................................................................... 168
8.3. KAPA HAKA IN RURAL CONTEXTS ....................................................... 172
   8.3.1. Taikura: A Senior Citizens’ Group ............................................... 172
   8.3.2. Tūhoe Ahurei: A Successful Tribal Festival for Tūhoe .................... 174
8.4. AN URBAN KAPA HAKA GROUP: IN SEARCH OF A HEALTHY DIRECTION FOR

               COMPETITIVE KAPA HAKA .......................................................... 179
8.5. CONCLUSION ......................................................................................... 181

CHAPTER 9. CONVERSATIONS WITH KAIWHAKAAKO KAPA HAKA [PART III]:
NEGOTIATING THE CULTURAL BOUNDARIES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE .......... 184
9.1. INTRODUCTION ....................................................................................... 184
9.2. NEGOTIATING THREE CULTURES IN THE NAVY: NAVY CULTURE, MAINSTREAM
               CULTURE, AND MĀORI CULTURE .................................................. 184
9.3. PUSHING THE BOUNDARIES OF COMPETITIVE KAPA HAKA ............... 192
9.4. BUSINESS AND CULTURE: A ROTORUA-BASED ENTERPRISE ............. 196
9.5. IMPLEMENTING THEIR MISSION STATEMENT: A PRODUCER AT MĀORI
               TELEVISION .................................................................................. 199
9.6. CONCLUSION ......................................................................................... 202
# CHAPTER 10. CONCLUSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1.</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2.</td>
<td>MY PUBLISHED ARTICLE ON FINDINGS AND PROFESSIONALISATION OF KAPA HAKA</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3.</td>
<td>DECOLONISING BICULTURAL MYTHS IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND: TWO RATIONALES FOR TEACHING KAPA HAKA IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4.</td>
<td>KAPA HAKA AND TRANSFORMATION OF ARTISTIC EXPRESSION</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5.</td>
<td>CULTURAL IDENTITY AND IMAGINED COMMUNITY</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6.</td>
<td>RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MĀORI CULTURE AND AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND AS A NATION</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7.</td>
<td>WHĀNAU AS AN EDUCATIONAL MODEL OF A DEMOCRATIC COMMUNITY</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.8.</td>
<td>KAPA HAKA IN PUBLIC SPACES</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## APPENDIX I: KHPI

## APPENDIX II: ETHICS DOCUMENT

## REFERENCES
Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Whakapapa (Genealogy) of the Research

1.1.1. Finding a Culture of Democracy in Performing Arts

I have been drawn to performing arts since my early age. I sang in a choir and was a member of a children’s orchestra. I liked playing the piano and studied it privately under professional teachers for more than ten years. In high school, I went to the U.S. as an exchange student for a year and took theatre and dance classes. While there was only one music class per week at my Japanese high school, there were many drama, music and dance classes at the high school in Mississippi that I attended. In Japan I was not used to classes where students took initiatives to create a performance collaboratively and debated issues till they came to an agreement. I found it interesting to see American students exchange their opinions and feelings in front of others. This was when I first realised that schools could be a place for learning and experiencing a culture of democracy: a culture where people communicate with others deeply and search for a solution till the group comes to a consensus, and performing arts could teach such a skill. I remember being envious of my American classmates who were being brought up in an educational environment that encouraged them to express their ideas and opinions freely.

My American teachers in Mississippi noticed how I excitedly responded to these performing arts classes. At the end of the school year, they suggested that I should go to New York and watch more professional level performances. It was an almost daunting adventure for a 17-year-old Japanese student to travel alone to New York from the Deep South, but I followed their advice. During my short trip to New York, I saw a few performances on Broadway and at Carnegie Hall. One of them was *A Chorus Line*. I was struck by its professional quality, and the social messages that the performance conveyed. I had never thought, till then, that a theatre performance could be so powerful and moving, and could tell us a story that mattered strongly to our lives today. I learned that this aspect of theatre was important. A theatre performance might not give us the best solution to a controversial or complicated social issue, yet it might give us clues to think about these issues from diverse points of view, some of which we might not have thought about before.
The trip to New York changed my life’s goal from becoming a teacher of English language in Japan to becoming a performing arts professional on an international stage.

1.1.2. Becoming a Producer/Director in TV Drama and Performing Arts

When I was twenty, I won a Japanese government scholarship to study performing arts in New York for a year. It was during this period that I met Lee Theodore, a renowned Broadway theatre director/choreographer/dance teacher, and I started studying dance and theatre under her. Lee became my mentor, and, in her words, we became “soul mates”. She was the founder and director of the American Dancemachine, a dance company whose mission was to preserve and revive artistically excellent choreography from Broadway musicals. Unlike the shows’ scripts and musical scores, and unlike ballets created for ballet companies as repertoires, Broadway musical dances were often lost forever when the shows closed. Lee said that dances on Broadway were “precious American culture” and “we must save these excellent choreographic pieces and teach them to the next generation.”

Coming from Japan, I somehow understood her idea of ‘preserving national cultural treasures’. I also understood her passion and desire to protect culture that she loved and identified with. I adored Broadway dances that reflected aspects of diverse American immigrants’ cultural heritages. The more I studied it, the more I understood that the culture of Broadway dance belonged to the Americans, and I felt awkward that I had very little cultural movement that I enjoyed from Japan and I wondered why. Lee offered me free dance classes and I worked for her dance company doing administrative chores in return. It was fascinating for me to work in a professional environment surrounded by Broadway professionals. I learned much about how to run a dance company in New York. Lee encouraged me to become a professional in performing arts, and taught me much about the industry.

As soon as I graduated from a Japanese university, I began a job directing television drama for NHK, the public broadcasting network in Japan. It was a place where I learned the art of directing, of conceiving and constructing stories, working with creative artists and established performers, skilled engineers and others. I also learned the power of television and its ability to educate the public. At the same time I experienced NHK’s limitation, and the political pressures the company often had to endure. There was a gap between my ideal image of
public broadcasting and the reality of my daily work. My work at NHK became difficult for me to bear when I compared its lacking quality of freedom of expression and its inability to deal with contemporary social issues with the performing arts I had known in New York.

There was no guarantee that I could find any work, but I left NHK and went back to New York to be an independent producer/director for theatre and television. Luckily people offered me work in television, where I made documentary programmes with American topics for the Japanese networks. Then I gradually shifted my focus to performing arts. I thought there should be more productions containing meaningful cultural exchange between the U.S. and Japan, and started conceiving, producing and directing musicals, ballets and plays. In ten years, I flew over the Pacific Ocean more than forty times, showing Japanese arts to Americans, and American performing arts to the Japanese.

Both making programmes for television and mounting productions of performing arts, required good teamwork. I enjoyed working with gifted individuals and communicating with those who cared about our society. Every time I encountered gifted dancers, composers, choreographers and actors, I became motivated to create more job opportunities for them, thinking that together we could make this world a more beautiful place. By making a show together, the people who were involved with the project often became closer. It was as if forming a family or a community. It was difficult to deal with the cultural differences of the two countries, yet it was also interesting to keep meeting talented artists from both countries and making more friends by overcoming our differences.

1.1.3. Sharing Democratic Values with the Public through the Arts

While producing shows internationally became my primary identity, in a broader sense I thought being a producer was similar to being a teacher in a public space. The more I produced shows, the more I came to think that I was interested in sharing values of democracy through the arts, both with my work colleagues and with the audience. I was using performing arts and television programmes as a means to deliver messages to the audience, or to the public. These values included freedom, freedom of speech, equality, social justice, human rights, understanding the plurality and diversity within our society: the values that I believed might transform our society for the better. Creating a show together with others required deep discussions, arguments, and
exchanges of critical views between those who were creatively involved with the project.

While I wanted to believe that somehow performing arts proliferated democratic values, I also became confused and frustrated when I met people in the industry of performing arts who did not seem to share my beliefs. Some were just concerned about making profits or becoming famous, others were just interested in the shows that became popular globally. Some artists had no interest in collaborating or listening to others’ opinions. I was often hurt when I met people who were not at all interested in Japanese culture, when I tried to promote Japanese performing arts in New York. Yet the more I worked, the more I became convinced that it was important to produce shows which concerned issues that many of us might not have thought about before, or issues that seemed difficult to come to an agreement about, regardless of whether these shows made any profit or not.

The idea of cultural diversity and co-existing plural identities fascinated me. In Japan I was part of the Japanese majority, yet by moving to the U.S. I became an ethnic and cultural minority, and I often experienced subtle racism. Having been brought up in Osaka, where many Korean people reside, I was familiar with a concept of racism, yet the problem became vivid when I was a victim of racism myself in New York. There was obviously a need, in our 'deficient' democracy, to constantly “emphasize pluralism and heterogeneity” (Greene, 1995, p.6), and to promote freedom and equality of minorities, which often came in diverse forms and characters. While there were many kinds of performing arts that looked beautiful and moving, I tried to promote the arts that taught us diversity as well as humanity.

When I lived in New York I enjoyed meeting people from other cultures, and there were plenty of people and diverse cultures to encounter. Together with an African American conductor from Broadway, I created a musical that introduced a history of African Americans to the Japanese, including slave songs, jazz, gospel, rock’n’roll, soul, hip hop music and others. We rehearsed in New York and took the show to Osaka. Through the show I, too, learned a lot about African Americans’ struggle and their social progress to achieve equality and social justice. Together with a Chinese American theatrical director, I worked on a play that told stories of Native Americans and other ethnic minorities living in New York, and learned a lot about their personal stories as well as their social progress.
As a producer, I came to ask: “How do we become interested in others?”; “How do we learn to respect each other?” If people were not interested in others, it would be difficult to learn about others. Without knowing, there would never be deep enough understanding of others. Without understanding, it would be hard to have compassion and respect. Without understanding, it would be hard to eliminate racism and prejudice. The values of democracy, especially freedom and equality, could probably never be accomplished in our society, unless people have interest, understanding, compassion and respect towards one another.

The list of questions kept growing. Through experiences, I knew that performing arts often helped cultivate people’s compassion and respect. Yet could it be always the case? If so, how did that happen? Do performing arts really help us make friends, or make a community? If yes, then what went wrong in my last production? Is producing a theatre performance different from other business activities? I suppose yes, because some shows obviously teach us something meaningful and important in life. Yet if they were indeed so meaningful and important, why is it so difficult to promote democratic values and make a profit at the same time?

These real life questions started occupying my mind, and I needed to find an opportunity to think more deeply about them. I decided to take some time off from work and explore these questions in an academic environment.

1.1.4. Encounter with Prof. Maxine Greene and her Philosophy of Education

After spending more than ten years in the performing arts industry, I enrolled in a graduate school programme at Teachers College, Columbia University in New York, where John Dewey taught democratic education from 1905 to 1930. By putting myself in an academic environment, I hoped that I would become more familiar with a relationship between the arts, values of democracy and education. There I met Prof. Maxine Greene, and I started studying under her.

Maxine’s words helped me look at my own profession and the world around me. I looked up to her as my mentor, and soon we also became “soul mates”. In Maxine’s opinion our democracy is still deficient, infantile and incomplete, because democratic values such as freedom, equality and social justice have not yet been fully accomplished, and that there are still many people who suffer from a lack of basic human rights. In her view we should look into education that
can transform our society for the better so we can create a more democratic society.

Maxine also states that we have to think carefully about the diversity among us as well as our relationships to each other. When listening to her I identified a link between her idea of a democratic community and the performing arts I wanted to create. Maxine (1995) states,

> Because so many of us are newcomers and strangers to one another, I particularly emphasize pluralism and heterogeneity, what is now often called multiculturalism. I choose to do so in connection with the arts and with a community always in the making --- the community that may someday be called a democracy. (p.6)

While Maxine often spoke of making a better society in the future, she also encouraged us to critically look at our society today. For example, she writes, “Standards, assessment, outcomes, and achievement: these concepts are the currency of educational discussion today” (Greene, 1995, p.9), expressing her concerns that our educational environment might be aggressively influenced by “neoliberalism” (Bargh, 2007, p.7). In Maxine’s class, the students, who are mainly current and future schoolteachers, bring their real life issues and experiences to class. They ask: “How do I teach children to make friends when the society teaches them to compete against each other and to be a winner?” Maxine would rephrase the question into a philosophical one: “How do we promote democratic values in today’s capitalist society?”

Inspired by Maxine, I wrote an MA thesis on Lincoln Kirstein, a ballet producer who I respected very much. The thesis was about what he envisioned and achieved in his life. I argued that Kirstein, in collaboration with George Balanchine the legendary ballet master of the New York City Ballet, helped transform ballet from an aristocratic art form, which had belonged to a handful of the ruling classes in Europe and Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century, into an accessible art form for American and other international audiences. In my view Kirstein and Balanchine successfully democratised ballet (Sakamoto, 2000). I also argued that Kirstein’s purpose of producing Balanchine’s ballets existed in educating the public about a deep humanity. Kirstein supported Balanchine to create a beautiful and moral world through ballet. This fictional world, which celebrated democratic values such as freedom, equality, cultural and human plurality, was so infectious that it transformed those who were involved in the productions and the audience who saw it, bringing out their morality, compassion and love. Producing ballet, for Kirstein,
meant humanising the world, celebrating diversity and creating a society full of love, peace, and respect.

1.1.5. Coming to Aotearoa New Zealand

Soon after I graduated from Columbia University, I took an Associate Professor position at an art university in Kyoto, Japan, and stayed for three years. I produced a community-based learning centre within the university. This was a place where children, their parents and the university students together could learn democratic values through the arts. I tried to combine my real life experience in creating theatre and dance with democratic educational theories of Maxine Greene and John Dewey. This turned out to be one of the most memorable projects I have created. Yet when the programme became extremely popular, the university’s management stepped in to put pressure on me to make more profits, ignoring children’s safety issues. I refused to obey their order and was removed from the project. I left Kyoto with disappointment.

I further yearned for both, creative and academic opportunities, to investigate the relationship between art, democracy and the creation of family-like communities, universally and regionally, in a peaceful environment. I reflected on my experience in Kyoto and asked more questions: “How do performing arts help develop and strengthen people’s commitment to the ideal of democracy?” “How does a performing arts activity help make a community?” “What are the purposes, functions and roles of the arts in today’s public space, in and against a capitalist democracy?” I had several socially complex questions in my head, thinking they were possibly connected to each other. I looked for an opportunity to study a form of performing arts that represented a minority culture, and its possible educational role to enhance democratic values in the wider public sphere. After some search, I submitted a research proposal and was accepted by the University of Auckland.

1.1.6. Encounter with Kapa Haka through Dr. Ngāpō Wehi

As soon as I came to the University of Auckland, I joined the Stage One Kapa Haka course taught by Dr. Ngāpō Wehi at Māori Studies Department. I knew so little about Māori people, and knew almost nothing about their performing arts, yet my intuition said that Kapa Haka might prove to be the site for the theory I wanted to develop.
I was always moved by Dr. Wehi’s art of teaching, and his extraordinary ability to share the joy of Kapa Haka with almost every student who came to study under him. It did not matter if the students were Māori or international students, young or old, skilled or unskilled in the arts. Dr. Wehi and his whānau (extended family) took great care of me and my fellow students. In Dr. Wehi’s teaching of Kapa Haka, I saw the kind of philosophy and purpose of teaching performing arts that I felt was valuable in today’s capitalist democracy.

He also instilled in me, through Kapa Haka, how to comprehend the current socio-cultural condition of Māori lives in Aotearoa New Zealand from a Māori person’s perspective.

It was because of my encounter with Dr. Wehi and his whānau that I came to think that it was important for me to tell a story about what it means to learn and teach Kapa Haka in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand in an academic manner.

At the same time, this became an opportunity for me to investigate a concept of democracy itself. I learned that indigenous scholars “have always been suspicious of claims for democracy as majority rule. Modern democracies, they say, have not served indigenous peoples well” (Jones, 2012, p.104). Especially Māori people I met were concerned that “the critics in power remain ignorant or careless about the philosophical bases (kaupapa) of indigenous knowledges” (Jones, 2012, p.104). I found it important that I review the idea of a democratic community, and then examine if there were indeed similarities between some of the social values taught in Kapa Haka by Māori people, and the idea of a democratic community as my intuition told me.

Thus this thesis discusses various meanings of teaching Kapa Haka in relation to the idea of strengthening democratic communities. The story is told through my personal experience of learning the art form as well as through the discussions I had with the teachers I met. I especially look at the issues of cultural knowledge, identity and diversity, in relation to the ideas of democratic education and decolonisation, and the roles of the arts in public spheres to help achieve these ideas.
1.2. On Kapa Haka

1.2.1. On Kapa Haka: What is It?

While I find it inappropriate for a non-Māori person like me who comes to Aotearoa New Zealand for a short period of time to define ‘what “Kapa Haka” is’, for the purpose of this particular research it is inevitable to introduce definitions and explanations of the term.

“Kapa Haka” is often translated as “Māori performing arts” in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. The New Zealand Qualifications Authority (2014) recognises the knowledge taught in Kapa Haka as “Māori Performance” or “Māori Performing Arts”. I have chosen the following scholarly and semi-scholarly literature to introduce the term Kapa Haka from different angles:

(1) Definition and Etymology by Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004):

Kapa Haka is a generic term used today to describe a ‘Māori associated’ musical tradition that is based around the performance of haka (dance), mōteatea (traditional chant), the modern poi (the poi dance), and waiata-ā-ringa (action song). The term is comprised of two words: ‘Kapa’ and ‘Haka’. In A Dictionary of the Māori Language, Williams (1971:31) defines ‘Haka’ as ‘dance’, or ‘a song accompanying a dance’. ‘Kapa’, according to Williams (1971:95), is a ‘rank’ or ‘row’. Ngata also defines ‘Kapa’ as ‘row’. Kapa Haka as a single consolidate term does not appear in either Williams or Ngata, which suggests that the term is of more recent origin, although arguably, the idea or concept of Kapa Haka or the spatial organisation of haka rows, is not. (p.142 - 143)

(2) Characteristics of Kapa Haka by Pettersen (2007):

Kapa haka is many things at once; as an art form it is considered equal to other expressions of toi Māori (traditional arts) like raranga (weaving), whakairo (carving) and tā moko (tattooing); as a ‘tradition’ it is regarded as a taonga tuku iho, an heirloom, that is handed down through the generations; as part of tikanga (custom) it has a function in both ritual and entertainment; as part of Māori society it has undergone changes over time in tune with changes in the society. As a part of New Zealand society it has undergone a revival in the 20th century; as a teaching method and part of the repertoire of mātauranga (knowledge) it is being taught to successive generations of Māori and non-Māori; as a performance art it is still as vibrant and innovative today as it has ever been; and as a visual display of identity it still captivates the attention of others. (p.i)
(3) Kapa Haka Competition and Cultural Identities by Whitinui (2008):

Competition today has effectively promoted the value of kapa haka as a dynamic and powerful cultural experience audiences readily appreciate. Kapa haka has also helped to showcase Māori language and culture to the world in a way that promotes our uniqueness as New Zealanders. Although, the search for our own identity as New Zealanders has to some degree seen the haka (an element of performing kapa haka) increase levels of narcissism (inflated ego about our own importance), kapa haka continues to evolve and support Māori to maintain their language, culture and identity. Likewise, haka as a national cultural icon has been well supported by sport and performed by our top national athletes for many years. (p.5)

(4) Te Matatini Society (2013) on Kapa Haka:

Kapa Haka is commonly used to describe a modern day performance of traditional and contemporary adaptations of Māori waiata, mōteatea, poi and haka. Kapa Haka is an avenue for Māori people to express their language culture and heritage through song and dance. It occurs in both informal and formal settings – on marae and sports fields, at iwi, Māori hapu and whanau events, in schools and education organizations, in community and business settings, and at Kapa Haka shows, events and competitions. Kapa Haka can be competitive and non-competitive. It can be performed by any number of people, men and women, young and old. Music for Kapa Haka is primarily vocal and sung in te reo Māori (Māori language). The musical instruments generally used in Kapa Haka are the guitar, the pūtātara (conch shell), the sound of the poi and rākau and body percussion.

(5) Te Matatini Society (2013) on Te Matatini:

"Māori Performing Arts brings together people of all ages, all backgrounds, all beliefs, Māori and non-Māori alike, participants and observers. When I look I see many faces, young and old" - Professor Wharehuia Milroy. Our name, bestowed upon us by Professor Wharehuia Milroy, acknowledges the many faces who bring life to Kapa Haka. These include performers, tutors, composers, cooks, administrators, sponsors, whānau, tamariki, audiences and more.... Our story began in 1972 when we were part of the Polynesian Festival. We grew in size and strength through the 1980s and 90s, and were known as "Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Society". In 2004, we became Te Matatini Society Incorporated.

1.2.2. On Kapa Haka: Whakapapa (Geneology) and Significance

In this section I build on the above definitions and introduce some literature which I find important on the history and significance of Kapa Haka, especially in relation to colonisation, education and democracy.
In their article entitled “Kapa Haka as a Web of Cultural Meanings”, Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) introduce a concise and insightful appraisal of Kapa Haka in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. They say,

Central to the idea of ‘Māori ways of knowing’ is mātauranga Māori or Māori knowledge, encapsulated in Māori oral tradition. Stories, genealogy and song provide a wealth of knowledge about the creation of man and the universe. (p. 143)

Much of Māori people’s rich cultural knowledge has been handed down through performing arts as in many other cultures in the world. Like many other cultures that were colonised by Europeans, “European ethnocentrism relegated mātauranga Māori to the categories of ‘primitive’ and ‘superstitious’” (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004, p. 147), since the initial encounters with Abel Tasman in 1642 and James Cook in 1769.

In 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi) was signed by significant numbers of Māori chiefs, which stated that tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty, self-government) of Māori people would be protected by the Queen of England. Yet many Māori argue that Te Tiriti, the one which their ancestors signed, has been dishonoured by the British, and therefore Māori people had to endure a harsh reality of colonisation including loss of their land, language and culture. In the 19th century, laws were created for Māori to speak only English in schools (e.g. the Native Schools Act of 1867), and later Māori were forced to abandon many of their customs and rituals (e.g. Tohunga Suppression Act, 1907). Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) add,

Colonisation led to significant amounts of cultural loss prompting the Māori cultural renaissance of the early 1900s. Many early published accounts, from European visitors, were used to supplement gaps in Māori oral tradition. A process of establishment discourse and related repetition has protracted and exacerbated many prejudiced historical descriptions. Ironically this article itself uses data and evidence from some early European sources and is framed in the hegemonic European-based academic style of argument and referencing. (p. 155)

I take from Kaiwai and Zemke-White that researching Kapa Haka and Māori cultural activity requires any researcher today to clarify his or her methodological choices and moral standpoints based on decolonising purposes and fostering deeper democratic values (see Chapter 3). Because Kapa Haka encapsulates Māori language and culture, the places where teaching and learning of Kapa Haka occur often are the sites where decolonisation are actively envisioned and practised. And therefore in Aotearoa New Zealand, the conditions of teaching and learning Kapa Haka show aspects of
democratisation that indicate the degrees of freedom and social equality of Māori people.

Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) state that “By 1905, the Young Māori Party embarked on a policy of cultural revival. There were growing fears among Māori that their traditions, beliefs, and value systems were being lost” (p.147). Sir Āpirana Ngata was one of the figures who helped preserve Māori culture and made efforts to educate the non-Māori about its richness. Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) write,

Sir Āpirana Ngata, affectionately known as the ‘father of action song’, came to prominence in this time. Ngata’s cultural revival activities ranged from academic writings to recording waiata from the different Māori tribes. He enlisted financial support from the Dominion Museum (Wellington) and the New Zealand Broadcasting Service. During his time as Minister of Māori Affairs, he installed a cylinder Dictaphone in his office so he could record songs he heard at hui (gatherings). Ngata organised a number of major cultural events, most notably Waitangi Celebrations of 1934 and the welcoming home of the Māori battalion. (p.147 - 148)

Ngata was also a politician who saw that Māori culture, especially its performing arts, could represent the statehood of Aotearoa New Zealand in an international political space. He helped Kapa Haka appear in important state affairs and events (Werry, 2011, p.110). Many Māori also saw business opportunities in presenting their performing arts in the tourism industry, although Werry (2011) argues that the tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand has been another symbolic site of colonial legacy and neoliberalism.

Margaret Werry (2011) calls Aotearoa New Zealand “a tourist state” (2011, p.xi) and analyses that Aotearoa New Zealand “is a community not so much imagined as imagineered” (p.x). She looks at the tourism industry in Aotearoa New Zealand and analyses how artfully “politicians and pundits” have long paired “progressive liberalism with Māori culture at the forefront of diplomatic pageantry, nationalist historiography and artistic production as the coin of national distinction” (p.xi). Werry (2011) illustrates “so called Liberal era (1890-1914)” (p.xi) as the following,

Maoriland was the brand under which the state in the making sold itself both to its citizens and to prospective migrants as a natural, prosperous, Anglo-Saxon paradise that had solved the race problem plaguing other colonies through a combination of good fortune (being blessed with a “better class of native”) and good government. (p.xii)
Werry (2011) further explains that “in New Zealand, from 1914 through 1984 was lived in the Liberal-era legacy” (xxi). However, the history continued to bring difficulties to the lives of Māori. Werry (2011) states,

Pull back the curtains of this national scene, however, and you will find the set of a larger drama called the New Zealand Experiment: the ruthless reforms of the 1980s that shook off the nation’s post-Fordist malaise, demolished its century-old welfare state, and saw its ascendance as neoliberalism’s poster child. (p.xi)

Bargh (2007) argues that from the perspectives of the colonised, decolonisation has been a process of resistance against neoliberalism, arguably an aggressive form of capitalism. Also democratisation and globalisation often meant another form of colonisation for Māori.

With the language and cultural revitalisation movement came the Polynesian Festival in 1972, and also inspired by the civil rights movements and peace movement in the U.S. and other parts of the world, saw the establishment of Māori education, such as Te Kōhanga Reo (the language nest) in 1982. Kāretu (1993) explains that there were mixed purposes that were envisioned in the Festival:

The Aotearoa Māori Performing Arts Festival, formerly known as the Polynesian Festival, has played a major role in the raising of the standard of performance of haka and ensuring that a high standard is maintained. The principal function of this festival, as conceived by the Māori visionaries and luminaries of the early 1970s, was to raise the standard of performance for, primarily, tourist consumption and to provide and incentive for tribes to actively revive the traditional chant and haka of their own areas. (p.80)

Despite such characteristics as creating products for “tourist consumption” stated above, Kapa Haka became an emergent art form and cultural signifier as the Festival matured. Kapa Haka rapidly gained visibility in diverse Māori communities and beyond. In 2004, the Festival came to be called Te Matatini (the many faces). Kapa Haka became not only a very popular form of taonga (treasure) in Māoridom, but also the voices of diverse Māori people, who took initiatives to possess their own cultures and to write (and rewrite) their own histories. In this I see aspects of participatory democracy, a deeper form of democratisation.

Te Matatini 2011 in Gisborne attracted over 50,000 people. In the Rugby World Cup 2011, the winning team of Te Matatini performed Kapa Haka in the opening event. In 2013, Te Matatini’s national festival produced the estimated economic value of “$7.8 million to Rotorua” (Te Matatini Business Plan, 2013). In 2015,
Māori Television announced in their Te Kāea programme that “one million viewers tune(d) into Māori Television for Te Matatini” (9 March, 2015).

Today there are many different festivals and competitions that have something to do with Kapa Haka covering every level, age group, and diverse kinds of community and educational settings: Super 12 Competition, ASB Polyfest, Pasifika Festival, Primary Schools Kapa Haka Nationals, Secondary Schools Kapa Haka Nationals, and the list goes on.

The proliferation of Kapa Haka has helped the mātauranga Māori to gain recognition in the education sector as well. As Whitinui (2008) pointed out, in compulsory and post-compulsory education sectors in Aotearoa New Zealand, Kapa Haka became a “valid academic subject” (p.2) in the “Arts Curriculum and Ngā Toi i te roto i Mātauranga o Aotearoa (Ministry of Education’s Māori art and knowledge section)” (p.2) in 2000. Then Kapa Haka became “officially recognised as an academic subject” (p.1) in 2002.

However, the issues of decolonisation and democratisation still remain. As Whitinui (2008) states, “the neo-liberal notion of ‘inclusion’, ‘choice’, ‘collaboration’, ‘integration’, ‘equality’ and ‘increasing participation’ for Māori in education may at times be simply seen as reinforcing ‘ethnocentrism’, by adhering to the cultural superiority of the ‘dominant’ culture” (p.23), considering the lack of resources and of creating infrastructures.

The ascendancy of Kapa Haka in diverse social contexts in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand may tell us much about the on-going drama of the treatment of Māori culture, in the multiple competing discourses of colonisation and decolonisation, neoliberalism and social democracy, and racial and indigenous issues. Werry (2011) observes,

It is a drama with a comic conclusion – a long-awaited return to prosperity at the hands of postneoliberal administration that softened the harsh corners of neoliberal fundamentalism with social-democratic compromise – and a remarkable subplot: biculturalization. This new commitment to biculturalism is the consummation of a generation of Māori resistance and revitalization that has seen the settling of reparations claims, a new legislative status for tribal collectives, and the integration of Māori custom, conduct, and language into many dimensions of governmental and public life, from social service delivery to parliamentary ceremony to public broadcasting. (p.xi)

Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) add,
A historical analysis may support a claim that Kapa Haka was a reactionary politic to colonisation. However, such an analysis misses some key points, especially the network of social relations and institutions where tradition and identity are constructed and asserted. Whereas ‘revivalist traditions’ may be ‘subjected’, the ‘subject’ (in this case the Māori people and their music) also have the potentiality to ‘act’, ‘engage’, and produce history themselves. (pp. 156 - 157)

Kapa Haka presented at Te Matatini today is no longer under the category of a “border art” (Werry, 2011, p.244) shown in the tourism industry. It is not only an art that has revived traditions, but is also an art that many Māori today are able to identify with. Kapa Haka may have become an “art in public” (Zuidervaart, 2011, p.80) in which many social issues and community agendas are expressed and discussed.

What this thesis investigates are the perspectives of Kapa Haka teachers who teach Kapa Haka in the forefronts of these complex and competing social discourses.

1.3. Māori Terminology and Translation

In every chapter, when a new Māori word appears, I included an English translation from the Māori Dictionary Online (Moorfield, 2003-2014). In this section I introduce and explain some of the key terms that appear throughout the thesis.

Before the Europeans came and established a modern nation, New Zealand was called “Aotearoa” (which means “long white cloud”) by the original inhabitants who consisted of many different tribes. With the arrival of European settlers, these indigenous tribes were called “Māori”. Ranginui Walker writes, “the word māori means normal, usual or ordinary, which through usage has become capitalized to refer to the Māori people collectively” (p.94). On the other hand, the Europeans and their descendants came to be called “Pākehā”, the word which Walker (2004) explains “was used to designate the strangers” (p.94). In the thesis I call the country Aotearoa New Zealand.

1.4. Thesis Preview

As a whole, the thesis portrays my encounter with the culture of Kapa Haka. Chapter 1 outlines my personal journey, and how I came to the research. Māori people value “whakapapa”, which means “genealogy”, and therefore I briefly stated why and how I came to write this thesis at the beginning.
The second chapter of the thesis covers literature on the values of democracy, the concepts of ‘education for democracy’ and ‘democratic community’. The chapter introduces educational roles of the arts to enhance democracy, and the importance of preparing a healthy environment of the public sphere in order for ‘art in public’ to function well.

The third chapter illustrates the research design. The methodology section explains my position as a cultural outsider in Aotearoa New Zealand, and my search to be a morally decent researcher. I further explain how I employed autoethnography, and how I used my multiple identities - a theatrical producer, a Japanese person, an educator for democracy, a person from an international public space - to examine educational meanings of Kapa Haka.

Chapters 4 to 6 are autoethnographic accounts of my learning Kapa Haka under Dr. Ngāpō Wehi and his whānau (extended family). These chapters also show many aspects of Kapa Haka and Māori culture, as well as their relationship with the mainstream culture. In chapter 4, I mainly discuss community-making aspects of Kapa Haka. In chapter 5, I discuss how Kapa Haka can be a social voice of Māori people. In chapter 6, I look at Kapa Haka as a celebration of cultural freedom and cultural identity of Māori.

Chapters 7 to 9 introduce my encounter with other kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka (Kapa Haka teachers) who teach Kapa Haka in diverse social contexts in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. In chapter 7 I introduce teachers who teach Kapa Haka in mainstream schools and in chapter 8 I introduce teachers who teach Kapa Haka in Māori social and educational contexts. In chapter 9, I describe my encounters of Kapa Haka in the public sphere beyond school and traditional community settings.

Chapter 10 brings this thesis to a close by arguing that there are two primary reasons for teaching and learning Kapa Haka in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. I further argue that understanding Kapa Haka and creative positioning of its educational activity in the public sphere could help foster a meaningful and democratic society.

In the appendix, I listed performing items with English translations. This is a precious section for me, because my teachers kindly allowed me to include them in my thesis, and my supervisor Dr. Te Rito kindly translated the items for the thesis.
Chapter 2. Literature

“And compassion isn’t a sign of weakness, but a mark of civilization”. Nicholas Kristoff (27 November, 2013, New York Times)

2.1. Introduction

Having worked in the U.S. and Japan as a theatrical producer and a director of television drama programmes, and almost exclusively in national, public and nonprofit sectors, the following questions emerged from my work experiences: ‘Why do we support and fund performing arts and other cultural entities and their activities in public spaces? What are the missions of performing arts in public spaces today? What kinds of performing arts should be taught, produced, presented and supported in public spaces in order to foster a better democracy?’ The public spaces, or the public sphere, include public schools, cultural and educational venues, public broadcasting and emerging cyber spaces accessible to the general public.

This Literature chapter focuses on the roles and functions of performing arts as educational entities to foster more civil humanity and foster a nobler, deeper and more compassionate democracy in public spaces, in and against the discourses of today’s capitalist globalisation (Hardt & Negri, 2001, p.55), “neoliberalism” (Bargh, 2007, p.1) and “education for profit” (Nussbaum, 2010, p.13). The chapter serves as a theoretical basis to seek educational purposes and roles of Kapa Haka in the public spaces in Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.2. ‘Education for Democracy’ and ‘Education for Profit’

2.2.1. Is Democracy Failing?

The three nations where I have lived and worked - Japan, the United States and Aotearoa New Zealand - all possess democracy as their political system, with two of them having been among the richest economies in the world. Yet in each of these nations pursuit for democratic values such as freedom, equality and social justice, and embracing diversity, does not seem to be the primary concern of the public. Twenty-seven years ago Greene (1988) expressed concerns which I still share:
Talk of the free world today is intertwined with talk of economic competitiveness, technology, and power. Talk of personal freedom refers to self-dependence and self-determination; it has little to do with connectedness or being together with community. (p.1)

The idea that I would put forth through the performing arts is that we are all connected, that we must respect each other, and that we should love one another. Yet such a belief, passion, or sense of mission, is often curbed when people prioritise becoming richer over becoming compassionate.

In my fifty-three years of existence, it appears the gap between the rich and the poor has widened, and hate and war have never disappeared. Nicholson (2011), a theatre educator in UK, states, “globalization is contributing to social injustice and personal suffering on an international scale” (p.92). McLaren (1995) laments on the American society, supposedly the front-runner of democracy, “Our much heralded form of democracy has become ... subverted by its contradictory relationship to the very object of its address: human freedom, social justice, and a tolerance and respect for difference” (p.1).

What are the issues? What are the causes? What is lacking in our democracy, and how can we fix these problems? McLaren (1995) states,

In the current historical juncture, discourses of democracy continue to masquerade as disinterested solicitations, and to reveal themselves as incommensurable with the struggle for social equality. The reality and promise of democracy in the United States has been invalidated by the ascendancy of new postmodern institutionalizations of brutality and the proliferation of new and sinister structures of domination. (p.1)

It seems that McLaren is saying that democracy in the U.S.A. is failing.

Maria Bargh (2007) states that in Aotearoa New Zealand resistance is “an indigenous reposonse to neoliberalism” (p.1). She defines neoliberalism as “those practices and policies which seek to extend the market mechanism into areas of the community previously organised and governed in other ways” (p.1). She further explains,

This process involves the entrenching of the three central tenets of neoliberalism: ‘free’ trade and the ‘free’ mobility of capital, accompanied by a broad reduction in the ambit and role of the state. (p.1)

Neoliberal policies matter to indigenous communities because in Bargh’s (2007) words, “Many indigenous peoples view the way that neoliberal practices
maintain this dominance as akin to colonisation” (p.2). Thus in Aotearoa New Zealand, too, the proliferation of the values of democracy seems to be failing.

2.2.2. Democracy as a Community

Crick (2007) states that in ancient Greek society, “The fundamental democratic ideal was freedom (eleutheria)” (p.16). Supposedly humanity has come a long way and enabled more people to attain their freedom from the oppressing powers and from abusive rulers. Generally speaking, people are probably freer now than they were a few hundred years ago. Yet we have not attained a completely free society by any matter of means.

As a result of the worldwide trend that education should give us skills to make a living and to become richer, Nussbaum (2010) writes, more and more nations are valuing the kind of education that enhances skills in “literacy, and numeracy … in computer science and technology” (p.19). Nussbaum (2010) admits that “the national interest of any modern democracy requires a strong economy and a flourishing business culture” (p.10). Yet she argues that we need a healthy balance between “education for profit” (p.13) and “education for democracy” (p.13) in order to keep “democracies alive and wide awake” (p.10).

Nussbaum (2010) reminds us that education in public spaces requires instilling the young with what she calls “the spirit of the humanities … by searching critical thought, daring imagination, empathetic understanding of human experiences of many different kinds, and understanding of the complexity of the world we live in” (p.7). She further explains that these abilities “are associated with the humanities and the arts” (p.7). Nussbaum explains,

They are: the ability to think critically; the ability to transcend local loyalties and to approach world problems as a “citizen of the world”; and, finally, the ability to imagine sympathetically the predicament of another person. (p.7)

I would further argue that both the young and the old need education to cultivate this “spirit”, because quite often mature adults are guiding the young to focus on gaining their skills for making profits and to forget about social issues or issues that concern the advancement of democracy.

Democracy is always evolving. As Greene (1995) writes, “Today the questions raised by the environmental movement and those involved with human ecology are making us challenge ideas of progress, growth, and control over nature that were fundamental in Enlightenment thought” (p.193). According to Greene
(1995), we keep imagining democracy collectively, and we keep striving to achieve it. In Greene’s (1995) words, it is “a community always in the making --- the community that may someday be called a democracy” (p.6).

In this inquiry, I take the position that democracy as a political system might be available to those who are living in Aotearoa New Zealand, the U.S. and Japan, yet much effort is needed to foster a better democratic society that can be called a democratic community. Education and the arts can play vital roles in this regard.

2.3. Making of a Democratic Community

2.3.1. What is a ‘Democratic Community’?

The term ‘a democratic community’ may require further explanation. Philosophers in Western civilisations have pursued the elusive nature of democracy and its values since the era of ancient Greece; freedom, equality, justice and autonomy are intertwining and overlapping values in democracy (Crick, 2002; Chapman & Shapiro, 1993; Dahl, 1988).

Most of us are aware that democracy is not almighty and it has its deficiencies. Crick (2002) introduces Plato’s view on democracy by stating, “Plato attacked this [democracy] as being the rule of the poor and the ignorant over the educated and the knowledgeable” (p.11). Levine (2007) asks, “what if democracy could breed its own version of tyranny?” (p.13). In fact, democracy’s deficiency can be seen in Aotearoa New Zealand. Jones (2012) states,

They [indigenous scholars] have always been suspicious of claims for democracy as majority rule. Modern democracies, they say, have not served indigenous peoples well. It is hard to disagree. Open knowledge production and universal criticisms, too, are regarded as failing the interests of indigenous peoples when the critics in power remain ignorant or careless about the philosophical bases (kaupapa) of indigenous knowledges. (p.104)

Yet Socrates thought the majority could be educated. Greene (1995) asks whether we could transform our deficient democracy for the better through good education and through thinking about democracy as always in progress. Nussbaum (1997) explains, “Socrates depicted ‘the examined life’ as a central educational goal for democracy” (p.28). For him, good education requires careful and critical thinking. Nussbaum sees in Socrates’ argument “respect for the moral faculties” (p.27), and believes that those faculties influence “democratic choices” (p.27) of the citizens.
For Socrates democracy has as much to do with questions of morality as with the ability to think about others. According to Nussbaum (1997), “Socrates prefers democracy because democracy is noble, and he thinks it is noble because it recognizes and respects powers of deliberation and choice that all citizens share” (p.27). For Socrates, education plays an important role in making a quality democracy. Nussbaum (1997) continues,

In order to foster a democracy that is reflective and deliberative, rather than simply a marketplace of competing interest groups, a democracy that genuinely takes thought for the common good, we must produce citizens who have the Socratic capacity to reason about their beliefs.... The failure to think critically produces a democracy in which people talk at one another but never have a genuine dialogue. (p.19)

The concept of “a community” becomes vital when we think of “the common good” and “a genuine dialogue” in the argument above.

Dewey (1916) states that “A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience” (p.87). There seems to be a direct link between Socrates’ notion of a “dialogue” and Dewey’s “conjoint communicated experience”. Following Dewey (1916), Greene (1995) explains that “a democratic community” is where “conjoint experiences” (Dewey, p.87) are valued and “interconnectedness and communion” (Greene, p.34) are present.

Greene (1995) also argues that to transform the current democratic society for the better, people are expected to strive “towards some coherent notion of what is humane and decent and just” (p.1), which connects to Socrates’ concept of being “noble”. Similarly, Nussbaum (2010) argues that in order for a democracy to work, it requires a “soul” (p.6) and “faculties of thought and imagination that make us human and make our relationships rich human relationships, rather than relationships of mere use and manipulation” (p.6). She (2010) explains,

When we meet in society, if we have not learned to see both self and other in that way, imagining in one another inner faculties of thought and emotion, democracy is bound to fail, because democracy is built upon respect and concern, and these in turn are built upon the ability to see other people as human beings, not simply as objects. (p.6)

A democratic community is a community where compassion, decency and soul play vital and important roles. It is a community that is nobler and deeper than what we have today.
I have so far examined cultural and philosophical characteristics of a democratic community. Now I continue this argument by examining how a democratic community might be constructed in pluralistic societies.

2.3.2. Education for Democracy in a Pluralistic Society

How do we build our society closer to the idea of a democratic community, the one that is nobler, deeper and more compassionate than today? How do we all achieve freedom in a society where many diverse peoples gather? How do we nurture a more just, harmonious, inclusive, and equal society? How do we eliminate racism, inequality, discrimination, segregation, ignorance and hate among us? Education must play a critical role to foster a more inclusive, just and harmonious society, yet what kind of education do we need?

Greene (1988) states that “The matter of freedom, then, in a diverse society is also a matter of power, as it involves the issue of a public space” (p.116), and asks,

How, in a society like ours, a society of contesting interests and submerged voices, an individualist society, a society still lacking an “in-between,” can we educate for freedom? And, in educating for freedom, how can we create and maintain a common world? (p.116)

In Greene’s view (1988) achieving freedom and fostering a common world or community are not conflicting ideas. She is also aware that to co-exist with others requires abilities to share a public space and to share responsibility for the community, which may concern morality, or what Nussbaum calls “soul” (2010, p.6).

Thus the following questions become of importance: how can we learn to understand the people who have different views from ours, who have different cultural backgrounds from ours? How can we live together with others in harmony as a community, without eliminating our differences? How can we accept others, and make efforts to nurture a coherent society? How do we learn to see things from other people’s perspectives? How do we cultivate sympathy, empathy, love and compassion towards those strangers? What type of education do we need to achieve these abilities in public spaces? These are enduring educational issues in a democracy.

Today, both globally and locally, any democracy is expected to become more accepting of “pluralism and heterogeneity” (Greene, 1995, p.6). As our world goes more global, there is more need for education to respect others in global

[human plurality] has the twofold character of ‘equality and distinction’. Without equality, there could be no public space; and she meant by that, of course, equality of regard. Without distinctiveness or uniqueness, people would have no need for speech or action to make themselves understood; because, if they were all identical, mere signs or gestures would be enough. (p.116)

Nussbaum (2010) recognises the importance of an education that enables us to accept and embrace plurality. She (2010) explains,

Every modern democracy is also a society in which people differ greatly along many parameters, including religion, ethnicity, wealth and class, physical impairment, gender, and sexuality, and in which all voters are making choices that have a major impact on the lives of people who differ from themselves. (p.9)

Nussbaum (2010) lists the following educational aims and goals, which need to be addressed in schools and universities “to produce citizens in and for a healthy democracy” (p.45). She writes,

1. Develop students’ capacity to see the world from the viewpoint of other people, particularly those whom their society tends to portray as lesser, as “mere objects”.
2. Teach attitudes toward human weakness and helplessness that suggest weakness is not shameful and the need for others not unmanly; teach children not to be ashamed of need and incompleteness but to see these as occasions for cooperation and reciprocity.
3. Develop the capacity for genuine concern for others, both near and distant.
4. Undermine the tendency to shrink from minorities of various kinds in disgust, thinking of them as “lower” and “contaminating”.
5. Teach real and true things about other groups (racial, religious, and sexual minorities; people with disabilities), so as to counter stereotypes and the disgust that often goes with them.
6. Promote accountability by treating each child as a responsible agent.
7. Vigorously promote critical thinking, the skill and courage it requires to raise a dissenting voice.

I also agree with Nussbaum (2010) that “education does not take place only in schools” (p.8).

I have so far shown that many philosophers in education hold the view that a true democracy has not been achieved yet, and that they also recognise that democracy as a political model has institutional weaknesses. At the same time many philosophers argue that education for democracy will help transform the public into better citizens, thus fostering a better democratic community.
Alison Jones (2012) writes “Modern democracies ... have not served indigenous peoples well” (p.104), because, as Bargh (2007) states, Aotearoa New Zealand has been pursuing neoliberal practices seeking “to extend the market mechanism everywhere” (p.2). I encountered many Māori people who expressed in conversations that they were critical and suspicious of the word ‘democracy’.

What kind of education then is needed to strengthen a democratic community, or foster a better democracy, in Aotearoa New Zealand? Can people in Aotearoa New Zealand transform their society into a better democratic community where indigenous people feel included and embraced?

2.3.3. Diversity, Imagination and the Arts

Greene (1988) states, “If we are seriously interested in education for freedom … it is also important to find a way of developing a praxis of educational consequence that opens the spaces necessary for the remaking of a democratic community” (p.126). Greene thinks that it is important that the majority and the powerful to learn to hear the voices of minorities and to see the world through the eyes of minorities. Greene (1988) explains,

For this to happen, there must of course be a new commitment to intelligence, a new fidelity in communication, a new regard for imagination ... It would mean the granting of audibility to numerous voices seldom heard before and, at once, an involvement with all sorts of young people being provoked to make their own the multilinguality needed for structuring of contemporary experience and thematizing lived worlds. (p.126 - 127)

Yet how do we educate ourselves to see things from other people’s or minority people’s perspectives and cultivate empathy? Greene (1988) argues that “art forms must be conceived of as ever-present possibility” (p.131) to open dialogues between the people with differences in public spaces. Dewey (2005) also states, “The work of art … is not only an outcome of imagination, but operates imaginatively rather than in the realm of physical existences” (p.285). It is because of the power of imagination that art offers us educational possibility.

Greene (1995) states, “One of the reasons I have come to concentrate on imagination as a means through which we can assemble a coherent world is that imagination is what, above all, makes empathy possible”. Greene (1995) explains further,
[Imagination] is what enables us to cross the empty spaces between ourselves and those we teachers have called “the other” over the years. If those others are willing to give us clues, we can look in some manner through strangers’ eyes and hear through their ears. That is because, of all our cognitive capacities, imagination is the one that permits us to give credence to alternative realities. It allows us to break with the taken for granted, to set aside familiar distinctions and definitions. (p.3)

Nussbaum (1997) also argues that artistic imagination releases compassion. She (1997) writes, “Boundaries of race, of gender, and of sexual orientation prove, historically, more recalcitrant: for there might appear to be little real-life possibility of a man’s becoming a woman, a white person’s becoming black, or even a straight person’s becoming gay or lesbian” (p.92). By showing some successful examples from her studies in liberal arts education, Nussbaum (1997) argues that, In these cases, then, it is all the more urgent to cultivate the basis of compassion through the fictional exercise of imagination – for if one cannot in fact change one’s race, one can imagine what it is like to inhabit a race different from one’s own, and by becoming close to a person of different race or sexual orientation, one can imagine what it would be like for someone one loves to have such a life. (p.92)

Imagination is not almighty and it will probably not solve all the problems in the world. Yet in a political system that is based on the principle of ‘majority rule’, there must be a constant effort made for the dominant majority to experience moments of walking in the minority persons’ shoes by using their imagination so they can be more understanding, inclusive, compassionate and empathetic. Nicholson (2011) warns us that when the educational “models of people as machinery and instruments of industrialization” (p.97) dominate the globalised society, “the moral authority of the imagination” (p.101) would be challenged.

If, by helping to cultivate imagination, the arts can somehow enhance the quality of democracy, this could be one of the arts’ major educational roles and functions in the public sphere to achieve a democratic community.

2.4. Art, Education and Public Spaces in Democracy

2.4.1. Art, Knowledge and Power

Foucault (1980) argues that there has been a link between power and knowledge. Lyotard (1984) also examines educational aspects of knowledge in relation to power. He is critical of neoliberal and free market discourses. Nicholson (2011), a theatre educator and researcher who examines the history of theatre education, explains,
Lytard’s concern was to question the status of knowledge and analyse the ‘grand narratives’ of legitimation both within education and beyond. He was particularly critical of the commodification of knowledge in education where there is an emphasis in teaching the kind of skills needed ‘designed to tackle world competition’ and to maintain the social system as it is. (pp.7 - 8)

Nicholson (2011) further states,

Formal education is always on some level an Instrument of State Apparatus, to use Althusser’s Marxist phraseology, and theatre-makers who were drawn to work in educational contexts have often been, historically, inspired by oppositional politics, regarding themselves as independent-minded cultural critics rather than uncritical agents of government policy. (p.8)

In fact art and art education historically have struggled in relation to power and politics. Gardner (1990) argues, “All discussions of educational issues entail considerations of values, and this truism has been embodied in the often controversial domain of art education” (p.ix). He continues,

Plato viewed education in the arts as dangerous to the social fabric of society; religious and political leaders provided (and occasionally withdrew) support for the ateliers of the most gifted artists during the Renaissance; totalitarian governments in the twentieth century immediately insert themselves into the arts classroom. (p.ix)

It is often assumed that people in power often decide which art is valuable, safe, or suitable for the society. In democrac societies, it is usually the people who respent the majority who tend to decide what kind of art should be taught in public schools, and what kind of art should be funded and presented in the public sphere. According to Levine (2007), one of the issues of art in democratic societies is that “majorities can work to repress and silence nonconformist voices” (p.13), which seems to be against the idea of freedom, one of the essential democratic values.

Gardner (1990) continues by saying that, “…even in democratic societies, there are heated and unresolved debates about whether public funds should be used to support art schools, particularly if some of the students produce works which offend the social or political mores of segments of the community” (p.ix). Gardner probably uses the word “even”, because his understanding of democracy assumes “the idea of legally guaranteed individual rights” (Crick, 2002, p.13), which includes the protection of nonconformist voices and freedom of expression.
Democracy seems to hold two opposing characteristics depending on how one defines it and how one wants democracy to be, as well as whether one is part of the majority or of the minority. On the one hand, in democracy, art should celebrate freedom of expressions, yet, on the other, a democratic majority might repress art that may offend them. After all democracy is a political system which is based on an idea of the “majority rule” or “majority consent” (Crick, 2002, p.8).

Freire (2009) has argued ‘oppressed’ people are deprived of their cultural knowledge that is precious to them. He calls that condition “cultural invasion” (p.154) and explains,

Cultural invasion is on the one hand an instrument of domination, and on the other, the result of domination. Thus, cultural action of a dominating character (like other forms of antidialogical action), in addition to being deliberate and planned, is in another sense simply a product of oppressive reality. (p.154)

I suggest that as educators, we have an intellectual obligation to examine if the body of knowledge we are teaching has aspects of “cultural invasion”.

When one looks at the performing arts industry in Aotearoa New Zealand, one can notice the massive presence of the European and American performing arts in the public sphere: ballets, operas, musicals, popular plays from West End and Broadway, and symphony orchestras that mainly play European classics. Arguably, Western knowledge of the arts still dominates public schools in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I find it disappointing that local, indigenous cultural knowledge is marginalised in this country. This thesis proposes that fostering a democratic community might require giving a proper cultural status to the indigenous arts, if the goal might be for the existing communities to learn about each other, about their diverse practices and values. In particular there is much to learn for people who identify with the majority culture about the oppressed minority whose cultures have been under “cultural invasion”.

Learning about Māori culture might give non-Māori New Zealanders opportunities to learn Māori worldviews and indigenous cultural knowledge. It means activating a kind of space that Greenwood and Wilson (2006) calls “the third space” (p.11), where deeper communication and inter-cultural dialoguing could occur. Theoretically speaking, education of this kind could contribute to creating a base for a better democratic community.
In the next section, I further investigate the meaning of a public space, or the public sphere, where intensive conjoint communications might occur, to nurture a democratic community.

2.4.2. The Public Sphere as a Haven for Democracy: Lessons from Public Broadcasting

I have so far looked at the differences and relations between “education for democracy” and “education for profit” (Nussbaum, 2010; McLaren, 1995). I have further examined the meanings of “a democratic community” (Dewey, 2005; Greene, 1995), as well as the importance of humanity, soul and empathy to make a democratic community. Then I examined the importance of education that releases “the imagination” (Greene, 1995) of the public, because imagination “makes empathy” and “compassion” possible (Greene, 1995; Nussbaum, 2010). In this section, I look at the meanings of a public space, or the public sphere, where education for democracy for the public should take place.

My first professional job was directing television dramas at NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation), the public broadcasting network in Japan. Yet when I became part of the company, the management started to run the company with the logic of commercialism. The management told us to make programmes that appealed to a wider audience to raise the numbers of viewers; instead of making programmes that made the viewers think deeply about social issues, they wanted us to make more entertaining programmes with smaller budgets. Thus the efficiency became more important than the quality of the programme. The budget and the time we needed to make good programmes started to decrease, more work started pouring in, and less people were working. I left the company with disappointment when the working conditions kept deteriorating. After three decades, it seems, NHK has regained its healthier identity, yet it is always under political pressures not to be too critical of the politicians in power. I wanted to take this opportunity to investigate what it means for a public broadcasting company to hold on to their democratic discourse.

Public broadcasting could be one of the most significant public spaces where clashes between the power and idealism of democracy happen. It can be a space where the masses or the public, through communications technologies, should be able to gather, and exchange thoughts and opinions, on local, domestic and global issues. Yet there are many critics who argue that public broadcasting has basically not yet succeeded in fostering democratic values.
vigorously, or in constructing a nobler democratic community. Existential meanings of public broadcasting have been constantly threatened by the people who are interested in holding on to their power, who operate the logic of commercial broadcasting inspired by globalisation, and/or who simply support “grand narrative” (Lyotard, 1984), and/or common tastes of the majority of viewers.

Arguments about the identity of public broadcasting may help us to think about the roles and meanings of the public, citizenship and culture in the public spaces. McCauley, Peterson, Artz and Halleck (2003) argue that in order to distinguish public broadcasting from the rest, it helps to distinguish its audience’s characteristics:

We submit that this distinction between audience-as-public (citizens) and audience-as-market (consumers) is crucial to understanding the development and future transformation of public service broadcasting (p.xix).

In the last century or so, public broadcasting has in many different countries shared similar issues with art in democracy and education for democracy. It seems that the underlying philosophical arguments are very similar, involving the issues of power, knowledge, freedom, and education to construct a nobler democratic community. Marc Raboy (1996) argues,

By linking the idea of public broadcasting to the notion of citizenship, we saw that it was necessary to guarantee its delinking from both the political authority of the state and the economic arbitrage of the market. The key to this is not so much a particular structure or funding formula, but a set of objectives and practices based on democratic principles and the view that broadcasting can be a means of social and cultural development. (p.10)

Citizens today are surrounded by commercialism, consumerism and capitalist globalisation. It is understandable that there are many people who enjoy soap operatic romance, silly comedies to kill time, scary movies, violent and erotic shows in commercial sectors. Yet some of us who are concerned about improving the society for the better instead of richer, also expect programmes that make us think deeply about social issues. Some of us find it important to educate ourselves to see things from others’ perspectives with empathy, and to encourage ourselves to engage in critical dialogues with others from diverse cultural backgrounds, because some of us want to keep democracy alive, active and growing. While recognising Plato’s concern of “the rule of the poor and the ignorant” (Crick, 2002, p.11) keeps coming back as a threat, some of us still share the hope of Socrates that democracy is noble and possible.
Some thinkers, including Jürgen Habermas, have suggested the idea of the public sphere, where democracy could flourish. Carolyn Levine (2007) states,

Jürgen Habermas has made the influential case that mass culture has undermined a genuinely democratic public sphere, since citizens now understand themselves not as active, critical participants in a vibrant public debate about collective problems but merely as consumers willing to offer their friendly assent to pre-packaged plans for social action. (p.17)

C.R. Balas (2003) also explains, “Habermas envisions a protected space in which private people come together as a public to speak and act in the common interests of the group…” (pp.13-14). Following Habermas, Levine (2007) argues that the public needs to prepare a space or an opportunity where “lively, energetic, dissent should be integrated into the mainstream of public life” (p.19). Democracy requires a kind of public space where competing ideas could be exchanged and discussed freely and deeply in order for it to improve.

Balas (2003) argues that Habermas, Arendt and Dewey were the leading thinkers who developed the idea of a protected public space to nurture a democratic culture. According to Balas (2003), Arendt’s “central analysis was civic discourse, conducted within a protected public space that promoted participation and shared commitments to the body at large” (p.14). Balas (2003) states that Dewey has a similar argument:

A public emerges only when its members become properly conscious of shared problems -- consequences -- and take upon themselves the addressing of those problems, each person assuming the appropriate ‘share according to capacity.’ He [Dewey] was particularly troubled that the American public of his day seemed “largely inchoate and unorganized,” eclipsed, fragmented. For Dewey, an active sphere of public talk was part of the solution. Like Habermas, he viewed communication as the enabler of participatory democracy and the one mechanism by which the public could become aware of deep and common issues uniting its members. (pp.14 - 15)

In many parts of the world, public broadcasting companies were established with strong visions of “a democratic community” and a healthy function of “public sphere” in mind, yet they struggled to fight against the logic of market economy, political power holders, as well as the dominant culture of the majority. Still many reform visionaries and researchers, including Balas (2003), suggest that we must not abandon the idealism based on the “public sphere” argued for by Habermas, Arendt, Dewey and the ancient Greeks. Balas (2003) explains,
A working polis, whose project is engaged public talk, social reform, and a broad-based, popular community, is seen as useful in enabling democracy and a just and fair society. Further, not only is the public sphere conceived as a space in which private individuals become public citizens with commitments to the common, it is also a site in which people become aware of their differences. (pp.16 - 17)

After having worked in both public broadcasting and performing arts I came to think that public broadcasting is often vulnerable, and therefore fails to function as a solid and stable public sphere. State authorities often try to interfere with the management of public broadcasting, and discourage broadcasters to express the views that are different from the authorities.

In my opinion, today performing arts industries are less threatening to the authorities than public broadcasting. They are more intimate and smaller scale, they offer direct, dialogical and deeper communication with the audience compared to the one-way communication style of broadcasting. Sharing the time and space as it happens in live performing arts can be very effective for deeper communications, yet not with large population. Also in today’s arts world, people seem to be more tolerant and accepting of provocative, intellectual and controversial perspectives in stage or film arts productions. It is more difficult for television drama programmes to be provocative and controversial than for live stage performances.

Still both performing arts and public broadcasting require a public sphere that enables them to contribute to fostering a nobler and deeper democracy. Lambert Zuidervaart (2011) argues that the public sphere is concerned with political, economic and cultural factors. He (2011) defines the “public sphere” as “a continually shifting network of discourses and media of communication that supports wide-ranging discussions about social justice and the common good” (p.83). He further explains its characteristics by saying that it is “essential to any modern democratic society” (p.83). He states,

It [public sphere] sustains widespread participation in the shaping of societal structures. It facilitates challenges to the operation of the economic system and the administrative state. And, within civil society itself, it serves to promote democratic communication. Hence, the public sphere can enable and modify democratic potentials in economic and political macrostructures while fostering a democratic culture. More specifically, it allows cultural rights -- individual, communal, and institutional – to be articulated and claims for their satisfaction to be communicated. (p.83)

Public broadcasting will hopefully keep transforming to become more like the public sphere defined above. After having assessed public broadcasting and its
possible roles for transforming democratic societies, this chapter now moves on to review educational roles and functions of art in democracy. What kind of art and art education might be meaningful to nurture a nobler democratic community in pluralistic societies?

2.4.3. Art as ‘Alternativist' in the Public Sphere

As mentioned above, many philosophers (Nussbaum, 2010; Greene, 1995) think that it is possible to foster a democratic community through ‘education for democracy' in the public sphere. As seen in the case of public broadcasting, many people are aware that “…majorities can work to repress and silence nonconformist voices. Thus democratic societies always run the risk of becoming disturbingly unfree societies” (Levine, 2007, p.13). Levine (2007) still asks, “What is the place of outsiders, dissidents, and foreigners in the democratic collective?” (p.45). Behind this question is the thought that if we want to construct a better society, we need people with critical and creative capacities.

To think critically and to express different and new views through writings, through art and other means, seem to have much in common. Dewey (2005) states, “Philosophy is said to begin in wonder and end in understanding. Art departs from what has been understood and ends in wonder” (p.281). In this context, both intellectuals and artists have certain, and rather indispensable, roles to play to enhance an idea of a democratic community. Foucault (1988) writes,

The role of an intellectual is not to tell others what they have to do ... it is, through the analysis that he carries out in his own field, to question over and over again what is postulated as self-evident, to disturb people's mental habits, the way they do and think things, to dissipate what is familiar and accepted, to reexamine rules and institutions … to participate in the formation of a political will. (p.265)

In democracy, artists and intellectuals have similar existential and professional responsibilities to critically challenge the social norm, or “inertia of habit” (Dewey, 2005), to initiate debates over social issues in the public sphere. Levine (2007) argues,

We are used to telling ourselves that the arts need the protection of a flourishing democracy in order to survive. But in fact, the opposite is at least equally true: democracies require art – challenging art – to ensure that they are acting as free societies. (p.x)
Through her careful study of the relationship between democracies and challenging arts, Levine (2007) realised that “Arts controversies for a hundred years have hinged on a struggle between democratic majorities and deliberately provoking outsiders” (p.x). Surprisingly enough, Levine (2007) writes, “...the idea that art should challenge mainstream values is not much more than a century old” (p.5). In a way democracies have created new concepts, roles, and functions of art: nonconformist questioning and provocation.

To nurture a better democracy, the arts in public spaces need to have challenging characteristics. Levine (2007) prefers to use the term “avant-garde”, “to mean art that is ahead of its time – shocking, insurrectionary, capable of summoning the future” (p.5). Levine (2007) further explains,

In short, from leftist intellectuals to right-wing pundits, from legislators to television shows, just about everyone in battles over the arts agrees that artists are on the side of critical resistance, inaccessibility, and minority values, while the “public” is on the side of tradition, faith, and majority tastes and preferences. The fundamental disagreement in arts debates centers on the value of critical outsiders and difficult challenges, mainstream traditions and popular tastes. (pp.9 - 10)

Democracy could mature because of on-going debates in the public sphere. Political theorists of democracy, according to Levine (2007), “from Tocqueville and Adorno to Mouffe and Mansbridge” (p.19), all seem to agree that “the defiance of the mainstream enriches the mainstream ... In short, lively, energetic, dissent should be integrated into the mainstream public life” (p.19). Thus Levine (2007) states,

The three institutions are at stake here – mass culture, avant-garde art and modern democracy --- are all intertwined: all three developed out of nineteenth century struggles over the power of “the people”, and together, these three institutions pose fundamental questions about democracy’s workings: how do we know what the will of the people really looks like, and does that will necessarily indicate the wisest, fairest, freest course for societies to take? (p.21)

In a pluralistic society the arts of minorities often play similar roles and functions as “avant-garde” arts. In the U.S., for example, the music of African American people pushed the boundaries of mainstream American music: jazz, gospel, rock, rap, hip hop and so on. They first appeared as shockingly new forms of music, representing alternative or resistant voices to the mainstream culture, and they were gradually taken into the mainstream culture. Those forms of music also became vehicles for African Americans to convey their social voices, and helped push the issues of social justice forward. When some of the voices indeed reached the mainstream, some of them inspired the public to act on
social injustices (Haskins, 1987). In Japan there are many controversial theatre productions and films that were created by the culturally marginalised Korean-Japanese people. Can these marginalised peoples’ arts still be called ‘avant-garde’?

Instead of using the term ‘avant-garde’, Levine (2007) ponders that art which challenges the social norm could be called “alternativist” (p.21): “It is that cultural institution that is defined by its resistance to the mass, the mainstream, the majority. Its core value is identical with dissent itself” (p.21). If the alternativists can do their jobs properly in the public sphere, such a community may keep moving in a democratically healthier direction. In this context, Kapa Haka in Aotearoa New Zealand may have significant educational roles to play as an alternativist art in the mainstream public sphere.

Zuidervaart (2011) examines the characteristics and conditions of art in the public sphere in relation to today’s capitalist democracy. Zuidervaart’s (2011) arguments speak to me, because as a theatrical producer, I have always faced existential questions of performing arts in relation to the realistic issues of fundraising and marketability. While philosophical theories and idealism can be appreciated, we must prepare financial justification for the alternative arts and their presence in the public sphere. Zuidervaart (2011) explains,

Culturally it claims that the arts are an institutional setting for imaginative disclosure that is societally important. Politically it claims that, to promote public justice, democratically elected governments need to protect and support art’s creative articulation of issues and interests in the public sphere. Economically, it claims that arts organizations in the civic sector provide important social-economic alternatives both needed and threatened by the capitalist market and the administrative state. (p.85)

Zuidervaart (2011) calls the kind of art that should be in the public sphere “art in public” (p.126). He (2011) further examines its role:

The special contribution of art in public is to help people carry out their explorations and presentations and interpretations in an imaginative fashion, to help them disclose in fresh and insightful ways the felt quality and lived experience of concerns that merit public attention. Products and events of art in public that accomplish this sort of imaginative disclosure exemplify and foster critical and creative dialogue both within various publics and among them. (p.126)

Thus both Levine’s “alternativist” and Zuidervaart’s “art in public” are the key terms for me to discuss educational meanings of Kapa Haka in the public sphere in Aotearoa New Zealand today.
In the next section, I review arts education literature, and I examine which unique ways of knowing the arts can offer, and how performing arts education might contribute to the making of a democratic community. I include discussions on diversification of epistemology, embodiment of cultures, and social construction of identities. These discussions show the arts education’s abilities to cultivate a healthy relationship between self and others and to recognise local knowledge in an era of globalisation.

2.5. Performing Arts, Education and Making of a Democratic Community

2.5.1. Performing Arts, Education and Epistemological Pluralism

According to Smith (2002-2008) American educational psychologist Howard Gardner argued that human beings have ‘multiple intelligences’ and education should be reconstructed according to how we can nurture them. These intelligences include: linguistic, logical-mathematical, musical, bodily-kinesthetic, spatial, interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences. In 1999, Gardner added “naturalist intelligence”: the ability to “recognize, categorize and draw upon certain features of the environment”, and “spiritual intelligence”, which can “be partially identified through its effect on other people” (Smith, 2002-2008). Gardner’s theory has redefined education as a vehicle to obtain diverse life skills by giving credence to various types of human abilities and professions, including the arts.

Another theory that became popular in arts education is “Discipline Based Arts Education (DBAE)” (Dobbs, 1992). DBAE is based on the idea that there are four disciplines in art education; art production (making of art), art criticism (examination and discussion of art), art history (understanding of art in historical and socio-cultural contexts) and aesthetics (philosophy of art), and that all will contribute to understanding of the arts. DBAE has provided broader and more inclusive approaches to learning the arts, as well as clearer ways to understand the knowledge offered by the arts.

These theories promote the arts as important knowledge and as teaching students meaningful life skills so they can become fully equipped, intelligent human beings in today’s society. Both theories above helped reposition the arts as valuable subjects to be taught in classrooms, offering a riposte against the neoliberal discourse of “education for profit” (Nussbaum, 2010). DBAE and Multiple Intelligences theory both added new dimensions to arts education by adding metaphysical significance, and by diversifying epistemological
dimensions of art and art education. In chapters 4 to 9, I use these theories to investigate educational aspects of Kapa Haka.

Diversification of epistemology can be seen in the theatre education literature as well. One of the significant arguments lies in the encouragement of interdisciplinary learning methods and application of the above theories. Nicholson (2011) argues that in theatre education, “understanding is not always articulated in language, and that the materiality of the body and the ephemerality of memory hold meaning as well as words” (p.9). According to Nicolson (2011), theatre education provides a space where “both the abstract ideas and the embodied practices” meet (p.10). Embodied practices include emotional exchanges between people. Thus performing arts can be a powerful tool to understand people’s ideas in a social context.

Elizabeth Ellsworth (2005) points out that particulars such as time, place, identity and culture matter in education. She states, “Learning never takes place in the absence of bodies, emotions, place, time, sound, image, self-experience, history. It always detours through memory, forgetting, desire, fear, pleasure, surprise, re-writing” (p.55). Ellsworth (2005) continues,

And, because learning always takes place in relation, its detours take us up to and sometimes across the boundaries of habit, recognition and socially constructed identities within ourselves. Learning takes us up to and across the boundaries between ourselves and others and through the place of culture and the time of history. (p.55)

In other words, learning can become difficult if identity and culture are taken away from the students. In this way, Ellsworth’s argument helps us understand why Kapa Haka matters in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand.

Emotion and imagination can be important elements of learning in the performing arts. By introducing Tagore’s work, Nussbaum (2010) argues, “the purpose of Tagore’s dance dramas was not just the production of some fine artworks, but also the cultivation of emotion and imagination in his pupils” (p.105). Nussbaum (2010) continues,

Tagore used elaborate theatrical productions, mingling drama, music, and dance, to get children to explore different roles with the full participation of their bodies, taking up unfamiliar stances and gestures. Dance was a key part of the school for both boys and girls, since Tagore understood that exploration of the unfamiliar requires the willingness to put aside bodily stiffness and shame in order to inhabit a role. (p.104)
Tagore encouraged his pupils to learn dance that belongs to cultures other than theirs, so they overcame their prejudices and ignorance both emotionally and bodily. Kapa Haka is an art that expresses human emotions. It is an art that uses body, music and dance in a social context. To understand Kapa Haka in more depth it is helpful to be familiar with diverse epistemologies. The theories and stories above help to more deeply understand the purpose of teaching and learning Kapa Haka in a broader public space, even beyond Māoridom, in Aoetaroa New Zealand.

In the next section, I review scholarly narratives on embodiment of cultures and holistic learning aspects of performing arts. I also include arguments on how arts education may help learn about other cultures, and how performing arts education may be effective in learning how to foster a community.

2.5.2. Performing Arts and Education: Embodiment of Cultures and Cross-Cultural Learning

Performing arts, which include rituals and cultural practices in a broader sense (Schechner, 1988), have been used in education in order to understand diverse cultures in the world. Nussbaum (2011) describes arts in education to enhance cross-cultural learning:

[Tagore] used role-playing to explore the difficult area of religious difference as students were urged to celebrate the rituals and ceremonies of religions not their own, understanding the unfamiliar through imaginative participation. (p.104)

This is similar to Greene’s (1995) claim that “…imagination is what, above all, makes empathy possible” (p.3). Yet how do the arts usually help overcome the unfamiliarity of other cultures? Drawing on Dewey, Nicholson (2011) argues that democratic participation relies on communication. She states,

Whereas many theories of citizenship ally political action with speech, Dewey was an early proponent of the view that the arts can serve as an instrument of political action. He argued that aesthetic communication provided a way to understand and transform experience, and this required participation in a rich mix of different cultural practices. (p.168)

Still inter-cultural or cross-cultural learning, including embodiment of culture, is no easy matter. Some people find it difficult to overcome their bodily stiffness or embarrassment. Some people have mental resistance to express unfamiliar shapes and movements through their bodies. For example many men in Japan cannot cope with male ballet dancers’ movements. In Kapa Haka classes, I
have seen some non-Māori students having difficulties expressing emotions through haka, even though the movement itself may not be technically too difficult. There are various reasons for difficulties: there could be racism, ignorance, shame, fear or embarrassment. Sometimes prejudice towards a particular culture may serve as a reason for mental resistance. As Nicholson (2011) reminds us,

In his book *Theatre & Interculturalism*, Ric Knowles points out that there is a long history of applying theatre to intercultural dialogue, but he warns that such an ambition ‘raises issues about cultural imperialism, appropriation, and colonialism, even as it offers the utopian promise of a world where race and cultural difference do not matter’. (p.154)

It is important that we bring the arts into the public spaces to raise general awareness of the above-mentioned issues of cultural imperialism, appropriation, and colonialism and, I wish to add, ignorance and racism.

Nussbaum (2010) refers to an episode relating to a choir in Chicago. She states that the choir gives children “the opportunity for an intense experience side by side with children from different racial and socio-economic backgrounds”. Nussbaun further explains,

The experience of singing with someone...includes great vulnerability; you have to blend your breath and your body with someone else's, and you have to make the sounds from within your own body ... the musical experience teaches children love of their own bodies ... they develop a sense of ability, discipline, and responsibility. (p.115)

Learning as a group together with others in a choir nurtures relational development of self and others, and teaches students how to work collaboratively despite their differences. Curricular aspects of this experience are also worth considering, as Nussbaum (2010) highlights:

Since the choirs sing music from many different cultures, they learn about other cultures, and they learn that these cultures are available to them; they transcend barriers that expectation and local culture have thrown in their way, showing that they can be world citizens. By learning to sing the music of another time or place, they also find ways of showing that they respect someone else, that they are willing to spend time learning about them and taking them seriously. (p.115)

Today’s pluralistic societies need the kind of art in the public sphere that could provide the public with cross-cultural experiences. Through these experiences, one may be able to imagine what it would be like to live as other cultural
identities. It would be as if stepping into another public space that is safe to explore. Ellsworth (2005) argues,

> Being in relation opens up a space of difference between self and other, inner and outer realities. It opens up a third zone, a space that I can experience as both me and not me. (p.64)

In that space, people have the opportunity to see the world through other people’s lives and perspectives, and to cultivate empathy, sympathy and compassion, towards those cultural ‘others’.

Nicholson (2011) identifies a similar effect in theatre education; she thinks that through theatre education the students could encounter and deal with the issues of others. Nicholson (2011) writes,

> I believe that the pedagogical processes of intercultural exchange and theatre-making provide a rich, layered and transitional space to push against some of the boundaries of this inequality on a small scale. (p.159)

Many forms of performing arts exist that may be unfamiliar to the general public. Unfamiliarity, particularly if originating from a different culture, can result in the art being inaccessible. When I first saw Kapa Haka many aspects of it were beyond my comprehension. Not having been a fan of rugby, I had never even heard of haka when I came to Aotearoa New Zealand. Yet by learning it practically, holistically and, by learning it intensively and actively, by learning it under respected teachers, I think it was possible for me to cross the cultural boundaries and overcome unfamiliarity.

Learning performing arts cross-culturally can generate joy, a sense of achievement, and, even more importantly, friendships with the people who are deeply associated with those particular cultural practices. Nicholson (2005) comments on the cross-cultural experience of bodily practices:

> Dramatically representing their own and others’ stories is … to become an archivist, a process which draws on physical memories as well as those that are linguistic and cognitive. This invites a new way of thinking about the body in space and time. Inhabiting others’ stories and archiving them in the body through performance, is not about ‘preserving’, ‘conserving’ or fixing history, but about making it a part of a dynamic of lived experience. This is in line with the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty who focuses on the living, moving body-subject. (p.105)

In many parts of the world performing arts have been the forms of cultural practices of the people in local communities. Many of the performing arts have been ways of knowing, ways of teaching particular cultures, and they have
much to offer about each culture’s philosophy, views, customs and mannerisms, aesthetics, morality and social values. Therefore, performing arts from diverse cultures have much to offer in a pluralistic society, where the making of a better democratic community is the goal.

In post-colonial and post-modern discourse arts originating from every part of the world are viewed with equal respect. Education for democracy (Nussbaum, 2010) calls for reevaluating the importance of local knowledge against the homogenising cultural trend of globalisation; it also calls for validating cultural plurality against utility-based commercial knowledge. Furthermore, it calls for decolonisation in many parts of the world, where indigenous peoples and their social positions still deserve careful attention, compassionate understanding, and genuine, deep communication. I wonder if decolonisation and democratisation cannot be fully achieved unless the descendents of the colonisers start respecting and learning the culture of the indigenous people with empathy.

2.5.3. Culture, ‘Imagined Community’ and ‘Democratic Community’

In this section, I would like to look at the word “culture” and attempt to explain the place of Kapa Haka in Aotearoa New Zealand. Zuidervaart (2011) explains there are two ways he uses the word “culture”, which I follow in this thesis. He explains,

Culture in the generic sense refers to the entire network of practices, relationships, and products or events through which traditions are shaped and transmitted, social connections solidify and are contested, and personal identities develop and are embraced. Language, education, organized religion, the arts, and leisure provide several nodes of this network in a complex society. (p.277)

On the other hand, Zuidervaart (2011) states,

Culture in the specific sense of a culture or a subculture refers to a relatively cohesive and dynamic array of such practices, relationships, and products or events where certain habits, sensibilities, and self-understandings are characteristic. (p.277)

Thus in a generic sense, language and performing arts are part of culture, and in a specific sense, Kapa Haka is a unique cultural practice of Māori people.

As a theatrical producer who worked internationally, I came to Aotearoa New Zealand and looked for the kind of performing arts that represented the culture of Aotearoa New Zealand most significantly. It did not take me long to identify
Kapa Haka as the most suitable form of performing arts to play that role. At almost every important occasion when Aotearoa New Zealand as a nation wants to show its unique cultural identity, Kapa Haka artists are asked to perform for the country. Dr. Ngāpō Wehi, my Kapa Haka teacher, in his younger days welcomed Queen Elizabeth II to Aotearoa New Zealand by performing a "wero", a form of challenge in pōwhiri (Māori ritual of encounter). His group Te Waka Huia, the winner of Te Matatini 2009, went to China for three months to represent Aotearoa New Zealand at the 2010 Shanghai Expo. At the 2011 Rugby World Cup Te Mātārae I Ōrehu, the Te Matatini 2011 national champion team featured in the opening ceremony.

Yet for me it was incomprehensible how Kapa Haka, as well as Māori culture in general, are placed in Aotearoa New Zealand. People in the mainstream culture of Aotearoa New Zealand seemed to have two contradicting attitudes towards Kapa Haka. When international visitors come to the country, they usually want to show the visitors Māori culture as the national culture. Yet in the domestic public sphere, the general public does not seem to consider Kapa Haka a precious form of their national arts. It is only within Māoridom that Kapa Haka is enormously popular and considered precious. Janinka Greenwood and Arnold Wilson (2006) write about this topic:

**We would argue that within mainstream New Zealand discourse today a Pākehā perspective is still unmarked. Few Pākehā would acknowledge that they and their belief system are culturally located. Most would describe their conceptual framework as obvious, normal, perhaps even universal. It is Māori, they would say, who keep pushing for special consideration, who make claims for things that are different.** (p.55)

Therefore Kapa Haka is usually not presented in the domestic mainstream performing arts venues as a form of professional performing arts. The professional performing arts industry usually consists of European arts: ballet, opera and English plays. The funding scale of Māori performing arts is far smaller than the European performing arts. In Auckland, for example, when Māori performing artists want to apply for funds, they can only apply for community funds, and it is not categorised under arts (e.g. Auckland Arts Council). This means that even some of the most talented Kapa Haka artists are not treated professionally. Kapa Haka artists’ income mainly comes from the commercial sector such as the tourism industry or from teaching, composing and judging competitions. Margaret Werry (2011) explains that there has been a complex “dance” between the Crown and Māori culture over political power in Aotearoa New Zealand:
It is a dance that has gone for more than a century. For many Māori working in the cultural economy, the touristic diplomacy of their Liberal-era forebears is a usable past. In a slew of recent documentaries and popular histories—about touring rugby teams, for instance, or about the life of Māori authors identify the Liberal era as the onset of economic and cultural renaissance and the crucible of bicultural, globally oriented nationhood. (p.243)

This connects to Benedict Anderson’s argument that “nationhood is an imagined political community” (p.133). Nicholson (2011) says,

[Anderson’s concept] represented a radical departure from essentialist constructions of nationhood, and his perception that national identity is constructed through shared cultural practices continues to offer a way of theorizing emotional attachments to specific countries. (p.133)

Obviously, there is a gap between how the non-Māori majority imagines how Aotearoa New Zealand should be, and how Māori people imagine Aotearoa should be. Werry (2011) explains that understanding why the Māori culture has been traditionally positioned in the tourism industry may help to also understand Aotearoa New Zealand’s society better:

Tourism is a border art, poising its practitioners between cultures and markets, between the insides and outsides of communities, nations, and places…. There, states are imagined most forcefully and most consequentially…. Tourism’s border artists live every day with cultural danger, risk, contradiction, and accommodation. Borders are also violently unequal places, but danger and risk are not experienced equally by all. (p.244)

One of the areas that this research intended to investigate was how Kapa Haka teachers imagine the nationhood of Aotearoa New Zealand when they keep on teaching Kapa Haka as the local cultural knowledge. Are they interested in developing a kind of cultural identity, even if their students are not Māori? Or is it something that is different, not yet to be named, something that is being experimented? For example, Greenwood and Wilson (2006) have a vision of making a democratic community in Aotearoa New Zealand through their educational projects in the arts:

When we talk about the New Zealand that we hope will develop, we see Māori and Pākehā values as cornerstones: the recognition of identity and spirituality that the tuna brings, and the pragmatism of the supermarket. But we also see each of the multiple cultures in New Zealand dancing; fired by what they individually see as precious, but dancing together. (p.88)

If a nation is an imagined community then through education people should be able to see a different, and hopefully better, democratic community, beyond just a political entity. Nicholson (2011) argues,
Both theatre and national identity depend on an ability to identify with others, at least partially, but new ideas about national identity are most productively generated when the symmetry between the spectator and performance is disrupted. This returns the debate to Appadurai’s insight about the relationship between the imagination and social life, in which theatre can offer an alternative to conventional and packaged mediaspaces of nationhood. Working through the aesthetic frame of theatre can hold this cultural anxiety long enough to look at the issues it raises, and drama, theatre and performance can provide young people with a symbolic space to explore alternative narratives of national identity. (p.151)

In the thesis I look at Kapa Haka in relation to the cultural identity and nationhood of Aotearoa New Zealand. While I believe that Kapa Haka deserves a respected place in Aotearoa New Zealand representing the original culture of the nation, it has to be noted that interviewees in this research voiced the opinion that it is better for Māori people to keep controlling Kapa Haka both within and beyond Māoridom. Still it is quite possible to imagine an alternativist positioning of Kapa Haka in the public sphere of Aotearoa New Zealand, where it may contribute to fostering a more meaningful democratic community.

2.5.4. Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Globalisation

Throughout this chapter, I examined the meanings of a democratic community and the importance of having “education for democracy” in the public sphere. While capitalist globalisation continues, the importance of “education for democracy” (Nussbaum, 2010, p.13) seems to increase on a global scale (p.13). There are many issues that we, as human beings, must think about and deal with, both collaboratively and internationally.

According to Nicholson (2011), the world needs a conceptual antithesis to globalisation, and for her, “cosmopolitanism” (p.157) might be an answer. Nicholson (2011) states,

Although globalization and cosmopolitanism are both concerned with international interconnections, globalization is intent on making parts of the world richer (through increased consumption of homogenized products) whereas cosmopolitans want to make the world better by challenging social and economic division and resisting cultural homogeneity. (p.157)

While Nicholson uses the word “cosmopolitans”, Nussbaum (2010) uses the term “citizens of the world” (p.79). Nussbaum (2010) argues that cultivation of “citizens of the world” (p.79) is one of the important missions in “education for democracy” (p.13) today, and that the world urgently needs a generation of
young people who are educated to think about the social issues in a global public space as citizens of the world. According to Nussbaum (2010) the issues we as citizens face include the following:

... global warming; decent trade regulations, the protection of environment and animal species; the future of nuclear energy and the dangers of nuclear weapons; the movement of labor and the establishment of labor standards; the protection of children from trafficking, sexual abuse, and forced labor. (p.80)

While Nussbaum (2010) emphasises the importance of arts and humanities education, Nicholson (2011) suggests that theatre education should become one of the leading sites for the youth to nurture a cosmopolitan identity. Yet she also argues that to be able to do so requires a solid cultural identity based on local knowledge. Nicholson (2011) argues,

First, this construction of cosmopolitanism recognizes that all moral and cultural identities are open to change as new cultural forms emerge, thereby acknowledging the effects and affects of cultural engagement with others from different parts of the world. Second, it also suggests that difference thrives where there is a broad commitment to sustaining institutional structures that are based on secure moral principles, yet also sufficiently flexible and porous to allow for their multiple interpretations in practice. Third, this radical openness to difference involves making connections, not only through shared identities, but also through caring about the wellbeing of strangers. (p.158)

The commonality between the arguments presented is that as human beings we need to seriously confront the issues of freedom and equality, to become more civil and more human(e). Performing arts can be a powerful educational means to foster a democratic community. Greene (1988) writes,

It is difficult not to be reminded of Paulo Freire writing of “humanization” as our primary vocation— “the struggle for overcoming alienation," for the affirmation of men and women as persons (1970, p.28). It is a matter of affirming human beings as “subjects of decisions” rather than objects, of involving men and women in striving towards their own “completion” – a striving that can never end. (p.8)

Kapa Haka, as local cultural knowledge of Aotearoa New Zealand, seems to offer educational opportunities for both Māori and non-Māori to help construct cosmopolitanism, moral principles, and an ability to care about the others.

2.6. Conclusion

This literature review identifies the difference between humans being the ‘subjects of decisions’ rather than the ‘objects’; furthermore it describes the
difference between the concepts of ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘globalisation’; and it compares ‘education for democracy’ with ‘education for profit’.

“Education for democracy” has become more important but also more difficult in the era of globalisation and “education for profit” (Nussbaum, 2010, p.13). “Education for democracy” calls for the cultivation of empathy, compassion and critical thinking, in order for us to achieve social justice and social harmony in pluralistic democracies, both locally and globally.

Educational philosophers have argued that imagination plays a vital role in educating the public to become nobler: to become citizens of democratic communities as well as citizens of the world. To achieve this goal, public spaces must become a haven for alternativist art to flourish, so that this art can initiate enduring and deep critical debates on social issues. Because of their holistic and embodied approach to learning the performing arts can be effective in cultivating citizens of the world, especially in conveying local knowledge and cultural knowledge.

While Kapa Haka as local cultural knowledge should be able to help Māori people to gain their cultural identity and positive learning experience, Kapa Haka should also be able to provide the general public with local knowledge and geo-cultural epistemology, and may even be able to offer a healthier nationalism based on indigenous culture, while diminishing ‘cultural invasion’. If Kapa Haka was positioned in public spaces as ‘alternativist’ art, the public in Aotearoa New Zealand may be able to engage in deeper dialogues on social issues that concern decolonisation and the building a better democracy.

I close this chapter with the words of Maxine Greene (1988), who envisions the proliferation of a nobler and more compassionate community that will “someday be called a democracy” (p.6), through arts education:

This is what we shall look for as we move: freedom developed by human beings who have acted to make a space for themselves in the presence of others, human beings become “challengers” ready for alternatives, alternatives that include caring and community. And we shall seek, as we go, implications for emancipatory education conducted by and for those willing to take responsibility for themselves and for each other. We want to discover how to open spaces for persons in their plurality, space where they can become different, where they can grow. (p.56)
Chapter 3. Designing the Research

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 illustrates the methodologies and methods selected for conducting this research project. This qualitative inquiry aims to describe my encounter with Kapa Haka and with kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka (teachers of Kapa Haka) in diverse social contexts in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. I interpreted and analysed my encounters in relation to what I deemed important for fostering a nobler and deeper democracy called ‘a democratic community’ in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Taylor and Bogdan (1998) state that the term methodology “refers to the way in which we approach problems and seek answers” (p.3). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) quotes Sandra Harding’s definitions: “A research methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed…” and, ‘A research method is a technique for (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence.” (p.143). This thesis is guided by these definitions.

The methodology sections in this chapter introduce constructivism as one of the primary theories that describes my relationship with knowledge. I then outline the overarching paradigms of qualitative inquiry. My epistemological positions are clarified in relation to decolonising methodologies, especially to Kaupapa Māori approach (Smith, 1999; Bishop, 2005), critical pedagogy (Freire, 2009; Greene, 1995), and phenomenology. By encountering autoethnography (Chang, 2008), I was able to include these multidimensional methodologies under one umbrella. The methods section explains how autoethnography is applied in this research to collect and interpret data. Arguments regarding legitimacy, confidentiality and writing styles bring the chapter to a close.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. Epistemology and Ontology

In this inquiry I am concerned with the question why and how kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka teach Kapa Haka in diverse social contexts in today's Aotearoa New Zealand, and how their teaching may contribute to nurturing a democratic community. In order to find answers, I studied the practice of Kapa Haka under
a group of well-respected kaiwhakaako for more than two and a half years. I then visited many places where Kapa Haka was taught, and in the process exchanged thoughts with more than 20 kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka.

Crotty (1998) explains that in the constructionist epistemology, “Meaning is not discovered but constructed” (p.9). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) describe the assumption of the constructionist paradigm as “a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent co-create understanding)” (p.24). Following Crotty (1998), and Denzin and Lincoln (2005), this research was conducted based on my position that there are multiple realities and the researcher and the research participants co-create understanding of the reality. The process and issues of methodology applied in the thesis have been further explained in detail in a published article (Sakamoto, 2011).

3.2.2. Qualitative Inquiry

Taylor and Bogdan (1998) state that “assumptions, interests, and purposes shape which methodology we choose” (p.3). Since the inquiry was gravely concerned with deepening my understanding of “the construction of meaning” (Eisner, 1998, p.15), and it was not about finding the ultimate truth, it seemed appropriate to take the path of qualitative inquiry. As Patton (1990) states, “[I]t is important to understand that the interpretive explanation of qualitative analysis does not yield knowledge in the same sense as quantitative explanation. The emphasis is on illumination, understanding, and extrapolation rather than causal determination, prediction, and generalization” (p.424).

After spending two and half years, between February 2008 to August 2010, learning Kapa Haka practically and intensively, and mingling with several Kapa Haka groups, I came to realise that most kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka were seriously committed to the survival and retention of Māori language and culture. The educational activity related to Kapa Haka had much to do with the act of decolonisation. At the same time, I also came to assume that most kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka possessed what Maxine Greene (1995) called “the social imagination: the capacity to invent visions of what should be and what might be in our deficient society, on the streets where we live, in our schools” (p.5), which reminded me of critical educational discourse. There were educational aspects of Kapa Haka that kept my “insight, intuition and impression” (Chang, 2008, p.130), curiosity, and “perceptivity” (Eisner, 1998), and I needed to investigate why that was.
My experience of researching in a Pākehā educational institution also made me become aware of the surrounding cultural environments, which in a way helped me design the research. I encountered difficulties in many places and for many reasons. The initial academic department I belonged to, a Dance Studies Programme, was not equipped with any academic staff who could guide me with the research skills in Māori performing arts. And on the other hand, the Māori Studies department where I studied Kapa Haka under Dr. Wehi did not approve my conducting doctoral-level academic research on Kapa Haka, because I did not have sufficient academic background in Māori Studies. I almost left the university where I was enrolled with disappointment.

The issue of my identity as a researcher was also a matter to seriously consider. I was not familiar with Kapa Haka until I came to study at a university in Aotearoa New Zealand, and I knew very little about the country. Who am I, a Japanese visitor to Aotearoa New Zealand, wanting to examine educational meanings of Kapa Haka, which is both a form of Māori performing arts and a form of indigenous cultural practice, at a university where European research culture dominates? Who am I, a theatrical producer who worked in New York for many years, having looked at diverse cultural expressions in the arts from all over the world, and having tried to educate the audience internationally, and who almost immediately fell in love with Kapa Haka upon arriving in Aotearoa New Zealand? What aspects of Kapa Haka can I investigate?

Yet Kapa Haka was still so fascinating to me that there were no other performing arts in Aotearoa New Zealand that I would have chosen as a subject of my study. I continued studying Kapa Haka under Dr. Wehi, participated in the regional competitions, and even started teaching it with my teachers. After some search, in 2012, I decided to transfer to an educational programme where my research seemed to fit better. Looking back, the difficulties I experienced helped me to think about my multiple identities, research questions, and to articulate my methodology by organising them under the umbrella of autoethnography.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) argue that the recent qualitative research has come to “the eighth moment” (p.3) and “asks that the social sciences and the humanities become sites for critical conversations about democracy, race, gender, class, nation-states, globalization, freedom, and community” (p.3). Denzin and Lincoln’s (2005) “eighth moment” calls for any researcher to “confront the ethics and politics of research” (p.22). Following Denzin and
Lincoln’s (2005) suggestion that researchers today must “develop situational and transsituational ethics that apply to all forms of the research act and its human-to-human relationship” (p.22), I searched for a research methodology that was ethical and human, personal and culturally meaningful.

3.2.3. Decolonising Methodologies

The word ‘Māori’ meant an ordinary person in Māori language until Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) arrived (King, 2003, p.77). Linda Tuhiiwi Smith (1999) argues that these ordinary people were forced to become “the Other” (Saïd, 1979, p.1) in their own land, and at the same time they became “indigenous” people when Europeans started colonising Aotearoa. Smith (1999) states,

From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary …. The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity. (p.1)

Smith’s epistemological position made me become more conscious of power relations between Pākehā and Māori, and the researcher and the researched in a traditional academic context. I started thinking about the relationship between my identity as a researcher, and the Kapa Haka teachers as the research participants. Bishop (2005) explains,

Māori people are deeply concerned about the issue of to whom researchers are accountable. Who has control over the initiation, procedures, evaluations, construction, and distribution of newly defined knowledge? …. Communities of the researched and the researchers can engage in a dialogue about setting directions for the priorities, policies, and practices of research for, by, and with Māori. (pp.111 - 115)

As a non-Māori researcher, I needed to find out if I could conduct ethically correct, “culturally responsive” (Whitinui, 2008) research, and whether I could contribute to the betterment of Māori people’s lives through the research. The Kaupapa Māori approach described by Bishop (2005) suggests that any researcher who intends to study Māori people and their cultural activities must conduct her or his research with respect, so that the research contributes to the betterment of the lives of Māori people.
Indigenous researchers, especially Māori scholars, have informed non-indigenous researchers to become conscious of their epistemological positions within the discourse of decolonisation. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) contend that “Sadly, qualitative research, in many, if not all of its forms (observation, participation, interviewing, ethnography), serves as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power and for truth” (p.1).

The researchers might still pursue research in order “to help others see and understand” (Eisner, 1998, p.3), yet it must be considered who those others are, and what kind of help the research may bring and to whom. Researchers striving to be morally decent must be aware of colonial legacies and the pain experienced by the indigenous peoples.

Smith (2005) warns us that “Qualitative researchers … must be more than either travellers or cultural tourists” (p.103), encouraging indigenous scholars to realise how important it is for the indigenous peoples to gain control over the research that has been a tool for colonisation. As the same time Smith (2005) argues that if applied thoroughly, qualitative research can decolonise the tradition of research:

Qualitative research is an important tool for indigenous communities because it is the tool that seems most able to wage the battle of representation (Fine et al., 2000); to weave and unravel competing storylines (Bishop, 1998); to situate, place, and contextualize; to create spaces for decolonizing (Aldama, 2001, Tierney, 2000); to provide frameworks for hearing silence and listening to the voices of the silenced (LeCompte, 1993, L.T. Smith, 2001); to create spaces for dialogue across difference; to analyze and make sense of complex and shifting experiences, identities, and realities; and to understand little and big changes that affect our lives. (p.103)

In the following section, I explain how I understood the Kaupapa Māori approach to research, including how the approach has been developed and designed for Māori researchers to investigate their own people, with proper cultural protocols and consciousness. I then examine how I, as a non-Māori researcher visiting Aotearoa New Zealand, tried to apply this approach to my research, by supporting many aspects of Kaupapa Māori approach in this research.

3.2.4. Kaupapa Māori Approach and the non-Māori Researcher

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) state, “All research is interpretive; it is guided by the researcher’s set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (p.22). Taylor and Bogdan (1998) state, “Although
Qualitative researchers must seek to understand all perspectives, they must eventually decide from whose vantage point to write their studies” (p.20). Smith (2005) argues that we research in order “to create spaces for dialogue across difference; to analyze and make sense of complex and shifting experiences, identities, and realities; and to understand little and big changes that affect our lives” (p.103).

In order to examine Kapa Haka’s educational meanings, I needed to become familiar with Māori people’s epistemological positions on Māori culture. Then I had to identify my own position in relation to theirs. I had to ask: Who am I to Māori people and what perspectives do I have? How much understanding is sufficient for any researcher to look at the cultures other than his/her own? How might this research affect and contribute to the Kapa Haka communities?

During the time I spent with the practitioners of Kapa Haka, I realised that my being an international student at the University of Auckland wanting to find out educational aspects of Māori performing arts was politically sensitive. For many Māori people the University of Auckland still represents colonial legacy and power. This came as a somewhat expected yet rather disappointing reality to me. Prior to my coming to the country, I had an image of Aotearoa New Zealand being one of the most successful countries that had achieved a racial and cultural harmony between the indigenous peoples and the Europeans. After having lived in the United States for many years, I wanted to live in a country where racism was scarce, yet in reality life in Auckland felt like life in Mississippi in the 1970s, where I spent a year as a high school exchange student. Nevertheless most Māori people warmly accepted me to practice Kapa Haka with them. I was not European, and that placed me awkwardly, yet fortunately, outside the coloniser-colonised relationship.

The Kaupapa Māori approach tells us to recognise and respect what Charles Royal (2002) calls “worldviews” (p.3) of indigenous peoples, which was somewhat a natural thing for me to do. I realised early in the process of learning Kapa Haka that being Japanese might be an asset. I realised that I shared many social values with Māori people. For example, unlike Western societies, the Japanese society is not very individualistic and, similar to Māori, the Japanese highly value human connections and relationships. Even the corporations encourage their company members to become close like a family. Again similar to Māori, we teach our youth how to be hospitable to guests, to consider others before oneself, and to take care of the elderly people. Furthermore in Māori culture, and therefore in the world of Kapa Haka, the
concept of “self” is different from that of the West. “What I think” matters little, and “what we think and feel” becomes more valuable, just as in Japanese culture. Because we shared many social values it was easy for me to respect Māori culture.

Many Māori people argued that I could be more fair and objective about the values of Māori culture, because I was not coming from the cultural background of the European colonisers. Some Māori said that I was in a position to look at both Pākehā and Māori cultures equally without prejudice. Some Māori people even said, jokingly, that I was “biased”, because I was too enthusiastic about Kapa Haka. Sometimes Pākehā people told me that they felt embarrassed because I learned so much about Māori culture in such a short time when many of them who had been born and raised in Aotearoa New Zealand did not. All these views and perspectives seemed relevant, interesting, agreeable and valuable.

It was surprising to find connections between Māori culture and Japanese culture. Our similarities also existed in that we were able to look at Pākehā cultural values as different from ours. Similar to Māori, the Japanese learn much Western knowledge in schools. We have enormous respect for it. Yet one major difference between Māori people and the Japanese is that the Japanese have more freedom in how to absorb Western knowledge into our society, because we were not colonised, an aspect which I did not think too consciously about until I came to Aotearoa New Zealand.

Still some issues remained. Without having an academic background in Māori language and culture, was it all right for me to write anything about Kapa Haka? How much knowledge is considered enough, and who decides that? Is being respectful to Māori culture enough to write a doctoral thesis on Kapa Haka? Is being able to recite and perform more than thirty Kapa Haka items (which I could do in two years) good enough to pursue research on Kapa Haka? What am I investigating, and who am I informing?

Bishop (2005) writes that having “the cultural knowledge” is important (p.113). Looking back, by respecting my teachers and loving the art of Kapa Haka, by learning cultural protocols and Māori people’s common sense, I wanted to equip myself with the “cultural knowledge”, even before I thought about conducting academic research. By studying Kapa Haka in Māori ways, I might have gained the “cultural knowledge”, although there was still much to learn.
There was another dilemma. The more I spent time with Māori people, the more I felt awkward that I might obtain a doctoral degree by writing a thesis on Kapa Haka, as if I would just gather knowledge that was given to me by the Māori practitioners, by the teachers and my friends whom I encountered. They were generous, and they genuinely wanted me to succeed, and they were excited that I might obtain a doctoral degree with their help. Yet in my mind an unethical aspect remained when considering that I had written down what they already knew. I was aware that I had to avoid becoming another “traveller” or “cultural tourist” (Smith, 2005, p.103), who came to Aotearoa to steal Māori people’s knowledge. I came to think that my research must help the Kapa Haka communities by giving them back what they might not have explored yet.

By becoming familiar with the Kaupapa Māori approach, I gradually came to see the roles of my research. I started to realise that I could take an “agentic” (Bishop, 2005, p.115) position as a researcher. As a theatrical producer I was familiar with the concept of being an agent. When I brought a group of performers from New York to Tokyo, I had to be a spokesperson, a publicist, and a connoisseur of their artistic style, so I could introduce a particular style of art to the Japanese audience who were unfamiliar with this particular artistic expression. Also I facilitated learning about Japan for the Americans. I thought I could do similar work for the Kapa Haka communities by using my multiple identities and experiences. Bishop (2005) states,

Our fundamental understanding of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research is that it is the discursive practice that is Kaupapa Māori that positions researchers in such a way as to operationalize self-determination in terms of agentic positioning and behavior for research participants. This understanding challenges the essentializing dichotomization of the insider/outsider debate by offering a discursive position for researchers, irrespective of ethnicity. (p.115)

In order for me to take such “agentic” positionings, it made sense that I became familiar with the art of Kapa Haka and to be part of the Kapa Haka communities first. It was important that I knew much about Kapa Haka itself, yet it was also important that people felt comfortable sharing their thoughts and perspectives with me. I realised that by the time I decided to pursue my doctoral research on Kapa Haka, I was ready to take an agentic position for the Kapa Haka communities.

The research topic also started to emerge. As the mutual respect and trust between me and my teachers and friends in the Kapa Haka communities emerged, some Māori people started asking me the following questions: “I hear you have a lot of experiences with different forms of performing arts. How do
you see Kapa Haka? Do you like it? Why do you like it? What is so unique about it?” (a university Māori student); “What do you think Kapa Haka might need, in order for it to go out there to the world and still be appreciated? Do you think people in New York might like it?” (a Kapa Haka teacher). In these daily conversations, I began to identify some possible areas where I might be able to contribute to the Kapa Haka communities.

When we exchanged ideas, sometimes new ideas started appearing. According to Bishop (2005), in such conversations, new information might be co-created:

Information is not transmitted between researchers and individuals; instead, information is cocreated… data are coproduced intersubjectively in a manner that preserves the existential nature of the information…. The researcher cannot “position” himself or herself or “empower” the other. Instead, through entering a participatory mode of consciousness, the individual agent of the “I” of the researcher is released in order to enter a consciousness larger than the self … researchers are not free to assume any position that they think the whānau of interest needs in order for the whānau to function. (p.121)

There was something educationally powerful about Kapa Haka, and I wanted to share my thoughts on what it meant to teach Kapa Haka with as many kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka as possible.

While my research progress was criticised as being too slow and inefficient at the university in the first two years, it seemed that both the Kapa Haka communities and the Māori research communities started to appreciate and support my expression of interest in the research field. There was obviously a clear difference in understanding the ways of knowing, as well as the process of obtaining knowledge between Pākehā and Māori. What interested me further was that the difference described above was similar to that between non-performing artists and performing artists. Bishop (2005) explains,

Tacit knowing, compassionate consciousness, somatic/bodily knowing, knowledge as something that is socially constructed by embedded, embodied people who are in relation with each other…. Each of these authors is referring to an embodied way of being and of a knowing that is a nonaccountable, nondescribable way of knowing…. Māori ways of knowing for the Māori term for connectedness and engagement by kinship is whanaungatanga … from this positioning; it would be very difficult to undertake research in a “nonsomatic”, distanced manner. (p.118)

By learning Kapa Haka under respected teachers, by practising Kapa Haka enthusiastically, by participating in the regional competitions, and by mingling with many Kapa Haka groups face to face, I was gradually included in a human network called “whānau” (an extended family) in the Kapa Haka communities.
The way I mingled with Kapa Haka practitioners was something I had been doing as a performing artist everywhere in the world: making friends, working collaboratively and respectfully with others in a team, and communicating with the audience as deeply as possible. And the approach matched Kaupapa Māori approach. Bishop (2005) explains,

Establishing and maintaining whānau relationships, which can be either literal or metaphoric within the discursive practice that is Kaupapa Māori, is an integral and ongoing constitutive element of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research. Establishing a research group as if it were an extended family is one form of embodying the process of whakawhanaungatanga as a research strategy. (p.119)

The Kaupapa Māori approach is based on the trust and respect between the informants and the researcher. There is friendship and compassion between us.

I did not read about the Kaupapa Māori approach first and then applied it to this research; yet I practised it from the beginning without knowing it, and only later affirmed and applied it as a methodology. I developed a shared perspective with Kapa Haka communities based on my empathetic understanding towards Māori people, which can be named an ‘allied’ ethnographic approach. I became an ally to Māori people, without actually becoming an indigenous person to Aotearoa. Later on I found that this approach is in sync with “collaborative autoethnography” (Chang, 2013, p.17), which appears in the autoethnography section of the thesis.

The Kaupapa Māori approach helped me articulate my research questions, inspired and helped me introspect if I was being morally decent (Sakamoto, 2011). The research was not about “What is Kapa Haka?”, but about the educational and political meanings of Kapa Haka in diverse public spaces in Aotearoa New Zealand.

3.2.5. Critical Inquiry

Among many critical educational theorists, the work of Paulo Freire (2009) and Maxine Greene (1995) has influenced this research. These writers are especially concerned with achieving core values of democracy through education: freedom, equality, social justice and social transformation. Both Freire and Greene looked at our society critically and thought that many people were “oppressed” (Freire, 2009, p.47), and that our society was “deficient” (Greene, 1995, p.5). Yet they did not just critique. As Greene (1995) argues, “People trying to be more fully human must not only engage in critical thinking but must be able to imagine something coming of their hopes; their silence must
be overcome by their search” (p.25). For Greene (1995), to teach means to transform our society for the better. Greene (1995) writes,

We who are teachers would have to accommodate ourselves to lives as clerks or functionaries if we did not have in mind a quest for a better state of things for those we teach and for the world we all share. It is simply not enough for us to reproduce the way things are. (p.1)

When I observed kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka teach Kapa Haka, I often saw their hopes and dreams, and how they envisioned a better society in the future. Both Freire and Greene’s critical theories allowed me to see not only the power relations, oppressing conditions, class, race and issues of cultural invasion, but also to see how kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka foresaw a better future.

Prior to my coming to Auckland, my primary academic interest was the educational role of minority peoples’ performing arts in the public where a majority culture dominates. I was excited to find Kapa Haka, thinking it must help educate the majority to make a nobler democracy, therefore, I identified Kapa Haka as a suitable culturally specific performing art to investigate my interest. Yet Kapa Haka was not just an art of the minority – Māori make up 5.9% of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013) - but also an art of the indigenous people.

It did not take me long to learn that both Kapa Haka as an art form and the social conditions cannot be explained in simple terms. A common argument originating from a critical theorist’s perspective is that Māori people have been culturally and educationally invaded and colonised (Freire, 2009; Bishop, 2005; Smith 1999). Yet it seems risky to simplify this argument when it comes to Kapa Haka. For example Hector Kaiwai and Kirsten Zemke-White (2004) state, “[t]he ‘history’ of the colonised may be one of macro-level subjugation, however, the internal dynamics that produce these histories must also be acknowledged” (p.157).

There are many positive and active aspects of Kapa Haka. It is a creative form of expression for Māori people to protect and proliferate their own te reo (language) and tikanga (cultural protocols), even though there are also cultural elements from the West. Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) state,

The role of tradition in providing cultural sustainability for Māori presents further cultural development issues. The liberation of culture from systematisation, textualisation, dichotomisation, and rationalisation, entails a ‘repositioning’ and ‘rethinking’ of discourse on culture. The repositioning of the ‘subject’ to a more empowered status is vitally important to a
rethinking of New Zealand’s colonial history, making any future Māori cultural development tasks a holistic and embodied process. (p.157)

Thus I place critical theory in education under decolonising methodologies carefully, combining them both. In the next section, I further investigate methodological issues specific to this research.

3.2.6. Phenomenological Approach

I was drawn to phenomenology because I needed a research approach that helped to see people’s lives holistically and in social contexts. Taylor and Bogdan (1998) describe the phenomenological approach as “committed to understanding social phenomena from the actor’s own perspective and examining how the world is experienced. The important reality is what people perceive it to be” (p.3). In this sense, my research is phenomenological: I examined my own experience of learning Kapa Haka and of mingling with diverse teachers who found Kapa Haka significantly meaningful in their own cultural life. Edmund Husserl (1965) states,

To live as a person is to live in a social framework, wherein I and we live together in community and have the community as a horizon. Now, communities are structured in various simple or complex forms, such as family, nation, or international community. Here the word “live” is not to be taken in a physiological sense but rather as signifying purposeful living, manifesting spiritual creativity in the broadest sense, creating culture within historical continuity. (p.150)

Following Husserl (1965), I made efforts to look at Kapa Haka and its educational meanings “as perceived, remembered, expected, represented pictorially, imagined, identified, distinguished, believed, opined, evaluated, etc.” (p.89).

Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s (1962) argument that, “I am conscious of the world through the medium of my body” (p.75) was helpful to me because as a performing artist, and especially as a dancer, I wanted to understand the art and the people with my whole being, with my bodily consciousness. His phenomenological approach enabled me to understand that performing artists expand consciousness through our bodies, through our senses and feelings and apply multiple intelligences, especially interpersonal, musical and spatial intelligences (Gardner, 2006). It can be argued that Merleau-Ponty has not only established an anti-positivist epistemological paradigm, but has also succeeded to conceptualise humans as a holistic unit of the body, consciousness and perception.
3.3. Autoethnography

3.3.1. Shift towards Autoethnography

After four years in the Dance Studies programme, I was concerned that because of my slow progress I may become a victim of a newly introduced ‘education for profit’ regulation myself. However, I luckily succeeded to extend my time, and in agreement with my initial supervisors I transferred to a programme in the Education Faculty.

From my perspective, because of my slow progress, I had many opportunities to learn about Kapa Haka and about Aotearoa New Zealand, and about the academic issues surrounding the research on Māori culture and people. Also as outlined above, it gave me the time to establish important whānau relationships with Kapa Haka practitioners.

My new supervisors in the Education Faculty suggested that I looked into autoethnography, an emerging research methodology and method. After having intensive discussions with my academic support team, they all endorsed the idea. It was suggested that the research should be about:

(1) My encounter with learning Kapa Haka under Dr. Wehi
(2) My encounter with many other kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka who teach Kapa Haka in diverse social contexts
(3) How I saw the connection between Kapa Haka, democratic education and social transformation in Aotearoa New Zealand throughout these encounters

In the following sections, I present my understanding of autoethnography, and how I methodologically applied it in this research.

3.3.2. Autoethnography

Autoethnography is part of the tradition of narrative inquiry (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) and it is both a methodology and a method of bringing in personal and subjective understandings of a culture and/or cultures. An autoethnographic account tells “Narratively. Poetically. Evocatively” (p.747). Through narrative writing we might be able to “encourage compassion and promote dialogue” (p.748), which was not usually the focus of traditional ethnography.
Ellis and Bochner’s (2000) definition tells us that autoethnography “is an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the culture” (p.739). Ellis and Bochner (2000) explain,

Back and forth autoethnographers gaze, first through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then, they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations…. Usually written in first-person voice, autoethnographic texts appear in a variety of forms – short stories, poetry, fiction, novels, photographic essays, personal essays, journals, fragmented and layered writing, and social science prose. (p.739)

I was interested in a “narrative” inquiry that uses self-narrative, yet I had some concerns about the forms of expression needing to be too fictional or poetic.

3.3.3. Finding the Right Kind of Autoethnography

One of the prominent methodological challenges was how I should utilise my multiple identities for examining the educational aspects of Kapa Haka in the public sphere of Aotearoa New Zealand society.

When I first met with Dr. Ngāpo Wehi and his whānau, I immediately felt that we had much in common: we had passion, love, skills to teach performing arts, and we shared the belief that the performing arts had power to transform our society. The members of the whānau Wehi (the Wehi family) were “others of similarity” (Chang, 2008, p.134) for me. I immediately asked questions that Māori people have been asking for some time: Why is such an extraordinary form of performing arts being treated so lightly outside Māoridom in Aotearoa New Zealand? Chang (2008) writes,

Stemming from the field of anthropology, autoethnography shares the storytelling feature with other genes of self-narrative but transcends mere narration of self to engage in cultural analysis and interpretation. It is this analytical and interpretive nature that I focus on in distinguishing autoethnography from other self-narratives. (pp.41 - 43)

Generally speaking, “Autoethnography uses self as the subject of investigation” (Chang, 2008, p.62), therefore autoethnography allowed me to tell their story and their culture through my voice and my understanding of the culture. Chang (2008) explains,

Autoethnographers use their personal experiences as primary data. The richness of autobiographical narratives and autobiographical insights is
valued and intentionally integrated in the research process and product unlike conventional ethnography. (p.49)

Denzin (1997) states that autoethnography is a “performance text … turning inward waiting to be staged” (p.199). I imagined that my encounters with Kapa Haka, including learning Kapa Haka at the University, watching the regional competitions, and participating in the Ngā Tauira Māori (Māori Students Association) Kapa Haka group, as part of a long stage play, or a long documentary movie in which I am partaking as an actor and observing the show as a member of the audience simultaneously. However, it seemed inappropriate that I might be the main character in the text. Rather, I thought I should be a navigator of the performance.

After reading Chang (2008), I came to think that this research might belong to what she calls the “third approach” (p.66) of autoethnography:

The third approach is not noted as autoethnography by Ellis and Bochner (2000) for a probably legitimate reason. It does not engage self sufficiently to earn the label of autoethnography. Yet it is common in social science research, in that researchers use their personal experiences or perspectives to guide the selection of their research topic or subjects without centering on self. In this approach, self opens a door to an investigation but remains outside while others are in the spotlight as main characters or participants. (p.66)

This research, therefore, is like the “third approach” of Chang (2008), and also close to what Deborah Reed-Danahay (1997) calls “autobiographical ethnography” (p.2) as I utilise my multiple identities as subjective lenses in order to investigate my encounters with the world of Kapa Haka.

In the chapters 4 to 6 I describe how I experienced my encounter with Kapa Haka and my learning process under Dr. Wehi. I bring in my perspectives which are similar to autobiography, focusing on the relationship between arts and culture and the idea of fostering a democratic community and transforming the society. These chapters comprise an autoethnographic account of my initial encounter with Kapa Haka. Yet I also have a view that I wrote these chapters by including my Kapa Haka teachers’s perspectives. I had collaborative relationships with them to conduct this research. Thus I think of this work as “collaborative” (Chang, 2013) autoethnographic work with Dr Wehi, Richard Wehi and Angela Smith.

Chang (2008) explains, “autoethnography should be ethnographic in its methodological orientation, cultural in its interpretive orientation, and autobiographical in its content orientation” (p.48). With her suggestions in mind,
I wrote chapters 4 to 9. I took a position that autoethnography should not be understood as a rigid academic discipline with a particular set of rules and regulations, but as a way of maximising the usage of researchers' multiple identities to investigate their human experiences in a cultural context. Chang (2008) argues that "At the end of a thorough self-examination in its cultural context, autoethnographers hope to gain a cultural understanding of self and others directly and indirectly connected to self" (p.49).

In the chapters 7 to 9, I introduce my conversations and interviews with kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka. Each kaiwhakaako usually represents a distinctive group within the Kapa Haka communities, reflecting the communities' cultural diversity. Therefore, each kaiwhakaako expressed his or her unique perspective and I introduced each with respect.

Ethnographically speaking, I conducted interviews, and yet autoethnographically speaking, they were conversations and exchanges of ideas about teaching Kapa Haka. The topics were mainly our perspectives on Kapa Haka, culture and society. I included our social views. Here, too, there were aspects of "collaborative autoethnography" or "community autoethnography", in which there was an intimate human relationship among the teachers and me (Chang, 2013).

3.4. Merits and Issues in Autoethnography

Chang (2008) states, “Autoethnography is researcher-friendly and reader friendly. Autoethnography is an excellent vehicle through which researchers come to understand themselves and others ... doing, sharing and reading autoethnography can also help transform researchers and readers (listeners) in the process” (pp.52 - 53). In a way, how I encountered the culture of Kapa Haka should be most accurately explained by me. The closest experience to autoethnography was making documentary programmes for television. I imagined a group of viewers watching what I was experiencing. Hopefully many parts of the thesis read vividly and excitingly.

One unique characteristic of autoethnography is that it is a method that could include human emotions as data. Hoffman Jones (2005) argues that "Autoethnographic texts focus on creating a palpable emotional experience as it connects to, and separates from, other ways of knowing, being, and acting in/on the world" (p.767). In Kapa Haka emotion is extremely valued, and I think that this aspect of Kapa Haka makes this art form unique. I have been moved and in
tears uncountable times when learning, performing, listening and practising Kapa Haka. By looking at our emotions as rather important data, I thought we could examine what Kapa Haka's emotional experiences meant in the cultural contexts to some degree.

Autoethnography has its weak points. Chang (2008) is concerned about the following aspects of autoethnography:

1. Excessive focus on self in isolation from others
2. Overemphasis on narration rather than analysis and cultural interpretation
3. Exclusive reliance on personal memory and recalling as a data source
4. Negligence of ethical standards regarding others in self-narratives
5. Inappropriate application of the label “autoethnography” (p.54)

These points are difficult to measure, yet I tried to learn from her concerns.

In this research it has been difficult to deal with the issue of anonymity. The Kapa Haka communities are too small to keep anonymity. Many research participants were respected teachers and most of them did not mind appearing with their real names. Still the University ethics regulations seemed to prefer confidentiality. Chang (2008) argues that,

Autoethnographers, like other researchers of human subjects, are charged with adhering to the ethical principle of confidentiality. This inquiry method requires researchers to adopt creative strategies in practicing the principle. (p.56)

In order to resolve this issue I decided the following set-up: In chapters 4 to 6, Dr. Wehi and my other teachers and friends appear with their real names and in chapters 7 to 9, all the kaiwhakaako appear with pseudonyms.

3.5. Methods

3.5.1. Overview

The following sections describe how I selected my research collaborators and how I collected and interpreted the collected data.

3.5.2. Selecting the Research Participants

In selecting kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka, I hesitate to use the research term "samples" that often appears in scientific academic writing. I consider the people who agreed to exchange their thoughts with me my research partners.
and collaborators. And – because I am doing research that passes on the ideas of my teachers, and does not aim to come to decisive global conclusions about Kapa Haka's role as an educational tool – the idea of a 'sample' or a 'representative sample' makes no sense.

After attending Kapa Haka courses and practices almost every week for more than two and a half years, some Māori people and I built a mutual respect and trust. Some showed interest in what I wanted to investigate; others even helped me find my research participants. I was fortunate enough to be offered access to excellent kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka and therefore to interesting groups to ask questions and have discussions with. Being offered, invited or introduced were important characteristics of the Kaupapa Māori approach.

I had clear purposes in mind when making the selection of kaiwhakaako: to reflect the diversity of teachers and contexts where Kapa Haka is taught. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) state that “Qualitative researchers … set out to build a sample that includes people (or setting) selected with a different goal in mind: gaining deep understanding of some phenomenon experienced by a carefully selected group of people” (p.56). In other words my selection of teachers was a “purposeful” (Patton, 1990, p.169) or “purposive” (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, p.45) sampling. Patton (1990) explains, “the logic and power for purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases” (p.169).

This inquiry also used a “snowball or chain sampling” (Patton, 1990, p. 176). Again in Patton’s words, it means that by “asking a number of people who else to talk with, the snowball gets bigger and bigger as you accumulate new information-rich cases” (p.176). At the planning stage, I thought it would be sufficient if there were seven to ten Kapa Haka teachers in different places who participated in the inquiry. During the data collection process, more people were offered to be part of the inquiry. Interestingly, I seldom asked anyone to introduce me to other people. Māori people were very supportive and they encouraged me to meet others they knew. Sometimes I had to make decisions on the spot whether to add more people or not.

When I had received a large numbers of referrals through ‘snowball sampling’ the following selection categories were designed and from here on adhered to. The rationale for selecting teachers and groups are as follows:

1) I wanted to include at least two leaders of Kapa Haka groups who have competed in Te Matatini, and so I did. From an artistic perspective, Te Matatini
is positioned as the highest level of performance or achievement to show a
group’s excellence. Today’s nationwide competitive Kapa Haka has much to do
with the history of Te Matatini. Learning from Dr. Ngāpō Wehi, whose work has
been an indispensable part of Te Matatini, influenced my understanding of Kapa
Haka. Also as a performing artist from the professional performing arts industry,
Te Matatini is an industry environment that I can relate to and feel the closest to.
The high-ranking teams in Te Matatini are proof of the professionalisation of
Kapa Haka.

(2) There are two types of schools in Aotearoa New Zealand; one is designed to
learn te reo and tikanga Māori, and the other is the so-called “mainstream”
schools. I wanted to speak with teachers in each of those types of schools who
taught Kapa Haka to students.

(3) I looked for one teacher who worked in the tourism industry in Rotorua, and I
found one. Arguably at this point in history only the tourism industry provides
Kapa Haka practitioners with the kind of professional opportunities where one
can make a living. Yet, I see a huge difference in the characteristics of the
competitive Kapa Haka at Te Matatini and the Kapa Haka performed in the
tourism industry. I interviewed a teacher who did both, to hear his views on this
difference.

(4) I heard of a Kapa Haka group in Auckland that consists of Firemen. I also
met a person who was a leader of a Kapa Haka group in the military. I thought
there must be a reason for public servants to form Kapa Haka groups in those
governmental organisations. I contacted the Kapa Haka teachers in the Navy to
discuss their purposes of teaching Kapa Haka in the Navy.

(5) Marae has been a place for community activities. Waiata and haka are
practised and performed constantly in marae, and it has been a place for the
community members to inherit their traditional local knowledge. I wanted to visit
Taikura (Senior Citizens’ cultural group) and Tūhoe Ahurei (Festival for the
Tūhoe people) to discuss why the teachers teach Kapa Haka and what they
value.

(6) On television, there are many programmes on Kapa Haka. I wondered what
the aims of the producers are to broadcast Kapa Haka programmes and
therefore I met one producer at Māori television.

Below is a list of the research participants who appear in the chapters 7 to 9.
Chapter 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Pseudonyms)</th>
<th>Place/Setting</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kara</td>
<td>Mainstream Primary</td>
<td>30-45min x 3 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tau &amp; Whai</td>
<td>Mainstream Intermediate</td>
<td>1 hour x 3 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rangi</td>
<td>Mainstream College</td>
<td>20-30 min x 2 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rau &amp; Awhi</td>
<td>Mainstream Primary</td>
<td>1 hour x 3 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Pseudonyms)</th>
<th>Place/Setting</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toa</td>
<td>Te Kōhanga Reo</td>
<td>30 min x 2 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rongomau &amp; Awatea</td>
<td>Kura Kaupapa Māori</td>
<td>1 hour x 1 time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahurangi &amp; Mārama</td>
<td>Māori College</td>
<td>1 hour each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kui</td>
<td>Taikura</td>
<td>1-1.5 hours x 3 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piata/Koro Hemi/Taka</td>
<td>Tūhoe Ahurei</td>
<td>20 min each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ira &amp; Hunu</td>
<td>Old Kapa Haka Group</td>
<td>1 hour each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Pseudonyms)</th>
<th>Place/Setting</th>
<th>Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paki/Eru/Huatani/Kuru/Maru</td>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>30 min each person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 visits to the venue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mata</td>
<td>Urban Competitive Kapa</td>
<td>1.5 hour x 1 time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haka Group</td>
<td>a few visits to the venue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piri</td>
<td>Rotorua-based Group</td>
<td>30 min on the phone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ata</td>
<td>Māori Television</td>
<td>1 hour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following section, I will discuss data collection and interpretation methods and strategies, and how I designed them in this thesis.

3.5.3. Data Collection and Interpretation Methods

In a qualitative inquiry the “data” can be many things. Chang (2008) states that in autoethnography there are “personal memory data” (p.71), “self-observational and self reflective data” (p.89), and “external data” (p.103). Chang (2008) also argues that “[a]utoethnography values your personal memory, whereas ethnography relies on informants’ personal memory and ethnographers’ recent memory of what they observed and heard in the field” (p.71). In this research, I value and rely on both my personal memory (from recent and past), and on the discussions between kaiwhakaako and me. Some discussion topics presented
within this thesis came from kaiwhakaako, some were shared topics between us, and others came from my interest.

In chapters 4 to 6, I heavily relied on my “personal memory data” (Chang, 2008, p.71). I also wrote some parts of my encounter with Kapa Haka like telling a story. These parts were written in italics. Then I interpreted and analysed what I experienced. In chapters 7 to 9, I shifted my focus to “external data”, collecting the interviews, and having conversations and discussions with diverse kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka. Thus chapters 7 to 9 are closer to traditional ethnographic research than autoethnographic research. However, throughout these chapters, I still included the data originating from my own observations, and, in many ways, my research participants were more like my research collaborators.

Chang (2008) suggests that in collecting “personal memory” (p.71) data in autoethnographic research, “proverbs, virtues and values, rituals, mentors, and artifacts” (p.76) might help the researcher recall his or her former experience in life. When I included the memories from the past, I realised that my perspectives were strongly influenced by what my mentors taught me. Mentors, Chang (2008) states, are anyone “from whom you have learned new knowledge, skills, principles, wisdom, or perspectives that have made an impact on your life” (p.79). These chapters also showed the process of how I came to respect Dr. Wehi as my mentor.

Chang (2008) explains we often gain new perspectives in “border-crossing experiences that occur when you become friends with others of difference or of opposition or when you place yourself in unfamiliar places or situations” (p.72). I agree. After experiencing racism in diverse forms both in Japan and in the U.S., I developed critical views on race relations. When I moved to Aotearoa New Zealand, I immediately saw aspects of racism, and learned some unique characteristics of race relations between Māori and Pākehā. We surely learn new perspectives from others in a new country, yet we also carry on our perspectives from the past.

When I met Dr. Ngāpō Wehi and started studying Kapa Haka under him, I immediately felt inspired by him. The inspiration reminded me of the excitement I felt when I took my first dance class in New York under Lee Theodore, a veteran Broadway choreographer. The Kapa Haka classes reminded me of the power of performing arts when I taught theatre to young people in Kyoto, based on the teaching of Maxine Greene, and how important art is to inspire and
transform others. Chang (2008) calls the process of data gathering an “inventory activity” (p.76) and states,

Personal memory is a building block of autoethnography because the past gives a context to the present self and memory opens a door to the richness of the past. As an autoethnographer, you not only have a privileged access to your past experiences and personal interpretation of those experiences, but also have first-hand discernment of what is relevant to your study. What is recalled from the past forms the basis of autoethnographic data. (p.71)

Writing this thesis was an opportunity for me to reflect on what I found meaningful in performing arts throughout my professional life. Then I tried to connect these memories with philosophical arguments in the process of my encounter with Kapa Haka. As Freire (2009) states, people, unlike animals, can expand the world we live “into a meaningful, symbolic world which includes culture and history” (p.98). I tried to see thematic connections between Kapa Haka teaching and what I valued in the arts education, including making a democratic community, self and social transformations, and “cultivating humanity” (Nussbaum, 1997).

In the following section, I discuss research methods for data collection and interpretation of this research.

3.5.4. Data Collection (1): Observation and Memories

Generally speaking, in Kapa Haka classes, if one is invited to sit and watch, one is not just observing, but is often participating in the class. Most of the time I was encouraged to comment when the proper time came. When I visited the practice sessions of Dr. Wehi’s team Te Waka Huia, I often sat next to the teachers and leaders, and was asked to give constructive criticisms. In performing arts, the performers usually want to improve their level of performance, and critical voices from the audience are often helpful.

The participant observation method enabled me to share the experience of teaching and learning of Kapa Haka with the research collaborators. As Maykut and Morehouse (1994) state, “[p]articipant observer attempts to enter the lives of others, to indwell, in Polanyi’s term, suspending as much as possible his or her own ways of viewing the world” (p.69). In this research, I tried to see the educational activity from the teachers’ perspectives (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Patton, 1990), which meant I often went back and forth between autoethnographic and ethnographic research.
Eisner (1998) calls people who have perceptivity in a specific field connoisseurs, and they can be qualified inquirers for their own field. Eisner (1998) writes,

Perceptivity is the ability to differentiate and to experience the relationships between, say, one gustatory quality in the wine and others. Like the interplay of sounds in a symphonic score, to experience wine is to experience an interplay of qualitative relationships. (p.64)

I was aware that I was not a Kapa Haka specialist, yet I thought I could look at aspects of Kapa Haka as someone who has been in professional world of performing arts for over two decades producing, directing and teaching. My three years of learning Kapa Haka under Dr. Wehi was a preparation for myself to be equipped with perceptivity.

Just like any other performing arts, teaching and learning Kapa Haka are somatic and holistic processes. Eisner (1998) states, “The data sources for educational connoisseurship are many” (p.81). There is much data to be found some visible, some invisible, some technical. As a performing artist/teacher I noticed details such as aesthetic and/or educational protocols; teachers’ ways of communicating through eye contact with their students; how teachers attracted the group’s attention and so forth. I cultivated my perceptivity so I could notice what was happening between the teachers and the learners.

As I learned Kapa Haka intensely under Dr. Wehi and as I repeated some classes three times in three years, my perceptivity and knowledge about Kapa Haka grew every year. I learned to see things from a Māori perspective. By the time I decided to go to other places where Kapa Haka was taught, I felt ready to discuss many aspects of Kapa Haka with the teachers who taught in different locations. Most parts of Chapters 4 to 6 were written out of my memory, observation and my deep dialoguing with Dr. Wehi, Angela Smith and Richard Wehi. For writing chapters 7 to 9 more data was collected through interviews and conversations with the teachers, because I did not want to rely too much on my observational data. All these processes and means are congruent with the Kaupapa Māori approach.

3.5.5. Data Collection (2): Kōrero (Talks, Discussions and Interviews)

Patton (1990) states, “We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe” (p.278), because “we cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions” (p.278). Taylor and Bogdan (1998) state that “the hallmark of in-depth interviewing is learning how people construct their realities - how they view, define, and experience the world” (p.101). In fact there were
many aspects of kaiwhakaako’s teaching that became clearer to me because of the interviews. Throughout the interview process, I remained curious of people’s views, because they were always interesting and informative. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) state,

The characteristics of a good qualitative interviewer are much the same as those that characterize people who are able to tactfully inquire and hear what others are saying. But perhaps most critical to being a skilful qualitative interviewer is deep and genuine curiosity about understanding another’s experience. (p.81)

Interviewing was also an opportunity for me to co-construct social realities with kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka. We exchanged ideas and thoughts; it was a dialogue. Many kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka told me that they enjoyed having conversations with me, because they enjoyed exchanging thoughts with me. In this research, I valued mutual respect and mutual learning.

In the process of learning Kapa Haka, I spent many hours talking with my Kapa Haka teachers: Dr. Wehi, Angela Smith and Richard Wehi. Yet I never had official interviews with them. Thus in the chapters 4 to 6, with their permission, I introduced what they said during the classes and how I learned Kapa Haka from them, and wrote about what I observed in their teaching.

In comparison in the chapters 7 to 9 interviews offer the main data that underpin my arguments. Interviewing was the appropriate method to collect the background data. Eisner (1998) refers to the importance of looking into the history of a particular group, or the school, because “it is likely to enhance our ability to interpret what we see” (p.82). Therefore, when I met with new Kapa Haka groups and their kaiwhakaako, I usually started asking questions about the groups’ missions and backgrounds.

According to Eisner (1998), there are generally five “dimensions” (p.73-80) in educational inquiry. These “dimensions” were helpful guides when collecting and interpreting data. The “intentional dimension” means to look at the missions of each Kapa Haka group, and what the teachers aim to achieve. The “structural dimension” included how often the group would practise, how much time they would spend together, and/or where they would work, in what environment. The “curricular dimension” in Kapa Haka meant what waiata, poi song, haka, mōteatea were being taught, and why the teacher chose them. The “pedagogical dimension” was about how Kapa Haka was being taught and whether the teachers used some traditional Māori method of teaching. Were there any similarities to teaching methods in dance education in the Western
context, or to Japanese traditional arts, or to professional studio dance practice? The “evaluation dimension” included how the teachers set the students’ achievement goals. For example, for some groups, participating in a competition was the primary goal regardless of the results. Some teachers said performing in front of the parents, families and friends could be considered the group’s major achievement. Just to be able to compose a particular waiata could be a month’s work or more and that would be worthy of praise.

Patton’s (1990) categories of questions helped me to think about what kinds of questions to ask. Patton list categories of questions:

1. Experience/Behavior questions (“what a person does or has done”)
2. Opinion/value questions (“what people think about some issues”)
3. Feeling questions (“How do you feel about that?”)
4. Knowledge questions (“what the person being interviewed considers to be factual”)
5. Sensory questions (“seen, heard, touched, tasted, and smelled”)
6. Background/demographic questions (“questions concerning age, education, occupation, residence/mobility”).

The interviews I conducted were semi-structured and remained flexible in design. As Taylor and Bogdan (1998) describe, “qualitative interviewing is flexible and dynamic … nondirective, unstructured, nonstandardized, and open-ended” (p.88).

During the interviews I used voice recorders and took notes. I transcribed most of the interviews myself, and I asked my friends and advisors to check both my English and Māori languages for accuracy.

3.5.6. Data Collection (3): Collecting Performance Items

Quite often the primary goal of the Kapa Haka practice is to be able to perform each item well on stage. Yet the teachers’ aims and purposes to teach Kapa Haka to the particular group can be quite unique. Chang (2008) argues, “Data from external sources – other individuals, visual artifacts, documents, and literature – provide additional perspectives and contextual information to help you investigate and examine your subjectivity” (p.103).

Music and lyrics are core elements of the performing arts. Many people in Kapa Haka call these waiata ‘performing items’ or ‘performance items’. I thought that the choice of performance items tells much about what the teacher’s goals are for student learning. Therefore, I decided that it was meaningful to collect the items that the teachers prepared for the students to learn as data. In fact, I
obtained permissions from my Kapa Haka teachers to discuss all the items I studied at the university, and the detailed discussions on the items are in the Chapters 4 to 6. Yet I decided not to collect all the performance items that relate to the chapters 7 to 9 for the reasons to follow.

At first, I thought it would not be too difficult to collect the words or lyrics in writing. This was not the case. Quite often when I wanted to collect the lyrics, I had to ask the teachers to write them down on paper or email me, and then I had to ask te reo Māori speakers to help me translate them. Then I would have to ask the teachers again to verify the translations. The process was extremely time consuming, complicated and sometimes costly. It was possible for me to write down the music using the Western notation system, yet in this inquiry, I did not collect the music scores either. The same was true with choreography. I did not collect (record, memorise) choreography. I seldom used voice recorders (rarely a video recorder) to remember the performing items.

To add to the complexity, the lyrics are considered taonga (treasures) in Māoridom and although it was possible for me to ask the teachers to make copies for me, I did not want to be too demanding. Most of the time, I came back from the interview thinking that I did not feel right about writing down the words on paper and making copies in my office at the university. Therefore in the midst of my data collection, I stopped asking for the written copies of performance items. Instead I focused on collecting their rationales for choosing to teach those items through interviews.

3.5.7. Interpreting the Data

Chang (2008) states that “[d]ata collection, analysis, and interpretation activities often take place concurrently or inform each other in cyclical process” (p.122). Taylor and Bogdan (1998) also state, “[i]n qualitative research, data collection and analysis go hand in hand. Throughout participant observation, in-depth interviewing, and other qualitative research, researchers are constantly theorizing and trying to make sense of their data” (p.141). I found Chang’s suggestion helpful that researchers should “shift their focus from merely ‘scavenging’ or ‘quilting’ information bits to actively ‘transforming’ them into a text with culturally meaningful explanations” (Chang, 2008, p.126).

I was not comfortable with the term ‘analysis’. What I was doing seemed ‘interpretation’, but I felt it would be too arrogant to ‘analyse’ anything. Rather, I might have picked, categorised, found significance in the experience of my
encounter with Kapa Haka and its teachers. Thus I tried to deepen my understanding by interpreting my encounters as much as possible. Chang (2008) argues,

What makes autoethnography ethnographic is its intent of gaining a cultural understanding. Since self is considered a carrier of culture, intimately connected to others in society, the self’s behaviors – verbal and nonverbal – should be interpreted in their cultural context. Therefore, autoethnographic data analysis and interpretation involve shifting your attention back and forth between self and others, the personal and the social context. (p.125)

In this research, I found it helpful to follow Chang’s (2008) “10 strategies” (pp.131-137) for data interpretation.

1. Search for recurring topics
2. Look for cultural themes
3. Identify exceptional occurrences
4. Analyze inclusion and omission
5. Connect the present with the past
6. Analyze relationships between self and others
7. Compare yourself with other people’s cases
8. Contextualize broadly
9. Compare with social science constructs and ideas
10. Frame with theories

3.5.8. Influence by Television’s Interviewing and Editing Methods

Having worked in television media, I was influenced by my former techniques of interviewing and editing documentary programmes for television. Although I was not filming my interviews on camera, I was imagining how to edit what Kapa Haka teachers told me as if I was sharing my experience with television viewers. This method may be different from logical, detailed and analytical academic research methods, and it may be viewed as an intuition approach based on one’s experience.

I tried to see individual teachers personally and closely. I wanted to share his or her views and perspectives empathically, and I wanted to hear his or her honest opinions and ideas. I wanted to capture and introduce those moments where these people excelled, when they looked unique and interesting, or sometimes funny. I sought the narratives that seemed to make them look distinguished and different, and yet the aspects that may tell me something about the kaupapa of teaching Kapa Haka.
3.5.9. Validity, Trustworthiness, Legitimacy and Accountability

The discussion about validity leads back to where this chapter started. I chose the path of qualitative inquiry to help me ‘perceive, experience, and understand’ educational aspects of Kapa Haka in relation to fostering a democratic community in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As far as the trustworthiness of this inquiry is concerned, Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) concepts of ‘credibility’ and ‘confirmability’ are the standards I use to guide my work. To achieve credibility, many Kapa Haka practitioners, several scholars and PhD colleagues gave me advice and feedback on how I dealt with the data. By becoming a member of the Kapa Haka practitioners’ communities, and then by becoming part of the Māori research community, I tried to see the world of Kapa Haka from the inside. Thanks to Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (New Zealand’s Indigenous Centre of Research Excellence), I was able to attend several academic conferences, and the research gradually became known and accepted by Māori and in the Māori research community.

In the Kaupapa Māori approach there are arguments on ‘legitimacy’ and ‘accountability’, which concern the sharing of Māori worldviews as well as sharing the decolonising perspectives (Smith, 1999). In Bishop’s (2005) words, “To be involved somatically means to be involved bodily – that is, physically, ethically, morally, and spiritually, not just in one’s capacity as a ‘researcher’ concerned with methodology” (p.131). It helped me much to have learned Kapa Haka and participated in the regional competitions, where people saw my enthusiasm and passion toward Kapa Haka in order to comprehend this art and Māori culture somatically.

3.5.10. Writing Styles

Chang (2008) identifies four styles of writing used in autoethnography:

1. Descriptive-realistic writing
2. Confessional-emotive writing
3. Analytical-interpretive writing
4. Imaginative-creative writing.

I used Chang’s list of writing styles as guidance and my writing styles are mixed in most chapters. I have written some parts in a style that might resemble a novel or an essay, and they are in italics. I would like to think that most parts of
the thesis have been written in “descriptive-realistic writing” and “analytical-
interpretive writing” styles to discuss socio-cultural issues.

Chang (2008) argues, “I cannot overemphasize the importance of developing a
style that fits your research purpose and your writing strength. After all, self
matters in autoethnography” (p.149). To me, the voices from the Kapa Haka
communities mattered more importantly than my own voice, and I wanted to
represent and include their views in my writing as vividly as possible.

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I explained diverse aspects of the methodology and methods
applied. By learning Kapa Haka under a master teacher and by mingling with
the people who practise Kapa Haka, and by sharing their worldviews and social
values, I was able to gain access to many Kapa Haka communities even though
I was a cultural outsider when I first came to Aotearoa New Zealand. I learned
much about the Kaupapa Māori approach somatically, even before I knew its
name and theoretical background. Looking back, I naturally navigated into
Māoridom through my intensive and enthusiastic learning of Kapa Haka.

I also used my academic background as a critical theorist and a dance artist in
order to understand the Aotearoa New Zealand society and noticed diverse
aspects of Kapa Haka teaching and learning. When I encountered
autoethnography, it became possible for me to combine different dimensions of
methodologies, while the Kaupapa Māori approach stayed as a basis of my
research methodology.

Designing the research was a challenging but rewarding learning experience.
For someone who has been in a critical-creative world, what I initially perceived
as the logical-linear way of quantitative research was a difficult matter, yet
adopting qualitative research and encountering autoethnography broke my
preconception of academic research to a great extent.
Chapter 4. Entering Te Ao Māori: An Autoethnographic Account of Learning Kapa Haka under Dr. Ngāpō Wehi, a Master Teacher, and his Whānau [Part I]

4.1. Introduction

Writing this chapter was an opportunity for me to express how my holistic learning of Kapa Haka occurred under Dr. Ngāpō Wehi, a master teacher, at the University of Auckland’s Stage One Kapa Haka course. It was in this course that I began to see that there might be a strong thematic connection between Kapa Haka learning and the idea of fostering a democratic community.

4.2. My Encounter with Stage One Kapa Haka

4.2.1. Experiencing Pōwhiri (Māori Ritual of Encounter)

At four p.m. on Thursday in the first week of March in 2008, more than fifty students gather in front of a wooden carved entrance-way to the Māori Studies Department of the University of Auckland. Another peak of summer is fading in Aotearoa New Zealand, yet autumn is still not there. The bright sunshine disappears quickly every time another aotearoa, or “long white cloud”, covers the university’s city campus. I hear familiar English accents from North America among the students. Among the majority of white students, there are some Asian students as well, who are possibly from Korea, some maybe from China, Taiwan, or maybe from California. I can usually tell if they are Japanese, but I do not see any. To my surprise, there are not too many faces who look Māori or Pacific Islanders.

The traditional Māori gathering house, called a wharenui, is a unique and distinguished building that one cannot miss within the university campus. The space from the gate to the traditional gathering house is covered with grass. Both the gate and the gathering house are made of wood. The complex space is called a marae. Beyond the marae complex, I see tall concrete buildings of other departments of the university near and far. The contrast seems clear: concrete and wood, Europe and Pacific; some may say, present and past; others may say, cultures of the colonisers and of the colonised. The Stage One
Kapa Haka course is just about to begin. At this time I have no idea that this is going to become the first day of my long process of learning Kapa Haka. I end up studying it practically over three years, then academically for another three years. At that time, I also have no idea who the instructor is.

A mature looking man, who seems to be an instructor, appears in front of the chatty crowd at the gate of the marae complex. He is wearing sunglasses. The students turn curiously. “Kia ora! (hello)”, he says to us. Some students, who look like Māori, respond quickly, saying, “Kia ora!” He says again, “Kia ora!” to all of us, and this time most of us respond, “Kia Ora!”, realising, that is what we should be saying. This is possibly the very first Māori greeting people learn as soon as they come to, and even on the way to, Aotearoa New Zealand. The in-flight magazine of Air New Zealand is called “Kia Ora”. It actually feels good when the phrase is used practically in a natural setting. I am reminded that this is an academic course offered at the Māori Studies Department. “Would this course be all in the Māori language? Why didn’t I even think about that? I should have asked. But it would be good to learn Māori language while I am here,” I say to myself.

Despite the large size of the class, the instructor does not shout. He does not talk loudly. He has a certain presence, mannerism, maybe we could call it a charisma, which makes the students keen to listen to what he is about to say. This was the first time I saw Dr. Ngāpō Wehi. I knew nothing about him then. Yet his sincerity makes me want to respect him immediately. After the greeting in Māori, he starts speaking English. His English is very clear, clean and good. “We are just about to walk on to this grass area. You will see a man with a weapon coming towards us.” He explains what we are just about to experience. The words such as “marae”, “wero”, “karanga” come out of his mouth. I try to listen to him, but I have a hard time hearing his voice, with cars passing by and wind blowing. So I get closer and pay attention.

There is something mysterious about the whole event. It seems theatrical. It reminds me of an exciting moment of a stage performance right before the curtain rises. It gives me the shivers, imagination, expectation, a sense of connection with a higher energy. The whole setting has a somewhat sacred and solemn atmosphere. It is a feeling that one experiences when one enters some religious buildings, a shrine or a temple. I should be listening more carefully to what the teacher is saying, but my concentration is interrupted by my thoughts, by my past memories, and excitement because of the site in front of me. Forty metres away, we see several people dressed in traditional costumes inside the
wooden house. Are they going to perform for us? They seem to be getting ready. What are they going to do? Soon I realise we are not just passive observers, or an audience, but we are actually participating in this.... “What do we call it?” Dr. Wehi’s voice wakes me up.

The very first class of Stage One Kapa Haka course starts with a pōwhiri (Māori ritual of encounter). The class is learning about pōwhiri by being part of an actual pōwhiri. We, the students, are treated as “manuhiri” (visitor, guests). Yet we must learn how to behave as manuhiri, and therefore we have to learn some cultural protocols quickly before we can participate in the ritual. I am confused as to whether this is part of a performing art exercise, or something else.

Dr. Wehi continues. “A young man will come towards us on the grass with a weapon called a taiaha. It’s like a spear. He will place a piece of greenery called ‘taki’, in front of our group. One of us, a previously chosen leader, this man here, will pick it up. Picking up the piece of greenery means that the group comes here in peace. If the leader of the guests fails to pick up the ‘taki’, then what happens?” The group thinks. “We, uh, mm, get killed?” An American student answers. The group giggles nervously. “Well, I hope that won’t happen.”

Most of the students laugh, shaking heads. The way Dr. Wehi explains the procedure is simple and yet to the point. He is so good at making the students engage with his talk, as if he knows who all of us are. With a tremendous sense of humour, he instills in us that Kapa Haka is fun and yet serious at the same time. We must do this right, because it is a matter of life or death. The whole group senses that this is an important ritual. The learning suddenly turns into an active one from a passive one, and most of the students seem committed. Dr. Wehi describes the process again, this time rather quickly, making sure the group, everyone, understood the procedure.

Dr. Wehi also makes his students recite the Māori words over and over. “What is the name of this building complex? Marae. Say it.” “What is the challenge called? Wero. Say it? Again? Yes, wero.” “What is the call you will hear by a woman standing in front of the wharenui? Karanga. Again? Yes. Then what do you do? Yes, you start walking, following your leader.” Our learning is holistic. It is bodily and it is social. It is also repetitive, till we all come to a similar level of understanding. We are one, together, as a group of visitors, and the people ahead of us, also as a group, are going to receive us. The ritual is executed in a social context. We are entering a Māori world, physically, linguistically, and
atmospherically, by putting ourselves, our bodies, in this cultural environment. Somehow I find it very theatrical.

In the process of watching the man doing the "wero" (challenge), I am emotionally engaged with what this man with the staff might be actually saying to us. Both his facial expression and the energy coming out of his body are fierce. From the way he approaches us rather hesitantly yet extremely carefully, I can tell his whole sequence requires quite a lot of training. I try to understand the pattern of his steps, to see if I can imitate the way he jumps back and forward, because I have studied several complicated steps in dance before. But I find it quite hard to see the pattern of his movement. I am impressed with the coordination of his bodily movement with the staff and the energy he projects. His piipiu (flax skirt) makes sound and moves in syncronisation with his legs.

My mental images fly back to the past. In the old days, how did the guests dress? Did the guests have weapons, too? In the Edo period, Japanese warriors (samurai) had to put their swords (katana) on the right side when they sat in front of a host as guests, to show that they came to meet the host in peace. Meeting strangers is a serious matter. Would I ever actually learn to do this "wero"? In a short period of time, I am inspired and am thinking imaginatively.

When the sign of peace is shown clearly by the picking up of the greenery, the "karanga" (call) by a senior woman from the marae starts. A karanga is a call which welcomes the guests, and it often includes the phrases such as "Haere mai (Welcome, please come!")", allowing us to go closer to the wharenui (the main house) of the marae. When we get to the wharenui, just as the people who go inside a Buddhist temple in Japan would do, we take off our shoes and go in. While the students are going into the building, there is loud ceremonial chanting, a "haka pōwhiri", being performed by a group of performers dressed in traditional Māori attire in front of the entrance of the wharenui, until almost every guest is inside. Probably seventy students, late-comers included, are now squeezed into the wharenui, and we are all instructed to sit on the available chairs or directly on the floor.

Inside the wharenui, the ritual of encounter comes to another phase. There are whaikōrero (speeches) by the hosts, who welcome the new-comers to the marae. It's all done in te reo Māori (Māori language). In this particular pōwhiri, the speeches include blessings for us students who have decided to take part in gaining this new knowledge of Māori culture. Whaikōrero is an extremely
theatrical kind of speech-making. It is hard for me to tell if the speaker has prepared the speech previously or not. It is quite possible they might have thought about what to say before the pōwhiri happened, yet it also seems that they are improvising. Whaikōrero sounds very poetic, rhythmic, as if the speakers are reciting poems or chanting. The speakers seem to be channeling so as to receive their energies from above, or they could be in trance, as if some kind of personality has stepped into their bodies. It is somewhat like an actor doing a monologue in Shakespeare’s plays, or a Japanese Noh theatre player being a mountain god.

Then the manuhiri also express their gratitude by making speeches, after a few tangata whenua (people of the land, hosts) finish speaking. Every time someone speaks, there is a waiata (song) to be sung; a group of people who know the songs stands up and sings. After each speech in te reo Māori (Māori language) another waiata follows.

For Māori people, knowledge is a precious treasure, which is handed down from their ancestors (Kawai and Zemke-White, 2004). Thus the students have to be welcomed and blessed by the Māori ancestors, because it is about sharing their precious treasures with these students. In whaikōrero, such a philosophy is expressed, and shared by all who are present.

The amount of information we have to absorb in the first half an hour of the class is enormous. It is also physically exhausting, because from the very first minute of a Kapa Haka class, emotion is present in every phase. Because it is assumed that this is the first time for most students who signed up for the Stage One Kapa Haka course to experience pōwhiri, this particular ritual is slightly simplified. The whaikōrero might be a bit shorter than usual and more generic and popular waiata might have been used instead of tribe-specific ones during the ceremony. Still the ceremony is not finished until every single student experiences hongi (Māori greeting of shaking hands and pressing noses) with the hosting people, who are mainly the instructors and the staff from the Māori Studies Department. Hongi can be quite an intimate experience for some people. If one comes close too quickly to the greeting partner, then one may hit the partner’s nose a bit too hard. This style of greeting makes the guest and the host connect physically closer. It is described as the guest and the host sharing their breath together.

After experiencing pōwhiri in a traditional manner, the students all sit in the wharenui, relaxed a little, and the teachers start speaking English. The
instructors are introduced. The students are also told to introduce themselves; names, where they are from, what they are studying at the university. This is a long process because there are over seventy students in the class. Yet the instructors seem enthusiastic to hear what each student might have to say about herself or himself. Actually, from a student’s perspective, it feels good, because each student is treated importantly.

The students are somewhat surprised to find out about their similarities as well as diversity. Many of them are international students. There is a group of Dance Studies students, mainly because it is compulsory for them to study Kapa Haka (talk about decolonisation in tertiary education!). Other than them, most students are from almost every academic discipline imaginable from various departments throughout the university. I was fascinated by the diversity of the students in the Kapa Haka course. Why is a chemistry major taking a Kapa Haka course? Why are there so few Māori and Asian students? What are the Russians doing in Aotearoa New Zealand? Why are there so many Americans in Auckland? Why are so few music or theatre majors in the class? The self-introduction reveals some aspects of who studies or wants to study Kapa Haka at the university.

After the mihi (welcome ceremony, self-introductions) is over, the instructors with a small group of performers demonstrate the performing items, songs and dances, for the students. These are the items that the students would learn during the semester. Dr. Wehi is sitting and watching with the students. The students watch the performance with curiosity; many of us are impressed by the skills and the power of the performance by the instructors. There are only seven or eight people performing, yet the sound is enormous and the power is overwhelming. The wharenui is transformed into a live-music house. It is the first time that I watch. It is lively, powerful, emotional, entertaining and is different from any other form of performing arts that I am familiar with.

4.2.2. Learning Māori Social Values in the Kitchen and the Dining Hall: Holistic Approach to Whanaungatanga and Manaakitanga

After the pōwhiri, the class was instructed to move to the wharekai (the dining hall) which is next to the wharenui (meeting house) in the marae complex. Some kai (food) was laid out in the wharekai. The atmosphere was more casual in the wharekai, in contrast to the ceremonial and sacred atmosphere in the wharenui. From the second week on, there was a “kai” time in every class for
about half an hour in the midst of a three-hour class. Unlike the first week, however, each student was expected to bring snacks.

It gradually became clear to me that even though the kai time was not exactly the time to learn the performing items, it was an important time to learn two of the most significant Māori cultural values: one was whanaungatanga, and the other was manaakitanga. The Māori word “whānau” means “an extended family”. According to the Māori Dictionary Online (Moorfield, 2003-2014), whanaungatanga, means “relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging”. It was intended that by preparing and eating food together, and by cleaning the hall and the kitchen afterwards, the students would build a sense of family connection.

The Māori Dictionary Online (Moorfield, 2003-2014) states that “manaakitanga” is about “hospitality” and “kindness”. Mana holds the core meaning in this word, which, according to the Māori Dictionary Online, “can mean various things, including “prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma. My friends told me that in the Māori cultural contexts, one could lift one’s own mana by serving others. In Japan, we have a similar concept, and the word is “omoiyaru”, which means “to think for others”, or “motenasu” which means “to be hospitable (to the guests).” In both Māori and Japanese cultures individuals exist in relational, social contexts. The word “human being” in the Japanese language is “ningen” (written 人間), and it means “a person existing in-between people”. To serve others is a virtue both in Japan and in the Māori world. It was interesting for me to find out that the Japanese and Māori cultures hold values that are opposite to the competitive, individualistic, and money-focused attitudes that capitalism advocates.

What impressed me most was the ways that whanaungatanga and manaakitanga were taught in Kapa Haka classes. The students are only informed that the marae has to look clean and perfect when they leave the class. Every year it is taught like a quiz without it being said that it is a quiz. It was often hinted to carefully look at how some Māori students behaved; that we should follow how they acted during the kai time. When the instructors said “OK, let’s take a break,” some of the Māori students, who were brought up on a marae, would quietly but quickly go into the kitchen and start preparing food and drinks, and they would start organising tables. Other students were left to think what to do.
The students have to take good care of each other in order to make this kai time pleasant and efficient. This requires collaboration, consideration for others, and a sense of serving others with selflessness. Within a few weeks, male students started preparing the heavy tables for putting the kai on. Some students would soon start going into the kitchen voluntarily, and gradually most students found chores, served others, collected garbage, and cleaned the floor. After the meal, dishes had to be washed and put back to where they came from, and the tables had to be put away.

In my years of watching the same Stage One course, there were times when it took several weeks for the majority of students to notice what was expected of them to do, yet in every class all the students eventually learned whanaungatanga and manaakitanga rather effectively and bodily through the chores at kai time. Many students started bringing snacks within a few weeks of the course, because they realised the snacks were not enough unless they all brought them, and because many students realised the more they gave, the more enjoyable the kai time became. The mingling over food and chatting provided the students with opportunities to get to know each other more deeply, to learn from one another, and to communicate more. Meeting half an hour every week certainly seemed like a better socialising opportunity than a once a year party. In addition to learning and sharing the class material, by enjoying the kai time together the class became more like a family by the end of the semester, if not within a few weeks. Towards the end of the semester, the students all moved quickly and efficiently, finding the right chores for them to perform.

Whanaungatanga and manaakitanga can also be seen in how Dr. Wehi and his whānau deal with the students. While Dr. Wehi is the main teacher in the Stage One Kapa Haka, he is supported and assisted by his whānau members. His son, Richard, plays the guitar. He is an extraordinary guitarist, who is musically very talented. Richard makes sure that the students learn the music accurately. Mori, a protégé of Dr. Wehi, and a good friend of Richard, is another excellent guitarist, who also comes in often and helps Dr. Wehi teach the class. Dr. Wehi, Richard and Mori, three of the male teachers together, teach haka to the male students. Angela, Dr. Wehi’s daughter-in-law, teaches poi, waiata-ā-ringa, and helps Dr. Wehi with administrative tasks. Dr. Wehi’s granddaughter, Taru, helps Angela, and together they teach some items to the female students and action songs to all the students. The whole whānau become a group of teachers and they all practise their manaakitanga by hosting the university students who come to the Kapa Haka class.
In Dr. Wehi’s class, all the students are treated as a whānau. Angela is extremely good at remembering each student’s name, and what his or her majors are, even when the number of the students exceeds one hundred. She treats students as if they were her younger brothers and sisters. Each student somehow establishes warm human relationships with the instructors. When a student is a mother, she may bring her small child to the class and that is fine. The small child is introduced to the class. When an American student’s parents might be visiting Aotearoa New Zealand, the student is encouraged to introduce his or her parents to the class, and the parents are invited to sit and watch our practice. The students may even perform the items they just learned to welcome these parents.

I often heard Dr. Wehi say that while the international students were in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori were the host, and that these students must be well cared for, because they were the manuhiri (visitors) in the Māori land. He would tell his students that he wanted them to “take back some Māori culture as a souvenir”, as if to say that was why he was teaching Kapa Haka. It was the way he expressed his manaakitanga. His generosity, care, and the way he treated everybody as if they were his family reflected his cultural values. As Angela often said, “This is the way we do things”, or “This is what we do as Māori.”

4.2.3. Learning the Performance Items

The very first waiata (song) taught in Stage One is Ehara i te Mea. It is one of the most popular singing items that almost everyone in Māoridom knows. Its words capture the essence of what Māori people value in their culture, such as aroha (love, compassion), whenua (land), iwi (tribe), tūmanako (hope), whakapono (faith), and tūpuna (ancestors). Most waiata I studied under Dr. Wehi are listed with translations in the Appendix I: KHPIs.

Learning waiata follows a basic procedure. By learning Ehara i te Mea the students also learn how to learn a waiata. The students learn the words first. They learn how to pronounce the words correctly with accurate Māori pronunciation, and they learn the meaning of the Māori words in English. Then the students learn the tune. They practise the first line, and keep adding lines once the previous line is memorised. After the students know the words, meanings, and the music, they are placed in kapa, or rows. Initially they learn to sing in a large group; then they gradually learn to sing and perform together with others in rows. A special sense of unity develops when the group does this.
When the group can sing in unison securely, then they begin to learn how to harmonise the song musically. The students learn how to move in groups with simple steps of moving to the right and left. The performance level of the waiata gets better with every practice as the group follows and understands this steady, step by step learning procedure. “Repetition is the mother of skill,” Dr. Wehi would say several times throughout the course. “What is the point of practising? You do it better than the last time.”

In a way his advice is universal. Yet from the Māori perspective, there is more to learning any waiata than just singing. We are reminded that te reo (the language) is a precious treasure and that we need to deal with the language with care and respect. This attitude is reflected in the holistic approach to learning. When we learn a waiata, the instructors write the words on the white board. Yet the students are expected to learn more by listening than by looking at the written words. Dr. Wehi would hide the words after a while, just to see if the students are using all of their senses to memorise the song. We are encouraged to learn any waiata by listening, even more than by looking at the words, which is considered one of the Māori ways of knowing, hence reflecting their oral traditions.

Just like some popular Christian hymns Ehara i te Mea builds dramatically towards the end. When sung with power in a large group, the waiata sounds beautiful and is moving. Dr. Wehi taught us two types of melodies when we sang this waiata. The first time round was a rather simple melody, while the second time it became more like a choral piece with harmony. Dr. Wehi explained that when we sang this for the first time around, it was in a “chant form” (mōteatea), and the second time, it was a waiata with a tune. This was the first time I became aware of some of the sensitive and painful aspects of colonisation of Māori culture, which I refer to later in this chapter.

The second waiata we learned to perform in Stage One was Papaki nui. After experiencing pōwhiri on the first day of the Stage One Kapa Haka, learning Papaki nui felt as if we were re-experiencing pōwhiri in a form of waiata-ā-ringa (action song). This action song, with its happy American tune, captures the experience of receiving and meeting new guests on the marae. The music comes from Frank Sinatra’s hit song Five Minutes More, while the lyrics were written by W.B. Kerekere.

The third waiata we studied in Stage One was a poi item. It was also about pōwhiri. The students had to learn how important pōwhiri is, and how
meaningful it is to meet new people in Māori culture. *Ka Huri Au* is an upbeat, exciting song of welcome. The boys must insert rhythmic shouting in-between the songs, such as "Hi! (pronounced Hee)" “Ha!” “Hi aue Hi!”. When these phrases are shouted correctly, the song is more frenzied. The main players are the women, because they must perform difficult poi routines in the front lines, while the men support the song by singing and shouting, smiling from behind.

It is remarkable to see the female students who have never touched a poi in their lives become skillful in handling a poi, to the point that they are able to show with ease what they learned in front of an audience. It gives the students an opportunity to feel a tremendous sense of achievement. Poi also shows how much effort each individual makes to do it well.

The last major item we study in the Stage One Kapa Haka is a haka: the tremendously popular haka called *Ka Mate*. Because I was not a big Rugby fan prior to my coming to Aotearoa New Zealand, I had never seen nor heard of the *All Blacks* or haka. Yet many male students from abroad came to Aotearoa New Zealand to study this particular haka. I learned haka for the first time in Dr. Wehi’s class without having any previous knowledge of it.

4.2.4. The Final Performance

*After three months’ practice, the students of the Stage One Kapa Haka course perform what we have learned in front of an audience. The final performance is free of charge, and our friends, families, and people who are interested come and watch. As in any performance of performing arts, both the performers and the audience share intensive moments. In this case it is for approximately 15 minutes of Kapa Haka items.*

*In the process of planning the performance, the social aspects of what we have learned, especially whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, help the show go smoothly and successfully. The students plan how to prepare kai for the guests, and they estimate approximately how many people are coming to the performance in advance by having meetings and discussions. Usually the Māori Studies Department financially supports the students to buy some food to feed the guests. Still the students have to go shopping, plan the menu and cook food. Many members of Ngā Tauri Māori, the Māori Students Association from the university, come and help on the day of the performance. Each student finds his or her chores and make himself/herself available. Some would guide the guests and give instructions, while others would prepare chairs to seat the audience.*
By this day, there is a sense of unity among the students. Also many consider the final performance as “our” performance. It means they themselves take the initiative to make the show happen in a successful way.

Dr. Wehi and his whānau introduce the group, each item, and give a brief explanation of what each item is about, both artistically and historically. They also thank the audience for coming to the performance to support the students. They congratulate the students for making efforts to learn te reo, waiata, poi, haka, cultural protocols, and concepts and values of Māori culture.

To see more than eighty students perform together in a group itself can be impressive. The singing volume is incredible, and the cheering is warm. More than three hundred people sit closely and watch the performance, sharing a space with the performers squeezed into the wharekai. It feels as if the entire marae is hosting a big family gathering. In a way it is a very unique atmosphere where so many international faces are seriously performing Māori cultural items, and the audience itself is very multicultural, most of them being unfamiliar with Kapa Haka.

The students, at the end, would give a small koha (gift) as a group to each teacher, thanking them for their knowledge, patience and passion to teach the beginners. In 2008, when the students gave gifts to the teachers, five of the instructors including Dr. Wehi stood up and starting doing a short chant (mōteatea). The power of the chant was extraordinary. With such a small number of people, they sounded more energetic than the eighty students altogether. Both the audience and the students became very emotional, and they started clapping.

When the performance and gift exchanges are over, Angela asks the audience to speak. The place turns into a hui, a discussion session, or exchange of kōrero (talk, opinion, thoughts), on this particular Kapa Haka performance which they have just experienced. Several audience members, one by one, get up and speak. Some shyly, others with confidence, some in tears, some emotionally overwhelmed, expressing their experience of encountering Kapa Haka performance by a culturally pluralistic student body.

Many Māori speakers are grateful that the students have enormous respect for Kapa Haka and for Māori culture. Some are impressed that international students can actually perform Kapa Haka well after three months. Many Pākehā New Zealanders are stunned by the level of the performance. Some say that
they are ashamed that they never studied Kapa Haka before when a group of international students could learn it so well. Some members of the international audience comment that they are eager to learn this art, asking if this kind of course is available again in the next semester.

Dr. Wehi is usually sitting quietly, smiling. In the years of my attending the performances, I felt a warm, supportive energy in the air. On the final performance day, the marae is filled with aroha (love), hari (joy), rongo (peace) and túmanako (hope). I wonder if it is because of the way Dr. Wehi and his wonderful whānau teach Kapa Haka, or if it is because of Kapa Haka itself as an art form. I think it is probably because of both.

4.3. Democratic Education and Stage One Kapa Haka

I identified thematic connections between the concept of democratic education and Stage One Kapa Haka which I describe below.

4.3.1. Pōwhiri: Overcoming Otherness

From a theatrical perspective, all the people participating in pōwhiri are simultaneously the performers and the spectators. They are all important players in the ritual of encounter, sometimes active, sometimes as passive listeners of speeches, and often as participating singers and chanters of waiata exchanged between the hosts and the guests.

There may not be a script, yet there are cultural protocols and specific structural procedures in pōwhiri. Some people have particularly significant roles to play; whaikōrero is done by kaumātua (elderly men), karanga is performed by kuia (elderly women) (Salmond, 2009). Waiata (songs) are chosen that suit the occasion. Although it is very much stylised, the pōwhiri starts with an emotional confrontation of the strangers, and ends with friendship. Pōwhiri can be seen both as a form of religious ritual and as theatre. It goes without saying that instead of trying to understand it in relation to performing arts of other cultures we should understand pōwhiri as it is. Pōwhiri is pōwhiri; it is what Māori people do when they first meet. It is a ritual and it is a cultural practice, which happens to be very theatrical.

At first I was not clear about the link between Kapa Haka as a form of performing arts, and pōwhiri. Why did Dr. Wehi have us experience pōwhiri on the first day of a Kapa Haka class? Why did Dr. Wehi make us experience the
Māori ritual of encounter, instead of lecturing about it? The aims seemed rather clear. Instead of looking at the Māori ways of life from the outside, the students are brought into the Māori cultural space by being part of the social interactions. As a result, the students are left to realise and feel that any activity on the marae is deeply connected to Māori ways of life, including Kapa Haka.

One of the leading Pākehā anthropologists in Aotearoa New Zealand, Anne Salmond (2009), states,

Hui is a general term in Māori for any kind of meeting, but when people say they have been to a hui, they are nearly always referring to a ceremonial gathering on a marae. The marae is a local centre, typically owned by a descent-group, with a meeting-house, dining-hall and forecourt for orators set on about an acre of land…. The hui is important to the study of contemporary Māori society, because it is in this context that Māoritanga is most deeply expressed. (p.1)

Dr. Wehi is showing the students that Kapa Haka is a collection of performing items that originated in hui at marae. These items were selected, stylised and transformed into a form of performing arts, while the distinction between the arts and rituals is blurred in Māoridom. For example, haka pōwhiri is a particular genre of haka that is used in pōwhiri to welcome the guests. Even though Kapa Haka has been shaped in competitive formats in the last four decades within the culture of festivals and competitions (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004), it is very much present today as a key cultural practice on marae.

Māori people tell me that we all carry within us our ancestors and the places we grew up with: we carry within us the people who brought us up, and knowledge of how we came to be ourselves. In that sense, Māori people are genuinely curious about the backgrounds of people when they first meet them. Māori people are concerned about “who you are”, with questions like “where are you from?”, “who are your parents?”, “which tribe do you belong to?”, “which land do you belong to?” This concept is called whakapapa (genealogy). In pōwhiri, many of us learn how Māori people value their roots and that of the people they meet. They have a strong desire to learn who the strangers are by locating their roots, so that both the hosts and the guests can find their mutual link in their backgrounds. This way both sides can come to respect each other, and can enhance the possibility of a good relationship between the two parties.

On the very first day of Stage One Kapa Haka, I saw myself standing in front of a path to Māoridom, which seemed vast, deep, mysterious, and yet exciting. Although it was a new form of performing arts that I encountered, there was a feeling of familiarity. I assume it was because there were some elements in
pōwhiri that resonated with my value system as a performing artist: the importance of sharing time and space with others; valuing people; to make efforts to connect, to understand others more deeply and to find commonalities to co-exist with others.

By experiencing one pōwhiri, I instantly liked how carefully Māori people consider the first meeting with strangers, how deeply they want to share time and space with the guests. By making an effort in getting to know strangers and by receiving them as guests, they would develop a mutual respect and friendship. In short, Māori people spend an enormous amount of energy when they meet strangers in order to overcome ‘Otherness’ on part of the strangers as well as themselves.

4.3.2. Whanaungatanga, Manaakitanga, and Making of a Democratic Community

Experiencing kai time inspired me to think further about Māori social values and the concept of a democratic community. In our everyday lives, many of us eat with our family and friends, exchange words over meals, and discuss what is happening in our lives. If we can extend our love and trust to others as if the others were all our related family members, our society would probably become a much more peaceful place.

During the Stage One Kapa Haka, I came to think that there are similarities between the Māori concept of ‘whānau’ and Dewey’s (1916) concept of a ‘democratic community’. For Dewey (1916), “a democracy is a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience” (p.87). Throughout the Kapa Haka classes, the students are given the opportunities to explore and experience what Maxine Greene (1995) calls “interconnectedness and communion” (p.34).

While pōwhiri in the first class sets the mood for overcoming Otherness, the students learn not only how to perform the items together, but they also learn to nurture human connectedness during the kai time. It is not only through the act of eating and chatting together, but it is also through the act of preparing and cleaning up together (as one often does at home) that the aspects of family connectedness can be strongly felt and nurtured. The Māori cultural environment provides the students with holistic and inclusive learning opportunities.
In my experience, it usually happens in a theatre or a dance group that the people become closer by spending creative processes together and sharing the same goal. Yet in addition to such practices of performing arts, Kapa Haka classes offer a cultural environment where the whole point of learning Kapa Haka is about encouraging the learners to foster their interconnectedness among themselves. Kapa Haka is also an art of hospitality, sharing cultural treasures with audience, and one of its fundamental educational values is to love and respect others.

4.3.3. The Performing Items: Between Colonisation and ‘Cultural Symphonisation’

At first, I did not understand how people defined ‘traditional’ in Māori culture. While the lyrics did seem quite traditionally Māori, most music in Stage One sounded quite European, except the haka. It was explained on a class hand-out that “this waiata-ā-ringa or action song was composed in the late 1960s. At that time it was fashionable to write Māori words to popular tunes in order for the youth of that day to grasp hold of their language”. It seemed that many aspects of Māori culture were expressed strongly in the messages of the lyrics in te reo Māori.

Before I became more familiar with mōteatea in the Stage Two and Stage Three classes, I was not sure if Ehara i te Mea’s simpler tune was indeed a mōteatea, at least from a musical point of view. The two kinds of melodies used in Ehara i te Mea sounded both European to me. I did not ask Dr. Wehi this question, because I thought one of the interesting reasons that we studied Kapa Haka was to know the state of Māori culture in Aotearoa New Zealand today. Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) write,

> With the arrival of the European settler came an influx of Occidental cultural and musical influences as well as a British government who were keen on assimilating Māori and the rich material resources of their lands and seas. Consequently, Māori suffered significant amounts of cultural loss. (p.140)

At the same time, Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) argue that Māori cultural history is complicated and that it cannot be explained simply by the logic of colonisation. They continue,

> The Kapa Haka developed amid these culturally hostile conditions amalgamating Māori and Occidental cultural influences into a music genre that was to become popular among local and global audiences. This mediation of Māori and Occidental cultural influences was an
important dynamic in the sustainability of Māori language, values, and
customs, especially in the early years of colonisation, which allowed
certain cultural practices to live on in song and dance. (p.140)

Japanese philosopher Mitsuo Nakata (1982) argues that “cultures symphonize”
(p.50) and that it is in the nature of cultures that as soon as two cultures have a
contact both react and transform (Nakata, 1982). When the cultures meet, there
are various ways that the contact leads to another phase of the change of
cultures, including “rejection, destruction, amalgamation, fusion” (Nakata, 1982,
p.49, my translation), and so on. Well-known examples of this are the ancient
Chinese characters which were brought into the Japanese writing systems over
a thousand year ago. It is also widely known that French Impressionism
paintings were inspired by the Japanese Ukiyo-e paintings in the Edo period. A
further example is Korean and Japanese popular music which are very similar.
And the list goes on.

At the same time, amalgamation of cultures may be caused by colonisation, or
even by a threat of colonisation. When the Japanese government decided to
westernise its political system in the 1860s, so that the Japanese would be
prepared to protect themselves from the Western colonisation, it quickly
became a national goal to absorb knowledge from the West. When the
Japanese invaded Korea, the Koreans were forced to speak the Japanese
language against their will.

It is possible to argue that because of colonisation, Māori people were ‘forced’
to adopt European music into their music. On the other hand, in the case of
Kapa Haka, it is also possible to argue that Māori people actively enriched their
own culture by absorbing Pākehā cultural elements into theirs. Kaiwai and
Zemke-White’s (2004) statement encourages us to read between these two
analyses. In order for Māori people to sustain their culture, they might have
artfully brought Western music into their culture and in doing so, made sure that
te reo Māori survived throughout the colonisation. By employing Western music,
Māori people might have partially succeeded in protecting what they wanted to
protect.

When I look at some Japanese music after the 1860s, after Japan opened its
doors to the West, there are many compositions that Japanese composers
created by studying Western music. Today we think these pieces of music are
Japanese, and entirely our own. Following a similar logic, Dr. Wehi categorises
the first tune of Ehara i te Mea as a form of traditional Māori chant.
I learned from the Stage One items that ambivalent and complex characteristics of Kapa Haka exist in regard to cultural colonisation. Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) argue Kapa Haka deserves “a more empowered” status than just a “subject”, and that we need to look at Kapa Haka in a “holistic” manner by studying it from an angle of “cultural development” (p.156). Yet it was not until I started studying the Stage Two Kapa Haka that I realised Kapa Haka performing items offered much deeper, emotional and often painful memories of colonial history from the Māori people’s perspective.

4.3.4. Performing Together: The Mysterious Nature of ‘Kapa’

When performing in lines, the togetherness of the group is felt strongly. Throughout the practices, the students are constantly reminded to check if their lines are straight, if their standing positions are correct, and the distance between the people on both sides of them are even. The students are told that they are supposed to feel connected to others around them constantly. Being in a Kapa Haka group reminds me of singing in a Japanese choir, in which the group had to line up like an army. Yet there is a difference between a choir and a Kapa Haka group.

While a choir is based on group harmony, or a symphony orchestra creates sounds by coordinating each individual instrument, a basic Kapa Haka group depends on unison of sound from the group. Once the group produces a solid united sound, then the group may utilise individual or harmonious voices to add flavour and breadth. In this regard Kapa Haka is a type of performance that is similar to the functions of a corps de ballet in ballet companies. The difference between a corps de ballet’s movement formation and Kapa Haka’s vocal formation is that Kapa Haka rarely has star singers singing in front of the group (apart from the male and female leaders), while ballet corps usually dance behind the stars in order to make the stars shine. In Kapa Haka, the corps members are usually the centre of attention, and the group performing together is the norm of the performance.

Just like democracy, there is a feeling of “we, the people”, and these people are the centre of Kapa Haka. The sense of unity created by Kapa Haka is quite unique. Practising Kapa Haka in a group somehow nurtures a sense of unity with the group, because there is a particular energy in the air. Dewey (2005) states,

The medium through which energy operates determines the resulting work. The resistance to be overcome in song, dance and dramatic
presentation is partly within the organism itself, embarrassment, fear, awkwardness, self-consciousness, lack of vitality, and partly in the audience addressed. Painting and architecture cannot receive the direct excited simultaneous acclaim evoked by the theatre, the dance, the musical performance. (p.164)

A ‘kapa’, or a group, is a formation, and also a group that shares emotion. Unlike other performing arts, each Kapa Haka item with different disciplines of expression represents human emotions in a theatrical realm: anger, joy, sadness, are all part of Kapa Haka’s artistic expressions. With different disciplines usually come different emotions. Yet when all items are performed in sequence, it is as if all the human emotions are included in one stage package. The emotional expressions are quite contagious; fifty people expressing anger at the same time can be extremely dramatic and overwhelming.

In Kapa Haka, there might be no plot connecting different performing items, yet each item has a story to tell, and usually there is a clear emotional motive behind the telling of these stories. Emotions are stylised into diverse forms of expressions. Kāretu (1993) describes how haka is often perceived wrongly by those who know very little about the culture of Māori. He states,

It is inevitable that because pūkana (dilating of the eyes, performed by both sexes), whētero (the protruding of the tongue, performed by the men only), ngangahau (similar to pūkana, performed by both sexes), and pōtētē (the closing of the eyes at different points in the dance, performed by the women only), are essentials of Māori dance, that many observers confined themselves to such epithets as ‘grotesque’, ‘savage’, and ‘indecent’…. Not only Māori culture believes that the eyes are the windows of the soul and that the eyes can say much that the rest of the body cannot. (p.29)

When individuals in the ‘kapa’ perform together, both in formation and with emotional commitment, the power of performance is maximised. Similar to group sports, the team must become one in order to execute their actions well. Being in a Kapa Haka group empowers an individual in such a way that the group can achieve much more than what one person can achieve.

Kapa somehow makes every individual performer an active participant who works for the whole group’s betterment. Possibly this is similar to a kind of feeling experienced by the a “Resistance fighter in the Second World War”, or “the civil rights movement of the 1960s and the peace movement in that decade” when people “took initiatives, became challengers, and embarked on new beginnings” described by Greene (1995, p.2). There may be something in this to learn from Kapa Haka for making democracy work better.
4.3.5. Mātauranga Māori and Māori Ways of Knowing

The first time we learned the haka Ka Mate, the students were brought to the wharenuai, and Mori, one of our male instructors, brought a white board and wrote the words on it. He explained the story behind the haka, telling how the creator of this haka, Te Rauparaha, was being chased by his enemy. “This man was running away from the enemy and had to hide in a kūmara (sweet potato) pit. The haka was composed to portray the man’s life or death situation.” After explaining the story behind the haka in detail and translating the words, Mori asked Dr. Wehi to take over. Dr. Wehi started reciting the verses. He was rather quiet with his volume at first, yet his voice had a very strong energy. He explained that the timing was very important in haka and that we had to recite exactly the way he recited. Within a few minutes, the students were able to accurately follow Dr. Wehi.

In the haka practice, we had to know the meaning and pronunciation of the words and we had to know the tempo, timing, pauses, and rhythms. Then we would learn the gestures, actions and steps. The next step was to talk about the facial expressions and the emotional aspects the haka. The quality of performance was raised when we gradually mastered these elements altogether. Towards the end of the semester, some students were able to perform the haka with the right kind of energy and with proper understanding of the words. Some good performers even imagined and expressed the feeling of the sunlight from above hitting a kumara pit.

Dr. Wehi prefers to teach in the wharenuai, because in that environment, we are surrounded by the world of Māori. The wharenuai’s atmosphere transports the students into the world of Māori culture. According to Māori people, when we are on a marae, we are surrounded by ancestors and their “wairua”, or their spirits. Every time we start a class, we recite karakia (prayer). Every time we have a kai break, we say karakia before we eat. At the end of the class, we say karakia.

To learn Māori arts successfully, it helps to be completely encapsulated by these arts and to share them with others in a Māori social context. From day one, the students were guided into the world of wairua, which is the symbolic world of the Māori. Dr. Wehi simply let his students experience the way Māori people live, based on “the idea of Māori ways of knowing called mātauranga Māori or Māori knowledge” (Kaiwai and Zemke-White, 2004, p.143).
Kapa Haka is inclusive of many areas of the Māori arts. One of the Stage One classes is spent making poi. Both the female and the male students participate in the poi making. This is when a performing art class turns into a fine art class. Paul Whitinui (2008) explains, “the educational importance is that through Kapa Haka a host of different cultural learning experiences, values and practices may well be present and occurring simultaneously” (p.38). Whitinui (2008) further states,

Māori people, past and present, have been very determined and adept at utilizing their knowledge and creative energy to maintain the integrity of Māori art. Although Māori art has become more a contemporary term, the aim is to ensure that Māori cultural traditions, values and practices become more visible and readily accessible to a host of different groups and societies. (p.38)

The students in the Stage One Kapa Haka study mātauranga Māori and Māori epistemology. The knowledge exists in the items, which tell stories. The knowledge is also included in the how of the teaching, because by the way it is taught, the knowledge can be properly gained and understood.

4.3.6. Who Studies Stage One Kapa Haka and Why?

In this section, I will examine what kinds of students take part in Stage One Kapa Haka, and for what reasons. I also include how the instructors deal with the diversity of the students.

In the “aims of the course” section of the course description of “Māori 190 Kapa Haka 1”, it is stated,

The course introduces students to Kapa Haka and aims to teach the practical and basic skills of performing and of expressing the meaning of songs through actions or movements of limbs and body as well as the various social, cultural and political settings that give it meaning.

Most international students who take Stage One Kapa Haka are studying at the University of Auckland for a semester or a year. Often they are on student exchange programmes, and they mentioned that while they were in Aotearoa New Zealand, they wanted to study something unique to Aotearoa New Zealand, something that is culturally Māori. According to these students, while learning the language (te reo Māori) seemed time and energy consuming, taking Kapa Haka classes was “fun”, “exciting” and “cool”. Also some students said that they preferred singing and dancing to the usual university student learning activities such as “sitting, reading books, listening to lectures, and memorising
information through words”. Gradually they realised Kapa Haka is “not that easy”, yet they found learning Kapa Haka “a very special experience.”

Another group of students that need mentioning are the Māori students. They usually make up less than 10% of the Stage One class. Within this group of Māori students were some who were brought up with Kapa Haka since early childhood, and another group that had very little experience in Māori culture. Because Dr. Wehi is well-known in the competitive Kapa Haka world, the advanced students know who he is, and often are extremely excited to be able to study under him. The performing items taught in Stage One are not difficult for those students, and they would soon be expected to assist the instructors in helping the rest of the students.

The group of Māori students who were not brought up with Kapa Haka is taking this course in order to (re-)gain their own culture. Conversations with some Māori students revealed some aspects of Aotearoa New Zealand society today: some of their parents prohibited the students from studying Kapa Haka, because the parents wanted their children to assimilate into Pākeha culture. The students themselves looked down on Māori culture until they became university students, and suddenly they realised that they should know a few things about Māori culture to be properly Māori. Many of the students in this group were a bit timid; some said that they were embarrassed because they knew very little about Kapa Haka. I heard comments such as: “I am Māori but I have never done Kapa Haka,” and “It’s hard because when you are Māori, people think you do Kapa Haka”.

Dr. Wehi and other instructors are very good at helping these Māori students. The tutors are able to feel the courage and determination, but also the embarrassment that these students experience, and help each student accordingly. Many of the instructors had similar experiences themselves. If these students are willing to learn more, the tutors push them; if they are too timid, the instructors treat the students just like the international students.

There is always a small group of Pacific Islanders in the Stage One Kapa Haka. In Aotearoa New Zealand, they are often called “Islanders” for short. They often look like Māori, yet if you get to know them better, the differences become clear. They are Samoans, Tongans, Tahitians, Niueans, Fijians, Cook Islanders and so forth, who have either migrated with their families to Aotearoa New Zealand or work there temporarily. Some students chose to come to Aotearoa New Zealand for tertiary education. A strong mental and cultural connection is
obvious between the Pacific Islanders and Māori. Their linguistic roots are similar to Māori, and they share similar mythologies. Angela, who studied many forms of Pacific Island dance, often talks about the difference between the hand and hip movements of Māori and other Pacific Islands dance forms. For the international students who came from outside this region, it is a wonderful opportunity to meet and become familiar with people from diverse islands. As co-learners in Kapa Haka classes, they experience the culturally pluralistic Pacific peoples first hand.

Non-Māori New Zealanders make up roughly 10-15% of the class. Most of them are students in the Dance Studies programme. It is compulsory for them to study Kapa Haka in their first year. I often observed a “I am not so interested in this” kind of attitude when they first come. Yet as the class progressed, many of the Dance Studies students engaged with the class material. I identified at least two reasons for this. Many Pākehā students realised that international students appreciated learning Kapa Haka as a unique and interesting cultural practice of Aotearoa New Zealand. For many of these Pākehā dance students, it is unfortunately a culture that they may have not been brought up to respect. However, tertiary dance education at the university is designed so that every dance studies major becomes exposed to the knowledge of local dance. This exposure changes some students’ views on Māori people. Another group of Dance Studies students become more engaged with Kapa Haka later in the semester due to them developing pride as a dance major. They realised that if Dance Studies was their academic major they should be able to dance any form of dance better than for example a chemistry major. I observed this kind of realisation occur among many Dance Studies students during the course.

Every year there is also a very small group of Pākehā students who are not Dance Studies majors. Quite often these students are socially and politically conscious about the fulfilment of biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand. For whatever reason, they are sympathetic to Māori people, and they are better informed about Māori social issues than their peers. This group thinks they can learn more about Māori values and gain Māori perspectives by studying Kapa Haka. Unfortunately, the number of students in this category is small, which is a sad fact about Aotearoa New Zealand.

After carefully looking at who is in the Stage One Kapa Haka and why, I was able to gain an insight into how the majority of New Zealanders might look at Māori and their culture in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whitinui (2008), in his study of Kapa Haka in mainstream secondary schools, states,
Kapa Haka has been reported throughout this study as a dynamic ‘culturally responsive’ learning experience connecting Māori students to their culture, language and identity as Māori. The need to celebrate and validate the essence of such cultural preferred learning contexts, should also be about working towards affirming our identity as New Zealanders and the relationship between Māori and Pākehā. (p.122)

While Whitinui’s (2008) research confirms the role of Kapa Haka in domestic schools my curiosity remains: What does it mean for Dr. Wehi to teach Kapa Haka to such a diverse group of students? Does he prefer to teach non-Māori students in the Stage One Kapa Haka? Dr. Wehi and other instructors do not necessarily talk about their needs or motivations to teach non-Māori students. In the section of “course objectives”, it is stated,

After completion of the course students should have a fundamental knowledge of the basic skills of performing, the ways of expressing the meaning of songs through actions and an understanding of the settings in which they are performed. Specifically, students should be able to perform a complete bracket of kapa haka items in front of an audience consisting of a haka pōwhiri, waiata, action song, poi, haka and choral. Students will be able to introduce each item, naming the composer(s) and history of the item, and be able to understand/demonstrate the individual compositions, appropriateness in pōwhiri (ritual of encounter of welcome) and knowledge of Māori protocols. The students should also be able to recount the Māori creation story and name some/majority of the Polynesian ancestors as well as the constituent parts of the marae and wharenui.

When Dr. Wehi and his whānau passionately and generously teach Kapa Haka to a culturally pluralistic student body, an atmosphere similar to what Janika Greenwood and Arnold Wilson (2006) call “the third space ... a description of opportunities and contestations that come into being as two cultures meet and interact” (p.11) is created.

This “third space” in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand society is a kind of space where non-Māori people have respect for tangata whenua (people of the land), and where they are eager to learn how Māori people embrace their own culture, while Māori can also learn from non-Māori on an equal basis with the outlook to collaboratively and harmoniously live together. Unfortunately in my view this kind of atmosphere is largely lacking in the mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand society today.

It is meaningful for Dr. Wehi and his whānau to reach out to the people outside Aotearoa New Zealand, so that the people from the international public sphere can experience Kapa Haka and its extraordinary educational merits. Stage One also functions as a strong educational opportunity to enable mainstream New
Zealanders realise that Kapa Haka is a precious and valuable art form of Aotearoa New Zealand.

4.4. Conclusion

Stage One Kapa Haka offers an entrance into te Ao Māori (the Māori world) for the beginner students to experience joyful and exciting aspects of Māori culture through their active participation in the social and collective human network of the Māori way of life. Its initial emphasis is on pōwhiri, the Māori ritual of encounter, and therefore it is largely about overcoming Otherness.

By learning Kapa Haka, the students learn about the origins and essence of Kapa Haka as a cultural practice, its strong connection to marae, and also learn Māori people’s cultural attachments to Māori gods, wairua (spirit), tūpuna (ancestors) and whakapapa (genealogy). The students experience how Māori people value and build deep human relationships; how one’s mana is lifted by, serving and helping others, by treating others as one’s family members. In class, whanaungatanga and manaakitanga are implemented as part of ordinary, ‘taken-for-granted’ activities. Learning the cultural and social values during the Kapa Haka class is equally important for becoming familiar with the performing items.

After experiencing and observing a few years of the same Stage One Kapa Haka courses, I came to think that the educational values of Kapa Haka are barely recognised by ‘mainstream’ Aotearoa New Zealand. I also came to understand that Kapa Haka clashes with a worldview that emphasises individual freedom and individual economic success. Kapa Haka teaches students to know others, to take care of others, to give others as much as possible. It teaches students how to trust and respect strangers.

The performing art of Kapa Haka, if taught well, can teach how to build a caring and loving community, and how to overcome fear of strangers, fear of Otherness. Performing Kapa Haka can also provide opportunities to release emotions and teach a balanced sense of connections between individuals and the community. It offers alternative visions of purpose in life to the ones that current neo-liberal education emphasises.
Chapter 5. Encounter with Māori Voices: Further Kapa Haka Learning under Dr. Ngāpō Wehi and his Whānau [Part II]

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I continue to describe my Kapa Haka learning experience under Dr. Ngāpō Wehi at the University of Auckland beyond the Stage One Kapa Haka course. More than a decade prior to coming to Aotearoa New Zealand as a doctoral student, I visited this country as a tourist. Following my father’s suggestion, I visited Rotorua. I include my impression of the country at that time, which has a thematic connection to my encounter with Kapa Haka in the later sections. I also include my experience of attending the Auckland Regional Kapa Haka competition 2008 as a member of the audience. The remaining sections of the chapter focus on various aspects of educational meanings of Stage Two Kapa Haka.

Also in this chapter I describe how I came to view Kapa Haka as an educationally meaningful art in public spheres. While my understanding of Kapa Haka remained as an educationally valuable art which teaches Māori social values, there was a sense of discovery in the Stage Two course that Kapa Haka’s controversial messages in the socio-political realm would become educationally even more meaningful if Kapa Haka was properly placed in the public sphere as “alternativist” (Levine, 2007, p.21) art, or as “art in public” (Zuidervaart, 2011, p.119).

5.2. Visiting Rotorua in the 1990s: ‘The Tourist State’ and a Not-so-Typical Traveller

In the mid-1990s, my parents invited me to accompany them to Aotearoa New Zealand, a country they admired very much. They had visited the country more than ten times by then, and this time they rented an apartment in Christchurch for a few months to escape from the harsh winter in Osaka. While they had visited almost every major town in Aotearoa New Zealand, this was my first visit. I had lived in New York City for almost a decade by then. The city of Christchurch was a big contrast to populated Osaka and also to multicultural New York. The Avon River in the middle of the city carried exceptionally clear
water and tall trees grew on both sides. My parents adored the beauty of Christchurch, and its somewhat English scenery.

After a week’s stay in Christchurch on the way back to New York, I had to stop by in Auckland to change planes. Knowing I preferred culture to nature, my parents suggested that I should visit Rotorua and spend an evening there. “It is a town famous for its Onsen (spas). Besides,” they said, “there are many Māori people in Rotorua, the native people of New Zealand. You can see their haka and poi performances. You would like it.”

Following their advice, I rented a car in Auckland and drove to Rotorua. I visited a Māori village for tourists, where they showed how Māori people used to live. In the village, there was a street where several traditional-looking Māori houses were reconstructed. Houses were cut in half, like a showroom, for the tourists to be able to see the inside from the street. The villagers, seemingly Māori, were dressed in their traditional outfits, and they demonstrated the traditional ways of living. Tourists would take pictures. It was like a living museum.

The scene reminded me of a Native American village in Mississippi in the U.S., which I visited when I was 16 years old. An old Native American woman was sitting in a wooden chair and she was knitting traditional Native American clothes. There was a tour guide who explained how the needlework was done in the old days. Some of those products were sold at the village. It was a living museum, although I was sure that ‘the natives’ did not actually live there. I wondered if this lady would change her traditional attire into her contemporary Western clothes when her job was over at 5pm. She would probably drive home then, watch TV, and chat with her friends on the telephone.

At the Māori village, by looking at the “traditional” ways of living, I wondered, “How do Māori people live today?” While other tourists seemed to be enjoying their tour of the village, I was not sure which aspects of this tour I did enjoy. The idea was to learn how Māori people used to live, and how their houses looked like a couple of hundred years ago; the idea was to learn some traditional aspects of Māori culture. I understood the idea and I learned a few things. I had been to many museums in the world before and I felt there was something sad and strange about this place.

At the exit of this village, there were a few small Māori children bathing in the river underneath the bridge. They must have been 4 or 5 years old. As a group of us tourists started to cross over the bridge, the children suddenly looked up
to us and said, “Give me money!” Some people responded quickly, they started throwing coins at them and others followed, and the children eagerly collected those coins thrown into the river.

I was not sure if it was appropriate to throw coins at these children. My sadness had come to a peak. There was something really wrong about this village, about the tour, and about the tourists. I would rather want to know how Māori people live today, I would rather want to communicate with the children, what they did today, what they do at home, where they might actually live. Or where they would go the next day, and why aren’t they at pre-school or school right now? I didn’t like them begging. The image of the village left me with an impression that Māori people were put in a cage like animals in the zoo, as if this was the only kind of work they could get, just like the old woman in the Native American village in Mississippi.

I do not remember if I saw any Māori entertainment show at the dinner. I probably did not. I must have missed the opportunity to encounter Kapa Haka in a tourism setting then. Maybe I was too tired from the trip; maybe I was too depressed to enjoy a show. Maybe I chose not to see a show, or maybe I only had a quick dinner outside the hotel and went back to my room to sleep. Before I left for New York, I called my parents from Auckland. “Did you enjoy Rotorua?”, my father asked me excitedly over the phone. I did not like my first trip to Rotorua, and I felt terribly depressed by the sight of a Māori village, but I did not tell him so. “Yes, the spa was very nice,” I replied in Japanese, making sure that I would not hurt his love for Aotearoa New Zealand. “This is the best country in the world,” he kept saying. “Nature is great, people are nice, and the life is relaxed. I wish we could all move here and live here someday.”

“Why couldn’t I enjoy this tour like anybody else?” I thought. I felt as if I was watching actors playing the parts of natives, and the whole setting looked fake, although they were obviously the natives. When the other tourists threw coins at the Māori children from the bridge, I couldn’t join them. Did many years in show business make me a cynic? Or has living in the U.S. made me extra-conscious about racism? Did many years of working in performing arts in the public sector make me constantly look for social justice cases everywhere I went?
5.3. “So this is Kapa Haka!”: Attending an Auckland Regional Kapa Haka Competition

5.3.1. First Encounter with the Regional Competition

One of my Māori Stage Two classmates, Ash, was from the East Coast of the North Island. He was studying to obtain his post-graduate diploma in dance at the University of Auckland. He was already an experienced schoolteacher who taught both dance and Kapa Haka in public schools. Four months after I arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, and a week after I finished my Stage One Kapa Haka course at the University, Ash suggested that we should go and watch the Auckland Regional Kapa Haka Competition 2008 held in Manukau City, in South Auckland. I asked Angela, one of my Kapa Haka tutors, about the competition and the availability of tickets. Angela was sorry for me, because she was informed that there were no more tickets left for the event. Ash said we should not give up. He was crazy about Kapa Haka. He had a car. “You know what we should do? We get there 6 a.m. in the morning, and see if there is anyone who might give us tickets.”

I followed his suggestion, and together with two other American students from the Stage One class, we left Auckland City at 5 am. It took only 20 minutes to Manukau by car at that time of the day, and we stood at the gate of the competition venue while the sun was rising. There were already some people gathering at the venue, who were eager to participate in the pōwhiri at 8am before the competition started. We put up our signs that said, “We need tickets”. Fortunately, within 45 minutes, all four of us had tickets. One generous Māori family gave us a couple of tickets; others wanted us to buy their unwanted tickets. By 8 a.m. we were happily sitting in the venue, and excited about the competition.

There was a large stage area created in the centre of the venue with probably close to two thousand seats. The whole venue looked like a large gymnasium with lots of seats surrounding the stage below. I had never seen so many Māori people in one place altogether. I looked around. I did not see another Asian person, and there were only five Pākehā-looking people sitting in the whole stadium, and two of them were our American friends. The judges, at least ten of them, sat directly in front of the Stage in the midst of the audience, with
documents in front of them on the tables. They looked serious. There were several TV camera crews and Māori Television was going to film this event.

The audience was obviously there because their family members were competing and they wanted to cheer. I was surprised that almost everyone, from little children to elderly people, engaged with what was happening on stage. They all seemed to know a lot about Kapa Haka; they were obviously a sophisticated and critical audience. Many seemed to have their favourite groups. Discussions were happening around us about which group would be chosen to compete in the national festival and competition, Te Matatini, half a year later.

Ash told me, “This is major. Kapa Haka competition is our thing. We Māori are just crazy about this.” Loud comments could be heard here and there: “Oh, that waiata, their te reo doesn’t fit the music too well.” “Gee, they have to practise poi more.” “I thought the haka was pretty good, except the last part. They couldn’t sustain their power!” People around us talked to each other, agreeing, disagreeing, nodding and commenting. The audience clapped, laughed, sighed, sometimes in tears, responding to every moment on that stage.

I briefly spotted Dr. Wehi, his son Richard and another tutor, Mori, standing behind the stage with their team, Te Waka Huia. Dr. Wehi was not performing with the team, but he must have been there encouraging the team members to do their best. When Te Waka Huia was just about to go on stage, the crowd was rushing back into the venue, and almost every seat in the venue was taken. “Everyone is coming back to see Waka Huia,” Ash smiled, “people know that Waka Huia is amazing.” The audience cheered like no other, when the MC called “Te Waka Huia!” The clapping, the cheering, the attention ... then there was a moment of silence, and then the group began. I felt an extraordinary energy coming, as if from above us, which went through the group on stage, then it was projected towards the audience. In the audience’s faces, I saw satisfaction, warm welcome and curious looks. The members of Te Waka Huia seemed confident, happy, looking proud to be there on stage. There was a sense of togetherness and concentration within the team, which attracted everyone’s attention.

When Te Waka Huia started singing the first item, it was as if the whole venue was moved by its musical divinity. My eyes were suddenly filled with tears. “Gee, it’s ... beautiful”. My mouth was half open. My whole body was vibrating with the performance. It was powerful and spiritual at the same time. The whole competition section was about 25 minutes, but I was extremely moved and
impressed throughout the performance by the performers’ excellent ways of executing every item. After watching Te Waka Huia perform, I could tell the difference between a good performance and a great performance in Kapa Haka. Like any other performing arts, it usually helps to be exposed to artistically excellent performances in order to develop educated eyes and ears.

At the end of the day, after watching almost twenty groups, I finally nodded. “So this is Kapa Haka.” This Kapa Haka, or rather this competitive Kapa Haka, was a form of performing arts, yet it was also just as competitive as sports. I also came to think that the artistic level and the performance standard of the regional competition must have risen over time, just as the Olympians became more skillful in the recent modern Olympics.

Yet what I saw at the Kapa Haka competition was a unity beyond rivalry. I saw a solid community, or a gathering of a whânau. The theatre was filled with love, compassion and happiness.

5.3.2. Regional Competition

My first experience of watching a regional Kapa Haka competition impressed me deeply because the artistic standard was high, and the audience was sophisticated. There was a solid sense of community in the air. It was a sense of togetherness, mutual respect, freedom, friendship and enjoyment. Kapa Haka seemed to have brought people together.

Team after team offered something new and interesting. Through observing their skillful use of space, timing, facial expressions, and emotional singing, one could tell that the groups spent weeks or months preparing for this competition. I knew the basic structure of Kapa Haka performance, yet I realised what I had learned at the Stage One at the University was indeed very basic. The power of each performance, the skills, the commitment and dedication were all beyond my expectation, and the competition’s artistic level was so much higher than any of the so-called “community arts” activities I had known. Some of the performing groups seemed no less professional in terms of their performing ability than some the performers in musical productions on Broadway in New York.

Competitive Kapa Haka has several specific formats and these are called “disciplines”. Experienced judges are brought in to judge each discipline: Waiata-ā-ringa (action song), mōteatea (traditional chant), poi and haka,
whakaeke (entrance) and whakawātea (exit). Some groups prefer to add Waiata Tira (choral song). Most items are cleverly choreographed, well-rehearsed, and the theatrical arrangements are carefully planned.

Each team has 25 minutes maximum to perform. When the team of 40 people, usually 20 men and 20 women, come on stage, two of the leaders (one woman and one man) are introduced first. The MC also explains why this group (rōpū) was formed, what their kaupapa (mission, purpose) and their whakapapa (genealogical connection) are. Some groups dedicate their performance or individual items to a former leader who has passed on, or to a cause they are concerned about.

It is difficult to clearly define ‘community art’. At the regional competition, it felt as if I was in a gathering of people who belong to a solid community. The warm and enthusiastic support from the audience, the way people identified themselves with this particular art form as theirs; it all suggested that Kapa Haka was a typical community art. It needs to be highlighted though that the artistic standard of the top Kapa Haka teams was extremely high which the ‘community’ label may not suggest.

The only community art that I personally knew, that I could compare to Kapa Haka, was the New York City Ballet. I understood that Kapa Haka’s popularity comes with deep understandings of the art form. The Kapa Haka audience reminded me of the faithful audience of the New York City Ballet, who knew the company, and the repertoire, and the gossip well, and who would go to see ballet almost every night during the ballet season. In comparison, while Kapa Haka and the New York City Ballet know and serve their communities, the Royal New Zealand Ballet still seems to be searching for their cultural identity as a ballet company, wondering what type of ballet to offer the audiences of Aotearoa New Zealand.

The experience of watching competitive Kapa Haka left me with so many questions about the culture of Aotearoa New Zealand which made me feel rather emotionally uneasy. Why is this extraordinary art that is based on the local culture not performed in mainstream venues? Why is Te Waka Huia not representing the nation all the time? International audiences would surely appreciate this company. Why are the company members not hired as professional artists, equivalent to the Royal New Zealand Ballet? I thought Aotearoa New Zealand was a bicultural nation so why is there no publically funded Māori performing arts company? Why are professional producers and
cultural policy makers spending so much money to bring arts groups from abroad to Aotearoa New Zealand? What are the reasons for schoolteachers in the arts sector not to teach Kapa Haka in public education?

The value system in the arts industry and in education in this country was incomprehensible for me. The 2008 Auckland regional competition gave me an opportunity to start thinking critically as a theatrical producer about Aotearoa New Zealand’s national cultural policy. The next half year of my learning Kapa Haka made me examine deeper educational aspects of existential meanings of Kapa Haka, which I describe in the following sections.

5.4. Learning the Stage Two Kapa Haka Items: Social Voice of Māori People

5.4.1. Mōrikarika: Encounter with Te Kooti’s Mōteatea

On invitation of Dr. Wehi and with the permission of two Heads of Department (Dance Studies where I belonged at that time, and Māori Studies, where Kapa Haka was taught) I attended the first class of the Stage Two Kapa Haka course in the second semester of the academic year 2008.

After watching the regional competition, my artistic curiosity about Kapa Haka had grown further. Also, by then my respect for Dr. Wehi had become enormous. I shared his love for performing arts, and his belief that, by teaching performing arts we could make our society a better place. Therefore, I wanted to learn more about Kapa Haka under him while in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The very first class of the Stage Two Kapa Haka started with Mōrikarika, a mōteatea (traditional chant) by Te Kooti. Vicky, one of Dr. Wehi’s daughters taught us the item, while Dr. Wehi explained its background. The class consisted of about 20 students, who were all Māori, except one Pacific Islander and me. Most of the students were experienced with Kapa Haka.

When Vicky started reciting the chant, it sounded extremely difficult and I was concerned about whether I could memorise this piece at all. I was not familiar with the kind of music in Mōrikarika, except that I had heard mōteatea at the Regional Competition three weeks prior. It was fascinating and yet it was difficult. It reminded me of Buddhist chanting that I had witnessed in Japan when a group of priests read their ancient scriptures. This item felt authentically Māori, and it felt as if the traditional realm of the Māori cultural world was opening up in front of me through this music.
We usually learned four or five lines in our weekly session, which was a lot for me to absorb. I had to listen to the voice recorder two to three hours every morning to master those four or five lines. For several weeks I listened to the recorder and tried to memorise as accurately as possible how Vicky and Dr. Wehi sang the piece. I thought the timing and constant delicate transitions in tune would be difficult to capture using the Western musical notation system. However, I later realised that Mervyn McLean (2004) had successfully notated it.

We learned that the piece required an accurate and proper timing between the Kaea (leader) and Katoa (group, chorus). It requires much practice both as a group, and as an individual. Dr. Wehi emphasised the importance of the flow, with no obvious whati (break between words). Sometimes one important word was passed on to the chorus from the leader.

The chant requires careful listening in order to understand the lyrics. I found it a thrilling experience because it felt as if a secret message was passed on through the song and that only the people who thoroughly mastered this chant could truly understand what it is saying. My impression was that it is like handing down a quiz to others by communicating with them orally. Musicologist Mervyn McLean (2004) writes,

Te Kooti’s song has been described as a waiata tohutohu, or song of instruction, and as a waiata matakite, or prophetic song. It is unusual because of its straightforward metre which, except for the leader solo at the end of each line, is a regular ¾ time throughout. This, together with the 4-bar phrases, suggests European influence in the melody. (p.37)

I listened to McLean’s (2004) CD recording (included in his book) and noticed a dramatic change in the style of performance and expressiveness between the recording and what we were learning in class. On McLean’s recording, it sounds as if a group of elderly people was sitting in a circle in marae, chanting to each other within a three-metre distance. When Vicky recited the chant, it was a piece that would be sung on a large stage of Kapa Haka competition by a big group. What we were learning was not a marae version, but a competitive Kapa Haka version of mōteatea.

It took me 6 weeks of practising, alone and with classmates, to memorise Te Kooti’s chant. I became fascinated with this mōteatea because of its socio-political message, expressed in such a sad, sensitive and repetitious tone.
In class Dr. Wehi would talk about his experience of attending the Ringatu Church in his youth. The Ringatu faith is a religion that Te Kooti founded, and the gatherings would go on for many hours, Dr. Wehi recalled. Just by listening to the waiata during the church services, Dr. Wehi was able to memorise many different items. Judith Binney (1995), in her biography of Te Kooti, writes about the background of Ringatu:

Two religious traditions are seen as conjoined with Te Kooti: the world of the Māori and their supreme god Io (who perhaps journeyed with them from the Pacific), and new gospel of their collective salvation, through Christ. The Israelite tradition of persecution and deliverance in the Old Testament, which they now identified, became the source of a new strength. It was this faith which gave them their ‘hope so close to certainty’ and provided the basis of their active rebellion against their captivity. (p.72)

Although this was a performing art class and not a history class, the item inspired me to learn about the colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.4.2. Mōrikarika: Learning to Listen to the Voice of Māori

Learning Te Kooti’s mōteatea was an extraordinary opportunity for me not only to experience traditional Māori music, but also to be introduced to Aotearoa New Zealand’s colonial history from Māori people’s perspective. I was able to hear the voices of Māori people, not as in the history books, where the facts are often stated from the colonisers’ perspectives, but as living voices of the colonised people, with emotion, despair, hope, courage and determination. The words appearing in this waiata reflected the voice of Te Kooti, and meant to be handed down as part of the oral history of Aotearoa New Zealand. McLean (2004) writes,

Te Kooti Rikirangi, the prophet and guerilla leader, from 1868 until 1871 was sheltered by [the] Tuuhoe tribe, in the mountainous Ureweras, from the government expeditions which pursued him. He then lived in the King Country under the protection of King Taawhiao until 1883, when for political reasons he was pardoned by the government. Meanwhile the Europeans had been trying in vain to ‘open up’ the Ureweras, for Tuuhoe would not allow any surveying or road-making in their territory. Te Kooti, who was now free to travel, visited Tuuhoe in 1883 to strengthen them in their stand against the Europeans, and composed and sang this song urging them not to permit their land to be surveyed and not to sell it. (p.37)

The waiata captures the painful and difficult process of colonisation. Tribal conflicts and politics among Māori people were also complicated and Te Kooti, who was caught up in all of it, lived a dramatic life (Binney, 1995).
The mōteatea served as a means of communication amongst Māori people. It tells us about the political pressure at that time, as if the song encapsulated those complicated social conditions. Then, like being in a time capsule, the waiata would take us learners there, as if we were listening to Te Kooti himself, as if sitting right in front of him. The waiata successfully stimulates emotions, speaks to feelings, reminds people of Māori social values and customs, and suggests that it is up to the people to protect their land from the confiscation by Europeans. The waiata includes Te Kooti’s logical, passionate ways of persuading his fellow people and his philosophical understanding of the ancestral land, and it also reflects his compassionate ways of teaching and communicating.

By encountering this particular mōteatea, the historical world of colonial New Zealand realistically appeared in my mind. Because of the practical learning of the waiata, it was more about understanding what was happening to the Tūhoe tribe in the late 19th century. Historian Judith Binney (1995) also recognises this “waiata tohutohu” (p.321) and explains that,

> it was a song warning of trouble. Indeed Tuhoe would continue to involve him [Te Kooti] in their problems; just before his death in 1893 he was struggling to help them find peaceful ways to curtail and control the surveying of their land. (p.324)

McLean (2004) writes that the waiata later became a protest song:

> Some three years later, when the Native Land Court sat at Otorohanga to investigate the ownership of the tribal territory of Ngaati Maniapoto, a woman named Puhiaahine sang an adaptation of Te Kooti’s song as a protest against the Court sittings and as a warning to Ngaati Maniapoto not to lease their land to Europeans. (p.37)

Learning Te Kooti’s mōteatea reminded me of Greene’s (1995) argument of the importance of an arts education that releases people’s “imagination” (p.3). The waiata motivated me and inspired me to search diverse academic literature of history (Binney, 1995; King, 1997), anthropology (Salmond, 1991), musicology (McLean, 1996; Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004), politics and law (Bargh, 2007; Mikaere, 2011; Walker, 2004). My coming into a Kapa Haka class as a cultural outsider, sharing this waiata, and hearing the social voice of Māori people through the waiata, facilitated my being able to imagine how it may have been to be Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1880s.

As Maxine Greene (1995) says, "imagination is what, above all, makes empathy possible" (p.3). The imagination provoked by this waiata awakened my empathy
towards Māori people, because it honestly reveals some of the darker and problematic sides of racial and power relations between Pākehā and Māori in the context of colonial history. It also recorded the active determination of many Māori to resist the settlers’ greed for land.

Unlike the items that I studied in Stage One, Te Kooti’s waiata alerted me to the land issues, and the literature I read showed that these issues have still not been resolved, and that the colonial legacy in this country is not yet fully reconciled (Binney, 2010; Mikaere, 2011). For those who are concerned about creating a coherent society in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Treaty and the land issues should be “our” issues (Snedden, 2005), and not just “Māori” issues. Learning Kapa Haka items might be able to give the majority people what Greene (1995) calls “clues” (p.3) to learn the view of the minority.

Greene (1995) discusses the importance of dialoguing among peoples with different cultural backgrounds in a pluralistic democracy. She says that we must carefully choose “transformative” (p.100) processes. I understand this mōteatea by Te Kooti as a piece of literature, as a piece of artwork. Greene (1995) writes,

Think of works like Toni Morrison’s Beloved, which talks in particular and searing terms about slave children sold away from their mothers but that raises our indignation about any violation of children and ought to lead to a promise to change. Think of antiwar writings present and past; of Nadine Godimer’s Burger’s Daughter and other renderings of apartheid; of The Diary of Anne Franck, the novels of Elie Wiesel, and the stories and essays of Primo Levi surrounding the Holocaust; of novel after novel that exposes discrimination against women or minorities in this country. If these works are attended to as created worlds and are achieved by readers in the ways described, the experiences they open to informed awareness cannot be self-enclosed and cannot miseducate. (p.101)

Recognising and utilizing the educational potential of Kapa Haka could facilitate for Aotearoa New Zealand to achieve what Dewey (1954) calls a “Great Community” (p.184), where the citizens pursue “social inquiry” (p.184).

Zuidervaart (2011) states that the arts “are an institutional setting for imaginative disclosure that is societally important” (p.85). I believe that encountering Te Kooti’s mōteatea is more important than watching a ballet production of Romeo and Juliet in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. The encounter with Mōnikarika opened doors for me to start thinking critically about educational meanings of Kapa Haka in broader social contexts beyond Māoridom.
5.4.3. Karangatia Rā: Āpirana Ngata and Waiata-ā-Ringa

In Stage One I learned the lively waiata-ā-ringa (action song) Papaki nui. Then, after watching many groups perform many different waiata-ā-ringa at the Regional Competition, I could tell what waiata-ā-ringa are expected to look and sound like. In Stage Two, Dr. Wehi selected another popular waiata-ā-ringa called Karangatia Rā. This waiata had much to do with Sir Āpirana Ngata, a legendary Māori politician. The first verse was about pōwhiri, and the second verse (the version we studied during the class) referred to Āpirana Ngata and the history of Māori people which Ngata was an important part of.

In class, Dr. Wehi asked the students, “Can anyone tell us anything about Āpirana Ngata?” The students would talk about Ngata’s political legacy and achievements, as well as his artistic legacy and cultural achievements. Ngata seemed to be considered a hero by many Māori people. Among the Māori students at the University, Ngata was a special figure. He was academically brilliant and became one of the first Māori to graduate from a University.

Some students discussed Ngata’s political decisions critically, saying Ngata was an assimilationist. “He wanted Māori people to do well in the Pākehā system”, one said. “He wanted Māori men to go and fight in Europe. Many men lost their lives by joining the Māori Battalion during the war.” Others mentioned that Ngata helped create a law that prohibited his people to buy alcohol. “There was a haka created to protest that law,” someone added. Kāretu (1993) says about this haka,

haka reflect the concern and issues of their time. Poropeihana expresses the irritation of the people at the law of prohibition on the purchase of alcoholic liquor imposed at the behest of Sir Āpirana Ngata. What the fate of those laws should be is articulated strongly. Finally, despite, in their eyes, the pernicious law, alcohol can be obtained when desired. The prohibition was imposed in 1911. (p.58)

With my growing curiosity about Ngata, inspired by Karangatia Rā, I started reading about the life of Ngata and his achievements in diverse literature (Department of Education, 1988; Walker, 2001). Ngata collected many traditional waiata, which are published in a series called Ngā Mōteatea (2007). Kaiwai and Zemke-White (2004) describe the era when young Ngata lived:

European ethnocentrism relegated mātauranga Māori to the categories of ‘primitive’ and ‘superstitious’. Hymn singing brought European diatonic scales and a new musical language that Māori either consciously or unconsciously adopted into their own musical practices. Missionary prohibitions coupled with governmental strategies of cultural assimilation
exacerbated a decline of traditional forms of Māori music. However, some areas would prove ‘resistant’ to oppressive cultural forces. (p.147)

In the late 1890s, Ngata “became a co-founder and secretary-organiser of the Young Māori Party” (McLean, 1996, p.339). Kawai and Zemke-White (2004) write,

By 1905, the Young Māori Party embarked on a policy of cultural revival. There were growing fears among Māori that their traditions, beliefs, and value systems were being lost (Walker 1990: 187)… Sir Āpirana Ngata, affectionately remembered as the ‘father of action song’, came to prominence in this time. Ngata’s cultural revival activities ranged from academic writings to recording waiata from the different Māori tribes. He enlisted financial support from the Dominion Museum (Wellington) and the New Zealand Broadcasting Service. During his time as Minister of Māori Affairs, he installed a cylinder Dictaphone in his office so he could record songs he heard at hui (gatherings) (McLean 1996: 340). Ngata organized a number of major cultural events, most notably the Waitangi Celebrations of 1934 and the welcoming home of the Māori battalion. His recordings, coupled with the world of anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, have helped to preserve many traditional styled chants. (pp. 147-148)

Ngata must have struggled living in-between the two worlds of Māori and Pākehā: Ngata was successfully educated in a Pākehā academic system, but he also grew up with rich knowledge of mātauranga Māori. He spent much time and energy to preserve his culture, and to promote Māori culture to the world, while he tried to help his people to succeed in the Pākehā world.

In my view, if Ngata had been a pure assimilationist, he would not have dedicated himself to collecting so many mōteatea. I think of his determination to convince the rest of the country that Māori were great citizens and that Māori culture was rich. To prove his point Ngata sent Māori soldiers, extraordinary fighters, to wars in Europe, and collected traditional arts. I imagine his pain as a Māori politician, when he had to receive so many young Māori men coming back from the wars in coffins. How did he cope with meeting the dead soldiers’ whānau at their tangi (funerals)?

Considering these historical circumstances helps to appreciate how Ngata invented and popularised waiata-ā-ringa. If Ngata had been the father of waiata-ā-ringa, what was true motivation to invent waiata-ā-ringa? What does waiata-ā-ringa as an art form tell us about the state of Māori people and their culture then and today? Kawai and Zemke-White (2004) suggest that:

Popular European tunes of the time laid the musical foundations for many Māori songs. The borrowing of European melodies and the development of waiata-ā-ringa and poi was a necessary mediation of
indigenous cultural elements and Pākehā musical and aesthetic preferences. Often ignorant of the Māori language and disconcerted with the ‘monotonous’ melodies of traditional chant and ‘grotesque’ gestures of the haka, tourists were offered up performances of waiata-ā-ringa, poi with their ‘less threatening’ choreographies and Europeanised melodies. (p.149)

In such ‘less threatening melodies’ I find the social messages that Māori longed for: understanding, compassion, respect, and love. Waiata-ā-ringa reflect characteristics of the ambiguous colonial culture of Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori are seemingly colonised, partially conquered, pretending to be assimilating, yet this is not the whole truth. In fact, thanks to people like Ngata, Māori have successfully sustained many of their core cultural values in the form of waiata-ā-ringa, and these values have been fostered and therefore survived in the constantly changing forms of Kapa Haka.

For a long time, and before Te Matatini developed, Māori people found their cultural haven in the tourism industry. Margaret Werry (2011) wrote an insightful book on the role of tourism and its relationship with both Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand. She (2011) explains, “Aotearoa New Zealand is a community not so much imagined as imagineered. It is a state production and a participatory drama, the world of culture agents across business, civil society, policy, and entertainment” (p.x). Ngata may have looked at tourism more positively than how I looked at a Māori village in Rotorua when I first visited there in the 1990s. Werry (2011) argues that,

[for Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa, his colleague politician,] tourism represented an opportunity, a foothold in the Liberal-era order…. The treasures of their ancestors were ‘gazed on by the world’…. this touristic opportunity – strategically engaged, in the language of cultural performance – could put Māori in the (Pākehā or non-Māori) public eye as a vigorous, well-organized, corporate force in New Zealand modernity, a vital variable in the national experiment. (p.xiii)

If that had been the case, then Ngata’s vision for waiata-ā-ringa was meant to be educationally meaningful in the international public sphere rather than simply entertaining. In my effort to understand what Kapa Haka is, I see three types of Kapa Haka: One is a Kapa Haka that is performed in hui contexts in marae, a cultural practice of Māori people. Another is a competitive Kapa Haka, which keeps thriving to be a sophisticated form of performing arts. Then there is the entertaining one that has survived in the tourism industry. Werry (2011) continues,

Like Aotearoa New Zealand, this earlier imagineered nation had a name, Māoriland, that pinpointed the racial culture at its core. At the same time
as politicians and pundits tolled the death knell for their picturesque indigenes (and pursued policies that many hoped would ensure it), they paired progressive liberalism with Māori culture at the forefront of diplomatic pageantry, nationalist historiography, and artistic production as the coin of national distinction. (p.xi)

Yet as I observed in Rotorua in the 1990s, the tourism industry can be pretentious. Nicholson (2011), in her study of educational aspects of theatre in the last century, argues,

Whereas English social reformists saw the arts as offering a space for reflection on an existing national heritage and for healing class division, in the United States theatre was seen as a place in which nationhood might be created and imagined. This is consistent with Benedict Anderson’s perception that nation is ‘an imagined political community’ whose sense of identity is built on an abstract ‘image of communication’ that circumscribes its moral and cultural territory (1991, p.6). Although the political agenda has changed, the idea that the arts might help create social and national cohesion has endured in various forms since this period of social reform. (p.35)

By recognising Kapa Haka as a form of national cultural treasure in the broader public sphere in Aotearoa New Zealand, it might be possible to redirect the future of Māori culture in the way which Ngata might have envisioned. In my view, Kapa Haka needs a position in the mainstream performing arts industry as a prestigious form of performing arts, rather than having to mainly survive through the tourism industry.

A joyful piece of waiata-ā-ringa such as Karangatia Rā offers much to learn, imagine, and socially envision. This particular waiata may not be a materialisation of social voice, yet it surely helps both the Māori and non-Māori learners to release their “social imagination” (Greene, 1995, p.5). It is quite meaningful that Māori students become familiar with Māori history and heritage, yet it is also meaningful when non-Māori students study Kapa Haka. Together they may be able to envision a coherent society, a community that might be more inclusive than how Aotearoa New Zealand society currently operates.

5.4.4. Kī kō: Te Ao Māori (Māori World) and Environmental Consciousness

Kī kō is a waiata for poi that we studied in the Stage One Kapa Haka. The waiata celebrates the beauty of nature. It also gives us educational opportunities to reflect on the idea that nature keeps us alive. Smith (2007) argues,

Colonisation, like globalisation, has inscribed various bahaviours and ways of perceiving that go largely unquestioned in the world, both
causing environmental and cultural destructions and posing solutions to them. They ignore issues as basic as understanding the importance of silence, of listening, of leaving certain areas untouched because they have stories and rights of their own, of respecting what belongs to others and of understanding that there is a place for continuity. Indigenous peoples continue to give voice to such simple and clear messages, but they still go unheard. (p.73)

Waiata such as Ki kō remind us of the worldwide problem that humans have gone mad about collecting “resources” (Smith, 2007, p.67). From indigenous peoples’ point of view, colonisers came to steal indigenous peoples’ resources to materially enrich themselves. As Smith (2007) states, “Collectors have always extended beyond the personal to commercial interests and also state interests…. Collecting has been institutionalized as we see, in art galleries, museums, archives and academia” (p.67).

I do not recall if Dr. Wehi spoke of this waiata in relation to environmental issues or to the culture of collecting. What he shared with us was the beauty of te reo, the music, and the poi movement that came with it. Yet when we sang and performed this item, I saw birds enjoying themselves in the trees and flying. The waiata helped me make the connection.

5.4.5. Te Tiriti o Waitangi: Dr. Wehi’s Challenge in the Form of Haka

“Does anyone know what ‘pokokōhua’ means?” Dr. Wehi looks around. One of the students in class answers, “It’s a bad word. It’s really rude to use that word.” Dr. Wehi responds, “In my days, if you said ‘pokokōhua’ to someone, you would be in big trouble.” Dr. Wehi explains the meanings and intentions of his haka, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, word by word, line by line. It is his piece of composition and it is good to hear directly from the composer himself what he thinks about the piece.

According to Dr. Wehi, when this haka was first performed at a Kapa Haka competition, it raised a big debate among those who were there. Some loved it, some hated it, some protested, others were in shock. For some people, the haka was too radical, too political and too controversial. Today this haka seems very popular among Māori people. In class, Dr. Wehi explained, “I think haka should be controversial. Haka should have a message that has a challenging element.”

Dr. Wehi explained how he came up with the idea of the haka, why he composed the verse, and what he was trying to achieve by presenting this piece in a social context. We understood that it was not made to win in a competition.
In fact he was trying to transform society through Kapa Haka. He was taking up an opportunity to publicly challenge and disturb the social norm, artistically, in the form of Kapa Haka.

In our daily contact, Dr. Wehi was rarely an angry person. He was such a gentleman that I did not know even one person who spoke ill of Dr. Wehi. On the other hand, his anger was so strongly expressed through his haka composition. The haka was composed as his quest for fairer treatment of his people, his critical thoughts on issues that concern Māori people within his own community, and his hope for a better future.

Dr. Wehi does not force his students to think and feel like him. He simply explains how he thinks about the social reality, and how he feels about the situation. Because he thinks and feels for his people, and because he is unselfish, there is significant amount of empathy and compassion felt in his teaching and his compositions. In the process of teaching, there were times when Dr. Wehi became emotional: “They deceived us. They disrespected us.” He would say these words and pause, as if he had to control his emotion for a few seconds in order to go on. His emotion was infectious and we shared his anger and sadness. Even I, a non-Māori person, could feel his emotions.

In class, Dr. Wehi would often ask the students’ opinions on Māori issues. In other cases quite often I found Māori students were shy and they did not really raise their hands to answer questions. In the Stage Two Kapa Haka class, however, almost all students were Māori. In this safer environment within the university, they could discuss their social issues in depth. There was an atmosphere in which they could speak freely. The class discussion seemed frank, open and lively.

Also, once the class became like a whānau after a few sessions and the students came to know each other better, the class atmosphere became warm and intimate. They respected each other more after they got to know each other’s whakapapa. The students made connections reaching beyond their tribal affiliations and gradually united in the process of learning and sharing the Kapa Haka items. By sharing social and historical messages in the haka, it seemed that Māori students became closer as a group. Besides, the students respected Dr. Wehi immensely.
5.4.6. Kapa Haka as ‘Art in Public’ and Making of a Democratic Community

In Dr. Wehi’s philosophy on his haka making, I see an “alternativist” (Levine, 2007, p.21) character. I think there are similarities between the haka and Picasso’s painting *Guernica* (1937), which depicts war, Tony Kushner’s (2003) play about AIDS patients, *Angels in America*, which portrays our society’s inability to cure the disease, or Ping Chong’s (2012) multicultural theatre piece *Undesirable Elements*, which encourages us to know more about our neighbours from other countries and cultures. These art works are good examples of Dewey’s (1954) statement that the “function of art has always been to break through the crust of conventionalised and routine consciousness” (p.183).

Kāretu (1993) quotes Dr. Wehi:

> As far as I am concerned, haka is something which has a message. That is what I am pursuing. It is like what has already been said, the theme, the lyric and the actions should be compatible. (p.74)

After recognising that many of Dr. Wehi’s haka items capture the very core issue that Aotearoa New Zealand has tackled for so many years, I am more confident to state that Kapa Haka is a kind of performing arts that the people in Aotearoa New Zealand should nurture as “art in public” (Zuidervaart, 2011, p.78). By positioning Kapa Haka items such as this haka in the public sphere, discussions and healthy public debates may be generated and Māori and Pākehā relationship may start to improve dramatically. In Levine’s (2007) words, “lively, energetic dissent should be integrated into the mainstream of public life” (p.16). Ani Mikaere’s (2011) statement reminds me of what Dr. Wehi’s haka teaches us:

> Had the reaffirmation of Māori authority in the second article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi been adhered to, the relationship between Pākehā and Māori would have been regulated by tikanga Māori throughout our shared history. I believe it would have resulted in a far healthier relationship than the one we currently have. (p.110)

Artists are not lawmakers, not politicians, not bureaucrats. Yet artists can imagine, feel, express, stimulate others and share visions with others, not only in the style of writing, but also in various forms and methods of communication, including performing arts. I am not arguing that Kapa Haka alone can solve most problems in the country. I am arguing it might be helpful to use the artistic imagination expressed in Kapa Haka to transform the society. In other words, if
given more serious educational values and opportunities by the mainstream public, Kapa Haka could offer so much to help “assemble a coherent world” (Greene, 1995, p.3) in Aotearoa New Zealand.

After learning Dr. Wehi’s haka in Stage Two, I watched many other contemporary haka created in response to the social issues that concerned Māori people. Kapa Haka is offering creative opportunities for Māori people to express their voices on serious social issues which affect them. Yet the longer I spent time in Aotearoa New Zealand, the more difficult it seemed to promote deeper dialogues between Māori and non-Māori people. There are too many Pākehā people, as well as so many new immigrants from all over the world, residing in Auckland, who seem indifferent to Māori culture. Mikaere (2011) writes,

Despite the fact that Māori have suffered and continue to suffer a great deal as a result of Pākehā racism, racism in Aotearoa is, however, still essentially a Pākehā problem. Pākehā people carry an enormous burden of guilt about the way in which they have come to occupy their present position of power and privilege. They also have a deep-rooted insecurity about the illegitimacy of the state that they have attempted to create on Māori land. (p.68)

It might be possible to partially put the blame on globalisation when criticising the undervaluing of local knowledge. I have no reason to disrespect Cats or 42nd Street, the mega-hit musicals from London’s West End or New York’s Broadway. I do not blame New Zealanders living in such an isolated country far away from major urban cities in the Northern Hemisphere for wanting to appreciate trendy theatrical productions as consumers. I am reminded how Levine (2007) refers to Habermas’s analysis that “mass culture has undermined a genuine democratic public sphere” by becoming merely “consumers” (p.17).

In fact, living close to the Aotea Centre on Queen Street in central Auckland, I felt as if I was living close to many of the Broadway Theatres in New York, because in the advertising, show after show, I saw the familiar productions from the days I was living in New York. Many of them come to Auckland. I also understand why the Royal New Zealand Ballet invites an artistic director who has danced in major ballet companies in New York, probably hoping that his stardom might bring the company to the level of the world’s prestigious companies. Again, watching one of their first productions under the new artistic director called “NYC”, which included my favorite ballet choreographer Balanchine’s work, as well as my former work colleague Benjamin Millepied’s choreographic piece. Still I had to question if the production of “NYC” was the right selection for a ballet programme for the New Zealand audience.
As a cultural outsider to Aotearoa New Zealand and also as a theatrical producer, I am concerned that there are so few performing art works in the public sphere of Aotearoa New Zealand, which attempt to tackle the social issues that this country must deal with in order to foster and achieve “a Great Community” (Dewey, 1927/1954, p.184). There are so few art works which include “a vibrant debate about collective problems” (Levine, 2007, p.17).

After learning Dr. Wehi’s haka and Te Kooti’s mōteatea, I am confident to state that these pieces deserve to be heard in the public sphere: they are original, so uniquely Aotearoa New Zealand and artistically excellent. After all, this haka can promote deeper democratic dialogues between Māori and non-Māori.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I described my experience with the regional Kapa Haka competition held in Auckland in 2008, and my encounter with the Stage Two Kapa Haka. Attending the regional competition gave me a clearer understanding of the meaning of Kapa Haka to the Māori community in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. Learning the Stage Two items, especially Te Kooti’s mōteatea and Dr. Wehi’s haka, convinced me that Kapa Haka items included serious social issues to be addressed in the public sphere, while the other items expressed historical insights into domestic matters, as well as global issues that concern indigenous peoples.

As a theatrical producer, I came to imagine that Kapa Haka, if properly placed in the mainstream public sphere as an “alternativist” (Levine, 2007, p.21) art, might flourish as a shared cultural treasure of Aotearoa New Zealand. As a critical educator I decided it was important to examine whether and how meaningful Kapa Haka exists in diverse educational and social settings in the public sphere in connection with fostering a democratic community.

People in Aotearoa New Zealand are lucky to be surrounded by multiple opportunities to encounter te Ao Māori, including Kapa Haka. Kapa Haka can teach the citizens of Aotearoa New Zealand many wonderful, moving, critical, and interesting stories about Māori matters in a non-threatening manner. Stage Two items could be used as precious learning material to initiate discussions that could direct to fostering a deeper democratic community.
Chapter 6. Embracing Te Ao Māori: Learning about the State of Kapa Haka under Dr. Ngāpō Wehi and his Whānau [Part III]

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I continue to describe my Kapa Haka learning experience under Dr. Ngāpō Wehi and his whānau members, especially under Angela Smith and Richard Wehi. By the time I finished Stage Two Kapa Haka I had established a solid whānau relationship, or “whanaungatanga” (Bishop, 1995), with them. We had built mutual respect and trust. When the Stage Two Kapa Haka course was finished, Ngāpō, as I now informally called him in and outside the class, invited me to join Te Waka Huia’s practice camp in Tauranga. Te Waka Huia is a well-known Kapa Haka group which Ngāpō and his wife Pimia founded and lead (Haami, 2013).

The team was preparing for the biennial national festival and competition of Kapa Haka, Te Matatini. Thus I had the privilege of sharing extraordinary time and space with one of the nation’s most acclaimed and artistically excellent Kapa Haka companies. From an academic research point of view, it was a situation of special “access” (Eisner, 1998) to an extraordinary Kapa Haka team. At that time I was still not clear about my exact research approach and therefore I did not participate in the occasion formally as a researcher. However, I had a clear sense that my encounter with Kapa Haka through Ngāpō and his whānau was immensely important for my research and for shaping my values.

While my learning of Kapa Haka was in progress within and outside the University, I had difficulties putting my research topic and direction forward to my academic department. This had various reasons. I was grateful to be chosen as the first PhD candidate in Dance Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand and wanted to give back to Aotearoa New Zealand through my research. I felt obligated to think deeply about two issues: “What are the national arts, culture and industry of Aotearoa New Zealand?”, and, “What can I contribute to this country as an academic researcher with the background of an international theatrical producer?”. 

121
The more I became familiar with Kapa Haka, the more I was convinced that Kapa Haka was the most significant national performing arts of Aotearoa New Zealand. I also thought that with my international experience, I was in a position to make the argument that the artistic level and educational values of Kapa Haka were extraordinary, and that the professionalisation of Kapa Haka could be extremely beneficial and meaningful in the mainstream public sphere for all New Zealanders. Unfortunately, however, not many others in the department shared my enthusiasm and I was discouraged to investigate the concept of ‘national’ arts.

It took me a while to comprehend possible causes of this conceptual difference. “Why do I feel more and more out of place in my own department by arguing for Kapa Haka being artistically and culturally precious?” I wondered whether I witnessed the legacy of ‘colonial’ thinking, in which indigenous cultures, including Kapa Haka, were not considered worthy of attention.

To clarify such assumptions and doubts, I decided to meet with more people in the performing arts industry outside the university to get other people’s perspectives and opinions. In the latter part of 2008, I was introduced to a local event called the Tempo Dance Festival, and was asked to be one of the award judges. I took the opportunity to watch as much dance as possible in the Festival during the years 2008 and 2009. Encounters with other people in the dance industry outside the university and encounters with other dance forms and productions in Aotearoa New Zealand gradually helped me see the state and position of Māori performing arts in a broader performing arts industry context, both at regional and national levels.

6.2. The Tempo Dance Festival in Auckland

For more than two decades, I lived within the culture of theatre, dance and music as a professional producer and director, both in Japan and in New York. Spending more than sixteen years in New York has influenced the way I see performing arts and its values. In my experience the arts industries in New York and Tokyo were inclusive of diverse cultures, and the majority of the public in these cities seemed to have genuine interest in diverse forms of cultural and artistic performances.

When I was invited to become a doctoral candidate at the University of Auckland, I assumed that it was because of my previous professional
experience and academic work, and that I was expected to contribute to the improvement of the performing arts industry in Aotearoa New Zealand. Yet I had to question my assumption when many people around me responded awkwardly when I started showing interest in Kapa Haka.

I was interested in seeing how Māori performing arts were perceived and treated in the Tempo Dance Festival. In 2008 no Kapa Haka was featured in the festival, but there was a modest representation of Māori-related contemporary dance. I wondered: “Is the stage too small for Kapa Haka?”, “Do Kapa Haka groups think they do not belong to a dance festival?” With such questions in mind I became part of the volunteer staff of the Festival - one of the award judges. It was a relief for me to befriend many of the key people in the dance industry in Aotearoa New Zealand: dance makers, producers, critics, choreographers and dance supporters in the dance industry in Auckland, because many of them had similar views to me on Kapa Haka.

One of the Festival’s organisers mentioned to me that there seemed to be a conceptual gap between Pākehā and Māori audiences’ understanding of what dance was. In Māori language, ‘haka’ can mean dance; yet ‘dance’ in English is often used as ‘concert dance’, which usually takes place in theatres in large cities, and this does not quite match the concept of ‘haka’. A respected dance critic who I met through the Tempo Dance Festival said to me, “I totally understand your frustration. New Zealanders should be more tolerant towards cultural diversity”. At the same time, she told me that I was “courageous” to express my opinions about “how Kapa Haka is terribly underestimated” in the mainstream arts industry. She endorsed the idea that “a performing arts festival needs to include more culturally diverse dance forms and social agendas” in the mainstream public spheres in Aotearoa New Zealand today.

A few other choreographers and dancers in the Festival thought it was good to have “international, professional and critical perspectives” like mine to stimulate the performing arts scene in Auckland, and they welcomed my outspokenness (although I thought I was just saying things based on my common sense). One of them, a rather exceptional dancer/choreographer, shared with me his struggle to include Māori dance themes and movements in his work. Yet overall I was warmly accepted into the community of the mainstream dance industry in Auckland, despite my pro-Kapa Haka attitude. There was a flourishing sign of respect towards cultural diversity, especially towards Māori performing arts, in the performing arts industry in Auckland during the years of my residency.
Within the dance industry there is a funding hierarchy. Funding can be a form of power and it is directly related to the issue of who holds power over knowledge. For example when a Kapa Haka group wants to apply for funding from the Auckland City, it cannot apply under the category of “the arts”. One of the officers at Auckland Art Council told me that they would be directed to apply under the funding category of “community development”. This raises the question such as, “Is Kapa Haka not considered art?” When I asked one of the arts council’s staff if he thought this was discriminatory, he admitted that the funding policy could be seen to be “a bit racist”.

I am more concerned, however, about the lack of performing arts productions within the mainstream performing arts industry in Aotearoa New Zealand that possess both aesthetic integrity and thematic connections to socio-political issues with the local community. I take a position that a combination of these two elements should be one of the most significant characteristics in the arts in the public sphere in any democratic society today.

It was rather disappointing to find that between the years of 2008 and 2012 the Royal New Zealand Ballet did not present a single ballet that thematically reflected significant social issues in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. For example, there was a production of Romeo and Juliet and it was fashionable and well-choreographed. It would have been an interesting and meaningful challenge if the ballet production had used a New Zealand setting of 100 years ago (e.g. a story of two rival Māori tribes; or a story of Māori and Pākehā fighting over land; or a Māori chief’s son and a Pākehā general’s daughter might fall in love?). It could have become a signature piece just as West Side Story became the signature story of Italians and Puerto Rican immigrants residing in Manhattan. A story presented in a local setting might have been more appealing and meaningful to the local audience.

From a Japanese point of view, it seemed strange that the general public in Aotearoa New Zealand did not seem to appreciate Kapa Haka as a precious national treasure. On the other hand, when there were international events, such as the Rugby World Cup or the Shanghai Expo, people took it for granted that Māori performing arts should represent the nation. I was concerned that every time Kapa Haka was featured in an international event, for example in the opening ceremony of the Rugby World Cup, Māori had to artistically compromise to suit the taste of the event organisers. It seemed disrespectful to Māori artists that they were suddenly wanted for such events, while they were
usually not employed as professional artists in the domestic performing arts industry.

The organising staff of the Tempo Dance Festival and I were in agreement that it would be more meaningful if Kapa Haka groups joined the Festival without compromising their artistic levels and styles. Kapa Haka shown in competitions is very different from the Kapa Haka in the tourism industry. Just by being able to present Kapa Haka as shown in the Regional Competitions or Te Matatini, the Dance Festival should be able to push the boundaries of what the majority of the public in Aotearoa New Zealand might think of as Māori performing arts. If the competitive style looks unfit, there must be a way to present Kapa Haka more as “art in public” than entertainment as in dinner shows for tourists.

The organisers and I shared the view that it would be desirable for the Tempo Dance Festival to become what Greenwood and Wilson (2006) called “the third space” (p.11), where genuine dialogues occurred among different cultural identities and groups. I consider recognising Māori culture as a culture of tangata whenua (people of the land), and respecting their cultural protocols in the Festival, as a decent, noble and civil act. Such perspectives led to a dramatic increase, both in quality and quantity, of the Māori cultural elements in the Tempo Dance Festival during the years of 2008 and 2012. Pōwhiri was added in 2011, and continued in 2012, and Kapa Haka groups were featured in the opening productions in both years.

Many audience members, mostly non-Māori, seemed to have welcomed these changes. I overheard people's discussions after the opening night performance in 2011. The tenor was, “Our future is bright. We (Māori and non-Māori) are communicating”, “I am proud of being a New Zealander. We are inclusive and respectful to each other.”

In my perspective, there are still two major issues in the performing arts industry in Aotearoa New Zealand. One is that the resources should be distributed more fairly to culturally diverse forms of arts and artists. Fairer distribution of funding, and an increase in professional job opportunities for artists would demonstrate that non-Pākehā performing arts are respected and welcomed in the public sphere.

Even more importantly, it would be helpful if the public started thinking about the educational roles and functions of the performing arts industry in both the domestic and international public spheres. Having completed the Stage Two
Kapa Haka paper, I was ready to argue that some Kapa Haka items are equipped with significant integrity to deal with social issues, the characteristics needed for “art in public” (Zuidervaart, 2011, p.126).

The arts industry should function as a means to provide vibrant communication about social agendas among the pluralistic cultures and diverse peoples. If the arts industry provided those experiences it could inspire the public to consider new directions for the country. Spending a few years with the Tempo Dance Festival made me realise that changes were made, and therefore the future of Aotearoa New Zealand may be brighter, although this trend has not yet been secured.

6.3. Deeper Encounter with the Culture of Competitive Kapa Haka

6.3.1. Te Waka Huia Performs at Te Matatini

At the end of my first academic year, Ngāpō, Angela and Richard invited me to a practice trip of Te Waka Huia, their Kapa Haka team. “We will be on a marae, spending a few nights there,” I was told. With my pillow and a blanket, I jumped onto one of their buses. A group of about 90 people were heading to an intensive Kapa Haka training session in Tauranga. After driving for a few hours, the bus arrived at a marae on the outskirts of Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty on the North Island. As soon as we arrived, there was a pōwhiri hosted by the local people; then there was a dinner which included some people who were not from Auckland. More than 120 people joined the practice camp to spend a few days together in the marae.

It turned out that this trip is not only to practise Kapa Haka but is also for the members of Te Waka Huia to become familiar with the region. In addition to intensive practice sessions, there were tours of the area navigated by local historians. They talked about important events that happened to Māori people in the region. Everyone who participated in the tours listened intensely to these stories from the past: fights had occurred between different tribes; wars fought between Māori and Pākehā; dead bodies floating on the nearby beaches were mentioned which meant those areas were considered tapū (prohibited) by local Māori.

To my astonishment, the original performing items for the competition had been composed by Ngāpō and his whānau members, based on the information from these guided tours and from their whakapapa research of the region. Kapa
Haka competitions were opportunities for the participants to learn more about their history and creatively respond to the knowledge gathered for the occasion.

Practice sessions were extremely intense. It seemed that the members of Te Waka Huia dedicated their whole being to their Kapa Haka practice. They did so without hesitation; they did so with joy and pride. In a way my experience with Te Waka Huia was similar to my professional experiences in the industry of performing arts in Japan and in New York, especially when it came to pursuing artistic excellence. The only difference was that the members of Te Waka Huia did not get paid to do what they did so well. In Te Waka Huia, most members were talented in performing arts and were dedicated to Kapa Haka. People were there, because they wanted to be there. They learned the items passionately, because they loved what they did, and they performed them very well.

After participating in this camp, I understood that competing in a national Kapa Haka festival was a serious matter for many Māori people. I thought I needed to articulate what made me feel so extraordinary about this whole process: to compete in a Kapa Haka competition was an act of cultural and historical prestige, because it was a way of learning one’s heritage, and was an opportunity for them to learn the history from their viewpoint and not from the history books written by those who justify colonisation. To participate in Te Matatini was a noble act, because it was about regaining language, identity, culture and pride, and it was an opportunity to tell the Māori side of stories through their own artistic expression. It was an educational act, to hand down their language, cultural protocols and historical knowledge to the next generation. It was a way to share time and space, communicate, and relate to each other as Māori, in Māori ways. Thus to win in such a competition is an honourable achievement; it proves that they have done all those Māori cultural things correctly and properly.

I was grateful that Ngāpō and his whānau shared their world with me. They shared with me what they valued most in their lives. Being present at the camp shook my soul. There I found a group of Māori people happily living their lives to their fullest: the team practiced intensively, they ate together in the dining hall as a whānau, they washed the dishes together and chatted after practice, sharing what was happening in their lives. They were living their lives the way they wanted to live.
Things were done in Māori ways: very sophisticated and well-planned, and efficiently and effectively organised. Things were done collectively as a group, with care and respect to others. Every child belonged to the group as a whole, and everyone looked after other people’s children as if they were their own. It was often very moving and heart-warming when they celebrated a new child being born to one of the members; or celebrated someone’s birthday or marriage, or job promotions.

Sometimes the group sat in a circle and seriously listened to what the members had to say about their personal issues in life, and everyone would give advice or emotionally support him or her, by sharing the pain. Such acts seemed to be occurring naturally, because the group was like a family, and everyone was caring and trustworthy, and responsible for their friends and families. On some occasions I was not sure if it was really appropriate for me to be there, because the issues sounded too personal or private, yet nobody told me to go away. The group always treated me as one of Ngāpō’s dear friends, as “one of us”. In Te Waka Huia’s circle I was already considered part of the whānau before I knew it.

When the company wanted to do a run-through of the performing items, Ngāpō would let me sit next to him, and would ask my thoughts, feedback, or even criticisms. He would let me speak to the team about how I saw the rehearsal on that particular day, and if there was something to be improved. I am sure I must have said some strange things at first because of my ignorance, yet he made his group respect me and listen to my kōrero (talk) sincerely, which made me want to learn more about Kapa Haka. Here I was speaking in front of one of the nation’s most respected Kapa Haka masters working with one of the nation’s top Kapa Haka groups, and everyone was humble enough to listen to my comments. I felt their genuine desire to artistically improve. With Te Waka Huia, it was not just the national title they desired. They aimed for artistic perfection.

In February 2009, Te Waka Huia won the competition and became the national champion again. When I congratulated Ngāpō a few days after the competition, he thanked me by saying, “You brought us luck.” My jaw literally dropped to hear this, as my tears started to appear. I was extremely happy to share the joy with the company, yet it was certainly the hard work of Ngāpō and his team members that brought them the national title. I felt I was accepted as part of the team, the whānau, and the community.

Now new questions were arising for me: What exactly is this community in the context of competitive Kapa Haka? What exactly is the culture that Ngāpō and I
share, and feel part of? And how do I bring such questions into academic discourse?

6.3.2. Kapa Haka as ‘Art in Public’, Te Matatini as Public Sphere

Over the next few years, after the trip to Tauranga, I often visited the practice sessions of Te Waka Huia. I slept in marae and ate with the team, mostly at several locations in the city of Auckland. I did not participate in their practices as a performer. Firstly, I saw the level of their performance and understood it was not appropriate for a novice like me to practise with them. Secondly, by watching and listening to their rehearsals, I wanted to cultivate an “enlightened eye” (Eisner, 1998) and to be able to appreciate artistic quality in Kapa Haka. Thirdly, I was more interested in understanding the meaning of their activity than participating in practices.

At the same time, in 2008 and 2009, I read more literature on the culture of competitive Kapa Haka. Pettersen (2007) made an effort to understand Kapa Haka as a cultural outsider, as a visiting social anthropology student from Oslo. Like me, he also studied Kapa Haka under Dr. Wehi at the University. His master’s thesis is an excellent academic work in the discipline of social anthropology, and it vividly captures the world of Te Waka Huia and the culture of competitive Kapa Haka.

Hector Kaiwai (2003) and Valence Smith (2003) looked at the culture of competitive Kapa Haka as Māori Studies students. They both argued that Kapa Haka and Te Matatini should be understood in the context of colonisation and the bicultural power balance between Pākehā and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Kaiwai (2003) also sees in Kapa Haka an active engagement of Māori people in the transformation of their own culture. Kaiwai (2003) writes,

there may be a tendency to see systemisation as all pervasive and inescapable, yet Māori have still been able to forge musical languages of resistance, as in the case of the waiata-ā-ringa, within the vectors of domination…. I suggest that kapa haka is implicated in agency and change in its capacity to produce culture as tactile experience or as the living embodiment of human emotions, histories and cultural values – love and faith, despair and joy – the very same qualities that may seem, at times, quite antithetical to notions of power and agency. (p.149)

Valence Smith (2003) argues that the Kapa Haka Festival and Competition, now called Te Matatini, functions as a place to “educate” (p.128) the public. Smith (2003) writes,
The Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival therefore, is a celebration of Māori culture and identity expressed through the dynamic medium of kapa haka. It thaws cultural barriers by striving to educate Māori and non-Māori through the vibrant execution of haka and waiata, whilst simultaneously providing a site of contestation of relevant concerns, presenting Māori opinion on topical issues. (p.128)

However, the issue I find is that even when Māori people perform wonderfully, expressing their social or political concerns at Te Matatini, few non-Māori people attend Te Matatini, therefore the concerns are not shared in the broader public sphere.

To explain why Kapa Haka is culturally underestimated by most non-Māori people in the mainstream culture, one should examine how Māori culture has been historically represented in Aotearoa New Zealand. Werry (2011) argues that this is due to “colonial appropriation, exploitation, and racism” (p.243). Werry (2011) also states that there are two issues that complicate the Māori cultural conditions: race and indigeneity. Werry (2011) asks,

How do Māori respond to pressures to detach indigeneity from race and to sanitize and depoliticize ethnic life, bringing it in line with neoliberalism’s implicitly bourgeois norms? And why does the persistence of older tourism performance idioms seem ironically to provide Māori with a space of refuge from the state’s new demands on cultural citizenship? (p.141)

While Werry’s (2011) arguments are insightful and truthful, it may require another academic framework to examine what has been happening both at Te Matatini and Tempo Dance Festival. In my view, the national festival has become an active public space for Māori people, where Kapa Haka has transformed to function as an “art in public” (Zuidervaart, 2011, p.119). Kapa Haka at Te Matatini today is probably different from almost any form of Māori culture which Werry (2011) might have observed in the tourism industry. At Tempo Dance Festival, situated in the mainstream arts community in Auckland, there is a tendency to change, accept and appreciate cultural diversity, including Māori performing arts, while the infrastructure for the change is still infantile. Artistically excellent Kapa Haka is increasingly respected and recognised by dance professionals in the mainstream culture.

It could be argued that the culture of competitive Kapa Haka today has transformed and now includes a more actively dissenting, “defiant, rebellious” (Levine, 2007, p.23) and “counter-majoritarian” (p.31) character, while the seemingly domesticated, but exotic kind of Kapa Haka which largely remains in the tourism industry, is often “slick, utterly consistent, efficient, and professional”
After almost two centuries of struggle, Māori people have created their own cultural expression for their own sake, in the form of competitive Kapa Haka. This particular form of expression was born and developed out of the tourism industry, and yet it has come to possess different identities and purposes, and stepped into the territory of “art in public” (Zuidervaart, 2011, p.119).

Again, the issue today is to understand and position competitive Kapa Haka as a form of art in the mainstream public sphere and to achieve that the general public be educated so they can appreciate what is happening at Te Matatini. It means that it is important and beneficial to convince the broader mainstream public that Kapa Haka can be an “alternativist” (Levine, 2007, p.21), or “art in public” (Zuidervaart, 2011, p.119), and that Kapa Haka may help foster a better democracy in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand, because it is educationally meaningful and artistically valuable for both Māori and non-Māori.

Through Kapa Haka Māori people are portraying an alternative model and vision of Aotearoa New Zealand, which is based on whanaungatanga and therefore has different social values: a warm, caring and harmonious community that respects and includes not only the Māori people and culture, but also others who have become part of the ‘imagined community’ of Aotearoa New Zealand. The challenge is how such an idea about the educational potential of Kapa Haka could be effectively conveyed to the mainstream public so that Kapa Haka could be presented, taught and proliferated in the public spheres.

6.3.3. A Diverse Community: ‘Kaupapa’ of the Culture of Competitive Kapa Haka

In the Māori language, “kaupapa” means philosophy, purpose, vision. It is one of the terms that explain the culture of competitive Kapa Haka. Pettersen (2007) argues,

Today, whanaungatanga can also refer to a whānau-like relationship between non-kin groups (Bishop 1996; Wihongi 2002). For these types of relationships the whakapapa (genealogy) is no longer relevant, as there may not necessarily be any actual kinship links between the members of the group. Instead, a common kaupapa (purpose/vision) is the unifying principle that binds people together. (p. 107)

Kapa Haka items at Te Matatini have been an artistic vehicle to produce many different “kaupapa” for the social transformation of Māoridom. Through Kapa
Haka, Māori people have been able to express their social and political concerns freely.

In this context, Te Matatini is a public space where the public searches for ways to overcome difficulties they face collectively. At this point, the public, or the people, who come to Te Matatini are mostly Māori. The origins of their difficulties often originate from colonisation, neoliberal policies, globalisation and racism. Yet because Kapa Haka is an art form and its messages can exist in a meta-physical dimension, these messages can be understood by both Māori and non-Māori. Kaupapa in the culture of Kapa Haka can be idealistic, philosophical, as well as socially imaginative.

According to Te Matatini Society’s homepage, it is a festival that celebrates diversity and inclusiveness. Here Kapa Haka’s primary “kaupapa” (purpose) is to bring diverse peoples together. Professor Wharehuia Milroy (Te Matatini Society, 2013) states,

Te Mata-tini may be best translated as ‘the many faces’. Māori Performing Arts brings together people of all ages, all backgrounds, all beliefs, Māori and non-Māori alike, participants and observers. When I look, I see many faces, young and old.

This is a reminder that the term ‘Māori’ is a collective name for diverse tribes who have their own names, and that there have been conflicts among the tribes. It has been a challenging kaupapa for Te Matatini to unite the diverse tribes of Māoridom. Yet, just as Dr. Wehi was inclusive in his teaching at the university, it is achievable. Such a mission and philosophy to transform our society into a more tolerant community is in my view what the arts and the artists in public spheres are capable of promoting in any democratic society.

The kaupapa behind Te Waka Huia’s Kapa Haka activity, such as whanaungatanga, similar to an idea of democracy, is noble. The very base of whanaungatanga is love, trust, and respect towards others; therefore it can encourage inclusiveness, acceptance, and tolerance towards diversity. The philosophy or the kaupapa of participating in Kapa Haka has the potential of extending whanaungatanga to the idea of a democratic community beyond Māoridom. As Maxine Greene (1995) states,

Publics, after all, take shape in response to unmet needs and broken promises. Human beings are prone to take action in response to the sense of injustice or to the imagination’s capacity to look at things as if they could be otherwise. The democratic community, always a community in the making, depends not so much on what has been
achieved and funded in the past. It is kept alive; it is energized and radiated by an awareness of future possibility. To develop a vision of such possibility, a vision of what might and ought to be, is very often to be made aware of present deficiencies and present flaws. (p.166)

Out of one of the world’s leading indigenous communities, in the form of the culture of competitive Kapa Haka in Aotearoa New Zealand, educational kaupapa or visions similar to many of the progressive educational philosophies worldwide have emerged. It does not surprise me that Te Matatini’s kaupapa shares a common philosophy with Dewey’s (1954) concept of “the Great Community” (p.143).

Dr. Wehi’s teaching also shares this vision of being inclusive and connected. He is passionate about expanding his whānau through his Kapa Haka teaching. Dr. Wehi told Haami (2013),

We shouldn’t be scared to mix with non-Māori worlds – we are all the greater and richer for it, as long as we don’t lose our identity and authenticity in the mix. These types of collaboration have influenced many national and international singing groups to explore ‘indigeneity’ in their compositions and performances. I wanted to imbue Te Waka Huia with the potential to reach the world. If we can ‘wow’ national and international audiences with the power of kapa haka, we can also create the opportunity to extend the life of our reo and tikanga throughout the world. (p.246)

Aotearoa New Zealand may still not have many perfect democratic communities, yet there are surely some in the making, especially with the kaupapa of the top groups such as Te Waka Huia.

6.4. The Stage Three Kapa Haka Course at the University

The Stage Three Kapa Haka started in March 2009. Ngāpō, Angela and Richard warmly invited me to attend this course at the university. I knew this was going to be a big challenge for me, yet after spending some time with Te Waka Huia, I was more confident in how to prepare myself for advanced-level Kapa Haka as a practitioner. After watching all the teams compete at Te Matatini in Tauranga, I was also aware of the level of performance expected in Stage Three. I heard Angela say, “The Stage Three students are our peers. We expect them to be our colleagues.” The instructors expected the students in Stage Three Kapa Haka to work hard, and to dedicate themselves to the culture of competitive Kapa Haka. Indeed, most students who came to the Stage Three Kapa Haka course were relatively advanced and dedicated.
In this section I would like to focus on the overall characteristics of the performing items we studied in the course in relation to the idea of a democratic community. This discussion may highlight another aspect of the state of Māori culture today. In Stage Three, I saw Māori people who have empowered themselves to a great degree, if not completely.

I enjoyed learning all the items in Stage Three. The mōteatea was a seven-minute oriori (a type of lullaby) entitled Pō Pō. After experiencing the difficulty of learning Te Kooti’s mōteatea in Stage Two, I was prepared to conquer this long, traditional mōteatea. According to McLean (1996), this oriori tells us how kūmara (sweet potato) was traditionally an important food in Māori society:

The one familiar crop which remained a staple in New Zealand was the kūmara. As a treasured food, kūmara assumed extraordinary significance in myth, legend and song, and elaborate rituals were observed during its cultivation. A famous oriori (song addressed to a child) tells of its coming to New Zealand. In the opening lines the crying of a child motivates his father to return to the ancestral homeland Hawaiki to fetch the precious food. (p. 11)

Pō Pō was the most traditional Kapa Haka item I had ever learned. This traditional chant was so beautiful; it was as if the words painted the story on a large canvas. It was a surprise that I learned this long mōteatea rather easily this time, and to have it in my life brought me tremendous joy, pride and a strong sense of achievement.

The other items brought me much joy, too. The items we studied were all beautiful and sophisticated, and were the compositions of Dr. Wehi and his whānau. To fully appreciate and understand the items in the Stage Three, one needs to be equipped with deep knowledge of Māori culture and te reo, yet the music of waiata tira, waiata-ā-ringa and poi song should be accessible to the general public in many parts of the world. The haka Maui portrays the life of Maui, a mischievous demi-god character in Māori myth. This piece made me realise that a haka can tell the story of someone’s life, including comic and tragic elements.

The Stage Three items had distinctly different characteristics from the Stage Two ones. Firstly, they all dealt with te Ao Māori (the Māori world): the waiata-ā-ringa (action song) celebrated the Kingitanga (King Movement) in the Waikato region; the mōteatea was an ancient form of lullaby, which was chosen from traditional treasures; and the poi song and the haka were based on popular characters who appeared in Māori mythology. These joyful mythological worlds existed somewhat independently of the outer harsh non-Māori world. These
items were performed by Te Waka Huia on the Te Matatini stage in the past, and are considered artistically excellent pieces.

I thought that the Stage Three was a course which celebrated the world of Māori in the form of Kapa Haka. Unlike Stage One, which included the overlapping characteristics of Kapa Haka in the tourism industry and gently guiding and pleasing the novices, in Stage Three there was no need to teach the students what Kapa Haka was. Also, unlike Stage Two, the items did not include the painful and tragic aspects of Māori history, and therefore the performers did not have to show much anger or sadness experienced when resisting the colonial power. In my perspective, the Stage Three Kapa Haka course consisted of happy, positive, forward-looking items which were deeply rooted in the world of Māori.

Maxine Greene (1995) states, “What one does want … is a feeling of ownership of one’s own personal history” (p.164). My experience of Stage Three, as well as Te Matatini, made me realise that Kapa Haka can give Māori the feeling of owning their own history and culture. Those experiences reminded me that Māori people possess solid traditions and creative freedom to transform their traditions. Year after year people create masterful compositions at Te Matatini, and dedicated members execute those compositions on stage with thoroughly rehearsed musicality and choreography. Every item I saw was presented with pride, dignity and joy. Kapa Haka competitions showed an aspect of what democracy promises: a community where freedom and equality are achieved.

The items we studied in Stage Three were born out of the culture of competitive Kapa Haka, yet they possessed a higher level “kaupapa” than competing to win. Dr. Wehi’s philosophy can be seen in them. Dr. Wehi told Haami (2013),

I also perceived a festival as more than just a competition, it is far more deadly. It is a demonstration of pride, prestige, dignity and tradition of the highest quality. I constantly drilled into our members this higher premise that ‘If you can achieve these things you have done your ancestors, your race and your country proud’. (p.257)

In Dr. Wehi’s words I identify the strong will and determination of a free person. Dr. Wehi spoke of a Kapa Haka group he first joined as being “a thriving happy community” (p.91), and he wanted to develop that idea even further. In the culture of competitive Kapa Haka many Māori artists find a niche to develop their power to achieve freedom. Te Matatini is a place to gather and exchange their products based on their freedom of expression. The Stage Three items were carefully chosen from this range of products.
6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I described the state of Māori performing arts in three different locations and contexts: the Tempo Dance Festival, Te Matatini, and the Stage Three Kapa Haka course at the University of Auckland. Unlike my experience in the Stage One and Two Kapa Haka courses, I noticed many social transformations taking place both in and outside Māoridom, partly because of the culture of competitive Kapa Haka.

Through Tempo Dance Festival, I understood that many professionals in the performing arts industry, and some audience who are ‘connoisseurs’ in mainstream culture, are aware that there are excellent Kapa Haka artists who deserve to be recognised in Aotearoa New Zealand. Some people are making efforts to bring Kapa Haka into the mainstream cultural venues, yet difficulties remain to make the art form fit into a Western concept of presenting ‘dance’ or ‘theatre’. On the other hand, Te Matatini has become a healthy cultural haven for both traditional and ‘alternativist’ art to flourish, thus has become a public space for Māori people. In the Stage Three Kapa Haka course, Kapa Haka shows its strength representing a free and independent Māori culture within a mainstream public space.

In my observation the culture of competitive Kapa Haka has become an empowering cultural nest for many talented Māori artists like Dr. Ngāpō Wehi; it gives them opportunities to express their visions, ideas and voices of how the Aotearoa New Zealand society should be. At least in the culture of competitive Kapa Haka, Māori people find what democracy promised them to find: freedom, freedom to express and appreciate their own culture, equality and the right to envision their own idealistic society. As Greene (1995) states,

People achieve whatever freedom they can achieve through increasingly conscious and mindful transaction with what surrounds and impinges, not simply by breaking out of context and acting in response to impulse or desire. And it seems clear that most people find out who they are only when they have developed some power to act and to choose in engagements with a determinate world. (p.178)

Kapa Haka has been a vehicle to open up the consciousness of Māori people; at the same time, it has empowered both Māori and non-Māori people to act and transform society.
Chapter 7. Conversations with Kaiwhakaako
Kapa Haka [Part I]: Mainstream Educational Settings

7.1. Introduction

7.1.1. Teachers’ Reasons and Aims for Teaching Kapa Haka

Through my three years of studying Kapa Haka intensely I gradually gained an understanding of social reality from Māori people’s perspectives in Aotearoa New Zealand. I also understood Kapa Haka’s educational values, especially in relation to decolonisation and democratisation. This prepared me to meet with many other kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka (teachers of Kapa Haka) and to talk about their aims, motivations, intentions and reasons to teach Kapa Haka in diverse social contexts. In my dialogues with kaiwhakaako, I asked such questions as: “Why do you teach Kapa Haka?”, and “What do you want to achieve by teaching Kapa Haka?”

I was also interested in the diversity of locations where Kapa Haka was taught. Dr. Wehi taught Kapa Haka over fifty years in diverse social contexts: in marae, festival and competition contexts and to educate the youth whose families migrated to Auckland. He also educated many tourists who visited the Auckland Museum, as well as international students at the university. I wanted to further investigate why and how other teachers were teaching Kapa Haka, what they emphasised when they taught, and what they would like to teach through Kapa Haka.

Every time I met with other teachers, I made it clear to my research participants and collaborators that I studied Kapa Haka under Dr. Wehi, and that I did participate in regional Kapa Haka competitions. Everyone knew who Dr. Wehi was, and everyone knew what it meant to be part of a regional competition. Thus the teachers immediately understood that they did not have to tell me everything about Kapa Haka when we first met. Most kaiwhakaako (teachers) were able to go one step further, and to share their perspectives on Kapa Haka with me when we conversed.
7.1.2. Research Participants and Diversity

In this chapter, I describe my meeting and exchanging thoughts with six kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka who teach Kapa Haka in diverse mainstream educational contexts.

My research questions were: What do the teachers want the students to learn and achieve? Who are the students? Why did the teachers start teaching Kapa Haka? I asked such questions to find out more about the state of Māori culture and the relationship between Māori and others. In this chapter, I omitted the “universities” category, which is covered in the chapters 4 to 6.

7.1.3. Kapa Haka in Mainstream Schools

Paul Whitinui (2008) conducted research that investigated how Kapa Haka created a “culturally responsive” (p. 36) learning environment for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. By interviewing Māori students about their Kapa Haka experience, which was an extracurricular activity in mainstream schools, Whitinui (2008) came to explain how culture played an important role for those Māori students in the mainstream educational contexts to gain their “confidence” and cultural “identity”. He also included interviews with teachers, who confirmed their students’ views.

While Kapa Haka greatly benefits Māori students in the mainstream educational contexts, my experience tells me that Kapa Haka teaching and learning also benefit non-Māori students in diverse areas. Although this research may partially overlap with Whitinui's investigations, I concentrated on investigating teachers’ aims and purposes, which included why some teachers wanted to teach Kapa Haka to non-Māori students, and why some teachers wanted to enter their students into competitions, and why some teachers felt it was important to teach Kapa Haka in the places they had chosen. I then looked at their educational purposes and intentions to see how they were related to decolonisation and democratisation of Aotearoa New Zealand in the future.

To conduct this part of the research, I wanted to bring in my background as a professional theatrical producer, arts educator, critical theorist, democratic educational theorist/practitioner, and a cosmopolitan, who is interested in the cultural decolonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand to foster a democratic community.
7.1.4. Questions and Related Topics

I wanted to collect stories that connect to “the social imagination” (Greene, 1995). There might be reasons why the teachers I interviewed needed to teach Kapa Haka in their social environment. How do the teachers relate their perception of the society they live in to their Kapa Haka teaching? How is teaching Kapa Haka connected to changing the society for the future? By teaching Kapa Haka, do they foresee any difference occurring? Is there any link between their Kapa Haka teaching and the society that they want to be part of? What do they envision, and what kind of change do they think Kapa Haka teaching may bring?

Along with that line of questioning, we often discussed the topic of “professionalisation of Kapa Haka”. In some cases “professionalisation” meant establishing professional performing arts groups supported by the government. In other cases the questions were “Should Kapa Haka be an academic subject?” or “Should Kapa Haka be a compulsory subject in schools?” Such questions often led to further discussions about what would be needed to achieve “professional development”, “funding”, “staffing”, as well as developing and maintaining artistic quality.

7.2. Teaching Kapa Haka in Mainstream Educational Settings

7.2.1. A Freelance Kapa Haka Tutor Teaching in Primary Schools: Kara

I met Kara during Te Matatini 2009 in Tauranga. A friend of mine, who I went to see Te Matatini with, spotted a friend of hers at a coffee shop, who was with Kara. They invited us to their table, and the four of us sat together for coffee. When we introduced each other, Kara gave me his name card, which had the words “KAPA HAKA TUTOR” printed on it. Upon hearing that I was interested in interviewing kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka for my research the following year, he encouraged me to contact him.

After my ethics proposal was approved in 2010, I contacted Kara and he invited me to several school locations where he taught Kapa Haka, also to competitions and festivals where he took his students. He was not a certified schoolteacher, yet he was hired as an independently contracted tutor to teach Kapa Haka. During term time he usually teaches at more than 10 schools a week throughout Auckland, which makes him possibly one of the most sought
after Kapa Haka teachers in the city. He teaches mainly at mainstream primary schools, a couple of hours per week each and he also teaches at intermediate schools and colleges.

One of the groups Kara taught went to a regional Kapa Haka competition called the Polyfest (ASB Polyfest, 2013). Before, during, and after the competition, I observed a few of his classes, and we spoke a few times in between. I asked him what the original purpose of his teaching this class was. He said the following,

Their purpose is...definitely to go into the competition next week. They know they are not going there to win it; they just want to go there and stand, and give it a go, and let the people of Auckland know that they are in the house. They are there to support the kaupapa (aim, mission), and to share our taonga (treasures). Share all our gifts with the people.... That's the journey of it. Big journey. You see Kapa Haka, it's the journey for the children...what a beautiful thing to share with the children.

I further asked what Kara was teaching this group through Kapa Haka. He explained,

I used to teach them about koi, which is sharp, kia ito, the focus, kia ata mai, use your common sense. Sort of "life skills".... You should teach them pono, as in whakapono, to believe in it, lot of it I teach them to believe in themselves...because some of them come from, like the South Auckland ones, the background, their family backgrounds are shocking.

After visiting three different locations and schools where Kara taught, it gradually became clear that principals were very eager to contract him as a Kapa Haka teacher. It seemed that he was hired to take care of some students, mainly Māori and Pacific Islands' students, who had difficulties adjusting to mainstream school life. It was easily assumed that someone like Kara, who looks very much like a tough Māori man, might make even the most problematic students want to listen to him.

Furthermore, despite his somewhat scary looks, Kara is friendly and entertaining. And he is good at connecting with young people who may not fit into the culture of mainstream schools. Kara was obviously sympathetic to these children. He explained to me that some of those children "have got rugged upbringings", so he thought “to teach them love to mankind”. He composed a waiata to include “the essence of love”. He said,

There is an essence they are touching in the last. That is pretty much the kaupapa of it....I taught them in term one, translated it and shared it with
them. And when we sing it, went over again and again, so that they would understand what they were singing...they are amazing.

Kara is aware of what is expected of him at schools. He himself was not an academically successful student when he was young, he said, and he even thinks some of the academic subjects taught at schools and the way they were taught are not interesting enough for some children. In our conversation, Kara often mentioned that it was “life skills” he would teach through Kapa Haka, which were based on the idea of oranga (being healthy, well-being) in te ao Māori (Māori world).

Kara told me how everything Māori is connected to spiritual worlds, and how a marae exists in the centre of all cultural activity. What he wants to teach at schools is based on the teachings that were handed on to him by his uncles, originating in the marae. He said,

Because of how I was taught by my uncles from Tūhoe, everything in Māori is a form of prayer...same as haka. When you are doing haka, it is another form of karakia (prayer); just an aggressive karakia...and I have never forgotten that. So I suppose my journey of my Māori world, what I have learned, I have been teaching the children.

When he teaches Kapa Haka, he usually takes his students to a marae, at least once a semester. To him, the marae is the place where core learning, especially spiritual learning, occurs:

Marae, a lot of people see it as a place just to go there, eat, sleep, talk; [but] it is the wairua (spirit) in there, the hau-kāinga (home village). Doesn’t matter which marae it is. They are all beautiful.

Thus Kara thinks that Kapa Haka competitions are important, yet it is not as important as what people do and what happens in marae. He wants his students to experience a way of Māori life on a marae. He explained,

To me, it wasn’t about being in the top ten. It was about that teenage girl or the teenage boy having a journey. The journey of learning the words at school, going to a marae...that is my big reason to be at the Polyfest, taking them to see a marae and to live there. Live!

Kara talked about an episode when a principal contacted him and offered him NZ$150/hour to come and teach Kapa Haka at the school. Many school principals want him to come, so Kara can pick and choose the schools he wants to teach at. In a way, he has cultivated his own career path of teaching Kapa
Haka in mainstream schools by using his Māori identity and skills, and by finding schools that might need what he can offer.

It is an indication that mainstream educational institutions need the kind of help he can offer, i.e. his ability to connect with some students, especially with the students from a “rugged” family or community background. Kara knows how to connect with these students, and can give them a meaningful learning experience.

7.2.2. Māori and Pākehā Teachers Team Teaching Kapa Haka in and against the Culture of Intermediate School: Tau and Whai

The Intermediate School Tau and Whai work at is a one hour bus ride from the city centre of Auckland. I visited the school for the first time on Friday, 22nd of October, 2010. The school has a high student number. It is located on a hill overlooking the ocean, in the middle of a residential area. Nearby, there is a nature reserve and beautiful beaches. The first day I went there, it was so beautiful and peaceful, and the school looked like an ideal campus for learning.

I met Tau at a local cultural festival near the school. I was watching the many Kapa Haka groups performing when a group from a multi-ethnic school came on. Despite their obvious multi-ethnic backgrounds they performed really well, with unity and discipline. I was thrilled to find a group that was very similar to our Stage One group at the university, because the students were as culturally diverse. I approached an adult standing nearby and asked him, “Are you the teacher of this group?” and he said, “Yes, I am one of the teachers and I teach with another guy.” “Your group did a great job!” “Thanks.” That is how I met Tau and it turned out that he was a brother of one of my female Māori friends at the university. With her introduction, I contacted Tau again, and he agreed to participate in the research and invited me to his school.

The practice took place at a gym, where basketball and volleyball courts were set up. The acoustics was a bit bouncy, but the floor was safe for practice. Five minutes before the Kapa Haka practice, many students were gathering in the gym, getting ready, taking their shoes and socks off, and chatting in several groups. The practice session started with karakia (prayer), and a little physical warm up.
After the practice, we went to the room of one of the teachers and sat at a table. Both Tau and Whai, his teaching partner, participated in the conversation. My first question was why they started a Kapa Haka group. Whai said,

> We want to show the school that we embrace all cultures. And through one special culture, it can bring people together. Some people use cultures to be divisive, but Kapa Haka and Māori culture can bring people together...those kids buy into it, they love it.

Tau is half Māori, and Whai is a Pākehā who is married to a Māori woman. They teach Kapa Haka together, and their collaboration is symbolic of their philosophy that Kapa Haka can “bring people together”. I asked them what they emphasise when they teach Kapa Haka. Whai said,

> We are big on the discipline thing; saying the words properly and keeping the basics. We are very proud of the group, because it is like a family within the school.

Our conversation made me think that there was a unique connection between what they want to achieve by teaching Kapa Haka and their national image of Aotearoa New Zealand. Whai continued,

> To keep that here is a group you can feel very proud of, being part of. Because it is what our country Aotearoa is about, isn’t it? It’s like singing and embracing other’s cultures. It might sound a little bit cheesy, but it’s true. It’s like...one little small thing we can do in our school is to show that we accept others, but also it’s an environment of looking after each other and working really hard, too. Because it is a hard working group, you know? We really make them work hard, there is no mucking around. It’s almost like you work hard and you get good results, you know? And then we will look after you.

Like Whai, Tau sees that “being part of the group” (whanaungatanga) is important. Furthermore, Tau wants the students to have “respect for the Māori culture” and the cultural values that Kapa Haka offers. He said,

> We want to promote good singing, good team unity, good respect for the (Māori) culture through being part of the group. So the idea is not that we are just trying to promote Kapa Haka itself, it is not what it’s all about.

According to Tau, Kapa Haka does instill in a Māori person like him the desire to gain identity and confidence as Māori, yet he also thinks that the values which Kapa Haka offers, such as belonging to a community and building connections with others in the society, are important for everyone. Tau spoke of his own experience:

> I reflected back on it and I could see, it [Kapa Haka] made me the person that I was. At that time, I just loved singing the song and getting out on
stage and poking out my tongue. [But] later on I realised that it instilled that pride of who I am and my culture and I wanted to deal with it deeper and I think, for me, what I got from it, that is what I want to pass on. So that it would help the next generation.

Tau mentioned that some of his mates who did not get connected into the Māori culture “fell off the wagon” and they “got into the crime and went to jail”, and had “trouble throughout their lives”, while he himself always “had Māori culture to fall back on”. Tau explained that Māori culture teaches the social values of belonging to a community:

Because it is a community thing and it’s a whānau thing, so there are always people looking after you and there were things to do and places to go and things to learn and so, it sort of gave me a purpose really. I guess from a Māori perspective it’s easy to pass on to Māori kids, but when you are teaching non-Māori kids, maybe the purpose changes. I don’t know.

They excitedly spoke of some Māori students whose Kapa Haka experience benefited their personal growth. This is an area that Paul Whitinui’s (2008) research has highlighted. While Tau confirmed that Kapa Haka builds the confidence of Māori students, they shared a story of one “shy” Māori girl. Tau began:

It builds their self-esteem, confidence. Something that you are good at, you really love. Because it is your culture. A couple of them used to be in my class. What we used to teach them and what we do every year now is to teach them how to do pepeha (a form of speech, in this case, self-introduction). So they have to know where they come from, their mountain and river. Gives them a sense of belonging. It builds pride within them of who they are. So those kids there finally know, through Kapa Haka, through learning, not just waiata, but through pepeha and stuff like that. I think it strengthens them.

Whai continued,

You saw today that we were asking young girls, “Who’s gonna lead the song?” and they were putting up their hands, you know? And we go to this assembly and their teacher said, “I have never ever seen that girl put up her hand for anything."

It caught my interest that Tau thinks teaching pepeha and the Māori concept of whakapapa (genealogy) helps not only the Māori students, but also non-Māori students. When the immigrant families come to Aotearoa New Zealand, many of them try to forget their cultural backgrounds, their past and heritage, in order to adapt to the new way of life. Quite often those attempts are not successful and some students have difficulties adjusting to the new life.
Tau thinks that just as Kapa Haka can help Māori students it can also help immigrant students, who are insecure regarding their own identities, to become confident about their cultural identities. In his logic, this type of learning also helps the students to respect Māori culture:

So I am trying to instill in them, “find out about your culture, where you are from, why it is important, your language and your customs and all that”. Then once they appreciate that, then you can introduce Māori culture and say “now that you are in New Zealand, now you can see how your culture is important, can you see, now you see, why it is important that you should support Māori culture”. And that is a step by step progress and if they miss a step within the progressive learning, then they don’t get it.

I asked Tau, what motivates him, as a Māori person, to teach Kapa Haka to non-Māori students. He said,

I think, for me, there is a stigma in New Zealand that Māori culture is for Māori people. And I’m trying to create this culture in our school that it [Māori culture] is for everyone. And the easiest way to get the next generation to appreciate Māori culture is to get them involved. For me, it’s the language, because the language is the one that keeps the culture alive…and the easiest way to teach the language is through music. These songs we teach and they pick up certain words and for the rest of their lives they will remember the words like ‘aroha (love)’, ‘kai (food)’, ‘tikanga (cultural protocols)’, ‘Kia ora (hello, thank you)’, and those...if they can leave at the end of the year and just have those sorts of words, and they love the culture and they embrace the language then they will pass it on to their kids and say “Hey, Māori culture is good, get involved”, and just passing on that message. That is the big thing for me.

I further asked Tau if he prefers to teach Kapa Haka to non-Māori students. He replied,

Funny you should say that, because my family and friends have said to me, for years now. “Why are you teaching at that Pākehā school? Go over to South Auckland and teach your own people.” I get reminded every time I go back to my marae or to my whānau and they say, “What, you still there at the Pākehā School? Why are you teaching them Māori culture for? You know here there are all those Māori kids in South Auckland who need someone like you...” Well, actually I feel that is my purpose. I want to teach the rest of New Zealand about Māori culture. And maybe when I retire, I can look back and think, at least I have shared my culture with other cultures.

As a member of tangata whenua (people of the land), Tau is teaching his culture at a mainstream school. By using Kapa Haka he is contributing to the survival and proliferation of Māori culture, making sure that his students understand that Māori culture has values, especially social values that may benefit everyone. Māori culture welcomes newcomers to his land and it extends support to those who need to gain confidence and identity. This idea of
welcoming and accepting others is also a national image of Aotearoa New Zealand that Tau and Whai both would like to teach. Yet according to them, the values they would like to promote may not be in syncronisation with the school’s management values as the management may like to raise individual student’s (assessable) academic scores.

From the beginning of our conversation, both Tau and Whai were critical of “the school”. I wanted to clarify what exactly they were critical about and who they were critical of. These two teachers felt strongly that the role of Kapa Haka becomes relatively more important, particularly when pressure rises on their teaching colleagues to achieve and catch up with the “national standards”. Kapa Haka can teach what literacy and math might not be able to teach. Tau said,

With this new national standards coming through, there is this huge pressure on the school to concentrate on literacy and math and that is their ... that is all they think about. They just want literacy and math classroom thing and the rest is just the rest.

Whai added,

They have no idea how important music is. Or how Kapa Haka is. Or learning ideas and different concepts through singing songs…and then, in another language, for these kids...

Obviously, both Tau and Whai value music, foreign language learning, and of course, Kapa Haka. They are aware that literacy and math are important, yet they also are aware that Kapa Haka can promote different educational values from those that literacy and math may be able to promote. This reminds me of Greene’s (1995) statement that,

when it comes to schools, the dominant voices are still those of the officials who assume the objective worth of certain kinds of knowledge, who take for granted that the schools’ main mission is to meet national economic and technical needs. (p.9)

According to Tau and Whai, the teaching of Kapa Haka at school functions as a haven for the students to nurture human abilities as opposed to the academic subjects where achievements can be easily measured and assessed. The philosophy, or the kaupapa, of teaching Kapa Haka becomes more important when a neoliberal educational discourse echoes louder within the school. Tau noted,

Just like what Whai was saying before, the school doesn’t realise how much they [kids] learn within [Kapa Haka], they are not just learning songs and dances here. They are learning whakawhanaungatanga
(process of establishing relationships), being a family, looking after one another and doing something for the betterment of the group.

Whai added,

Because lots of Pākehā kids, they still regard that being in a front row is still important that they should be there. But these [Māori] kids bring another value that, being a family of the group…you can be anywhere in the group and you are still important…. At the beginning of the year [we do teach them these values], we told them that this is a family. We are a family and these are the rules. You come here and you would be part of the team and you contribute and if you can’t do that then you leave. And then the culture builds itself really.

Yet Tau thinks Kapa Haka can be a useful tool to teach his students a sense of achievement individually, in his word, “perfection”, without destroying a sense of belonging to the group. They think they can teach “discipline” through Kapa Haka which helps the students to gain skills to “respect others” and “contribute” in a social context. Whai said,

being accountable for your actions, finishing the job before you move onto another, respecting other kids, always. When Tau has a shared lunch with the classroom, kids will all wait, they say a little karakia, and…if the kids know exactly what is expected, they will do it. We spend the whole first term just concentrating on those small things, turning up to practices on time, being quiet, singing loud, contributing to the group. As you saw today, Tau would randomly be picking the new students, “OK, you are gonna lead the song!” and they go “Oh, my gosh” and all of a sudden they would lead it. Once they do it, it instills in them more mana (prestige) and to the other kids it would sort of feed off with “Wow, that was awesome”.

The two teachers think Kapa Haka is a form of art which can teach individuals a sense of belonging, as well as a sense of responsibility to the group. While there is an emphasis on learning about the balance of individual freedom and responsibility to the group, the students are also expected to enjoy their experience. Tau said,

At the end of the day, all our purpose is, it’s for them [the students] to enjoy it. They turn up to every training, and they want to be there. We don’t make them be there. They come. They love to sing, they love to be part of the group.

It became clear to me that the two teachers were trying to transform the society into a more Māori friendly society, because from their experience many people in mainstream society are still ignorant of and indifferent to Māori culture in Aotearoa New Zealand. In Tau’s words:
I think you gotta understand it to really know it. They don’t understand…. If you don’t learn it, then you will never know it. That’s the arrogance of these people here, is that they just don’t want to know. They just want to sit back and watch the people waving, poking out their tongues, stamping their feet…. And the most important stuff [for the school management] is the money. It is almost like being brainwashed. We are on a lower level where the kids are, so we get to see what’s important for the kids. They are just too up in the clouds.

Whai added,

But there is an irony here too. Because when the Kapa Haka group perform, for kids and parents that are coming to the school, everyone goes “Wow...they are good, now that is a good group, we will come to this school!” and the roll builds, and we get over a thousand kids. That’s good for the boss, because it means more [money].

Tau and Whai spoke of the many opportunities for their Kapa Haka group to perform in and outside the school. On most important occasions, the Kapa Haka group is asked to perform for the visitors, guests, festivals, conferences, and so on, yet the school seldom gives the group financial support, even when the teachers ask for it. The group wants a decent uniform, such as piupiu, but the school’s management would not help.

Being a Pākehā person, Whai was more outspoken about Pākehā indifference and racism towards Māori culture in Aotearoa New Zealand than Tau. He said,

There is a television programme, Mikey Havoc, and he is talking about the impact of Māoridom in history and in society, and I was looking at the TV guide the other day and there was a letter, the person who wrote the letter said, “It is a programme about Māoris, it should be on Māori TV. It shouldn’t be on TV 3!” That sums it up, aye? “They have got their own TV programme. Why do they want to put it up on a Pākehā programme?” That is crazy. That is exactly what you said. One attempt to show mainstream society something about our history, “hang on, there is a Māori channel for that, put it on there.” What we are saying is Kapa Haka should be in all schools. When you are in New Zealand and you are not Māori, you will never really love it. Or have a passion for it…. Because“that is someone else’s culture”. I think that is the way of lots of people’s thinking.

I asked Tau and Whai how much teaching of Kapa Haka they think might be enough. Do they want Kapa Haka to be a compulsory subject? Do they want it recognised as an academic subject, or maybe as a “special subject” that students can select? What is it exactly they want to improve? Do they want to change the attitude of the school management by teaching Kapa Haka year after year?
Tau replied to these questions:

I don’t know how much is enough. Like Whai said, his mentality of having empathy for Māori and being interested in the history and wanting to find out and, that is enough…. At the end of the day we do it for the kids. That’s for both of us. We get a good kick out of teaching those kids. You just have to go into the gym and look at those photos. Look how many kids have gone through this school and learned Māori songs.

Whai added,

Hundreds.

Tau continued,

Thousands. At least they would have that to take with them. They would grow up all their lives and never forget that…. We are doing this for the kids, it’s almost like because we know that they want to learn in a different way, and they want to learn and embrace another language and need to know this soon, it is like a holistic thing, it’s almost like that we know that there are a lot of kids out there want a release from normal way of learning to something different and it’s gotta be really focused and short term, you gotta learn this, so get up, move and energise yourselves…

Whai shared his critical views of the current educational policy that seems to encourage the citizens to study Chinese languages instead of te reo Māori. He thinks that the process of Kapa Haka evolving in Aotearoa New Zealand is so "dependent on a good government" which embraces Māori people. Whai emphasised that “we got a great culture here now right in front of us.”

Tau has noticed a dramatic change, social progress, regarding the survival of Māori culture in his lifetime. At the same time, he was aware that he has to keep on teaching. He said,

Just more appreciation for the culture, for the language, you know? It’s building. From the time I was at school, it’s come a long way. Hopefully people like us, who are doing little bit, like yourself doing your little bit, in the next five to ten years it will even be stronger. All of our hope is that the sustainability of culture will continue and get stronger and that’s all that I want.

7.2.3 Preparing Students for a Competition in a Mainstream College: Rangi

I met Rangi through Te Waka Huia, and through Ngā Tauira Māori, the University of Auckland’s Māori Students Association. He is one of the most talented Kapa Haka performers I met in Auckland. He is a gifted singer, a great haka performer, and is also a wonderful composer and guitar player. I had seen
him teach at the university and I was impressed by the way he taught Kapa Haka; his seriousness, efficiency, sense of humor, and dedication to the art form were extraordinary. He worked hard preparing with Te Waka Huia for the National competition. When I found out that he was teaching a Kapa Haka group at a mainstream college in Auckland, I asked him if I could come, watch his sessions and interview him. My request was approved by both Rangi and his group, as well as by the school administrator.

The college group was preparing for an upcoming Kapa Haka competition. The practice seemed very intense and the students seemed serious about their activity. Rangi told me he wanted to be a tutor only if the students were all serious about preparing for the competition, and that is why he accepted the offer. Otherwise he would not have taken the position as a tutor. He thinks it is much more effective for him as a tutor to help a motivated group, and that is what he expects from the group. He said,

As a child growing up in the Māori world, I had to do Kapa Haka, and I didn’t want that. I didn’t want people coming into Kapa Haka thinking that they had to do it, I wanted them coming into Kapa Haka wanting to do it... and it’s a lot easier to work with people like that, ‘cos they want to be there.

Rangi likes teaching in mainstream schools, because the Māori students in Kapa Haka groups in those schools “are a lot hungrier for the culture, for why you do what you do...” He is comparing these students with the ones in kura kaupapa who grew up with Kapa Haka:

Whereas, the other side, Māori Kura, they squander it, really...like they don’t think that it’s something big...they don’t think that it’s something special...they don’t realize that next door, is a mainstream school that’s crying for Māori stuff, and you guys...eat, breathe it, and take it for granted.

I realised that only people like Rangi, who became familiar with both the Māori educational settings and the mainstream educational settings, can compare how the students view Māori culture differently. One of the reasons Rangi teaches Kapa Haka is that he wants the “New Zealanders” (I noticed Māori people often call Pākehā ‘New Zealanders’) to learn Kapa Haka and “do it properly”. He is not happy when many Pākehā New Zealanders go abroad and do the haka poorly, which is common today. He said,

It’s inevitable that people from New Zealand...when they go, they will be asked to do something Māori, it’s part of our culture...it’s what makes New Zealand very unique...so, instead of fighting it, train them up.
As a young generation of Māori who grew up in an era of information technology, Rangi shares a global culture of internet technology with many others in the world. He is aware that in the culture of internet, the “survival” of good quality Māori culture is crucial. Thus he wants “Kapa Haka to survive”, and he thinks teaching Kapa Haka leads to the survival of Māori culture.

As a tutor, Rangi wants to show his students the “real” Kapa Haka, such as the artistically excellent and good quality Kapa Haka shown at Te Matatini, which is “different” from the Kapa Haka shown at some tourist venues. In his words:

I would like to expose them to real Kapa Haka, not tourist Kapa Haka. ‘Cos that’s totally, that’s a totally different thing. Not real... I just don’t want to give them things that aren’t real. I wanna make sure that they get, they know what they are getting themselves into, something that they get up into in order to do it properly.

I observed a scene when Rangi was speaking to the group with passion and enthusiasm on how much each person could work for other members in the group. He would establish a very personal relationship with each of his students, taking the barriers off the teacher-student power structure. Rangi would confront his student as a thinking and motivated individual who was ready to commit himself to the group, and would ask each student to do the same, ask them for their dedication without forcing them to do so.

Rangi navigates a delicate line of being their authority figure and being their mentor/supporter/friend, and he makes sure that the students understand that the team is theirs. He is more of a facilitator than a leader. Rangi teaches whakawhānauaungatanga to his group, yet it overlaps with a culture of competitive Kapa Haka. Unless each individual is serious about this activity, and unless everyone is committed to share and feel the energy together, participating in the Kapa Haka competition would not mean much.

Just like Kara, Rangi thinks that Kapa Haka can teach his students life skills. He thinks five elements are important: commitment, being ‘onto it’, adaptability, discipline, and attitude. Thus Rangi is teaching his students something that he thinks is useful for them for living, working or studying.

When our conversation topic turned to giving Kapa Haka a “professional” environment, Rangi talked about how in the past he had worked at the Auckland Museum as a Kapa Haka performer, which was a paid job. He performed for the museum visitors several times a day, every day. I asked Rangi if it was a good idea to have a professional Kapa Haka company in this country. He enjoyed
getting paid for what he did at the Museum, yet he also realised that he was losing what he valued in Kapa Haka: ihi (force), wehi (something awesome), wana (inspiring awe), some core energy that he thinks is very important in doing Kapa Haka. He said,

When I was working at the museum, the Auckland Museum, what they had organised was you would learn five different poi, five different action songs, five different haka, five different…. So there it changed it up a bit, but I still found that….sometimes you need a bit of a….a break from it? Just to recharge yourself….just to build a bit of that hunger a little bit more, and also…you start having a bit of a short wire? I don’t know I’ve found that…after a while….too much of a good thing is just…

It was difficult for me to make Rangi understand what I meant by “professionalisation” of Kapa Haka. I tried to explain to him that Kapa Haka could be presented as a form of “professional performing arts”, just like the symphony orchestra, ballet and opera. It was my experience that, for most Māori people “professionalisation” often meant establishing entertainment venues and groups for tourists. Therefore “professionalisation” of Kapa Haka makes them think of getting paid for performing short performance programmes every day, several times a day, for one-time visitors. In a way his concerns are real and understandable for the Aotearoa New Zealand situation.

I explained to him that I was imagining something similar to the Royal New Zealand Ballet; a publicly supported Kapa Haka company which has a passionate Kapa Haka audience. It includes creative opportunities, prestigious employment status, and respect as professional artists representing the nation. Rangi thought for a moment and said that his biggest concern about professionalisation of Kapa Haka was “to find the right people who could run such an organisation with dedication” without losing Māori cultural values.

7.2.4. Organising a Cultural Festival for the Community: Rau and Awhi

In 2009, I visited a cultural festival in the northern part of Auckland. Teams from more than 30 schools, mainly primary and intermediate schools, gathered at a primary school’s rather large school yard to perform what they had prepared for the festival. During the lunch hour some parents sold hāngī (earth oven) food for fundraising. There were two stages at the school: one outdoor temporary stage, and another permanent, indoor one. When I visited, at least ten school buses were parked outside the school. The atmosphere was warm, relaxed, and there was a feel of community. When the young people were on stage many elderly people, parents, friends, relatives and volunteers, were sitting or standing, watching, chatting, cheering, and taking pictures. There were many
Kapa Haka groups, yet there were also Samoan, Korean, Indian and other performing arts groups, including Cook Island, Fijian and European groups, displaying their drums and dances and showcasing their styles of song and dance.

After having been to several Kapa Haka competitions and festivals, including Polyfest and Te Matatini, I realised this local cultural festival was unique, because there was no competitive element. It genuinely showed that the festival was planned for the educational benefits of the local students and their families, and for the public in the nearby community. The benefits, it seemed, were to celebrate the cultural diversity of the local community and to get to know each other.

The students arrived at the festival in a group and then they performed. After performing some groups stayed and watched others, while other groups left shortly after they finished performing.

A year later, I went back to the festival. Three of the teachers who participated in my research brought their students to the festival. One of them introduced me to Awhi, who was one of the founders and organisers of the festival. I also met with her husband, Rau, who was a supporter and mentor of the festival. Rau was on stage as an MC, introducing group after group both in te reo Māori and in English. Rau also works in education, and both he and his wife were very knowledgeable about educational issues in Aotearoa New Zealand. Awhi is Pākehā, and Rau is Māori. I asked them if they could be part of this research and they agreed. The couple invited me to their house, cooked dinner for me, and received me warmly. The following interviews occurred in the living room in their house, in his car, at his work place, and at her school.

Awhi met Rau at a teachers’ college, where he taught Kapa Haka at a Māori cultural club and she joined his class as a student. Rau is bilingual. Awhi studied Māori language, and according to Rau, her ability to speak Māori is relatively good.

Awhi teaches Kapa Haka during lunch hours to a group of students who want to be in the Kapa Haka group at her school. The students eat lunch quickly and come to the gym to be part of the Kapa Haka sessions. Two other teachers support her teaching. Although it is a public school, the school has many Māori and Pacific Islands students.
I think I am very fortunate in the school I’m at where the children are predominantly Māori or Pacific Islanders. So there is a natural tendency to be able to get the rhythm and the beat and everything that needs to go with it. The few Pākehā children I have had in the group have really struggled with that. And I see that with other schools in this area. The tutors really do struggle to get children into the Kapa Haka groups. Feeling...feeling is what Kapa Haka is about. Although the children are loving it, the performance level is quite different. That’s why we would never go competitive for our festival. It’s purely a festival. But for myself, if I felt that I was struggling, I would bring in expertise. We had a lovely old Kuia (elderly lady) with the school, I would bring her in and she would help me polish the children up.

Both Rau and Awhi think the students with Māori and Pacific Island backgrounds tend to be naturally good at music, dance, and art, because performing arts are important parts of their families’ lives and ways of learning.

The couple believes that the festival has contributed much to raising the mana (prestige) of the community: it has raised the image of the area, and pride of the people who lived there. Rau thinks that the festival exemplifies whakawhanaungatanga: “the success is it pulls a lot of the parents in, and the grandparents. So it involves the wider family…it’s a big day out for them.” The festival provides the local public with a public space for different peoples to mingle, share their sameness as people, as well as experience their cultural differences.

Although the Festival includes many forms of performing arts, Kapa Haka is the “dominant” form of performing arts, and the festival starts with pōwhiri. I was curious if it was intentional that Awhi wanted this festival to be called a “cultural” festival instead of a Kapa Haka festival, when Māori cultural elements were dominantly present:

Yes, we always start with pōwhiri. And there have been hints by certain people that in order to fit more people in, we should drop pōwhiri. I said “no, not while it’s on the soil of our school, and while I am running it, we will always start with a pōwhiri”. It’s got to happen, doesn’t matter how long it takes. And that is for many children first time they’ve experienced that…and more and more schools are trying to get there.

Kapa Haka and Māori culture have a special place in the festival, and without being politically outspoken, Awhi simply behaves as if it is natural to place tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of Māori) as a central cultural protocol of the festival.

Nobody sets any rules for what each school may choose, yet the dominant stage art form is Kapa Haka, followed by other Pacific Island arts, and a
sprinkling of Asian and European dance or music. The Festival shows the diversity of the people who live in the area, and reflects the students’ unique cultural heritages and identities.

Experiencing the festival makes me think that there is a gap between the arts curriculum at school and the arts that people enjoy in their communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. Awhi and I discussed the possibility of making Kapa Haka a compulsory academic subject in mainstream primary schools. Awhi thinks that Kapa Haka could be considered one of the arts subjects. She also pointed out that there are issues to be overcome:

In the New Zealand curriculum, it would slot into the arts...but when it comes down to making it compulsory, you don’t have the quality...there is not enough qualified people out there to do it. The teachers would have to turn around and learn it themselves, because it’s not part of the qualification of becoming a teacher...so you have to be...you have to have a lot of professional development invested and the teachers learning it, before you could even make it compulsory.

Because they value Kapa Haka so much, Rau and Awhi do not want Kapa Haka to become a “tokenistic” subject. Awhi initially started teaching Kapa Haka at the school, because she thought it was good for the students.

There were some huge behavioural issues. Like during the lunchtime half of the school would disappear...down the road, take off...and I thought there’s got to be something, that’s got to meet the needs of these children somehow through a discipline that’s not going to be imposed on them...one that’s something that they would want to do...so that’s why probably I started Kapa Haka in school.

Her decision seemed to have worked very well. She then thought about starting a festival at her school. Awhi wanted her students to recognise the unique status of Māori culture in Aotearoa New Zealand, although she did not say it emphatically. When we discussed the recent tendency that many students choose to study Mandarin as a second language, she responded with disappointment and disagreement.

A lot of them are doing Mandarin as a second subject for children. And you ask them why, why aren’t they doing Māori as a subject, they say, “But why? What does Māori do for our kids? They can’t do anything for our kids. They’ll do Mandarin”. How sad is that? What sort of reflection is that? They don’t see a status for Māori, it’s...economic...It’s an economic decision that they are making. Not a spiritual decision.

Rau thinks that the roots of colonial mentality run deep, and that a racist mentality still exists among Pākehā people. He said that Aotearoa New Zealand’s “infrastructure has cultural bias. It’s still set in Western ideology … I
I think they [majority of Pākehā people] really haven’t understood what the Treaty of Waitangi was meant to be. I still think they still believe that, when Europeans came over here to dominate and take over our land, they used the Treaty of Waitangi actually to first to get into the country. Because there are only two ways to get into the country and one is warfare and the other is the Treaty. They used the Treaty. Māori are spiritual people. Christianity was not a new concept to Māori, so we took on Christianity, because it was similar...it had to do with spirituality. Underlying all that missionaries came in and people who wanted the land came in, and basically that, the Treaty was dishonoured, not long after it was signed. From way back then, I don’t think they have really accepted Māori, they were the indigenous, tangata whenua (people of the land). They didn’t accept Māori as equal partners.

Rau then asked me, “What would Japan do if Britain went over there?” I mentioned that the West did come to Japan, attempting to colonise the region. Yet the Japanese resisted, making cultural sacrifices: the Japanese government sent hundreds of young politicians to Europe to study its political, economic, militaristic systems, so Japan could Westernise and modernise the country quickly. The idea behind this was to protect the country by making Japan look equal to the West.

The Westernisation had a tremendous impact on the Japanese society, and the issues of internationalisation and globalisation have kept influencing the nation’s political and economic decision-making processes ever since. However, Japan successfully avoided being colonised by the West. I mentioned to them that maybe the West did not want Japan because our natural resources appeared scarce.

Rau and Awhi were supportive of the idea of having a professional Kapa Haka company equivalent to the Royal New Zealand Ballet. Rau thought that this was a way of being true to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Awhi thought that there should also be more financial aid and support to establish an educational infrastructure for Kapa Haka in the mainstream public education settings first.

7.3. Conclusion

I have so far introduced four interviews with six kaihakaako Kapa Haka on teaching Kapa Haka which I collected in mainstream educational contexts. In the mainstream schools I visited, Kapa Haka is mostly taught either during lunch hours or after school, and not as an academic subject.
Kara teaches at several primary schools; Tau and Whai teach together at an intermediate school; Rangi is hired to tutor students who enter a competition at a college, and Rau and Awhi conceived and run a local cultural festival hosted by the primary school where Awhi works.

The teachers who teach Kapa Haka in those places share the philosophy that by teaching Kapa Haka they will make non-Māori students understand that Māori culture is unique and precious to Aotearoa New Zealand, and that it can also be fun and interesting. In their views Kapa Haka is beneficial, important, meaningful or necessary in each place they teach for various site-specific reasons. However, in every place I visited I encountered tension between what teachers believed to be educationally valuable in Kapa Haka, and the view that “Māori culture is for Māori people” (Tau), and “What is the use of learning Māori language and culture?”.

Kara is concerned that primary schools should be a place to learn life skills, yet schools are not offering such knowledge to the children. Thus he wants to teach his students life skills through Kapa Haka, including aroha (love, compassion, empathy) towards neighbours and friends, which he thought was especially important when the students’ upbringing was “rugged”. In Kara’s case, the principals see the benefits and results of his Kapa Haka teaching. Once hired, Kapa Haka teachers like Kara can meet the needs of principals (e.g. to teach children discipline so they behave in class) as well as the needs of students (e.g. students find something to enjoy at school; they think there is someone who understands them at school). While the principals may not see the whole picture of the educational values of Kapa Haka, they would appreciate Kara’s remarkable results. His students not only behave well, but they start showing interest in coming to schools.

Tau and Whai emphasised that their Kapa Haka group was like “a family within the school”. They seemed to feel that “the school” is not quite a place which embraces a family atmosphere, but that the Kapa Haka group provides a family atmosphere. At a time when the neoliberal educational discourse, represented by the “national standards”, pressures teachers and students, Tau and Whai believe that their Kapa Haka group can be an educational haven for the students to learn how to be caring and loving. I identify two conflicting visions, “education for democracy” and “education for profit”, in the relationship between the Kapa Haka group and the school’s neoliberal culture in which they are positioned.
Awhi’s Kapa Haka group was originally created for her students to learn “discipline”. The students no longer needed to be punished or scolded for leaving the school during the lunch hour, because they enjoyed staying at school, and they gained discipline by attending Kapa Haka practice sessions. At the same time, Awhi is teaching her students that Māori are the tangata whenua and it is important that the local community shares and experiences Māori culture. Awhi intentionally avoids making Kapa Haka a part of the school’s arts curriculum, because she is concerned that most schoolteachers are not yet equipped with deep enough knowledge and confidence to teach Kapa Haka. My impression is that Kapa Haka and Māori culture reside as a taonga (treasure) in her heart, and she does not want Kapa Haka to be treated lightly or taught inappropriately.

Awhi is frustrated that her teacher colleagues at other schools are considering making Mandarin a compulsory subject and that they do not seem to see the value of Kapa Haka. She thinks choosing Mandarin over Māori language is an “economic” choice and it is not a “spiritual” choice. As Rau stated, the schoolteachers who say that they prefer to teach Mandarin instead of Kapa Haka may not have a profound respect for Te Tiriti o Waitangi and may not have an accurate understanding of the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. Here again is a clear distinction between the logic of “education for democracy” and “education for profit”.

Awhi and Rau conceived and established a local cultural festival in order to encourage their community to get actively involved in their children’s education. Through the festival, parents, relatives, and extended family have an opportunity to come to school and communicate with the teachers and with other parents. While Pacific Islanders are often shy, and the parents often hesitate to engage in school affairs, Awhi facilitates opportunities for the parents to become active members of the school community. Their “cultural festival” becomes a vehicle for the wider community to come together. It was Dewey (2005) who explained that the arts have been “part of the significant life of an organized community” (p.5). These teachers are utilising Kapa Haka to organise their community.

In a way, Awhi is bringing the idea of participatory democracy into her community; by creating a whanaungatanga atmosphere, teachers and parents, together with the community, can be responsible for the education of the children, and the future of the community.
At this point in history, Kapa Haka in the mainstream educational settings is taught only by a handful of passionate teachers, both Māori and Pākehā, who believe in its educational values. The teaching of Kapa Haka is not permanently supported and therefore it does not proliferate extensively. It is an activity that is constantly under pressure, if not on the verge of being eliminated. Such conditions of teaching Kapa Haka can make the teachers feel insecure and isolated. This situation may be one of the main reasons for the teachers to say that their “dream” is to be able to continue what they are doing. This, to me, is not a grand or ambitious dream.

Some agendas and themes appearing in this chapter share their roots with Aotearoa New Zealand’s fundamental issues regarding its nationhood, cultural identity, and its citizens’ will to further decolonise the country or not. Quite often these agendas and themes reveal themselves as two competing discourses: while kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka believe that Kapa Haka is traditional local knowledge that is at the same time “cosmopolitan” (Nicholson, 2011, p.157), others might believe that it is important for New Zealanders to bring the “national standards” into schools with emphasis on gaining economic skills in order to survive through the era of “globalization” (Nicholson, 2011, p.157). While Kapa Haka provides the students with an alternative learning paradigm to the current neoliberal, materialistic concept of education, a lack of interest, understanding, and appreciation exists of how important it is for the students to learn committed social relationships.

I was thrilled to find that the Kapa Haka teachers in mainstream educational settings who I interviewed are successfully teaching identity, love towards others, and a sense of connectedness in the community through Kapa Haka.

In the following chapter I proceed to describe and summarise Kapa Haka teachers’ kōrero in Māori educational and social settings.
Chapter 8. Conversations with Kaiwhakaako
Kapa Haka [Part II]: Māori Educational and Social Settings

8.1. Introduction

In this chapter I introduce my conversations with 11 kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka who teach Kapa Haka in Māori educational and social settings. I asked them about their philosophical foundations, motivations and approaches to teaching Kapa Haka.

A powerful ongoing movement of cultural revitalisation, often called Māori Renaissance, started within Māoridom in the 1970s. King (2001) writes that by the 1980s, 90% of Māori lived in urban areas, and “Māori had become overwhelmingly urban people” (p.102). While Te Matatini is one of the most significant events that realises the cultural revitalisation movement (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004), there are other educationally significant activities, especially regarding the preserving and reviving of Māori culture. In the education sector, there are kōhanga reo (the language nests) and kura kaupapa Māori (Māori schools), which started operating in the late 1970s (Smith, 1999). Today Māori families can choose for their children to enter Māori schools.

There are Taikura (senior citizens’ cultural groups) and tribal festivals such as the Tūhoe Ahurei for Tūhoe people, where Māori can celebrate their tribal identities, and I see it as a sign of further democratisation. Kapa Haka exists both independently of and intrinsically within te reo and tikanga Māori education.

In this chapter, I aim to reveal different situations and conditions that surround Kapa Haka teaching in diverse Māori educational and social settings, where the focus of teaching lies in decolonisation: preserving, sustaining and reviving the Māori language and culture. By visiting Taikura and Tūhoe Ahurei, I especially wanted to hear what these teachers had to say about teaching Kapa Haka as tribal identities in rural settings.
8.2. Teaching Kapa Haka in Educational Institutions in Māoridom

8.2.1. Te Kōhanga Reo

When I met Toa at Te Waka Huia's practice, we spoke about what he did for a living, and he said he was a teacher at kōhanga reo. I asked him if it was possible for me to come and visit his workplace to talk about his philosophy of teaching Kapa Haka. Following Linda Smith (1999), who claimed kōhanga reo should be 'off limits' to non-Māori researchers, I hesitated to include te kōhanga reo in this research. Yet at the same time, I wanted to believe that research of this kind might help improve people’s understanding of why kaiwhakaako teach Kapa Haka in Māori educational settings. After hearing what I wanted to discuss, Toa said I was welcome, and I went to see him in Hamilton in the Waikato region.

When I visited the kōhanga reo, little children stood up and lined up, performed Tōia Mai, Te Waka, a haka pōwhiri, followed by several other waiata to welcome me. It was a Kapa Haka medley, which went on for over ten minutes. It was incredible that such young children had learned to execute so many waiata with the correct actions and energy, and they were aware of the meanings behind the items. I knew some of the waiata so was able to join in, and then I performed back to them with my mihi (speech of greeting) and a waiata that I knew, to show my gratitude to them.

The interviews took place while the children were taking a nap, and again after they had left. When I asked Toa why he became a teacher at te kōhanga reo, his answer was very much aligned with the mission of te kōhanga reo (Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2013):

The whole focus of kōhanga reo is to rejuvenate te reo Māori, to ensure that te reo Māori does not die...kōhanga reo was at first a Māori liberation movement, in regards to liberating our te reo Māori, our language. So pretty much the reason why I actually came to be a teacher of te reo Māori is...my passion for not only te reo Māori, Māori language, but also tikanga, customs and rituals...to do with our culture, everyday life situations...to be strong and to overcome obstacles. In a way anything we do, so, is just our mission to make sure our Māori language does not die, as well as our tikanga and a customs and rituals.
Toa told me that there were many aspects of Māori culture that he could teach and address through Kapa Haka: te reo, tikanga, social issues, whakapapa, pōwhiri, myths and legends.

At Toa’s kōhanga reo the children learn the local iwi (tribe) knowledge and additionally learn generic waiata that are sung by the many other tribes nationwide. CDs and textbooks are available for sharing widely amongst the many kōhanga reo across the nation. At Toa’s kohanga, teachers can pick and choose from the special curriculum what they want to teach and how. There is flexibility in curriculum and pedagogy. Toa has occasional staff meetings and discusses what themes or topics, stories or waiata they will teach that day or that week, so every teacher knows and shares what the little ones might be learning. There is much to teach at kōhanga reo, and the subjects are often thematically inter-related; Kapa Haka items can be about Māori gods, or particular social behavioral protocols, for example. They can be taught together with karakia, or traditional games, or stories about the local iwi.

Most members of Te Waka Huia, if not all of them, are exceptional performers, capable singers, expert movers and proficient te reo Māori speakers. I thought that to have a teacher like Toa, who has been a top Kapa Haka performer of the nation, at kōhanga reo was fortunate for the children. Toa brought to his Kapa Haka teaching his artistic talents, discipline and perfectionist attitude which he gained as a member of Te Waka Huia. There was, of course, a huge gap between the levels of sophistication in Kapa Haka performed at Te Matatini and at kōhanga reo.

Toa said that he might not be able to bring the most sophisticated forms of competitive Kapa Haka to kōhanga reo, but that he could bring the “wairua”, or “the spiritual essence of Māoritanga” to the children, and that this was no different from what he brought to Te Waka Huia. He does not force his children to perform what they do not like to do. He does not use Kapa Haka to teach children discipline. Yet he said, “For me, my main goal is to teach them to do it properly, like, to go harder … just show them the right way to do it.” When I met Toa he had been there for half a year, and he already saw changes in the children. The children learned and gained “confidence”, “pride” and “wairua” from practising Kapa Haka.

Toa mentioned that what was taught at kōhanga reo, both artistically and educationally, depended on the kaiwhakaako. He had seen some teachers teaching Kapa Haka items without actually knowing much about the item’s
background or what it was telling, which he thought was not an appropriate thing to do as a teacher. Even if the waiata he taught was simple, he provided the background knowledge, musical accuracy, and reasons for teaching those particular items to the children.

After watching him sing with the children, I saw that each child was thoroughly engaged with Kapa Haka throughout the practice. The children were allowed to be free as individuals, some could be expressive, some could be out-of-tune, and others could be quiet when they wanted to. Yet that did not mean that the children were not learning or getting bored. It was more important that they enjoyed singing, dancing, moving, feeling, and expressing. Hence they would quickly memorise and be able to execute the waiata with accuracy. When Toa said, “do it properly”, he meant that the children had understood the item’s meaning correctly, learned the message of the waiata, and performed it with the right spirit. Throughout the practice, Toa accompanied the waiata practice with a guitar, and his playing was excellent.

When Toa mentioned he wanted to teach children “confidence” and “pride”, I wondered if the little children at kōhanga reo needed to be taught “confidence” and “pride” as Māori, when basically everyone there was Māori. I had assumed that unlike in the mainstream schools and kindergartens, Māori culture was embedded in kōhanga reo, and that teaching pride as Māori was not necessary. Toa told me otherwise. He said that the kōhanga reo children were constantly surrounded by the culture of the mainstream, and it was still imperative to encourage them to be proud as Māori. He said that only fifty per cent of the children continued to speak te reo Māori when they went home. Many parents are not able to speak te reo Māori well or at all.

When I asked Toa how he got involved with Kapa Haka, he told me his story. A friend of his invited him to a Kapa Haka practice when Toa was thirteen, and the friend taught a haka to the group. Toa was silly and playful at his first haka practice; he was not serious about learning it in the beginning. He said,

\[ \text{We had a ‘te reo Māori day’ or ‘a week’. Our haka was actually about opposing that. ‘Why are you bringing it ‘one week’ or ‘a day’? [Should we] not support it every single day [to] breathe in it? All day, everyday, Māori, Māori, Māori. Why can not we be proud of [the language] that is ours?’} \]

For Toa that moment was a revelation. It was then that he became proud to be Māori through this particular haka. He said, “Kapa Haka made me who I am.” He continued,
So the haka was about that but then, and he [his friend] got really emotional about it and he said...[he] started bringing in the contexts of, you know, “your ancestors worked, your ancestors used to...started going to the native schools and they were first speaking te reo [as babies] and [yet] they started becoming, speaking English, because then they were getting beaten from the parents” and then...on going beating, right?...“when they were speaking Māori and they were told ‘no, no you got to be speaking Pākehā [te reo Pākehā, English] now’...and so...“you think it’s funny, that’s what you are laughing at, when you are watching these guys”...that was really emotional and spiritual change for me. I mean I was young but really hard hit...

Thus teaching the younger generation to be proud Māori meant much to Toa, and it became his inspiration for teaching Kapa Haka. That year Toa saw Te Waka Huia perform at Te Matatini on television. At that moment he was struck by the company's creativity, artistic excellence and the power of performance. From that moment on, it became his dream to join Te Waka Huia. His dream came true and now he is one of the most active members of Te Waka Huia.

Toa also told me that he had taught Kapa Haka in prison. I asked him what his teaching experience in prison was like. Toa said that Kapa Haka helped the Māori inmates in many ways. I asked him how. He said,

For the prisoners, it’s a sense of belonging and reminding them that there is a whole purpose for them outside of prison, the ones especially who have families. Just reminding them there are family values for them that have been lost.

Toa explained to me that the Māori concept of whanaungatanga goes beyond loving one’s own family. It is about a sense of belonging to a family, building one’s relationship with an extended family. It includes being an active member of the community, because it is based on the concept of whakapapa (genealogy), the connection to the tribe, the land and the ancestors.

The concept of whanaungatanga immediately means that one is not alone in this world. Toa told inmates that in the Māori culture, building one’s mana (prestige, authority, spiritual power) throughout one’s life was important. That seemed to have changed many inmates’ thinking, he felt. He explained to them that the concept of mana was different from the prestige of becoming rich or famous in a materialistic ways. Mana is something that one can keep on building throughout one’s life, and at any time in one’s life.

Through Kapa Haka Toa taught inmates to try to lift their mana. By teaching Kapa Haka, he encouraged inmates to be responsible for their family, and to love and care about the family. He also taught them that they could lift their
mana by serving others in the community, and that it was never too late to do this.

8.2.2. Kura Kaupapa Māori

Rongomau, one of the members of the University of Auckland’s Ngā Tauira Māori (Māori Students Association), worked at a kura kaupapa Māori. According to Calman (2013), kura kaupapa Māori “are state schools that operate within a whānau-based Māori philosophy and deliver the curriculum in te reo Māori” (p.5). Rongomau’s mother, Awatea, was the principal there. I asked Rongomau if I could visit the kura where she taught Kapa Haka at and I was granted permission. It was on the outskirts of Auckland.

When I first arrived at the kura, the students gathered in a large classroom to welcome me. I was told in advance that it would be nice if I taught the students some aspects of Japanese culture and exchanged ideas with them. Reciprocity is one of the most important cultural values for both Māori and Japanese. To be culturally reciprocal I prepared to run a short Tah-Teh (Japanese samurai sword movement for stage and film) session. I used a taiaha that I had borrowed, because I did not have a samurai sword from Japan. In another class, I taught a short “isolation exercise”, basic jazz dance sequence created by the American choreographer Jack Cole, using one of Michael Jackson’s songs. The students were shy at first, but they gradually started moving. The teachers told me afterwards that the students had enjoyed my classes.

Then I observed their Kapa Haka classes. I had assumed that there would be a teacher or two, who specialised in Kapa Haka at every kura kaupapa Māori, yet that was not the case. Awatea said apologetically, that compared to some other kura at this kura kaupapa Māori Kapa Haka was not a “big” thing,. Perhaps I had not selected a typical kura in which to investigate Kapa Haka teaching, yet her story gave me an insight into some of the political tensions that any kura seems to face today.

There were Kapa Haka classes almost every day and the students participated in the competitions each year, yet Kapa Haka classes were basically there for the students to enjoy and to expand their repertoire of items. When I visited, the Kapa Haka classes were taught mainly by Rongomau, because she was rather good at Kapa Haka. Indeed she was especially good with poi and te reo, and her class was enjoyable. Yet it might not be correct to call her a Kapa Haka specialist, the type who would actually compete as a member of the top groups
in the region. Awatea told me that they had a Kapa Haka specialist teaching there the year before, but that they did not have one this year.

Awatea told me that she believed that Kapa Haka played an important educational role for her students, and that Kapa Haka was a very important activity in Māori society. As a principal, she wanted to do better and more. An educated Māori person should know many types of waiata and the appropriate tikanga to match the knowledge. Yet, she said, at this kura kaupapa, “there were other priorities”. They could not afford to have as many Kapa Haka classes as they wanted, because there were other academic obligations and requirements. She said she would have loved to hire a regular Kapa Haka teacher who would teach “generic” Kapa Haka, and another “specialist” to prepare the students for competitions.

Awatea pointed out there were many good things that Kapa Haka could teach. Important ones were “self-discipline” and “group discipline”. Awatea also said that she studied “brain-gym” to improve her “ambidexterity”. She thought it was exactly the same thing as executing poi movements. She realised that poi was good to develop such a skill.

The poi movements are the same as figure eights, which is supposed to be very good for brains … and creating ambidexterity, making the figure eight with both hands. Your weaker hand will actually become your stronger hand. And it [poi] gets you to do it.

I assumed that with kura kaupapa Māori, there would be more freedom in the choice of curriculum than in mainstream schools; freedom what should be taught and how the knowledge was to be taught and assessed. It seemed that was not the case at all. After listening to Awatea, I realised that the situation was very similar to mainstream intermediate schools and colleges, where the pressure of academic performance occupied teachers’ minds and time. The biggest difference was that at kura kaupapa the subjects were all taught in the Māori language. Awatea told me her teaching staff, herself included, were constantly under pressure to meet the academic requirements of the Ministry of Education. The issue came up when I asked her about the possibility of Kapa Haka being supported publicly as a national performing art. Her concern was great and was based on her own experience at her kura. She said,

You have to be so careful in New Zealand with Government money. Once you take Government money for Kapa Haka, the Government will start dictating what you do with Kapa Haka. It’s like the movement, kura kaupapa movement which started without government funding. As soon as you take government funding, then you have to perform to certain things, which sometimes creates a huge conflict between what you do.
with your culture, and what the government want, as the body that's feeding you the money.

Awatea mentioned that when te kōhanga reo started, there were many kuia (elderly women) who were brought in to speak te reo to the small children. In the 1980s, there were many kuia working at kōhanga reo between 9am to 1pm and then they would go home. This system used to work beautifully for the education of the children. When the Government started funding kōhanga reo, kōhanga teachers had to work from 9am to 3pm, which made it impossible for most kuia to attend, as the commitment was too much for elderly people. It was a huge loss for kōhanga reo's educational capability and mission.

Awatea told me much of her job's time and energy was spent countering some of the policies imposed on kura by the Ministry of Education. The Government can come and assess the kura the way they want, and they can stop the funding or close the kura if it did not meet the required standards. Under such circumstances, Kapa Haka could not be a priority, because there were too many other academic requirements that kura staff were expected to fulfil.

In the event that Kapa Haka became an artistic entity equivalent to the Royal New Zealand Ballet, she said such a company would have to be concerned with the freedom of artistic choice, the freedom to perform when and where, and to whom:

If you can survive without it [the Government's money], you would be better to survive without it. Even getting money from business is better than getting [money] from the government.

I asked Rongomau what she, as a teacher, thought would be the important elements of Kapa Haka. Like Awatea, Rongomau said that it is important for the kura students to know waiata kīnaki (complement). She said that students should know “iwi-related songs” such as Rerenga Wairua from the north, He aha te Hau from Ngāti Whātua (tribal group of the area from Kaipara to Tāmaki-makau-rau), Ė Noho Tuheitia from Waikato, Paikea from the East Coast. These are important waiata, as well as the ones that are original and specific to a kura. For her, “all waiata are important especially when there are important occasions on the marae.”

I asked her how important the performing arts aspects of Kapa Haka would be when she taught Kapa Haka. She said that the musicality, both movements and aesthetic aspects are important but that they were secondary to the cultural, religious side, because to her they were the Pākehā side of Kapa Haka. She
used the example that the only reason we stand in line and have coordinated actions is to satisfy the showcasing side of Kapa Haka, which does not need to be protected and developed as much as the aforementioned aspects of Kapa Haka. But again, “they go hand in hand”. The words and kaupapa (messages) are the “tuakana”, i.e. of prime importance, and the actions and so forth are “teina”, i.e. of secondary importance.

I was curious if Rongomau had applied any elements of artistic sophistication to her class, as displayed by the top groups performing in Te Matatini. Her answer was, “I can’t see a connection between Matatini and classroom teaching because the scale is drastically different.” Yet she also thought that “Kapa Haka has transferable skills which can be used in all settings, from all ages. Kapa Haka is the same everywhere, for all levels and ages. You need patience, discipline, energy, knowledge. All those things.”

The main reason she would like to teach Kapa Haka at that particular kura was because she was “an ex student”, and she wanted “to give something back” to the place. It’s “also for enjoyment”, she said, “because it’s a lot of fun”.

8.2.3. A Māori College

The college I visited was established in the 1920s, and according to their website, the college “remains true to its traditions of [name of a Christian sect - omitted for anonymity] faith and tikanga Māori values”. One of my research participants had graduated from this college and he encouraged me to contact the college.

When I visited the college, there was a large group of students practising Kapa Haka for the ASB Polyfest, a festival and competition for high school students in the Auckland region. Because the number of the students who could enter the competition was limited, the students were working hard to secure a position in the competing group. The practice was intense and the performing level of the group was high. Compared to mainstream colleges, it was obvious that most students there were already well experienced in performing Kapa Haka.

There were at least three teachers teaching the group; all of them were experts in competitive Kapa Haka. I asked two of them to share their thoughts with me. The first teacher, Kahurangi, was intensively involved with preparing the group to compete in the upcoming competition. I asked her what would be the
educational benefits of Kapa Haka for the students in preparing for the competition. She said,

One, you build really tight relationship with your group ... whanaungatanga ... sense of pride, respect, respect toward each other, as well as yourself ... discipline ... commitment. Showing these kids a commitment. Once you put your hands up, you stick to it until it is finished...through Kapa Haka we try to get them out of their shell, by putting them in situations that are very unfamiliar to them, but they are not there by themselves ... they ... get comfortable with their peers, and enhance the relationships with the group. And if they can trust each other, they can get up and do anything, achieve anything.

Kahurangi saw huge educational benefits in Kapa Haka, especially with the areas of students’ social skills and building respectful relationship with others. When I asked her what kind of a teacher she was and what she as a teacher focused on educationally, Kahurangi thought she might be a bit hard on discipline, and that this was a good opportunity for her students to learn discipline. I asked Kahurangi what her purpose of teaching Kapa Haka was, and what she would like to achieve by teaching Kapa Haka. She said,

What we are trying to achieve basically is, first of all, our language is living. Our students get to learn our language through things that they are passionate about: Kapa Haka. They are preparing for competition now so that is what we are leading them up to. Then after that it is just that maintaining our language and our culture. That's what we are really pushing here.

I further asked Kahurangi how a competition like the Polyfest would benefit the students.

You get to compete against forty-nine other groups in Auckland who are the best in Auckland. And the benefits for performing at Polyfest, it's like Te Matatini but on a smaller scale, and for secondary students. What do they get out of it? The experience. Performing at the highest level they can reach. Performing to a crowd, being judged by professional Kapa Haka exponents, just to enjoy what they are achieving, worked so hard for. And the other hard thing for us is we actually can put up only fifty kids. We have more than fifty kids.

This was the first time in an educational context, other than with Dr. Wehi, that I met a Kapa Haka teacher who was very concerned with artistic excellence in Kapa Haka. Kahurangi was more interested in raising the level of the performance than winning the competition, because she knew raising the performance level could lead to the team winning as a result.

At this college in Auckland, Māori courses were taught under the academic subject of tikanga Māori, which included te reo and Kapa Haka. I asked her how
te reo and Kapa Haka were taught in relation to each other. It was informative how she described the ambivalent relations between Kapa Haka and te reo learning when I asked her if Kapa Haka helps students learn te reo. She said,

We explain in class how we can utilise our items in our daily lives. Māori should be spoken in that poetic language. We are trying to teach our kids that in Māori … the words are not just there to sing … you can utilise it every day.

Kahurangi explained that she and other teachers “incorporate” both Kapa Haka and te reo learning. She said, “they are not side by side, they are together. It comes under the umbrella of tikanga Māori with us”.

Since Kapa Haka was added as an academic subject by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (N.D.), the teachers at this college have made every effort for the students to gain academic credits when they practise Kapa Haka. They thought that if the students were chosen to be part of the group participating in the Polyfest, they should be able to gain some academic credits, because their commitments to Kapa Haka were so high. That was different from the mainstream schools I went to, where Kapa Haka was almost always an extracurricular or afterschool club activity and considered merely ‘fun’ or ‘hobby’.

The second teacher who participated at this college, Mārama, a sister of Kahurangi, was in charge of the academic side of Kapa Haka classes. I asked Mārama what she thought Kapa Haka could offer to her students.

I think one of the most important things Kapa Haka teaches, is knowing who you are. Where you come from, a connection to being Māori, to Māori culture, connection to everything around us. Whether it’s the Sky Father, the Earth Mother….living creatures around us. It brings us that sense of belonging, knowing who we are. I also believe, if we were to put it in a curriculum kind of context, self-esteem, confidence, public speaking, and public performing, it improves our students’ language, English as well as Māori. It’s a combination of a lot of things.

Mārama thinks it is important for her students to be able to live as bicultural and bilingual beings. For example, she would want her students to be thoroughly knowledgeable with what they would be performing or singing about in Kapa Haka, the words in waiata and haka, and she also wants them to be able to explain the contents in English to an English-speaking audience. That, she thinks, could enhance their learning and understanding.

I asked Mārama what her dream would be in terms of the place of Kapa Haka in her college. She said that she wanted to see Kapa Haka being a University
entrance-approved subject, meaning that the credits these children receive for Māori performing arts would count towards their acceptance into university. “We have strong core students wanting to do dance, drama, Māori performing arts, so there should be some formal foundation course for them.”

I asked both Kahurangi and Mārama what they think about the idea of establishing a professional Kapa Haka company equivalent to the Royal New Zealand Ballet. Kahurangi was moved by the idea. She said,

That is a wonderful question maybe you should ask our parliament that… I don’t know why it is not seen as a profession like that, like ballet. I suppose with Māori we have to fight for everything. One step at a time. Make Kapa Haka a profession…that would be just amazing…I suppose if we were as populated as Pākehā here then they might consider, but we are a minority in this country.

Mārama wanted me to express this idea of professionalisation of Kapa Haka to her students in her Kapa Haka class, which I did. She told me afterwards,

Like you said in the class today, the Royal New Zealand Ballet, and you talked about the Symphony Orchestra, Kapa Haka needs that recognition, too. We’ve always said, even when we were young, “wouldn’t it be neat if we had best of the best Kapa Haka performers, and they had a show, weekly show, that we could all be really proud of?” I really think Kapa Haka is undervalued in New Zealand. Lots of people say, “Let’s do what Māoris do, let’s set and do a haka”. They don’t actually understand the importance of, or amount of work that’s involved in maintaining Kapa Haka at its best. And it’s like ballet at its best. You know they are similar in so many ways. Yet the recognition of ballet to Kapa Haka is a lot higher, Kapa Haka is seen as just a cultural thing.

I mentioned to Mārama that I had once asked Dr. Pita Sharples, the then Minister of Māori Affairs, about the possibility of making a national Kapa Haka company. Dr. Sharples’ answer was, “It would be difficult to have one national Kapa Haka company, because Māori are iwi-oriented people”. He intimated that there would have to be a compromise in terms of tikanga, to have a united, professional, multi-tribal Māori Kapa Haka group, because every iwi (tribe) has different styles of performance. Mārama reacted to this story in the following manner:

I respect Pita Sharples dearly, I respect his thoughts. However, iwi are still there, but Kapa Haka is going to the next level. And realistically, if we are not going with it, we are going to be left behind. There should be a national Kapa Haka. And that’s…there, you can actually promote all the different dialect, all the different genre of iwi, and their styles.
I see a particular artistic approach to Kapa Haka in Mārama’s argument. For her Kapa Haka is a form of constantly evolving performing arts that could represent Aotearoa New Zealand.

Another argument I heard from other Māori people was that to be professional, meaning to get paid for performing Kapa Haka, was contrary to Māori culture. In a sense it seems that Māori people might prefer to accept donations for tourist performances, but they would not accept a salary. Mārama responded in the following manner:

I sit on the fence on this one. My father, very traditional, doesn’t like the concept of charging people for Kapa Haka. However it is important that there is some recognition for the service that we provide. Kapa Haka is a service. We are providing a service to the community; we are providing a service to an organisation. So if we are providing a service, then there is a fee for that. I have really learned to be more open to that … and to share those views with my Dad who is quite traditional and “oh no, you don’t pay for Kapa Haka …” So he is starting to realise that, too.

She told me that often people have no appreciation how much preparation it takes to perform a good quality haka.

Mārama and Kahurangi were able to share with me a vision of Kapa Haka residing in the performing arts industry rather than in the tourism or entertainment industries. Mārama’s response of “Kapa Haka is going to the next level … if we are not going with it, we are going to be left behind” was significant.

8.3. Kapa Haka in Rural Contexts

8.3.1. Taikura: A Senior Citizens’ Group

Hera is the mother of one of my Māori friends at the University of Auckland, and I call her Kui (elderly woman) here. I had met Kui several times before I requested an interview through this friend. I had always thought Kui would have an extraordinary amount of knowledge of the Māori world, and would possess a high level of mana as a person. She organised Taikura, a cultural group by seniors, in Hawke’s Bay. Members of this Taikura gathered once a week to practise Kapa Haka, yet they preferred not to be called a Kapa Haka group, because the raison d’être of the group was more than just performing Kapa Haka. When I visited Kui’s Taikura, I met a dedicated group of elderly people who were practising Kapa Haka intensely, with joy, and with passion and compassion.
Kui explained that Taikura means “the heart of the tree”, and that each Taikura belongs to a particular iwi. Kui further explained the background of Taikura in the following words:

Taikura itself is an organisation of fifty-five and over, and it was named by Dame Atairangikaahu and Tama Huata. Dame Atairangikaahu was the patron for the National Kapa Haka and for the older people who were also performers when younger. And what about the composers from the different tribes? They composed songs in their time, they composed haka in their time, and they felt it was important that those compositions be still retained. And who better to do that than this older age group, who still remembered those songs and the actions? And it was also to keep the profile of those composers [work] of another era.

Thus Taikura was formed for the “preservation” and “retention” of waiata, haka, and other Kapa Haka items. Taikura has provided opportunities for elderly Māori people to get together for practice, socialising and performing together. Taikura has also helped its members to stay healthy.

The more we talked, the more it became clear that the essential function of Taikura was not only preserving and performing Kapa Haka items from the past. When I asked Kui if she would term Taikura a Kapa Haka group she explained to me:

Not really. We just refer to ourselves as Taikura. Because the other thing, the other aim of mine, is that this group will be part of, what we call a “kāhui pakeke”. Now “kāhui” is a word for a group, but it’s a special group. And “pakeke” is a word we used, instead of using Kaumātua (elderly), we use “pakeke”. So that when our iwi move anywhere, this pakeke group will go with them, as what we call a “tuarā”, as ‘a back’. If, for instance, there is a cultural question comes up, that question is referred to this group.

Kui said that in the past there were cases when “things happened which should not have happened only because nobody has been consulted”. Thus she said that Taikura was “a tikanga cultural support [group], put in practice for the iwi.”

Kui teaches the members of Taikura traditional chants and waiata. She also shares stories of the land and of their ancestors with the members. She would initiate discussions with other elders on how one should behave on a marae in a particular circumstance. Kui would teach what she knew about tikanga to other elders: how one should behave on a marae, which waiata to sing when a particular tribal chief visits, or what should be done at tangi (funerals), so that these elders would be able to choose the appropriate waiata when a particular occasion arises.
Kui repeatedly said that the purpose of the group was the “retention” of culture. For her this included each of Taikura’s members’ memories. She would give research assignments and homework to the members about certain events in history. They would then go to the library, or ask others, and gather information. A week later, people would come together and share their findings with the others. This way, the tribal knowledge is always kept alive.

In Kui’s time, Kapa Haka existed in every aspect of Māori life, but she thought the term Kapa Haka was relatively new. She said,

> We never really called it “Kapa Haka”. That’s only a recent term. I think that came about because of the competitiveness. It was just haka. You know, “haka practice”, “waiata”. It wasn’t so much “Kapa Haka”. It was just “waiata”...but we did it for enjoyment. We did it for entertainment. And I guess it was also a matter of mana .... Pōwhiri, that was “part and parcel”, no matter where we went. But when it came to meal, after the meal, or during the meal, that was “waiata”... after the meal, during the speeches, yes.

Kui’s first husband, who was Māori, died young. She then married her second husband, who was Pākehā. When it came to the subject of Māori-Pākehā relationships in Aotearoa New Zealand, Kui was clear that many Pākehā people “don’t understand the value” of Māori culture. She thought Pākehā people were “the ones needing to be educated”, because Māori people “already know the value.” She suggested that white New Zealanders should overcome their “fear of unknown”, and increase the understanding of Māori cultural values, as this would help race relations in the country. Kui said,

> If they learned ... Pākehā we are talking about, Kapa Haka, at least an action song ... and once they’ve got that understanding, then they kind of come off their high horse, and then ... prior to that, [the real equality would not be achieved]. It’s like that, which is understandable, because they don’t understand ... they don’t. So I recommend they all join a Kapa Haka team. Then they will be fine. Then they are taught ... those values, the responsibilities.

Kui spoke of her experience of teaching Kapa Haka to a young Pākehā boy at a local primary school many years ago. The boy’s Pākehā mother was furious and angry that her son had come home from the school and said he learned a haka. When Kui met the boy again as an adult, he remembered Kui very fondly and thanked her for teaching him the haka.

8.3.2. Tūhoe Ahurei: A Successful Tribal Festival for Tūhoe

The Tūhoe Ahurei is a biennial tribal festival for Tūhoe people. It has a longer history than Te Matatini. Tina Fraser (2009) writes in her doctoral thesis,
In 1971, the Tūhoe tribe of the Eastern Bay of Plenty in New Zealand established Te Hui Ahurei a Tūhoe (The Unique Gathering of Tūhoe) to retain their culture and language. This bi-yearly, performative arts gathering affords those tribal members outside of the region the opportunity to return to their tribal lands to rekindle kinship ties and tribal practices. (p.ii)

Fraser's (2009) research reveals how the festival functions as a hub for Tūhoe people to come together and celebrate their cultural identity and retain the way Tūhoe people used to live traditionally. I went to Tūhoe Ahurei with Te Waka Huia, spending one night with the team, and another night with another group from Waikaremoana, one area of the Tūhoe territory. During the visit, I met three people involved with Kapa Haka teaching for Tūhoe Ahurei and had brief conversations with them.

Piata is one of the organisers of the festival and a respected Kapa Haka teacher, who spoke to me about the Festival's background and its aim. She explained that the festival was initiated by John Rangihau and other elderly people who were concerned that they might lose their “Tūhoetanga; our reo, our traditional chants.” Piata said,

Because of the urban drift, Tūhoe was moving out of the communities and going into the cities. And they were quite worried that their blood-tie back home, we might lose it. So those are the reasons of the Ahurei and to retain our traditions and customs, our waiata tawhito (ancient songs), our genealogy…and our care for one another. That’s why it was started and today it’s still on that philosophy. People know that. It’s imbedded in them … my elders always say, “It is written in our blood”. So it’s a really good way to describe it.

Piata was certain that the Ahurei has been successful in achieving its mission and aim. Unlike Te Matatini, Kapa Haka items performed on the Ahurei’s stage included traditional waiata and haka, which were performed by every participating group. The judges were assessing how accurately the performance of these items reflected traditional ways of doing it. They were more concerned with preservation than with artistic innovation and creative interpretation of tradition.

People acknowledged that within the Tūhoe tribe political conflicts and disagreements exist, yet when they gathered for Ahurei, Piata said, “the iwi comes together as one people rather than in political disharmony”. This was a meaningful aspect of the festival, because the Ahurei was functioning as a public space where the traditional art, Tūhoe people’s precious treasures and common culture, enabled people to connect. People spent joyful times
performing Kapa Haka in peace and the festival itself is “getting better and better.”

The Tūhoe Ahurei is a tribal festival. People work hard to make it all happen, offering their homes for visitors to stay. There are many volunteers to run the festival. Piata spoke of the big difference between Te Matatini and Tūhoe Ahurei:

I think that Matatini is to pick the king of the mountain of the whole of New Zealand. That’s not our purpose. We are not stage people. We are very marae-based. We are very tikanga based … so that’s the huge difference between the Ahurei and the Matatini. You aren’t looking for the king of the mountain here. You are looking at the teams, “Have they got it? Have they got the tikanga? Have they got the style? Have they got the stance?”, so that we don’t lose it.

Hēmi, a Tūhoe Kaumātua, shared his version of Ahurei’s mission with me. I call him Koro (elderly man) in this thesis.

I see Ahurei as a mechanism to bring our people together. And to hold on to their culture, their tikanga, which is very important to our people, especially with the kawa (marae protocol), the reo, and their tikanga. This is to me the reason why Ahurei is bringing our people together. You may hear, in some of the items during the performances today, the words “matemateone”, that’s what it’s all about: “your love for each other”. It is strictly to keep our reo alive. And it’s for the up and coming generations, our children and our grandchildren. So anything Māori wouldn’t be lost, especially our reo. Our reo is very important to us.

Koro told me that the Tūhoe tribe was unique and very “lucky” that the people did not lose te reo until very recently, while many other tribes lost their languages long ago. For most Tūhoe people of his generation, te reo Tūhoe was their native language. Koro stated that one of the functions of teaching Kapa Haka items was to carry the tribal knowledge of Tūhoe people.

Within each tribe in New Zealand, they have their own internal politics. And also the impact of the politics that has been put in front of us by the Government or the Crown, especially the Crown. And I use, we use, Kapa Haka to relay that politics, or to hold our history, or in items we use on a stage where people can hear or listen to whatever item you perform on stage. We use it as a political arena, or it could be about love, too…the most important thing to us is our sub-tribes, our tribes and sub-tribes, which we call hapū.

Te Kooti’s Mōri karaka came to my mind and I asked Koro if that was the type of piece he was referring to. The Kaumātua said that was what he meant, and he added that Te Kooti was a “special person” for his tribe.
Taka, my third participant from Tūhoe, is a talented composer and a dedicated Kapa Haka teacher. He is also a brilliant academic who participated in Tina Fraser’s (2009) dissertation on Tūhoe Ahurei. He tried to make me understand that Tūhoe Ahurei was for Tūhoe people to come and celebrate their tribal identity, yet Taka shared his view that it was specifically important for Tūhoe people to come and celebrate this festival. According to Taka, it was more of a “responsibility”, rather than people’s rights to be part of the festival. He said,

For the Ahurei, people will come. They will come and, we have performers in this group, they don’t [usually perform Kapa Haka], they aren’t into Kapa Haka, but they would do it for the Ahurei, because it’s a responsibility. They have a responsibility to the tribe and to the hapū, to our sub-tribe, to ensure that we are represented, that we are well-represented at this Festival, because it’s a bad reflection on us, on our sub-tribe.

I assumed that Ahurei and Te Matatini were considered good rivals. I even thought that they might complement each other culturally as one is for the preservation of culture, while the other is inclusive of the creative and artistic interpretation of the culture. Yet Taka was certain that Te Matatini had nothing to do with Tūhoe Ahurei. He said,

Matatini doesn’t contribute anything to this festival. There is nothing from that festival that we would look at, I think, that I would look at, and say “We need to have that at the Ahurei.” I actually don’t really like Matatini. I would go to watch it but purely for entertainment. Because I think it’s actually more damaging to our culture than anything else...every tribe has their own style. Matatini has changed that. Before, you could watch groups, you would know which region they came from by the way they performed. What happens at a national festival like Matatini is, whatever group wins, that’s the group everybody else wants to be.

Taka also said that creating a professional Kapa Haka company to represent Māoridom and/or Aotearoa New Zealand would not be a healthy move from his point of view. His initial response was the following:

I would assume that [to have a national Kapa Haka company] would be synthetic. If that group did exist, if we put the group together like that, that would be a synthetic group. One, because, they have to represent Māori and not individual tribes, and two, because they wear an international face, they have to behave in a manner that is acceptable in an international space. See, we don’t have to do that here [at Ahurei].

Taka explained that the minute Kapa Haka was brought into an international space, and the minute the Aotearoa New Zealand government steps in to help operate such a group, the true traditional cultures of Māori peoples, based on
the tribal identities and diversities, would not be able to survive. He had seen too many times that non-Māori people seemed offended by the aggressiveness of haka and he would have to change the items to suit the tastes of the audience. He said,

If that group existed, they would not be performing to expose people to our culture, or to teach people about our culture. They would be performing to entice tourists to New Zealand .... That school, if owned by Pākehā, or operated by Pākehā, funded by the Government, we would have to paint a synthetic face to people to say, look how beautiful our culture is, look how lovely it sounds ... and it is! But it also has an ugly side, but that's part and parcel of our culture. And it is dressed up for tourists.

Taka has taken Kapa Haka groups to Hawaii, Canada and other parts of the world, so his words were based on his bitter experiences.

Tūhoe teachers were protective of their own items. Piata mentioned that she would not teach Tūhoe Kapa Haka items to non-Tūhoe people. She would respect how Ngāti Porou (tribal group of East Coast area north of Gisborne to Tihirau) perform their haka in their own style, and therefore she would not want Tūhoe to learn and imitate Ngāti Porou style. For example, Tūhoe people have a more confined stance when they perform a haka. She would not let her students perform Ngāti Porou’s traditional waiata.

Hence I learned that with Ahurei, there was a clear line drawn between the different iwi, or tribes, and even between hapū, or sub-tribes. Taka told me how he has to play different roles in front of different people. He said,

When I come to this festival, I am Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu. These are my sub-tribes. When I go to nationals, to Matatini. I am Tūhoe. When I go overseas, to Hawaii, I am Māori. When I go to Canada, I am Polynesian. So I need to know when to play those roles and how to play those roles .... In Canada, I need a bigger group of people to support me. So Polynesia, we are very close with Hawaiians, Tahitians and other Polynesian races that have been dominated by Pākehā, or have been colonised. So we unite with those ones when we’re in a bigger circuit. So yeah, it’s knowing when to be those people, knowing when to be those roles.

In the midst of the festival’s celebrating mood, I felt there was a deep pain and distrust by the Tūhoe people towards the outer world.
8.4. An Urban Kapa Haka Group: In Search of a Healthy Direction for Competitive Kapa Haka

One of the oldest competitive Kapa Haka groups in the country is based in Auckland, and it has been a home to many Māori people who migrated to Auckland from all over the country. This Kapa Haka group had been one of the most popular groups in the country over thirty years. Somehow, the group has not continued to be ranked at the top in the last few Te Matatini festivals. I was curious what kind of philosophy they might have maintained, and if there had been a shift in their thinking whether this resulted in their philosophy not being aligned with the recent culture of competitive Kapa Haka.

Ira has been one of the most active members of this Kapa Haka team over twenty years, and her daughter, Hunu, has been one of the leading performers. Although they are not the main teachers and leaders, they are core members, and teach within and outside the group, carrying its philosophy.

According to Ira, one of the problematic recent changes in the culture of competitive Kapa Haka is that Te Matatini became less tolerant about age and looks. There used to be many kaumātua (elderly men) and kuia (elderly women) performing on stage. This is now getting more difficult, because it is expected that good-looking, fit, young people perform complex and energetic movements on stage, in order to win the competitions.

The recent changes of culture that discriminate against the older generation and not-so-fit people, she thinks, is a loss for Kapa Haka, and is contradiction to Māori cultural values. Ira values the “tuakana-teina” relationship between teachers and learners. She thinks that it is one of the important educational aspects of Kapa Haka. Ira said,

The concept of “tuakana-teina”-ship, “tuakana teina” .... It’s active, every time you stand up and have a practice, there will be always a reverse exchange between people and it’ll be the benefit of someone older telling someone younger, or the benefit of someone younger telling someone older how they can move faster, but there’s always that interchange, and I really like that. For me, when I was young it made me feel old, now that I’m old it makes me feel young sometimes, so I quite like that.

As shown in the concept of “ako”, which means teaching and learning, Māori culture values reciprocity. It is similar to Socratic dialogical ways of learning, and it also reminds me of Japanese culture: we must give back when we are receiving.
I asked Ira what she thought Kapa Haka teaching would bring. To my surprise, she said Kapa Haka “validates the individual”. She said, as a teacher, she takes the greatest pleasure when “seeing someone feel proud of themselves for something they’ve achieved” and “to see someone proud that they actually could master something they didn’t think they could.”

Ira thinks the “sameness” required in today’s competitive Kapa Haka comes from the people’s desire to win through looking united and sophisticated as a group. Too much emphasis on this aspect causes changes to the nature of Kapa Haka, especially to the aspects that she valued. Ira was critical of the culture of competitive Kapa Haka, which she thought had become closer to the Western stage arts, such as ballet and opera. She thought that Kapa Haka might be losing aspects of a community art in which everyone could participate. Ira thinks that Kapa Haka today is losing individuality, is becoming more technical and discriminating. She said that because of this one cannot enjoy and relax performing so much anymore:

One of the things I really love about Kapa Haka … is watching people’s variety of strengths being able to be shown …. I love the fact that you end up with a quality product, but … it’s not available to all … the advent and influence of competition, is not entirely so healthy in my opinion.

Ira’s perspective made me think more about the possible direction of professionalisation of Kapa Haka, because it was the artistic sophistication aspects of Kapa Haka that I was drawn to. Ira was one of the most recognised Kapa Haka performers of her generation, and her critical words on current competitive Kapa Haka culture were precious, because she cared so much about the future of Kapa Haka and its educational value. Her core belief that Kapa Haka was a treasure for the Māori people was clear in the words she spoke:

All of the protocols and traditions and the language. I think Kapa Haka is an ideal vehicle for repatriating whānau Māori to whānau Māori. So the dispossessed who’ve been raised in Auckland, don’t know their own blood background … through Kapa Haka they can right from day one validly be part of a Māori whānau.

Ira was supportive of creating a professional, national Kapa Haka team, because she thought, the creation of a professional group would perhaps change the culture of competitive Kapa Haka at Te Matatini, bringing back the individuality. Maybe people do not have to spend too much energy and time looking like a “carbon copy of each other” in order to win any more. Maybe the
creation of a professional company would make the people engage with Kapa Haka as a community art. Maybe people would feel free to show their individuality, feel free to celebrate the groups’ diversity, and feel free to enjoy Kapa Haka no matter what age.

Ira’s daughter Hunu was brought up deeply within Māoridom until she entered the University of Auckland. At the University she met many Māori students who had not grown up with Māori culture, which was a surprise to her. She felt privileged that she grew up within the Māori culture and that she had been surrounded by te reo Māori. Ira wanted Hunu to become educated within the Māori education system, which she herself had not been able to do. Hunu said when she was in kura kaupapa Māori they all thought that everybody else did Kapa Haka. Yet after realising this was not the case she started thinking about the meanings of teaching Kapa Haka both within and outside of Māoridom.

[Kapa Haka] would obviously help keep tikanga Māori alive and everything like that, so that’s a benefit for us [Māori]. Another benefit for us, which would be beneficial for non-Māori is that it would give more of an understanding, and they would be able to see some of the positive sides of Māori culture that I don’t think get always promoted by the media.

Ira expressed that her generation had hoped that their children would grow up surrounded by Māori culture. In a way, her dream has come true. Being secure with their identity and cultural knowledge, many young Māori people of Hunu’s generation are capable of teaching Māori culture to non-Māori. They also see the need to start educating the people in mainstream culture in order for the social transformation to occur.

8.5. Conclusion

For all the kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka in this chapter, the initial and basic reasons and motivations to teach Kapa Haka were to “retain”, “sustain” and “revive” Māori language and culture, as well as “repatriating whānau Māori to whānau Māori”. They think that Kapa Haka can be a vehicle to teach te reo and tikanga Māori; also that it is an effective educational means for the culturally dispossessed and those who are gradually losing their culture, to regain their culture, pride and cultural identity.

I had assumed that in Māori educational settings, the teachers had more freedom in selecting the teaching materials and their teaching methods, yet the investigation of the teaching conditions of Kapa Haka told me otherwise. It was interesting to find that both Māori schools and mainstream schools shared the
same concern of surviving against a current neoliberal educational discourse. In order to receive funding the teachers of kura kaupapa Māori had to meet the requirements and regulations set up by the Ministry of Education in the same way as mainstream schools. Awatea was concerned that the creation of a national Kapa Haka company with the Government’s money might take artistic freedom away from Māori.

Kahurangi and Mārama were making an enormous effort to utilise the academic credit system by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority to translate their students’ Kapa Haka activity into academic credits, although these credits were not yet recognised as the required credits to enter universities. As teachers they yearned for equality and freedom of their students.

In the urban educational settings, Kapa Haka tended to nurture Māori identity in general. In the rural context, the teachers mainly taught Kapa Haka to the members of their iwi and hapū to make sure that their particular tribal knowledge, especially their tribal cultures and dialects, were maintained. Preservation of traditions, the language (dialects) and cultural protocols, as well as keeping the tribal identities, were the main reasons of teaching Kapa Haka in the rural areas.

The conversations with the teachers at Tūhoe Ahurei made me understand how deeply the whole Tūhoe tribe has been hurt, deceived and deprived of what they valued, by the process of colonisation. I understood that there are enough reasons for Tūhoe people to protect and revive their reo and Tūhoetanga through the Ahurei, and that the mission of the Ahurei has been successfully accomplished (at least for now). On the other hand, I wondered whether the iwi might ever be able to set another goal and purpose, such as welcoming non-Tūhoe to celebrate Ahurei together with them. I thought it was a lost opportunity for Tūhoe, because art, in general, is capable of promoting understanding of culture, but I also understood their struggle for decolonisation.

I realised that a diversification in the purpose of teaching Kapa Haka happens as the culture of competitive Kapa Haka matures. When Kapa Haka constantly pushes its artistic boundaries, both in its forms and contents, it is destined to transform and become different from the past. In the 1990s, Ira’s Kapa Haka group was considered fashionable and contemporary, even avant-garde, yet today her group is caught between the idea of preservation and revitalisation of a tribal era culture and the idea of the creation of a kind of public art of Māoritanga.
Kahurangi and Mārama were supportive of the idea of creating a national Kapa Haka company, because they saw that Kapa Haka has become artistically extraordinary, and that Kapa Haka has a role as an excellent performing art in the public sphere that can educate the broader public beyond Māoridom.

In the next chapter, I look at some Kapa Haka teachers who are pushing the boundaries of society’s common understanding through their teaching activity.
Chapter 9. Conversations with Kaiwhakaako
Kapa Haka [Part III]: Negotiating the Cultural Boundaries in the Public Sphere

9.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present my conversations with further kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka. The teachers who appear in this category are pushing the boundaries of Māori cultural presence through Kapa Haka in their unique ways. Listening to them and observing their activities helped me understand how Māori cultural presence is evolving in the public sphere of the Aotearoa New Zealand society, fostering a democratic community.

9.2. Negotiating Three Cultures in the Navy: Navy Culture, Mainstream Culture, and Māori Culture

In Aotearoa New Zealand the Army performs haka and the Police Academy performs haka. In a global sports world, the All Blacks, a famous Rugby team from Aotearoa New Zealand, performs haka before its games. When I heard that the Royal New Zealand Navy (Royal New Zealand Navy, 2014) has their Kapa Haka groups, I wrote to the Navy and asked if I could attend any of their practices. In my mind were the following questions: “What is the philosophy behind teaching Kapa Haka in the Navy?” and “Who teaches Kapa Haka to whom in the Navy and why?”

Everything within the Navy, including how my request was processed, seemed orderly. Once the permission had come, everything was done efficiently and thoroughly. Three Navy personnel of different ranks came to greet me at the Navy’s marae and welcomed me with a proper pōwhiri, with formal speeches and waiata exchanges.

Five kaiwhakaako, all part of the Navy, shared their thoughts with me on teaching Kapa Haka in the Navy. They were: Paki, Eru, Huatahi, Kuru and Maru. They all spoke with me honestly and freely, sometimes individually, sometimes together. There was a Kapa Haka practice of the “Māori Cultural Group”, consisting of the Māori Navy personnel, and one Pacific Islander. This group was a voluntary group who liked to perform Kapa Haka. The teachers told me
that some Māori members of the Navy started this Kapa Haka group in the 1960s, and that the legacy continues till today. When I went, the group was practising hard, because they were invited to perform in Korea within a few days.

I also watched a haka practice by the new recruits. Learning the original Navy haka was one of the basic requirements in their training. For many of the newcomers to the Navy, it was their first time learning and doing a haka seriously. As with other kinds of Navy training, the haka practice was intense, serious, and orderly.

The third Kapa Haka activity in the Navy I saw was a group consisting of the extended families and friends of the Navy. They were from the local community and included some overseas migrants. All three groups were taught by the same teachers who I interviewed.

Te Taua Moana Marae, the Navy’s marae, opened in April 2000. My interviewees told me how numerous Māori in the Navy had saved their money to build the marae in the Navy's yard, and about the collaborative efforts made between Māori and the Commanders to support the cause. In the process there were all sorts of conflicts imaginable. In their words, there was a "clash of cultures", between mainstream New Zealand culture and Māori culture. Yet both Māori and Pākehā people in the Navy managed to build mutual respect and created a collaborative atmosphere of sorts, using the shared culture of the Navy as common ground. As soon as the marae was established, "cultural awareness courses" were introduced for the purpose of educating Naval officers. The presence of Māori culture has been solid and has flourished since the marae was built.

My interviewees informed me that establishing both the marae and the "bicultural policy" has transformed the significance of Māori culture in the Navy. The Navy was able to host many important international guests to the marae, and the high ranking officers started recognising the benefits of having the Māori cultural presence within the Navy. Eru explained to me that today most "VIPs that land in Auckland, whether they'd be Air Force or Army, the first place they come to is" Te Taua Moana Marae. Eru said,

Since the inception of this place [Te Taua Moana Marae] … I believe it's been visitors to this country that have actually educated our Commands how great Kapa Haka is. Our Commands … Admirals from the Chief of Navy, Chief of Defense Force, down to the base Commander, have sat there, as you did this afternoon …. Coalition Force Commanders … Royalties, any American, Indian, Japanese, Malays. All these VIPs have
come here and then gone thanked the Command, for a wonderful performance, and Commanders they'll do the old "Well, I used to just think it was a bunch of Māori trying to get off work and to put on a grass skirt and sing a song and jump around, but I would put money on it" ... that's probably the case.

Another story emerged about the Chief of Navy being very proud of the crew showing their haka to their international colleagues. Kuru said,

Well, there is a story of a big fleet review, a whole lot of ships going past one ship, and it had all the high up officers on it ..... When the New Zealand ship went past, they did a haka, and our Chief of Navy, the big boss of the Navy, he happened to be on the ship, who was watching them all go past ... and the ship started to do this haka and I don't know who the gentleman was on board, I think he might have been a royalty or something? And he said, “That's one of your ships, isn't it?” and he just went “Yup, that's one of my ships” .... He was really, he reckoned it was the proudest moment of his life, seeing one of his ships go past and everyone knew that it was a Kiwi ship. Just because they did a haka ... it's just selling, oh, I guess it's being [cultural] ambassadors for our country.

The Navy is one of the places in Aotearoa New Zealand where Māori culture has been constantly used, and possibly abused, to represent the country. In each representation the presence of Kapa Haka might have been constantly ambivalent: something to be proud of, and something that deserves praise and showcasing in an international public space, and yet something that reminds people of racism in domestic cultural and political spaces.

It seemed that when the Kapa Haka groups practise, they do so because they want to practise. The harsh reality still is that while the group is open to all Navy personnel, there is only one non-Māori person in the Navy’s Māori Cultural Group, who is a Pacific Islander. Also, unlike the Royal New Zealand Navy's Band, which constantly performs in front of the audience as professional musicians representing the Navy, the Māori Cultural Group practise and perform voluntarily and they are not considered performing arts professionals. Despite this seemingly unfair treatment, the Māori Cultural Group members justify their situation and their love for Kapa Haka. Eru said,

It's all-voluntary ... it's not a requirement, it's not a job function. It's purely ... we, our forebears, did it to keep, probably their language and culture alive. And that's, for me, that's exactly what it is on the ship now. I don't do it to please my Command. I do it because we are a long way from home and I am homesick. And a good way to keep those things alive is to learn songs, waiata, from home. And by chance you take the stage and someone enjoys your show as much as you enjoy performing it to them. That's a win-win.
Within the Navy, Māori officers have kept their cultural tradition and Māori identity through practising Kapa Haka. They would like to keep this tradition and sustain their heritage by being "custodians" of their culture in the Navy. Eru said,

So, Kapa Haka for us … isn’t really about the whakataetae (competition) side, competing side of it. It’s actually one about showcasing and … upholding the traditions of our forebears and making sure that us, we are the custodians.

Paki said,

Kapa Haka upholds our mana (prestige) … having waiata, and having a group behind you … like we sang today, we just sang our song, but having a group of ten or twenty behind you, singing your song, also uplifts the group, uplifts the person speaking but also the mana …. That’s why it’s really important … that’s why we teach Kapa Haka so they can learn these songs, and they can support us.

Māori people in the Navy have good reasons to enjoy Kapa Haka, while they are well aware of the racism in the country. Paki added proudly that “they say the marae is the heart of the Navy”.

Eru, who is half Māori and half Pākehā, explained a kind of racism, and “the culture within New Zealand”:

Māori are seen as unemployed, underachieving people that are constantly putting in requests, to address past grievances …. For me, I am part English and part Māori. So I walk in both worlds … there is still a line between cultures in New Zealand. It’s not one people, as much as people think, “Oh, New Zealand is a success”, I would say it’s not at all.

Still the irony is that when the Navy goes abroad, most non-Māori people want to perform a haka. Seemingly, there is this sense of a national identity, which is based on Māori culture. Kuru said,

Yes, when we go overseas …. I am not too sure why lots of people like to do it, but we have a lot of Pākehā people and I am not sure if you know too much about the Military but we have officers, and non-officers, when we are away overseas a lot of officers join in. They don’t tend to join in back here. I am not sure why that is, either yeah. They do. You see it on TV a lot, where our Pākehā people, they’ll be overseas and you know, as soon as people know that they are from New Zealand, they ask them to do haka and they’ll do it, they might not do it the best that it can be done but they’ll do it because that’s New Zealand. It’s how people identify New Zealanders.

Contrary to most places in Aotearoa New Zealand the Navy as a national organisation has taken a step forward. They created a “bicultural policy”, which respects and protects Māori cultural elements and protocols in the Navy. The
research participants told me about an incident when they successfully negotiated with their bosses to meet their cultural protocols. Huatahi told me the story which happened on a trip to England. The patron of the ship Canterbury, Princess Anne, was going to come on board and the Executive Officer wanted Princess Anne to come straight up. He expected the guard and the Navy Kapa Haka group to then do a welcome ceremony on board. Huatahi remembered,

> We tried to explain to our Command, see, we have to do our thing first. It’s like stepping on our whenua. It’s like coming onto our marae. We have to do our whakataki (talk), you know, our wero (challenges) as if it’s our marae out here. …. They wouldn’t listen. So we sat at the back. They had all their practice and all that, and said, “Right, Kapa Haka, you do your thing!” We wouldn’t move. “Now what’s the matter?” If we can’t do it properly, we wouldn’t do it. So they finally let us do our thing first, and we laid the taki, in other words gave her the challenge and all that. Did our karanga, and all that. Then they inspected the guard after we did our bit. I mean, it’s just a matter of having that proper balance between the two cultures. Not being, what’s the word, naïve and ignorant of both of them.

Incidents such as the one above became a turning point for the high-ranking officers to start respecting Māori culture. Eru said,

> Commanding Officers now will come and approach the tutor of the group and say, “I have got this function coming up. You need to tell me what the correct procedures are”. So they are more wanting, they know the importance of doing it right. So they will come and seek advice of the senior members of the Kapa Haka group, “Tell me how should it be?” and you’ll go, “OK, so we need to do this, this and this, then hand it to you, and then we can finish it off”, “Is that gonna work for you?” “Absolutely”. And then we can finish it off.

Within the Navy, new jobs and positions have been created to educate non-Māori people. Huatahi mentioned that today Maru is their “current cultural education officer”, who is responsible for “senior officers’ cultural awareness courses”. When the people who make orders and decisions are familiar with the Māori cultural protocols, events and functions go smoothly.

It seems very effective and reasonable that Māori cultural knowledge must be obtained by anyone who might be promoted in the organisation. People who work in many other organisations could learn from the Navy’s “bicultural policy”. How many professors at the University of Auckland must go through Māori cultural awareness courses in order to be promoted to become a Head of Department? Or to become a public servant? What if one had to be bilingual with te reo Māori and English to become a politician?

Whanaungatanga is also a very important purpose of teaching Kapa Haka in the Navy. It seemed, however, that several different forms and interpretations of
whanaungatanga existed in the Navy. The first one is the comradeship among the Navy personnel. The second one is their connections to their family and friends. The third is to the country.

When the teachers train the new recruits in the original haka, its educational values are shared with the Navy’s educational values “Courage, Commitment and Comradeship”. Whanaungatanga as in “comradeship” is emphasised when the training occurs. Maru said,

It’s to bring them together, and some of these actions … one of the actions is lifting, and I said, “That action there, ok? When you go out and you start drinking together with your mates … not all of you may drink but there’d be a couple of you, and at least one or two of you will go overboard … probably fall over and spew up … that action, there is you picking your mate up, OK?” Well that's what I explained to them, I said, “that's you picking your mate up, doesn't matter whether you hate the person, ok? Because that person's Navy you'll still look after them”.

Another Kapa Haka group, Whānau Whānui (extended family), was created to show the Navy’s link to the community. As Eru said, the Navy personnel are often away from Aotearoa New Zealand for a long time. Therefore, for some people Kapa Haka is a way to ease their homesickness and a way of remembering whānau back home. Huatahi said,

Whether it’s your partner, your children, even friends of friends can come along and join it. Monday nights are especially for that. It’s not just for Naval personnel. Anyone who wants to participate on the Northshore. Or anywhere in New Zealand for that matter, can come along and join it.

I was curious how tribalism and nationalism played a part in the Navy. The teachers explained that from Māori people’s perspectives the Navy’s Kapa Haka groups are unique, because they are not based on a particular tribal identity. Rather, the thinking is that the Navy itself is a form of a unique tribe. In a way the Māori Cultural group is a whānau within the Navy. Huatahi said,

The uniqueness of us is we are Ngā Hau e Whā, we are from the four winds. Because we join from throughout the whole of New Zealand, not just one tribe, we are not tribal-based. We’re called Te Taua Moana, which is Navy or New Zealand Navy…. So whoever the tutor is, like this fellow, Ngai Tūhoe, well, he might teach some songs from his iwi, Te Arawa, you might get something from Te Arawa, Ngā Puh i and we just all mix it up.

The teachers spoke of their original haka, which talks about the philosophical values of the Navy. Huatahi said,
I know it’s written by these fellows. So written especially for us... It talks about the Navy values: “Courage, Commitment, Comradeship”. So it’s great we can sing our own.

Another unique characteristic of teaching Kapa Haka in the Navy had to do with the fighting skills. Traditionally Māori fighting techniques such as Mahi Maraukau have been practised in the Army to enhance the “hand to hand” combat skills. In the Navy, Kapa Haka and Māori cultural elements are used for various reasons as well. Eru said,

And if you actually look through New Zealand military history, including back to that of our forebears who were fighting against the English colonisers, it wasn’t Kapa Haka, it was a way of lifestyle. Kapa Haka is a modern term used to describe haka that was done to aggravate and entice and get the blood pumping for war. And haka is still used for those things... When we arrive in Afghan and do a swap over at the handover ceremony in Afghanistan, between units, they do a haka, it’s not used to the enemy and that kind of context but still it’s involved. The haka is still an integral part of working in and operational war zone. Waiata to calm and to soothe the moment.... We sing waiata at church services in Afghanistan just as our forbears did in World War I and World War II and before that.

When I visited the Navy for the fourth time, there was supposed to be a practice by the whānau group, but the day before, there was a death of a newborn child, whose parents were both in the Navy. Throughout the evening people gathered in Te Taua Moana Marae and they kept on singing waiata, in order to comfort the parents and pray for the baby. Many friends, colleagues, relatives, and the officers paid their visit to this gathering, and people spoke in turn of what was in their hearts and minds. It was a sad occasion, yet there was certainly a very heart-warming, community-support atmosphere, a true whanaungatanga feel to the gathering.

When I asked my research participants what their future goal or dream regarding Kapa Haka in the Navy would be, their answers were surprisingly modest, realistic and sounded achievable. They all spoke about Māori culture’s survival and sustainability, and they all wanted the next generation to keep on doing what the teachers have been doing. Huatahi said,

“Mate atu he tete kura, ara mai na” - when one warrior falls another will take his place. So probably our goal is hopefully we can keep on doing what we are doing now. For the future, our young ones are taking our places.
Paki said,

We teach our young fellas our Kapa Haka, we teach what we do. Hopefully they’ll come into our facility. And I want to come back as a Kaumātua maybe in 15, 20 years time and they're still doing the same stuff. Might be at a better level.

Eru said,

My dream is that one day, when someone says, “ko tahi tu mai ra”, Navy, when that call goes out, Senior Aids, officers, every one of every rank, every age, every ethnic group, can, knows it [the original Navy Haka] and can do it... That would be a dream that I would like to see.

The teachers showed their understanding towards the Navy, showed their patience and compassion towards their non-Māori colleagues. They also showed their hope that the Aotearoa New Zealand society would gradually transform. They are aware that the racism in Aotearoa New Zealand is based on fear, ignorance and lack of understanding. And yet they also thought that it can be overcome, and they are actually making that happen. To witness how the teachers approach the new recruits with care and discipline, and how they keep on teaching Kapa Haka with pride and passion, made me see the process of social transformation based on their Māori cultural values. Maru said,

A lot of them, it’s just they're scared of the unknown I suppose. Never had that exposure to it before. And that keeps a lot of them away just a bit, because they don’t know Kapa Haka .... But after a couple of times of coming over they realise that we’re not all monsters over here. And like we’re hard but we’re fair.

Paki added,

If you want to teach our culture, let them embrace it. Don’t force it upon them and it’s what we talk about manaakitanga. We care, that’s probably all that’s about manaaki, about respect … And if you give it, if you teach it that way then … they'll be more accepting to take it in.

There seems to have been remarkable progress made in the Navy in terms of understanding and respecting Māori culture. The progress might have come in the form of an order by their bosses, yet the order came as a result of the constant exposure to international spaces and as a result of educational efforts made by the teachers who sought understanding from their superiors.

It seemed paradoxical that the Navy, where the order and decision usually come from the top, was more progressive in terms of accepting Māori culture
than many places in the civilian public sphere, which is supposedly more democratic in the decision-making process.

9.3. Pushing the Boundaries of Competitive Kapa Haka

As part of the Māori cultural revitalisation movement, the Kapa Haka competition and festival, which later became Te Matatini, has been a symbolic cultural event in Māoridom (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004). And over the years, their philosophies have been discussed, experimented with, and implemented in several different areas. Mata, another Kapa Haka teacher I introduce in this section, has been an active participant in these discussions.

Timoti Kāretu (1993), one of the respected Māori scholars, states that the “Aotearoa Māori Performing Arts Festival, formerly known as the Polynesian Festival, has played a major role in the raising of the standard of performance of haka and ensuring that a high standard is maintained” (p.80). Te Matatini has evolved over the years, including changing its name. He (1993) further explained,

The principal function of this festival, as conceived by the Māori visionaries and luminaries of the early 1970s, was to raise the standard of performance for, primarily, tourist consumption and to provide an incentive for tribes to actively revive the traditional chant and haka of their own areas. That the festival has succeeded in so doing no one would be churlish enough to deny; in fact one could state quite categorically that the dreams of those early visionaries, many of whom are no longer with us, have, to a certain extent, been realised. (p.80)

After attending Te Matatini both in Tauranga and Gisborne, neither did I think that the festivals were designed for the tourists, nor that they should be. In fact Te Matatini seemed to have achieved everything that the organisers wanted to achieve: te reo survival and proliferation, hapū and iwi tikanga preservation and revival, uniting Māoridom without eliminating diversity within, and providing a public space for creative expressions for talented Māori performing artists.

Mata and her husband have been the leaders of one of the top ranking Kapa Haka groups in the country and Mata has also been one of the representatives of the Auckland region for the Te Matatini Society. Mata has performed with the group representing the nation several times; her recent trips included China, performing at Shanghai Expo, and Venice, for the opening of the Venice Biennale. She was recently appointed to be one of the producers of Te Aroha Nui, a musical spectacle using talented Kapa Haka performers and creators.
She has also been involved with the creation of the Kapa Haka curriculum for the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

Some of the main topics of the conversation with her included educational roles of Te Matatini in the public sphere since its inception in 1972, and where Te Matatini might be heading. We also talked about creating job opportunities for talented Kapa Haka performers who have performed on the stages of Te Matatini. In addition, I asked her what she valued in Kapa Haka in general.

According to Mata, the most important element of the Festival, originally, was to provide a space for Māori people to use te reo Māori. I asked Mata how she saw the balance between Kapa Haka and the use of te reo Māori, and about what is happening these days. Mata said,

You can get a basic understanding of a waiata, then you can perform it. You can even portray it as an actor or an actress, as a dancer, as a Kapa Haka exponent, just from that meaning and understanding. And so this is where te reo people are saying, “So why can’t Kapa Haka lift te reo?” And so that’s why there is a big debate going on.

Most of the recent members of Mata’s group were proficient in te reo when they joined the group. People join her team because they want to be part of an artistically excellent group, and her group’s purpose is to achieve artistic excellence. Mata’s group attracts people who are hardworking and dedicated to the culture of competitive Kapa Haka. Quite often the joining members’ knowledge in te reo and tikanga is already vast, and their performing skills are high.

Mata mentioned that she had noticed that in the last several years hapū and iwi-based teams won at Te Matatini rather than the urban pan-tribal groups. This meant much to her. She thinks that Kapa Haka has become “a base for, a vehicle for whānau, hapū and iwi development.”

While Mata embraces the tendency at Te Matatini for hapū and iwi-based groups to focus on their local tikanga, reo and tribal agendas, and to strengthen their community’s knowledge and ties, the focus has been different for her own group. Te Matatini has provided Mata’s group with an opportunity to present the “social issues in Aotearoa” that concern wider Māori communities.

People in Māoridom understand that a pan-tribal group like Mata’s group has found a mission in expressing what matters to Māori across the country.
Starting in 1972, the national festival and competition was set up for language revival. And it has become a place to present what's most important for this hapū or for that iwi, or for us, social issues in Aotearoa. For example, we have got [a performing item] on domestic violence. Very brave move to say, "We are sick of Māori people who are still committing incest on our own people, it’s been slipped under the carpet and enough is enough"… because amongst all of our families that’s going on … but the timing is right.

Te Matatini also provides the participants with opportunities to learn the Māori history and to expand knowledge on inter-tribal relations. Mata’s group usually visits the place where Te Matatini would take place several weeks in advance. They do in-depth research on the history of the region, on the local tribe’s history, and try to find out the group’s relationships with the hosting iwi and hapū. Mata said,

You learn so much … you learn about the ancestors of that place, you learn about your own whakapapa connections with them. So a Te Arawa (a tribe from Rotorua region) group going to Tai Rāwhiti (East Coast) will say, these are our whakapapa connections, and we are here to honour those ancestors.

According to Mata, the artistic level of Te Matatini has increased quickly since the television networks started broadcasting the festival. Today people watch videos and YouTube, and they can learn a popular waiata and copy complicated and innovative choreography of the winning teams. Even the children are capable of imitating the winning teams. Mata thinks that media exposure is a “positive” influence, because it raises the standard of performance.

With the artistic level of Kapa Haka becoming more sophisticated, Mata’s work so far has been to legitimise the knowledge of Kapa Haha in the public education system. She has worked with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority to create a Kapa Haka curriculum for schools. The schoolteachers can look up the academic guidelines of Kapa Haka on the NZQA (NZQA, n.d.) website, and the students can gain academic credits.

Mata and her colleagues also started working under the umbrella of Māori higher education institutions such as Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, so that students who wish to receive a higher education degree majoring in Māori Performing Arts can graduate from these institutions. She took up the opportunity to conceive the production Te Aroha Nui ("The Greatest Love", a musical production using Kapa Haka items and performers) because of her strong desire and sense of responsibility to create job opportunities for the
young talented Kapa Haka creators and performers who would soon graduate with degrees in Māori performing arts.

Mata has been immersed deeply in the world of competitive Kapa Haka, and she thinks that competitive Kapa Haka might have to transform in order for it to cultivate new and wider audiences in the mainstream culture. I, on the other hand, think it would be more important that non-Māori people learn more about Kapa Haka and that competitive Kapa Haka should not be compromised simply to please the ignorant audiences.

For Mata, Kapa Haka performers from different groups working together as members of one national representative team has already become a reality. A few months after the interview, she auditioned Kapa Haka performers from the top Te Matatini teams, and gathered a cast for Te Aroha Nui. She and her producing team fundraised close to one million NZ dollars from the Government to put this show together. I was curious if she might face criticisms that the performers would be forced to accept performing styles different from their tribal styles. Mata said,

You can respect that. But what we will probably say is “Woo, you will be difficult to work with us. We are looking for team players” and … we are asking them to compromise their own tikanga. Their own values and iwi’s … although we will be very careful about, having, using general tikanga that everyone all throughout Māoridom could work with.

Her perspectives were based on her experience of teaching Kapa Haka in Auckland for a long time. Mata told me how it became difficult for her staff to take care of the issues each student brought to her classes, because many of the issues had nothing to do with performing arts. At the same time, she saw how effective teaching Kapa Haka was to transform many “hard urban” Māori students, and how meaningful their activity had been. Mata said,

Some had endured three generations of unemployment, already detached from the culture. But some of these kids came in, they needed to be taught, how to love themselves again, how to respect themselves…. It [Kapa Haka] was a vehicle for them to find identity, Māori identity. And then once they got the Kapa Haka bug, and I think the kids still catch the bug, they just can’t stop. They just can’t stop and “I wana learn the language,” “I wana learn how to play the guitar” “Wana learn how to sing or use the poi properly”, or “patu”. And so there is a Kapa Haka bug and there is a performing bug. You wana be on stage, you wana be performing.

I asked Mata why she would keep teaching Kapa Haka. She thought for a moment and said,
Because it’s rewarding … to see people finding themselves…. And commitment, that level of excellence. You know their own children and grandchildren, their Mum and Dad, their brothers and sisters, their nieces and nephews … they are cheering for that person to do well. And so that’s a reward, you put a person up there to be a role model … at the end of the day if you can’t look up to your immediate family, to your own … first your extended family … that’s a foundation of the society … they are so proud that their relatives are performing in that caliber.

Mata has witnessed many people finding their roots and their existential meanings through Kapa Haka. They also experienced moments to connect with their whānau, and learned respecting each other. By helping their children with making costumes and driving them to practice, the parents are finding their own roots, and they would take a moment to think about their own lives. Mata explained,

“We are Gisborne family. What are we doing in Auckland? Why have we been born and raised?” So even for them [parents] to find out the occupation of their dad, when they first got to Auckland … things like that. It’s just rewarding. It’s rewarding to teach Kapa Haka. Not for the ones like Matatini and all of that…. At the end of the day, even though it’s a pretty big taonga in Māoridom, underground stuff … marriage and their own children and grandchildren, as for me, are way, way more important, than winning at Matatini.

9.4. Business and Culture: A Rotorua-Based Enterprise

When I went to see Te Matatini in Tauranga, one group from Rotorua caught my eyes. They were not ranked in the top three in that competition, yet their performance was unique and powerful, and theatrically entertaining. Later I found out that I had seen the group several years earlier in a video recording of a joint performance with the Royal New Zealand Ballet. A friend of mine from the ballet company had showed it to me, saying he had had a great experience performing with a Kapa Haka group.

I was able to meet with the group’s male leader, Piri, in Rotorua when attending a charity event, which was a fundraiser for the Christchurch earthquake organised by many Kapa Haka groups. Piri’s family owns and runs a tourist venue in Rotorua and Piri is considered one of the best male Kapa Haka performers in the nation today.

I asked Piri why he was involved with Kapa Haka. He said,

The reason why I do Kapa Haka is because I have done it before tourism and before a business. It’s part of my tribe, it’s part of my being Māori,
and part of me wanting to continue to be Māori. Teaching my people and learning myself also … competing is all part of expressing Māori identity. And so it is something that we as Māori would do anyway as a hobby, as part of continuing our Māoriness, our Māori identity.

I asked Piri if he saw Kapa Haka in the business context and Kapa Haka in the Te Matatini context differently. He explained,

Now business is different, [but] that business is very similar also. Different in that we can make a living from it, Kapa Haka. But also it is the same in that we can perform and still be Māori and we can identify ourselves as Māori in this day, where everything has become modernized, and one-worlded, we still are able to identify as Māori. So we are a proud people who want to continue identifying with our Māoriness and our ancestors. But we need to also be a part of today, so we are now bicultural. We are Māori and we are also living in a modern world. So there is a place for both: identity and living.

For Piri, doing “business” using Kapa Haka comes naturally, because it is part of his tribe’s tradition to be involved with tourism.

And the reason why I chose tourism is because I live in Rotorua, tourism is strong here. And I wanted to put my brand of Māoridom by becoming as authentic as possible in the Māori tourism sector. These will be my main contributors to my inspiration, and why I do both: culture and business.

Both Ngahuia Te Awekotuku’s (1981) and Margaret Werry’s (2011) research reveal that Rotorua has been a place where Māori culture and the New Zealand government’s tourism policy intermingled in a complex way. After visiting the tourist venue run by Piri’s family, I understood that they considered a lot of teaching aspects of Māori culture at the venue because educational and entertainment aspects were well-balanced.

At the venue each tour group had a tour guide assigned to them, and the tour itself was a three-hour educational session into te Ao Māori (the Māori world), including a cultural show and a nice hāngī dinner. The guide would make jokes, and connect with many people from all over the world by greeting them in more than fifteen languages, and he would explain many aspects of Māori culture to the visitors. The Kapa Haka presentation was one of the major attractions, although it was more focused on entertainment than on artistic sophistication.

I asked Piri if he considered himself a teacher in the tourism industry, and if that was the case what did he value in his teaching. He said,

Yes, I do consider myself a teacher. When the tourists come here, only for a short time, it creates and gives them understanding. So when they
walk among the Māori people they understand, they don’t feel threatened and they see the commonality, which is binding people together. So it’s good to know each other. I believe understanding creates commonality. And it becomes something that both people like. If we both like the same thing, then we must like each other. So it’s good for communication and good race relations to learn about other people.

I further asked Piri what his philosophy of presenting Kapa Haka at Te Matatini was. He said,

[For Te Matatini] I emphasise anything that evokes emotion, whether it [would] be high or low. I try to inspire [people] by those emotions that people would feel. Also [I] try to tell a story. Relating to the people who own the land. To wherever we perform we stand. We talk about and honour the people of the land we are visiting. That’s how Māoridom is. That’s what I do.

We moved on to talk about the possible professionalisation of Kapa Haka. I asked Piri about his experience of the joint production with the Royal New Zealand Ballet, especially what he learned from the experience. His answer was,

The experience was wonderful. It was a joining of two cultures. New Zealand cultures on stage, it showed a united front. It also binded us, gave us a respect for ballet. It also gave them a respect for the Māori culture. They were both entertaining, they both told a story. And they both educated people. So it was very successful and it was one of the most enjoyable things I have ever participated in, in my culture.

When I asked Piri, if he thought Kapa Haka was undervalued and therefore underfunded in Aotearoa New Zealand, he responded by saying that he believes that Kapa Haka is “grossly misunderstood and underfunded”, and “there needs to be more provision for more money given to Māori.” He continued,

We have only had money for the last ten years or fifteen years. Our forum has been in existence over forty years … there is a need for funding for such a big thing … you have got over 40 different tribes that come to the main competition. We have thousands of people involved who fund their own activity in order to participate in the culture that they love. So the Government needs to recognise it and come to us with more assistance. They are giving us $1.2M, when you consider $8M to the ballet, we are just being given peanuts.

I wanted to clarify with Piri if in the event that any professionalisation might occur in the world of Kapa Haka, he might be able to imagine the creation of a national Kapa Haka company. He said that was not the case. He was more interested in using the current structure of Te Matatini to elect a national representative who holds the title over two years. He said,
We just have to stay with what we already have. We just need more funding. At the moment this works for us that we have the competition. And the winning group is able to go away. That winning group is representing any one of the tribes in New Zealand. So I think what we are doing now … works for us. That makes it worthwhile doing.

Piri made it clear that he was not supportive of the idea of having one fixed, permanent, national company. He thought that Māori performing arts groups need not imitate a system of Pākehā performing arts groups. He said,

No, not a national company. We are just a national representative, and that is what is happening now. And I think just keep it the way it is. We don’t have to have one company like the Royal New Zealand Ballet. What we are doing is fine. We have a winner … takes all the profit. It only comes in the form of an overseas tour. Only comes with four of these tours. That’s how we [would] do it.

9.5. Implementing their Mission Statement: A Producer at Māori Television

Ata has been a veteran broadcaster and a popular newscaster, in a mainstream television network, and she recently moved to Māori Television as a producer. I wanted to include a producer from public television to discuss educational roles of Kapa Haka.

I met Ata at a party during Te Matatini o te Rā in Gisborne. A few months later, she invited me to her office at Māori Television and gave me an hour to have a discussion on Kapa Haka related issues. We mainly talked about her thoughts about creating Kapa Haka-related television programmes in relation to the mission of Māori Television. She said,

Our [Māori Television's] mission statement is to provide significant revitalisation of Māori language and tikanga. And without a doubt, when you look at Kapa Haka, it fulfills that brief in every way. Kapa Haka encapsulates both tikanga and the reo. So it’s perfectly designed to be something that should be broadcast on Māori Television.

She added that “one of the directions Māori Television is now moving toward, is the need to, to be conscious of protecting, not only the language, but the dialects that exist in different iwi groups.” In order to achieve this mission, she explained, “Kapa Haka again provides an important link back into iwi dialect, iwi tikanga, and style. So all of those aspects are beautifully expressed through Kapa Haka.”

Although Ata’s mother was Māori, she passed away when she was very young and Ata did not grow up with Māori culture. When she was offered a producer position at Māori Television, she was determined to educate herself about Māori
culture. To do so, Ata joined a Kapa Haka group, Porou Ariki, one of the active Kapa Haka groups in Auckland whose members were connected to Ngāti Porou, her mother’s tribe, one of the biggest East Coast tribes. She told me it was an extraordinary experience to participate in the Kapa Haka practice, which we both were excited to talk about.

She said to me politely, “I represent a lot of, sort of, mainstream urban Māori, who don’t understand what Kapa Haka means”, yet her enthusiasm to learn Kapa Haka and her identity and skill as an experienced journalist allowed her to look keenly at the culture of Kapa Haka in unique ways.

One of the perspectives she gained about Kapa Haka after working closely with the regional and national competitions was that Kapa Haka had much to do with the concept of community; it represented local, regional, tribal and provincial characteristics, which constantly demanded better understanding and compromise from the national level arguments and perspectives. She looked at this tendency partially as an issue of political power. She said,

> When we were negotiating with Te Matatini, it became clear how difficult it is to bring together everybody, under a single umbrella. Because unlike so many other activities, Kapa Haka is, as you know, run through a regional, or provincial level. And they have a great deal of strength. So rather than it being a single body, that operates overall and it trickles down in terms of power, rather the power has to push up. And that makes it a very unusual kind of activity, compared to anything else that is done, anywhere in the world I think.

Ata noted how difficult it was for Te Matatini staff to negotiate deals with each Kapa Haka group, yet she also found it fascinating how each Kapa Haka group operated differently. She recognised that the degree of colonisation had much to do with the cause of difference and inequality among the Kapa Haka groups.

Ata informed me that Māori Television has been created “as a result of a Waitangi Tribunal settlement”. In 1987, the case to protect Māori language was taken to the Privy Council by a number of prominent Māori, and they won the case. As a result of that, she said, “Māori language was enshrined and protected under legislation”, and “one of the outcomes was to establish an indigenous broadcaster.”

Māori Television, at least to me, looked very successful as a public broadcaster. One of its missions was to tackle the issues that mattered to Māori people. It seemed key staff at Māori Television like Ata were able to see the complexity of
tribal politics, as well as Māori-Pākehā relations, and also the agendas concerning national and international level politics.

Ata was also able to take issues positively, transform her difficulties into learning experiences and go forward. Part of the legal obligations for Māori Television to gain rights to broadcast Te Matatini was to videotape all the regional competitions prior to the national competitions, which had been a "massive" commitment for the network. Yet it was an opportunity to work closely with Te Matatini, as well as with the regional Kapa Haka groups.

She told me there was a joint discussion between Māori Television and the Te Matatini committee that in order for Te Matatini to attract more television viewers, they might have to consider adding subtitles in English. She said,

They had a deep desire to, find a way to broadcast Te Matatini in a way that would be more inclusive, and try and capture a wider, non-reo speaking audience. Also they see Kapa Haka on the same footing as opera. They believe that it should be celebrated as an artistic form with the same kind of energy and backing, really.

Both the staff at Te Matatini and Māori Television were not just concerned with raising the ratings, but they were interested in broadening the audience and deepening the broader audience’s understanding of Māori culture. I wanted to clarify if both the Te Matatini committee and Māori Television shared the view that Kapa Haka should be seen as a national performing art of Aotearoa New Zealand, in addition to that of the Māori people. Her answer was,

Yes, they do. They do. I think that even though they are aware of all the issues surrounding, and challenges surrounding the iwi aspects of it, they see it [Kapa Haka] as being one of New Zealand’s not only taonga, but as a unique artistic expression.

We moved on to talk about the possibility of the creation of a national Kapa Haka company, or a company that represented the nation. Ata had similar ideas to Piri; Ata thought it would be good that every other year, the winning team from Te Matatini would represent the nation and tour both nationally and internationally, as professionals. Yet she also mentioned that it is important that people understood the cultural difference among iwi and diversity within Māoridom.

In terms of a national company, yes, maybe a two-year cycle…. It needs to be a change in the national competitions, in that once a company made, or a group, was the top company, or group, it would be a two-year reign, and that they got state support, and they travelled, and the potential for it to change from iwi to iwi.
Ata excitedly said, “I find mōteatea one of my favorite forms.” I said to her that I felt the same way. It was quite interesting that we both loved Kapa Haka and cared much about its future. This also made me ponder if we shared many perspectives because we were both producers and concerned about the future direction of Kapa Haka in the creative cultural sector in Aotearoa New Zealand.

9.6. Conclusion

The concept of whanaungatanga was supported by all the teachers who appeared in this chapter. Everyone was pushing Māori cultural boundaries in their own social settings, based on the strong belief that Kapa Haka teaches whanaungatanga, which can build a healthy and harmonious society to which they belonged. The message of whanaungatanga taught in Kapa Haka challenges any discriminatory views and teaches non-Māori people how to respect the presence of Māori culture. I thought every teacher who appeared in this chapter was contributing to fostering his or her democratic community in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Navy was possibly the most progressive mainstream governmental institution in a public space I visited, in terms of how Māori culture was respected and protected by a formal written “policy”. It was interesting to learn that the Navy’s constant dealings with the international public sphere might have influenced the decisions of the high-ranking officers to respect Māori culture in the Navy. However, concerns over budget cuts, downsizing, and possible elimination of Māori officers’ jobs and positions were mentioned. It was important to the people I spoke to that Kapa Haka has received significant international praise, and Māori culture has been presented as a unique and distinguished national culture of Aotearoa New Zealand to international guests.

Having been a leader of an artistically recognised Kapa Haka group, Mata thinks that Kapa Haka is an art form that is inclusive of tradition and creation. While she embraces the fact that there are Kapa Haka groups from rural areas whose purpose is reviving and sustaining their own iwi and hapū-based reo and tikanga, her own group’s mission is to interpret and express social issues that matter to most Māori people through the creation of Kapa Haka items on the Te Matatini stage. This reminds me that Kapa Haka has a solid role as an ‘art in public’ at least in Māoridom. I would like to argue that Te Matatini is looking for a public space where Kapa Haka could function as an important art in public in
the wider Aotearoa New Zealand society, and that is exactly what Māori Television and Rotorua based tourism venues have tried as well.

Both Piri and Ata seemed confident that the nation’s top Kapa Haka teams could attract larger international audiences than they do at present. Piri and Ata were concerned about the issues of limited funding for Kapa Haka. It reminded me of a role of public broadcasters, as well as its dilemma of being supported by a government reviewed in Chapter 2.

Ata observed how Kapa Haka has a “great deal of strength” on “a regional, or provincial level”. She said that in Kapa Haka, “the power pushes up”. At least in the culture of competitive Kapa Haka, this power seems to come from a local democratic community, where each person, family, subtribe and tribe matter more than the whole of Māoridom. This does not mean that the whole nation matters little. It means that each person is valued and cared for, therefore the democratic decision making processes are slower yet more respectful. Here too, it is Kapa Haka, which is educating everyone involved in this art about whanaungatanga and democratic community.
Chapter 10. Conclusions

“I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live for. But my Lord, if it need to be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die” (Nelson Mandela, 1964).

10.1. Introduction

My encounter with Kapa Haka through Dr. Wehi and many other kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka has been exciting, informative and moving. I decided I wanted to convey this powerful experience to others and tell in detail the story of how Kapa Haka pulled me, a cultural outsider, right into the middle of Te Ao Māori, and how I felt that Te Ao Māori is uneasily situated within the modern nationhood of Aotearoa New Zealand. These experiences led me to tell my stories by selecting an autoethnographic method.

These experiences also taught me much about Kapa Haka itself. Indeed Kapa Haka is “many things at once” (Pettersen, 2007, p.i), and Kapa Haka deserves closer examination in diverse academic disciplines, because it has a “web of cultural meanings” (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004, p.139). Encountering Kapa Haka and kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka transformed and enriched the way I perceive performing arts and arts education in public spaces. It assured me that performing arts taught by knowledgeable and committed teachers can be an educational vehicle to foster a great community. It also assured me that sharing emotions and learning performing items with others can create intimate human connectedness. These deliberations led me to consider the purposes of teaching Kapa Haka in relation to the idea of creating a democratic community.

The choice of autoethnography enabled me to use various identities within myself: a theatrical producer who is interested in promoting cross-cultural understanding and who wants to foster a harmonious society that embraces cultural diversity; a critical and creative artist interested in making educational projects to promote “education for democracy” in public spaces in and against the global trend of “education for profit” (Nussbaum, 2010); a Japanese person who wants to be a “decent” (Oe, 2008) “cosmopolitan” (Nicholson, 2011) with
hope and desire to change the world for the ‘better’, rather than making it materialistically ‘richer’.

Also as a novice scholar and educator, I wanted to follow the steps of my teachers, for whom I have enormous respect: Maxine Greene (1995), a distinguished philosopher and extraordinary professor in aesthetics and education who always made efforts to be “humane, decent and just” (p.1), and who believed that the aim of education was in “releasing the imagination” (p.1) of the generation around and after us; Dr. Ngāpō Wehi, who some people call “god of Kapa Haka”, and whose unconditional love and respect for his students combined with his artistic ability and passion for Kapa Haka inspired those who came close to him.

As explained in the article on my research methodology (Sakamoto, 2011), I would like to believe that this research has been the result of collaborative efforts made by kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka and me, and the people who understand and appreciate Kapa Haka. I would also like to acknowledge the emerging research community that consists of Māori and non-Māori researchers who are collaboratively cultivating new knowledge in today’s Aotearoa New Zealand (Jones, 2012). Hopefully this type of research informs and inspires educators, arts and cultural policy makers, and people involved with indigenous cultures, in wanting to make the world a better place.

In this chapter, I thematically summarise my experience of learning (and teaching) Kapa Haka under Dr. Wehi and my discussions with kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka about their philosophy of teaching Kapa Haka, and relate it to the various academic arguments reviewed in chapter 2.

10.2. My Published Article on Findings and Professionalisation of Kapa Haka

I had the opportunity to speak about my research findings at the Indigenous Development Conference 2012 hosted by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (New Zealand's Indigenous Centre of Research Excellence). The conference was held at the University of Auckland, and the conference proceedings were published online in December 2012, which included my article based on my presentation at the conference (Sakamoto, 2012). The article summarises the philosophy of teaching Kapa Haka based on the accounts of the kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka I met. At the time, I used the word “kaiako” to refer to the “teachers”. After Dr. Joseph Te Rito, my Māori supervisor, pointed out that the word “kaiwhakaako” would be more accurate and proper for an academic thesis, I
started using the word “kaiwhakaako” instead of “kaiako”. The methodology I presented in the paper was based on my ideas before shifting to autoethnography.

10.3. Decolonising Bicultural Myths in Aotearoa New Zealand: Two Rationales for Teaching Kapa Haka in the Public Sphere

After learning much about Kapa Haka and having spent time with both Māori and non-Māori people, I argue that two primary purposes of teaching Kapa Haka in Aotearoa New Zealand today exist, both of which function as acts of decolonisation and democratisation.

The first purpose of teaching Kapa Haka is to retain, sustain, preserve and revive te reo and tikanga Māori. In Māoridom, as Ira said, Kapa Haka exists primarily as a successful educational vehicle for “culturally dispossessed” Māori people to regain and retain their language, cultural knowledge, cultural protocols and cultural identities (Fraser, 2007; Whitinui, 2008).

In addition, the culture of competitive Kapa Haka provides the people in Māoridom with “the public sphere” (Habermas, 1991); it is a place for diverse Māori people to unite and celebrate their “oneness” as well as their diversity (Te Matatini Society, 2013), and it is a space where freedom is achieved, equality is felt, and social harmony is celebrated. Thus in Māoridom, Kapa Haka is taught as an act of decolonisation and democratization. It is an act of exercising cultural freedom and indigenous rights as defined by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN, 2008).

The second purpose for teaching Kapa Haka is a different act of decolonisation and democratisation, which takes place in the mainstream public spaces: schools, the Navy, a cultural festival in Auckland and other places. Teaching Kapa Haka is an educational act, which aims to decolonise the minds of both non-Māori and Māori people. Many kaiwhakaako Kapa Haka teach non-Māori people using Kapa Haka as an educational vehicle to eliminate fear towards Māori, to give students the experience that “Māori culture is fun”, and to deepen understandings of Māori culture in order to cultivate commonality. The students of Kapa Haka gradually enter the world of Māori and gain the ability to see the world from Māori cultural perspectives. Here Kapa Haka possibly serves as the most comprehensive, non-threatening, holistic, educationally effective means for non-Māori people to become familiar with Māori culture.
There is agreement among the teachers I interviewed that Māori people and their culture have been misunderstood, oppressed, discriminated, “othered”, undervalued and disrespected. By teaching Kapa Haka, they would like to change these negative perspectives towards Māori people and culture. The teachers also reported an obvious lack of adequate support for their teaching and for general professional infrastructure.

10.4. Kapa Haka and Transformation of Artistic Expression

Having te reo Māori as the medium of expression, Kapa Haka performing items have been constantly transformed creatively by incorporating mainly musical elements from other cultures. Māori people positively adopted and amalgamated traditions from “two worlds” (Salmond, 2009) and beyond. Because they were active agents in this process they successfully protected the essence and spirit of mātauranga Māori (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004).

In spite of the negative forces of racism and colonisation, in the last 40 years or so the social resistance and decolonisation movement among Māori people (Walker, 2004; Salmond, 2009) caused Kapa Haka to become artistically powerful, sophisticated, and educationally effective. Kapa Haka has become a creative medium where people present new visions to the community. Competitive Kapa Haka as an art form enables people to experiment in a more culturally hybrid direction and brings more cultural diversity to the community (Smith, 2003; Kāretu, 1993; Haami, 2012).

Charles Royal (2012) explains that creativity has been part of the Māori culture in response to the harsh social environment of colonisation. Royal (2012) states,

Our communities have been always creative and in a variety of ways. However, much of our creativity was borne of crisis, of trauma, of the experience of difficulty and problem. That is to say, our creativity has come from the quest for social justice and the desire for cultural revitalisation. The chief problem, however, with these themes is that they are motivated by a problem or a difficulty. Something wrong has happened in the world and we are responding to it. (p.6)

Creativity seen in Kapa Haka has indeed much to do with collective and emotional responses to the difficult social and cultural conditions of Māoridom in Aotearoa New Zealand for over a century.

In chapter 9 I discussed that in the tourism industry there was a constant “dance” (Werry, 2011) between Māori and the Crown. It was a dance of power politics and it also concerned economic dealings such as who benefits from the Māori
culture (Te Awekotuku, 1981; Werry, 2011). Werry (2011) analysed how the tourism industry had pushed Kapa Haka into a culturally marginalised category, which she calls a “border art”. Throughout the colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori culture has been looked down upon by the people in the mainstream culture (Smith, 1999; Walker, 2004; Binney, 2010). However the same people in the mainstream culture would take it for granted that Māori culture should be showcased to foreign visitors, and that this performance represented the country. And yet, I would argue that with the rise of Te Matatini, a competitive style of Kapa Haka has stepped out of this “border art” at least within Māoridom, and its “creative potential” (Royal, 2012) has gone beyond the level of just responding to the “trauma” of colonisation.

My encounter with Kapa Haka has been a process of deepening my understanding of diverse aspects of decolonisation, democratic processes and socio-cultural conditions within today’s Aotearoa New Zealand. As Margaret Werry (2011) explains, the country might be at a historic turning point:

On the one hand, we are entering an era of putative postracialism, which declares race both empirically defunct and disqualified as a locus of critique, dissent, or agitation for redistributive justice. On the other hand, we are seeing the reinvention of indigeneity as a new governmental technology capable, like race, of articulating belonging and of sustaining pleas for justice and remediation (if not redistribution) on a global basis. Unlike race, indigeneity is also oriented to the production and management of new market value from previously marginal cultures. (p.xxi)

While Kapa Haka still expresses chronicles of resistance towards cultural invasion, another aspect of Kapa Haka celebrates strong and independent Māori culture (Kaiwai & Zemke-White, 2004; Kaiwai, 2003; Smith, 2003). As long as issues of social injustice remain (Bargh, 2007; Mikaere, 2011), many Kapa Haka teachers will keep on promoting cross-cultural understanding of Māori culture through Kapa Haka. In this context, many kaiwhakaako already take it for granted that Kapa Haka is an equally valuable art as the arts of colonisers. It might be just that Kapa Haka has been in search of a proper home, or an infrastructure, in the wider public spaces beyond Māoridom.

10.5. Cultural Identity and Imagined Community

From a cultural outsider’s point of view, Kapa Haka exists almost everywhere in Aotearoa New Zealand. Kapa Haka is taught in diverse social contexts today, whether it is a primary school team preparing for a competition, a regional winner team rehearsing for Te Matatini, local people preparing for a particular
hui in a particular marae, senior citizens practising for local festivals, or
international students at university classrooms.

Every place where Kapa Haka teaching takes place, Kapa Haka is considered
precious and of great importance, while at the same time, the surrounding
social environment might remain largely ignorant and indifferent, if not hateful,
towards Māori culture. Naturally, the act of teaching Kapa Haka creates
tensions, because knowledge and power have strugglesome relationships
(Foucault, 1972; Freire, 2001). Yet at the same time, both domestically and
internationally, Māori culture, represented by Kapa Haka, is rapidly gaining
more acceptance and popularity (Fraser, 2009; Whitinui, 2008; Haami, 2012).
This is probably because more and more people recognise the importance of
protecting and nurturing local cultural heritage and its creative potential.

Nicholson (2011) states that “all forms of theatre education – however
construed – symbolize new ways of thinking about education, childhood and
subjectivity, and it has been consistently associated with providing children an
aesthetic space that is socially liberating” (p.81). Yet for the socially liberating
experience to occur, Nicholson (2011) thinks, local identities may play an
important role:

Stuart C. Aitken argues that the contemporary crisis for young people is
not primarily sociological or psychological but spatial and temporal. He
makes the case that Western constructions of childhood have been
globalized, and argues that the moral geographies of childhood need to
take greater account of their spatiality and locality if they are to recognize
where children’s identities are situated, and how they relate to
contemporary structures of cultural and social power… (pp. 83 - 84)

This highlights the positive aspects of teaching Kapa Haka in Aotearoa New
Zealand, such as inspiring the students to imagine a democratic community
based on the local culture.

Māori, Pākehā, as well as new immigrants, have experienced dislocation
through migration. Māori youth whose families have migrated to big cities often
lose their connections to their ancestral land and to their indigenous community.
It is also common for Pākehā people to identify themselves with a seemingly
global, homogenised culture, bypassing the culture of the land where they have
lived for generations. Kapa Haka teachers argue both Māori and non-Māori
benefit from Kapa Haka, because it teaches the importance of cultural heritage
and identity. The teachers see that many Pākehā people nostalgically stick to
traditional European cultures, avoiding acculturation opportunities to gain local
indigenous knowledge, not because of hate, but possibly because of their fear
of unknown. Following Aitken’s argument above, the lack of spatiality and locality could be an issue.

What interests me is how Kapa Haka, as a local cultural practice, can help repatriating Māori to Māori culture and can equally help the children of immigrants to gain their sense of connection to the new country. Kapa Haka can teach both urban Māori students and those newcomers an understanding of whakapapa and respect for their own cultural roots. At the same time, the migrant students learn to accept that there is an indigenous culture in Aotearoa New Zealand which they should respect and adopt as partly their own.

Learning Kapa Haka may promote lively discussions about the directions of an imagined democratic community in the public sphere in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Māori concept of whānau (extended family) being similar to the meaning of “...an extended community of friends and family...offer[ing] a safe and emotionally fulfilling space in which social identities can be fostered” (Nicholson, 2011, p.113) gives a hint that an imagined community and a democratic community may have found an overlapping space in the educational acts of Kapa Haka. Nicholson (2011) explains that “narratives of community become physically imprinted on the body, as an imaginative, ethical and optimistic process of ‘becoming’” (p.106).

10.6. Relationship between Māori Culture and Aotearoa New Zealand as a Nation

Margaret Werry (2011) observes how Māori culture has been politically manipulated and abused by the New Zealand government throughout the colonial history, especially when the culture was meant to have represented the nation. Werry writes,

I engage with Māori tourism policy makers, entrepreneurs, and workers at the front line of the neoliberal culturescape. Whereas policy presents the cultivation of identity as national panacea – a glue that might repair the social fractures of neoliberal reform and biculturalism, and a form of capital central to the new knowledge economy and its global brand – these individuals’ struggles register the discontinuities, contradictions, and lags of bicultural neoliberalism’s heroic vision. New, intimate genres of tourism performance promise development opportunities to economically sidelined hapū, while sidestepping tourism’s painful histories of appropriation and racial derogation. (pp. xxxvii - xxxviii)

Her analysis highlights that unless Māori culture captures a solid position as a precious taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage) in mainstream public spaces, and
unless genuine respect for Māori culture develops in Aotearoa New Zealand, colonial history may continue repeating itself in the future.

I witnessed many situations where Kapa Haka teaching has gained equality and respect. It is important to articulate why those cases should be considered educationally meaningful. As I pointed out above the Royal New Zealand Navy operates under their “bicultural policy”, where Māori culture is considered an important partner. Therefore the culture is respected and protected, and exercised in a meaningful way within the Navy culture. I further pointed out that Māori Television was established in order for the indigenous language to be preserved, and that the channel is constantly trying to educate the public and is working hard to accomplish a public broadcaster’s mission. Furthermore, I described my encounters with many Kapa Haka teachers in mainstream schools, who proliferate a philosophy of whaungatanga. Also I highlighted that these days the Tempo Dance Festival in Auckland starts with pōwhiri to open the festival, which is embraced by the general dance audience.

Kapa Haka teaching is part of the gradual, grass-roots social movements of decolonisation and democratisation, and the expansion of the public sphere for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Thus I would argue that Kapa Haka teaching is gradually contributing to the making of a more democratic community in Aotearoa New Zealand.

More and more people seem to be appreciating Kapa Haka but I would like to suggest that it requires an extra push on a political level. The New Zealand government, even though it generally supports neoliberal educational discourse and “education for profit” (Nussbaum, 2010), has progressed in the right direction. On 20th April 2010 the New Zealand government belatedly expressed its support for the UN declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In the Announcement of New Zealand’s support for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Sharples, 2010) it reads,

Māori hold a distinct and special status as the indigenous people, or tangata whenua, of New Zealand. Indigenous rights and indigenous culture are of profound importance to New Zealand and fundamental to our identity as a nation. A unique feature of our constitutional arrangements is the Treaty of Waitangi, signed by representatives of the Crown and Māori in 1840. It is a founding document of New Zealand and marks the beginning of our rich cultural heritage. The Treaty establishes a foundation of partnership, mutual respect, co-operation and good faith between Māori and the Crown. It holds great importance in our laws, our constitutional arrangements and the work of successive governments.
There is an urgent need for the Crown to put the vision of this statement into practice. It is important that Māori language and culture are treated with respect in the public space. Positive steps taken for Māori culture, I believe, could be that Kapa Haka finds a proper place and presence in the performing arts industry and, I argue, it must be in the nonprofit sector, as a precious, national, cultural treasure, and with the mission of educating for democracy in mind.

In order for that to happen, the New Zealand government would need to ask Māoridom how they would like to achieve such a goal. It is important that people in Aotearoa New Zealand recognise the educational contributions of Kapa Haka by closely examining what exactly Kapa Haka could teach and accomplish, and then properly (re)place, financially support and (re)create where Kapa Haka’s educational and professional activities occur more easily in diverse social contexts.

10.7. Whānau as an Educational Model of a Democratic Community

In this section, I discuss teaching Kapa Haka from the angle of pursuing “education for democracy” (Nussbaum. 2010).

When I asked the teachers, “What do you want the students to learn through Kapa Haka?” many spoke of the importance that their students learn about whanaungatanga. As mentioned above in Kapa Haka’s educational activities holistic learning of whanaungatanga is everywhere: in the aims, in the curriculum and in the pedagogy. Kapa Haka offers its students extraordinary experiences in connecting with others, and becoming like a family.

What does “whānau”, or making of whānau, exactly mean? The direct English translation of “whānau” is “an extended family”. For Māori people, whānau is of great importance: as Mata said during the interview, whānau is “the foundation of our society”. Whānau, the way I experienced it, is an extended family with or without blood kinship. When you are with your whānau, people know you, you know them, they care about you and you care about them. They may interfere with your privacy, you may interfere in someone’s private matters, too, because they are very close to you.

The members of a whānau would tell you things honestly, they would engage you in heated debates on common issues. When one is with one’s whānau, one feels trusted, respected, loved, and cared for. One can fight, argue, exchange thoughts with other members and one still can be friends with them and stay
like a family despite the differences of opinions. Within the whānau, the members are equal, even if they are different.

I have argued that there is a conceptual similarity between “whānau” and “a democratic community”, an idea that is presented by many of the progressive educational philosophers worldwide. Dewey (1961) thinks “a democratic community” is “a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience” (p.87); Greene (1995) emphasises “interconnectedness and communion” (p.34); it is a community where Socrates’ notion of “a genuine dialogue” takes place (Nussbaum, 2011, p.19). “Whānau” reminds us of Arendt’s description of “protected public spaces” (Balas, 2003, p.14).

When students are part of the whānau that learns Kapa Haka together, there is a learning atmosphere in which “bodies, emotions, place, time, sound image, self-experience, history” (Ellsworth, 2005, p.55) intersect. Kapa Haka creates a safe learning environment where Māori culture is not “invaded” (Freire, 2001). When the social (interpersonal), local (geo-cultural) and holistic (phenomenological) learning take place simultaneously, there can be an educationally powerful result.

Nicholson (2011) states that “Dewey recognized that working together artistically can create a democratic space for learning” (p.41), because “experience of the arts, whether as audience or artists, would unite thought, feeling and action” (p.43). In a similar vein Nussbaum (2010) states that in Tagore’s view, “The arts … promote both inner self-cultivation and responsiveness to others. The two typically develop in tandem, since one can hardly cherish in another what one has not explored in oneself” (p.104). Nicholson (2011) argues that for Dewey, “education is an instrument of social change, and the relational aesthetic of his experiential learning defined a social role for the arts, in which learning by doing was expected to encourage cooperation, shared understanding and public spiritedness” (p.43). Kapa Haka fulfils all the aspects of arts education stated above.

In chapter 4, I discussed how in Stage One Kapa Haka I learned of the Māori culture’s important emphasis on overcoming “otherness”, which is the first step towards whanaungatanga. In pōwhiri, the Māori ritual of encounter, I saw a process of revealing relationships between the host and the guests through whakapapa, a genealogy, in order for the two parties to find the basis of their commonality. Learning waiata and practising performing items in a group
functions as a series of intense and emotional processes for the students to go through the sharing of emotions with others.

This holistic learning method that engages both physically and mentally helps the students to overcome their shyness. Performing Kapa Haka in a group develops one’s sense of connection with others, while still validating “individuals”. One is important even if one performs in the second row. One becomes aware of the surrounding environments: Who is missing, who feels sick, who needs support, what one must do to help others. In addition, the students learn to serve others selflessly even during the break, and their acts are appreciated and valued. Each person is responsible for the group, for the guests (manaakitanga), and the group is responsible for the individuals who come near the group.

While the “education for profit” (Nussbaum, 2010, p.13) paradigm often has a stronger emphasis on how each individual excels academically, Kapa Haka recognises each individual in his/her social context and encourages the students to learn together, grow together, and to be part of a supporting network. While neoliberal educational discourse emphasises the idea that one is responsible for one’s own life, Kapa Haka teaches students that people are not alone, people are supposed to help each other, and that it is “humane, decent and just” (Greene, 1995, p.1) to help your community. While an educational approach focused on globalisation teaches people to become financially “richer” (Nicholson, 2011), the Māori educational paradigm teaches students the importance of trust, respect, love and compassion, which can be seen in “cosmopolitanism” (Nicholson, 2011), an alternative paradigm to “globalisation” (Nicholson, 2011).

“Whānau” is a public space where the members exist in social harmony, and where they embrace social justice and social equality. Therefore, whānau is not just a community, but it is a democratic community. Kapa Haka offers to contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand the full benefits of arts education as described by Maxine Greene (1995):

> As I view them, the arts offer opportunities for perspectives, for perceiving alternative ways of transcending and of being in the world, for refusing the automatism that overwhelms choice. (p.142)

Ever since the first contact with the West Māori sought alternative paradigms to colonisation and imperialism, globalisation and neoliberal education. On many
levels Kapa Haka exists as an art that is “alternativist” (Levine, 2007) to the mainstream culture of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Teachers are all aware that Kapa Haka can teach many other educationally valuable areas beyond whanaungatanga. Applying Howard Gardner’s (1989) multiple intelligence theory, Kapa Haka also teaches musical ability, physical skills such as coordination, and facilitates spatial intelligence. Kapa Haka as part of mātauranga Māori teaches that people are part of nature, and nature should be considered one’s whānau. Charles Royal (2012) states,

A formal indigenous culture, in my view, is one that places specific and continuous emphasis on a kinship based, creative and dynamic participation with natural world environments, with specific geographies. The specificity and intensity of this relationship does not exist so as to merely advance claims for land and resources but rather to dwell in the fullness of the reality that this earth is truly our mother. (p. 2)

This paradigm, often expressed in Kapa Haka items, differ from ballet. For example, in ballet I observe an artificially constructed beauty that is based on the Western philosophy of logic, reason and Enlightenment (e.g. Descartes), and on humanity’s quest to control nature. Ballet dancers jump high and lightly as if they can defy gravity. Kapa Haka takes the energy from the earth and encourages us to dance with the earth.

Today a human-centric paradigm is being questioned in many parts of the world, including in the West. We seriously need to protect our mother earth, and think about how we can live with her sustainably. There is a need to teach the next generation how to take care of the Earth as our partner, as our whānau. The Māori worldview, taught through Kapa Haka items, is capable of informing the students that nature is there for us to appreciate, to worship, to live together with. Kapa Haka teaches that nature is not there for us to consume, to control, and to waste. This could be one of the important educational messages that we should welcome from Kapa Haka along with other arts subjects in the mainstream society.

In a world of natural and other disasters (climate change, wars, pollution, expansion of economic income gaps) Kapa Haka’s messages are worth to be introduced to the world as an educational means to nurture the “citizens of the world” (Nussbaum, 2010, p.79) and “an egalitarian, creative and cosmopolitan vision” (Nicholson, 2011, p.168). Kapa Haka teaches compassion, “empathy” (Greene, 1995, p.3), “soul” (Nussbaum, 2010, p.6), seeing things from other people’s perspectives, and even from nature’s perspectives.
10.8. Kapa Haka in Public Spaces

Education is for people. Before we can design a scheme for education, we need to understand the problems we face on the way to making students responsible democratic citizens who might think and choose well about a wide range of issues of national and worldwide significance. What is it about human life that makes it so hard to sustain democratic institutions based on equal respect and the equal protection of the laws, and so easy to lapse into hierarchies of various types – or, even worse, projects of violent group animosity? What forces make powerful groups seek control and domination? What makes majorities try, so ubiquitously, to denigrate or stigmatize minorities? Whatever these forces are, it is ultimately against them that true education for responsible national and global citizenship must fight. And it must fight using whatever resources the human personality contains that help democracy prevail against hierarchy. (Nussbaum, 2010, pp. 28 - 29)

Nussbaum’s (2010) questions touch upon the social issues we face today in Aotearoa New Zealand and in many parts of the world: on-going social injustices concerning the conditions of indigenous peoples and their cultures in relation to the dominant, mainstream culture; on-going exploitations of natural resources under the name of business, economy and development; a lack of “education for democracy” to nurture more civil and nobler citizens and cosmopolitans, while “education for profit” seems to proliferate and accelerate.

If Aotearoa New Zealand were a truly bicultural nation, there would be more bilingual non-Māori people who speak te reo Māori and English. If Aotearoa New Zealand were truly celebrating biculturalism, there would be more Pākehā people studying Kapa Haka with me at the university. Similar to the “100% Pure New Zealand” campaign, the superficiality of biculturalism reflects the country’s shallow treatment of environmental issues and of Māori culture, and shows a lack of efforts to foster a deeper democracy.

As a theatrical producer, I see the social injustices even more clearly in the performing arts industry. I should have been able to attend several Kapa Haka concerts in a year in the mainstream theatrical venues in Auckland’s central business districts, yet there were so few such opportunities available in the last five years. When my dancer friends from New York visited Auckland, they asked me where they could watch high quality performances by indigenous performing arts groups. I knew they were neither interested in dinner shows in Rotorua nor a museum presentation for the tourists. They wanted to see the kind of performances offered at Te Matatini.
Aotearoa New Zealand needs several Māori performing arts companies performing regularly for the domestic audience, receiving a few million dollars each per year from the government, just as the ballet company, opera and symphony orchestra do. Top Kapa Haka groups at Te Matatini are artistically extraordinary and socially meaningful. Yet Te Matatini, with 40 of the nation’s selected companies altogether, receive only NZ $1.2 million every other year. Compared to the NZ $4 million the Royal New Zealand Ballet receives from the government, it is indeed “peanuts”. The ballet company’s annual budget is $8 million (additional $4 from other sources), and yet the company seems to produce ballets that have very little to do with the issues that matter to the public in Aotearoa New Zealand (Royal New Zealand Ballet Annual Report, 2008).

The more I studied Kapa Haka, the more I came to see the racism in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, I also saw and heard many positive and progressive episodes happening throughout my encounter with Kapa Haka. How do Māori people achieve equality in public spaces? How can their culture, language and the way of life gain more respect in their own country? Who needs to be educated in this regard, and with what kind of educational design and scale? What do Māori people want and what can they do about it? Where to start? One of the reasons that I decided to voice my criticism of Aotearoa New Zealand is because I believe there is a much more realistic possibility to improve Aotearoa New Zealand society than Japan or the United States.

The first step is to accept, approve and recognise the legitimacy of Kapa Haka as precious, unique, local and national knowledge, and to acknowledge what Kapa Haka can offer educationally. The second step is to articulate some of the particular educational benefits of Kapa Haka and apply them artfully in diverse social settings where they effectively contribute to decolonising and to fostering a nobler and deeper democratic community.

Establishing a nationally funded professional Kapa Haka company in the mainstream performing arts industry as an educational entity, both to preserve and revive Māori culture, and to educate the non-Māori public would be a valuable move, with domestic and international benefits. Additionally, introducing Kapa Haka, which incorporates basic te reo and tikanga Māori, as a compulsory academic subject in both the mainstream and Māori school classrooms, would be a notable start. Some may argue that this is already happening, but my research and experience shows that much more could be done. These two suggestions could take place simultaneously and if this were
to happen, the effect would be tremendous. This would require positive and healthy collaboration between Māori and non-Māori people to be effective.

In a way, since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the major issue in Aotearoa New Zealand has been that Pākehā and Māori do not always collaborate well. We must learn from the past. The process of Kapa Haka transforming into a national taonga in the public sphere of Aotearoa New Zealand, I would imagine, is no easy path for both Māori and non-Māori. Some people may not understand why Tūhoe people do not want to share their taonga with others. Yet as Jones (2012) argues, difficult collaboration is the point of having democracy. What is important is to bring everyone, including Tūhoe people, into the argument and to listen to their opinions with respect, empathy and understanding.

There are reasons to be confident because many Māori and non-Māori people are already working together, are in deep communication with each other (Jones, 2012), and have created a democratic public space, “the third space” (Greenwood & Wilson, 2006, p.11). This is one positive historical and cultural aspect of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Alison Jones (2012), a leading scholar in educational research who has worked intensively with Māori scholars, argues that Māori and Pākehā should look beyond “politics of disappointment” (p.109), and should keep communicating in the “spirit of whanaungatanga” (p.109). Jones (2012) discusses kaupapa Māori, the research methodology developed by Māori scholars which I applied in this study, as follows:

My view is that it is in the struggle, discomfort and energy of positive encounter between us that new ideas can emerge – and these do not necessarily need to be called kaupapa Māori. But as kaupapa Māori in its modern academic incarnation moves into its third decade, new ideas and critiques developed in the spirit of whanaungatanga — that is, ethically, with care and respect for others --- (along with a consciousness of how power works in everyday interactions) are surely to be welcomed and debated. (p.109)

Should the central government support Kapa Haka so that the public can enjoy it for their own education? I am particularly concerned that because of Māori culture’s success in the tourism industry for over a century, the public, both Māori and non-Māori, may believe that Māori culture, especially Kapa Haka, already has found its ‘proper’ place in the country. The challenge is to set a clear, different goal to recognise Kapa Haka not as a for-profit entertainment, but as a not-for-profit national taonga. It means to understand that Kapa Haka’s
educational meanings exist in fostering a nobler democratic community in the mainstream public sphere.

It would be wonderful to see excellent Kapa Haka artists performing in the mainstream performing arts industry and in the nonprofit arts sector, without compromising Kapa Haka’s artistic excellence, its social voice and its traditional and current mātauranga Māori philosophy and language. In my view, Kapa Haka today is a picture-perfect “alternativist” (Levine, 2007, p.21) art, and also is an “art in public” (Zuidervaart, 2011, p.20) that enriches a democratic discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand. Its “creative potential” (Royal, 2012), I believe, exists in how it can facilitate deeper communication and collaboration between Māori and non-Māori people, and keep on cultivating “the third space” (Greenwood & Wilson, 2006).

Suggesting that Kapa Haka should be considered “art in public” does not imply that Kapa Haka should be purely educational, academic, serious and politically challenging. On the contrary, Kapa Haka is fun and entertaining. When reflecting on performing arts experiences, we often imagine and remember the moments of tears, joy, happiness, anger and laughter. As human beings we seek these emotions in the arts. In this regard, Kapa Haka is eternally human.

The arguments presented above concern the question of what the role of art is and should be in our democratic society today. When I think of this question I am drawn to the Māori concept of ‘mana’. Charles Royal (2012) states, “the ‘creative potential’ paradigm is a process for the renewal of the spirit of our people” (p.6). Royal (2012) further explains,

In the Māori setting, ‘creative potential’ are English language correlates for the Māori word ‘mana’, an active and dynamic spiritual presence and authority alive in the world. Creative potential seeks the renewal of the mana of our communities. Ultimately, however, it is important to note that one cannot finally lose one’s mana. Rather, what we lose is an understanding and experience of our mana. It is this that requires renewal. (p.6)

A suitable positioning of Kapa Haka as an educational entity to enhance a national democratic discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand could be and should be a national level collaboration project. To borrow an expression of Alison Jones (2012), this project could be “endlessly fascinating, pleasurable and rewarding” (p.109). I imagine such a project could be a progressive form of decolonisation and democratisation: it is an act of lifting the ‘mana’ of both Māori and non-Māori at the same time.
Aotearoa New Zealand, to me, is a nation where Māori and non-Māori have struggled and will keep on struggling to come together as a whānau. Many people are well aware of the history of struggle, and they are aware that their struggles can be a “rewarding” experience. Creating a national Kapa Haka company would be a rewarding project as such a company could become highly meaningful for the country. It would also serve as a unique way to fulfil and embody the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008), and another unique form of the “100% Pure” national public relations campaign. If such a national Kapa Haka company were to be created, it could become a greater pride and joy than Rugby for all New Zealanders.

Someday I would like to be back in Aotearoa New Zealand and watch a Kapa Haka performance by a professional, nationally funded company in a mainstream theatre. I am sure such a group would successfully create a production full of “dialogues and laughter that threaten monologues and rigidity” (Greene, 1995, p.43).
Appendix I: KHPI

In this section, I include most Kapa Haka Performance Items taught at 100, 200 and 300 levels.

My framework for the presentation of what I have termed Kapa Haka Performance Items (KHPI) is based upon the five different sections, ‘disciplines’ or genre that KH (Kapa Haka) teams from all over the country compete in at the national festival and competition, Te Matatini.

In terms of KHPI there are six, long-established sections or disciplines of competition that the groups perform in. The discreetly different sections are explained on Te Matatini’s website as follows (http://www.tematatini.co.nz/kapahaka/#about-kapahaka):

1. Whakaeke (Entrance to the stage)
   A choreographed entrance onto the performance area. Can be used to announce the arrival of the group; pay respects to the host or other groups performing, comment on a social issue of the day, or commemorate an individual or element of Māoridom.

2. Mōteatea (Traditional chant)
   Usually traditional chants or dirges, although contemporary compositions are growing. Mōteatea come in a variety of forms, including laments, lullabies and songs about revenge, anger and love.

3. Waiata-ā-Ringa (Action Song)
   Typically referred to as “action songs”, where arm and hand movements particularly the wiri (trembling of hands), the face, the eyes, and the body combine to bring form to the words being sung.

4. Poi (A dance in which women twirl small balls around)
   Involves the twirling of a ball or balls attached to a length of cord in rhythm to sung accompaniment. The poi originates from the pre-colonial practice of training with poi to improve agility in battle. Today poi is used to showcase the grace, beauty and allure of the women.

5. Haka (A posture dance featuring the men)
   The war dance or challenge - an aspect of Māori culture that has become a world renowned expression of New Zealand identity. Modern day haka are vocal performances, involving aggressive or challenging facial expressions, body movements and demeanour.

6. Whakawātea (Exit from the stage at the end)
   A choreographed exit off the performance area. Used to farewell the audience or make a final point before departing.

This classification system is not exclusive to Te Matatini, however. The system is also used for the national secondary schools’ KH competition; that of primary schools and other localised competitions; and even in festival or other non-competitive environments.

The KHPIs listed below with translations were selected for inclusion from the many KHPIs we were taught as part of the curriculum for the 100, 200 and 300 level Kapa Haka papers at The University of Auckland while I was a student in these classes.

I have grouped the KHPIs accordingly into three separate groups that follow on consecutively from one another i.e. 100, 200 and 300 levels.
KHPI1 (100): Ehara i te Mea

Explanation: The main theme that is espoused in this composition is that we should value the important things in life that have come from our ancestors; and that we should celebrate that our ancestors were guardians of our values, guardians of the land – and that all of these things have been safeguarded for us and passed down to us as the descendants of those leaders.
This is possibly the most widely sung song by Māori people today.
Composer: Unknown
Translation; Joseph S Te Rito
Discipline: Mōteatea Hou

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGĀ KUPU (The Lyrics)</th>
<th>WHAKAPĀKEHĀTANGA (Translation)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ehara i te mea</td>
<td>It is not that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō nāianei te aroha</td>
<td>Love is a thing of today only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō ngā tūpuna</td>
<td>It comes from the ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I tuku iho, i tuku iho.</td>
<td>Who passed it down over time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te whenua, te whenua</td>
<td>The land, the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hei oranga mō te iwi</td>
<td>Provides sustenance for the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō ngā tūpuna</td>
<td>It comes from the ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I tuku iho, i tuku iho.</td>
<td>Who passed it down over time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tūmanako, whakapono</td>
<td>There’s hope and faith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te mea nui ko te aroha</td>
<td>But the great thing is love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō ngā tūpuna</td>
<td>It comes from the ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I tuku iho, i tuku iho.</td>
<td>Who passed it down over time.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Explanation: This waiata-ā-ringa or action song was composed in the late 1960s. At that time it was fashionable to write Māori words to popular tunes in order to assist the youth of the day to grasp hold of their language. This is an action song of welcome and can be used for any occasion where you will be receiving visitors. The tune to this waiata is taken from a famous song of that time, *Five Minutes More*, originally recorded in 1946, and re-recorded by Frank Sinatra in 1961.

Composer: Wiremu Bill Kerekere  
Translation: Joseph S Te Rito  
Discipline: Waiata-ā-ringa

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGĀ KUPU (The Lyrics)</th>
<th>WHAKAPĀKEHĀTANGA (Translation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, haere mai</td>
<td>Greetings to you all, and welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papaki nui ngā ringa maha</td>
<td>The many hands applaud aloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiata pai te reo pōhiri</td>
<td>The voice of welcome resounds beautifully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te kapa haka ō Waipapa e</td>
<td>Of the Waipapa Māori performing arts group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tihe te karanga mihi ā ngā rangatahi nei</td>
<td>The voices of the youth call to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tū whakanui ki, te whakatau ki ngā iwi e</td>
<td>Standing to greet and receive the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō runga manuhiri, nō raro manuhiri, ngā taha (e) rua</td>
<td>The visitors are from north and south, and the two sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupu kupu (karanga), e te rōpū (maranga)</td>
<td>Lifting words (call), o’ group (arise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hei hā, hei hā, hei hāpaitanga te rau aroha</td>
<td>In order to uphold the plume of love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harinū ki te katoa</td>
<td>Shake hands to one and all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, haere mai (x2)</td>
<td>Greetings to you all, and welcome (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aue, ki taku hui. Hīkī taku hui, hi auē. Hi!</td>
<td>Alas, to my gathering. Hi!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ka Huri Au

Explanation: This poi is a poi pōwhiri, poi of welcome, to welcome people from near and far who are gathering for a special event. The performers extend their hospitality to one and all, bidding them welcome.

Composer: Wiremu Bill Kerekere
Translation: Joseph S Te Rito
Discipline: Poi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ka huri au (x2)</th>
<th>I turn (x2)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ka huri atu au pōwhiri ake ana rā ki ngā iwi</td>
<td>I turn and bid welcome to the visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kī te Kāhui Arika</td>
<td>To the Royal Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tū whakawhirinaki mai e ngā iwi</td>
<td>Lean forth in support o’ people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō Te Tai Rāwhiti, nō Te Tai Hauāuru</td>
<td>From the East Coast, from the West Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō Te Tai Tokerau, nō Te Waipounamu</td>
<td>From Northland, from the South Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E rere ake ana taku reo pōwhiri</td>
<td>My voice of welcome resounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Nau mai, nau mai rā’</td>
<td>‘Welcome, welcome’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te kupu nui tānei ā te aroha</td>
<td>The paramount word is love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi aue hi (Hi aue hi, hi aue hi, ha)</td>
<td>Hi aue hi (Hi aue hi, hi aue hi, ha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi auē ha (Hi auē ha, hi auē ha, hi)</td>
<td>Hi auē ha (Hi auē ha, hi auē ha, hi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia ora rā koutou katoa (x2)</td>
<td>Greetings to you all (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taku reo pōhiri, taku reo pōhiri</td>
<td>My voice of welcome, my voice of welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puritia kia mau,</td>
<td>Catch (poi) and hold,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi aue hi!</td>
<td>Hi aue hi!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KHPI4 (100): Ka Mate

Explanation: This haka is possibly the most popular and frequently performed piece in Aotearoa New Zealand. There is a book on its composer, Te Rauparaha, by Collins. In the book, Collins (2010) writes the background of the haka (p.24). In his book Timoti Kāretu (1993) states, “Many sports teams and individuals travelling from Aotearoa abroad tend to include Ka Mate in their repertoires as an indication of their place of origin. Perhaps the team that has given Ka Mate its greatest exposure abroad and in Aotearoa, has been the All Blacks, who perform it before every fixture. Their reception varies from country to country but it has become a distinctive feature of Aotearoa’s premier rugby team” (p.68).

Composer: Te Rauparaha
Iwi: Ngāti Toa
Discipline: Haka
Translation: Joseph S Te Rito

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGĀ KUPU (The Lyrics)</th>
<th>WHAKAPĀKEHĀTANGA (Translation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ka mate! Ka mate!</td>
<td>‘Tis death! ‘Tis death!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka ora! Ka ora!</td>
<td>‘Tis life! ‘Tis life!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka mate! Ka mate!</td>
<td>‘Tis death! ‘Tis death!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka ora! Ka ora!</td>
<td>‘Tis life! ‘Tis life!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēnei te tangata pūhuruhuru</td>
<td>This is the hairy man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nānā i tiki mai whakawhititērā</td>
<td>Who brought the sun and caused it to shine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ā, upane! Ka upane!</td>
<td>A step upward! Another step upward!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ā, upane, ka upane, whiti te rā!</td>
<td>A step upward, another, then the sun shines!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi!</td>
<td>Hi!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Khpi5 (200): Mōrikarika

Explanation: This song voices Te Kooti’s concerns about Treaty of Waitangi issues, land court dealings, maintaining a separate mana motuhake (special authority) amidst implementation of Pākehā law and the cursed building of street and roads through Māori lands. Te Kooti implores the people to rise up, to not let Māori mana die by the wayside, and to never sell land, and, more importantly, never sell out.

Discipline: Mōteatea

Texts from “Traditional Songs of the Māori” by McLean and Orbell (1975, p.38)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaore te pō nei mōrikarika noa!</th>
<th>Alas for this unhappy night!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te ohonga ki te ao, rapu kau noa ahau.</td>
<td>Waking to the world, I search about in vain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi,</td>
<td>The first mana is the Treaty of Waitangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kooti Whenua,</td>
<td>The second mana is the Land Court,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake</td>
<td>The third mana is the Separate Mana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka kiia i reira ko te Rohe Pōtē ae Tūhoe,</td>
<td>Hence Te Rohe Pootae of Tuhoe,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He rongo ka houhia ki a Ngāti Awa,</td>
<td>And peace made with Ngaati Awa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He kino anō rā ka āta kitea iho</td>
<td>It would indeed be an evil thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā mana Māori ka mahue kei muri</td>
<td>To abandon the mana of the Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka uru nei au ki te ture Kaunihera,</td>
<td>If I took part in the law of the Council,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E rua āku mahi e noho nei au:</td>
<td>Two things I would do:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko te hanga i ngā rōri, ko te hanga i ngā tiriti!</td>
<td>Building roads, and building streets!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūkohu tāri ki Pōneke rā,</td>
<td>Yonder the mist hangs over Wellington,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kī te kāinga rā i noho ai te Mīnita</td>
<td>The home of the Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kī taku whakaaro ka tae mai te poari</td>
<td>I think that the board will come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hai noho i te whenua e kōtiti nei;</td>
<td>To live in this land of Kootitia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pā rawa te mamae ki te tau o taku ate.</td>
<td>And pain strikes my heart-string,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E te iwi nui e ū tū ake ki runga rā,</td>
<td>All my people, rise up,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirohia mai rā te he o āku mahi!</td>
<td>See the evil of my deeds!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māku e kī atu, ‘Nōhia, nōhia!’</td>
<td>I say to you, ‘Remain, remain [on your</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō mua iho anō, nō ngā kaumātua!</td>
<td>land]!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nā taku ngākau i kimi ai ki te ture,</td>
<td>It is from former ages, from your ancestors!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō konei hoki au i kino ai ki te hoko!</td>
<td>Because my heart has searched out the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi! Hei aha te hoko e!</td>
<td>law,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For this reason I abhor selling!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hī! Don’t sell!
Explanation: “The first version of this was composed by Sir Apirana Ngata for the return of the Māori Battalion after WWII…second version, written in 1950, pays a beautiful tribute to Sir Apirana’s life-work” (NZ Folk Song website: http://folksong.org.nz/karangatia)

Discipline: Waiata-ā-ringa
Composer: Köhine Pōnika-Rangi
Translation: Joseph S Te Rito

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGĀ KUPU (Words)</th>
<th>WHAKAPÅKEHÅTÅNGÅ (Translation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karangatia rā (Hi auē hi!)</td>
<td>Call to them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karangatia rā (Hi auē hi!)</td>
<td>Call unto them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pōhīritia rā ngā iwi o te motu</td>
<td>Welcome the tribes of the land!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā mano tīni, haere mai</td>
<td>All the multitudes, welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He hui aroha mō koutou e ngā iwi</td>
<td>To this gathering of love for all of you people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E ngau nei te aroha me te mamae</td>
<td>Within us gnaws the love and the pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāhau rā e Api (Hī!)</td>
<td>‘Twas you Apirana Ngata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāhau rā e koro (Hī!)</td>
<td>‘Twas you o’ elder one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wero ki taku uma</td>
<td>Who, within my breast,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titi rawa i te manawa</td>
<td>laid the challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oho ana te mauri, aue rā</td>
<td>Which pierced my heart My soul is stricken, alas,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā taonga tuku iho ā ngā tipuna</td>
<td>The treasures handed down from the ancestors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E ngau nei te aroha me te mamae.</td>
<td>Within us gnaws the feeling and pain.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KHPI7 (200): Kī kō

Explanation: The lyrics of this item were composed by Paurō Māreikura, an elder of Ngāti Rangi, Ōhākune. It was in the form of a traditional mōteatea and sung to a 1/2/3 beat without instrumental accompaniment. It was also performed as a traditional single poi item with actions originally choreographed in the 1970s by Sonny Abraham while he was a Kapa Haka tutor with the Waipatu Catholic Club, Hastings.

During the 1980s, Sonny Abraham recreated the item with a contemporary melody and beat and it was sung to the accompaniment of a guitar. He re-choreographed the poi movements to reflect these changes. This is the version taught at the University of Auckland.

**Discipline:** Poi
**Composer:** Sonny Abraham
**Translation:** J. S Te Rito

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGA KUPU (Lyrics)</th>
<th>WHAKAPAKEHATANGA (Translation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kī kō, kī kō tīrōhia kei whea te taunga o te titi-waitori</td>
<td>Look yonder to see where the resting place of the mutton-bird is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parepare mai rā koe e te tiwaiwaka i te paepae o te tautara</td>
<td>And may you be protected by the fantail at the sacred latrine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He nono titaka tē tau te mauri</td>
<td>So that it not be sat upon by those unsuitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kataina mai rā e te kokako, kōaka kōaka</td>
<td>Or give cause for laughter by the crow or godwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia whakataukī te manu tui ‘Tuia tuia’ i te puautanga</td>
<td>So that the bellbird exclaims ‘Bind together’ at the dawning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia whakapurua ki te remu o te huia</td>
<td>And you be adorned with the huia’s tail feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia whakarongo ki te tangi a te kawekaweа</td>
<td>And listen to the call of the long-tailed cuckoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawea mai rā i te tomatomatotanga o te tōmairangi</td>
<td>Heralded from way up on high from whence comes the dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E rongo koe ki te pīpīwharauroa, ‘Kūi, kūi, whitiwhiti ora’</td>
<td>May you hear the shining cuckoo, ‘Cooy, cooy, good health’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia whakapinga ki te manu tawhirangi</td>
<td>And may you be adorned with the blight bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka puta, ka ora, nā.</td>
<td>Hence arising, and gaining wellness.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Explanation: *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* was composed as a satirical piece voicing the opinions of many who believed the Treaty was a farce; it was a Treaty that had been invalidated as useless; it had almost become the reason Māori were now at the bottom of the socio-economic pile. The haka then turns to the then Minister of Māori Affairs, Koro Wētere, who, at the time, held four portfolios in government. He was exhorted to do more with his ministerial power while he was in that position including pressing for the empowerment of Treaty principles – that he take up the challenge or walk away from politics altogether.

Discipline: Haka
Composer & Translation: Ngāpō Wehi
Translation by Joseph S Te Rito
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGA KUPU (The Lyrics)</th>
<th>WHAKAPÅKEHÅTÅNÅNGA (Translation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: Ka tohe au, ka tohe au</td>
<td>LEADER: I challenge and defy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka tohe au ki te mana nänä nei</td>
<td>I challenge the authority who made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I whakataurekarekatia Te Tiriti o Waitangi</td>
<td>A farce of The Treaty of Waitangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: E kore rawa au e pono</td>
<td>GROUP: I will not and do not believe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I hainaitia Te Tiriti e aku mätua tipuna</td>
<td>That my ancestors signed the Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me i mōhio nei rātau ka huripokitia</td>
<td>If they knew it would be overturned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hei patu tonu i ngā urī e</td>
<td>And used to the detriment of their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>descendants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: Nā wai rā te korerör “He iwi kotahi nei rā tātau”?</td>
<td>LEADER: Who was it who said that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“We are one people”?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Purari arero rua</td>
<td>GROUP: Bloody double tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokokōhua Tiriti</td>
<td>Blasphemous Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: He Tiriti</td>
<td>LEADER: A Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Muru whenua</td>
<td>GROUP: Enabling the plunder of my land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: He Tiriti</td>
<td>LEADER: A Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Hoko taonga</td>
<td>GROUP: Enabling the sell-off of my treasures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: He Tiriti</td>
<td>LEADER: A Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Patu tikanga</td>
<td>GROUP: Enabling the destroying of my values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: He Tiriti</td>
<td>LEADER: A Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Tuku wairua tangata ki te pō</td>
<td>GROUP: Enabling the humiliation of the spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anei rā ngā iwi e mitimiti nei</td>
<td>Here are the people who are forced to lick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I ngā hakihaki o taua Tiriti e</td>
<td>The festering sores of that Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: Auē e Koro Wëtere</td>
<td>LEADER: Alas, Koro Wëtere¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kei te koemi tonu rā ngā tipuna</td>
<td>The ancestors are uneasy in their graves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nā ō rātau wairua nei koe i whakatū</td>
<td>It was their spirits which put you there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hei whakatīka, hei whakahoki mai rā</td>
<td>To correct and bring back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I te mana motuhake</td>
<td>The special authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Tahuri mai ʻo tarininga</td>
<td>GROUP: Turn your ears this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiu ma rā ō kanohi</td>
<td>Cast your eyes this way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kātahi anō rā ka ūhia ngā tūnga e whā</td>
<td>For it’s the first time that four portfolios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kī runga ki te Māori e</td>
<td>Have been granted to a Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: Auē e Koro,</td>
<td>LEADER: O’ Koro,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kei roto tonu rā i ō ringa</td>
<td>You have in your hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te rongoa mō ake tonu rā</td>
<td>The solution for ever and a day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nā te mea ko koe hoki rā Te Minita</td>
<td>Because you are the Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Mō ngā Whenua</td>
<td>GROUP: Of Lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: Te Minita</td>
<td>LEADER: The Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Mō ngā Wāniutanga</td>
<td>GROUP: Of Valuations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAEA: Te Minita</td>
<td>LEADER: The Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KATOA: Mō te Tari Māori e</td>
<td>GROUP: Of Māori Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kia teretere mai rā</td>
<td>So make haste</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Koro Wëtere was the Minister of Māori Affairs at the time
Kei te pau haere te wāhanga ki a koe
Kia tūpato koe
Kei rutua tō kāwanatanga
Puehu ana ki raro rā
He tīno mate kē hoki tērā
Mehemea ka tū anō tō kāwanatanga
Whakamanatia, whakamanatia,
Whakamanatia Te Tiriti e, hī!

As your time is running out
So be aware
Lest your government be smashed asunder
And reduced to dust
Which would be a disastrous situation
And should your government return to power
Ratify it, ratify it
Ratify The Treaty, hī!
232

KHPI9 (300): Te Wahine Toa (The Valiant Woman)

Explanation: This action song begins with a solo piece acknowledging the mighty Waikato River. Lower downstream, the waters slow down to confront and then salute the sacred mountain of Taupiri before gaining momentum to reach the safety of the Te Pūaha-o-Waikato (the revered mouth of the river). There, the waters rest for a fleeting moment before being drawn into the great oceans.

This song was dedicated to the monarch Te Arikinui, Dame Te Atairangikāhū and recognised her 25th Coronation Year. It was first performed at the 1992 Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival aptly staged at her marae in Ngāruawāhia. It was appropriate on this occasion that the well-known genealogy of the Waikato monarchy and her lineage be acknowledged, so this is included in the song. The term Wahine Toa was spoken in reference to women of mana and rank, many of whom are recognised in Māori histories, including the much respected Te Arikinui, Dame Te Atairangikāhū.

Discipline: Waiata – Ringa
Composer: The Wehi Whānau
Translator: Joseph S Te Rito

NGA KUPU (The Lyrics) | WHAKAPAKEHĀTANGA (Translation)
--- | ---
SOLOIST: Flow then the waters of the Waikato River | KAIWAIATA KOTahi: E rere rā ngā wai o Waikato
Look up to Taupiri | Tiro atu ki Taupiri
Drift unto the sea | Tere atu ki te moana
To the mouth of the Waikato River | Te Pūaha-o-Waikato
Welcome the multitudes of Aotearoa (NZ) | KĀTOA: Karanga mai rā te Mokopuna ā te Motu¹
This is the marae agreed upon for this gathering | Pōwhiritia ngā mano tini o Aotearoa
Tūrangawaewae the sacred marae of Waikato | Koa nei te marae i whakatauhia mō tēnei hui
Pōtatau begat Tāwhiao, who begat Mahuta | Tūrangawaewae te marae tapu o Waikato
Then came Te Rata, and from him came Korokī¹ | Ka puta ko Te Rata, nāna ko Korokī³
And now it is you who sit | Ka noho mai ko koe
Upon the throne | I runga i te ahurewa
Under the mantle of your ancestors | I raro i te mana ā ō ātipuna e
You have brought the people together | Kua oti i a koe te honohonho i ngā īwi
As you, of course, are the weaver of people | Ko koe hoki rā te kairaranga tāngata e
You have ascended to the pinnacles | Kua piki koe ki ngā taumata
To be viewed by the whole world | Hei tirohanga mō te ao katoa
Stand forth o’ maiden upon your canoe | Tū ake koe e hine i runga i tō waka
The descendant of the kings | Te uri o ngā āŋi e
The ornamental figurehead of the Tainui canoe | Te pītau whakarei o te waka o Tainui
Greetings Waika | Kia ora Waikato
Let us groups all come along then | Haere mai tātāu ngā rōpū katoa
To celebrate | Kī te whakarū
The Valiant Woman! | Te Wahine Toa!

¹ A term of endearment for Queen Te Atairangikāhū
² The lineage of the five kings who preceded Te Atairangikāhū commencing with Pōtatau.
EXPLANATION: This song is a tribute to women and the prestige that they have derived from their various luminary female ancestors, some of whose names are mentioned in the song; and to the multitude of skills and talents that women possess. It is used aptly here for a dance that features women twirling the poi.

DANCE: Poi

COMPOSER: The Wehi Whānau

TRANSLATOR: Joseph S Te Rito

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<tr>
<th>NGA KUPU (The Lyrics)</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEADER:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō hea te mana a te wahine?</td>
<td>Where is woman’s prestige derived from?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A ūnenā, tirohia mai e koe</td>
<td>Look over here and you will see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUP:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō Papatūānuku tōku mana e</td>
<td>My prestige is from Papatūānuku (Mother Earth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I heke tika tonu mai ki ahau</td>
<td>It descended directly to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He mana motuhake tō te wahine</td>
<td>A woman has a special prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A ūnenā tirohia mai e koe</td>
<td>Look over here and you will see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō Hineahuone tōku mana e</td>
<td>My prestige is from Hineahuone (Earth Maiden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I heke tika tonu mai ki ahau</td>
<td>It descended directly to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō Hinetūtū tōku mana e</td>
<td>My prestige is from Hinetūtū (First woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I heke tika tonu mai ki ahau</td>
<td>It descended directly to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He mana tūturu tō te wahine</td>
<td>A woman has inherent prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A ūnenā tirohia mai e koe</td>
<td>Look over here and you will see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nō Hineuitopō tōku mana e</td>
<td>My prestige is from Hineuitopō (Goddess of Death)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāna hoki i rau a Māui</td>
<td>who caused Māui grief</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHORUS:

A woman has many gifts
In fact a great number
She can turn her hand to anything
No matter what it is, she can do it
With love, spirituality and the flick of the head

My prestige is from Hinemahuika (Fire Goddess)
It descended directly to me
A woman has a unique prestige
Look over here and you will see
My prestige is from Hineiwaiwa
It descended directly to me

CHORUS:

The dream o’ poi of mine
Is that you fly correctly and beautifully
For the whole world to watch
Spin downwards, spin in circles
Just like a bird does
The fantail bird
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KAEA:</th>
<th>Nō hea te mana ā te wahine?</th>
<th>LEADER:</th>
<th>Where us a woman’s prestige from?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TĀNE:</td>
<td>Nō Papatūānuku</td>
<td>MEN:</td>
<td>From Papatūānuku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WĀHINE:</td>
<td>Tōku mana e</td>
<td>WOMEN:</td>
<td>Is my prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TĀNE:</td>
<td>Nō Hineahuone</td>
<td>MEN:</td>
<td>From Hineahuone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WĀHINE:</td>
<td>Tōku mana e</td>
<td>WOMEN:</td>
<td>Is my prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TĀNE:</td>
<td>Nō Hinetītama</td>
<td>MEN:</td>
<td>From Hinetītama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WĀHINE:</td>
<td>Tōku mana e</td>
<td>WOMEN:</td>
<td>Is my prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TĀNE:</td>
<td>Nō Hinenuitepō</td>
<td>MEN:</td>
<td>From Hinenuitepō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WĀHINE:</td>
<td>Tōku mana e</td>
<td>WOMEN:</td>
<td>Is my prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TĀNE:</td>
<td>Nō Hineiwaiwa</td>
<td>MAN:</td>
<td>From Hineiwaiwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WĀHINE:</td>
<td>Tōku mana e</td>
<td>WOMEN:</td>
<td>Is my prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TĀNE:</td>
<td>Nō Hinemahuika</td>
<td>MEN:</td>
<td>From Hinemahuika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WĀHINE:</td>
<td>Tōku mana e</td>
<td>WOMEN:</td>
<td>Is my prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōku mana e, Hi!</td>
<td></td>
<td>My prestige, Hi!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix II: Ethics Document

Office of the Vice-Chancellor
Ethics and Biological Safety Administration

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

10 September 2010

MEMORANDUM TO:
A/P Ralph Buck / Hiromi Sakamoto
Nat Inst of Creative Arts and Industries

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 010/381)

The Committee met on 08-September-2010 and considered the application for ethics approval for your research titled "Kapa Haka teachers’ meanings of teaching Kapa Haka".

Ethics approval was given for a period of three years with the following comment(s).

Changing the title to "Kapa Haka teachers' meanings of teaching Kapa Haka".

The expiry date for this approval is 8/09/2013.

If the project changes significantly you are required to resubmit a new application to the Committee for further consideration.

In order that an up-to-date record can be maintained, it would be appreciated if you could notify the Committee once your project is completed.

Please contact the Chairperson if you have any specific queries relating to your application. The Chair and the members of the Committee would be most happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics provisions if you wish to do so.

All communications with the UAHPEC regarding this application should indicate this reference number - 2010 / 381.

Lana Lon
Executive Secretary
University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
c.c. Head of Department / School, Nat Inst of Creative Arts and Industries

Hiromi Sakamoto  
Dance Studies Programme, National Institute of Creative Arts and Industries,  
The University of Auckland  
Level 5, Building 421, Room 514, 26 Symonds Street, Auckland City

1. Should you need to make any changes to the project, write to the Committee giving full details including revised documentation.

2. The approval is for three years. Should you require an extension write to the Committee before the expiry date giving full details along with revised documentation. Extension can be granted for up to three years, after which time you must make a new one.

3. At the end of three years, or if the project is completed before the expiry, you are requested to advise the Committee of its completion.

4. Do not forget to fill in the 'approval wording' on the Participant Information Sheets and Consent Forms giving the dates of approval and the reference number before you send them out to your participants.

5. Please send a copy of this approval letter to the Manager - Funding Processes at Research Office if you have obtained any funding other than from UniServices. For UniServices contract, please send a copy of the approval letter to the Contract Manager at UniServices.

6. Please note that the Committee may from time to time conduct audits of approved projects to ensure that the research has been carried out according to the approval that was given.
References


