Musicultural Identity and Intersecting Geographic Contexts in Oceania

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Abstract In discussing the impact of intersecting geographical contexts in Oceania, I will consider the phenomena of cultural and subcultural difference in music through local, national and globalised contexts. I will examine these phenomena at the points where they intersect, what we might call borderlands—regarded as a 'third space' (Bhabha H, The location of culture. Routledge, London, 1994)—where hybrid identities can be formed that shape meaning and learning in culturally inclusive ways. In this essay I propose that musical identity allows for cultural and artistic perspectives to be revealed across the broad palette of genres in music education. In the New Zealand context I use Māori popular music as a specific example. I use the term *musiculture* in an attempt to break down the tensions between function, status, and taste in order to reveal commonalities between musical forms and new ways of hearing and enacting music. Blacking (How musical is man? University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1973) reminds us that "in any society, cultural behaviour is learned" (p. 103). I suggest that when culture is framed within a geographical context, it takes on different perspectives within the geographical space and in music education it becomes a pattern of interconnected musicultural traits.

Keywords Musiculture • Cultural geography • Music education • Musical identity

1 Introduction

Music might be regarded as a form of culture because it shapes how we see and hear our world and acts as a kind of filter through which we interpret our daily experiences. The effect of music shapes the way in which our perceptions of the musical 'real' are a product of our negotiated and socially created meaning. The styles of music we might engage with can also influence the clothes we wear, the food we eat and even the way we speak: think of punk, gothic, hip hop, reggae, country,

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bebop (jazz), to name only a few. These music-based cultural habits and artistic responses have sometimes been categorised as subcultures.

I propose the term *musiculture* in an attempt to by-pass the clumsy integration of terms such as *subcultures* and *music-based cultures.* Butts (2007) has also used this term and with the same intended meaning. I endorse Butts' definition of musiculture as an "affiliation with a subculture based on a musical genre" (2007, abstract), adding to her definition *subcultures and cultures which have developed into robust communities throughout the world*. I use the term musiculture in the sense of an affiliation with the broader musical forms or styles, such as art music or popular music. What the term musiculture does is to regard all musicultures as equal, and it also "places music and culture on an equal footing" (2007, p. 3). These musical cultures, whether ancient or modern, are not simply unchanging traditions which have been inherited wholesale from the past; each is a dynamic form that has the capacity to absorb change if its members allow it to. Importantly, a musiculture is not necessarily linked to the age of its members. Finnegan's significant 1989 study showed the wide generational age range of individuals participating in music subcultures (and those of rock musicians in particular).

Culture gives sense to the world and offers a vision while undertaking the organisation of thought processes. Any culture is a system of representation, and these representations find their expressions in acts and discourses. Cultures contain cultural traits or cultural elements to ground their myths and ideologies and, importantly, cultures also need to believe in themselves and shape cultural identities. They need a place or space in which to dwell. The music classroom need not favour just one musiculture. The classroom can accept a type of cultural mosaic inside its walls and perhaps even establish a metaculture of music in its programmes, one which is encompassing and empowering and where fertile cross-breeding can be allowed to generate new musical forms.

There is no one kind of art music, just as there is no one kind of pop or rock music. There are stylistic variations that might come from encounters with other cultures, religions, genders, or other forms of music, and all can have an impact in education. One solution for music education that not only considers society and music in history, but also culture and music in geography, draws upon the concept of cultural geography—a human geography that explores human differences and spatial sensibility while taking into account the emotional dimension.

We live in the world and our practical relation to space requires an explanation of the self and practical understanding. To advance this argument I draw on the theory of culture and space framed by the French geographer Joël Bonnemaison in his study of Melanesian cultures (2005). I will apply his theory of cultural geography to music and music education in New Zealand.

2 Musiculture and Cultural Geography

A cultural system is different from a social system in the sense that it is more expansive. Bonnemaison reminds us that "cultures create the diversity of the world, thereby making it more interesting. At one level differences separate; at another

they are a gathering force" (2005, p. 58). The space the culture occupies as cultural space differs from one's subjective experience or perception of space, but when *affective space* and *space as experienced* coincide, the resultant cultural space becomes a collective history (p. 77). Rather than being an enclosed space, we should see cultural musical space as musicultural elements, material or non-material, which can be isolated and, therefore, investigated. Gestural traits, performance practices, and the particular ways in which a musical instrument is used are all musicultural traits that can be studied in terms of their originality and their diffusion from a specific source. To fit with this definition there must be an audible and visible musicultural element to the trait.

In his research into what he calls "a new cultural geography", Bonnemaison outlines his key terms (2005, pp. xvi–xvii), some of which provide us with a methodology for an examination of cultural spaces in music: *islandness, reticulated space, iconology, geosymbol, ante-world* and *networked society* (see Table 1). I see this construct as being especially useful for music teachers working across various fields and forms of music as they endeavour to treat each style equitably and on its own merits. It helps us get to the essence of a musical style and to delve more deeply into its roots, what we might perceive as a founding place.

The value put on a founding place creates a frame or boundary, rather like an island or region, within which a musiculture operates. Metaphorically, *islandness* narrows down our focus to the spatial perceptions involved in the relating of land to sea that comes from living on an island, or perhaps as musicians working in a specific style, genre or context. Both a founding place and islandness require some form of horizon. This horizon frames our perspectives and sense of place. Bonnemaison notes that Melanesian cultures tend to look inland from the shores of their islands, while Polynesians tend to look outwards over the sea, framing how each group sees the world.

An island always represents a separateness, a limit, a shore or border of anxiety, even though joined by the sea and under the sea with other islands. Once on land in our musical territory one's link to the great movement of music in time is severed. What remains is space, "narrow, closed and bordered … It becomes the one and only value" (Bonnemaison 2005, p. 84). This suggests that it is the spatial sensibilities of different groups that are at the root of their cultural differences and that a particular musical space becomes a founding space, whether that be Liverpool, Vienna, Weimar, New Orleans or the Bronx. A *founding place* differs from a *central place*. While the central place makes the rest of the structure converge towards itself, the founding place pushes out the forces that rise up within its core, replicating itself in similar places. But instead of creating a periphery, the founding place carries the power of the musiculture, or a fragment of it, farther away, "in chain-like fashion" (ibid, p. 85); it initiates distribution.

The cultural space termed *reticulated space* acknowledges its origins, which could be a town or city, a country or region, a belief or function. Reticulated space is a network of spatial links that has no evident centre or periphery and where each group is the equal complement to the group before or after it on the road. Power is gained through competitive distribution and relations of exchange as the flow of information and goods. "It is not structured by a centre but by a founding place with

Table 1 Summary of key musiculture concepts

Islandness	Origins	Where did the unique qualities of a musiculture originate and/or develop? Generally inward looking, with protected borders, and contained in a central place
Reticulated space	Communicative distribution	How is the music distributed? Takes the values of the musiculture and forms networks out from its origins (founding place) to distribute its musicultural values
Iconology	Appearances and representations	How is the music recognised and how does it appear? The symbols, musical beliefs and identity of a musiculture. Iconology presents the vision of a musiculture through cultural meanings and musical standpoints, including musical elements, features and other representations
Geosymbols	Ecology of the style	External shaping influences, contemporary parallel influences, and performance contexts. What style came before? How does the music emerge in different settings? Its manifestations. Ecology as the relationship between the music and its environment. Geosymbols link the musicultural space to the belief system and show how musicultural values and beliefs shape the ways of being of a musiculture
Ante-world	Links to other musical styles	Includes what came before musically, either from within the musiculture or from other musicultures, perhaps even running parallel to the musiculture. It is open to ideas that might be oppositional, different, or adjacent to its own. It encompasses both historical and contemporary influences and residual musicultures
Networked space	Hybrid musical unions (milieu culture)	New concepts that help shape new forms of musiculture. Makes the links within and between musicultures, is open to change, perhaps forming a 'third musical space' between two musicultures
Metaculture	Overarching aspects of style and genre	Can be likened to the generic culture of music beyond specific musicultural systems—for example, rock, orchestral, jazz—but which incorporates all available musicultural possibilities

several interrelated focal points … a spatial differentiation. Culture cannot live outside its space" (Bonnemaison 2005, p. 68), and without a reticulated space a musiculture would lose most of its value. Here the founding place still has value, but is no longer constrained as in islandness; it seeks to expand its borders. A musicultural reticulated space represents an open area where the glory and the power of great musicians is set in motion.

Musical representation, vision, and values fix identity, produce icons, and define a specific musiculture. *Iconology* refers to the cultural meanings invested in specific features of the musical landscape. Icons carry a particular meaning which they

bestow on the places and features and provide roots for a people. They seek to make intelligent the musical world as a whole. They offer an image of the musical world as much as an image of the individual self in the musical world. They represent a particular standpoint and vision. This means that both teacher and student are associated with personal factors and beliefs, myths, and life history. Iconology is the cultural meanings and musical standpoints that make a collective vision intelligible. Once we have established the musical territory we are to explore, we need to examine the musical landscape, its shapes and forms, and how this might inform the specific musical environment. We might then require knowledge of a territory's history, its significant musical leaders, music works, and performance practices—the symbolic representations and technologies that shape the cultural identity of those who dwell within its boundaries.

The things that tie the beliefs, values, and symbolic representations of a specific musiculture to a particular spatial location, which could be musical, categorical, or physical, Bonnemaison calls *geosymbols*. A *geosymbol* is the spatial indicator. It is the specific association between a particular spatial location and a cultural or subcultural belief system. It is a sign in a space that mirrors and shapes identity. *Geosymbolism* is the symbolic structure of a geographical setting—its signification. Human beings inscribe and illustrate their values in the musical landscape.

Geosymbols might indicate the boundaries of a musical territory, but they also animate it and give it meaning; they express a common set of values. As such, geosymbols both produce and construct musical territories. Territories are powerful markers within which symbols become visible. These spatial symbols, or geosymbols, include symbolic places that are meaningful signifiers—Nashville, Detroit, Vienna, Jamaica, Woodstock, or specific recording studios (Abbey Road, Muscle Shoals, Capital Studios, Sun Records) for example; these are identity-bearing symbols. Musicultural identity is the marrying of a musical style and a territory. The territory fills a number of musical, geographical, social, and political functions that are in keeping with the universe of memory, representations, and values.

Musicultures establish territories that embrace beliefs, symbols, and signs and these might be involved in establishing musical heroes or perhaps challenging an entrenched status quo. *Ante-world* signifies either a previous social world, a current rival, or an oppositional world. Ante-world regards the concept of territories, not as political regions but as more abstract places, perhaps even as a frame. These territories contain the myths and celebrities of their specific musical type, as well as the institutions, corporations, and followers that support them. No musical identity exists without a space that sustains it, or without a territory marked by symbolic representations which give strength to the specific belief system of that identity. It is important to remind ourselves that territories usually embrace territorialism, implying the potential desire to defend musical beliefs and values. We might see the musiculture as a kind of "dynastic realm" which organises its world and ensures sustainability (Anderson 1991, p. 19). The stars have names that resound across the realm of the musiculture, such as Elvis, Hendrix, Santana, Zappa, Prince, Bird, and Beethoven. Bonnemaison speaks of an *ante-world*, or anti-world, that always revolves underneath the accepted world system, a sort of world in reverse (2005, p. 115),

which is defined and perceived in various ways. It is both an ante-world, in the sense of an earlier, anterior world, and an anti-world, in the sense of a rival or opposite world.

Networks make links to the various musical expressions and structures within the reticulated space. *Networked society* refers to a society bonded through musical nodes, tied together in a spatial network. Here the notion of islands and island-hopping springs to mind. Each musicultural island might contain its own forms of natural elements, but the essence of music *as* music is the ocean on which the pedagogical canoe navigates the in-between spaces in order to connect and allow fertile cross-breeding. Musical forms of expression are not frozen in time, and an essentialist view of a musiculture is avoided by the incorporation of the notion of networked societies. In this way the music classroom becomes a space of interdependent links within a broader musical system that spreads well beyond the limits of the curriculum. It operates by consensus. The focus at any one time might be on a specific category of music, but a series of road-like links enables both teachers and students to jump from one link to the next and even to change routes.

Networked space is the network that acknowledges the presence of interdependent links within a music curriculum and that allow us to make connections between styles and genres, perhaps through harmonies, scales, forms, technologies, etc. We can regard our classroom as an open area where we can explore, examine, and test each style or genre to ascertain its specific musical character, not unlike so-called network societies. For Webb (2007), "time and space may well be informed and temporally affected by distant sounds and voices, networks and space-time connections that are way beyond the local, but the local is the hub of experience, perceptions and articulation of the musical world" (p. 260).

Cultural representations in music become more vivid and meaningful when they are embodied in specific spaces by the music educator. Cultural space is a geosymbolic space "laden with emotions and meanings: in its strongest expression it becomes a sanctuary-like territory, that is to say, a space of communion with an ensemble of signs and values" (Bonnemaison 2005, p. 47). In their discussion on the economies of signs and space, Lash and Urry (1994) suggest contemporary cultural spaces are spheres which operate in the contemporary cultural industries, such as systems of production, cultural artefacts, and communication structures, and these become the reality of everyday life, a reality that fans help to build. As members of various musicultures, our students need a territory, a space that allows some foundation to its geosymbols and solidifies the space-as-experienced which the students are familiar with. For the teacher, the space unfolds along successive levels of perception, musical values, and human consciousness. A musical space allows for self-identification based on musical feelings and vision. The space can be a place for ritual, or a resonance, even. For the student, territory is a political stake, and its affective and symbolic forces become the nexus of power; its landscape is identified as a personal environment and as a resource and an identity.

This equitable geographic approach leads us to regard musicultures "as a constant process of becoming as a result of discovery, invention, innovation, evolution and diffusion" (Bonnemaison 2005, p. xviii). Cultures require systems to make

them comprehensible, so that the spaces in which they operate have horizons as well as buttresses. We might also consider the notion of indigenous and perhaps apply it to the authentic musician in a particular musical culture, suggesting spaces where the educated, bilingual (in a musical sense), or multilingual musician from outside the territory might enter and either colonise or appropriate the music, perhaps even inscribing on it the horizon of a new musical community. Adopting an approach of cultural geography allows us the potential to look at collective musical identities and their spatial territories and to modify our pedagogy. I suggest that this approach will bring about a musical open-mindedness, not just in our students, but also in ourselves.

Incorporating a *metacultural*, musicultural perspective within contexts of cultural geography allows me to identify some pedagogical applications for music education. The root word *meta* addresses the idea that there is a hidden aspect beyond the word itself and a still deeper connotation. *Meta* addresses that which lies beyond, that which incorporates. *Meta* signifies the fundamental feature—that which is beyond, that which touches on the very essence of things. In terms of pedagogy and research, *meta* represents the ultimate questioning as the classroom becomes *musicultural*.

3 Reggae and the Collective Identity

Music can produce notions of collective identity and this works both with diaspora as well as groups of disaffected peoples unrelated by race or ethnicity. The impact of dub reggae on British youth of West Indian origin (African-Caribbean) origin during the late 1970s was highlighted by Hebdige (1979). Hebdige sees dub as providing a "communication with the past, with Jamaica and hence Africa considered vital for the maintenance of black identity" (p. 83), although it seems that the West Indian identity formed a stronger bond.

In the case of Māori, the impact of both reggae and hip hop was particularly powerful, bridging the geographical spaces between Jamaica in one case and the Bronx in the other, providing a collective identity and a symbolic sense of community. While reggae and hip hop, together with their distinctive facets, have been re-rooted and assimilated in diverse locations and musical genres, and at the same time generating a commercial viability, they are particularly embedded in cultures that are "largely depoliticized and/or alienated from the dominant culture" (Whiteley et al. 2004, p. 9). Reggae music, despite its island roots, has spread around the globe and is especially popular with groups of people who feel culturally disenfranchised. Reggae has had a profound impact on the music of Oceania, possibly because groups who feel disenfranchised have adopted its laid back insistence on political change. In New Zealand, Māori and Pasifika young adults have been attracted to reggae music since its inception, with Herbs, in the 1970s, and Katchafire being a more recent example.

Table 2 shows, in note form, how a musicultural model might be applied to reggae.

Table 2 Key musiculture concepts applied to Reggae

Islandness (origins)	Jamaica colonised by Spanish in 1494; the indigenous Arawak population disappeared after 70–80 years. British captured Jamaica in 1655 and imported slaves from Africa to work the sugar plantations. Slaves emancipated 1838
	Rastafarianism emerged as a religion in 1930s Jamaica. Rastafarians took the crowning of the Emperor of Ethiopia, Prince Regent Ras Tafari, in the 1930s as the coming of the new black Messiah; he was later known as Haile Selassie
	Mento becomes the dominant street music in Jamaica from the late nineteenth century and up to the 1930s: mento made fun of current events or were suggestive in nature. Rhythmically similar to the Cuban *son*. Instruments included banjo, kalimba (or rumba box playing bass notes), hand drums, sometimes the penny whistle. 'Ethiopia', a mento recording by Lord Lebby, was one of the first expressions of Rastafarian consciousness on record. Bunny Wailer later made minor modifications to this song in his 1980 hit 'Back in Jamaica'. An example of mento being used for the tourist market is the song 'Yellow Bird' by Jamaica Duke and the Mento Swingers in 1970
	Quadrille: the earliest music Bob Marley heard live was believed to be his uncle's band playing quadrille tunes based on Jamaican melodies. Quadrille song and dance groups are still part of the Jamaican musical heritage. The European diatonic scale was combined with recalled complex African rhythms to produce a version of the quadrille, which was very popular with the slave communities
	Junkanoo originated in a West African fertility ritual associated with the yam harvest and was incorporated with Christian elements (such as the Devil). Some of the rhythms were eventually included in ragga (raggamuffin) recordings. Another audible heritage is found in the press rolls of percussive accents used by Jamaican drummers generally
	Black American music had an impact on local music during the 1940s and 1950s, also music from neighbouring Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic and Panama. Movements drove for independence from Britain, even as large-scale emigration to the US and Britain, taking place in a time of post-war reconstruction and economic expansion. Political independence granted to the colony of Jamaica in 1962
	Sound systems: a large number of speakers, rather like a mobile disco, used for street parties by the poorer Jamaicans who could not afford the plush venues
	By the mid-1960s a distinctly Jamaican sound had been established which used fast rhythm and blues (R&B) as its model but having its rhythmic stamp as an abrupt series of off-beats; this was named ska. The Skatalites seen as the masters of ska (Ernest Ranglin, legendary reggae session guitarist, was a member). By 1966 some musicians were moving to slow the music down to a more 'rock-steady' tempo, laid back feel with bold bass lines
	Revival Zion and Pocomania combined African and Christian religious elements and involving hand-clapping, foot-stamping, bass drum, snare drum, cymbals, and rattles. The Pocomania church influenced Toots and the Maytals, and also Lee Scratch Perry (who heard the rhythms as he passed by the church on his way to a session)

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Table 2 (continued)

Reticulated space (Distribution)	Networks formed quickly with Jamaicans living overseas, especially Britain, then later globally, especially the rest of the West Indies, the United States, New Zealand and Australia
	Chris Blackwell lived in Jamaica and started Island Records. In 1962 he moved to London and in 1964 produced Millie's 'My Boy Lollipop', which became ska's greatest hit (although the heavy shuffle feel was given the stylistic description 'blue beat'). Blackwell's most famous signing was Bob Marley. Blackwell was a clever marketer and much of reggae's international popularity is due to his great foresight
	Reggae has the power to speak to marginalised groups internationally (often indigenous or immigrant) and Bob Marley's message has been used by diverse groups around the world: Chinese students in Tiananmen Square (1989), both sides in the Nicaraguan civil war, also used when the Berlin Wall fell ('Three Little Birds'). 'Redemption Song' has been an important source of motivation for many disenfranchised groups
	Films: *The Harder They Come* (1972) featuring the music of Jimmy Cliff, Desmond Dekker, Toots and the Maytals, the Slickers, and the Melodians ('Rivers of Babylon'); *Rockers* (1977) starring Gregory Isaacs, Burning Spear, Robbie Shakespeare; *Countryman* (1982) an adventure story with sound track music by Bob Marley and the Wailers, Steel Pulse, Aswad, Dennis Brown, Toots and the Maytals, Lee Perry; *Dancehall Queen* (1997)
Iconology (Representations)	Babylon, Western imperialism and oppression
	In 1968 ska artists The Maytals recorded 'Do the Reggay', which had an even stronger bass. The guitar played bright chords on the up-beat, with a tempo even slower than rock-steady
	'One drop': the single strong beat on beat three, stylistic drumming. Laid back feel with bass lines weaving in and out of the drum beat. Example: Sly Dunbar and Robbie Shakespeare (Sly and Robbie), who played on countless recordings by Jamaican and international artists
	Bob Marley (and the Wailers); Skatalites; Jimmy Cliff; Toots and the Maytals; Peter Tosh; Burning Spear; Lee Scratch Perry (Producer)
Geosymbols (Contexts)	Rastafarian colours: in the flag, green represents the beauty and vegetation of Ethiopia, gold the wealth of the homeland and the sun, and red, for blood and the church. Ganja, the marijuana leaf symbol. Lion's head for the Lion of Judah (Bible: Genesis). Dreadlocks, in contrast to the straight, blonde look of the white man's thin hair. The term *natty dread* used to describe a Rastafarian with dreadlocks. *Rude boy*: young men discontented with the unemployment and their general existence in the shanty towns and slums of west Kingston
	'One drop': common throughout South American and Caribbean music
	Reggae bass lines almost drag the beat but are very melodic and provide both the anchor and focal point as they weave in and out of the drum rhythms. The spaces are as important as the notes
Ante-world (Sustaining spaces)	Black American dance parties (idea brought back by Jamaicans returning from working in the US)
	American rhythm and blues (R&B) (Fats Domino, Bill Doggett, Chuck Berry, Ernie Freeman, Louis Jordan)
	Latin music, meringue, calypso
	In the US the contemporary jazz album *A Twist of Marley* (2001) brought together international artists and singers in a tribute to Bob Marley

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Table 2 (continued)

Networked space (Hybrid formations)	Dancehall developed from the experimental sound of the DJs. Characterised by its raw energy, the DJ is the star and not the singer
	Dub – in the 1970s many records (e.g., 45 s) were put out with the song on one side and the backing only (sometimes slightly electronically enhanced) on the other (King Tubby, Lee Scratch Perry). Late twentieth-century dance music owes a debt to reggae. Pioneering hip hop DJ of the 1970s, Kool Herc, was born in Kingston, Jamaica
	Dub poetry speaks of hypocrisy and social repression (Benjamin Zephaniah: Jamaican-born, raised in Birmingham, UK)
	Ragga, short for ragamuffin, was Dancehall music which had been gradually overtaken by digitised renditions. Claimed to still be in touch with the original sound system style
	UK reggae group Steel Pulse modified reggae music in response to Britain's different environment and lifestyle
	Jungle: a reggae-influenced techno fusion
	UK bands drawing on reggae in the 1980s: The Specials, Sting and the Police, The Clash, Madness, Finlay Quaye, UB40
	Later artists: Eddy Grant, Ziggy Marley, U-Roy, Third World. In New Zealand: Katchafire, Salmonella Dub, Three Houses Down, Black Seeds, House of Shem

4 New Zealand as a Luminal Space for Cultures in Contact

Over time a culture makes contact with other cultures and shares ideas, technologies, and music and dance representations—the spread of the ukulele around the Pacific Islands, for example, or the adaptation of popular songs by Māori which have been adapted to generate new expressive purposes throughout the twentieth century. These adaptations and changes are outlined in Table 3. Of course, some dance and music must remain unique and unchanged because it is steeped in cultural grounding, for example, waiata tangi (funeral lament). The point here is that music and dance are a means of cultural transmission and exchange in the luminal space where the cultures meet, with the exception being those forms that signify life and death, rites of passage, and ceremony.

McLean (1996) urges us to realise that song loss among Māori, in common with other Polynesian cultures, was not entirely the result of the impact of the missionaries and their English hymns and colonisation in general. Before colonisation there was already in place a "vigorous composing tradition with new songs regularly displacing the old" (p. 276). The decline in compositions, or the loss of functions for some categories (paddling songs and food-bearing songs, for example) contributed to the decline caused by colonisation and new technologies. Tapu[1] also played its part, and McLean refers to waiata tangi (lament) which must only be sung on the

[1] *Tapu* relates to the power and influence of the gods. Everything has an inherent tapu because everything was created by the Supreme God, Io. Tapu has also been extended to include prohibitions and restrictions, such as making an error in the performance of a waiata.

Table 3 Key musiculture concepts applied to contemporary Māori music

ORIGINS *Islandness* Unique original qualities.	The first Polynesian settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand, approximately 1000 years ago, saw a period characterised by the use of song and dance for a variety of purposes, including spiritual, ceremony, genealogical memory, war. Mnemonic and verbal devices for memorising matters of cultural significance were embedded in the songs and incantations (takutaku) through auditory means. Song types included moteatea (ancient songs), oriori (lullabies referring to genealogy),waiata (more commonplace songs) and haka (a noble posture dance)
	With the arrival of the first Europeans in the seventeenth (Abel Tasman, 1642) and eighteenth centuries (Captain Cook, 1769), various influences emerged, such as the sailor's musical instruments—concertina and violin (fiddle), the rough way the sailor's used their voice, which fascinated Māori (Barrow 1965, p. 24), Christian hymn singing (from around 1820), and familiarity with the Western musical scale. Introduction of Western harmonies, especially through shanties, hymns, popular and folk music (English, Irish and Scottish). This period saw a significant transformation in Māori music
DISTRIBUTION *Reticulated space* Distribution networks	A more secular period occurred from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century with the popularisation of Māori songs and dances (via concert parties), and the advent of tourism enabled individual performers to emerge
	Canoe songs and poi performance developed, for example, representing the Arawa canoe (Maggie Papakura and her sister Guide Bella around 1905)
	Māori concert party from Whakarewarewa toured England in 1911 and comprised a large troupe of Arawa led by Maggie Papakura (Barrow 1965, p. 28)
	World War I: military service produced Māori concert parties and Māori composers, as well as inspiring love songs, laments and songs of home
	Influences from Polynesia: adoption of guitar as a favourite instrument
	World War II: music used to boost the morale of Māori at home and at war. At dances, big band swing and their use of saxophones appealed to Māori sensibilities
	The post-war move from rural communities to urban brought traditional values to the city
	Showbands working in Australia, England, Hawaii, the United States

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Table 3 (continued)

REPRESENTATIONS *Iconology* How the music is recognised, the symbols and musical expression	Cultural meanings invested in specific features of the music from waiata-a-ringa through both world wars, showbands, and on to contemporary music
	The move to revive Māori music in the early twentieth century was led by such prominent figures and former Te Aute College students as Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Maui Pomare, Dr Wi Repa and Sir Peter Buck who, as members of the Young Māori Party, sought the revival of Māori cultural life (Barrow 1965, p. 30). This was a significant transitional period. Ngata, first secretary of the Party, guided the cultural revival and, in music, encouraged action songs as waiata-a-ringa with stylised body movements synchronised with the singing. This form often used adapted European songs but remained Māori in essence and spirit and embodied Māori pride. There are earlier records of Māori songs (lyrics) sung to English tunes, perhaps as early as the 1860s (Mclean 1996, p. 312)
	From the 1920s, Māori performers and leaders became significant in the promotion of the music from Sir Apirana Ngata and Princess Te Puea
	The showbands: Maori Hi Five, the Quin Tikis, the Maori Volcanics; former showband stars such as Dalvanius Prime, Prince Tui Teka, John Rowles, Rim D Paul; Howard Morrison (solo and with Quartet), Hirini Melbourne; and later performers such as Mahinurangi Tocker, Moana Jackson (Moana and the Moahunters), Whirimako Black, Hinewehi Mohi, Tiki Taane, Maisey Rika
CONTEXTS *Geosymbols* External shaping influences, values and beliefs	Sets of values that produced and constructed musical territories that are distinctly Māori
	Pasifika-ness from heritage places value on gods or guardians of the natural world. Princess Te Puea was inspired by a visit by Pacific Island performers to her marae in Ngaruawahia and from this developed a style of action song
	The 1970s Royal Tour produced a more formal design of the action song, often designated as waiata-a-ringa (hand-songs)
	Identity-bearing symbols, such as the use of traditional instruments, were used in new contexts (Moana and the Moahunters, Hirini Melbourne); the inclusion of haka (Tiki Taane)
	Political function of keeping the *mana* of the music alive in memory and in performance
SUSTAINING SPACES *Ante-world* Musical influences, running parallel to the style	Big band jazz around the time of World War II, and the appeal of the saxophone to many Māori
	Influences of reggae seen in groups such as Herbs, Salmonella Dub, Katchafire, Trinity Roots
	Influences of hip hop emerge in artists such as Upper Hutt Posse, DLT (in the 1980s), who were able to challenge the status quo of music in their reconceptualisation of musical territories to a New Zealand-influenced territory where Māori values and beliefs were the norm

(continued)

Table 3 (continued)

HYBRID FORMATIONS *Networked Space* New concepts arising from the music, combinations create the emergence of 'third musical spaces'	Ngata's waiata-a-ringa using popular songs from overseas
	Music of both world wars drew on music heard while on active duty
	Pasifika influences
	Rock 'n' roll, soul, funk, reggae and hip hop all powerful influences
	Choral music: National Māori Choir
	Whirimako Black singing jazz in te reo[a] Māori

[a]*Te reo* is the name Māori give to their language. Sometimes it is referred to (for example, Barlow 1991) as *Reo Māori* (Māori language)

occasion of death, and to sing on other occasions is to invite death. This meant that too few singers were willing "for fear of the consequences, either to teach or record songs" (McLean, p. 277). Strict conditions were observed where songs were endowed with a sacred tapu, and McLean cites the story of the karakia 'Tena tapu nui' and how Tuuhoro, son of Tama-te-kapua, the captain of the ancestral Arawa canoe, died as a result of reciting it incorrectly.

In many cultures, what is most important about music or dance representation is that it "aspires to repeat the time-honoured idioms rather than develop them in new ways" (Crowther 2007, p. 59). As an example, when heard out of context, the compound-rhythm haka can sound nursery rhyme-like, but the unknown quantity of the haka makes a new sense of rhythm in the collective life of Māori. Essentially, the movements of the haka include foot stamping, arm thrusts, quivering hands, body and head movement, out-thrust tongue, and distorted eyes. Here is a description of the haka as observed by M. de Sainson who came to New Zealand with d'Urville in 1827 and witnessed a haka on the deck of the *Astrolabe*:

> Little by little their bodies are thrown back, their knees strike together, the muscles of their necks swell, and the head is shaken by movements which look like convulsions; their eyes turn up, so that, with horrible effect, their pupils are absolutely hidden under the eyelids, while at the same time they twist their hands with outspread fingers very rapidly before their faces. Now is the time when this strange melody takes on a character that no words can describe, but which fills the whole body with involuntary tremors. Only by hearing it can anyone form an idea of this incredible crescendo, in which each one of the actors appeared to us to be possessed by an evil spirit; and yet what sublime and terrible effects are produced by this savage music! When by a final effort, the delirium of howls and contortions is borne to a climax, suddenly the whole group utters a deep moan and the singers, now overcome by fatigue, all let their hands drop at the same moment back on to their thighs … (as cited in McLean 1971, pp. 16–17)

McLean (1971) adds that the haka as a war dance took two forms. The first was the peruperu, designed to frighten the enemy and demonstrate a gesture of mass defiance. The second was the tutungarahu or whakatuwaewae, whose purpose it was to find out whether the troops were ready for battle. During this dance "the entire party leaped high in the air with both feet off the ground. Old men, who acted as judges, crouched low and looked along the ground. If only one man in 500 was out of time, his feet would be seen to be down when all the others were up and this

would be taken as an omen against success. In such a case, the war party would not set out…" (p. 17).

Some Māori had a much more open mind when encountering and engaging with European dance than their Pākehā counterparts had of their own dance. Miss Isa Outhwaite writing for *The Graphic*, 29 March 1879, tells of Christmas Day in the Bay of Islands:

> An invitation came in, written in Maori, on mourning paper, asking us to tea and a dance at the neighbouring settlement … and then to the schoolroom where the dance was to take place, and which was the only room in the building that would allow any one standing erect in all its parts … The girls were very shy, but we said we would not look on all night, and when we each took a partner, they seemed to gain a little confidence - waltzes, mazurkas, and Varsoviennes were danced well and with spirit. In the middle of the evening we prevailed upon the natives to give us some of their "Hakas" or old posture dances, and very quaint weird performances they were, given with wonderful time and rhythm, and accompanied by a peculiar chant. Overhearing two of the young men "egging each other on" to the point of asking the "white girls" to dance, we intimated that we would dance "Sir Roger" with them, which, perhaps, some of our English readers will think was very bold; but then you see we manage things better in New Zealand. They danced, however, in a very statuesque and classical style, which was not in accordance with my notion of how "Sir Roger" should be danced. So I created a diversion by going my very fastest. The old men applauded, the women choked with laughter, and the young men called out "Ahi! Ahi! Like the wind, like the wind she goes; not a sound, not a sound!" My example was contagious, and the room was very soon in a glorious uproar. (as cited in Barber 1985, p. 109)

There is no doubt that cultural boundaries overlap, and they have done so for centuries, but nineteenth-century colonisation, and more recently globalisation, changed the cultural sensibilities of all parties involved. In the previous quoted example it is the European ladies who are intent on preserving their own cultural dance form by taking the dance much faster than Māori, who were content to move from haka to the middle-class dances of the Pākehā colonisers, while adding the stateliness more attributable to upper-class British culture.

Christian hymn singing in Oceania was enacted with cultural overlays, for example, the various ways of approaching the voicing and selection of the harmony, and which vary between island nations. In New Zealand, Sarah Selwyn, the wife of Bishop Selwyn, writing in 1845, commented with dismay on the way the Māori congregation approached hymn singing, without her acknowledging that the congregation were applying their own cultural norms to the interpretation. Note that most Māori chants were performed by groups of singers who are started off and kept together by a song leader, or precentor.

> The hymns were sung, not with English tunes but after their native notions which are peculiar. The scale did not seem to contain more than three or at most four notes, the precentor holding fast to one of them as each verse was ended. The choir, which was the congregation, after he had howled his first note for the first few words of the next verse, all struck in simultaneously and sang to the end, breaking off suddenly, all but the precentor who howled on. (Selwyn, as cited in McLean 1971, p. 23)

In a similar manner, forms of music from the European Classical Period (approximately 1750–1825), such as sonata or rondo forms, are often spoken of as

"fixed identities, moulds or templates into which composers pour music in accordance with which compositional ideas are forced to conform" (Campbell 2013, p. 6). This common practice reduces the music to formulas as in, for example, the exposition, development and recapitulation of sonata form. This identity has been noted by Deleuze (1984/1994) in the sense that difference is excluded in favour of a fixed 'identity'; difference is embedded in the concept as conceptual difference but not as a concept of difference (p. 32). We can also see this tension between fixed and dynamic cultural identities happening within the rhetoric of human cultures as well.

Where certain forms of physical and sonic articulations are extended, rather than constrained to remain in specific cultural contexts, then they may become instrumental in extending an expressive medium's logical development. What this means for Crowther (2007) is that "if a culture focuses on a medium's logical scope (in terms of semantic [the meaning of the representation, which may relate to words, perhaps in a story or myth] syntactic [the formal properties of signs and symbols including words], and phenomenal [perceptible to the senses] structure) then what develops in that respect has a genuine transhistorical and transcultural validity through opening up new ways for the [cultural] code to be applied" (p. 60). Music and dance can thus be viewed as intra-cultural—essential and protected—and inter-cultural—containing transcultural and transhistorical cognitive and affective (or aesthetic) significance. How we think about the music and dance and how our senses and emotions are affected by it depends on the cultural codes we apply to our interpretation.

4.1 Māori Entertainers

The development of Māori Showbands in the 1950s and into their heyday in the 1960s can be seen as having been influenced by the eclectic approach represented by Princess Te Puea's band and concert party of the 1920s, Te Pou o Mangatawhiri (Bourke 2010, p. 328), and the waiata-a-ringa initiated by Sir Apirana Ngata, which adapted Māori sensibilities to globally popular songs. Like Te Puea's concert party, which incorporated traditional kapahaka and poi routines with Hawaiian dancing, comedy, and popular instruments such as the guitar and ukulele, the showbands wanted to both entertain and educate. "The showbands were unashamedly in show business, with their Māori culture being a point of difference from their competitors" (Bourke, p. 328). They were heavily influenced by music hall traditions and also by the Las Vegas style of Louis Prima and Keely Smith, both of whom were *mestizos* (part Spanish).

In one sense, the Māori showbands carried on a tradition started by the concert parties some 50 years earlier. In another, the showbands carried the action song with dance into the contemporary realm of the day, where floor shows from the local club or dancehall through to the big Las Vegas acts (such as Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis Jnr, Bobby Darin, Louis Prima and Keely Smith) set the standard for incorporating songs, action and dance—the complete entertainment package. We can also see a

link to black American performance sensibilities, enhanced by Louis Jordan in the 1940s, through to Fats Domino and Chuck Berry in the 1950s, and the soul singers of the 1960s, such as James Brown, Solomon Bourke, Wilson Pickett, and The Drifters.

With names like Maori Hi-Five, Maori Volcanics, and the Quin Tikis, the showbands toured the world and were very popular in England, Hawaii, the United States, and Australia. Ironically, they came to have a mythical status in New Zealand where they were rarely seen or heard, and there is virtually no recording or film footage of the bands at their peak. Their legendary status paved the way for the acts that followed, some of which contained former showband members, such as members of the newly formed Howard Morrison Quartet, Prince Tui Teka, John Rowles, Rim D Paul, Little Hector Epai, and Dalvanius Prime.

Perhaps an enduring legacy of the showbands is that key members of the various groups went on to influence Māori entertainers back home in New Zealand as well as to raise the profile of Māori overseas, especially in Australia and Hawaii. Some band members forged solo careers overseas (such as John Rowles and Rim D Paul), with most eventually returning to New Zealand where they continued with their musical careers as well as mentoring and influencing local musicians. It should be apparent that the key aspects presented in the musicultural model outlined in this paper—islandness, reticulated space, geosymbols, iconology, ante-world, networked space, metaculture—usefully describe the musical ways in which showbands and their successors developed their style while retaining links to their Māoriness. These connections are made more explicit in the notes on musiculture concepts as applied to contemporary Māori music in Table 3.

4.2 Music as Protest and Empowerment

In contrast to the previous example, some Māori bands engaged not in entertainment as such, but in protest and empowerment, for example the song ‘Poi-E’ by Dalvanius Prime and Ngoi Pewhairangi. The song was developed in 1982 after the linguist Pewhairangi asked Prime, the musician, how he would teach the younger generation to be proud of being Māori and a ‘Kiwi’. Prime responded that he could do it by giving them new language and culture through the medium they were comfortable with. What developed was a kind of opera which told the story of the small Māori community of Patea and what happened when the town’s meat freezing works closed and how the people were affected. The closure itself caused significant social disruption, forcing many of the young to leave their close-knit marae and move to the cities to look for work. One song from the opera, ‘Poi-E’, became a hit for the Patea Māori Club in 1984, even though some record companies had originally turned it down. It featured poi,[2] chant, rapping, breakdancing, and a catchy beat.

[2] *Poi* describes the performance art of swinging soft balls attached to flax strings (poi) in a rhythmic manner, accompanying song and dance.

The lyrics, in telling the story, are assisted by use of the twirling poi. Pewhairangi likened the effect of the poi to that of a fantail that flies through the forest, analogous with Māori youth trying to find their way in the cities of the Pākehā. Just as the fantail has to flit between trees and leaves, Māori youth when they move to the city have to flit between skyscrapers, both concrete and cultural, in search of identity (New Zealand Folk Song 2005). The music of Prime and Pewhairangi was a powerful symbol for Māori, as it showed how the use of cultural music and dance practices could be brought into play as both protest and cultural restoration.

5 Conclusion

Music is a powerful agent for the development of knowledge and understanding, the nurturing of sensitivity and imagination and as a rubric for sociocultural representations of meaning. Inclusive music education must acknowledge the culture, identity, and needs of all students, and this makes for a complex pedagogical web.

In this chapter I have drawn on various perspectives of culture and subculture to establish a theory of musiculture based on, in particular, the Melanesian fieldwork-based theories of cultural geographer Joël Bonnemaison. Cultural systems can also be examined scientifically, as studies in anthropology have shown, or aesthetically, as typically exemplified by music to be admired for its uniqueness of structure and setting and idealised as an inspiration for further expression. The alternative model I have outlined here is that of cultural geography, which implies a merging of the two. I see cultural geography as offering a specific approach to investigating the relevance of musiculture in the students' world—it deals with symbols and with meaning, with emotions and reason. It is also a means through which to understand the music of the various cultures in New Zealand and in the bicultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā. The application of cultural geography to the study of musicultures clearly prioritises the beliefs and knowledge of specific groups and the musical spaces they occupy. Technique, while essential for the communication of these beliefs and knowledges, is likely to differ depending on the need and context, and a technique that suits one musiculture may be entirely unsuitable for another.

Whiteley et al. (2004) suggest that "artistic ideals of originality and romanticism form part of the technological advances to musical production, not least in commercial pop music where sets of values surrounding taste promulgate notions of authenticity" (p. 16). Production values and marketing might also, I would argue, blur the distinction between cultural values and representations (including language and instruments), the production values of the recording, and the commercial aspirations of the artists and record label. This may well be the case with some Māori artists, such as Moana and the Moahunters, Herbs, and Katchafire. My point is less about commercial success and more about the blurring of the cultural aspects.

I have demonstrated how new definitions of culture have moved beyond expressing only the identity of, for example, a musical community, to expressing how such communities are rendered specific and differentiated in the spaces and territories

they occupy. If the key to understanding musicultures is to ask *how* they are different, we can see the way in which musicultures represent and use signifying systems as having new importance. Any kind of artistic collection inevitably embodies hierarchies of value and exclusion, the rule-governed and the free. The tension between cultural totemism—elevating a form of music to such a level of reverence that its immutability is unquestioned—and the access to musical cultural forms for exploration and innovation by all is what I have sought to resolve. Great musical minds can flourish in whichever musiculture they choose to settle. All music has symbolic meaning, and the need for musical artists to challenge existing traditional structures is very strong. This means that, educationally, our students should interact with other cultural forms of music or they may be left in an environment of collected musical artefacts to be revered and left historically static.

We can regard all music, however diverse, as a valuable global and national resource in terms of our musicultural identities, cultural diversity and international connectedness. Through this discussion I have suggested that music educators consider incorporating the concepts of cultural geography in which various forms of music reside in spaces whose boundaries are negotiable. This approach would mean we can use the language of both popular music, music of Māori and art music (and of all the other musics in-between) and incorporate their cultural concepts and artistic practices as modes for creative expression in education. This model of critical questioning, which draws on cultural geography, allows musicultural identities to be constructed in both a discursive and a material sense, interrogating and disrupting patterns of existence in spaces of teaching and learning and allowing for a mediation of the curriculum.

Cultural traits, such as the audible, create areas of preferential communication among musicians of the same style, heirs to the same musical legacy, or followers of certain composers or performers. Visible musicultural traits are often rendered into audible and visible signs that serve to mark out a territory with an array of significant works, dress and ways of performing. All musicultures create the symbols and representations that sustain their perceived identity and which have the potential to transform musical identities from fixed to fluid and to foster the creation, communication, and interpretation of newly revealed spaces in music education.

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