

THE ROLE OF PERFORMANCE EVENTS IN THE CREATION AND SUSTAINABILITY OF A
BICULTURAL SOCIETY: A CASE STUDY OF MĀORI KAPA HAKA

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Abstract

This thesis will examine how the structure of a singular competitive event can be used as a platform to create and sustain integrated biculturalism. It looks at the background forces behind the premier kapa haka event, Te Matatini, that allows it to perform this bicultural labor, in addition to looking at concrete ways in which it could improve its effectiveness. These forces stem from the connection between sport and national identity and how sporting events act as a conductor for national affiliation. Te Matatini employs most of the structural components of sports: being competitive, organized and regulated, and regularly scheduled. Changes to the experience of a spectators could be useful in broadening participation with the event, currently predominately attended by Māori, to support an integrated form of biculturalism that is often lacking in New Zealand. Some of these changes include: providing translations of events, integrating new technology for more interaction online and off, and possibly forming a competition group of Pākehā specifically.

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Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to show how a culturally specific sport can not only contribute to preservation of a cultural minority and their practices, but can also be applied and integrated with the mainstream to aid in constructing an equitable bicultural/multicultural social context, thus moving beyond a situation of toleration to one of tolerance and mutual respect and acceptance.

Statement of Relevance

A majority of research focused on kapa haka is focused on it as a method to instill pride of being Māori by Māori people. The social context of New Zealand is referenced mostly in its Pākehā (any non-Māori person, often narrowed to New Zealanders of European descent) majority in oppressing Māori cultural practices and people, or using kapa haka as a space outside of Pākehā reach. While such an approach has its place in research, separating kapa haka from a context with Pākehā does not tell the whole story. Kapa haka is a product of colonial influence just as much as its Māori origins. Setting it aside also ignores the work it does, and the possibilities it has for an even greater impact, in terms of integrated biculturalism, or increasingly multiculturalism. By focusing on kapa haka, in its competitive format itself along with its associations with sports in general in New Zealand, provides a relevant lens to look at bi/multiculturalism because it is both an ethicized and mainstream practice.

Methodology

This thesis will use relevant research on sports, national identity, embodiment, cultural continuity, community festivals, and previous studies on kapa haka, reflecting views on it from active participants and broader Māori and non-Māori community members. In addition, the study incorporates my own analysis of Te Matatini's on and off-stage event dynamics, their organizational goals over time, and internet search results.

Research Questions

- What is the structure of kapa haka competitions?
- How does that influence its place in New Zealand culture?
- How can/does that effect on-the-ground biculturalism in New Zealand?
 - How to change Te Matatini to make biculturalism more tangible and move towards tolerance

Conventions

Wording convention will be: Māori words will not be italicized with a definition in parentheses in English the first time it appears. Macrons to be included appropriately in words in line with guidelines by Te Taura Whiri I te reo Māori (Te Taura Whiri I te Reo Māori 2012). In te reo Māori, adjectives are placed behind their nouns, a convention that will be followed. For example, a Māori woman is written as wahine Māori. There is growing usage of Aotearoa New Zealand, or Aotearoa/New Zealand to denote the country and including the Māori name for it in Aotearoa meaning the Land of the Long, White Cloud. In this paper, New Zealand will be used exclusively for consistency and clarity.

What is Kapa Haka?

When literally translated, kapa haka means to dance in formation, usually in forward facing rows, although today the term can be used more broadly to denote Māori performing arts as a whole (Smith 2014; Tourism New Zealand 2019). Kapa haka involves dancing, singing, chanting, and often manipulation of props, usually traditional weaponry, such as patu and taiaha (clubs and long spears), and poi (a ball on the end of a long string) (Tourism New Zealand 2019). Te Matatini Inc., the largest kapa haka organization and governing body for its competitive use, divides practices into these eight disciplines or aspects¹: whakaeke (entrance), mōteatea (traditional chant), waiata-a-ringa (action song), poi, haka (posture dance), whakawātea (exit), te mita o te reo (quality of language use), and waiata tira (choral song) (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2015). Other unique features to kapa haka include: wiri (shaking of the hands akin to jazz hands), pūkana (bulging of the eyes), and whētero (sticking out the tongue) (Tourism New Zealand 2019). It is performed by men and women, with a general, but not absolute, tendency of men taking the lead in haka and women taking the lead in poi.

Precolonial Uses of Kapa Haka

Various versions and parts of kapa haka were done in pre-colonial times for entertainment; competitions of mana (rough equivalent to prestige); welcoming visitors onto one's marae (a settlement's meeting grounds); in preparation for war; to intimidate one's opponent before battle in the hopes of preventing fighting; remembering iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe), and whānau (family) members; and for telling stories and whakapapa (genealogy) lineages (Manatū Taonga | Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2019; NPR 2018; Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014; Smith 2014; Tourism New Zealand 2019).

¹ These disciplines are as outlined by the official Rulebook of Te Matatini competition, Ngā Ture o te Whakataetae from 2015 (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2017a).

Deep Roots in te Ao Māori (The Maori World)

Practice of kapa haka is infused with Māori cultural perspectives in its recognition of Māori spirituality, social perspectives, and social organizations. Māori spirituality in kapa haka involves the atua (gods), who mythologically originated and used the practice, and one's tūpuna (ancestors). Both are invoked in the words, actions, and energies used by participants that produce ihi (vitality/apprehensive energy), wehi (emotional response to others' ihi or the feeling of awe), and wana (reflection on both ihi and wehi) in both performers and audience (Lyver et al. 2017; Te Papa Takaro o Te Arawa 2014; Timu 2018). The social perspectives involve the importance of whakawhanaungatanga (the process of forming kin-like bonds with others) and manaakitanga (hospitality without expecting returns). Kapa haka group members are deeply involved in the lives of their peers outside of practice, often traveling together to important events in others' lives like funerals, or supporting each other emotionally and even financially (Thompson et al. 2017). Precolonial social organization consisted of iwi, hapū, whānau, and rarely waka (iwi groupings to one of the original seven waka (canoes) that arrived to New Zealand). Connections to or affiliations with all these levels are reinforced because kapa haka groups can represent some or all of these levels at the same time. Through whakawhanaungatanga, familial type bonds are made between individuals at the practices. Membership can range from pre-kindergarten children to kaumatua (elders) with everyone being treated like members of a large family (Tourism New Zealand 2019). An additional layer to this social organization was added in the 1970s and 1980s, a pan-Māori identity. This nationwide level of affiliation did not exist before colonization; however, this construction was useful in the reassertion of Māori identity and rights during the Māori renaissance at the time (Barber 1999). This level is currently fading away in importance as iwi level identity rises again because Māori identity as a whole is not as marginalized as before (Barber 1999).

Intangible Cultural Heritage

What is kapa haka in a broader sense? What kind of practice is it?

"The performance of culture, in the form of group member's communal activity [...] offers 'refuge' against the threat of discontinuity." (Fortier 1999 quoted by Maghbouleh 2012).

The quote above presents one reason why communal, cultural practices are important to continue doing for members of particular groups. These kinds of activities are what comprise what UNESCO classifies as intangible cultural heritage. The full definition of which, from the convention's founding document is,

"[T]he practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity." ("Text of the Convention" 2019)

The convention states that such practices may be expressed in these types of ways:

- (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- (b) performing arts;
- (c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
- (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- (e) traditional craftsmanship.

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage²(ICH), was signed by 178 sovereign states as of 2018³ ("What is Intangible" 2019). Those states in agreement have committed themselves to preserving intangible cultural heritage in their borders. UN and individual governmental support for culturally diverse practices is important to sustaining cultural diversity, which in turn supports people's diverse identities and histories.

Kapa haka easily falls into the definition for ICH, employing all of the modes of expression outlined therein at different points in the practice. It uses te reo Māori (the Māori language, also referred to as te reo or just reo) to tell oral traditions and knowledge, is widely classified as a performing art, can be done in ritual and festival event contexts, has deep mythological roots through whakapapa, and involves many traditional crafts in the adornment of performers themselves and the performance itself.

Critiques of Intangible Cultural Heritage

There have been some criticisms of this desire to "safeguard" such practices. The main points are that there is a tendency to 'fossilize' or stagnate reinvention within the practices in the guise of trying to protect them; that UNESCO's organization nationalizes certain practices that may be done only by minority groups because practices are listed under nation state entities; that there exists an underrepresentation of non-Western practices because they do not cleanly fit into the covered categories in the definition; and that by creating a list of "masterpieces" of intangible cultural heritage practices in 2008 the UN created a hierarchy with or without intention to (Pretrobruno 2009). There is also the assumption of these practices to be noncommercial activities, implying that without support by

² New Zealand is not a signatory to this agreement

³ The same four states who originally rejected to formally signing a similar protective document, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007; Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand; also are not signatories on this cultural heritage agreement. New Zealand did sign the Rights of Indigenous Peoples declaration in 2010 ("United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" 2019).

the governments who agreed to this declaration, they would be lost due to them not being seen as valuable enough by members of those communities to pass them on (Petrobruno 2009). These underlying assumptions need not hinder the continuation of protected ICH practices; however, it is good to keep them in mind to avoid uncritical fossilization, nationalization, underrepresentation, and the creation of artificial hierarchies of worth.

Embodiment

Intangible Cultural Heritage practices must be physically performed to enact and pass down the traditions. Embodiment is an unavoidable concept when talking about ICH practices such as kapa haka because of their strong basis and expression through the movements and trappings of one's body.

Embodiment as defined by Dov Cohen and Angela K-Y. Leung's work, "The Hard Embodiment of Culture" is,

"the movements of the body and the meanings assigned to them promote a way of being in the world that instantiates cultural codes, values, expectations, and ideas about one's personal place in the world." (Cohen and Leung 2009, 1).

In other words, it is the physical manifestation of cultural meanings through actions of the body. Cohen and Leung divide embodied actions based upon whether they have strong physio-cognitive associations or not. Strong associations are "Overlearned Associations" while "Totem Embodiments" are those with primarily culturally defined meanings (Cohen and Leung 2009). Totem embodiments they say are especially fragile because without people to teach those specific meanings, the meanings are lost. Cohen and Leung make clear that movements are non-deterministic, but instead link certain moves towards one associated meaning or another. Their example is running. Running may denote fear, exercise, or excitement in the watcher or doer, so the multiple possible meanings show that it is not deterministic (Cohen and Leung 2009).

Kapa Haka as an Embodied Practice

Kapa haka has sets of physical movements whose meanings are strongly rooted in Māori culture and philosophy. Its moves fall mostly under the Totem Embodiments category because it consists of formally learned sets of moves with culturally specific meanings applied to each of them. An example is wiri, in the context of kapa haka, the shaking invokes atua and the internal energy a performer is expressing. However, the simple act of shaking one's hands could alternatively mean one is cold, mad, or nervous. Therefore, wiri can be defined as a totem embodiment in Cohen and Leung's system because it has a specific meaning within the context of a kapa haka performance that goes beyond bodily rationale and is culturally specific. There is some gray area here, especially with haka being used as challenges which involves strong cognitive-associated, aggressive movements reflecting the message of aggression of the words. These include the beating of the chest and arms to show their strength, pretending to eat your opponent, throat-cutting mimicry, making oneself look bigger by spreading arms and legs, and yelling loudly. These actions are not so culturally specific and the aggression is more inherent to the action (Straker 2006).

Bounded Performances

Kapa haka also falls under the "Bounded Performances" category put forth by Lauren Griffith and Jonathan Marion especially in its competitive format (2017). Bounded performances or Cultural Performances involve "heightened moments of performing culture" as opposed to performing culture that is every day, embodied activities as influenced by culturally learned patterns of behavior (Griffith and Marion 2017). On stage, kapa haka groups are performing elements of every day Māori culture with a theatrical format in mind. The groups take the traditional use of the different elements of kapa haka, ordinarily performing culture, and do them on a stage for an audience, turning them into instances of cultural performance.

Theatrical Dance

Bounded performances are similar to Jane Desmond's concept of Theatrical Dance (1993). She defines these as highly codified dances, that in themselves, once they become defined as dance, have boundaries of acceptability put upon them (Desmond 1993). Theatrical dance goes farther in codification than general dance does for Desmond, who specifies that more generalized dance may be learned informally in addition to formally, but theatrical dance is much less likely to be learned in informal situations such as through mass media (Desmond 1993). She goes on to postulate that theatrical dance may be a way for groups to "stage tradition" while at the same time incorporating many influences into practice outside the staged version (Desmond 1993). Both of these can be found in kapa haka because there is a highly formalized, stage version, but also informal versions still done in everyday life for some people.

Staged Traditions

Following this staging of tradition, competitive, stage kapa haka often portrays traditionalized Māori figures. At Te Matatini, the nation's largest kapa haka competition, moko (traditional tattoos) are frequently drawn onto performers and they are dressed in traditional costume (piupiu (flax skirts), korowai (cloaks), taniko patterned shirts, and tipari (headbands)) ("Te Matatini Ki Te Ao 2019" 2019). Drawn on moko highlight the theatricality of the kapa haka performance because they are drawn on to represent a historical version of Māori, that due to colonial forces, was suppressed for a long time and is still unusual to see highly visible moko, especially moko kauwae (women's chins and lips) and full facial moko for men today. There is a guideline from Te Matatini Inc. themselves that rōpū (groups) are to act on their stage "as if" they were performing on a marae (Mazer 2011b; Richards and Ryan 2010). The pretense of this as a staged act is unavoidable. The image of Māori the performers are giving is often a stereotyped, historical version not congruent to what the average Māori person looks like today. Instead they are attempts to show this "staged" version of what average Māori looked like and acted like.

This brings up questions of authenticity and why Māori are taking on this consciously stereotyped and performative image. Authenticity is normatively a valued trait and can explain on a surface level why these items are done at Te Matatini because it is an event to celebrate Māori. These authenticity questions are beyond the scope of this paper, but are important and worthy of future, specific study, especially given the position of leadership Māori have among the world's indigenous people.

Summary

The Māori renaissance employed kapa haka as an effective method for preserving te reo Māori, mythology, spirituality, and oral histories because of its basis in the principles listed above and that it was an activity that urban Māori were more easily able to participate in (Smith 2014). Māori living in large cities after World War II, were much less likely or were not able to return at all to their papakainga (ancestral home) marae to learn about their culture, leaving many culturally disconnected (Meredith 2015). Kapa haka groups were relatively easy to set up in cities for these unconnected Māori to come to and learn about their Māori culture. In the early days these were pan Māori groups because of the diversity of Māori coming to them, but over time iwi affiliated groups were able to form as interest grew among urban Māori in kapa haka. This intangible practice allowed thousands to reconnect to and know their whakapapa roots.

Kapa Haka as a Sport

Traditionally, Māori did not have a strict conception of sports in the same modern sense of being structured and competitive physical activities (Sport New Zealand 2018, 4; Timu 2018). Instead a broader category of ngā taonga tākaro (collectively traditional Māori physical activities) was in place. This does not mean there were no competitions of physical ability, in fact there were regular inter-iwi and hapū competitions in wrestling, manu tukutuku (kite-flying), swimming, waka ama (canoe racing), kī o rahi (ball game), along with elements enshrined in modern kapa haka groups today, primarily poi and haka competitions (Timu 2018).

In modern times, kapa haka has a long history of being a performing art because of its closer association to activities performed on a stage in a Western tradition. Recently however, kapa haka performances are increasingly being recognized as sport on their own. This change is occurring based upon two primary points; the recognition of the intense physicality of kapa haka and the increasing presence and prestige of the Te Matatini competition as another viable expression of the practice.

Physicality

Participation in kapa haka has been found to increase coordination, extend cardiovascular endurance, and improve fine motor skills in relation to manipulating the props (Patrick 2018; Thompson et al. 2017). New Zealand's government has also cited increasing physical health figures of the Māori community as one of its reasons for supporting kapa haka programs (Timu 2018). Finally, one can see the amount of energy expended by rōpū members in the sweat produced during performances; enough to sweat off body paint/sharpie markings on performers bodies ("Te Matatini Ki Te Ao 2019" 2019).

The Influence of Te Matatini

Organizational Overview

Te Matatini began in 1972 under the name, the Aotearoa Traditional Māori Performing Arts Festival (ATMPAF). The choice of name reflects what the purpose of the event was originally meant to be. It was thought that a national level organization could provide a space for regions that already had kapa haka competitions to showcase that excellence while motivating and supporting those regions who did not. The original festival was held in Rotorua to a crowd of 5,000 spectators and included 17 Māori and five Pacific Islander groups, who performed their own versions of kapa haka, since it is a pan-Polynesian practice (Richards and Ryan 2010). As the event reoriented to focus on Māori rōpū, these Pacific groups were phased out. Originally having their own category for competition, then not competitive performances in 1983, then not on stage at all (Richards and Ryan 2010). Phasing out of Pacific Islander groups helped to narrow the focus of the event to Māori performance, which is better in concentrating support for that specifically. But in doing so, took a platform to celebrate their identity away from Pacific Islanders already living abroad from the islands to which they whakapapa back to.

Today Te Matatini, meaning the many faces (name since 2004), boasts 46 groups qualifying to nationals in 2019, a 50,000 in-person attendance rate, with an estimated 150,000 to 220,000 more viewing online streams ("Groups" 2019; Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2013). Te Matatini is the premiere kapa haka competition producing fierce competition for the honor of taking home Te Toa Whakaihawaka (overall winner's trophy) ("Tāonga" 2019).

Its Regulating Influence

Te Matatini has had an insurmountable influence in its construction of legitimacy for kapa haka as a stand-alone sport. They formalized rules and regulations around the performances following normative sports organizations. The official rule book, *Ngā Ture o te Whakataetae*, updated for each festival, lays out rules pertaining to the number and ages of performers allowed; the six pieces

performances must have: whakaeke, mōteatea, waiata-a-ringa, poi, haka, whakawātea, manukura tāne and wahine (male and female leaders), kākahu (costume), and te reo ā tuhi (best written and performed reo); and optional categories of titonga waiata hou (original song composition) and waiata-tira (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2017a).

It also states how the format of regional and national competitions are to be run in terms of when regionals must be completed by, how many teams from each of the 14 rohe (regions) may qualify for nationals, ethics rules for judges' interactions with rōpū, which and how many instruments may be used, and how scores are to be calculated. Scoring conventions are established, overseen, and regularly revised by Te Matatini Inc. and is of interest as it is expressly stated as the Olympic style of score calculation,

"Rule 4.4.4.1- The Olympic system will apply to the maximum of 400 marks awarded for each discipline – i.e. Of the 4 Judges marks for each discipline, the highest and lowest marks are removed; the 2 middle marks are added together and divided by 2 to reach total mark." (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2017a, 11)

Here Te Matatini is appealing to the authority of other sports organizations, right up to the largest, the Olympics, to grasp some legitimacy as a sport rather than as a performing art (Mitteneß, Baucus, and Norton 2013).

Other ways Te Matatini frames its competition as a sport is through its presentation. The camera work and broadcasting mimic other televised sports events, with moving camera angles across the stage and from the stands, closeups of the action, input from commentators in the livestream of Te Matatini, and instant replays of the groups available when viewing at a later date ("Te Matatini Ki Te Ao 2019" 2019).

Opposition to Its Classification as Sport

Despite the competition beginning in 1972, Te Matatini still must garner legitimacy as a sport because organizations like Sport New Zealand, the governmental department responsible for overseeing sport and recreation, still does not classify kapa haka as a sport. Sport New Zealand's website does not list kapa haka in its list of 107 sports for residents to search for ("Find a Sport" 2019; Timu 2018). They include a disclaimer that their list does not reflect recognition or relationships by or with Sport NZ, but implicitly the distinction is still there ("Find a Sport" 2019). Additionally, the funding for Te Matatini, almost two million NZD in 2016, comes through the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, not recreation or sports related departments (Manatū Taonga | Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2015).

Te Matatini may forever straddle the Western-derived line between performing arts and sports because of its aforementioned physicality and competition on the one hand and its deep connection to culture and its labor in mātauranga (passing on and addition of new knowledge) Māori on the other.

The Connections Between Sports and National Identity

Why does kapa haka's distinction as a performing art or as a sport matter? It involves the deep intertwining of sport and national identity, especially given the relatively young, diverse, and sporty nation it is in.

National Identities Through Sport

Communal identities are often formed in opposition to others, national identities being no different. Sports may offer one of the best methods for constructing an Us vs. Them, oppositional framework as it casts different sides in direct competition, with one becoming the winner and one (or more) becoming the losers (Watson 2017). Scott Watson explores this through hockey in Canada, comparing international hockey competitions to a "form of moral war" similar to how George Orwell denoted sports as "war minus the shooting." (Watson 2017). He asserts that the format and atmosphere of sports competitions support nation building through: sport teams needing popular support to survive, whether that be local, regional, or national bases; the hierarchy created after a competition can lead to pride in ones team if they do well, or could ignite passions to do better next time; the induction of visceral and physical reactions of the players and audience add deeper investment in the spectacles for both; regular rehashing of rivalries are points for reflection and reassessment of who each side is and what they are capable of; and that sports can be national entities that are not necessarily connected with the state, so that support for sports teams can exist even when support for a current administration does not (Watson 2017). These ideas were also mentioned by Alan Bairner (2008) where links between sports and nationalism were looked at from the global perspective. He states,

"Following one's 'proxy warriors' into international competition is one of the easiest and most passionate ways of underlining one's sense of national identity, one's nationality, or both." (Bairner 2008, 48)

The high visibility of sports media is emphasized as an avenue where national interests could be promoted. The example used by Bairner is the former U.S.S.R. and their extensive use of sports to show the viability of their economic and political system. Sport's ability to have multilayered allegiances that are not completely exclusive are important too (Bairner 2008). Exemplifying the United Kingdom, with its four sub-nations, Bairner views its regional teams of Wales, England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, as moments for outlet of regional identity affiliation, while not detracting from U.K. representative teams (Bairner 2008).

New Zealand's Sporty Reputation

Data on the involvement of New Zealanders in physical activities is supportive of their athletic reputation. A survey from Sport New Zealand reported 95% of young people and 73% of adults spent over three hours a week engaged with sport or other kinds of physical activities (Sport New Zealand 2018) Further breakdowns from the 2013 census report that 17% of the population had participated in organized sports, 62% participated in individual sports (walking running, or weight training), and another 30% reported having done another type of active recreation at least once in the past week (Ahmed 2018). Additionally, 8.9% of all internal travel stems from the desire to participate or watch a sporting event (Ryan and Pike 2010). Māori participation, especially in team sports, is high among both youth and adults and often there is intergenerational affiliation with certain sports too (Timu 2018).

Sports have a large place in the national conceptualization of New Zealand: their sportiness is invoked by and shown to outsiders. Hiking is mentioned alongside canoeing, mountain biking, watersports, and skiing in all but one of the websites from the first page of searching "visit New Zealand"⁴ (Appendix A). Air New Zealand, known for its humorous ads and safety videos, has had sports connections in their ads often, including a new series begun on August 1, 2019 with the hashtag,

⁴ Searches done with Google, in incognito mode, ignoring sponsored posts

#CrazyAboutRugby displayed on their social media pages (Air New Zealand 2019). The All Blacks have been featured in many ad campaigns such as Adidas in 1999 with 'Black', Tudor watches in 2018, and AIG also in 2018 (Jackson 2004; Scherer and Jackson 2008; TudorWatch 2018). Indirect association with sports is strong as well, in relation to their Olympic performance, the phrase, "Not bad for a country of four million" is commonly invoked (Jackson 2004, 19).

Kapa Haka's Connection to Hākinakina (Western Sports)

A famous, arguably the most famous, association people have of New Zealand is their national rugby team, the All Blacks. They are the most dominant sports team in any sport for the past century. They win an average of 78% of their matches, even when calculating since 1903; the rate increases to 93% when looking at the recent past of 2011-2015 (Bull 2015). They have won three rugby world cups, the first nation to do so, and have lost only six times to other national teams: England, Ireland, France, Wales, Australia, and South Africa (Bull 2015). The international dominance of the All Blacks is a significant point of national pride for New Zealanders especially when rugby is commonly said to be the national religion (Massey University 2011).

History with the All Blacks

Connections between kapa haka, specifically haka, and Western sports, called hākinakina in te reo, began in 1888. This was the year the 'Natives' rugby team, whose players were almost all Māori, toured around the British Isles playing a staggering 107 games against teams of the British Isles (Timu 2018). The tour was privately funded, so organizers requested that players do a cultural show before each match to help offset costs of the tour (Timu 2018). Audiences flocked to the shows featuring traditional dress and flax mats, looking more like kapa haka cultural exhibitions than the pregame haka seen today (Timu 2018). The cultural appropriateness for these shows was reasoned through the precedent that haka was often performed between opposing sides before a battle to try and intimidate the other side into submission without directly fighting (NPR 2018). This was far from the only occasion

for the practice in te ao Māori, but rugby matches were equated to another form of battle the players could use haka to get prepared for and intimidate their opponents through (Timu 2018).

The longer cultural performances were adapted to the shorter version of only doing haka and not in traditional clothing by the New Zealand 'Originals' team of 1905. They were a mixed team, unusual for the era, and carried on the Natives' team precedent. This tour officially began the tradition of performing the Ka Mate haka, a tradition that went unbroken for a century. In 2005, after claims were made by the Ngāti Toa iwi over the ownership of Ka Mate, the All Blacks commissioned a new haka titled, Kapa o Pango, which pulled inspiration from the history of the team instead of the Ngāti Toa story behind Ka Mate⁵ (Timu 2018).

Haka in general and Ka Mate specifically became synonymous with the All Blacks over that century, as the team gained fame because of this pregame ritual and their dominant performances. This equating is evidenced by eight out of nine results for the google search of "Haka" mention, or focus entirely on the All Blacks' use of haka (Appendix C). Ka Mate was also used in the 'Black' Adidas ad in 1999 when the company was taking over sponsorship for the team that year (Scherer and Jackson 2008; Timu 2018). The ad alternates between shots of the All Blacks performing the haka and playing rugby with footage of tattooed and traditionally costumed Māori warriors doing the same haka. The connection is strong enough that haka is even seen by some international fans as part of rugby culture rather than originating with the Māori (Timu 2018).

Infusion into the Wider Sports Culture

This change has become true in that haka has become part of wider sports culture in New Zealand with almost any sports team doing a pregame haka. Almost all national teams perform their

⁵ The story of Ka Mate can be found at "The Origins of Ka Mate" <http://www.ngatittoa.iwi.nz/ka-mate/the-origins-of-ka-mate>

own haka including the: Black Ferns (women's rugby), Tall Blacks (basketball), Ice Blacks (hockey), Black Sticks (field hockey), and the Winter Olympic team as a whole did a haka while the New Zealand flag was raised in PyeongChang in 2018 (RNZ News 2018). Pregame haka is a common sight at school sports competitions as well, so the haka has become entrenched into mainstream sports culture in New Zealand at all levels (AIG 2014; Timu 2018).

Haka Gone International

Haka has also gone international with sports teams in the USA, Ireland, Wales, Samoa, Tahiti, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), and Singapore all taking up the tradition. Usually after initially copying the Ka Mate haka from the All Blacks, original and team specific haka are composed. Australian Aborigines teams have broadened the ritual and have begun doing their own version of pregame rituals adapted from their own indigenous traditions (DevinZA 2019).

New Zealand's Bicultural Reputation

Their Reputation from the Outside

New Zealand's biculturalism is seen through how the country chooses to be, and is, represented by outsiders. When searching "Visiting New Zealand", of the first page of results, the ones most likely to be clicked on and reflect highest amounts of traffic, had five out of the eight results give information on Māori culture and that it is an important aspect when visiting the country (Appendix A). The results were a mix of official tourism websites by New Zealand's government (TourismNZ; National Geographic sponsored article) and reflections by third parties (Lonely Planet; NomadicMatt.com; SmarterTravel.com). Again, the All Blacks, with their incorporation of the haka and a history of involving Māori (and many other Pacific islander) players with the team, are often referenced as an example of New Zealand's positive biculturalism.

Demographic Context

For demographic context, the majority of New Zealanders, especially Māori, have mixed genetic ancestry due to largescale settler colonialism and migration events since the 1700s. The most recent census⁶, reported 668,724⁷ respondents asserting a Māori identity ("2013 Census QuickStats" 2013). Official iwi (tribal) membership is equivalent to this response, denoting a Māori minority comprising 17.5% of New Zealand's total population. This proportion could rise to 19.8% if factoring in those who responded that they did not know whether they had Māori ancestors (87,234 responses) ("2013 Census QuickStats" 2013). These numbers are sixteen-fold higher than the lowest recorded population statistics

⁶ The latest census to be conducted was 2018, however the data from this round will be released in September 2019. It had 3.8 million respondents to this census, while the total population of country in 2013 was 4,442,000.

⁷ Māori is now a self-identifying question and is based on biological ancestry and cultural affiliation. The basis of affiliation requirements for iwi and the census have changed over time, so variance is not insignificantly influenced by this.

at the end of the 19th century, where estimates for Māori was 40,000 people, just under 5% ("Population" 1998, 13).

New Zealand as an Indigenous Relations Leader

Māori are viewed as leaders in self-determination movements for indigenous peoples globally. The view stems from the successes of various movements associated with tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) since the 1970s. Protests rose up for the protection of te reo Māori, anti-discrimination, anti-racism, and especially protesting for land rights all of which were large problems for Māori (Keane 2012). Protestors won victories including the formation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 to oversee iwi land claims against Crown⁸ seized lands. The Tribunal oversees breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi, which is the founding document for the country (Ministry for Justice 2019). Signed in 1840 between representatives of the British government/monarchy and over 500, mostly North Island, Māori Chiefs, this document, written in both te reo and English was supposed to make Māori people full British citizens with rights to retain their individual and communal lands so long as they wish to retain them, while also ceding ultimate sovereignty to Queen Victoria in the fashion of a colony (Ministry for Justice 2016). The document being bilingual and affording citizenship rights to indigenous peoples within this founding document has been used as a way to present New Zealand as a positively bicultural state since its inception. This biculturalism is even more evident now as the Tiriti is being revisited and upheld⁹ through the Waitangi Tribunal as being originally an equal partnership between the British and Māori.

⁸ the Crown originally meant the British colonial government, referring to the British Crown. The term continues in reference to the current institution of New Zealand's government.

⁹ This presented image is not wholly representative because the Treaty has not always been upheld, especially during the Land Wars (1845-1872) where lands were forcibly taken from Māori as punishment for losing battles against colonial and some allied Māori forces. These battles often began when Māori refused to sell lands which the Crown wanted, or the wars were instigated by colonial forces themselves and records were later revised to put Māori as instigators as is the case with Waikato-Tainui (Keenan 2017). Sentiments of stolen land are strong (@Ngati_frybread 2019c).

How the document is consulted today is analogous to the living constitution paradigm in the U.S., where modern contextual interpretation is allowed.

Kapa Haka is Protected Taonga

Through this framework, many items have come under Treaty protection implying governmental obligation to protect cultural traditions, often referred to as taonga (treasures) by Māori. Taonga include cultural objects, knowledge, and practices. Article the Third of the Treaty of Waitangi states,

"Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects." (Ministry for Justice 2016).

This section is the basis for taonga protections interpreted so that one's rights and privileges extend to one's right to practice their culture through its material and immaterial forms. Legal protection of cultural practices is vital to their survival and is still uncommon for many of the world's indigenous peoples ("Protecting Rights and Dignity" 2017). Since a legally bound, equal partnership between Māori and Pākehā exists, Māori hold a leadership position among indigenous groups for their successes and Pākehā can say they live in an equal, bicultural state.

New Zealand's Everyday Biculturalism

Expression of this biculturalism is commonly done via kapa haka. Pōwhiri (formal process of welcoming) are used often by the government for welcoming visiting dignitaries, such as members of the British royal family, leaders of foreign countries, or to welcome important people back into the country such as Olympic sports teams (Smith 2014). Kapa haka programs have also been incorporated into many mainstream schools¹⁰ often with the express purpose of increasing Māori student participation and engagement in schooling in addition to introducing Pākehā to Māori culture in an

¹⁰ Mainstream being compared to institutions called Kura Kaupapa Māori schools. These are te reo immersion schools, which were established to aid in the revitalization of te reo. Tikanga Māori (customs) are followed such as karakia (prayers) being said and Māori worldviews are taught and lived in the school building. Kapa haka teams are a persistent feature of their sports programs.

interactive way (Patrick 2018; Patrick 2017; Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014). New Zealand's government is a huge supporter of programs and related te reo Māori programs at all levels of schooling (Tyson 2019). Their support is perhaps most tangible in the Ministry of Culture and Heritage being the main funder of Te Matatini, supplying a budget of \$1.9 million NZD to the organization for not only the festival itself, but for its subsidiary programs for supporting rohe kapa haka, Māori community wellbeing, and te reo programs (Manatū Taonga | Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2015). As part of their prize, the winners of Te Matatini are the first choice for the government when they want kapa haka to be part of an event, or to represent New Zealand at international events (Richards and Ryan 2010; Timu 2018). These events have included Edinburgh Military Tattoo in Scotland and the Merrie Monarch Hula competition in Hawaii.

Māori Culture is a Common Point of Identity Already

Māori culture has been shown to be a common point of identity for any New Zealander. Awanui Te Huia and James H Liu (2012) conducted a study of New Zealanders living in Japan exploring their experiences with acculturation. They found that both Māori and Pākehā participants found Māori cultural practices and items (participating or viewing kapa haka groups and wearing pounamu (greenstone) necklaces were aspects specifically mentioned by participants) were important ways of identifying themselves whilst abroad (Te Huia and Liu 2012). Differences in view did arise with Māori expats identifying these items and activities more so with their personal connections as Māori in the traditional social organizations of whānau, hapū, and iwi. Meanwhile, Pākehā viewed these same items as markers of a wider New Zealand identity (Te Huia and Liu 2012). These findings are similar to a study of New Zealand nationals on a trip to Turkey by Jim Mckay (2013). A group of surf club athletes from New Zealand, Australia, and Turkey (about 1500 total) planned a boating race to coincide with the centenary of the Battle of Gallipoli (1915-1916). Before this date however, multiple tours were conducted, beginning in 2010, to preview how the centenary may proceed (Mckay 2013). The main

purpose of the tour was its sporting aspects, but there were planned moments to visit battlefield monuments. For these, the New Zealand coalition decided they wanted to perform a haka in honor of the many soldiers who died there (Mckay 2013). The decision was made by a group of New Zealanders, a vast majority Pākehā. They had adopted the haka as a way to honor their countrymen, despite almost none of them being directly culturally connected to the ritual. It reflects how much haka and Māori culture has become infused into the national identity.

Tokenism Critiques

This idealized, perfectly harmonious bicultural society is not the whole picture. Māori are still overrepresented in the prison system, have higher high school dropout rates, and lower health and wellbeing statistics (Te Huia and Liu 2012). There are many Māori community members who view the government's employment of biculturalism, including kapa haka, to be tokenistic, saying,

"if Māori culture is used to represent New Zealand – the problem does not lie in the integration of the ritual per se, but rather, allowing it to function as a mask. Therefore, if performances of haka function primarily as dramatic displays, to engage the global consumer – then in effect we are providing the illusion of bicultural engagement and creating a myth of seamless national unity when potentially this does not exist." (Falcous, 2007 here quoted by Timu 2018, 19)

And,

"Pākehā tend to have an inclination to unconsciously assimilate Māori identity into the dominant [NZ] culture, within the positively naivety of preserving harmony irrespective of its homogenizing effects." (Te Huia and Liu 2012, 146)

Critiques of the Government's Use of Māori Culture

Direct criticism of the government's use of Māori culture comes from examples where kapa haka is employed at public events to give the optics of biculturalism, but the kapa haka must be done in a certain format. Performers are often apprehensive to be paid as much as they might want to be

because of arguments that doing so would make the performance too commercial (Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014). Intra-Māoridom tensions exist with accepting payment, first at all, and second instead of the receivers hosting the group in line with manaakitanga, or payment in items other than money (Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014). There is also frustration at relationships with tangata whenua (people of the land i.e. Māori) not being sustained by the government, especially if representatives have been welcomed via the pōwhiri process (Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014). Pōwhiri is supposed to signify the beginning to a relationship between tangata whenua and visitors, if governments, local and national, do not continue the relationship with a specific group they have gone through the process with, they are violating tikanga (customs) of manaakitanga (Mazer 2011c; Te Huia and Liu 2012). This is not to say all instances of support the government shows towards kapa haka are tokenistic, but there is more work to be done in figuring out compromises on both sides.

Due to New Zealand not being a signatory to the UN's Ich declaration, kapa haka, or any other form of Māori intangible heritage is not on any protected list from UNESCO. Despite this, there is not much danger the practice will disappear altogether because of its popularity for tourism and by the government. Uncertainties surround the critiques of fossilization and commercialization brought up by Pretrobruno instead mentioned earlier.

Tokenism in Tourism

Kapa haka has been and is still deeply entrenched in New Zealand's tourism industry ever since the Te Arawa iwi started doing cultural performances for tourists around Rotorua since the 1800s (Sole 2006). This was a way for the iwi to make money from the tourists otherwise coming to the area to see the geothermal attractions (Sole 2006). Rotorua is still a hot spot for Māori cultural tourism as reflected in Te Puia, the Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, being headquartered there, allowing visitors to see traditional crafts and performances daily and the city being home to two of the most famous "authentic,

and meaningful cultural experiences" of Tamaki and Whakarewarewa villages clustered around the city ("About" 2019).

Tourism's Stereotyping of Māori

Since its commercialization beginning in the 1800s, touristic kapa haka has been a feature of travel plans to and around New Zealand and has contributed to a stereotypical image of Māori as singers and dancers in piupiu (@Ngati_frybread 2019a). This particular image of Māori shows up in the analysis of google searches of the terms "Visit New Zealand". Kapa haka shows followed by hangi dinners (traditionally cooked meals prepared via steaming in dug in, ground ovens) are a common feature of travel websites (Appendix A). The analysis of search results found any time Māori culture was mentioned, kapa haka and hangi were included (Appendix A). Along with these textual mentions, implicitly stereotypical representations of Māori people were included too. For example, the pictures on New Zealand's official travel website featured Māori people only in traditional kapa haka costume, instead of normal Western clothing, which is typical in any situation outside of performing kapa haka on stage (Appendix A).

Domestic vs Foreign Tourists and Māori Tourism

In spite of tourism's popular use of haka and hangi, a study by Chris Ryan and Steve Pike found Māori cultural performances were the least cited reason to travel to Rotorua for their over 700 Auckland based respondents (Ryan and Pike 2010). They expressed that the hangi dinners fell into a 'been there, done that' sentiment, despite those kinds of events only making up 5% of Māori culture related businesses (Diamond 2010). This mismatch could be a result of advertising campaigns. Rotorua's Tourism board has played up the concentration of Māori cultural experiences in their ad campaigns often. An explanation for which can be found in who the tourists are that they are trying to reach. Domestic tourists, like those in Ryan and Pike's study, do not go to Māori-based tourism trips, instead international tourists do. In 2006, 80% of visitors to Māori-based tourism events were international

tourists, making up a hefty majority of the 11% of the tourism sector that is Māori culture based, roughly 18 million NZD when counted in 2001 (Diamond 2010; Sole 2006). Two positive feedback loops are created, one where international tourists are attracted to the 'exotic' Māori culture presented at these hangi dinner and shows, which are based upon stereotypical images of Māori presented by ads, while at the same time domestic tourists avoid these types of places because they are "too touristy" and that Māori culture is not seen as exotic to New Zealand residents anyway (Diamond 2010). Since the demand from international visitors is so strong for what is perceived as the authentic Māori cultural experience, pulling mostly on exoticized, stereotypical images is advantageous even though it does not attract domestic visitors and further entrenches these stereotypical ideas. Kapa haka is sustained in these ways, but is part of Māori culture becoming tokenized and stereotyped.

The Unity-in-Diversity Paradigm Fallacy

The above can exemplify how biculturalism in New Zealand may fall into the trap of the Unity-in-Diversity paradigm, outlined by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett where an "insiders do, outsiders watch" ideology is reinforced (1988, 151). She looked at folk arts being paralyzed by authenticity questions because commercialization of folk products was seen as inauthentic, yet the artists and the wider community which produces these arts need them to be economically viable to be worth passing the craft down the generations. This focus on the artist's identity and the authenticity of it when a craft or practice is done by a person from the community which originated them, often prevents outsiders from trying to participate (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988). Kapa haka is not in such dire straits as to the practice disappearing if not directly, economically viable, however, economics still plays a role in why and how people can dedicate themselves to it.

Kapa Haka's Huge Opportunity to Improve Bicultural Relations

There is a large opportunity for kapa haka to be instrumental in integrating New Zealand's cultures. Haka is already a part of the mainstream and national sporting culture, is entrenched in tourism, and the already large viewing numbers- domestic and international- of kapa haka events such as Te Matatini have. Kapa haka has been shown to be thought of as a "safe" gateway into substantive cultural interaction and learning, important steps in reducing ethnic tensions (Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2016; Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014; Timu 2018).

Pulling on Kapa Haka as a National Sport

Casting kapa haka in this direction of sport allows it access to the nationalistic forces that sports are accomplished at attaining. Under the guidelines of Te Matatini many of these aspects are already incorporated. Popular support can be seen in that each performing group is made of up to 40 performers so that just the performers for Te Matatini o te Ao (2019) with 46 teams, means there were up to 2,000 individuals involved just on stage ("Groups" 2019). In addition to this, are friends and family supporters, coaches, backup performers, musicians, associated businesses (for example making each group's kākahu), venue employees and volunteers, and regular visitors to Te Matatini ("Te Matatini Ki Te Ao 2019" 2019). Thousands of people are involved in this event. For Te Matatini 2017 in Hastings, 70% of attendees were event returnees, with a quarter of those respondents having gone to five or more events in the past (Angus & Associates 2017). Sustainable popular support for kapa haka is apparent from these figures. The competition is biannual (once every two years) matching with Watson's argument that the semi-regularity of other sports competitions act as regularly scheduled moments for reassessment of identity. Kapa haka covers the visceral interaction between the crowd and performers in a more intense way than in usual sporting or performing arts contexts, through the practice of haka mihi, haka tautoko, and the production of ihi, wehi, and wana. These return haka are done by the audience (usually specific team supporters) after a rōpū have finished to thank them for their hard work

and entertainment (Mazer 2011b; Timu 2018). Kapa haka also contains a multilayered affiliation structure because groups represent their iwi, hapū, and whānau on the Te Matatini stage. The winners get to represent New Zealand abroad when needed during their tenure as champions too, casting them as representatives of New Zealand, akin to the way the All Blacks are.

Pulling on Kapa Haka as a Bicultural Practice Itself

Kapa haka is already a bicultural practice, due to long-standing influences from each side due to tourism mostly, but also shown in the format of the competitive event. Doing kapa haka on a stage, for a mostly passive audience is a Western formulation involving Māori movements and principles for the performers. Performing groups are also already using the stage to directly make comments on politics (“Te Matatini Ki Te Ao 2019” 2019). At the most recent competition, three of the final nine groups used non-Māori costuming (military shirt, jackets, and drum; tartan cloaks; 1800s hat) and spoke about colonization with Te Iti Kanhurangi rōpū ending their performance with a banner of "Whakamana te Tiriti" (restore prestige to the Treaty of Waitangi) (“Te Matatini Ki Te Ao 2019” 2019). These kinds of messages are directed at Pākehā, but they are not present to hear them. The biggest issue is getting Pākehā to watch and participate, in a proper, respectful way.

Te Matatini

Current Participation Issues at Te Matatini

Kapa haka has all the markings of what could be a deeply entrenched part of New Zealand's national identity, not only because it is unique and indigenous to the islands, but also that it can employ the mechanics used to support a national identity through sport. However, it is not. Only the haka portion is employed outside of Māori contexts, with very few Pākehā participating in kapa haka groups, or even passively participating by going to events, or watching them on TV and online. Even as the most prestigious kapa haka competition, in 2017, only 19% of the in-person Te Matatini audience identified as New Zealand European, despite the non-Māori population making up 72% of the total population (Angus & Associates 2017; StatsNZ 2013). More widely 62% of European New Zealanders reported having never done any kapa haka themselves at all (Ahmed 2018).

Why Pākehā Are Not Participating

Many factors may contribute to why Pākehā are not participating with Māori in kapa haka due to general factors and in the structure of Te Matatini itself.

There is a general apprehension to not committing cultural faux pas, due mostly to ignorance, whether innocent or not, of how one should act in certain situations. Having the reputation of being a harmoniously, bicultural state only adds to this pressure. For Pākehā in to te ao Māori, there is a sense of not being entitled to claim a part of Māori culture themselves. For example, Pākehā in Te Huia and Liu's study said they felt uncomfortable wearing taonga they were given while living within New Zealand, but felt good wearing them in Japan (Te Huia and Liu 2012). Whilst in New Zealand, they did not want to take on the trappings of Māori culture because they did not feel entitled to take on the mantle of a kind of tangata whenua, even if they had never lived anywhere else. This reluctance may be connected to the formation of the Pākehā identity in the first place. Pākehā was not, and to a certain extent still not, a widely used self-identifying term (Barber 1999). The term being used in any political

form did not exist until the Māori renaissance, when some people created the politicized Pākehā group in response to Māori reasserting of their identity (Barber 1999). Clinging to calling themselves New Zealand Europeans implicitly removes them from being from New Zealand in the same way Māori can.

Explanations for why Pākehā may not be going to Te Matatini specifically can be found in its explicit and implicit structure. The event is currently conducted completely in te reo Māori, which while good for immersive aspects, alienates any who are not fluent, or fluent enough to manage (Mazer 2011b; “Te Matatini Ki Te Ao 2019” 2019). Additionally, over half of the attendees are there as direct whānau support for the performers. This is a double-edged sword in that it reinforces tight whanaungatanga bonds, but lends itself to an insularity issue. Lastly, the audience profile (87% Māori and 50% coming from family ties) supports the advertising of the event as the biggest in te ao Māori, which may both be continuing the Unity-in-Diversity fallacy described by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1988; Angus & Associates 2017). Committing the event so heavily to it being a Māori event, may lead some Pākehā to not attend because they conceive of the event as only for Māori.

More broadly, committing oneself to a kapa haka group, because of its focus on whanaungatanga in addition to long hours of practice needed to learn and memorize 25-minute routines, is a significant commitment many may not be able or want to take on. Participants must also learn another language in order to take part in a meaningful and tika (proper/good) way. These make a very high barrier for entry.

Goals and Results from Te Matatini Themselves, 2013-2027

Te Matatini has published reports on what their goals were during the 2013 to 2016-time frame as well as the most recent plan from 2017 looking at how well their goals were met and outlining their ten-year plan (2017-2027) in growing the event (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2013; Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2017b). The tables below compare the reports broken into four broader categories

of what their goals were in 2013, the status of those goals in 2016, and what their new goals are for 2027.

Category	Goals from 2013*	Results in 2016†	Goals for 2027†
Youth and Excellence Standards	<p>"Foster talent and creativity" of youth especially</p> <p>Desire to fund non-competitive performances</p> <p>Facilitate hui (meetings) to discuss best practices and inform standards creation</p>	<p>No national standards to define excellence</p> <p>Sentiments that rohe governing could be strengthened</p> <p>No data on youth skills or leadership abilities</p> <p>Not currently supporting a youth to senior group program</p>	<p>Create a youth leadership program between rohe and nationals</p> <p>Create a reward system for transferring between Secondary school groups and Senior groups (nationals qualifying)</p> <p>Work on nationalizing standards</p>
Intellectual Property Issues	<p>Investigate legal issues of Intellectual Property with kapa haka</p> <p>Record and keep all Te Matatini performances- with permissions from all people on record</p>	<p>Have partial ownership of footage- split with Aotearoa Kapa haka Limited</p> <p>Intellectual property issues and performance archives managed manually</p>	<p>Gain full ownership of clips and control access to them</p> <p>Work out royalties, consent processes</p> <p>Investigate pay per view of archives avenue</p> <p>Transition to a digitally managed system</p>
Financial Sustainability Issues	<p>Strengthen rohe via increasing private and public sponsors</p> <p>Get linked with complimentary health, education, and cultural heritage organizations</p> <p>Attain financial stability</p> <p>Demonstrate concrete (economic) value to get 3rd party sponsors</p>	<p>Only preliminary data on wellbeing impact (Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore only report on it)</p> <p>Audits are costly and not consistent</p> <p>Current sponsorships not sufficient</p> <p>50% increase in budget for 2016 (\$1.2 mil to \$1.9 mil)</p>	<p>Attain funding consistency at rohe level</p> <p>Target of 10% annual business growth</p> <p>Reduce overall costs by prioritizing better- based on studies to be done</p> <p>Work on merchandising ideas for nationals' weekend</p>

		<p>Preliminary info of ways to get more money from spectators (merch and pay per view options with archives)</p> <p>More equitable rohe funding</p>	
Event Growth	<p>Get larger and more diverse audiences</p> <p>Use technology to increase accessibility (to cut down on YouTube uploads because of copyright infringement and tensions over lack of tikanga taught online)</p> <p>Increase exposure and participation domestically and internationally</p>	<p>No clear data on engagement on all levels</p> <p>Met spectator numbers goals⁹</p> <p>No data on the influence of social media or broadcasting shifts</p> <p>Surveys show current lack of awareness of event and larger Te Matatini Inc by public</p> <p>Increase international audience⁹</p>	<p>Increase spectator numbers⁹ and get above 90% approval ratings</p> <p>Increase domestic and international marketing of event</p> <p>Increase number of active participants by 2027⁹</p> <p>Increase projects with the government on time and compete with excellent standards to increase professional profile</p>

*Te Mahere Rautaki, Te Matatini Business Plan 2013-2016 (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2013)

† Te Pitau Whakarei, Te Matatini Society Inc. Strategic Plan 2017-2027 (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2017b)

⁹No specific numbers were given in the report.

Critiques of These Goals

Three points for critique arise from looking at these plans, the largest being the failure to have collected data on many of the aspects of their event of which they wanted to improve. Without knowledge of where weak points are at, setting goals cannot be done effectively. Perhaps because of this failure to gather specific data, their goals are often ill-defined. The new goals are aimed in positive directions; however, their murkiness detracts. These publicly released plans may not accurately reflect all the specifics of their plans, but from these documents' specifics are sparse. The last critique returns back to the Unity-in-Diversity fallacy in that Te Matatini Inc. themselves state that they (in 2013) wanted, "Kapa Haka excellence [to be] showcased to a wide and diverse audience" (Barbara

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988; Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2017). Only pushing for diversity of your audience is exactly in line with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's 'insiders do- outsiders watch' point.

Current Answers to Research Questions

- i. What is the structure of kapa haka competitions?

Kapa haka has taken on the trappings of normative, Western sports organizations via its formalization of the practice with a rulebook from a governing body (Te Matatini Inc.); the predominance of it as a competition instead of solely for entertainment; holds local, regional, and national competitions in a normalized hierarchy of advancement from one to the next level of competition; and purposefully stages a tradition for an audience.

- ii. How does that influence its place in New Zealand culture?

Formulating kapa haka as a competitive sport has allowed it to incorporate the community building forces sports have in abundant supply. Creating a specific competition to highlight excellence has allowed Māori to show off positive achievements in contrast to some of the more negative statistics the community has. Its wider connection to sport from the use of the haka, positively or negatively, by the All Blacks has linked it with wider sports culture of New Zealand and increasingly globally. This in turn has connected with the strong sporting identity of the country, reflected in the haka's use in mainstream sports as a pregame ritual. Transitioning to the wider use has made haka a common identifier, not only for Māori, but for all New Zealanders.

- iii. How can/does that effect on-the-ground biculturalism in New Zealand?

Kapa haka, especially haka by itself, can be pointed to as a sign of well-functioning biculturalism. It certainly has the ability to act as such, but its application, especially by the government, is often still quite tokenistic. As reported in *Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore*, kapa haka is allowed to function as a mask for deeper issues stemming from settler colonialism (Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014). Knowledge of kapa

haka can be used as a litmus test for Pākehā to show off their knowledge of te ao Māori, but all its associated tikanga, whakapapa, mythos, can, and is, often forgotten in the face of the appeal of a frightening haka tūtū ngārahu (haka done by warrior before going into battle).

Te Matatini itself contributes to this tokenism itself, by staging tradition, in the words of Desmond (1993). Although changing slowly, the event is characterized in its presenting of "traditional Māori" that while fitting with historical fact, perpetuates stereotypes.

Ways to Alter Te Matatini Towards Integrated Biculturalism

Previous Programs to Learn From

New Zealand has had many attempts in the past and present to weave bicultural practices into their everyday practice: some have experienced success, others less so. Practices of all sorts have been implemented from sectors of education, entertainment, broadcasting, tourism, museums, other Māori-based national festivals and sports, and within kapa haka groups and institutions themselves. Insights can be garnered about these practices in what led to their respective failures or successes to aid in reforming the most salient form of kapa haka, the Te Matatini festival and competition.

Less Successful Programs

Reasons why some attempts have failed generally fall into four categories: they lose their cultural context, are not Māori taught or led, their goals are too vague, or they are too insular and cannot branch out beyond Māori participants.

Those that lose cultural context often have no, or only limited inclusion of Māori in their creation. A good example of this is in the Adidas ad 'Black' from 1999. Adidas had just become the new sponsor of the All Blacks that year and wanted to localize themselves to New Zealand because of some controversy of the global, German based corporation being chosen over a Christchurch company as team backers. They decided to do this with an advertisement to play both locally in New Zealand and globally, with the objectives to,

"(a) leverag[e] the All Blacks as one of adidas's core global icons prior to and during the 1999 Rugby World Cup and (b) demonstrating that adidas 'understand and feel what lies at the heart of the All Blacks' through an advertising campaign that brings 'the power and mystique of the All Blacks to life like never before.'" (Scherer and Jackson 2008, 511-512)

They employed the Wellington based branch of U.K. advertising agency, Saatchi & Saatchi, and worked closely with New Zealand Rugby Union (now New Zealand Rugby) the sport's governing body, to

produce this ad (Scherer and Jackson 2008). The created ad used alternating imagery of the All Blacks performing the Ka Mate haka and a group of traditionally clothed and tattooed Māori warriors doing the same. The ad itself has issues in the further stereotyping Māori as warlike and further cementing the link between Ka Mate and the All Blacks, but also in that very few Māori people were consulted regarding the tikanga and appropriateness of the whole piece (Scherer and Jackson 2008). The creators of Ka Mate, Ngāti Toa, were specifically not consulted over the use of their taonga, with Adidas and Saatchi & Saatchi citing the haka as belonging to the whole country and refusing to compensate Ngāti Toa in any way for the use of the composition of their tupuna (ancestor), chief Te Rauparaha (Scherer and Jackson 2008). Not including the originators of the haka they used, is explicitly losing cultural context of the haka and exclusion of Māori from the space in which their culture is being employed, especially to make money.

For kapa haka groups in mainstream schools, experts are often brought in to show the students some moves, waiata, and tikanga (Appendix B). But if the kapa haka teacher is either not Māori themselves, or is only brought in once or twice to supply some knowledge, then the practice is not completely tika. This was also an issue connected with the All Blacks, who before 1987, were not taught to haka by Māori. Pre-1987 performances of haka are undisciplined and look nothing like how a kapa haka team would perform the same moves.

Megan Lourie (2015) examined the policy ideas and assumptions behind many bicultural measures in New Zealand schools. She asserts the bicultural education policy in New Zealand is vague, has no set accountability practices, and homogenizes both peoples, Pākehā and Māori, as defined by the Treaty of Waitangi (Lourie 2015). Firstly, the policy itself is vague in that it gives no concrete expression to what a balanced bicultural school environment should be like; instead the methods of checking perform that work (Lourie 2015). However, these checks are not in the policy and are not nationwide standards. Most commonly, the ability of teachers to speak and use te reo is the marker used to show

bicultural competence, thus showing the "ability to act in both cultural contexts in a sensitive way" as per the policy (Lourie 2015). This leads into the next issue however, the homogenization of the Treaty groups. Since the use of te reo is denoted as a marker of Māori, it is then assumed that all Māori speak te reo well, if not fluently. But, even at Te Matatini, only a third of the audience (of which 87% identified as Māori) reported that they could speak te reo fluently (Angus & Associates 2017). This figure is not surprising given that te reo was suppressed from the 1870s until the revival of the 1980s ("History of the Māori Language" 2017). In her own study of twenty Pākehā high school students, who were taking te reo classes, Lourie discovered that they had a collective view of Māori as "distinct, homogeneous, and proficient reo users" and they concluded that te reo was not in much danger of dying out (Lourie 2015). Notably, this perspective did not come from their lived experiences which included Māori students in their reo classes learning alongside them. Lourie states this view comes from the idealized, homogeneous construct of Māori that bicultural policies sustain (Lourie 2015). Not only is there this assumption that all speak it, but it glosses over the regional and iwi specific dialects of Māori that exist as well. The vagueness of education's bicultural policy, here has led to homogenization of groups and false, if not outright dangerous, assumptions about to the health of te reo Māori and Māori people.

The issue of insularity comes mainly from Māori produced organizations, who are balancing the tensions between expanding their cultural practices outside te ao Māori and upholding themselves as kaitiaki (guardians) of them, wanting to conserve the traditions by not sharing them too broadly. Te Matatini and the groups that perform at it are a big component of this problem. The broadcasting of Te Matatini (emcees, commentators, TV channel, onscreen text, event programs) is done almost exclusively in te reo Māori. There are no translations provided in person and only some text is translated for online platforms (Mazer 2011b; "Te Matatini Ki Te Ao 2019" 2019). It can be expected that the performances themselves be totally in te reo because that is one of the aspects of the competition, however, to have no linguistic resources available to those that are not fluent enough is exclusionary. This view is not only

expressed by those who are not Māori at the event, but also the two thirds of the Māori audience who do not speak reo well (Angus & Associates 2017). Culturally "Other" spaces can be intimidating to outsiders, without a significant language barrier adding to it. Another source of insularity may come from the principle of whanaungatanga (same meaning as whakawhanaungatanga) itself. Gaining access to a tight knit, family like group may present a tougher challenge to outsiders, than if the bonds were not as close. Persistence is needed to become involved in these bonds, which may be excluding those who cannot commit so heavily, or are apprehensive in the first place.

More Successful Programs

Programs that have worked follow three general categories in their practice. They emphasize tikanga, have strong Māori participation and leadership pathways even outside Māori dominated organizations, and intentionally mix ethnicities and cultural practices of all present.

Some mainstream schools' kapa haka groups have succeeded in retaining tikanga, increasing reo ability, teaching Pākehā te ao Māori, and affirming their Māori students as Māori (Patrick 2017; Patrick 2018). These groups emphasize adherence to tikanga practices, promote language learning beyond memorizing the lyrics to waiata being performed, work on social cooperation and group bonding through whakawhanaungatanga, and employ a tuakana/teina (older/younger sibling) approach to teaching kapa haka (Patrick 2018). Tuakana/teina works through the extended metaphor of the group as a family. Through whakawhanaungatanga, the more experienced members may take on a less experienced member in the fashion of a younger sibling to teach them. This format also works to subvert Pākehā dominance of mainstream schools, as the work of Rose Yukich and Te Kawehau Haskins (2011) shows. Three principals of schools implementing bicultural policies found that they needed to learn to "walk small" meaning that they had to learn to be students to their Māori students and recognize they did not know everything. This put them in the role of teina (Yukich and Haskins 2011). Successful school kapa haka groups allow their Māori students to lead and emphasize tikanga.

Ki-o-rahi is precolonial ball game that has experienced continual popularity in Māori spaces, however, it was not connected to tourism or the wider expression of Māori revival as kapa haka was ("K.I.O.R.A.H.I" 2014). Instead, it was intentionally kept exclusive to marae to ensure its connections of whakapapa, mauri (life force), and its tikanga ("K.I.O.R.A.H.I" 2014). The game has only recently gained a broader audience; as of 2012, around 10% of kids in New Zealand played it regularly ("K.I.O.R.A.H.I" 2014). The first international competition was played in 2010, as it has also spread to the U.S. and U.K. because of those country's populace of Māori people ("K.I.O.R.A.H.I" 2014). Workshops are done each time it is introduced to a new group of learners, who teach its rules, connected mythology, whakapapa, and tikanga. The slower introduction of ki-o-rahi allowed it to better control how well it is taught. This is not as easy to apply onto kapa haka today, however, it shows that it is very possible to teach tikanga well, if correct attention is paid to ensuring it.

The change of how the All Blacks approached the haka is a prime example of all of these principles to follow. When revising how they performed their haka in 1987, Buck Shelford insisted that haka masters, te reo leaders, and appropriate kaumatua (elders) were consulted so that the players learned proper tikanga in all the aspects of haka (Timu 2018). The players also went (and continue to) on a noho marae (staying over on a marae) experience to learn it so they were immersed into te ao Māori and learned it in a style similar to how the haka is traditionally taught in the whare-tū-taua (house of war) (Timu 2018). The team is now almost always led in haka by a player of Māori descent (All Blacks 2016). With their revised haka, Kapa o Pango, there is a fusion of cultures because of the mixed history of the All Blacks team from which the new haka pulls from.

Parallels to nationalization and potential fusing of cultures Te Matatini may go through in the future may be found in the revival and nationalizing of Matariki, the Māori New Years. The holiday period was still commonly celebrated in rural areas, but had not transitioned into urban Māori spaces (Hardy 2012). Te Puni Kokiri (Department of Māori Affairs) and Te Taura Whiri I te Reo Māori (Māori

Language Commission) began collecting and publishing information surrounding Matariki beginning in the late 1990s and early 2000s after activist, Diane Prince, was introducing it into Pipitea, an urban marae of Wellington, on a smaller scale since 1995 (Hardy 2012). Over time, the celebrations have become more secular and has shifted meaning generally into the 'New Beginnings' motif of most New Year's celebrations. These do not wholly undermine its original meanings, but there are some who fear for the holiday's wairua (spirit) being lost along the same lines as commercialized versions of Christmas and Easter (Hardy 2012). However, the holiday has retained strong roots in Māori tradition, with the Māori story associated with the Pleiades being the holiday's basis. The holiday was exposed to more people through a partnership with New Zealand Post in creating Matariki themed stamps (Hardy 2012). These are their second most popular designs during the year, only the Christmas collection being more popular (Hardy 2012). Combining Pākehā stamps and Māori themes has led to Matariki being exposed to a broader audience, while the designs of the stamps are done in close collaboration with relevant Māori experts of the topic for the annual collection.

One last example of success in integrated cultures is in the kindergarten program housed in the country's national museum, Te Papa Tongarewa. The program intentionally infuses the Museum environment (upstairs) with its classroom (downstairs); so much so that the students often call the whole museum their kindergarten (Clarkin-Phillips et al. 2012). Māori protocols are learned along with information about objects in exhibition space and the staff explicitly work to guide the class in a way to promote proper tikanga and whanaungatanga (Clarkin-Phillips et al. 2012). Māori tikanga is incorporated in many ways in the classroom such as saying karakia (prayer) before eating, casual use of te reo by students¹¹ and teachers, having their own kapa haka troupe, and acting with manaakitanga when visiting groups have come to the museum and kindergarten (Hardy 2012). Whanaungatanga is

¹¹ Reports that the students often use te reo without prompting and taught their families words and phrases to use them at home.

implemented in fostering a supportive environment and is evidenced in an example of the students (and their parents) attending a tangi (funeral) for the mother of one of the staff members (Hardy 2012; Thompson et al. 2017). This kindergarten actively incorporates the tikanga, reo, and principles of Māori culture along with interacting with cultural artifacts and their regular education curriculum.

Suggestions for Te Matatini

Below are some ideas for concrete changes/ program ideas to Te Matatini can be made to transform this event to be more inviting to interested Pākehā, while also keeping it tika Māori.

The easiest of changes could be offering translations of the event's program and allowing short haka mihi and haka tautoko. Providing translations ranging from repeating introductions, partly or wholly, in English¹² by the emcees, to having live translations on screens of performances, or alternatively having printed versions¹³ of the words of each group could make the event much more accessible. This idea is already supported by the majority of Te Matatini spectators because many go to the event wanting to improve their reo, but are not fluent enough to know what the groups are saying to the fullest extent (Angus & Associates 2017; Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014). Providing translations could be viewed as watering down the potency of immersion in this event as a space to learn the language, however, supplying them aids those who have little experience and is in line with new research in translanguaging. This being a new conception of one's linguistic skills as all being one resource, not divided into separate language codes (Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015). By purposely combining language codes, the person can use all of their matching resources to make sense of a

¹² I put English here because it is the other official language of New Zealand and is the most common language. This does not exclude possible translations into any language for those who are watching Te Matatini online.

¹³ Since each performance is 25 minutes long and there are 46 groups at the national level, perhaps translations would be offered separately group by group which supporters could pick up or buy only the groups they like or support.

situation while strengthening cross code meaning making (Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015). The second easiest change would be in allowing haka mihi and haka tautoko. In te ao Māori, one side's haka is almost never left unanswered by the other side. These types of haka are currently suppressed by emcees and security at Te Matatini because it stalls following groups performing (Mazer 2011b). Returning challenging haka and performing haka mihi by supporters after a performance is more in line with tikanga and only needs short breaks to be scheduled in to accommodate them (Mazer 2011a; Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014; Timu 2018).

In line with the work of Denise Wilson et. al (2018), activities surrounding events often impact the main one's success. Through their work with Aborigines communities, focusing on performing arts events, Wilson et al. found that engaging with the targeted community for participation beyond the planned event was crucial. For engaging First Nations community members, appropriate rituals were performed when entering a territory, which could be analogous to saying ones pepeha (traditional introduction) or performing a pōwhiri in a Māori context (Wilson et al. 2018). They also provided transportation for people who needed it, hosted pre and post-performance Q and A sessions, did artist meet and greets with the community, held picnics, and involved local groups in indirect topics (health, employment, work skills, education) at accompanying fairs (Wilson et al. 2018). A similar integration could happen with Te Matatini. Each host city may invite similarly unrelated local groups and vendors to appear at their venue. This idea is supported by responses in Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore (2014), who expressed a desire for more activities to do while waiting for their favorite rōpū to take the stage. Broadening the scope of activities, events, and booths, may also attract those not initially that heavily involved in kapa haka to attend. For online viewers, posting more on the profiles of groups, perhaps individual performers even, may be in line with this, as well as supplying links to the groups' membership pages or links to find local kapa haka groups to each remote viewer if possible. Additional

links to consider would be te reo classes with signups or coupons related to Te Matatini attendance for example.

Broadcasting is another point where the event could be changed to broaden its viewer base. Currently, Aotearoa Kapa Haka Limited owns the rights to Te Matatini footage and it is only licensed to Māori Television (Free to Air station in New Zealand and partially available online through their website) (Gardiner 2019). Although it is free to air, which anyone can view and in theory provides more access, the station is primarily in te reo, so those not familiar will often skip over it (@Ngati_frybread 2019b; Fraser and McMahon 2002). Pushing the event onto other channels in conjunction with having English translations could allow for a wider appeal of the general public.

New technologies, specifically Alternate Reality and Virtual Reality, could be explored further than what avenues are currently being investigated by Te Matatini Inc. In line with their stated objectives in both the 2013 and 2017 strategic plans, they endeavor to use new technology, but from their written goals, it looks as though they are sticking to television and online streaming (Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2013; Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2017b). These are valid points to invest in, but some attention could be paid to the more detailed possibilities AR/VR could have for kapa haka. There have been a couple of preliminary projects who have captured kapa haka performances with VR technology (*Te Ahua Hiko* by the Canterbury Museum and *Kaumatua* by Te Ari Brennan) (Brown 2008). These have been successful in digitizing detailed, 3D models of the action in alignment with mātauranga, while maintaining a performer's rights over their digital bodies being played and how they are stored. These follow precedents set by photographs¹⁴ in te ao Māori (Brown 2008).

A possible controversial amendment to the program may be in the form of a half, or full Pākehā group on stage competing, if they make it through the preliminary rounds of competition of course. An

¹⁴ This precedent is that representations of people are counted as people and are seen to have their own mauri (life force) which is respected and copyrights over one's associated objects are retained through death, then for the next 50 years to the next of kin to that individual (Brown 2008).

idea of creating a Ngāti Kiwi¹⁵ identity generally in New Zealand has been floated by some Māori as an attempt to fuse Pākehā into te ao Māori (Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2016). Forming a Ngāti Kiwi group could fit a Pākehā group into Te Matatini's format of groups representing iwi. Representation is important and the inclusion of a specifically Pākehā group may aid in garnering attention and interest by more Pākehā in the event, or in te ao Māori in general. Since they can see themselves in it, respecting and celebrating the other culture, other Pākehā may want to take part as well. Pākehā support is crucial to the survival of Māori culture, as they share the land and legacies now, by admission of many Māori themselves (Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014). Seeing other Pākehā doing kapa haka in a tika way may inspire more to join in, not only in kapa haka, but in the larger issues of Māoridom as they engage and interact more (Pack, Tuffin, and Lyons 2016).

Organizational support devolved to the rohe competitions will aid in increasing their prestige and ability to have high quality kapa haka in each region. This is especially true for those who in the past have not had strong performers due to previous harsh suppression policies, or need extra funding. Teams from the South Island (Te Tau Ihu and Waitaha) and, as of 2006, from Australia (Te Whenua Moemoeā) require more funding due to both of these reasons. Almost every nationals is held in the North Island, so costs are consistently higher for those farther away (Richards and Ryan 2010; Te Matatini Kapa Haka Aotearoa 2018). Developing rohe level competitions may also contribute to reducing the elitism often invoked by Te Matatini. The national competition weekend is rightfully presented as the most prestigious groups competing for the trophy, however, with that and tourism being the only expressions of kapa haka outsiders may encounter, sets expectations so high, they may never seek it out for themselves. This kind of support is vaguely outlined in their 2016 results and continued 2017 goals, under equitable funding for rohe development.

¹⁵ All non-Māori residents (or strongly NZ affiliated people) of New Zealand could be classified under this new Ngāti Kiwi iwi.

Nationally, New Zealand could make a solid commitment to the preservation of the practice of kapa haka and all other aspects of Māori intangible cultural heritage, by joining UNESCO's convention on it. The signing itself would be mostly symbolic, but an important gesture that would cement the government's obligation to support intangible taonga, internationally, outside of its domestic Treaty obligations.

Conclusions

Wider participation in kapa haka in New Zealand and globally is excitedly supported by Māori community members in Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore report as they see the practice of kapa haka as being a resource that could be used by anyone. They say that its benefits of whakawhanaungatanga, whānau support, and physical and mental benefits may be beneficial to anyone who participates, as well as those external, economic and community developmental opportunities (Pihama, Tipene, and Skipper 2014). By making changes along the lines of those explained above and more ideas as circumstances change over time, and while remaining flexible as an expressive practice itself, kapa haka will continue to have its place and influence over New Zealand's bicultural identity.

Appendices

Appendix A

Search terms¹⁶: "Visit New Zealand"

1. Welcome to New Zealand | Official site for Tourism New Zealand
 - <https://www.newzealand.com/int/>
2. 13 Things to See and Do When You Visit New Zealand- Nomadic Matt
 - <https://www.nomadicmatt.com/travel-blogs/great-reasons-to-visit-new-zealand/>
3. Top 10 Mistakes Tourists Make in New Zealand- TripSavvy
 - <https://www.tripsavvy.com/mistakes-tourists-make-in-new-zealand-1606165>
4. New Zealand Travel- Lonely Planet
 - <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/new-zealand>
5. The Best time to Visit New Zealand in 2018 | Travel + Leisure
 - <https://www.travelandleisure.com/travel-tips/best-time-to-visit-new-zealand>
6. Visit New Zealand | Immigration New Zealand
 - <https://www.immigration.govt.nz/new-zealand-visas/options/visit>
7. THE 10 Best Places to Visit in New Zealand This Year | SmarterTravel
 - <https://www.smartertravel.com/10-best-places-to-go-in-new-zealand/>
8. 10 reasons to visit New Zealand now – National Geographic
 - <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/travel/destinations/oceania/new-zealand/reasons-visit-tourism/>

¹⁶ Parameters: Only the first page of results to these search terms; Google was the search engine used; incognito mode activated; sponsored posts ignored.
Searches done on May 12, 2019

Appendix B

Search terms: "Join Kapa Haka"

1. Kapahaka – TIAKIANGA
 - <http://www.tiakitanga.maori.nz/kapahaka.html>
2. FAQ: How can I find a kapa haka group to join? @ maori.org.nz
 - <http://www.maori.org.nz/faq/showquestion.php?faq=5&fldAuto=105&MenuID=5>
3. Kapa Haka- Māori Performance | New Zealand
 - <https://www.newzealand.com/int/feature/kapa-haka-maori-performance/>
4. Kapa haka | Parenting resource
 - <https://parentingresource.nz/supporting-information/kapa-haka/>
5. Benefits for non-Māori students: Kapa Haka in Mainstream Schools
 - <https://www.schoolnews.co.nz/2018/05/kapa-haka-in-mainstream-schools-benefits-for-non-maori-students/>
6. Winton Kapa Haka for All Ages- Winton- Eventfinda
 - <https://www.eventfinda.co.nz/2016/winton-kapa-haka-for-all-ages/winton>
7. A Special Moment with Warriors
 - <http://www.traveller.com.au/a-special-moment-with-warriors>
 - *Blog post now (August 5, 2019) deleted
8. The Cultural DO's and DON'Ts in New Zealand – Haka Tours Blog
 - <https://hakatours.com/blog/cultural-dos-and-donts/>

Appendix C

Search terms: "Haka"

1. Haka- Wikipedia
 - <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haka>
2. The Haka- Dance of War- Maori Haka – New Zealand | Tourism NZ
 - <https://www.newzealand.com/us/feature/haka/>
3. The Haka | Allblacks.com
 - <https://www.allblacks.com/Teams/Haka>
4. What is the haka, what are its lyrics, and why do the New Zealand All Blacks perform it before every match?
 - <https://www.thesun.co.uk/sport/3816859/haka-new-zealand-all-blacks-england/>
5. The Haka and New Zealand Rugby: What it Means and Where it Comes From
 - <https://www.cnn.com/2019/03/26/sport/haka-new-zealand-all-blacks-rugby-spt-intl/index.html>
6. Hakatours.com
 - *page unavailable
7. What is a Haka Dance?
 - <https://www.backpackerguide.nz/the-maori-haka-its-meaning-history/>
8. New Zealand Māori Culture, The Haka- New Zealand Tourism Guide
 - <https://www.tourism.net.nz/new-zealand/about-new-zealand/haka.html>
9. The Māori Haka: Its Meaning & History
 - <https://www.backpackerguide.nz/the-maori-haka-its-meaning-history/>

Glossary

Ao- world, used in: Te ao Māori- the Māori World

Atua- god(s)

Ihi- apprehensive or nervous energy

Iwi- tribe

Haka- posture dance

Hākinakina- western sports

Hangi- style of cooking- dug-in, ground-oven cooked food

Hapū- subtribe

Kākahu- costume

Kapa haka- to dance in a row. Also used to denote all Māori performing arts

Karanga- call of welcome. Done by kaumatua wahine of the host marae during pōwhiri

Kaumatua- elders

Ki-o-rahi- traditional ball game

Korowai- cloak

Manaakitanga- hospitality without expecting returns

Manukura- leaders

Māori- indigenous people of New Zealand

Mātauranga- passing on and adding your own knowledge to the body of knowledge

Mita- rhythm, or meter of speaking or singing

Moko- tattoo

Moko kauwae- chin and lip tattoos worn by women

Mōteatea- traditional chanting

Ngā- the (plural)

Ngā taonga tākaro- traditional physical activities

Pākehā- non-Māori person, often narrowed to New Zealander of European descent

Papakainga- ancestral marae/ home

Patu- hand-held club usually made of bone or greenstone

Pepeha- Māori way of introducing oneself. Mentions one's ancestral land forms and people

Piupiu- flax-rod skirt like a kilt

Poi- ball on a string, mostly used by women today, previously used to strengthen wrists of warriors

Pounamu- greenstone/ NZ jade

Pōwhiri- process of welcoming visitors onto a marae

Pūkana- bulging of the eyes

Rōpū- group of people

Rohe- region

Taiaha- spear

Tangata whenua- people of the land (Māori)

Tāne- man

Taniko- set of traditional, geometric patterns

Taonga- treasure, material and immaterial

Te- the (singular)

Te reo Māori- the Māori Language. Also denoted as te reo, or just reo

Teina- younger sibling (same gender of the Ego)

Tika- proper, good

Tikanga- customs, proper way

Tino rangatiratanga- self-determination

Tipari- headband

Tira- choral. Used as waiata tira- choral song

Titonga waiata hou- originally composed song

Tomokanga- carved archway

Tiriti o Waitangi- Treaty of Waitangi. Also, Te Tiriti or Tiriti. Founding document of New Zealand

Tuakana- older sibling (same gender to the Ego)

Tupuna- ancestor

Wahine- woman

Waiata- song

Wairua- spirit

Waka- canoe

Wana- 3rd party viewing and reflections on ihi and wehi

Wehi- response to someone else's ihi

Whakaeke- entrance onto the kapa haka stage

Whakawātea- exiting the kapa haka stage

Whakawhanaungatanga- process of forming family-like bonds. Also used as whanaungatanga

Whētero- sticking out the tongue, done by men

Whānau- family

Wiri- shaking of one's hands

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August 4, 2019. <https://www.instagram.com/p/ByWH24QBFQv/>.

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