NGĀ HUA A TĀNE RORE

The Benefits of Kapa Haka

Scoping the research needs and options for developing a better understanding of the contribution that Kapa Haka makes to Aotearoa New Zealand society

Scoping Report for Te Manatū Taonga and Te Matatini

June 2014

Te Kotahi Research Institute
THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

Manatū Taonga
Ministry for Culture & Heritage

TE MATATINI
Kapa Haka Aotearoa

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Preface

Mauri ora ki te rangi ko Io matua kore anake Mauri ora ki te whenua ko tātau ngā uri a rātau mā.

Tēnā koutou te hunga whai whakaaro ki tēnei mea te rangahau, heoi anō hāngai ana tēnei ki te taonga nui whakaharahara te Kapahaka.

Kei te mahi ngātahi a Te Matatini me Te Manatū Taonga ki te rangahau i ngā āhuatanga katoa o te Kapahaka, nō reira anei ngā hua o te rangahau tuatahi mai i Te Matapunenga o Te Kotahi kei te Whare Wānanga o Waikato.

Tirohia , korerohia, ketuketungia, karawarawangia me kore e kitea he oranga , kia tika ai te kōrero

"Mā tini mā mano ka rangatira a Kapahaka"

Despite the vitality of kapa haka as an art form and its significance to our culture, its value is not well understood or documented. There have been surprisingly few studies on its contribution to New Zealand society. Te Matatini and Manatū Taonga are working together to develop a programme of research to build empirical evidence of the cultural, social, health, education and economic impacts of kapa haka.

This scoping report is the result of consultation with kapa haka practitioners and interested government agencies. It conveys the passion of kapa haka practitioners - composers, choreographers, tutors and performers - who bring kapa haka to life every day, at home, on the marae, in schools and communities or through regional, national and international events. Behind the scenes are also the many volunteers and whanau who support their roopu and ensure kapa haka is sustained from the local grassroots to the national and international stages – most recently at the 2014 Edinburgh Tattoo.

Kapa haka is more than just performance. It is a unique part of our identity as New Zealanders and helps facilitate meaningful connections with other cultures. The very strong belief that kapa haka contributes to social cohesion, positive health and educational outcomes and economic vitality is expressed throughout the report.

The report concludes with a list of potential short and longer-term research priorities. Some of these would be best suited to academic or community-based research, others could be done in partnership with or between government agencies.

We encourage and invite all interested government agencies, academic and other research groups to engage with this research agenda and to consider how your organisation can help build our collective understanding of the contribution kapa haka makes to New Zealand society.

We thank Te Kotahi Research Institute at Waikato University for undertaking this scoping project for us. Our thanks also to those in the three regions – Ōtautahi, Te Arawa and Tainui who gave their valuable time to participate in focus groups and interviews for this project, and to government stakeholders for their participation in the Wellington workshop.

Te Matatini and Manatū Taonga look forward to engaging with you further as the research develops to ensure kapa haka flourishes throughout Aotearoa-New Zealand and further afield.

Ko te mea nui takatū ake ai ki ngā mahi nei, Kia tau te ia o te mauri kia tātau katoa.

Lewis Holden
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Ministry for Culture & Heritage

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Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore

THE BENEFITS OF KAPA HAKA

Scoping the research needs and options for developing a better understanding of the contribution that Kapa Haka makes to Aotearoa New Zealand society.

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The purpose of this scoping project, commissioned by Te Manatū Taonga and Te Matatini, is to identify a research approach and develop a programme of potential research that will enable these two organisations and other interested stakeholders to further investigate the cultural, educational, social, health and economic benefits that Kapa Haka offers to communities throughout Aotearoa and gain a better understanding of the contribution Kapa Haka makes to NZ Society.

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He mihi matakuikui ki te hunga e tautoko ana i te kaupapa nei, arā, ko te Manatū Toanga, ko Te Matatini, ko ngā kaihaka, ko ngā kaitautoko, nō ngā rohe o Te Arawa, Ōtautahi, me Tainui Waka, nei rā te mihi mutunga kore ki a koutou.

We would like to thank the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and Te Matatini for the opportunity to conduct this scoping project. We would also like to acknowledge the many participants in this scoping project for their valuable contribution to this kaupapa. To all those who participated in the stakeholder workshops, the focus groups and individual interviews in the three regions Te Arawa, Ōtautahi, and Tainui.

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Executive Summary

This report presents the findings of scoping research that is focused on developing a research agenda that will enable a greater understanding of the value and contribution of kapa haka to Aotearoa New Zealand society, and which explores the multiple ways in which we may view the value and contribution of kapa haka within cultural, social and economic contexts.

- There was a unanimous and resounding view that kapa haka does indeed make a valuable contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand society, but that its value is not fully understood or acknowledged within Aotearoa New Zealand.
- The most important components of kapa haka are its intrinsic link to culture and Māori identity, and the essential element of whanaungatanga, the importance of people and connectedness.
- Kapa haka has a dynamic role as a vehicle for the revitalisation and retention of te reo, tikanga, ritual processes and histories.
- It is perceived as a gateway into the culture for Māori who are disengaged from their marae/hapū/iwi, as well as as a safe, inclusive activity through which all New Zealanders can engage with Māori culture.
- Kapa haka is seen as a medium for fostering a richer, more cohesive and inclusive society in Aotearoa New Zealand. As such, it makes a major contribution to building and strengthening New Zealand's nationhood.
- Kapa haka makes a significant contribution to New Zealand's national identity and how we are represented and viewed internationally. It provides an effective platform for creating meaningful connections with other nations and peoples.
- Māori culture/kapa haka is increasingly utilised to add value to many forums, both formal and informal, within the public and government sectors. This was seen by some to reflect a more embracing attitude toward Māori cultural protocols as a normal part of New Zealand's social fabric.
- Kapa haka is not, however, being given the status or respect it deserves as a cultural icon. Because its significance is not well understood by non-Māori, particularly at the level of government, it is often treated in a tokenistic way.
- A major component of kapa haka is its power to effect wellbeing, and to positively transform the lives of individuals and communities. A strength of the movement towards increased health and fitness within kapa haka is that it is achieved collectively.
- An important social benefit of kapa haka is that it provides a positive, disciplined, strength-based environment for rangatahi.
- Kapa haka is having a powerful, transformative impact on social outcomes through the BMPA (Māori performing arts degree), which enables people involved in kapa haka who would otherwise never have considered tertiary education as an option, to embark on that journey and exceed their own expectations.

- An overall feeling of optimism about the future of kapa haka was tempered by the conviction that there was much more potential to be explored within the realm of kapa haka, particularly in terms of its social benefits.
- The myriad benefits of kapa haka within school environments, including improved learning outcomes, were clearly attested to. However, some barriers to realising those improved outcomes were also identified.
- Some participants were very sure of the economic value of kapa haka to Aotearoa. While most of them were less able to articulate specific economic outcomes, they nonetheless had a definite sense of the link between the cultural, social and economic, and that that was of significant value.
- The immense value of 'culture-to-culture' relationships was identified, with Maōri culture, including kapa haka, playing a significant role in laying the foundations for lasting trade relationships with other nations, and other cultures.
- Two significant and largely unacknowledged areas of economic contribution were identified: the 'silent' economy generated by kapa haka activities; and the extensive 'productivity' activity around voluntary workers involved in kapa haka.
- There was an overall view that the economic potential of kapa haka is underestimated and needs to be explored more fully, including the potential for engagement with New Zealand's private sector.
- A recurrent theme that emerged around the value of kapa haka was to do with how we should go about measuring the value of culture, knowledge and art, and how 'value' itself should be defined and measured.
- Economic challenges were identified, especially in terms of financial hardship for those involved in kapa haka at the competitive level. It was also noted, however, that kapa haka communities are naturally adept and endlessly resourceful at generating funds.
- The issue of sustainability was raised by some participants who were concerned that kapa haka should be supported at every level into the future, and not just at the high-end competitive level.
- Of fundamental importance was that the growth and development of kapa haka should take place within the context of the acceptance and embracing of Māori culture as an integral component of New Zealand identity and nationhood.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this scoping project commissioned by Te Manatū Taonga and Te Matatini is to identify a research approach and develop a programme of research that will enable the two organisations and other interested stakeholders to gain empirical evidence of the contribution that kapa haka makes to Aotearoa New Zealand society, in terms of cultural, social, educational, health and economic outcomes.

Kapa haka is an indigenous cultural icon, unique to Aotearoa. While many other Māori cultural practises have been disrupted, kapa haka has survived, grown and evolved. From bone-chilling demonstrations of the haka and mau rākau, to the graceful movement of the poi, kapa haka continues to galvanise and touch the hearts not only of Māori and non-Māori here in New Zealand, but internationally as well. Some examples of this are the recent visits to Aotearoa of female icons of the music industry such as Beyonce and Eryka Badhu, both of whom engaged with the kapa haka phenomenon and were reported in the media as having been profoundly moved by the experience; and the opening night performance of Toroihi rāua ko Kārihi, the Māori adaptation of Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida at the Globe Theatre in London (2012), where audiences were captivated by the intensity and dexterity of the cultural experience provided by the performers. Likewise, during the opening ceremony of the 2011 Rugby World Cup, exponents of kapa haka delivered a breathtaking spectacle which was captured by the media and broadcast world-wide.

It has been identified by the commissioning agents of this research scoping that culture plays an important role in the life of a nation. Confidence in that culture, an appreciation of its unique aspects, and a strong sense of cultural identity contribute positively to employment, economic growth, social cohesion, the acceptance and encouragement of diversity, and creative thinking in a range of fields. Moreover, while growth and development in the cultural sector has intrinsic benefits in itself, there are many more positive social and economic side effects that accrue from that development (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2009).

The artform of kapa haka represents an iconic face of Aotearoa New Zealand culture, yet evidence of the benefits of kapa haka to our nation exists only anecdotally. To date, no empirical research has been conducted that specifically seeks to document the depth and breadth of the impact, the benefits and the value of kapa haka to Aotearoa New Zealand.

This research scoping aims to develop a research approach and programme of research that:

a) Outlines and takes into account the information needs, current research-related activities, potential information uses and resources available for Te Manatū Taonga and Te Matatini;

b) Takes into account key factors to be considered in proceeding with research of this nature, such as availability of research expertise; the cultural research context; existing research initiatives; and engagement with key sector stakeholders and other interested parties;

c) Proposes options for short-term research projects that could be undertaken and outlines possible options for medium to longer term projects; and

d) Takes into account the strategic research relationship that Te Matatini has with the University of Waikato.

The programme of research developed from this scoping will assist in building a credible evidence base to support policy design and assist the Ministry in leveraging future opportunities for appropriate levels of

support for kapa haka. Furthermore, it will expand our understanding of the tangible and intangible benefits of kapa haka to our society.

RESEARCH METHODS

Te Kotahi Research Institute is committed to Kaupapa Māori research methodologies and research practices that are underpinned by tikanga Māori. The current scoping has been positioned within a Kaupapa Māori methodological approach – particularly appropriate given that one of the stated aims of the project is to determine the key factors to be considered in proceeding with research in a cultural context – and the following research practices have been observed throughout the process:

- Tikanga Māori (Knowledge of Māori protocols)
- Te reo Māori (Acknowledgement and use of the Māori language)
- Rangatiratanga (The principle of autonomy)
- Aroha ki te tangata (Warmth and respect shown to people)
- Kanohi kitea (Face-to-face interaction; taking responsibility for the project)
- Kaua e whakahē i te kōrero (Not refuting what is being said)
- Manaaki tangata (Reciprocity; being the ideal host)
- Kia ngawari tō āhua ki te tohutohu (Being clear, and treating people sensitively)
- Te mana o te tangata (Acknowledging people as your equals)
- Whakarongo, titiro, kōrero (Listen, observe and then make a comment)
- Whanaungatanga (The importance of relationships, genealogy)
- Kia tūpato (Be cautious at all times)
- Kaua e whakanui i a koe anō (Remain humble at all times)

Initially, a literature stocktake of existing research pertaining to kapa haka was undertaken in order to identify gaps and trends. The data collection phase of the project involved a series of focus groups and interviews with leading kapa haka exponents, organisers, administrators and stakeholders in three specified regions chosen by the commissioning bodies: they were Tainui, Te Arawa, and Ōtautahi. In addition, two workshops were conducted in Wellington with key sector stakeholders, including Te Manatū Taonga and Te Matatini who hosted the workshops.

The interviews, focus groups and workshops were recorded and transcribed, and the resulting data analysed. The key themes emerging from the data were identified, and written up under the three broad areas of cultural, social and economic outcomes.

LITERATURE STOCKTAKE

A stocktake of existing research on kapa haka reveals a dearth of literature in this area. The following sections gives a summary of the existing literature relating to kapa haka within the three general areas of Cultural, Social and Economic.

CULTURAL

The artform/traditional

The most extensive range of available literature falls into this category, including such 'classic' publications as Best's (1976) Games and Pastimes of the Māori, and Ngata and Hurinui's (1961) Ngā Mōteatea series, as well as the more recently published book Waiata Onamata: Songs from the Past (Te Reo Rangatira Trust, 1998) which archives a collection of traditional waiata and includes recordings of the waiata on CD. Other works focus on particular genres: Māori action songs (Armstrong & Ngata, 1973; Dewes, 1974; Shennan, 1984); Māori 'poetry'(songs) (McLean & Orbell, 2002; Mitcalfe, 1974; Orbell, 1978); Māori music, both traditional and modern (Barrow, 1965); and poi (Huata, 2000; Taylor, 2007), while a small number focus on haka itself (Clements, 1998; Kāretu, 1993) and on the general area of Māori performing arts (Ka'ai-Mahuta, Ka'ai & Moorfield, 2013). From a more anthropological perspective, haka has also been written about in comparison with other styles of Polynesian dance (Linkels & Linkels, 1999).

Artisan/practitioner profiles

To date, surprisingly few works that profile the luminaries of the kapa haka world have been published. Ngoingoi Pewhairangi has contributed to a written record of the life and compositions of her aunt, Tuini Ngawai, a prolific composer of waiata (Ngawai & Pewhairangi, 1985), and Ka'ai-Oldman (2008) has chronicled the 'extraordinary' life of Pēwhairangi herself. This book includes a CD of Pewhairangi's compositions performed by her family. More recently, Haami (2013) has published a biography of Ngapo and Pimia Wehi that provides a unique and personal insight into the history of contemporary Māori music and performance over more than half a century.

A brief article in the magazine DANZ Quarterley, entitled Kapa Haka: Guardian of the dance, profiles composer and choreographer Kuini Moehau Reedy, her life and and her contribution to the field of dance (Horsley, 2007).

Te reo

In this category one article came to light. Written by Ka'ai-Mahuta (2008), it examines the crucial role of language as a central component of Māori performing arts, and the impact on Māori performing arts of the loss of te reo Māori.

Tikanga

A number of publications focus on tikanga in relation to how innovation and outside influences have impacted on kapa haka over time, particularly in the competitive arena (Ka'ai-Oldman, 2005; Rollo, 2007; Papesch, 1990; Papesch, 2006; Papesch 2009). Royal's (1998) doctoral dissertation researches the traditional performing arts institution, the whare tapere; while his book about the creative possibilities of haka (Royal, 2005) explores the notion of expanding our understanding of haka throughout history as a means of inspiring the composition and performance of new haka.

In addition, a number of articles have been published: one looking at the interface between kapa haka as a significant cultural icon, and new innovations in contemporary Māori dance (Sciascia, 2014); and another exploring the tensions that arise when iwi cultural norms are mediated for competition's sake and the impact that can have on tutors, performers and judges (Biddle, 2012).

From another perspective, an article on the Native American performing arts tradition of powwow and its evolution in contemporary times (Scales, 2007) focuses particularly on the benefits and tensions around traditional versus competitive powwow. In this sense it offers an interesting complement and counterpoint to the Aotearoa New Zealand context of Māori performing arts.

Mātauranga

The interface of kapa haka and mātauranga Māori has been explored in a number of publications and presentations. A paper presented by Royal (1997) looks at the role of mōteatea in the transmission of history; a televised broadcast of interviews between Tāmati Waaka and Wharehuia Milroy, Tihi Puanaki and Kaa Williams on the whare tapere has been produced by Māori television (Morgan, 2007); and Matthews and Paringatai (2004) have contributed a section on Māori performing arts to the anthology Ki te whaiao: An introduction to Māori culture and society. In addition, a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga summer internship report by Temara (2005) has looked at contemporary composition of waiata in relation to the traditional art of composition, in order to investigate the correlation of mātauranga Māori to waiata composition.

Identity/pride/activism

The recent Te Kupenga 2013 report on Māori wellbeing, released by Statistics New Zealand (2013), highlights a high level of significance to Māori of both cultural identity and cultural activities, with 373,000 or 70% of Māori adults indicating that it is important for them to be involved in Māori culture. Notions of cultural connectedness are clearly noted within the report, with kapa haka being one of the "modern day equivalents"(p.2) in terms of how people connect culturally. 56% of respondents to the Te Kupenga survey indicated that their cultural involvement included "singing a Māori song, performing haka, giving a mihi or a speech, or taking part in Māori performing arts and craft" (p.6). Kapa haka was also identified as having a key role in te reo Māori being spoken outside the home (p.11).

Academic theses on kapa haka with a specific focus on particular hapū or iwi identity, pride and/or activism have been written in recent years, with topics such as sustaining tribal identity through Tūhoe performing arts (Fraser, 2009); kapa haka as a means of transmitting and celebrating tribal history and identity (Rangihaeata, 2011); and a comparative study of Māori and Indian dance theatre that explores isues of gender and identity (Hamilton, 2010). Another master's thesis (Kaiwai, 2003) investigates the historical role that kapa haka, as a medium for musical innovation and creativity, has played in the sustainability of Māori culture and identity.

As an integral part of New Zealand's national identity. Within the theme of identity and pride, there are also a small number of published profiles of particular groups – Ngāti Pōneke Young Māori Club (Grace & Ramsden, 2002); and the University of Waikato Culture Group (Te Karu, 1989; Kāretu, 1992) - which tell their story, archive their compositions, or celebrate important milestones in their journeys.

SOCIAL

Education; Educational achievement

Whitinui (2007; 2008; 2010) has been a leading advocate for the benefits of collective cultural learning activities, such as kapa haka, in improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools. His research concludes that kapa haka provides Māori students with a creative, dynamic and powerful way to access their learning potential as cultural human beings, and calls for kapa haka to be timetabled as an academic subject in its own right. Hosoda's (2010) master's thesis looks at hula in the context of Hawaiian education. It contrasts the author's experience of a particular school of hula with other forms of hula, kapa haka and siva, and concludes that hula constitutes both a traditional and contemporary form of education that, 'more than physical dance movement, teaches students spirituality, relationships, the nature of the senses, utility and discipline'.

Wellbeing of individuals/whānau/communities

A number of articles and academic theses have explored the interface between kapa haka and wellbeing. Henwood (2007) identifies Māori knowledge as a key ingredient in successful nutrition and physical exercise health promotion programmes for Māori, and argues that through participation in culturally based activities such as kapa haka, a range of wellbeing components is experienced. Johnston's (2007) master's thesis looks at three case studies of recent New Zealand music theatre which incorporate Māori song and dance forms, to investigate the concept of 'healing' – both in terms of healing historical trauma, and also as an essential element by which to foster the post-colonial, bicultural togetherness of our nation. A master's thesis by Porter (2012) looks at the conceptualisation and measurement of iwi wellbeing, and proposes a framework based on iwi values as a mechanism through which iwi are able to: align their efforts to iwi vitality outcomes; effectively monitor what matters to them; and plan for the future towards the realisation of iwi vitality. A third master's thesis (Paenga, 2008) explores the relationship between wellbeing and identity for Māori, and proposes kapa haka as a vehicle for health promotion.

Research undertaken for the Ministry of Education (Bevan-Brown, 2004) investigates Māori perspectives of Autistic Spectrum Disorder (ASD). Parents of Māori children with ASD have identified that impairments associated with ASD were hindering their children's involvement in cultural activities such as kapa haka, learning te reo and staying on the marae, and that children were therefore missing out on the benefits of experiencing culturally valued behaviours and practices.

Physical/spiritual/emotional wellbeing

In this category, a single article came to light. In it, Wirihana (2008) looks at the utilisation of mātauranga Māori to improve the social functioning of tangata whaiora in Māori mental health services, and promotes kapa haka as a central component in the provision of the marae-based recovery programmes.

Social cohesion; sense of belonging; community engagement

While some literature in the sub-section on Identity could potentially sit approprately in this section, our search revealed no specific research that pertains to social cohesion and engagement at the broader community-wide level.

Profile of Māori achievement/success

While a small number of personal profiles have been published (see Cultural section, under Artisan/practioner profiles), no specific profiles of Māori achievement or success relating to kapa haka at a societal level have emerged from our literature search.

ECONOMIC

Measuring the value of culture

Allan, Grimes and Kerr (2013) provide an overview of the economic relationship of value to culture and in doing so highlight the complexity and "imperfect" (p.8) nature of such measurements, due to the fact that there is no universally accepted method across individuals in regards to benefit. These authors have developed a broad template that may be applicable across cultural activities which acknowledges a need for measurement of 'value' that is not based solely within a cost-benefit analysis, but which provides for a perspective that includes understanding the impact of such activities on wellbeing. From this perspective, the notion of 'value' is seen as a process that goes across economic, social and cultural indices. The following table created by Allan et.al. provides a general discussion of the multiple layers of value within the creative sector.

Table 1: Types of values provided by cultural goods (Allan et.al. 2013)

Category of Value	Description	Direct or Indirect	Example
Non- monetary return to producers	The non-monetary satisfaction derived from the production of cultural goods and services	Direct	*Arts:* The feeling of self-satisfaction from producing artworks which exemplify who you are as an artist. The value derived from your work being positively viewed by critical reviewers *Heritage:* The satisfaction that a restorer receives from restoring part of a heritage building to its original form. *Sport:* The value a coach of a children's sports team receives from teaching the children new skills
Market use value	The value derived from the consumption of cultural goods and services purchased on the market The extra benefit which accrues to the individual from the consumption of	Direct and indirect	*Arts:* The enjoyment you feel from attending a paid art exhibition at a museum or art gallery (≥ ticket price) (direct) Benefits gained later in life from the (purchased) pursuit of artistic endeavours as a child (indirect)

	cultural goods for which they have paid directly		*Heritage:* The enjoyment you feel from paying to attend a Māori cultural performance at the Waitangi Treaty grounds (≥ ticket price) (direct) *Sport:* The enjoyment you feel from paying to attend a sporting match (≥ ticket price) (direct)
Non market use value	The value derived from consumption of cultural goods and services NOT purchased on the market. The extra benefit which accrues to the individual from the consumption of cultural goods but for which they have not paid directly	Direct and indirect	*Arts:* The enjoyment you feel from enjoying public artworks in your local area (direct) The fostering of a desire to learn in later life from visiting museums as a child (indirect) *Heritage:* The enjoyment you derive from viewing the facade of a heritage building (direct) *Sports:* The enjoyment you feel from attending one of your children's sporting matches (direct) The health benefits from regular participation in sports due to the regular exercise (indirect)
Option value	The value an individual places on themselves or others having the option to consume and enjoy a cultural good at some point in the future, if the future provision depends on continued provision in the present	Indirect	*Arts:* The value you derive from retaining the choice to attend a Kapa Haka performance in the future *Heritage:* The enjoyment you feel from knowing you are retaining the choice to visit the treaty grounds at some point in the future.
Existence value	The value an individual derives from knowing that a good exists, even though they will not consume the good	Indirect	*Heritage:* The value you derive from knowing that the Waitangi Treaty grounds will be preserved for future generations to enjoy
Instrumental value	Benefits that accrue to people other than the producer or consumer	Indirect	Increased societal harmony by virtue of multiple cultures being supported with enhanced cross-cultural

	as an indirect benefit from provision of the cultural service		understanding Reduced crime as a result of disadvantaged groups being involved in cultural activities Enhancement of civic engagement as a result of cultural activities Attraction of the "creative class" to vibrant cities

What is clear from this template is that cultural activities may be understood and measured in ways that have significant impact across not only economic domains but also cultural and social domains. This understanding is central to this scoping project.

Business development and growth; Enterpreneurship

Very little research appears to have been done in the area of economic growth attributable to kapa haka, nor in the area of kapa haka and enterpreneurship. Two online sources do, however, provide a snapshot of kapa haka-based enterpreneurial initiatives that are currently operating, one in Aotearoa New Zealand and one in the international arena. The first is The Warrior's Way, a new company founded and directed by Kiri Dell, that seeks to apply traditional Māori knowledge in the corporate sector. Key concepts of aroha and collective agency are at the core of the formula that makes The Warrior's Way so successful, and Dell notes that Māori tikanga can provide management solutions that essentially reconceptualise corporate culture to give organisations 'a better personality' (DigitalMāori, 2011). The second source profiles New Zealander Karl Burrows and his UK-based company Manaia. Manaia claims to be the first company to develop and run corporate haka workshops utilising Māori culture outside of New Zealand. Their mission is to 'engage, entertain and educate the world about Māori culture', however over time they have developed a growing client base in the area of corporate team building, motivational work and leadership training (Everett, 2013).

Local/regional/national economy

An article in DANZ Magazine (DANZ, n.d.), focuses on the phenomenon that is Te Matatini, tracing its evolution and outlining some of the considerable economic benefits that accrue to the host region of any given festival.

Employment

No specific literature on employment in relation to kapa haka was revealed in our search.

Tourism; Non-Māori views/experience of kapa haka

In this category, a number of academic articles explore kapa haka from the perspective of someone outside the Māori culture. In Mazer's (2011a) article Performing Māori: Kapa haka on the stage and on the ground she observes that kapa haka has become 'ubiquitous in the New Zealand cultural experience ...to the point where its original politics, and potential to produce deeper social meanings, might be seen to have been diluted over time'. Her interest is in kapa haka's ability to sustain the links between past and present, and the reciprocity between the group on the stage and the groups on the ground. In Performance: Ethnographer/Tourist/Cannibal, Mazer (2011b) describes her experience as a participant in Māori cultural events and explores notions of the ethnographer as 'wanna-be-native', 'tourist' and 'cannibal'; while in You

talkin' to me? Eavesdropping on the conversation at Te Matatini Māori Performing Arts Festival (Mazer, 2011c), she explores the understandings that can arise (for the spectator) by remaining at the margins, as part of a wider research project that looks at the differing ways Māori performance encounters and engages (or not) non-Māori audiences.

A master's thesis by a Norwegian scholar (Pettersen, 2007) who spent time in New Zealand and became involved with the performance group Waka Huia, looks at traditional Māori performing arts in a contemporary setting from a non-Māori perspective. Another master's thesis (Smith, 2003) explores the different ways in which Māori and Pākehā conceptualise kapa haka, and argues that by analysing the differing perspectives between Māori and Pākehā ways of knowing kapa haka we will gain a better understanding of how and why kapa haka evolved into the art form it is today.

Commodification; IP

A moderate number of publications relating to the commodification of culture and intellectual property rights in regards to kapa haka have emerged. In what appears to be an academic dissertation, Dunn (n.d.) asks the question: Can a haka constitute intellectual property? She concludes that political opinion surrounding wider issues of indigenous intellectual property rights in New Zealand are broadly divided. On the one hand, there is a case for New Zealand's IP law to cater for tikanga Māori concepts, such as collective ownership and allowing kaitiaki exclusive control over taonga works. On the other, some believe that Māori art and tradition is significant in defining New Zealand's wider identity and should therefore remain in the public domain. Scherer (2009) also looks at questions of commodification and authenticity in relation to promotional culture, indigenous identity, and the All Blacks Haka, while Frankel and Richardson (2009) examine cultural property in the public domain through a series of case studies from New Zealand and Australia.

They note that in the New Zealand context, perceived misuses of haka in advertising overseas have become a major source of contention in recent years, being widely considered to be culturally insensitive to Māori as well as to New Zealanders generally.

Awareness of NZ offshore; International events; Trade missions

According to our search, no research appears to have been conducted into the specific area of kapa haka in relation to New Zealand's profile offshore, nor in relation to international trade or international events.

RESEARCH PENDING

During the data gathering process, the research team were alerted by participants to a number of pending academic research studies, at master's and doctorate levels, which are currently in various stages of completion.

2. Contextualising Kapa Haka

WHAT IS KAPA HAKA?

When asked to describe kapa haka and give their views on the important components of kapa haka the vast majority of the participants spoke of the intrinsic link between kapa haka and culture and their identity as Māori:

> *Kapa haka is the embodiment of what it is to be Māori in many ways, and by that I mean it captures the history, the power of the language, the power of the music and the absolute wairua of te ao Māori. So in that sense I think it's a deeply valuable, important component of the Māori world.*
>
> *Kapa haka is Māori cultural performance linked to the ritual. It evolved out of the ritual; it evolved out of the performances that we had on the marae, including pōwhiri, whaikōrero, and the supporting kinaki waiata. Those elements of performance that are still present on our marae, to me, kind of make up what we know as kapa haka today.*
>
> *So it actually created who I am today, you know, it wasn't something that was a hobby. I didn't go off and learn it as I might go to do choir...it was quite different again, it affects your soul you know and it feeds your soul, it feeds your very being...So much of it was a communal affair really...in actual fact because we went out to Awahou every weekend, virtually, I was able to really understand my links with that area on my father's side.*

Also referred to by several of the participants as a key component of kaka haka was whanaungatanga, the importance of people and connectedness:

> *It's certainly so much more than just performing at Matatini, it is about whanaungatanga ...That's what makes Matatini so amazing...what creates the buzz, 'cause even those out in the audience, we see everyone we know, haven't seen for years, and...new babies being born, ērā mea.*
>
> *For me it's a way of me connecting with my Māoritanga, connecting with iwi, especially Ngāi Tahu, and just whanaungatanga...making those connections within haka and just a place of belonging, a place where I can go...'cause I work in quite an institutional mainstream-type environment, so a place that I can go and be Māori within a Māori environment.*

It was identified that for some people who, for various reasons, live away from their kāinga or home areas, their kapa haka becomes a whānau, a refuge, a place to belong:

> *It's ok for those of us where this is home and you've got all your people and your whānau around you, [but] for people that are moving into the rohe we do become the whānau. So for Ahi Kaa Roa because we had such a big mix of all iwi...I know for a number of them kapa haka meant not only whānau, but it also meant a tūrangawaewae for them, because we then bought them into our whānau...and this became their whare and their marae. And*

when we needed help out there, these were the people that would come and help us to work our marae and to look after our tangi and things like that. So it becomes a lifestyle, it becomes your whānau.

Another major component of kapa haka is its power to effect wellbeing, not just in the performer/s, but also the audience of that performance; not just in the individual, but also in the collective:

[At] practise in the weekend I heard two of our soloists...singing, and the expression of them communicating effectively through song...evoked emotional engagement. And so kapa haka is that evocative engagement of passion communicated effectively, and we use our entire body, we use the hā of an item, or the essence of the wairua just comes through the being, and is communicated with passion to an audience. And even if you don't do kapa haka yourself, you know what's good, and when you hear it and...see it, and you have the full gambit of full body engagement of our culture in performance, you're on a high that no synthetic high can ever replicate.

The way we've defined kapa haka in our rōpū is, it's a lifestyle. So that doesn't mean that kapa haka is about attending practices every week for so many hours, it doesn't mean that when the competition finishes in March that you get a break until we start up again for nationals in say September/October. It becomes a lifestyle.

Kapa haka, ki au, he oranga wairua, he oranga hinengaro, he oranga whānau. Koirā ki au ngā tino taha, i te mea ko te kapa rā, he whānau. Mēnā he kapa, he rōpū, he haerenga kotahi, whakaaro kotahi, he kaupapa kotahi. He maha pea ōna huarahi.

Several of the participants conveyed their views on the potency of kapa haka as the distinctive face of Māori culture, and also of Aotearoa New Zealand, to the world. In this sense kapa haka was seen as an effective platform for engaging with Māori knowledge, language and culture:

It's a key component of the unique intangible cultural heritage of Aotearoa, it's that point of difference in the international market place; it's a source of identity, of distinction. It's a key vehicle for the protection and promotion of Māori culture and te reo...You have kapa haka at many different levels, the community level, international level, you've got the competitive element, the social element, you've got the cultural element in terms of mātauranga Māori and maintaining and keeping that knowledge base alive. You've got kapa haka as a key vehicle for engaging with the culture and engaging with the language, and for many it's a...key platform for such engagement, it's an entry point.

To take that a step further, kapa haka was also seen as a medium for fostering a richer, more cohesive and inclusive society in Aotearoa New Zealand:

It's really kind of important to me to see that kapa haka becomes not just an embedded practice, but also it becomes an embedded way of adding value to our bigger society and the way that we as Māori and as New Zealanders express ourselves.

We know that internally [our waiata group] are making a difference and that that will extend externally out of our building to whānau, hapū, iwi and to non-Māori...The power of kapa haka and waiata is actually to bring our cultures together...That's why we will partner

with Te Matatini, that's why we support kaumātua kapa haka and we will continue to do that, because we know the benefit to the nation and bringing our people together.

INVOLVEMENT IN KAPA HAKA

Regarding their involvement in kapa haka, participants' responses were predominantly framed in terms of a passionate and lifelong involvement that in many cases spanned generations. It was most often intrinsically connected to their identity, their marae, hapū and iwi affiliations. Their roles within kapa haka were rarely confined to just one role, for example, performer or tutor, but were multi- faceted and often motivated by a commitment to effecting positive social outcomes for their hapū, iwi, or region:

> *My theory for kapa haka is being on the marae, so being able to do pātere, mōteatea behind our kaumātua, that's kapa haka. So [I have] been doing waiata tautoko since I was 2 years old. Ever since then, my involvement in kapa haka has just been to manaaki our kaumātua on the marae...Also been a kaiako of kapa haka for the last 7 years as well ...tutoring various schools...and that is my involvement in kapa haka, giving back to our tamariki and making sure that the tikanga of kapa haka is being taught properly.*

> *It's been a long involvement, I'm 63 now, so it's been over 50 years of my life in kapa haka. I have a big extended whānau, and right down to the youngest of my twenty seven grandchildren, they all haka...So, my involvement has been that of, initially, performer, and then that of leader...tutoring...after that, I became a national judge and have judged right up until 2013.*

> *I'm involved in a lot of areas of kapa haka. I'm not proactively performing at the moment but I judge kapa haka competitions throughout New Zealand, and I have my hand in the pie because I'm related to everybody, and you're always in demand...so that natural love and passion for kapa haka, because I'm no longer active as a performer, I still have to have that in my life. So I'm very fortunate to have these other opportunities to be involved in an indirect tutelage way, or consultation way, or judging at competitions, or composing items.*

However, many accounts were also shared of people who became involved in kapa haka at later stages in their lives, through work, through social or community groups, or through their children's schools. In these cases, kapa haka had provided a gateway into the culture for Māori who were not connected to their marae/hapū/iwi, or who lived away from their home areas, as well as for New Zealanders who came to experience kapa haka as a safe, inclusive activity through which to engage with Māori culture.

He Pūrākau: Involvement in kapa haka 24/7

I was always involved in kapa haka at every level of schooling, so primary, secondary and then when I moved to Waikato the group that we now call Te Iti Kahurangi actually began as a Super 12 rōpū which entered into the inaugural Super 12 Kapa Haka competition in Gisborne run by Willie Te Aho. That's how we came about, we birthed, if you like, and then not long after my stint with the Super 12 rōpū I also entered into Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato Kapa Haka, under the tutelage of Tīmoti Kāretu and Joe Harawira primarily. There were others in the mix, but mainly those two and then around the end of 2003 the group that began as a Super 12, Te Iti Kahurangi, we thought to ourselves, well, we've won the Super 12, we've also won a Super 10 competition not long after we had won the Super 12, but we were looking for another stage to conquer if you like and so we made the very brave and naive decision in 2003 ...to set up a 40-a-side rōpū ...And so our first regional performance was in 2004 and we were fortunate to make it through to the national competition in Rangitāne the following year and we have every national competition since. Which sort of brings me to today, my role in kapa haka or my involvement with kapa haka has been, is now, as a tutor, male leader, or kaitātaki tāne, composer. I've also been involved with kapa haka in such capacities as kaiwhakawā, as an adjudicator at different competitions, at different levels, secondary school, regional senior competitions, and I think once you set your own rōpū up and you become a national performer, or a rōpū that is fortunate enough to make it through to a national competition consecutively, your involvement never stops.

Your involvement, or my involvement, is 24/7. So you become a person who opens your house up to people when they've got raruraru, members in your team, you become the person that has to run functions at your house and at your workplace to bring the whānau together, to keep the team together, so that you can continue to be blessed in the artform and in the context of competition.

THE MANY FACES OF KAPA HAKA

In terms of identifying the places and occasions that kapa haka takes place or is seen, the participants were hard pressed to think of any place in contemporary society where kapa haka does not take place:

> *Short answer is everywhere ...It's actually happening everywhere from early childhood, primary school, secondary school, tertiary institutes ...[and] in the local community. Kapa haka is still happening in church groups, in women's groups – don't know about men's groups so much, but ...kaumātua groups.*
>
> *...Most government institutions I know have a little song and dance group going on, and mostly it is to support our tikanga, when those governmental groups have pōwhiri within their four walls ...But I think for every occasion almost there's a kapa haka performance going on. And I think non-Māori would be able to tell you that as much as Māori like me who are totally, you know, kapa haka's my world.*
>
> *In fact I find it difficult to find an instance where kapa haka can't be performed. I mean, so here where I work, we've even got non-Māori staff asking for weekly kapa haka waiata sessions as a way of engaging them with the culture.*
>
> *All occasions. All places. Anywhere ...it's an anytime, anywhere sort of kaupapa ...We don't need a stage, we don't need lighting, we don't need ...Pākehā ways of performing, that sort of performing arts ...it's an anywhere thing.*

The domains in which kapa haka can be seen to be performed were not limited either to here in Aotearoa New Zealand, but extended offshore:

> *I see kapa haka increasingly being performed in many spheres of New Zealand life and it's not just obviously around the significant festivals that we have...but you see kapa haka being now represented at major arts festivals globally. You see kapa haka being part of corporate life in New Zealand when there are major awards ceremonies, often a kapa haka group has become part of the evening and I think that is absolutely fantastic. But I do see that it could go further.*
>
> *Definitely, whether it be national or international...I'd say all of us around this table have all been overseas through kapa haka...There's a saying, 'Have piupiu, will travel'!*

Another contemporary forum in which our participants, rangatahi in particular, engage and interact with kapa haka is on social media, such as YouTube:

> *That's where I keep an eye on what's happening with the different haka groups, watch the ones in Auckland or Te Arawa or just even on Ngāi Tahu FM ...so just using the internet lots to see what's happening around the motu...I think that haka is kind of going everywhere now and...social media is helping us stay connected to those groups, or just to see what the latest moves are or see what they're doing with their bracket and things. I don't have the privilege of being immersed in it all the time, but definitely try and keep an eye on social media, who's tweeting this, or whatever.*

He Pūrākau: Where kapa haka happens is where it's meant to happen

When I look at what Te Matatini offers, I look at that as something, entertainment, but behind that entertainment, the groups, the people, the individuals, the whānau that are involved, for them it's about whakapapa. It's about what is happening in their lives in these past given months or the coming months, so there's an emotional component to it, and a political component to it of what's happening at the time. But you see kapa haka is not only for the stage, as we see it at the moment, like a set stage. There are also very many different stages: there's the marae ātea, and the mahau and the urupā and te taha o te tahuna, and listening to the stories that I heard from [MK] about the warriors training on the beach with their taiaha and doing their training and where they trained. And then going to that place and just sitting there to feel the sense of it and let that soak in, that this is what my mokopuna's ancestors did so that they could be here today. So it's all those things wrapped up together, it's about whakapapa, it's about politicalness, it's about emotion and it's about going forward. So I ...not only think of the Matatini stage, although that's the stage of enjoyment for me, but there's also many other places ...Like at our place, very, very impromptu, in the lounge, out on our front lawn. We've had a pōhiri on our front lawn. Somebody's coming, gather the people, gather the whānau, karanga to this whānau that are coming, we haven't seen them for years. And so we put the ritual out there and it gives you an opportunity to carry on those rituals, uninhibited in an open space even though it's only the front lawn. I mean, Tama Nui te Rā's looking down on us and you've got Papatūānuku right there under us, we're not inhibited by carpeted floor or an iron roof. So where it happens is where it's meant to happen.

3. Key Findings

INTRODUCTION

The Value of Kapa Haka

Across the fifty or so participants interviewed in the three regions and in Wellington there was a unanimous and resounding view that kapa haka does indeed make a valuable contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand society. Most made some reference to its value in terms of Māori identity and also our national identity:

> *The first thing is...it's our cultural identifier, it's our uniqueness.*
>
> *It's being used as a vehicle to establish and maintain identity ...And when you go overseas they're not going to ask you to show them a lamb, they're asking you to do a haka. So it's not only Māori identity, its New Zealand identity.*
>
> *It does [make a contribution]. And it never ceases to amaze me ...we might go offshore somewhere with a group, and the interest in New Zealand is about haka ...that's what they ask, 'Are you from New Zealand, can you do the haka?' It's also, for me ...about trying to support our country in coming to an agreement that it's okay for New Zealand to have this Māoriness about them, because at the end of the day that's what our visitors from offshore want to see.*

Most also linked the cultural value of strengthening identity to broader social benefits, including educational achievement:

> *Definitely [it makes a contribution]...I think that's what we're all saying, is that there is wider community social benefit, particularly in terms of strengthening of who you are, in terms of identity.*
>
> *[W]ithin our Māori community...we've always been doing it, we get better and better and better, but I mean in terms of that broader impact on society what I see ...cause I'm into watching college rugby, they've always been into it, but now I see Pākehā kids doing it properly.*
>
> *There's that school in Auckland...where they've now got...that Pinnacle Achievement ...there's almost been a reversal in the value that's attached to kapa haka, where now actually [it's] the kind of bottom line. It's not seen as an add on or an extra but it's seen as a core part of all of their curriculum achievements. So that means that ...somebody somewhere has got the key message that there is value and that it is valued in the education system...It isn't just about learning a few words and phrases and practising at the concert at the end of the year, this is about making it part of your everyday, making culture a part of your everyday curriculum.*

However, many of the participants felt that the value of kapa haka is more often not understood or acknowledged by non-Māori and government agencies, nor in some cases by Māori ourselves:

New Zealand's culture could not exist without it… [But] It's grossly undervalued.

I absolutely do believe [kapa haka makes a contribution], but I don't think the society itself understands yet what that contribution is. Because it's huge in terms of kids at school that get involved in kapa haka.

I think we just take it for granted a bit too much sometimes, don't appreciate ...even the little things, how much it does for our society, or how much it does for Ngāi Māori. I think we just take it for granted a bit too much.

Well, I think without a doubt, many New Zealanders be they Māori or non-Māori see the haka as being part of their national identity. I don't know though whether [the] practitioners of kapa haka are comfortable with that, and I think...we have a really difficult tension there, and I think that it would be wonderful to see this idea of the reo...and our artform of kapa haka as being allowed to be part of all New Zealanders' identities, our national identity.

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION

IDENTITY

In terms of the cultural value that kapa haka contributes to Aotearoa New Zealand, the key response from participants was in reference to the power of kapa haka as a potent expression of Māori identity and pride:

What I love about Māori performing arts is that I'm proud to express myself in that particular unique culture, and no one does it like our Māori people. To me, kapa haka is a window that you look through [in order to] see these beautiful components of our Māori world. Kapa haka is our world, and it's part of our expressive arts and I'm just proud to be associated with…a part of that component that makes us unique within the world. Proud to be a Māori.

Our group is pan-tribal…and some of them have actually been disengaged for whatever reason from their culture…they've come in, they've seen something, they've felt something positive in the group …It's been a way for them to help learn about themselves. It's a way for them to express their identity as Māori. Now, how can that not be good for Aotearoa?

Kapa haka…is a driver…for our rangatahi, for youth…The waiata record our history, and so when we sing mōteatea, waiata, they are about people that lived a long time ago for some compositions, and when we sing we're reminded of them and reminded of who we are and where we've come from. And they give us direction for today.

So it's not just about that 20 minutes on stage, it's all the other learning that happens, like the tikanga, the reo and just…in the kitchen, and…going to tangi with your rōpū…It makes you really proud, and that helps with that little bit of confidence. I think, wow, maybe I can do it, or I don't need to be so whakamā, you know…It's nice to feel like, actually it's really cool to be Māori.

The overarching theme of identity covered a spectrum from personal to national. National identity was a major theme addressed by the participants, with kapa haka seen as a vehicle for building and strengthening New Zealand's nationhood. It was also seen as a key platform for creating meaningful connections with other nations and peoples:

> *At the end of the day that's what our visitors from offshore want to see. They want to see what we do, they want to see how we do it, they want to know about us. So kapa haka is a way of enabling those brick walls to be broken down…and allow others to see that, through entertainment such as kapa haka, that we have something else to offer. I think it's good that it's being done in the schools and that all children are able to participate in it because I think through the children it opens others' eyes. We've still got a long way to go in opening eyes to the benefit of Māori to our society, and kapa haka is a way of breaking through that.*
>
> *Without a doubt it does contribute to Aotearoa New Zealand, not only to Māori but to all New Zealanders…We are a welcoming people…inclusive of any culture that comes to join our groups or to learn kapa haka or to even attend our performances. So I think kapa haka is a way of gathering people together as…New Zealanders in regards to the culture…So…it makes an educational contribution, economical contribution, social contribution, but, also, I reckon it's the key to uniting all New Zealanders together to celebrate our unique culture.*
>
> *I think that as we as a country start to understand our own position globally, I think that there has been a broader embracing of the idea that Māori, the fact that we have an indigenous culture and an indigenous language and indigenous art forms, that they are starting to be at times co-opted into telling a wider story about our country, and that gives us a unique place in the world. It makes us stand out and that's in many ways how I see that kapa haka can potentially be used in future and more broadly, as being representative of what it is to come from Aotearoa. So I see it having a great potential place in all situations where we are telling the story of Aotearoa New Zealand externally.*
>
> *We already know that it's about the pride of NZ, the bi-culturalism, when we, us and our colonial brothers and sisters, get up and do the haka and that's cool, that's already in place, that's already been established.*

An associated aspect of that national identity discussed was the growing utilisation of Māori culture/kapa haka to add value to many forums, from the public and government sectors where it is used to support and enrich formal and informal events and ceremonies, to more everyday contexts, such as schools and sport:

> *[I] know in Wellington when there's anything formal Te Atiawa will roll out...their kapa haka, [to] do that backup singing…So I do see that more often. Is that valuable? Well it's valuable for the mere fact that when dignitaries come, that's expected, we've got to do it. I don't know its economic value, but I certainly know its social and cultural value.*
>
> *In terms of the mihimihi, it's almost like it's expected. Even if you're non-Māori, like if you go somewhere and you have a lot of people...even like the Chief Executives, Directors who are non-Māori introducing themselves in Māori. And I think it all starts at the primary school level when they start doing the haka there and that just builds a lot of interest. And*

...also there's now a sense of pride in being Māori...[where] 10 years ago there wasn't really much of that. But I think that haka is probably helping build that.

Other participants commented on their perception of a gradual societal shift to a more embracing attitude toward Māori cultural protocols as a normal part of New Zealand's social fabric:

I remember when we had the [Rugby] World Cup and ...thinking, there's a changed expectation... I actually think it's more expected to happen just because it's New Zealand. So it's not just Māori. So that means, then, there's a growing tolerance for the debate about Māori and inclusion and all of those things. I think that's been very significant.

If you run the television camera around…before a rugby test and you look at everyone singing the national anthem, the Māori is spoken first, but… in the last 10 years it's [gone] from an era where everyone shut their mouth and mumbled, to now…The question is, how did that happen?...What's changed? The answer is the general sense of 'this is worthy for non-Māori' has gradually seeped into society now…You could never have planned for that, you could never have made that happen, it just did. And trying to investigate what sits behind that…I think most of us as public servants are [now] reasonably comfortable in giving a mihi…But I think when I first came to New Zealand in the early '70s that just would not have happened. Well, that's in my lifetime, that's a generation change. How does that happen?

WHANAUNGATANGA

A second key theme that featured consistently in participants' responses was the value of kapa haka in terms of whanaungatanga – building relationships, networks and connectedness on local, national and international levels:

It's exactly that, it's whanaungatanga. It's a vehicle that allows us to be who we are, to meet with, intermingle with, not just [New Zealanders], I've been overseas with groups and it opens up that world too, for people to participate. And especially for Māori, I think it's one of the most positive things, vibrant things we can do as Māori is our culture. It's something we can be really proud of…But I think kapa haka is very important for that, for keeping those connections to who we are real and alive.

I've never not been without kapa haka [and] it's all about whakawhanaungatanga inside our kapas group. It keeps our history alive in Porangahau, our Ngāti Kere-ness and all our tīpuna. That's who we sing about and that's what our children learn about. We are only very small, so a sense of community and belonging. It's a way to express yourselves, you can waiata about whatever you want, your past grievances, your love stories, everything, and it keeps that tradition of oral transmission, passing down your knowledge.

We wanted to give our kapa international exposure, so last year we went to Hawaii. That was our first…international trip, and we took 28 [people] over with us and we performed at PCC, and we went to Kamehameha and had a cultural exchange with the Hula Halau…and performed at the University of Hawaii. We had a big Māori day there, so that was what we thought was important for our kapa.

TRANSFORMATION

Within discussions of the power of kapa haka as a driver for positive change within Māoridom, participants shared experiences of transformation at a personal level:

> *We had a kid, 7 years old, and I was sitting, kaiako anō au ki kōnei…walks into the classroom, sits in front of me over here at this desk, bangs on the desk. So the girl over here, she looks up and he says [to her], 'What the eff are you looking at'…just didn't even acknowledge that I was in the room. I sorted him out and I said, 'I'll introduce you to kapa haka'. Probably 15 years later, he's one of our leading choreographers in the group, he's currently training to be a teacher, and he's married the girl and they've got 3 kids…This kid actually, we asked him what kapa haka meant to him and he said, 'Oh, saved my life', he said, because his brothers are all gang members and he comes from a broken home, all that sort of stuff. And he said, 'Look, I'm nothing like my family. I'm the black sheep in the family 'cause I don't do that stuff'. But he's not a unique story, we've had heaps of stories like that.*

REVITALISATION AND RETENTION OF REO AND TIKANGA

A significant aspect of the cultural value of kapa haka is its function as a vehicle for the revitalisation and retention of reo, tikanga, ritual processes and histories:

> *Also it's a nice way to bring in those that maybe haven't grown up…in the reo as well…I know for me it was a good way ...just to keep the reo going and to learn within our rōpū as well.*

> *I think it's potentially a real key opportunity area because it's sort of a…safer way to get into a connection with Māori language. I did Māori at school…up till School C level and then that was it, I didn't do anything further. But probably if it had been wrapped around being involved in something like kapa haka as well, that would have kept those wheels spinning, and probably a…more holistic way to approach it…[Kapa haka] seems a real welcoming way in, a good springboard.*

> *Where we're at at the moment as Māori…is that we're sort of in the 2nd generation of those kids that went through Kōhanga. So they were given the message, 'Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori…and they're quite steeped in what it is to be Māori. I think they're a little bit disillusioned and let down by what reality is because they get out in the big bad world and it's not what they've been brought up to understand or believe – that Māori is important and being Māori is important, and knowing your reo is important…it's not the case. So…there's a total contradiction in how we value our culture. And the reason why I'm saying Te Matatini is a good barometer is, we've always known that te reo was going to become a part of aggregate…it wasn't a matter of if it was going to become a part of aggregate, it was a matter of when, because those kids were eventually going to end up on those boards and making those decisions…So, we're at that point now, that's what I'm saying…20 years ago it was quite fine to say, 'Nope, this is performing arts, it's not te reo', because that's the generation that were there. Now…the tide's starting to change.*

Generally speaking, I would hope it's a really positive experience for our tamariki huri noa i te motu nei and that's how we're going to get them tuned in to wanting to learn the reo, 'cause...there is no other opportunity for them, and therefore to feed them to then go on to learn the reo. They need to teach it to their children and mokopuna. I see that as being a way in which we can retain our reo into future centuries to come.

Kua piki ake te taumata o te reo i konei [i Ōtautahi]. Nā te kapa haka pea, nā te nohotahi ai ki ngā wānanga. He pai, hei oranga mō te iwi.

Te reo…ki au nei, kāore i kō atu i ngā titonga mōteatea, waiata aroha, haka, mō te kounga nui o te reo. So you have whaikōrero exponents and…the compositions...dedicated to paper and...now kōpae, whakaata, ērā mea, you can really sink your teeth into them over a period of...years. Pōkarekare Ana, those sorts of compositions can take you a lifetime to figure out but...it's a living, breathing thing that you can hold onto and study and examine, and help you to understand...to learn te reo Māori...almost like a treasure trove...a museum of kōrero that you can actually look back on and bring it forward and it still makes sense.

I would describe [kapa haka] as a blessing actually, in terms of strengthening my family in taha Māori, in te reo, whakataukī, taonga tuku iho. So that's how I would describe it, and it made it another pathway of access for our whānau members to go down [to kapa haka], rather than going to a te reo class or something else, and have that fun element about it, whanaungatanga. And while some of them have dropped off over time, some have stayed in, they all experience it. And when push comes to shove, if they have to get up, they know how.

An important aspect of the nurturance of these cultural taonga within kapa haka is the process of intergenerational transmission:

I'm just speaking from my one year of experience, but…it's been really good for the reo. We had a reo wānanga, separate to the haka, we just started…connecting in more with Ngāi Tahu and going to kura reo and helping raise the reo in our group. So we've got some really awesome reo speakers, and then some of us who are still just learning, that's been really good. So it's not just about haka, it's so much more than that, and…having our tāua come in and our pōua, just to share their experiences…that was good to have that understanding [and] support, and be a part of the…generational handing over of the reo and the waiata, haka.

I think kapa haka just provides that forum for all of that [whanaungatanga] stuff to happen, and…the [groups] that are done well, they're successful on a whole heap of levels, people that have been in the kapa haka and they're now 3rd generation. So you were just bringing your kids through, and now you're bringing your moko through, cause this stuff obviously works. And you're starting to get 3rd generation that are now 1st language Māori speakers, that in a different situation may not have been.

It's more about the education, the way that's it's transmitted. All our tikanga, whakapapa, stories are inside all our waiata…and that comes from our people who compose, and that's the way the knowledge is handed down to us. So that's how it contributes to me and my

children.

It comes down to what is the purpose of why you're doing haka. And with my marae hat on, it's actually if I can get this being normal for our babies, then that's the important bit, that this generation have learnt this stuff and it's normal. And I am secure that they will teach their babies, who will teach their babies, who will teach their babies. That's the big thing for me. Matatini's in there too…if you're going to force excellence then that's where you force the excellence…But when it is about building your marae and building your hapū and their confidence and their cultural competence, then haka plays a big part in that.

KAPA HAKA EXPONENTS AS ROLE MODELS

Several of the participants discussed kapa haka exponents in terms of being role models of excellence, leaders and artisans:

[If] we go back to that first question about what are the components needed for kapa haka, obviously where drinking and other behaviours are allowed to continue it creates a culture within a group of people, doesn't matter [whether it's] a sports team or a cultural group ...So if we want to continue to perpetuate the cycle that our people have been trapped in for generations now, then [nothing's] needed...kei te pai.

But if we want to be the champions for change, then what's needed for a kapa haka group is solid leaders who role model the kind of behaviours that they want to see in their rōpū and in the whānau of their members.

Well, take Parāone Gloyne for instance, the leader and tutor of Mōtai Tangata Rau at the recent Tainui competitions. A young boy that grew up here, his family had their own fish and chip shop, their own business. And he was an excellerant learner, finished secondary education at Lakes High with leadership, great speaker, fluent Māori speaker, great composer of those years, was composing songs for the Lakes High kapa haka group. He has gone on to the school of excellence, Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo, is a recognised great composer in today's world, has his own group, cleaned up Tainui comps this year…There's many that can fill that space as well. And I think that's the beautiful component of what nurturing can do. So that the benefits that we're talking about are not just [for] the ones and twos, individuals anymore, they are growing in numbers. And the ability to go and seek articulate artisans who are successful in the community, not hard to find.

INNOVATION AND CREATIVITY

The innovation and creativity around the development of kapa haka was seen by some participants in a positive light:

My mokopuna was in the Rugby World Cup pōhiri and he talked about the flash mob haka, and I was like, 'What's a flash mob haka?', and he said, 'Watch it'. So I got on[line] and had a look, and I thought, 'Oh, that's marvellous, that is just marvellous'. Fantastic. And we've got a group here in Christchurch, Māori tours are their business, kapa haka is their business, and they just go out in the square...or in the Gardens and set themselves up, and impromptu

performance. And while they're doing it for a purpose, to attract people to their business, I mean, they've got that in them to do that. That's what I love about kapa haka.

Others, however, expressed concerns about the way that kapa haka is evolving, with a growing disconnect between what happens on the stage and traditional teachings and values:

I don't like the way that the kapa haka is going these days. So my involvement in kapa haka is to bring our tamariki back to the real world and teach them proper kapa haka - that's picking up a tea towel on the marae, manaaki our kaumātua, sweeping floors, teaching them how to sweep the floor. That, to me, that's the true essence of kapa haka.

One word I would say, 'concerning'...we have a lot of [people] in kapa haka who love the cameras, love the stage, love to show off, but cannot go back home and cannot go to a tangi ...go to a poroporoaki ...cannot go to the urupā...That's missing...Something that a lot of our groups do now, and this is something personally that I was taught...never to slap my stick or never smash it on the ground, or when you have your mere that you pass it like a knife, so you always pass [the] butt towards a person, you never pointed it at a person because it's a challenge...So there's all this tikanga associated with kapa haka that we just use very loosely on the stage. You see people banging their patu now. Why, because of the acoustics of it, sounds lovely...[But] you're shattering the mauri of the inner essence of [it]. Not just tikanga with mere but everything about it as well. So you slam your stick on the ground. Why, because visually, you know, drama, which is what the audience want, which is what is coming through in our rangatahi [in this new age].

He Pūrākau: A gateway into understanding Māori culture

In fact I find it difficult to find an instance where kapa haka can't be performed. I mean, here where I work, we've even got non-Māori staff asking for weekly kapa haka waiata sessions as a way of engaging them with the culture. So besides using kapa haka as a performance tool, it's...important to note that...'cause I work in a predominantly non-Māori staff context here at Wintec, and so their perception is that...it's a gateway into understanding more of the culture, be it through picking up words in the songs and kupu Māori; be it through picking up messages in the songs; or be it through just being in a wharenui with other Māori, teaching waiata. So for a lot of non-Māori, in my experience, it's been a doorway for them into the culture and a way to help them engage with Māori communities. We have graduations here and actually at the opening of this marae two years ago, because only 7% [to] 10% of our staff are Māori so there's a huge disparity there, but at the opening of our marae two years ago, the waiata kinaki were conducted by a group of 60 people, 80% of whom were non-Māori. And we're talking, if you know the ethnic make-up of the staff here, we're talking Indian, Asian, Pākehā, Māori, and it was quite poignant because the doorway on our wharenui is about

Tāwhiao's saying that his friends hail from all over the world and from all walks of life, and also it was sort of reminiscent of the saying, 'Kotahi te kohao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā, te miro pango me te miro whero'. So I mean that's here in a tertiary learning environment. I mean there are pōwhiri, but those speak for themselves so, I suppose hui Māori, nearly every hui Māori, kapa haka has a place. Tangihanga, huritau, mārena, pōhiri, poroporoaki. I guess that behoves us to consider probably other non-Māori contexts where we can fit the artform in as well, as a way of promoting it and its benefits.

KAPA HAKA AS A GATEWAY FOR NON-MĀORI INTO MĀORI CULTURE

The participants overall spoke of their passion for kapa haka in terms of its many benefits for Māori, but some spoke as well about kapa haka providing a way for non-Māori to engage with Māori culture in an accessible way, and the relationship-building that results from sharing that cultural experience:

I am pleased to see so many of our children at primary school learning to do the poi or symbolic kind of haka or something, [in] mainstream. I'm really thrilled about that because even though it is really tokenistic at this stage, somehow it embeds an interest, hopefully, or an acknowledgement, or there's an essence that becomes integrated into that person's wellbeing.

I've taught non-Māori Māori performing arts, I used to take Māori performing arts as a subject at Rotorua Girls High and non-Māori were really respectful...of the subject and really genuinely wanted to learn for their own growth as a New Zealand citizen, and that was really, really great.

My engagement with kapa haka...wasn't really much of a happening thing. However the next generation of my family, my daughter coaches kapa haka at the primary school of which she's been teacher for a very long time, and my grandchildren have been involved in kapa haka. They're Samoan, they're not Māori but they love it, and I think the thing for me as a grandparent watching those children perform is the light in their eyes and the sense of pride and achievement, and just engaging in something that means so much to them is really, really important...And they're learning about the culture and actually taking it back home and breaking down some of those barriers with the parents as well.

Others spoke of the potential benefits of utilising the full expressive power of kapa haka to engage more with other iwi overseas, in the spirit of cultural exchange:

Kapa haka is well liked nationally, internationally, everyone loves watching a kapa haka group. In Māori, kapa haka is utilised to its fullest, whether it be on the marae, whānau occasions, whakataetae, whakangahau, for important gatherings at the Parliament, Koroneihana, wherever, kapa haka is a means of expression. It's an entertainment value too...people get together and if there's a kapa haka group coming on they all want to go and watch...So...my interest in kapa haka has been that we need to expose it to the world a bit more, not through the All Blacks' Ka Mate, Ka Mate haka, not through...the winners

of the Matatini that go to the South Pacific Arts Festival, or to an important function overseas, but I want to see a lot more of our Te Matatini groups going over and exposing our culture through what I call cultural exchange. Whether it be going to China and performing at one of their festivals, or going to an Aboriginal cultural festival in Australia ...You've got this big hui in your country, your indigenous culture, but we would like to support you by showing up [and] showing our culture.

We recently hosted some manuwhiri from Hawaii and they were exposed to kapa haka throughout their trip, including being VIP guests of Waka Huia up at the Tāmaki regionals, attending the Ngā Taiātea 10 year commemoration celebrations, and on the marae they visited in some of the practices that were happening around, and they loved that. They were from Hawaii...they were patrons of Hawaiian arts and so they were very interested in experiencing Māori arts and culture from a more community-focused perspective.

CHALLENGES

Kapa haka undervalued

While all of the participants who were interviewed articulated their firm belief that kapa haka contributes significantly to Aotearoa New Zealand society, approximately half of them followed that up by saying that kapa haka is largely undervalued. This was experienced as kapa haka not being given the status or respect it deserves as a cultural icon, and/or its significance not being understood by non-Māori, particularly at the level of government:

We're still seeing change when made from the bottom up. We're over here saying, 'Value kapa haka, kapa haka makes a difference'...Culturally there has to be some sort of change, where kapa haka is seen as something that's more important than what it is now anyway, to give people that identity and say to them, all these things that we've been bringing you up to understand, they are actually real. Because...they're coming out of kura and they're seeing, 'Oh, this is how the world is explained, but we have to fight...for kapa haka to get [acknowlegement]...to educate the wider world that it's important'...And on a governmental level...it's hard case because the Rugby World Cup came here, and I went to a hui and [this guy] did this pyramid of questionnaires that they send out, research that they do for Rugby World Cup: Why do you go? What do you want to see when you come here? They asked the tourists, and at the top [of the pyramid] it had 'The cultural uniqueness of the host', that was what they wanted to see. Because every rugby game is exactly the same...but what did they want to see? 'We want to see the cultural uniqueness of that place'.

I think it's extremely undervalued in terms of our societal attitude towards Māori performing arts. And we have the constant debate about you know, NZ Ballet vs Te Matatini, and so the funding and all those sorts of decision-making at that level demonstrates and shows that the [perspective] of government, and therefore New Zealand society, towards kapa haka and Māori performing arts is undervalued. You know, some people haven't even heard of Te Matatini before, yet it's our national premiere Māori performing arts competition. And for that reason it sort of still lives in its pocket.

Most people won't get how valuable this is to Māori people and people who engage in it, because they think it's just Māori singing a bunch of songs...How can we help them understand that this is...the essence of our identity, our awareness of ourselves, and our roots.

For some, the reason that kapa haka is undervalued is a lack of understanding about the art form and the extent of training and levels of commitment and sacrifice involved in becoming exponents at the highest level. The participants' experience of that lack of understanding was of kapa haka being treated in a tokenistic way, particularly in the public service and government sectors:

And the negotiations for all those sorts of things. Like, I remember one lady said to me, 'Well how long have you been preparing all these [haka items]?' and I said, 'Well, three and a half thousand years really'...So it just gets them to understand, you don't sit in that world and judge what we do over here; you need to come over here and understand that this is what we actually do, this is what we go through, and we are the best at what we do because it is who we are.

There's probably a swing to, I think the intention is good for lots of mainstream groupings to incorporate things Māori into the way that they do what they do, but for Māori it just feels like tokenism a lot of the time, because there's no lasting commitment once that wero is done, and that kaiwero has slapped his thigh, or that kaikaranga has finished her karanga, or that rōpū haka has finished their haka pōwhiri, or that kaumatua has done his speech, or once that waiata tautoko has been sung. There's no lasting commitment...in my opinion...from different organisations and different groupings, to uphold the mana of the mana whenua and to partner us as it was intended in the Treaty. So currently I see kapa haka being used in all sorts of occasions to have our country look good in different scenarios, and you see that with the arrival of different dignitaries to our country, 'Oh give them a pōwhiri'. And there's the MP standing next to them as if to say, 'Yes, I did this because I have great relationships with those people', [but] probably doesn't even know their names and probably didn't set it up themselves...[and] wouldn't have a clue what whakawhaungatanga looks like.

So what I'm saying is it isn't just in a situation such as a concert or an informal pōhiri...It's so important that it is embedded in our national life, everyday lives, it is so important that it is not just reserved for special occasions and then suddenly the official Māori comes out and puts on her hat or his hat and does a wee karanga and so on.

Some participants felt that kapa haka is also undervalued by our own people, in the sense that while it can be viewed as inappropriate to charge a fee for performing what is in essence a cultural practice, groups that perform kapa haka in highly lucrative commercial contexts have to walk a fine line between not wanting to commercialise or trivialise their artform and not wanting to be taken advantage of, or exploited:

And that's why when we do Tiki gigs, and when we were asked to do Vodafone Warriors, and then All Blacks came and asked us and we said, '$2,000 a minute, that's what we charge'. And they don't know, so they question and we said, 'Well, how much do other people charge, other entertainers?' And they said, 'That's pretty much in line [with the standard rate]'...And we talk with our kapa haka cohorts and they're just, their mind is

blown that [we can command that fee], 'We just do it for a sandwich and a cuppa tea', that sort of thing. So it's not only the wider world, I think the wider world gets it, but us as Aotearoa don't get it, only 'cause it's readily available and accessible...So...there's value in it. We just need to figure out that it is valuable.

In reality we need to align with the artistic rate throughout New Zealand. Tiki Taane gets a rate of some sort, so why can't Te Pou O Mangatāwhiri, and so on. So we need to keep that value there. I know from a Māori point of view ko te mea nui ko te aroha, you know, so kapa haka's still seen in that light of aroha. If I'm asked to go and take a group to perform there, we will do it, we don't ask for anything but a kai, that's all, and being hosted. But in the Pākehā realm of going to an All Black opening or whatever the festival is, you need to charge [in line] with the artistic rates that they offer here in New Zealand.

From another perspective, one participant, who agreed that kapa haka makes an important contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand society, felt that the kapa haka community could perhaps be more open to non-Māori engagement with their artform, thereby encouraging a wider understanding of its value:

I think that the contribution could be greater to New Zealand as a whole if the kapa haka community shared it more broadly. I don't necessarily think that they're doing that currently and I think that there's a number of reasons for that: I think that a lot of the exponents, particularly those who have been brought up in the world of kapa haka for a generation, say, are concerned that if you make it too broad you start to dilute it as an artform, and there is concern...that proper respect is not paid to the whakapapa of the art if that dilution occurs. I understand that concern, but it also doesn't address the fact that you have a growing younger base of performers who are taking the artform in different directions whether you want it to happen or not, and it's very akin to the language, our te reo. So I think there is that tension that exists within the kapa haka community and it's not an easily resolved one.

Other particpants felt that the enormous potential that kapa haka has to strengthen national identity is inhibited by the perception of non-Māori New Zealanders that kapa haka is a Māori-only domain:

We have had a lot of conversation about kapa haka ha[ving] a role in social cohesion [and] a role in national identity. And there are the obvious [examples]: the All Blacks; and people doing a haka in the middle of London and at soccer games and all over the place, as an identity for themselves away from home. But underneath that is that actually 90% of those that go to Te Matatini would be Māori...So how do we begin to [turn] around people's perceptions?...When I talk about Matatini...with Pākehā people...often they say, 'Oh, that's a Māori event.

SOCIAL CONTRIBUTION

A strong consensus was expressed by the participants interviewed that kapa haka provides many positive social benefits to Aotearoa society. Among those benefits was the role modelling and leadership that many top exponents and groups reflect back to our people, and the transferrable skills gained from participation in kapa haka, at all levels:

Proudest moments for me as an adult now are seeing kapa haka people do well in other areas, cause...my brothers and I have always been told by our mum that you can be great at so many things...not just kapa haka. And so...I do get disappointed at those people whose life is kapa haka, be all and end all, can't see anything else, that's it. However they can't transfer the skills and the teachings into any other area, like academics [or] sport, there's not that transference. They're quite capable to, they just don't. And so I have a lot of pride when I see kapa haka performers going off and doing wonderful things with their career, being a leader in some sporting area, that's really the big picture of being Māori.

We use kapa haka as a vehicle to promote the pursuit of excellence...as an example of how you can achieve excellence if you put everything behind it and if you believe in it...We say, come to practice, train hard, do all of this, put the time in and you'll get the fruits of the labour at the end of the day...If you just apply that whole belief structure and working hard for something and having a goal and working towards it...if you can take that out of kapa haka and apply that somewhere else, how powerful that can be for you as an individual and for us as Māori…What is kapa haka? It's a vehicle for the promotion of messages. And in our case, it's a vehicle for promoting the pursuit of excellence.

WHANAUNGATANGA

Kapa haka makes a significant contribution to positive social outcomes in the realm of whanaungatanga, in terms of strengthening relationships, building resilience, creating unity and a sense of belonging:

For me one of the important ingredients...is relationships, and we're lucky in our own kapa that there's 10 of us from the one whānau who have the unique opportunity to haka together. You know, when you get hōhā with everyone else, you don't actually have a choice when it's your own whānau, so you have to be able to talk and keep those relationships open...And...one of the things that amazes me sometimes about our kapa is that you have a lot of ...people who come from a whole lot of...different backgrounds ...different lifestyles, different perspectives...but still in the same place every weekend rubbing shoulders, creating relationships. A lot of them ended up together and have got kids now. A lot of our kaihaka actually, if you look at the bigger picture, they...owe a lot more to kapa haka than I think they realise a lot of the time.

See, the messages that you deliver are all the good and greats there, but the ability to take the community of your kapa with you into life...has so much more transition, it's seamless now, because you know that that support structure is with you wherever you go. So, in essence, you don't need to go to a gang and have your own set of rules, because within the community grouping that you have, it's a way of attracting your own family there, whether they be a performer or a supporter, or a progenitor, they are the ones that support you in life...I find that just as a marae is distinctly different, yet cohesive, that's what kapa haka allows the individuals within the group to do, is to have a community sense of belonging, along with that reawakening, the supportive structures that allow them to use the skills in their various settings.

Just looking at [our] rohe...culturally, we've got 2 of the...groups who made top 9 at

Matatini, and then we've got [the Wharekura] who...won nationals, and then our primary kids have won...nationals, so I think the standard throughout the whole of [our rohe] has picked up. And for [this rohe] I think those results speak for [themselves]. Socially, the outcomes...for [the Wharekura], they have pretty great relationships with other kura. [Our kapa] do [too] through our connections with the [various] rōpū that [T] and I have been in, and we've got 10 other members in the rōpū who have got affiliations to other rōpū as well, so I think that all of that...cultural stuff sort of filters out to the social and economic [benefits] anyway, it's a sort of roll-on effect. But for me...it all starts from...the senior groups, the high school groups and the primary school groups, [and] the other thing too is that the tutors of those groups also have strong ties, are either current members or past members of [our kapa]. So you know we're [connected] all over the place with our members and what our members do for kapa haka, and the cultural aspect throughout the Waikato.

We started with 3 families and 7 children in somebody's lounge, and the parents actually came to learn as well. That was 8, 9 years ago and we still run that group on a Thursday at [our] Community Centre, we teach kapa haka to 172 children every week across 5 groups. And...we used kapa haka as the tool to bring the whānau into the building, and then all the little bits of whanaungatanga that happened around the walls, and people started to make connections. And then the families started to come in, so we're not just teaching them about kapa haka, we're actually teaching them about what it is to be Māori . Probably one of the most powerful things that we do is that ...we do a haerenga every year, and we take one of the families back home, because part of their whakamā was around not knowing who they were, not feeling as if they could [go] home and knock on the door and say, 'Who am I?'...So each year we take one family and reconnect them with home...It's always quite an emotional time because they've always wanted to...take that step but they never knew how. So kapa haka as a tool...as well as giving power to iwi, it gives power to potentially displaced urban Māori.

Many of the participants remarked on kapa haka's ability to bring people together as a valuable social contribution, particular in terms of the whole whānau engagement that is characteristic of kapa haka, whether that might be in a support role or might also develop into active participation in the performing side of haka:

He pai ki au nei mēnā ko te whānau ka uru atu. Kāore au i te kite te rerekētanga o te kapa haka i te waka ama. Ko ōku tamariki ka uru atu te katoa ki te waka ama. I te wā o te kapa haka ka uru atu ētahi o āku tamariki, kāore ko te katoa, engari he mea mō te whānau te uru atu. Anā, ka uru atu ka haria hoki ngā mokopuna, ka haria ngā mea pēpi o te whānau, kua mau i a rātou hoki te āhuatanga o tērā mahi. So, koirā te pai o tēnei mea mō ngā whānau Māori...Mēnā ko koe anake e hiahia ana ki te uru atu, ā, me uru atu, engari mā te wā ko tō whānau ka haere ki te tautoko, nēhā. Ko tōku tamahine, ko te mea pakeke, ka uru atu ki Rangimārie, ko ia anahe, engari ko mātou hoki i te tautoko i a ia. I te wā ka tū...te kapa haka o Rangimārie, haere katoa mātou ki te tautoko.

I just joined to follow my missus really, yeah. She leads [the kapa] now...and I'm really only in there for her really, so that's the reason behind me getting involved.

He Pūrākau: Kapa haka brings whānau in and helps them to engage

In terms of social cohesion and its value to the country ...and I know that we just worked with one small community...If someone had said to us that we could move into an area like Tawa and shift thinking and attitude, I would have said 'You're joking, you're just kidding me'...I would not have picked Tawa, only we just happened to live there and that's where the story started. Now, 9 years later, we've run a festival as part of that community, the Kapa Haka Pacifica Festival at Te Rauparaha Arena, which will run next month, where every school in Tawa participates...to share knowledge and share skill, and with everyone participating, mixing it up at the Arena. And that would never have happened, [it] took a lot of work to get people to say, actually it's safe, it's safe for your children to participate, it's safe for you to come along, the door's open, anyone can come in...and you can leave when you want to. So [it's been] very gradual, we were quite strategic about building relationships with schools and building credibility in schools and getting them on board and saying, 'We're not here to hold you to task about what you're not doing for Māori students, we're here to help you bring your whānau in and help them to engage'...So we worked with the principals first of all ...got them onside...So now you have this little suburb of Tawa...and we end up getting a call from Tawa Bush, all these middle-class, White older people who run around looking after all the bush areas in Tawa, asking if they can come and do native planting demonstrations for Matariki. And I'm thinking, 'Wow, that's so huge!'...but...kapa haka did all of that, and there's so many other things happening in the background. Kapa haka starts it and it carries on…[One of our groups, there are] 18 kids in that little group, pre-schoolers, 2 are Māori, the tutors are Māori, but 2 of the kids are Māori, and all the mothers and grandmothers and fathers come and bring them every Thursday...They bring food with them now…they've learnt about manaaki since they've been part of the whānau. And so actually, very slowly, you hope that the children you reach, the families you reach, the leaders you've reached then go out and take it out [into the wider community]. And that's the power of the haka.

SOCIAL COHESION AND RESILIENCE

Some powerful stories were shared of instances where kapa haka has had a significant impact, or served as an effective intervention for positive social outcomes:

> *[I'm interested in] the role that kapa haka plays in iwi and its origins from iwi because ...I'm quite involved back home with [my iwi] and we're at a stage now of re-identification, if you*

like...And just the act of, one of my cousins getting a [kapa haka] group together, naming it after one of our ancestors, and getting in rangatahi – not just our own whānau, but rangatahi from the rohe – has made a huge difference in where we are at as an iwi, not only in our identity but in our willingness to engage with the Crown, the sense of who we are and all that stuff. So I tautoko the competitive side...I can see that it has a huge value, but I'm also really interested in the role that [kapa haka plays in]...our sense of social cohesion. We're a small iwi, 855 in the last census...but the thing is out of that 800 we're getting close to 100 kids coming back to our marae. Now that's an agenda, but...my point is that that's based on the kaupapa of them coming together, learning waiata and haka and ngeri and those sorts of things about our rohe and our history. That's the stuff that I'm really interested in.

Another example of how kapa haka contributes to social cohesion and resilience within a community was given by a participant from Ōtautahi, who described how their kapa haka group practices provided a much needed boost for those that were experiencing despair and uncertainty in the aftermath of the earthquake and severe flooding:

We've got a lot that are still living in the East side, they've got their houses being done and they've still got liquefaction. And I think the effects of that and then...the flooding recently, so it's just sort of one after the other. And probably, being a younger team, they haven't quite had their mortgage paid off and what not, but I think for them it was nice to come together. We'd go to different people's whares, it was nice [for them]...they'd be like, 'Man, your whare's like got no cracks!'

STRENGTH-BASED ENVIRONMENT FOR RANGATAHI

One of the major social benefits of kapa haka identified by participants, particularly for rangatahi, is its positive, disciplined, strength-based environment. Kapa haka was seen to provide a source of inspiration, to build self esteem and confidence, and to keep rangatahi engaged in positive rather than risky or negative activities:

What I witness is through some of the work that we see here is this wonderful growing number of younger Māori inspired by fantastic role models within kapa haka. I was talking to someone recently who was saying 20 years ago, we would have a...kapa haka practice session, we'd all go to the pub, we'd all be smoking. That never happens now. People are on paleo diets and god knows what, and it's become truly inspiring for a younger generation of Māori. It engages those young people to goal set, to take pride in themselves, to understand whakapapa, to go deeper into their own family culture. I just see endless positive social outcomes for young Māori.

I used to work with young people that had been excluded from mainstream [school] and so for them, one strategy that we were helping them to get...out of courts and out of youth prisons, we had [J] coming in and doing haka with them, and just helping with their identity. And I know it doesn't really fit here in the economic but in terms of the outcome for these that are going to be out of prison...If we're wanting to save money as a nation...I think that's, you can't put a cost on that. So that's changing people's lives through instilling...that

belonging again, also their cultural identity, that's awesome. And just to see lives change through that, yeah, it's pretty special. When you see your haka group on stage the young people performing, you know you've got your gangs, your drugs, all that sort of stuff that comes with Māori sometimes, that stereotypical, but to see them perform and to see some of those other layers stripped off and to see them get out there, to have that mana to perform, is really awesome.

Now that strength-based environment that they come from nurtures good and great leaders of the future. So how are we using our culture in really important ways to help make that process one of success? We know that the passion that you see on stage is not always emulated by individuals in the community, so how can we use our culture to really provide the hiki that people require and yeah, often when they take off their kapa haka clothes it's a 'e heke' moment, 'cause they're somewhat back to reality. Now, for everyone here in this room, our reality is...we're immersed in our passion. We're employed and we're paid to do that thing that we love doing. And I would love that [our young kids immersed in a kapa haka environment] remain the bright, artistic, creative young people that they are now as they move into the future, 'cause just imagine what their world would be. And we all know that leaders will get to the status of their leadership no matter what. Often though it's a journey that is sidetracked by life's events and a disasterous education journey...but they get there. So do we want to shorten that journey, so they are in a leadership status for longer? And my argument is always yes! So you know, a strength-based environment ...where kapa haka is an important component, for Māori is so essential.

I think it's very positive for our rangatahi. It's a huge social benefit. I think...a lot of the kids here in [Te Arawa] anyway, they go to school to do kapa haka and that keeps them in school. So I think that that's a huge benefit. They're seeing a lot more opportunities in kapa haka, we're seeing it on TV a lot more now, so they know that there's value, there's employment, there's a degree in there now. So there's...value in doing kapa haka [now] and it so it keeps them on track, and it gives them something to work towards and to be positive about, rather than the typical negative.

Social outcomes, well, it's got to be good for our young ones. We get so many of our young ones who have been in gangs, who have been doped up to the eyeballs or something, and some elder or some young person has come along and, 'Oh my bro, you've got to do better than that, come along to...' And they do, they change their life. And with all the haka and focus on non-violence and looking after our tamariki and the wāhine, provided people actually take that on, there's a lot of positive learning coming out of this...which will have positive social outcomes.

So since my cousin's been running this [kapa haka] rōpū...If he doesn't run a wānanga in the weekend these kids are getting picked up for burg[laries], pinching cars. Now these are tough kids, [but] this at least is keeping them off the street, keeps them out at our marae which is 30km from nowhere, and they've got really nothing else to do but kind of do as they're told. So there's a real life example, when you're working with tough kids, where kapa haka is the only thing keeping them in a space where they are out of trouble.

TRANSFORMATION

The ability of kapa haka to have a transformative effect on people at an individual level was discussed in the section on cultural outcomes (section). The participants also related many experiences of transformation as a result of engagement with kapa haka at the community level:

> *It's funny, because before [our kapa] came along there was this real culture in [our town] just drinking and league, that's what their culture was, that was their lifestyle. And I mean there's been a 180 [turnaround] about what people do over the weekend, and that real hunger. We'll go 6 months through a campaign and we'll get sick of each other, [but then] it will only take a week and people will want to get back together and have that whakawhanaunga.*

> *We had a wonderful piece that was filmed in the Hokianga with a community...where there was a lot of marijuana issues, a lot of people on the dole. [This policeman] and his wife decided to start a kapa haka group and to aim to get into Te Matatini. They made it actually, this was for 2013, and they performed at Rotorua ...and over a period of about 18 months they changed as a little community. And...even now...watching the story brought tears to my eyes because you could tell, those people interviewed, it turned their lives around because it gave them a focus, it gave them a reason to be connected with each other, it...put all those really vital human connections back into place in their day to day lives.*

> *We started a group called Pukekiwiriki and they were street kids that were hanging around in Otara and doing nothing. So we established this group, pulling all these kids that were on the drugs, alcohol and young mummies...So we pulled them off the street and into this garage and we started this [kapa haka]. And it is about the relationships, it's about transforming...We saw these kids that stayed with us for about 15 years grow, be more responsible, go and get a job, get an education, look after [their] whānau, but do kapa haka, where we can all come back together and celebrate who we really are. There's still pride within these young people and from a cultural standpoint we return them back to who they really are, that they are first and foremost Māori ...Social outcome, they sort of tidied up their act: stopped the drinking – I mean they drank, but not so heavy; they tried to get off the drugs, the marijuana and all that sort of stuff...They took more responsibility so that they could become more valued within the community ...So I think kapa haka in that particular group, it actually worked for them.*

Some spoke of the power of kapa haka to effect change by raising self-esteem and raising expectations:

> *Yeah, 40 in our group, how many other rōpū are there around? And just in [our rohe] alone, six [rōpū] going to Matatini but 21 that stood, times 40, out there doing their thing, building confidence, not only in themselves, I mean to our [kids]. You know...it's always about the next generation as well. And so you see those performers, but how many children have they got that are watching, 'Oh, that's how I need to be'. Yeah, cause they don't have a choice, all they see is good things, so all they want to do is good things.*

This was experienced particularly by some of the participants in the context of delivering kapa haka programmes in prisons:

> *Through Manaakitanga Performing Arts Academy we've actually had the opportunity to go into our youth prisons and teach haka, which has been really beneficial...and just to enable the young ones that are in there to participate in hakas has just been a huge benefit for them. To the [point] where some have even made contact with us to say, 'Are we able to come and join [the Academy]?'*
>
> *But you know there's that adage, 'A rising tide raises all ships'. So we provide a positive environment for people to rise to. We do that in our kapa haka communities, in that we have a goal to achieve, you know, everyone wants to be the winner, so that's the goal that you set yourself and then you aim to reach it. Whether you do or don't, you know a journey has taken place. And so when you go and take that same adage into settings like prisons, you go in with an expectation that they will learn this stuff, because I did. And because you have that belief yourself, they rise to the occassion.*
>
> *I've got [whānau] that work in the prisons and they talk about what a difference knowing the haka makes, what a difference being able to get up and say your pepeha makes to those types of people that are in there, cause they didn't know. Self esteem, that sense of belonging, knowing where you're from, having the confidence to articulate who you are ...And not being able to do that must be heart- breaking, it must really do your head in and mess with your spirit as well.*

Others noted how compositions that address particular social issues, such as child abuse, through the medium of kapa haka, can be a powerful force for changing behaviours and mindsets on a community/societal level:

> *When it comes to doing the mahi on the floor, nā ngā akoranga pea, the things that I've been taught with my time doing kapa haka, we are able to knit together a bracket and know what needs to be put into a bracket and into the disciplines. But we really look forward to the end result in terms of, okay, ka haka mātou e pā ana ki ...te whānau e noho wahangū i te wā kei te tūkino tamariki, tētahi ki roto i te whānau. So the collective silence among our whānau Māori when child abuse is happening. So we do the haka and take it to Te Matatini. And it does really well and all that sort of stuff, but at the end of it if we have maybe 1 or 2 or 10 men in the group that actually say, 'Hang on', and have a think about it, and then you can see them starting to be better fathers, or making better choices in terms of raising their kids. That's why we do kapa haka. That's why I do kapa haka.*

Another way that kapa haka is having a powerful, transformative impact on social outcomes is through the provision of a degree level course in Māori performing arts. The course provides a supportive environment for people engaged in kapa haka, who would otherwise probably never have considered tertiary education as an option, to embark on that journey and to exceed their own expectations:

> *Within our [kapa haka] kaupapa we are lucky in that we are doing the Bachelor of Māori Performing Arts through Awanuiārangi, so it's actually empowering a lot of members in our kapa who haven't been comfortable enough to engage in tertiary education, they're suddenly put in an environment where it's their whānau, it's their friends, it's in an*

environment that they're comfortable with, and they can engage with tertiary education. And even though a lot of the benefits come to the kapa, they get a lot out of it as well, just to have the confidence to strive for those ambitions that they've always sort of had. So yeah, it all ties in to the whole concept of transformation and the power of our relationships within our kapa.

Even with the recent push from Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, the BMPA is like a win, win, win for all stakeholders really, 'cause students get to have a free qualification. And for some of our whānau who have never, who didn't even finish high school, being ...in a supportive, whānau, marae-based environment is really, really advantageous for them and for the rōpū. Oviously the penapena pūtea side is amazing, and then for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi having so many efts, I mean we are just all win, win, kia ora tātou!

HEALTH AND WELLBEING

A major area of contribution to positive social outcomes identified by the participants was in the area of health and wellbeing. That wellbeing was attributed to being engaged in and connected to our Māori culture, as well as the enormous benefits that derive from collective agency:

Whakapapa, whakapapa is the important ingredient...the emotional wellbeing of people ...the importance of retaining history, the importance of creating information around current affairs, and the importance of sheer entertainment, that's the way I see kapa haka....When I look at what Te Matatini offers, I look at that as entertainment, but behind that entertainment, the groups, the people, the individuals, the whānau that are involved, for them it's about whakapapa. It's about what is happening in their lives in these past given months or the coming months, so there's an emotional component to it and a political component to it, of what's happening at the time...So it's all those things wrapped up together, it's about whakapapa, it's about politicalness, it's about emotion and it's about going forward. So I like to not only think of the Matatini stage, although that's a stage of enjoyment for me, but there's also many other places, many other atamira where kapa haka gives people joy, helps to ease pain and brings fond memories.

I think...our people are in a state of wellness when we are participating in our culture, so when we are a part of a rōpū haka, the spiritual and mental and whānau and physical needs are being met.

A major shift within competitive kapa haka in recent years has led to a new standard in terms of levels of physical health and fitness. That shift has effected a quantum change in attitudes towards health and fitness amongst kapa haka practitioners. This is believed by the participants to have many associated benefits, not just for the practioners themselves, but also for their extended whānau and communities. A strength of the movement towards increased health and fitness within kapa haka is that it is achieved collectively:

And as I say...there's been such a shift in the past decade really in terms of those, to get better at their craft they've realised it takes an effort, it means exercising, it means eating right, it means making sure that you're not drinking excessively, quitting smoking, you know all of these things that we know, these are really important messages for our

rangatahi because we are at risk as a people and we've been over-represented in too many ways in these negative areas. So yeah, very important.

And ...lots of different rōpū around the motu getting on a health buzz because there's a lot at stake, the mana of your rōpū, the mana of your rohe and you don't want to be that 'hotdog' group or 'hotdog' rohe. So I think it's quite positive the change that occurs and it's always more powerful when there's a group doing it together. For instance, we're not a kapa haka but at our waahi mahi...we've got Hauora happening at the moment which is just a health awareness kind of push, and there's a little competition and we all have teams and we wear these [pedometers]. So we had our staff meeting walking on the spot in the office today. And that sort of stuff is happening in the rōpū as well, and all it takes is one person to catch the fitness buzz and that's enough to inspire more in the group.

The health outcome was massive, I lost personally 8 kilos in 5 weeks...but if I hadn't had kapa haka as the incentive, I wouldn't have done that. We had members in that group that lost 40 kilos and that's massive, and so all up...man, how many kilos we've lost as a rōpū, as a collective. We should do a before and after of our campaign and the health impact in itself, huge. But also the health and social and wellbeing impact, huge.

THE UNTAPPED POTENTIAL OF KAPA HAKA

An overall feeling of optimism about the future of kapa haka among the participants was tempered by the conviction, expressed by many of the participants, that there was much more potential to be explored within the realm of kapa haka, particularly in terms of its social benefits:

He Pūrākau: There's power in the collective

As a ...citizen of New Zealand society, a kapa haka performer who contributes socially, culturally and economically to our country, I'm not rare, there's lots of really good people out there that do all these things. And there could be an avenue where like-minded people come together in some kind of forum group, Māori leadership kind of forum, where we can help, 'cause we can help, but we're either isolated to the stage, or isolated to our careers, the two are never brought together. It's an opportunity to be brought together … If you get successful kapa haka people together who are also successful within their careers as a forum to inspire and to lead and to help grow our culture, I think that's a very powerful group. But that group doesn't exist in a formal sense; we all do it within our own iwi, within our own whānau, within our own careers, our own little blocks of the world, but just imagine if it was en masse. Even like a tour, I mean people in America do tours, start at the top [of the country] just go down to the rangatahi, 'cause

some rangatahi might not be into everyone who's on that panel, or everyone who's on the bus that day, but there'll be someone [that they'll just connect with]. Just to go through and make a change at that societal level, go visit all those small towns, all those kids who are really good at kapa haka, all those people that are really good at kapa haka but that's all they know, that's all [they think] they're good at, that's all they think their world exists around kapa haka. [Show] them how they can transfer those skills in kapa haka to other areas ...I think something like that would be very beneficial for Māori...At the moment it just seems like we sing and dance for a competition and the real meaning behind that isn't sustainable. It's for the week of Matatini and then everyone goes back to their own homes and fragments it, and goes through it and unpacks it, but the value of that unpacking could be done on a nationwide scale together. We could unpack the impact of Matatini together, not within our individual homes. So I think there's power in that anyway.

SOCIAL MEDIA AND TECHNOLOGY

Some participants noted that the recent growth in programming of kapa haka on television, specifically Māori Television, is helping to make kapa haka more accessible to a wider audience, whilst also portraying images of Māori culture at its most positive and dynamic:

I touched on it with the Māori TV stuff, social media and even YouTube, is that the shows, especially like The Kapa and Guess That 50 Haka Moments, not following the traditional sort of format of a show, a lot more updated...But it's another avenue to show Māori in a positive light, and there's not enough of that. I mean you change the channel and there's a lot of negative messages being sent, especially to rangatahi, about being Māori and what that means...The Kapa was cool, positive messages, 50 Haka Moments was [mostly] constructive and positive ...But it just puts kapa haka in a more accessible format for people who may not have the reo...They had quite a wide forum of...people discussing the Matatini...King Kapisi, Teremoana Rapley, they're not kapa haka exponents but it's opening it up to a more mainstream...audience, and then, hopefully, it sort of normalises kapa haka a lot more and normalises the positive messages that our rangatahi get out of kapa haka.

The use of social media to engage with kapa haka was prevalent, most notably among the rangatahi participants. As well as assisting in the circulation of kapa haka images and up-to-the-minute YouTube videos, social media facilitates the connectivity and cohesion of the kapa haka community throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, with each other and with their networks around the world:

So there are no limits to kapa haka performance; and not only in live performances but now that we've got access to technology, anyone can get showings of kapa haka, it's unlimited.

Social media was also, in some cases, used in more creative ways. Some participants told of how in the wake of the Christchurch earthquake communities became fragmented, and securing venues for their groups to rehearse became increasingly difficult. One solution was to establish a system of online practices:

So we had a Facebook group and...we'd record our bracket, and then you would record

yourself and upload it. And you could teach like that, so we used technology lots in our group, cause...everyone's so busy, and it's just to try and find the time to get together...And that's how we learn. So you can watch it again at home...We'd be replaying the bracket and watching it and then I'd upload and then be critiqued, in a nice way...'Oh your poi's down on 1:36'…That's how we were learning...It just helped, it meant you didn't have to get together every night, you can do lots of work by yourself then come together for a wānanga or come together for a weekend workshop or what not. That worked well for our group.

The easy and immediate access to kapa haka personalities and performances on social media sites also has its negative sides, however, including reduced opportunities to enjoy the collective experience of viewing kapa haka, and issues relating to commodification of culture and intellectual property rights:

It was quite strange this year to get off the stage and make it back to the bus and we were barely back to [the] College, we were like 2 minutes away, and our bracket's already online ...and that was really just amazing, don't have to wait weeks and weeks now...But it wasn't just us, it was everyone else...It used to be a thing where we'd make a big deal about ...[getting] our DVD back, call the rōpū together, let's have a watch, but it's like it's taken the magic away from it, that sort of whanaungatanga aspect [away from it].

To give] an overview of what's going on internationally in terms of protection of traditional knowledge and why we should protect it: for our cultural identity, helping people realise and preserve their culture, as well as economic benefit...for example, I'll use LEGO trying to use some Māori imagery, and the moko has been used in high fashion, so there's a lot of exploitation. But it looks like New Zealand likes domestic policy towards the protection of traditional knowledge, so what steps are being taken? Another international pressure...is the Nagoya Protocol on the protection of traditional knowledge...[But] New Zealand is not making a stand.

In advertising, marketing, there's been obviously issues there of certain companies overseas, LEGO, all that kind of stuff...I mean to a certain degree we can try and prevent that, [but] the internet and the big wide world is out there and that's the nature of it. Kapa haka has adopted elements from overseas and people talk about IP, but I say, well actually, how many of the waiata from Te Matatini are using tunes that are not original, and have those artists been acknowledged?. And so, it works both ways.

Of course the innovation is wonderful, it's entertaining, it's beautiful, but then there's also the part where we want to consider...hold on, that's ours, and how do we protect that; hold on, they're taking our whole blimmin song, or suddenly it's on YouTube and all the rest of it. So where was our economic benefit? We spent bloody years composing our waiatas and so on. So ...the social, the mana, the performance, your wānanga and all that, great, great, but in the end there was still a pure monetary cost involved with all of that, [and] when you think about it or debrief, you kind of think, well, somebody else made more money out of this than we did.

EDUCATION

Improving educational outcomes

In the process of conducting the interviews and focus groups within the three rohe, it became evident that the majority of the participants were teachers or educationists, people who had experience of and/or strong convictions about the benefits of kapa haka within school environments, and the connection between kapa haka and improved learning outcomes:

> *'Cos it's huge in terms of kids at school that get involved in kapa haka...They tend to study well, they tend to achieve well. So the parts of their own culture that are supported at school gives good outcomes in terms of their scholastic results. And that's been studied and written about, so, huge, you know, right from our babies in Kōhanga, and [then] they perform outside of Kōhanga in society. I'm sure that the kind of discipline in kapa haka starts right in early stages, with our pre-schoolers. Absolutely.*
>
> *In terms of the value of kapa haka in schools, I very much see the impact on Māori student achievement aligning with kapa haka, and really around cultural-proofing your school. And it raises the profile of Māori in your school, but...it makes everybody see the value of me. I know the value of me, I know the value of me at home and with my whānau, but do you know the value of me here [at school?]...I see [the value of] kapa haka...even improving literacy, the kids that are struggling at being able to read, the more you put them in kapa haka, the better they get at being able to left, right, and identify word shapes. Just something as simple as that.*
>
> *A big part of what kapa haka...does do in our schools, it keeps our kids there...and that's one of the biggest things is keeping them at school. And if it is kapa haka, sports, [if] those things are going to help our kids to stay in school till the 7th form or whenever you've got all your credits and your NCEAs, then it's got to be good...So I think the more we can do to get them staying in schools is only [going] to [make it] better.*
>
> *I come from an Education background and for me I know particularly the power of kapa haka and I've seen what kapa haka can do in a school. And I think that we underestimate how important it is...When you have kapa haka in a school you raise the value of what it is to be Māori and you raise the value for all those children sitting on the seat waiting to see something of themselves bounce back off walls. So when you have kapa haka that's inclusive and it involves everybody, it makes the Māori children in the school feel proud about who they are and they can stand tall as Māori...There is a lot of value around being successful as Māori, and for schools to have the responsibility to make it safe to do that ...kapa haka is very much a tool that allows that to happen.*

However, some barriers to realising those improved outcomes were also identified. Predominantly these boiled down to schools and the Education sector not seeing the value in kapa haka, but rather prioritising literacy and numeracy at the expense of the myriad cultural and social benefits that kapa haka brings into school communities as a whole:

> *But I'm still seeing, we're still seeing change when made from the bottom up. [Kaiako] are*

pushing over here saying 'Value kapa haka; kapa haka makes a difference. Look, we implemented kapa haka into this kura and it took away 80% of the bullying that went on'. But it's still a Western hierarchical way of thinking where, no, it has to be literacy and numeracy that's important, that's the main thing. But kids aren't going to school, because they don't want to do maths. They want to go to school because they want to do kapa haka or sports, those sort of collective areas...and...I believe even in our kura, we miss the point ...and we miss the [opportunity], where we should actually be the ones that are onto it and say, 'No, no, this has to be a part of the curriculum, this has to be'. Because if we took the reo out of a kura and we took kapa haka out of a kura, it's a school. Those are the only two things...because we all learn reading, writing, maths, all the subjects, so what else is there that differentiates us from mainstream...? It's [te reo and kapa haka].

You still get that MOE view of academics is what it's all about, 1st, 2nd and 3rd, you know, and then our parents get disheartened with everything because we struggle and can't keep up and, 'Oh well, finish school and go and get a job'. I think as long as we find ways of keeping them at school the better [their educational outcomes will be].

Within my mahi I get to go into different primary schools in Christchurch and probably the biggest question is how much value [is put on] kapa haka in our primary schools. And unfortunately a lot our schools, apart from our kura kaupapa, kapa haka is put on ...during lunchtime when [there's] rugby, or touch or other things. So...a lot of the tutors in the schools are saying, 'We're not getting tamariki coming, even though they want to'. There is not a value put on it and so if they had a choice between playing touch or some of the more popular [activities], for some of them that's where they're going. And our schools ...they don't have the funding to do haka, it's one of those ones that you've got to really fork out from your own pocket. And it's not like you get all the flash uniforms and gears and things. And I know within Christchurch it's really a struggle in the schools to ...keep haka alive...I think that's a huge challenge, just the value that is placed [on it] by obviously management or the Ministry, 'cause it's not recognised as one of those big achievement [areas] so I think that's a challenge in terms of education.

[For] our kura and...wharekura ...kapa haka is one of the main components. And there was a time where kura drove kapa haka, I'm talking...in terms of the competitive arena, so the ASB or whatever had the wharekura and the kura kaupapa that were in the forefront pushing. And I never actually found that was the case, because working within a school you always...plan for the year, make your strategic plan...set it down. And kapa haka is a tag-on, after...the core business of numeracy, literacy and curriculum coverage is done. At the end, they'll say 'Well, shall we get a kapa haka together?' And 'Got anyone who wants to take the group?' So it's not a real heavily invested area, and it relies really back on upon the reo being spoken and the context of the school that's it's working in that actually supports the kapa when it gets on stage. So then you see this beautiful group, wonderful reo and all that sort of stuff, but [not] a lot of it comes from the school. So...I think some research needs to go into that, to see actually how much our educationalists, our leaders in education within the schools perceive kapa haka. Do they see it as an extracurricular activity, or is it something that's actually intrinsic in every curriculum area across the board? Because it touches everything, pūtaio to te reo, to maths, the whole gambit, you've

got it one marau.

He Pūrākau: Academic space where you don't feel threatened

Ahi Kaa Roa's now in its 3rd year doing the BMPA, through Awanuiārangi, so they've now got 4 or 5 groups on the programme. And of course through that whole degree programme you get questioned about your practices, what's happening well in your kapa, what isn't, why do you think it's happening that way, and tell us about mōteatea and what's important about mōteatea and the different styles. So that stuff starts to force you to think quite hard about what you're doing, 'cause now you've got to write about it and talk about it and present about it, and talk about composers and...talk about the technical aspects of poi and whatever it is. But just watching our rōpū alone, the growth of that confidence and that competence now that we're actually being questioned about why you're doing that, what's important about that. And I'm picking that it will be the same in the other groups as they start to get to year 2 and 3. It does make you think a little bit harder about what you're doing and what you're getting out of it and what your families are getting out of it. And knowing that for us, it's not just me learning. So I'll go home and I'll say to my boy, 'What do you reckon about this? And what happened when you did this?', and having these discussions around haka stance. Or…we'll flip the My Sky on and watch kapa haka for the 55th time, you know, rewind, 'See that, see that movement, do you like that movement? What do you think they're doing there? How's your body moving?' and stuff like that, which becomes a whole whānau experience, as opposed to just you sitting there in your little box saying, 'My love is haka', but it's me in my box, to now being a whānau experience of critiquing everything and rewinding it and rewinding it. That stuff has major impact [following your passion]. And then to realise there's now a degree, that I can actually get a degree for what I love doing. So, you know, for your first year, 50% of it is performing...so 'I'm a kapa haka kid of course I'm going to get 50% of it'...The degree programme must be about in its 4th or 5th year out of Awanuiārangi, but it's only been down here, we're in our 3rd year. We were one of the 1st groups that went on it, so next year we should graduate, and we've got [T] now doing his master's, which he may not have done if that wasn't an option. So the impact for us of course is that we've now got kaihaka who would never have considered doing a qualification like that, now going to be walking out next year with a degree and that's a huge achievement...that we can now see is actually achievable...[Even] me who's thinking, maybe I might carry on doing master's, which I [first] thought about 20 years ago...But that just brings the whole kapa haka into that real academic space where you don't feel threatened cause it's what you love doing, it's what you do anyway. So now you get credits for it.

UNTAPPED POTENTIAL

Several of those participants who are educationists spoke about mining the untapped potential of kapa haka, and shared their visions of utilising kapa haka as a vehicle for promoting not just academic success, but personal growth and development for young people in the educational context. They highlighted such things as leadership potential, the learning value of group participation, and strength in the collective:

> *We already know that it's about the pride of New Zealand, the bi-culturalism ...But now we really need to get to the mana of it as a learning area within mainstream schools. Wharekura and that do it, but I'm sure it only sits as a lone subject...not as a kaupapa. [Y]ou could have a Māori performing arts school...I will one day, and...you could still acknowledge, through credits, other learning areas within that school...Like...that's a sporting academy, that's a 'this' academy, that's a 'that' academy, that's the kapa haka academy. And through that I've learnt leadership, discipline, commitment, all those things that you get cultural credits for, cultural rewards for, those will be in place as well. Looks good in my head!*

Within the theme of the untapped potential of kapa haka in education, another area discussed was how areas of kapa haka – and not just the actual performance aspects – could be developed into viable career pathways:

> *The other learning for the kids which I don't think they do enough of is about stage management, costume design, lighting effects all of that. That's what kapa haka can do for our kids, it can create a future for them. If they learnt all about that sound and about the lighting...they might be doing stage managing in the future. So kapa haka has got a lot to offer our young people as they're growing up, but are we capturing that, that would be my question. Are our schools and organisations teaching these people kapa haka, are they teaching them the whole, or is it just on stage and perform? Maybe we need to look harder at what we are doing, there might be other [ways] that we can grow our people from within that...'cause Donna Grant's been very clever in setting up the Bachelor of Māori Performing Arts. Well, we need a Donna setting up a Bachelor of Stage and Set Design, a Bachelor of Lighting, you know, that sort of stuff. Why aren't we doing that? We need to be doing those sorts of things.*
>
> *Even teaching kapa haka I think is an undervalued, not career path, but just everything that goes with it. I think it's different at a senior level 'cause it's not so [well supported], I mean within schools they have management units and stuff so I mean there's income there, but teaching kapa haka, not just for competition but everything on top of it, everything we've been talking about, the cultural repercussions and social benefits, all that sort of stuff that goes with kapa haka...All of my mates from Rotorua learnt good money habits through starting young, from 13, 14, and they were making $20, $30 a show and now they're on upwards of $60. It is actually a viable career path. I think it was on Native Affairs, there was a couple that actually bought their house doing shows. They didn't have any other income, like they've got cars, a house, they support themselves and it's all completely through night shows.*
>
> *You can get paid as a tutor. Schools are calling out and you can get a good career in being a teacher of Māori Performing Arts within a kura. Like that lovely man from Ngāti*

Kahungunu...who went over to Hawaii and taught, and got really, really paid well when he was at the Cultural Centre. It is a viable career, you've just got to make sure you've been trained well, you're well known, you can justify who you are and away you go, make a good career out of it.

He Pūrākau: Learning about ourselves

I think the value that kapa haka gives to all who participate in it, well ...I look at my mokopuna, he's just started kura and [we] could never get him to participate in the family stuff. Oh, every so often he'd look and you'd wonder what was going through his little mind, but now he's going home and singing all his kura songs and doing all these things...And one day I sang one of his waiata with him and he looked at me and he says, 'How did you know that, you don't go to kura'. And I said, 'That's a very old song and I used to sing that when I was your age, and let's sing it together'. So I'd sing it, and 'No, no, no, it doesn't go like that, it goes like this'. And cause he hasn't quite got his words right, and so I say, 'Oh, okay, I'll sing it your way'. So I sing it his way, then I say 'Now you sing it my way'. And so he tries, and I say 'Sing it my way again ...But the value of it is here's an interaction happening between me and my great grandson and we're both enjoying it. So it's a generational communication. Now this young man, he's learning where to stand, where to put his knee when he goes down, how to hold his elbow, and I'm learning this too of course and doing all these things, 'You don't do it like that, you do it like this', those sorts of things. So there's lots of learning in it for him ...And so we've got a bit of maths in here, we've got a bit of directional learning, we've got social skills, because they have to get on with each other in the group ...they have to be this far apart from each other, and when you come in here, you know, you can't touch sticks and you can't do this, all that [tikanga], yeah. They're learning lots of stuff together in their rōpū in their little kura through kapa haka. Would they do that sitting in the classroom, actually doing the mahi pangarau and all that sort of stuff? I don't think so. They're learning it through an activity, through kapa haka. They're learning about themselves.

CHALLENGES

The main challenges to achieving these many social benefits and outcomes were related to the extensive time commitment and financial demands, and the undervaluing of kapa haka. The time commitment was felt keenly by all those who participate, but particularly by tutors whose role often extends to that of a social worker for their groups:

I just think personally and I'm not even talking about the group, the personal costs for me in terms of participating are my kids, the time that we've spent away from them on a weekend...it's just the time away from my girls that I really miss, that's the ultimate sacrifice...Especially in our role as tutors and having an open door policy, and having to organise if anyone has any take and they [come] around home. There's never ever been a down-time, you know, it's 24/7.

It is a lifestyle ...and you adjust to the lifestyle, like when you first enter into the world of hard out competitive kapa haka it's a bit hard...my biggest advice is to wait till after you're 21, or your mates are 21, because you miss a lot of 21st's, a lot of kaupapa...I don't know anyone who does kapa haka who doesn't say, 'Why do we do this? Why do we spend 6 or 7 months training just for 30 minutes on stage?' You know, 6 months later they're back into it again, so I think it's just one of those oxymoronic things.

In the education field, a major challenge is to have kapa haka recognised as a legitimate subject area in its own right, particularly for entry into tertiary study:

About trying to get some worth out of the kapa haka...[L]ast year, we attended most of the regional secondary kapa haka, we were doing verification that helps towards their NCEA. But unfortunately kapa haka isn't one of the pathways that tauira can use towards ...[University Entrance]...We are trying to push for that, but that's for the universities...to change their entry requirements.

ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION

THE VALUE OF KAPA HAKA

While all the participants were able to easily relay experiences around the cultural and social contributions and the value of kapa haka to Aotearoa, most of them were less able to articulate, from within their experiences, specific economic outcomes from kapa haka. Nonetheless, some definitely had a sense that there was a link between the cultural, social and economic, and that that was of significant value:

That's an interesting [idea] isn't it, the value chain of what kapa haka is. So if we were able to identify that, that would be interesting. So all of the inputs that create the event through from the early [childhood] learning through to the output that might be a business, and then you'll understand how it's really impacting beyond just the competition.

Socially, culturally, economically, you know, 'cause I come from a region that's probably low in all of those in terms of national stats. You look at socially, we have had problems on the East Coast...but when we talk culturally, we pride ourselves in our culture...When we think about Māori culture we are rich, you know, but all the other ones get painted over: oh, you know, socially you're not doing that great, economically, we're at the bottom of it, but there's a pride and it shows...Kapa haka and Matatini have given that recognition of cultural value ...And at the same time, when they talk about putting a value on things, you don't tend to think that the person with the most money has it all, because I don't believe that they do, but...you're compared to what's going on in mainstream, in the world…But

I've been involved with groups and seen people just blossom from having the experiences that kapa haka has given them. Even for myself, I've travelled overseas...I would never have gone to places like that, but it's given...not just me but those of us that go as a group ...it gives us those wider, broader experiences with the world...you can't deny it has so much value. It may not put money in your pocket, in fact it takes money out of your pocket going to the wānanga every weekend, and paying for the kai and all the fundraising that you do, you're probably, at the end of it, you're probably out of pocket. But hey, I feel richer spiritually and culturally. Economically, in that sense, if there is a value then I'd say yes, there definitely is.

Some of the participants, however, particularly those with marketing or business backgrounds, were very sure of the economic value of kapa haka to Aotearoa:

Most definitely, I would say kapa haka, Māori arts and culture...makes an invaluable contribution. From an economic perspective [they] have been instrumental in promoting Aotearoa New Zealand to the world, that has huge value in itself. It's that point of difference, I mean you go overseas and it's, 'Oh where you from?' New Zealand. 'Oh All Blacks, haka'. It's either All Blacks or it's haka, or kapa haka, and that's the brand of New Zealand and the value of that brand is huge. Whether we capitalize on it or wish to capitalize on it is another question.

Kapa haka is something that should be seriously considered from an economic perspective, in terms of the economic benefit to be gained by kapa haka mitigating certain negative health stat[istic]s.

I think it goes back to the pride and identity stuff...I don't want to talk about money, because I think that's all there ...those are all evident...but I think in terms of the wider Māori economy, trade is about knowledge transmission, trade is about pride and identity ...That...sense of identity, of pride, they do bleed into wider society...I don't fully understand how that happens, but what I do know is that anybody who's watching it, there's that sense of pride, there's that sense of, particularly around ngahau and that type of thing, a sense of inclusion and just a sense of self that sits within it, whether or not you're Māori...I think it's about your willingness to actually receive that.

The other area is looking at the...marginal value obtained by Aotearoa from kapa haka in terms of international publicity and promotion and profiling. The Ministry of Tourism, various Ministries spend a lot of money on promoting Aotearoa and...an international scan on kapa haka will probably pick up many instances where kapa haka has provided or gained huge exposure internationally, be it in print or...on the net, or...on television...So that would be an area...because PR and that sort of value is often the key variable that people look at in terms of sponsorship and funding...how many people did this reach.

A specific area that some stakeholders were able to speak to was the immense value of 'culture-to- culture' relationships within the context of New Zealand's offshore trade missions. Maōri culture, including kapa haka, has played a significant role in laying the foundations of lasting trade relationships with other nations, and other cultures:

Where we found some real surprising value with kapa haka [and] Māori culture is the relationships developed through our work on a culture-to-culture basis, particularly with cultures in Asia, China, South America...and once those relationships develop, from there comes the mahi, whether it's tourism or trade. We've helped to facilitate some major investment deals in the last year purely through our mahi through tourism but...we see real tangible economic benefits in terms of relationships that have developed culture-to-culture that lead to tourism, trade and investment.

I used to work with Te Ohu Kaimoana and part of the deal in which they secured a lot of their business relationships, especially overseas, was not through the business of fisheries but actually through the business of cultural interaction. The...deal that was actually confirmed by Sealords with Namibia was not done by the corporate people, but was actually done by the Māori of Te Ohu Kaimoana with the indigenous people of Namibia. And it wasn't done because we talked about fish, [but] because we had a cultural exchange first, and part of that cultural exchange was the element of kapa haka and the sharing of languages, [ours and theirs], and together we were able to form a relationship going forward.

It was noted that the key to establishing these kinds of fruitful trade links and relationships with other nations is encapsulated in both the tangible and intangible elements of Māori culture:

Now what they say about doing business in China is it's incredibly hard, it takes you years, it takes 10 visits before you even start to talk business because...with the Chinese it's very much like Māori, you come in, you sit down, you talk about who you are, where you're from, how many kids you've got, how many moko you've got...And then something comes from after that, maybe.

So what we think is happening as the Asian economies grow and become more influential globally, the way of doing business is changing as well...[It's] about the whanaungatanga first.

So even [the government ministers] are starting to see the value in this, and whilst it may not be tangible, to me it's the intangible credits they earn...the wairua, the mana, the ihi, the wehi, it's all these intangible things that make the culture so strong. It's there deep down and it comes out when you're standing in front of this rōpū...It's powerful.

Other participants tended to refer to the economic outcomes of kapa haka in terms of economic benefits for Māori, and noted that they struggled to see that benefit reflected in their everyday realities. They felt that there were systemic and structural impediments that needed to be addressed before the economic benefits of kapa haka could filter down into Māori communities.

He Pūrākau: We're not the one on the receiving end of economic outcome

Well, it's a bit of a hard one, when I speak I can only really speak from my experience, and because I'm yet to experience economic outcome as something regular for Māori as a result of kapa haka. The only things that really come to mind are the tourism ventures that we have throughout the motu, but while they are great, I don't feel that they do our culture as a whole justice. They're a great snippet of what Māoritanga is and it's a wonderful experience to impart with our manuhiri who come from overseas, but to get a real sense of who we are as Māori I think more time is needed to be spent with Māori ...In term of economic outcomes as a result of kapa haka, other than the different gigs that groups can pick up around the town or around the motu or even overseas – but usually that's forking out money, the only other thing that comes to mind is things such as kapa haka groups catering wānanga for other kaupapa, being able to make money that way ...But in that sense we're not the ones on the receiving end of that economic outcome, it's ...the overarching kaupapa which benefits from that economic outcome. And that's a shame, that...we as a country would whakaiti [the mana of our tangata whenua] or not acknowledge it, and yet when it's needed, go for gold and use it wherever. That saddens me. I believe that the government needs to do more. I base it on the Irish model of language revitalisation and it was almost extinct, in a worse state than ours was, and yet in far less time ...their language is in a total space of wellness. And the only difference that I can see is the government's support. So it was compulsory to teach and learn and speak the language in Ireland, and therefore the cultural benefits [were] that culture and language was in a state of wellness and therefore the people were, and it was valued and acknowledged. And then you come back here and it's almost like there's a question in the background and nobody wants to say it – well some M.Ps will go there, but mostly nobody wants to say it: 'Is it really worth keeping? Is is worth all this money that we're throwing at it?

THE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF KAPA HAKA

The economic contribution of kapa haka to Aotearoa may not have been addressed explicitly by many of the participants, however several of them expressed the view that the economic potential of kapa haka is underestimated, or needs to be explored:

> *I see the possibility in a global sense of kapa haka being part of the telling of the story of this country. And by telling our story and showing ourselves to be unique ...we draw attention to what we have to offer in so many ways. So yeah, it's an element potentially in that broader story about Aotearoa. But I still think, economic outcome, there's a way to go*

in terms of communicating more broadly about what Te Matatini is, how interesting it could be. Is there a way to get more people to the event? Does it become a tourist attraction? How do you treat the artform as a tourist attraction without exploiting it? How do you make sponsors understand that there is potentially ways of marketing around Te Matatini and kapa haka which could be lucrative? So quite a lot of developments still to be done in that area.

In the Ōtautahi region, while the earthquake has had a destabilising effect on the community in general, it also seems to have brought about an unexpected shift in the perception of that community toward Māori culture. That shift has given some of our Ōtautahi participants an optimistic outlook on the potential for kapa haka to be more widely embraced and supported in their region:

Non-Māori awareness and support of kapa haka is growing in] Ōtautahi, most definitely. I think the earthquake helped us a hell of a lot to be honest. To be blunt about it, we got to take a front seat for a change; prior to that we were a minority in our own space. Post-earthquake...with Ngāi Tahu front- footing it now on an equal footing with the City Council ...it's made Māori more visible. So White Christchurch now sees us, and they're actually getting a bit more interested in what [we] are doing. And it was interesting to watch when the [news] hit the media about the cricket knocking Matatini off [Hagley] park...Usually when anything Māori hit the newspapers you'd get White Christchurch going, 'You Māoris, you're always wanting special treatment, te mea, te mea', to all of a sudden these comments going, 'What do you mean they kicked the Māoris off the park? This is their place ...They booked this over a year ago and then cricket comes in and smacks them around'...'I know which big event I'm going to go to, and it isn't the cricket!' And this is White Christchurch, and [the]...overwhelming responses were in support of Māori, they were in support of kapa haka.

The implications of this growth in interest and engagement in kapa haka in terms of economic outcomes are yet to be explored. However it seems that overall there would be significant value accruing from increased social cohesion and a strengthened sense of nationhood:

Even at our regionals, you know, there was a time when we just didn't have stalls cause it was too [much hard] work, and now we've got 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 food stalls out there that are doing a good turnover during lunchtime. Which is this whole thing, that kapa [haka]'s becoming more of an attraction. So it's not just the traditional Māori audience now it is a wider, far more diverse audience, it's a huge audience and it's growing ...Sold out in fact, over 500 over the [capacity] number turning up.

During the discussion, examples were given of thriving Māori-owned small businesses that have grown up in response to demand from the kapa haka industry:

It does create small business...I don't know where you guys get your poi from but Aunty [P] has a small business now that you just order up your poi and...'I need them this long and I need them this colour, here's my money', and these things turn up, beautiful, well-balanced poi. So you get these small businesses popping up, so you've got Aunty [P] sitting over there doing poi, and you might go to see [T] and say 'We need hair gear', or 'We need paki', or whatever, so...they get them all running, and then you go to the next one and go, 'Actually

we need piupiu'. So there's a whole heap of...there's a whole economy around dressing your peeps before you get them on stage.

Some cited tourism around kapa haka and Māori cultural experiences as a source of economic benefit, and the potential for that area to be expanded further:

Oh, you can make money out of [kapa haka], my goodness, Rotorua are a good example of that, Te Arawa, marvelous example. And we've got two or three groups here that are making money out of kapa haka and being Māori in general...In essence the people are going to see the kapa haka and have a hangi...Yeah, they are economic benefits. I mean it's satisfying a need for the visitors and its income to the performers and income to the supporting businesses, so there's opportunities there.

Christchurch City Council put on a big event, 'Sparks in Parks' or something like that and 'Classics in the Park', and they have kapa haka groups performing there, and of course they pay for every other artist, so they pay for the kapa haka group. So there are other opportunities, those sorts of opportunities. But we could also create opportunities, and I don't think we've looked at what we might create. I think there are other opportunities out there to create for our performers.

I'm just negotiating with the [Hamilton] Gardens because they have buses full of Japanese that go down there that I'm trying to tap into...to say, look if you need a group to come down there and entertain, and they pay to come down there and watch a group, then just call us. But...kapa haka's not exposed a lot in Waikato and Tainui, unless it's at the Koroneihana, Regatta, or the Tainui Regionals. We need more things happening at the museum here, we need things happening at the Gardens, we need a festival of just kapa haka – Māori performers, Tiki Taane, close down Victoria Street, have all these things happening. And...block people coming from Auckland and going all the way to Rotorua, we need to block them here, and you know Tūrangawaewae can be utilised – I'm not sure how the Kīngitanga would stand by that, [but] that's a gateway to tourism. I mean it's not going to be exactly the same as Whakarewarewa but it could be [worthwhile], it just depends on the aims and objectives of the marae. But I'm just saying we need more culture, Māori culture, happening in Hamilton.

ENTERPRENEURIALISM

Some participants gave examples of entrepreneurial activities that they are already involved in, which include kapa haka as a key component:

[O]ther kauapapa we're involved in, like AMO...Advancement of Māori Opportunity, it's a leadership development programme modelled off AIO, our sister organisation based in Alburquerque, New Mexico. It's an indigenous focused programme...We're involved in hosting manuwhiri from all over the place and often kapa haka is a big part of that hosting obligation as well. AMO is for 25 – 35, 40 [year olds, that's] the target group ...We've been involved in that for the last 10 years or so, maybe longer.

It's the entrepreneurial nature of what Māori are doing in Rotorua which I think is still an

untapped market. And when you look at the visionary components of entrepreneurial small businesses that are happening here, I think that is quite a critical factor of success that could lead and inform other communities nationwide. The ability to run a concert group as a small business, led by Māori, owned by Māori and managing Māori are really good examples that can be used in other community settings where you identify what their unique strength is and how can you build a business around that, this is what a model looks like. So I think there's lots of pockets of best practice that could be useful to inform others, other community settings using other mediums of engagement.

There were also examples of entrepreneurial activities using kapa haka in locations other than Aotearoa New Zealand:

There are people in Europe that have corporate workshops on haka...And that's the other side of it, is IP and protecting that. And there's exactly the same thing in the UK and various other European countries, I've seen them.

KAPA HAKA'S 'SILENT ECONOMY'

A significant area of economic contribution that was raised by some of the participants relates to the 'silent', and largely unacknowledged economy generated by kapa haka activities. An example of this is where an influx of people to a particular locality for the purpose of supporting a kapa haka event or activity has spin-off benefits for the associated businesses in that area:

When you think about [us going] to Matatini, the amount of exposure that we and whatever the city is gets to kapa haka, the amount of money that then pours into that city, 'cause we've now just spent lots of money to get there, and put ourselves in a bed, and feed ourselves and entertain ourselves. So there's a huge economic impact whenever we do these things.

I'll just talk about the making of the kākahu, now we all know that just a korowai alone ...that's roughly about $2,000 ...and when you apply that across the whole rōpū, all of a sudden it's gone from $2,000 to $80,000. And...someone benefits from that and it's normally our kākahu dealers, etcetera. So we have an opportunity through the value that kapa provides to the country to create auxiliary services of support to run Māori businesses to be successful. Using Matatini as an example, you turn up there, all of the teams have their own tee-shirts, where did that come from? Where did their uniforms come from? Who benefits from that? So this is the silent economy that no-one actually knows about yet. We look at the production value of that, on top of that the bus companies, the accommodation people, so there is all of this hidden [economic activity]. We don't talk about it often, but it makes up the economic value of New Zealand. So, for instance, I believe $4 million is going to be channeled into just [getting] the teams to the national festival next year, that's just [the teams].

My cousin was putting moko kits together...pens and cleaners and all sorts. But also getting all the stencils made. So there's all this stuff that you don't necessarily see around kapa haka that's created all this business, in this economy around you. Even having a discussion before I came here with one of the whānau who's a graphic designer, and saying actually

we need to redo our logo, and I need this design for our dress uniform and I need ...We are all so flash nowadays. You bring in that whole industry [so] there's now graphic designers playing in the space, we'd never ever thought of that before...Screen printers, I'm looking at custom made fabric, all sorts of things

'PRODUCTIVITY' ACTIVITY

A second area that is not often taken in to account in relation to the economic value of kapa haka is the extensive 'productivity' activity, that is, the volume of hours that unpaid workers commit to supporting every Matatini campaign, every community festival, every school haka concert. The voluntary support these people provide is vital and represents a massive contribution to the success of kapa haka and its overall value:

When it comes to kapa haka, the people who usually turn up to events and help organise and run and make things go are actually people in kapa haka. So it comes back to the groups again, to the rōpū and I'm just really glad that the numbers have grown through kapa haka 'cause now there's more hands. You try running a big event like this while struggling to get 5 teams together, it gets a bit tough.

We had a meeting with the Police recently and I said to them, 'Look, Waitaha are just a bunch of volunteers, about 7 of us I think, and we've taken on Te Matatini'. And it wasn't until we actually got the bid that I realised, WOW, you know, it's huge, what have I done! And I sat down...and I thought about, okay, here's the group...we're the performers, okay, but we're also mothers and fathers; so over here there has to be a babysitter and a child minder; and then we go to practice, but we've still got to feed the whānau and pay the bills, so we go to work; but the costumes have got to be done so we're stitching, or weaving, or doing the, and oh...hang on, what about making the taonga pūoro, and the, you know, we do the lot...And you know what, we love every minute of it, and we wouldn't change it for the world. We've got to get smarter at it, but we wouldn't change it. 'Cause I look at [P's] mum, oh, there's the babysitter; oh, there's the costume maker; oh, hang on, morning tea's coming, scones are coming; oh yeah, the pot's on for tea. You know, here, sitting here, is all of that support that helps this happen. Incredible.

We call [ourselves] a kapa industry...'cause there's so many thousands involved, not just at our adult level but then you go into secondary [schools] and things. So you start to add up the investment that all these people are making, let alone counting the volunteer [contribution] and giving that a dollar amount, I think that we're in the couple [million] dollars.

And why [a particular tutor is motivated to travel extensively to tutor, with very little remuneration], that's the passion again. And he is [part of] an underground network of many of these people doing it, all around the country.

Other aspects of this productivity that were identified were 'work in kind', where no money changes hands but community resources are drawn upon to get the mahi done; and koha:

And a lot of times, because we are who we are, we do what we do the way we do it, we translate money into mahi. So we translate, okay...we need pīngao, we need new maro,

and then Nanny will go out into the forest and she will go cut us down some pīngao and she'll come back – and she'll moan, but she'll do it. But the thing is, we don't actually pay anything, but we [get it done].

You do business with who you know, because you've developed some trust...Or you also talk about your needs, so ...from what I'm hearing there are bountiful tutors around. That's not true, so part of your network is looking for the tutors...and so that is not paid, we recompense in kind. Recompensing in kind is still an economic behaviour, it's just that it's not dollars, but it's still economics.

The koha raised is productivity. I mean, if you want to kind of quantum up in economic terms, that is a definite quantum of measurable productivity. It's just cause we think 'koha', it means people have had to put out, but actually that's a productivity rate right there. How you use your time is a productivity rate, and this is a valuable one 'cause it's building culture, social participation and a range of other things. But it's not talked about in that way, and it should be, because it is actually how Māori build our own world, and this is one of our economic activities.

KAPA HAKA AS A BUSINESS

There was considerable discussion around the fact that, in order to create opportunities and particularly to attract financial support for kapa haka, practitioners and organisers need to approach kapa haka more like a business, or at least adopt a more business-like attitude towards it:

So then you get into the business of you've got to have money to pay for all this [getting ready for competition] stuff, you've got to have money to buy your piupiu and make your pari and pay for your wānanga...So you've got to pay for kai, travel, marae, te mea, te mea, te mea, which builds up fricken fast. So how do you fundraise for that? Well you look for a nice, cosy corporate and then you go, 'Give me...money and I'll be your Māori'...So now a whole heap of us just have rates, you know if it's one of these and one of these, this is how much it will cost you...And even things like APRA, getting royalties off your waiata, you know, we've got to get far more savvy about that, cause some of those top teams I know for a fact are making a decent income off pure royalties. And...[Te Matatini] is now being broadcast live, you wanna get your cash. So it's a big business, and all the broadcasting and the radio. It's just not seen.

From an events perspective, numbers are important because kapa haka is competing for sponsorship and funding with every other event out there, and if you're a funder ...or local government, 'How much do you want? Okay, how many people come to your event?' And if you can't tell them that and justify that, that's the bottom line, because it's about exposure. 'What's the best bang for our buck? We give $20,000 to this kapa haka event, we may tick some of our cultural box and social box, but that economic one, hmmm. Well, if we give $20,000 over to this event and they have a 100,000 people, wow, that's a huge return to our organisation and to profiling'. So it's working within ...those parameters: yep, there's social benefits; yes, there are economic benefits; and more importantly – and I understand for Māori there's obligations as well in terms of meeting those cultural, those

social, those, I guess you'd say Treaty partner obligations ...But there are also accountants behind those organisations.

Examples were given too of a growing awareness amongst New Zealand's private sector that aligning themselves with Māori culture could be beneficial to their brand:

We [get booked for] a Tiki [Taane] gig, and then Tiki will introduce you and go, 'Oh this is the marketing director for Vodafone'. Then you use that opportunity and next minute he's giving you a ring because their sources of kapa haka are, YOU, cause he just met you. So you know, just flick him a card...and that's where we've got a lot of other gigs and stuff that you do on the side...You've got to know how to talk to them and get them to understand ...what [you have to offer] in the two minutes that you've got to talk to them.

WHANAUNGATANGA

The theme of whanaungatanga came up again in the discussion around economic outcomes, in relation to Māori experiences of other communities' – both local and international – engagement with kapa haka:

We host [indigenous visitors] on tours throughout [New Zealand] and kapa haka's a big part of that.

We are looking at promoting [the Te Matatini festival] to everyone, not just Māori, everyone being part of it, and trying to open as many gates and doors for people to come to the event, you know make it [accessible]. Because Christchurch are very White, but at the same time very appreciative, culturally appreciative, and when we have all the cultural events in the park, you know, 'Sparks in the Park', 'Christmas in the Park' and a whole lot of things, and people will just flock, 'cause...they want to celebrate, get together, appreciate something that's done well...Hey, they're paying the same price as everyone else so, it's got to be good at the end of the day.

A recurrent theme that emerged during the conversations around the value of kapa haka was to do with how we go about measuring the value of culture, of knowledge, of art, or for that matter, how we measure or define 'value' itself:

But I think when we're talking economy, I think it's about that wider picture of how do you capture, measure and value the levels of equity that happen within any art practice. And ...what's evident is an extensive equity, you know, there's an extensive equity in kapa haka, cause it's rich, it's connected, it's deep, it's got kōrero, it's got all of your other art forms intercepting it and around it, but in many ways there's a lot more value at the same time to be gained. So ...when ...you look to the stage and you can see that maybe the full spectrum of, and concept of the korowai, or the weaponry, is not there, and so we're talking about economics...and the outcome is there, there's definite equities. But there's definite deficits. So, it's about how you feed those things together for the wider benefit of the cultural and social outcomes. I think they all make contributions, but putting measures around them, they're always going to be qualitative, rather than quantitative.

A big thing for me is, how do we value contribution; and how do you define value; and how

do you value it and then add to it, and then add some measurement ...find a way of being able to measure what has been achieved, and ring-fence that?

We talked about ...the issues around the multiple levels of value, and so ...what's the value of a Matatini Nationals in a city, there's that kind of event type value, and then there's ...how do you value the culture-to-culture relationships between Māori and, say, the Chinese...specifically in terms of trade...Those kind of things that actually have real, meaningful outcomes. But the role of haka, or the role of the broader picture of culture inside of that, how do you then show that...a culture-to- culture relationship facilitates longer-term, economic investment?

Within that discussion, it was noted that the primary role of marae/hapū/iwi as the source of the particular cultural artefact or knowledge must be acknowledged and engaged with in any collaborative enterprise:

In terms of the economic outcomes, I think if you're talking Māori economy, you know just those little forms of cultural capital...inherited capital, for example, so it's something that could be gained and passed down through generations. So there's an equity in knowledge that can be developed and therefore transmitted and passed down ...In terms of institutionalised capital, I think that's an important thing where organisations like us come in to help put recognition around learning, so that when [the tauira] goes back to [his iwi] ...in many ways he represents...a cultural contract for them, and we can put as many pūkenga in his kete as we can, but the mātauranga, the iwitanga, has to come from when he gets back there, to build on that.

CHALLENGES

Some challenges relating to the economic benefits of kapa haka were identified. They were predominantly financial in nature, especially for those involved at the competitive level:

Spray tans and nails, eyelashes, hair straightened, it just goes on and on and on. And that's invisible stuff...aside from the actual team getting itself prepared. You know we seriously contemplated, [and] I still might do this for the run up [to the national festival], going to the City Council and saying, 'We want sponsorship. We want you to give all of our members free, if not free, discounted, access to your gyms and pools'. Because we spend a shitload of money going to gyms, getting personal trainers, swimming, to get ourselves fit enough to get on that stage.

Aside from the more recent social and economic challenges faced by people in Christchurch, the longstanding financial hardship of travelling to the North Island every two years for Te Matatini has been particularly taxing for kapa based in the South Island:

By next year it will be 29 years since the last time we had Te Matatini [in Te Wai Pounamu], so for that period we have travelled north. And I know with us, we always budget around trying to fundraise $65k, that's how much it costs us to prep for a Matatini and to get ourselves up there. So we are on a constant fundraising cycle, all of the time ...And every time we've come to the table and said 'Give us a hand would you, this is hard yakka to get our people up from the South', and [we've] been turned down time after time...But it can

be a huge economic drain on our kaihaka and our communities.

From another perspective, it was noted that despite the huge financial commitment involved, kapa haka communities are naturally adept and endlessly resourceful at pulling the necessary funds together:

> *I think we undersell ourselves in terms of how clever we are with getting money anyway. I mean we are so kaupapa driven, it's in our blood...Okay, Christchurch pops up, we need at least $80,000, and then 8 months later we've got $80,000. But, if we hadn't have had Christchurch there we would be still pleading pōhara...So it's a mindset change, 'cause every group's going to moan about how much it's going to cost, but every group's going to be there.*

A secondary challenge was the time commitment involved in participating in kapa haka and people's availability to participate given their increasingly busy lives. A consequence of trying to accommodate people's schedules was that groups spend less time together, and so the social benefits and the wellbeing are experienced less frequently:

> *I think that we are now far more time poor so we don't necessarily [meet to practice as often]. I mean there was a time for us that every week, religiously ...leading into competition...it was Wednesday night, Sunday, and then every second weekend it was all weekend...But people are so busy now that actually we can't get everyone together that frequently anymore, [not just for the kapa haka, but also just to] be together...Although there's other opportunities, like the BMPA stuff provides other opportunities ...or the fundraising provides you other opportunities to be together or...making the uniforms, spending hours on [making] something that someone can do in two minutes [just so we can all be] part of the process.*

In another vein altogether, it was noted that the expanding range and increasingly competitive nature of recreational activity and kapa haka's position in relation to that is an ongoing challenge:

> *[Kapa haka] has grown significantly, but it some areas I think it's entrenched as well. I think definitely in terms of participation you see more people participating in kapa haka at various levels, but there is also growth in other art forms, and competition from other art forms as well...People have limited discretionary time and discretionary income and today there's more and more choices available to them. Particularly our rangatahi, there's more options out there that can grab their interest and their attention, so we need to be mindful of that.*

SUSTAINABILITY

Associated with challenges relating to the economic outcomes from kapa haka, the issue of sustainability was addressed directly by a few of the participants. Their concerns were to do with how kapa haka is to be supported, at every level, into the future, and not just at the high-end competitive level:

> *At the grass roots sort of local level, just looking at what are the needs to ensure that that part of our unique, intangible culture or heritage is supported. You know we've talked about the need for more original composition, so...how that can be supported...Often the key issue is the lack of tutors, so how can we actually develop more tutors, or better models of*

delivering or teaching ...It becomes an economic issue as well, you have to support your whānau, and so looking at those variables I think are important.

How do you support that more because Matatini is the pinnacle and in many ways this, what we're talking about, is kind of the feeder into that pinnacle. Not everyone is going to want to feed in to that pinnacle, but how do you actually support those that are doing this not necessarily for the competitive aspect of it, but to support it because it's the right thing to do in...our social and education kind of system. Where do you invest, how do you invest, is it through iwi, is it through schools or is it a whole mix of things?

Of fundamental importance, it was suggested, was that the growth and development of kapa haka should take place within the context of the acceptance and embracing of Māori culture as an integral component of New Zealand identity and nationhood:

I think it's a challenge for Te Mataini, because on the one hand they're needing that funding, or if costs go up you need more funding. It's almost like they need to be part of a wider cultural strategy, I suppose...[where] Māori culture is valued by New Zealanders. 'Cause you don't want to be just focusing on getting more funding, it needs to be a part of something a bit bigger.

APPROACHES MOVING FORWARD

Some of the conversations that took place, particularly in the context of the interviews and workshops with stakeholders, highlighted or alluded to a number of factors that will be crucial in moving forward with the proposed research agenda and future development of kapa haka.

One factor identified was the fundamental need for acknowledgement of the role of Māori as kaitiaki and tangata whenua, and also as Treaty partners, in the development of our cultural heritage:

I think that one of the things emerging is the extent to which our system and our higher level thinking needs to change its ways of thinking, doing and seeing, because ...when we talk [to Māori] about what's going on in their communities ...it's whānau, hapū, iwi, and ...people are not so willing to try and put the round peg into the square hole anymore. There's an expectation that the square hole needs to become rounder. And ...if we look back at the movements that have moved Māoridom they've never been seeded from government ...they're maintained by our people. And that to me harkens back to: what does a partnership really mean moving forward, at a community level, regional level, national level, corporate level?

Another area of discussion was the complex and multi-level nature of the issues and development potential of kapa haka, and the necessity for cross-sector collaboration in the research phase:

So ...while we're centred on [kapa haka], we can't disconnect it from the bigger picture ...because kapa haka in my mind is ...a blended activity, and it's evolved, the kapa of my grandfather's generation is not kapa of today. And my son's in...kura kaupapa and the 1st three noho, no kapa, just all physical training. And so the synergies of performance, so he's had that experience of what it's like to be in a good kapa haka, good tutors. So, [looking at] the synergies [between kapa haka and] sport, from community sport pathways [right

through] into high performance, [would be relevant].

The multiple levels that this engages in is huge, both in terms of individual and whānau connectedness, through to iwi connectedness, through to international relationships and how we share both. Once we open a private sector relationship now that's a whole other kettle of fish, but it's actually real, because even just on the notion of people sponsoring just on that very fundamental level...and then on the other level of the relationship that people build if business is conditional on our good relationships then there's a huge contribution there to be made. So, it is very big and we do want to present a research agenda that's broad enough for the Ministry and Te Matatini to engage with the relevant organisations: with education, with health, with sport…So this is really just a...very tiny beginning part of that conversation.

Whatever the proposed path moving forward, some felt strongly that it will be essential to embed the research around kapa haka in a Kaupapa Māori framework, in order to ensure that it stays rooted in its origins, and also addresses wider structural issues:

I think the opportunity is that if we [frame] our things as Māori, as whānau, hapū, iwi first, so, you know, that kaupapa Māori philosophy that it contributes back to the [original] source...Prior to kaupapa Māori frameworks, research agendas were set [with] us as a problem. And I think we need to, in setting research agendas more solidly, say this is a strength...actually it's not 'Sport NZ' ...it was here long before us and it will be here long after us. But centering it – 'cause we see this in sport, high performance is the glossy, glamorous area shown through the media, but actually the seed is in whānau, hapū, iwi. And so we have to put some resource into sustaining that and then, from that, agendas are set that might fall into kapa haka as a deeper dive into contribution; kapa haka to sport; deeper dive into contribution of kapa haka to educational achievement. So ...identity as Māori, whānau, hapū, iwi, kaupapa Māori, New Zealanders and through to national identity, [that] kind of makes sense to me in a framework. And then we can work on the systemic changes that might need to happen, in the public sector anyway, there's a whole raft of stuff that needs to go on there.

It was noted that kapa haka has undergone a discernible shift, with a movement away from what were once primarily pan-tribal groups towards a more hapū-centric focus:

The change I've noticed in kapa haka that we are becoming more hapū-centric, which is good. I remember when clubs were just a collection of all the different [iwi], anyone could come and jump in. And ...it used to be some kapa haka would have songs about Māori culture, about Māori identity...[but now] it's gone all the way down to the hapū level and ...I think it's helping revitalisation of hapū identity you know and tribal identity ...now they've got to do a mōteatea that comes from this tūpuna and this place and this is yours and these are the places that are around the corner, I have noticed that, I think it's a good thing.

People are splitting up from their old pan-tribal groups, like pan iwi groups, [they're like] 'Nah, nah, nah, we're with our cousins now, and we'll set up our own group now'. And what's amazing is that they can, they actually get the numbers! I mean it only happens in

certain places, it's hard [for that] to happen in Wellington. But you see them up in Te Arawa, East Coast.

You go [to university] to learn about this thing called Māori Society, but actually it's other people's society...And the big push in universities now is to kind of mind your own knowledge and to find your own knowledge, your own mātauranga and to go back to it. Like I've seen a shift in Matatini...I've been going to Matatini over 30 years, and now, from as you say the generic...shifting from Tūtira Mai Ngā Iwi to 'ko wai koe?' - who am I? Where do I come from?

While generally perceived as a positive thing, this was thought to raise implications for Te Matatini as an organisation, and the scope of their influence and resources:

I think there's a piece of work to be done for Te Matatini around grass roots [kapa haka], 'cause I think [Te Matatini]'s very focused on the best of the best and we have I think a good handle on that and the international [area]...What we don't have is a good handle on what's feeding, where the feeding is coming from, more on the rohe and the regional areas. We have quite a good snapshot of what's happening in terms of regional groups that are going to Matatini but not other stuff that's happening in the region, and so I think that there's some wider catchment stuff that we need to understand and make sense of, and find out how that contributes, cause it does...Things like kaumātua kapa haka, Super 12s, they're not really on our radar, but actually they have a really pivotal role and they target specific markets we [don't reach].

As noted by another participant, that very fragmentation of kapa haka into more specific and autonomous groupings will make the notion of working collectively and cohesively more challenging:

I also think that the very nature of kapa haka, because it's not only iwi-based, [it's also] hapū-based, it makes it difficult at times to draw all facets of the art and those practitioners of the artform together under a collective umbrella to work as a force to push the art form further. So another tension that is not easily resolved.

Many of these views were echoed in Te Rita Papesch's thoughts on kapa haka and some possible streams of research going forward. For her, the time is ripe for Māori to build a critical mass of research on kapa haka, and the foundations should be the important job of recording the histories of each kapa:

I think kapa haka itself is still a very green pasture in terms of research and I'd like to see a lot more done on all sorts of areas. I think because we're still recent writers of our own kōrero, we still have to do the history stuff, and I don't decry that at all. I think...that those ...wanting to write about their own whānau kapa haka that's been around for the last 50 years, then they've got to do that...So...personal histories have to be done; the kapa linked to marae, histories have to be done; the kapa linked to hapū, iwi, histories have to be done, before we start exploring ...what are the social outcomes, cultural outcomes ...I think for us Māori, as new writers of our own history, we've gotta start there...get that slate clean first, personal histories, get it out of the road. Then you can start [looking at the broader aspects].

As highlighted by one visionary participant, the proposed programme of research around the value of kapa

haka to Aotearoa New Zealand has the potential to be of immense benefit and significance, not just to Aotearoa but also to other indigenous nations:

> *[The] best thing for all of the researchers...is that is has the potential to be a global flagship for all indigenous people.*

4. Summary

This report provides the findings of the Scoping Research 'Ngā Hua a Tāne Rore: The Benefits of Kapa Haka'. It has been informed by an overview literature stocktake and by a series of interviews and focus groups undertaken with kapa haka proponents and stakeholder groups involved in the support of kapa haka within Aotearoa New Zealand. The research focuses on developing a research agenda that will enable a greater understanding of the contribution that kapa haka makes to Aotearoa New Zealand society, and explores the multiple ways in which we may view the value and contribution of kapa haka within cultural, social and economic contexts.

Across the fifty or so participants interviewed in the three regions and in Wellington there was a unanimous and resounding view that kapa haka does indeed make a valuable contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand society, but that its value is not fully understood or acknowledged within Aotearoa New Zealand.

With regard to the important components of kapa haka, the majority of participants spoke of the intrinsic link between kapa haka, culture and their identity as Māori, and of the essential element of whanaungatanga, the importance of people and connectedness. It was identified that for people who live away from their kāinga or home areas, kapa haka becomes a whānau, a refuge, a place to belong. It was also highlighted that kapa haka makes a significant contribution to New Zealand's national identity and how we are represented and viewed internationally. Kapa haka provides an effective platform for engaging with Māori knowledge, language and culture on local, national and international levels, but there was seen to be a need for increased engagement with other Indigenous Peoples overseas, in the spirit of cultural exchange.

Kapa haka is seen as a vehicle for building and strengthening New Zealand's nationhood and as a platform for creating meaningful connections with other nations and peoples. An associated aspect of that national identity that was discussed by participants was the growing utilisation of Māori culture/kapa haka to add value to many forums within the public and government sectors where it is used to support and enrich both formal and informal events and practices. Some participants saw this as reflecting a gradual societal shift to a more embracing attitude toward Māori cultural protocols as a normal part of New Zealand's social fabric.

A significant aspect of the cultural value of kapa haka is its function as a vehicle for the revitalisation and retention of te reo, tikanga, ritual processes and histories. The nurturance of these cultural taonga within kapa haka is viewed as a process of intergenerational transmission. Involvement in kapa haka was predominantly framed in terms of a passionate and lifelong involvement that in many cases spanned generations. It was most often intrinsically connected to identity, including whānau, marae, hapū and iwi affiliations. Peoples' roles within kapa haka were rarely confined to a single role, for example, performer or tutor, but were multi-faceted and often motivated by a commitment to effecting positive social outcomes for their hapū, iwi, or region. Kapa haka was also perceived as a gateway into the culture for Māori who were not connected to their marae/hapū/iwi, or who lived away from their home areas, as well as for New Zealanders who came to experience kapa haka as a safe, inclusive activity through which to engage with Māori culture.

While all of the participants who were interviewed articulated their firm belief that kapa haka contributes significantly to Aotearoa New Zealand society, approximately half of them followed that up by saying that kapa haka is largely undervalued. This was experienced as kapa haka not being given the status or respect it deserves as a cultural icon, and/or its significance not being understood by non-Māori, particularly at the level of government. For some, the reason that kapa haka is undervalued is a lack of understanding about the

artform and the extent of training, levels of commitment and sacrifice involved in become exponents at the highest level. The participants' experience of that lack of understanding was of kapa haka often being treated in a tokenistic way. Some participants felt that kapa haka is also undervalued by our own people, in the sense that it is often viewed as inappropriate to charge a fee for performing what is in essence a cultural practice. This means that groups that perform kapa haka in highly lucrative commercial contexts have to walk a fine line between not wanting to commercialise or trivialise their artform and not wanting to be taken advantage of, or exploited.

A major component of kapa haka is its power to effect wellbeing, not just in the performer/s, but also the audience of that performance; not just in the individual, but also in the collective. Wellbeing was attributed to being engaged in and connected to our Māori culture, as well as the enormous benefits that derive from whanaungatanga and collective agency. It is noted that a major shift within competitive kapa haka in recent years has led to a new standard in terms of levels of physical health and fitness. That shift has effected a quantum change in attitudes towards health and fitness amongst kapa haka practitioners. This is believed by the participants to have many associated benefits, not just for the practitioners themselves, but also for their extended whānau and communities. A strength of the movement towards increased health and fitness within kapa haka is that it is achieved collectively.

Kapa haka is seen as a medium for fostering a richer, more cohesive and inclusive society in Aotearoa New Zealand. Some powerful stories were shared of instances where kapa haka has had a significant impact, or served as an effective intervention in terms of effecting positive social outcomes. A strong consensus was expressed by the participants interviewed that kapa haka provides many positive social benefits to Aotearoa society. Among those benefits was the role modelling and leadership that many top exponents and groups reflect back to our people, and the transferrable skills gained from participation in kapa haka, at all levels. Several of the participants discussed kapa haka exponents in terms of being role models of excellence, leaders and artisans.

One of the major social benefits of kapa haka identified by participants, particularly for rangatahi, is its positive, disciplined, strength-based environment. Kapa haka was seen to provide a source of inspiration, to build self-esteem and confidence, and to keep rangatahi engaged in positive rather than risky or negative activities. Some spoke of the power of kapa haka to effect change by raising self- esteem and raising expectations.

Another way that kapa haka is having a powerful, transformative impact on social outcomes is through the provision of a degree level course in Māori performing arts. The course provides a supportive environment for people engaged in kapa haka, who would otherwise probably never have considered tertiary education as an option, to embark on that journey and to exceed their own expectations.

An overall feeling of optimism about the future of kapa haka among the participants was tempered by the conviction, expressed by many of the participants, that there was much more potential to be explored within the realm of kapa haka, particularly in terms of its social benefits. The main challengesto achieving these many social benefits and outcomes were related to the extensive time commitment, financial demands, and the undervaluing of kapa haka.

Several participants, most of whom are teachers or educationists, had experience of and strong convictions about the benefits of kapa haka within school environments, and the connection between kapa haka and improved learning outcomes. However, some barriers to realising those improved outcomes were also

identified. Predominantly these related to a need for schools and the Education sector to gain a deeper understanding of the value of kapa haka within an educational context. Many participants spoke about mining the untapped potential of kapa haka, and shared their visions of utilising kapa haka as a vehicle for promoting not just academic success, but personal growth and development for young people in the educational context. They highlighted such things as leadership potential, the learning value of group participation, and the potential for the development of viable career pathways. A major challenge within the education field is to have kapa haka recognised as a legitimate subject area in its own right, particularly for entry into tertiary study.

While all the participants were able to easily relay experiences around the cultural and social contributions and the value of kapa haka to Aotearoa, most of them were less able to articulate, from within their experiences, specific economic outcomes from kapa haka. Nonetheless, some definitely had a sense that there was a link between the cultural, social and economic, and that that was of significant value. Some of the participants, however, particularly those with marketing or business backgrounds, were very sure of the economic value of kapa haka to Aotearoa.

A specific area that some stakeholders were able to speak to was the immense value of 'culture-to- culture' relationships within the context of New Zealand's offshore trade missions. Māori culture, including kapa haka, has played a significant role in laying the foundations of lasting trade relationships with other nations, and other cultures. It was noted that the key to establishing these kinds of fruitful trade links and relationships with other nations is encapsulated in both the tangible and intangible elements of Māori culture. A number of participants noted that the economic potential of kapa haka is underestimated and as such needs to be explored more fully. Some participants gave examples of entrepreneurial activities in which kapa haka is a key component that they are already involved in, and voiced a need for further investigation of the entrepreneurial capacity of kapa haka.

A significant area of economic contribution that was raised by some of the participants relates to the 'silent', and largely unacknowledged economy generated by kapa haka activities. An example of this is where an influx of people to a particular locality for the purpose of supporting a kapa haka event or activity has spin-off benefits for the associated businesses in that area.

A second area that is not often taken in to account in relation to the economic value of kapa haka is the extensive 'productivity' activity, that is, the volume of hours that unpaid workers commit to supporting every Matatini campaign, every community festival, every school haka concert. The voluntary support these people provide is vital and represents a massive contribution to the success of kapa haka and its overall value. Other aspects of this productivity that were identified were 'work in kind', where no money changes hands but community resources are drawn upon to get the mahi done; and koha.

There was considerable discussion around the fact that, in order to create opportunities and particularly to attract financial support for kapa haka, practitioners and organisers needed to approach kapa haka more like a business, or at least adopt a more business-like attitude towards it. There was also discussion of a growing awareness amongst New Zealand's private sector that aligning themselves with Māori culture could be beneficial to their brand.

A recurrent theme that emerged during the conversations around the value of kapa haka was to do with how we go about measuring the value of culture, knowledge, and art, and more fundamentally, how we measure or define 'value' itself. Some challenges relating to the economic benefits of kapa haka were identified. These were predominantly financial in nature, especially for those involved at the competitive level. Aside from more

recent social and economic challenges faced by people in Christchurch, the longstanding financial hardship of travelling and the preparations required to attend events were discussed as a challenge for many kapa. However it was also noted that despite the huge financial commitment involved, kapa haka communities are naturally adept and endlessly resourceful at pulling the necessary funds together.

An associated issue within the discussion of challenges relating to the economic outcomes was the sustainability of kapa haka. Participants' concerns were to do with how kapa haka is to be supported into the future at every level, and not just at the high-end competitive level. Of fundamental importance, it was suggested, was that the growth and development of kapa haka should take place within the context of the acceptance and embracing of Māori culture as an integral component of New Zealand identity and nationhood.

We would recommend that the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and Te Matatini take on key roles as lead organisations in further development of this research programme.

5. Potential Streams of Research

As a part of the overall scoping exercise participants were asked to discuss areas of research that they believe is necessary in order to fully explore the cultural, social and economic potential of kapa haka within Aotearoa New Zealand. The key areas of research emerging from the data are summarised below, grouped thematically within the areas of cultural, social and economic research.

CULTURAL

Short term Research Developments

- Icons of kapa haka: Their lives, styles and attributes of leadership
- The different aspects between kapa haka whakangahau and kapa haka whakataetae
- Understanding the role of taonga pūoro
- The role of sonics in composition
- The impact of foreign influences on kapa haka
- Bi-compositions (e.g. Tuini Ngāwai and Ngoi Pēwhairangi) and why they're still popular 70 years after they were composed
- Research on kaitito waiata, their experiences of composing (taha wairua), capturing that for the coming generations
- Wairua, mauri, ihi and wehi in the creation and performance of kapa haka
- Karanga and the integration of kōrero tuku iho into waiata and haka
- Recovery of traditional knowledge around components of kapa haka
- Interrelationship between haka and other elements of tikanga and mātauranga, including te taha wairua
- What are elements of Best Practice for managing cultural events
- What do people want to see in terms of kapa haka on TV?
- The place of urban/non-iwi based kapa haka groups

Cultural – Mid to Long term Research Developments

- A strength-based longitudinal study on the role of Kapa haka in forming and maintaining National identity
- Identity as the overarching question/focus and how kapa haka contributes to that, and systemic changes that might need to happen (e.g. public sector)
- Youth development: indigeneity and the contribution that cultural components add to resilience

factors for young people.

- Research on the distinctive kapa haka styles of each iwi/rohe, their genesis; how those styles are maintained – or not.
- Compositional techniques for mōteatea, studying/analysing how Western processes have influenced the composition of mōteatea
- The different contexts of kapa haka – iwi, regional groups, kura kaupapa, and how involvement in any of those groups links
- The interface between te reo Māori and kapa haka
- The role of kapa haka in reo revitalisation – what aspects of kapa haka assist in reo revitalisation? (waiata itself? culture of the group? leadership?)
- What are the needs to ensure that this part of our unique intangible culture or heritage is supported (e.g. more original composition; developing more tutors; better models of delivery or teaching)
- Exploring waiata ā-ringa
- A chronicle of the political issues that motivated the composition of those waiata ā-ringa
- Documenting the journey of Māori performing arts in Aotearoa
- Development of a standardised assessment tool or best practice for judging of kapa haka at competitive level
- Research that explores the multilayered impact of Te Matatini
- Look at the growing popularity of competitions other than Te Matatini
- Public service and private sector utilisation of kapa haka

SOCIAL/EDUCATIONAL

Short term Research Development

- What are the benefits of participation in kapa haka?
- The age and demographic of those who are practising kapa haka
- The effects, impacts, and influences of social media on kapa haka
- Research that quantifies some of the health benefits of kapa haka
- How and when do schools timetable kapa haka: mainstrem vs. Māori medium
- What learning areas (i.e. curriculum areas) can be identified within kapa haka?
- What would a job description for a full-time kapa haka career look like?

Mid to longer term Research Development

- Non-Māori participation in kapa haka
- What do kapa haka feel about non-Māori participation in kapa haka? Are the experts/specialists and people who are continuing to grow & develop the artform happy to see kapa haka also in the hands of other New Zealanders?
- What are New Zealanders who do not engage with kapa haka, Māori and non-Māori, missing out on? Diverse community views on kapa haka
- What is the impact of kapa haka on non-Māori?
- How can kapa haka raise health and wellbeing awareness amongst Māori?
- A case study of the intrinsic value and the instrumental value of kapa haka to our social wellbeing
- What are the transferrable skills within kapa haka (transferrable into everyday life skills)?
- Look at potential synergies between kapa haka and sport: e.g. pathways from community sport into high performance
- Capturing the flow-on effects of engagement in kapa haka at a community level, right through to high performance
- Tamariki who are brilliant on stage, they give 110%, they're glowing: they come off stage and the barriers come up, self-esteem is low. What happens? Why are the skills from kapa haka transferrable for some and not for others?
- How does kapa haka raise achievement across all educational institutions?
- How do educationalists, our leaders in education within schools and kura, perceive kapa haka? (Do they see it as an extracurricular activity or as something that is actually intrinsic in every curriculum area?)
- Look into the leadership factor of kapa haka – qualities and attributes; how they can uplift individual achievement, not just the of group or the mana of the school.

ECONOMIC

Short term Research Development

- Quantifying some of the health benefits of kapa haka (economic perspective)
- Investigating Kapa haka as the face of international promotion and profiling of NZ
- How does kapa haka impact on the 'New Zealand' brand? What is the export value of kapa haka?
- How do we (attempt to) measure economic contribution in the area of Kapa haka?

Mid to longer term Research Development

- Research that quantifies the value of having kapa haka (and other Māori cultural components) at such events as The Rowing World Cup and Rugby World Cup.
- How the skills gained in kapa haka have led to great success for Māori in the arts, and how that could provide a platform for economic success in other areas
- Measuring the full extent of productivity (e.g. volunteers; support workers) associated with kapa haka
- The impacts of the economic benefits of kapa haka on the actual competitors (and their supporters) of kapa haka
- How traditional Māori knowledge can contribute to Māori economic growth
- How can we make kapa haka more sustainable in our regions?

Potential streams of Research[1]

Research	Potential Level of Research	Potential co-funders/sponsors of research
CULTURAL		
Short term Research Developments		
Icons of kapa haka: Their lives, styles and attributes of leadership	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts
The different aspects between kapa haka whakangahau and kapa haka whakataetae	Thesis	University scholarships
Understanding the role of taonga pūoro	Thesis Research project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori
The role of sonics in composition	Thesis	University scholarships
The impact of foreign influences on kapa haka	Thesis	University scholarships
Bi-compositions (e.g. Tuini Ngāwai and Ngoi Pēwhairangi) and why they're still popular 70 years after they were composed	Thesis Research Project Whanau Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Ministry of Culture and Heritage Te Matatini
Research on kaitito waiata, their experiences of composing (taha wairua), capturing that for the coming generations	Thesis Research Project Whanau Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Ministry of Culture and Heritage Te Matatini
Wairua, mauri, ihi and wehi in the creation and performance of kapa haka	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Māori CoRE

[1] The Ministry for Culture and Heritage and Te Matatini will work with interested parties to develop a programme of research based on the topics presented in this table.

Karanga and the integration of kōrero tuku iho into waiata and haka	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Māori CoRE
Recovery of traditional knowledge around components of kapa haka	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Māori CoRE
Interrelationship between haka and other elements of tikanga and mātauranga, including te taha wairua	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Māori CoRE
What are elements of Best Practice for managing cultural events?	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Māori CoRE
What do people want to see in terms of kapa haka on TV?	Audience Research	Māori Television Te Mangai Paho Te Matawai
The place of urban/non-iwi based kapa haka groups	Thesis	University Scholarships
Cultural – Mid to Long term Research Developments		
A strength-based longitudinal study on the role of Kapa haka in forming and maintaining National identity	Research Project	University scholarships Publishers Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Māori CoRE NZCER
Identity as the overarching question/focus and how kapa haka contributes to that, and systemic changes that might need to happen (e.g. public sector)	Research Project	Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Māori CoRE Ministry Culture and Heritage Marsden Fund

Youth development: Indigeneity and the contribution that cultural components add to resilience factors for young people.	**Research Project**	**Lottery Trust** **Regional Trusts** **Māori CoRE** **Ministry Culture and Heritage** **Marsden Fund** **Ministry of Youth Affairs** **Families Commission**
Research on the distinctive kapa haka styles of each iwi/rohe, their genesis; how those styles are maintained – or not.	Research Project	Te Waka Toi Toi Māori Lottery Trust Regional Trusts Māori CoRE Ministry Culture and Heritage Marsden Fund
Compositional techniques for mōteatea, studying/analysing how Western processes have influenced the composition of mōteatea	Thesis Research Project Book Publication	University scholarships Publishers
The different contexts of kapa haka – iwi, regional groups, kura kaupapa, and how involvement in any of those groups link	Multiple regional research projects	Te Waka Toi Toi Aotearoa Te Matatini Lottery Board
The interface between te reo Māori and kapa haka	Research Project	Te Waka Toi Toi Aotearoa Te Matatini Te Taura Whiri I Te Reo
The role of kapa haka in reo revitalisation – what aspects of kapa haka assist in reo revitalisation? (waiata itself? culture of the group? leadership?)	Research Project	Te Waka Toi Toi Aotearoa Te Matatini Te Taura Whiri I Te Reo
What are the needs to ensure that this part of our unique intangible culture or heritage is supported (e.g. more original composition; developing more tutors; better models of delivery or teaching)	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Te Waka Toi Toi Aotearoa Te Matatini
Exploring waiata ā-ringa	Thesis Book Publication	University scholarships Publishers
A chronicle of the political issues that motivated the composition of those waiata ā-ringa	Thesis Book Publication	University scholarships Publishers Marsden
Documenting the journey of Māori performing arts in Aotearoa	Thesis Book Publication	University scholarships Publishers
Development of a standardised assessment tool or best practice for judging of kapa haka at competitive level	Assessment tool development	Te Matatini
Research that explores the multilayered impact of Te Matatini	Research Project	Te Matatini MCH

Look at the growing popularity of competitions other than Te Matatini	**Research Project**	**Te Matatini** **MCH**
Public service and private sector utilisation of kapa haka	Research Project	Ministry collaborations
SOCIAL/EDUCATIONAL		
Short term Research Development		
What are the benefits of participation in kapa haka?	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Ministry of Education Te Matatini
The age and demographic of those who are practising kapa haka		
The effects, impacts, and influences of social media on kapa haka		
Research that quantifies some of the health benefits of kapa haka	Thesis Research Project	Health Research scholarships or postdoctoral fellowship
How and when do schools timetable kapa haka: mainstrem vs. Māori medium	Thesis	University scholarships Ministry of Education
What learning areas (i.e. curriculum areas) can be identified within kapa haka?	Thesis Research Project	University scholarships Ministry of Education
What would a job description for a full-time kapa haka career look like?	Project within kapa haka regions	Kapa haka
Mid to longer term Research Development		
Non-Māori participation in kapa haka. What is the impact of kapa haka on non-Māori?	Thesis	University scholarships
What do kapa haka feel about non-Māori participation in kapa haka? Are the experts/specialists and people who are continuing to grow & develop the artform happy to see kapa haka also in the hands of other New Zealanders?	Thesis	University scholarships
What are New Zealanders who do not engage with kapa haka, Māori and non-Māori, missing out on? Diverse community views on kapa haka	Thesis	University scholarships
How can kapa haka raise health and wellbeing awareness amongst Māori?	Thesis	Health Research Council
A case study of the intrinsic value and the instrumental value of kapa haka to our social wellbeing	Thesis Research Project	Health Research Council Te Matatini Lottery Research Marsden
What are the transferrable skills within kapa haka (transferrable into everyday life skills)?	Thesis	University scholarships

Look at potential synergies between kapa haka and sport: e.g. pathways from community sport into high performance	**Thesis Research Project**	**Sports and recreation funding bodies University scholarships**
Capturing the flow-on effects of engagement in kapa haka at a community level, right through to high performance	Thesis	University scholarships
Tamariki who are brilliant on stage, they give 110%, they're glowing: they come off stage and the barriers come up, self-esteem is low. What happens? Why are the skills from kapa haka transferrable for some and not for others?	Thesis Research Project	Ministry of Education NZCER
How does kapa haka raise achievement across educational institutions	Thesis Research Project	Ministry of Education NZCER
How do educationalists, our leaders in education within schools and kura, perceive kapa haka? (Do they see it as an extracurricular activity or as something that is actually intrinsic in every curriculum area?)	Thesis Research Project	Ministry of Education NZCER
Look into the leadership factor of kapa haka – qualities and attributes; how they can uplift individual achievement, not just the of group or the mana of the school	Thesis Research Project	Ministry of Education NZCER
ECONOMIC		
Short term Research Development		
Quantifying some of the health benefits of kapa haka (economic perspective)	Thesis	University Scholarship Health Research Council
Investigating Kapa haka as the face of international promotion and profiling of NZ	Research Project	Tourism NZ Trade NZ
How does kapa haka impact on the 'New Zealand' brand? What is the export value of kapa haka?	Research Project	Tourism NZ Trade NZ
How do we (attempt to) measure economic contribution in the area of Kapa haka?	Research Project	Te Matatini Tourism NZ MCH MBIE
Mid to longer term Research Development		
Research that quantifies the value of having kapa haka (and other Māori cultural components) at such events as The Rowing World Cup and Rugby World Cup.	Thesis Research Project	University Scholarship

How the skills gained in kapa haka have led to great success for Māori in the arts, and how that could provide a platform for economic success in other areas	**Thesis** **Research Project**	**University Scholarship** **Te Waka Toi** **Te Matatini**
Measuring the full extent of productivity (e.g. volunteers; support workers) associated with kapa haka	Research Project	Statistic NZ Te Matatini MCH
The impacts of the economic benefits of kapa haka on the actual competitors (and their supporters) of kapa haka	Research Project	Te Matatini MCH
How traditional Māori knowledge can contribute to Māori economic growth	Research Project	Te Matatini Tourism NZ Trade NZ MCH MBIE
How can we make kapa haka more sustainable in our regions?	Research Project	Lottery Research Te Matatini

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