Many Voices

Many Voices:
Music and National Identity
in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Edited by

Henry Johnson

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

HENRY JOHNSON

The age of the nation-state provides geographic boundaries that countries can call their own. While often contested locally, regionally, and on the international stage, these borders can provide markers of identity that group people on a level of national distinction regardless of any other discerning trait with which people might ordinarily identify. Within such borders, individuals might have a cultural identity that is related to notions of being or becoming,[1] or may live transcultural or transnational lives where ideas of national identity are obfuscated across real and imagined borders. One consequence of the nation-state is that notions of national identity are often challenged and continually changing, affected by both top down and bottom up influences. Some of the changes in national identity are brought about by social and cultural flows, such as through the influence of music. The relationship between music and national identity might be viewed in two separate ways. Firstly, there is music that has the objective of either representing a nation or being representative of a nation. Secondly, there are the musics that exist within a nation that may have distinct sources or influences from outside a nation's political borders.

This collection of short papers is the result of a conference held in 2009 as part of a research project within the Centre for Research on National Identity at the University of Otago, New Zealand. The conference, which was entitled "Many Voices: New Zealand Music and National Identity," was organized by the Department of Music with the aim of contributing to discourse on music and national identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The conference attracted a number of scholars from New Zealand's North and South Islands, as well as keynote speaker

[1] Stuart Hall, "Cultural identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 225.

Tony Mitchell from Australia. As a New Zealander working in Australia, Mitchell was himself an example of a level of geographic dislocation that further points to the complexities of national identity and global flows. That is, as people and culture continue to move within, between, and across national and cultural borders, the defining factor of what actually constitutes a national or even cultural music is increasing blurred.

The reason for linking music with the notion of national identity at this conference had much to do with celebrating and discussing cultural diversity in connection with music. The macro and micro musics[2] discussed in many of the papers help show cultural diversity on the one hand, and, on the other hand link that heterogeneity with the geo-politics that has so often been connected with ethnicity and identity. For instance, when researching any musical style, genre, or piece, the simple question, "What role does this music have in this context?" inherently connects to people, whether in a specific localized setting or linked to the broader context of the nation-state.

Aotearoa/New Zealand has done much in recent decades to maintain its British colonial ties, while simultaneously seeking to find its own national identity. How, one might ask, can the two drives co-exist? Even as I write this introductory section, the *New Zealand Herald* has a front page spread challenging the nation's flag with its embedded Union Jack.[3] The call for a New Zealand republic periodically surfaces;[4] and in a post-European era when New Zealand was left to find new trading and political partners the nation-state quickly moved to find its place in the Asia-Pacific region. Moreover, in the past few years, New Zealand has carefully negotiated various free-trade agreements, its most successful perhaps being with the People's Republic of China in 2008. In this context, it seems only logical to locate diverse musics and complex cultural settings within discourses on national identity. After all, how can music be truly understood if its contexts of production, distribution, and consumption are not considered?

Just as nation-states have musical cannons, so there have been traditional ways of writing about New Zealand music. One of the most surprising aspects of scholarly work on music in Aotearoa/New Zealand is the lack of celebration of the diversity and creativity of the music that can

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[2] Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993).

[3] Derek Cheng, Simon Collins, and Wayne Thompson. "We need a new flag it's time for a change," *New Zealand Herald*, February 4, 2010, http://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz.

[4] See http://www.republic.org.nz.

be found in both established and more recent cultural settings. Many institutions do much to celebrate the creativity of New Zealand musicians, but budget constraints mean that even organizations such as the Centre for New Zealand Music have to work within limited parameters and focus on only a few musical styles.[5]

Over the past fifty years or so, scholarship on music in Aotearoa/New Zealand has changed vastly. I do not wish to review a large amount of literature on New Zealand music in this introductory chapter, rather, I will address some of the underpinning trends that have been the focus of music research.[6] This is particularly evident in some literature that is intended to represent the nation's soundscape.

A 1966 encyclopaedia entry on music is a useful starting point for discussion, and serves to illustrate which types of music were primarily focussed on in such books. One of the complexities of exploring music in the context of national identity is that one confronts discourses that have established canons and this does much to blurr a true representation of the many musical voices within national boundaries. Take, for instance, *Te Ara—An Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.[7] The entry under "Music" offers some fascinating historical information that provides a sketch of some of the musical activities of New Zealand—but by no means all. The entry begins with a general history, covering such topics as church music, singing, choral societies, visiting companies and musicians, outstanding leaders, academic influences, societies, school music, awards, competitions, orchestras, and broadcasting. While this informative summary of music in New Zealand expresses a sense of a developing national context of music making, there is a distinctly eurocentric (or transnational) emphasis on the types of music being discussed. There is a distinct lack of attention for the musical history of indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and for that of the many other musical cultures and sub-cultures that contribute to this multicultural musical nation.

New Zealand does, of course, have a history of British colonialism, but, within the bicultural political context, much of the culture transplanted from Europe has developed its own New Zealand identity. New Zealand's National Orchestra was established soon after World War II, and was giving concerts as early as 1947. Many of the players came

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[5] See http://www.sounz.org.nz.

[6] See also Allan Thomas, *Music in New Zealand: A Reader from the 1940s* (Christchurch: School of Music, University of Canterbury, 2000).

[7] "Music," *Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, ed. A.H. McLintock, originally published in 1966, updated April 22, 2009, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/music/1.

from established New Zealand families, but, adding to the Europeanization of New Zealand at this time, "other recruits [came] . . . as immigrants from various European countries, bringing with them playing standards that have enhanced the orchestra's quality."[8] The transplanted musical styles of the European courts and their later transformations still dominate the New Zealand soundscape, influencing the repertoire of our various regional orchestras, opera companies, chamber ensembles, and choirs. In this context, it is not always an easy task to identify those musical traits which are distinctly New Zealand, although some composers have explored the sounds of the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa as a way of offering something musical that helped to link music and place. For example:

> Alfred Hill stands alone as the only composer of note in the early period of New Zealand history.[9] Apart from his music, which frequently sought to catch the spirit and flavour of Maoriland, there has been no strongly marked tendency to develop a nationalist school of composition. The most significant composer of recent times is Douglas Lilburn, of Wellington.[10]

Another reference work, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Music*, may be a starting point for music research in some fields, but what it shows is a distinct sense of eurocentrism, ethnocentrism, and cultural imperialism.[11] That said, one of the remarkable things about this book is its introductory chapter by Te Puoho Katene, which is a celebration of Aotearoa/New Zealand's indigenous peoples (albeit this comprises only six pages of a volume of over 300 pages).[12] While a generalized introductory chapter is certainly useful on one level of study, the absence of cultural diversity in a "history of New Zealand music" points to a problematic way of studying music within a nation-state. Acknowledging the limitations of his own work, Thomson notes in his "Introduction" the need to use this history as a starting point for further research: "I hope, nevertheless, that it [the book] will do justice to its subject, will prompt explorations of areas that could only be touched on here and that it will

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[8] "Music," *Te Ara—The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.
[9] See further John Mansfield Thomson, *A Distant Music: The Life and Times of Alfred Hill 1870-1960* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1980).
[10] Ibid.
[11] John Mansfield Thomson, ed., *The Oxford History of New Zealand Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
[12] Te Puoho Katene, "The Māori World of Music," in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Music*, ed. John Mansfield Thomson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1–6.

stimulate pride in our musical achievement."[13] The same formulae was also used in Thomson's shorter volume based on the catalogue of an exhibition of the many images held at the Alexander Turnbull Library.[14] Thomson dedicates the first section of this work to traditional Māori music and the impact of European settlement. Later sections explore the themes of colonial musical life, music in performance, and composers at work. As noted in the book's "Preface" by Peter Scott, "the exhibition seeks to chart the emergence of a distinctively New Zealand style of composition and music making."[15]. Scott also notes "the diversity of New Zealand music."[16]

The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians is a major reference work in music research. Its "New Zealand" entry offers a refreshing approach to the study of music within a nation's borders. The opening overview of Māori music provides recognition of the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Focusing on traditional musical practices, including a number of vocal and instrumental styles, the entry establishes a context for celebrating the partnership of biculturalism as part of the Treaty of Waitangi.[17] The Māori entry is followed by a discussion of European traditional music and western art music. In addition to the recognition of the nation's indigenous peoples, another factor present in this overview of New Zealand music is its acknowledgement of a growing multicultural diversity that is transforming the musical soundscape:

> A variety of minority communities have perpetuated their folk music through clubs and associations. In the North Island popular performers at local events are descendants of 19th-century Bohemian settlers at Puhoi, who maintain a fiddle, accordion and *dudelsack* (bagpipe) band and perform dances such as the Egerlander polka. Similarly, descendants of Dalmatian *kauri* gumfield workers have a *tamburica* orchestra and perform the *kolo*, a traditional circle dance. The cultural activities of other groups, for example Chinese, Indian, Scandinavian, Dutch and Greek communities, and those of British descent (of which the Scots, long associated with pipe

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[13] Thomson, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Music*, ix.

[14] John Mansfield Thomson, *Musical Images: A New Zealand Historical Journey 1840–1990* (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, 1990).

[15] Peter Scott, "Preface," in *Musical Images: A New Zealand Historical Journey 1840–1990*, by John Mansfield Thomson (Wellington: National Library of New Zealand/Te Puna Matauranga O Aotearoa, 1990), 7.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Mervyn McLean, Angela R. Annabel, and Adrienne Simpson, "New Zealand," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40087.

> bands and Highland dancing, have strongly asserted a musical identity) are currently experiencing revitalization in the wake of a large inflow of new Asian residents. In Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, popularly dubbed 'the multicultural capital', an annual Maori and Pacific Islands Secondary Schools' Cultural Festival is expanding to accommodate countries such as China, India, Thailand and Sri Lanka.[18]

Several of the conference papers referred to the biculturalism of Aotearoa/New Zealand with its unique Treaty of Waitangi, although this cultural partnership between Māori and Pākehā is barely represented in the published papers. What became apparent at the conference, and even more so in this publication, was that a small group of scholars cannot represent the nation, nor should they try to. They can simply present knowledge on case-studies that help show historical and contemporary perspectives that contribute to the national whole. That said, the conference recognized that cultural diversity was at the heart of the meeting, and that paper presenters were only going to be able to touch upon a few aspects of a musical nation of peoples, cultures, and individuals.

The present-day context of New Zealand is one of cultural hybridity where there is an interplay between cultures in a postcolonial environment, and interconnection between past and present, each of which serves to contribute to enriching the nation with multifarious musical traditions and identities.[19] It is here that the idea of a singular music and national identity is challenged, and one needs to speak in the plural about musics and

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[18] Ibid. Compare also *The Garland Encylopedia of World Music*, which has several entries covering the Māori and Pacific musics of Aotearoa/New Zealand: Jan Bolwell, and Keri Kaa, "Māori Dance: An Indigenous View," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Australia and the Pacific Islands 9*, ed. Adrienne L. Kaeppler and J.W. Love (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 948–51; Te Puoho Katene, "Māori Music," *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Australia and the Pacific Islands 9*, ed. Adrienne L. Kaeppler and J.W. Love (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 933–38; Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, "Mōteatea: Māori Musical Poetry," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Australia and the Pacific Islands 9*, ed. Adrienne L. Kaeppler and J.W. Love (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 938–44; Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "Aotearoa," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Australia and the Pacific Islands 9*, ed. Adrienne L. Kaeppler and J.W. Love (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 972–74; Allan Thomas, "Aoteaora," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Australia and the Pacific Islands 9*, ed. Adrienne L. Kaeppler and J.W. Love (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 928–23.

[19] See, for example, Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

identies. The boundaries of a nation-state often serve to superimpose a superficial idea of identity, one that can only be understood by looking at the many peoples and individuals who make up that context in the first place. No single book can do this, but this collection of essays attempts to contribute to discourse on the interconnections between identities and musics, and to offer perspectives that help celebrate the cultural diversity of New Zealand's past and present, and the many diverse peoples that live within and beyond its national borders.

In this context, this book attempts to "de-colonize" Aotearoa/New Zealand musical discourse and offer a wider vision of the musical nation and its diverse cultures.[20] As Hebert has observed:

> In New Zealand, music pedagogy has closely followed England, and until recently educational histories have largely emphasized curricular issues rather than cultural ones, while studies of Maori music have traditionally avoided discussion of contemporary hybrid genres in order to emphasize "pre-contact" practices of the distant past.[21]

Like many other countries the world over, New Zealand's colonial past and postcolonial present has created a nation rich in cultural diversity. Having an indigenous Māori population well before European settlers arrived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, influences from Britain and other countries in Europe dominated the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century, while social and cultural flows from Australia, Polynesia, and Asia have been especially present over the past fifty years. Such is this cultural mix that musical styles reflect both real and perceived heritages, and hybridized forms help create a sense of a unique Aotearoa/New Zealand soundscape.

In this cultural setting, the papers present case-studies of several macro and micro musics. From the perpective of research on people making music, all musical expression is worthy of study. From this viewpoint, the study of music-making is able to offer insight into the sounds of many peoples, cultures, and sub-cultures that have often been neglected in music research. For example, one of the major (ethno-)musicological studies of music making in terms of examining diversity was Ruth Finnegan's study of an English town, which offered fresh insight into how music-making is

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[20] David G. Hebert, "Rethinking the Historiography of Hybrid Genres in Music Education," in *De-Canonizing Music History*, ed. Vesa Kurkela and Lauri Väkevä (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009), 163–84.
[21] Ibid., 177.

organized and understood within a small community.[22] Closer to home, Allan Thomas' "historical ethnography" of Hawera in New Zealand helps show the extent of cultural heterogeneity in "a relatively remote, small town" at a brief moment in time.[23] Indeed, in connection with change and difference in Hawera's musical traditions, values, and differences from the mid-twentieth centure to the 1990s, Thomas comments that:

> The acceptance and celebration of musical difference relates to a different view of society than that held in the decades to mid-century, when such differenes were marginalised as quaint or threatening, and musics kept apart in separate 'worlds'—the popular music world and the Māori musical world.[24]

The conference that was the foundation of this book included topics that were profoundly diverse and helped show some of the complexities of trying to locate music in discourses on national identity. What became apparent during the conference was that the speakers were representing just a fragment of Aotearoa/New Zealand's many musics, and the fourteen papers accepted for publication provide just a taste of the diverse musical practices found within the nation and by its national diaspora.

One of the problems of publishing any book on music and national identity is the fact that it is going to be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to represent everyone living in the nation-state. While the lack of insider representation of Māori music and various micro, migrant, and transcultural musics of Aotearoa/New Zealand is certainly acknowledged as a lacuna in this book, it should be emphasized that as a collection of papers that were originally presented as part of a conference, the final manuscript was dependent on a number of factors including representation at the conference, submission of papers for the publication, and acceptance of papers. There are, however, very few scholarly works that engage with

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[22] Ruth Finnegan, *The Hidden Musicians: Music-making in an English Town* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[23] Allan Thomas, *Music is Where You Find it: Music in the Town of Hawera, 1946. An Historical Ethnography* (Wellington: Music Books New Zealand, 2004), 14.

[24] Ibid., 182. On other types of more recent popular music that have become the subject of scholarly discussion, see John Dix, *Stranded in Paradise: New Zealand Rock'n'roll 1955–88* (Palmerston North: Paradise Publications, 1988); David Eggleton, *Ready to Fly: The Story of New Zealand Rock Music* (Nelson: Craig Potton Publishing, 2003); Tony Mitchell, "Kia Kaha! (Be Strong!): Maori and Pacific Islander Hip-hop in Aotearoa-New Zealand," in *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*, ed. Tony Mitchell (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 280–305.

the musics of Māori cultures in comparison to other indigenous musics of the world.[25] The summaries and analyses offered by McLean and others help contribute to discourse in this field of music-making, and the many other musics of New Zealand, apart from western art, are seldom discussed in pre-twenty-first century ethnomusicological or musicological scholarship of New Zealand music.[26] In this context, the intention of this

[25] Many relevant works by McLean and others on Māori music are listed in the Bibliography. See also the work of Johannes C. Andersen, "An Introduction to Maori Music," *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 54 (1923): 743–62; Johannes C. Andersen, "Maori Musical Instruments," *Art in New Zealand* 2 (1929): 91–101; Johannes C. Andersen, *Maori Music with its Polynesian Background* (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery & Sons, 1934); Elsdon Best, "The Maori," *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society* 5 (1924); Elsdon Best, "Games and Pastimes of the Maori: An Account of Various Exercises, Games and Pastimes of the Natives of New Zealand, as Practised in Former Times; Including Some Information Concerning Their Vocal and Instrumental Music," *Dominion Museum Bulletin, Wellington* 8 (1925); Elsdon Best, *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist. A Sketch of the Origin, History, Myths and Beliefs of the Tuhoe Tribes of the Maori of New Zealand; With Some Account of Other Early Tribes of the Bay of Plenty District* (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery & Sons, 1925); Keith Kennedy, "The Ancient Four-Note Musical Scale of the Maoris," *Mankind* 1 (1931): 11–14; Hirini Melbourne, *Toiapiapi: He Huinga o Ngā Kura Pūoro a te Māori* (Te Whanganui a Tara, Titi Tuhiwai, 1993); Hirini Melbourne and Richard Nunns, *Te Ku Te Whe*, RAT-D004, 1994; Apirana Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea. The Songs. Scattered Pieces From Many Canoe Areas, Part 1* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1928); Apirana Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea. The Songs. Scattered Pieces From Many Canoe Areas, Part 2*, Translated by Pei Te Hurinui (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1961); Apirana Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea. The Songs. Scattered Pieces From Many Canoe Areas. Part 3*, Translated by Pei Te Hurinui (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1970); Apirana Ngata, *Ngā Mōteatea. The Songs. Scattered Pieces From Many Canoe Areas, Part 4* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1990); Jennifer Shennan, *The Maori Action Song: Waiata a Ringa, Waiata Kori, no Whea Tenei Ahua Hou?* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1984); Suzanne Youngerman,. "Maori Dancing Since the Eighteenth Century," *Ethnomusicology* 18, no. 1 (1974): 75–100. Cf. D.R. Harvey, *A Bibliography of Writings about New Zealand Music, Published to the End of 1983* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1985); Henry Johnson, "Indigenous Musics of Aotearoa/New Zealand: An Exploration of Early Observations, Attitudes, and Perspectives in the Historical Narratives of Ethnomusicological Scholarship, *British Review of New Zealand Studies* 12 (2000): 113-30; Maureen Stewart, *Maori Music: An Annotated Bibliography* (Wellington: Library School, 1969).

[26] See Dan Bendrups, "A Cultural History of the Christchurch Latvian Choir," in *Music on the Edge: Select Proceedings of the 2007 IASPM-ANZ Conference*, ed. Dan Bendrups (Dunedin: IAPSM-ANZ, 2008), 9–14; David G.Hebert, "Music

book is to open up critical discourse on the many musics (voices) of Aotearoa/New Zealand. The chapters presented herein represent just a few sounds of a diverse nation, and sounds that do much to represent place, very often Aotearoa/New Zealand and beyond.

This collection of essays is divided into three parts which relate to overarching themes of the book: (1) Cultural Diversity; (2) Popular Culture; and (3) Education and High-Art. Part 1 breaks away from the notion of a dominant music culture in a bicultural political milieu with the aim of identifying and celebrating some of the many musical voices that can be heard in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Tony Mitchell, the keynote speaker at the conference, opens the collection by problematizing the term

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Transculturation and Identity in a Maori Brass Band Tradition," *Alta Musica* 26 (2008): 173–200; David G. Hebert, "Music Transmission in an Auckland Tongan Community Youth Band," *International Journal of Community Music* 1, no. 2 (2008): 169–88; Henry Johnson, "Indigenous Musics of Aotearoa/New Zealand;" Henry Johnson, "Performing Identity, Past and Present: Chinese Cultural Performance, New Year Celebrations, and the Heritage Industry," in *East by South: China in the Australasian Imagination*, ed. Charles Ferrall, Paul Millar and Keren Smith (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2005), 217–42; Henry Johnson, "Striking Accord! Gamelan, Education, and Indonesian Cultural Flows in Aotearoa/New Zealand," in *Asia in the Making of New Zealand*, ed. Henry Johnson and Brian Moloughney (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006), 185–203; Henry Johnson, '"Happy Diwali!': Performance, Multicultural Soundscapes and Intervention in Aotearoa/New Zealand," in *Musical Performance in the Diaspora*, ed. Tina K. Ramnarine (New York: Routledge, 2007), 71–94; Henry Johnson, "Composing Asia in New Zealand: Gamelan and Creativity," *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2008): 54–84; Henry Johnson, "Partnerships, Multicultural Music Education, and New Zealand's Asian Communities," *Sound Ideas* 7 (2008): 19–26; Henry Johnson, "Why *Taiko*? Understanding *Taiko* Performance at New Zealand's 1st *Taiko* Festival," *Sites. A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies* 5, no. 2 (2008): 111–34; Henry Johnson, "Musical Moves and Transnational Grooves: Education, Transplantation and Japanese *Taiko* Drumming at The International Pacific College, New Zealand," in *Recentring Asia: Histories, Encounters, Identities*, ed. Jacob Edmond, Henry Johnson, and Jacqueline Leckie (Folkestone: Global Oriental), in press; Henry Johnson, with Guil Figgins, "Diwali Downunder: Transforming and Performing Indian Tradition in Aotearoa/New Zealand," in *Sociology of Diaspora: A Reader*, ed. Ajaya Kumar Sahoo and Brij Maharaj (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2007), 913–39; Benjamin Le Heux, "An Investigative and Documentary Study of Music and Change Within a Buddhist Community in Christchurch, New Zealand" (M.A. diss., University of Canterbury, 2002); Siong Ngor Ng, "The Chinese Community in Auckland: A Musical Ethnography and Musical History" (M.A. diss., University of Auckland, 2000).

"Kiwi music" in the context of denoting Aotearoa/New Zealand national identity in music. With various examples from the popular music scene, Mitchell offers an overview of some of the sounds that might be called Kiwi, while challenging notions of New Zealandness in this sphere of music-making. In his paper on migrant music in New Zealand, Dan Bendrups brings the discussion to some of the many micro musics that seldom, if ever, make the topics of scholarly debate. While grounding his work in broader migrant and diaspora discourses, Bendrups provides several case-studies of ethnicity and identity that help show the richness of Aotearoa/New Zealand's musical diversity. Three further papers in Part 1 also contribute to this discourse. In her research on Wellington's Cuba Street Carnival, Shelley Brunt writes about this showcase of musical diversity in New Zealand which celebrates Wellington's many cultural groups. As one of a multitude of music or music-related festivals in New Zealand, the Cuba Street Carnival, Brunt suggests, is a setting where ideas of cultural identity and place provide themes for a wider understanding of the nation's multifarious music-making. My own paper in this collection focuses on one genre of music that has increasingly become more popular among several of New Zealand's many ethnicities: Japanese *taiko* (drum) performance. The paper aims to understand what it means to be a *taiko* player in New Zealand, regardless of ethnicity. The final paper in Part 1 is Alison Booth's examination of the role academics have in producing events in the world music scene. In her paper, Booth maps out five major events over a ten-year period that involved visiting performers contributing to a broader New Zealand music scene, which ultimately helped to influence local identity.

Part 2 focuses on popular culture. Kirsten Zemke offers a study of music, identity, and cultural diversity in an Auckland suburb based on an original musical theatre production: *Our Street*. Zemke was musical director and composer for the show, which included an array of local talent. In her paper, Zemke argues that *Our Street* "negotiated multiple layers, journeys, and cultural political transactions" in a production that utilized local and global music and helped express and construct identity for all involved. Matthew Bannister's contribution to this collection is a case-study on Bic Runga, who quickly became an Aotearoa/New Zealand icon in the popular music industry. Bannister offers a discussion of Runga's representations in her music and videos in the context of "Kiwi" identity construction where "non-white females are doubly marginalized." The next two papers offer perspectives on jazz culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Aleisha Ward's paper explores the construction of a local jazz culture in connection with Australian, American, and British jazz

influences from the 1920s to the 1950s. At a time of changing relationships, Ward shows how jazz culture was constructed through a process of cultural negotiation with the international jazz scene of these countries. The focus of Norman Meehan's paper is Mike Nock, one of the country's leading jazz performers. Meehan explores Nock's contribution to the Aotearoa/New Zealand's jazz scene with particular reference to the performer's place as a local artist producing a New Zealand sound. The final essay in this part is by Andy Gibson, who provides a linguistic analysis of identity in New Zealand popular music. Gibson's emphasis is on vowel differences between singing and speaking.

Three papers comprise Part 3. The first is on education, where Sally Bodkin-Allen provides a case-study of national identity in the *Kiwi Kidsongs* series of books for use in primary music education. Bodkin-Allen's argument is that national identity is both created and represented in this series of music, something that shows state-funded influence helping to nurture a sense of identity among young children. Two papers are offered on New Zealand's western high-art music scene. Robin Maconie's paper is a study of prehistory in New Zealand music, suggesting some links between Māori music and European high-art music. The final paper is by Marian Poole, who explores the place, background, and influences of early twentieth-century art music on Aotearoa/New Zealand.

As a way of closing the book, Graeme Downes provides a paper that questions national identity: who wants to know and why? Downes provokes the reader to think about ideas pertaining to national identity, especially in a contemporary context where Aotearoa/New Zealand increasingly looks to the wider world in an age of ever-increasing global flows and influences.

This collection of essays provides a starting point to re-think music and national identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The papers offer various perspectives on the interconnections between music and identity, while offering case-studies on diverse topics including specific performers, composers, musical styles, and events. The papers cannot cover everything and, as I have pointed out above, they simply "scratch the surface." However, what they can offer will hopefully open up further research on the many voices of those who call Aotearoa/New Zealand home.

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PART I:

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

CHAPTER TWO

"KIWI" MUSIC AND NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL IDENTITY

TONY MITCHELL

As Graeme Downes noted in his abstract for the conference from which this book is derived, it is important to "render notions of national identity problematic or discomforting" in the interests of avoiding the homogenization of diverse expressions of place and identity, and inappropriate expressions of jingoistic patriotism. The term "Kiwi music" is an example of a term often used to denote New Zealand national identity in music, and one which needs problematizing. It is also an indicator of what Downes calls "prescribed and comfortable notions of national identity" which are usually fixed and stereotypically exclusive, rather than accommodating important aspects of indigeneity and changing patterns of migration.

In 2007, I was asked to contribute an entry on "Kiwi rock" to the *Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World*. I agreed on the condition that I could re-title it "New Zealand rock." It seems a small distinction, but the term "Kiwi" has become something of an easy, lazy marker of New Zealandness that has a predominantly Pākehā cast, and which not only does not usually acknowledge Māori identities, but excludes the numerous other hyphenated identities which exist in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The NZ On Air series *Kiwi Hit Discs*, a monthly selection of tracks for radio play featuring popular New Zealand musicians, is arguably an example of this rather jingoistic use of the term applied to music. Granted, the series also includes occasional instalments of Māori music called "Iwi Hit Discs," which looks suspiciously as if "iwi" is being subsumed into "Kiwi"—just because it rhymes doesn't make it any more palatable. The radio station Kiwi FM prides itself on playing only New Zealand music, but DJs rarely back-announce or identify what they play, a frustrating omission which almost seems to defeat the station's purpose. The distinction between nationally-defined forms of music and radically self-determining expressions