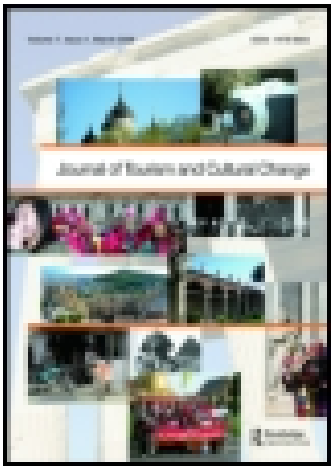

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The Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival 1972–2000. A Case Study of Cultural Event Maturation

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This article describes the history of the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival between the years of 1972–2000. It reveals a series of tensions between a need to express a cultural identity and financial constraint, between a wish for expressing independence, and a subsequent dependency upon state grants, between the traditional and the contemporary in performance. The history also shows the significance of key personalities. Yet through these discourses has emerged a successful and important Festival that attracts increasing numbers of participants and which is a dynamic component of Maori culture in contemporary New Zealand. A significant tourism event, by reason of primarily appealing to Maori it still, to a large extent, lies outside of the conventional tourism structures of New Zealand, dominated as these are by overseas visitors and non-Maori New Zealand domestic demand. Yet its very success is bringing it to the attention of a wider market, with all that implies for possible future development. The article also proposes dimensions of festival evolution and maturation.

Keywords: cultural tourism, festival tourism, Maori culture, festival maturation, New Zealand

Introduction

The objectives of this article are: (1) to describe the nature of the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival (ATMPAF) and its evolution; (2) to identify the stakeholders and outline their interests; and (3) to outline the motivations for the event and some of the ways these have changed over time. The work is informed by the first author's perspective as a descendant of Te Whanau-a-Apanui and Tainui, a member of Te Whare Wananga o Waikato Kapa Haka for 12 years, and a performer at four ATMPA festivals including the 2000 Ngaruawahia festival. The second author is Pakeha, tangata tiriti, but one who has written with the help of Maori on issues pertaining to tourism and the culture of New Zealand's indigenous people. The objectives are primarily fulfilled by writing a descriptive history of the event; which history has been informed by reviewing archival material held by the Ministry of Maori Development and the National Archives, by viewing video tapes of past events made accessible by Television New Zealand and through the first author's own experiences and involvement as a performer and hence contact with kaumata (elders) and fellow participants.

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The wider remit is two-fold. First, there is a wish to record this history so that it is accessible to scholars interested in indigenous peoples, their culture and the manner in which that culture has been used to develop a tourism product. Second, it is argued that the history will reveal the tensions that exist when indigenous people seek to establish an event that arguably conforms more to the tenets of European–American based concepts of event management than to norms inherent within a different culture, and these tensions will be commented upon at the conclusion of the paper. There is also a third nuance that might be of interest to main stream tourism academics who research the role of minority cultures and their commodification as tourism events, as, in this instance, while undoubtedly large numbers do travel to visit the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival, and stay away from home, the overwhelming majority are Maori, and hence this is an event that is organised by Maori primarily for Maori, and outside non-Maori involvement is, at one level, quite minor. Yet, it will be argued, non-Maori structures have a pervasive presence, if only through the role of governmental funding and sponsorship by other organisations.

It has been long recognised that festivals acquire an importance over and above being a period of celebration. The act of celebration brings people together and reconfirms shared values. This is particularly so when those values are not those of the dominant norms in a society, and thus for indigenous or native peoples in former colonial countries festivals have become a means of reinforcing cultural norms and establishing their 'legitimacy'. Legitimacy often involves recognition by the public sector, and access to governmental funding premised on sustaining cultural diversity and developing tourist product. However, success in sustaining festivals over a period of time, and subsequently growing participant and spectator numbers means that not only are problems of economic and cultural viability overcome, but new problems of success are encountered. The history of the Aotearoa Maori Traditional Performing Arts Festival fully illustrates such issues. In May 2003, the website of the Aotearoa Maori Traditional Performing Arts Festival not only records that in 2002 there were over 2000 performers and that it injected NZ$15–20 million into the economy of the host region, but that it was 'very innocent in its beginnings'.

A Model of Event Maturation

Higham and Ritchie (2001) describe an evolution of rural festivals with reference to the work of Getz (1993) and his model of organisational style, community size and the past history of the event. However, it can be argued that within their work there is an implicit distinction between the nature of the community involvement in the event itself at the informal level of individuals, clubs, charities, Lions organisations and the like, and on the other hand, the role of local authorities and private sector entrepreneurs. The authors make clear that the newer types of festivals are associated with more professional organisation with more explicit economic objectives. Thus planning takes longer and funding of events grows. For events with a longer history the same characteristics may also be observed. Well established events may, for example, attract sponsorship from the private business sector. Local

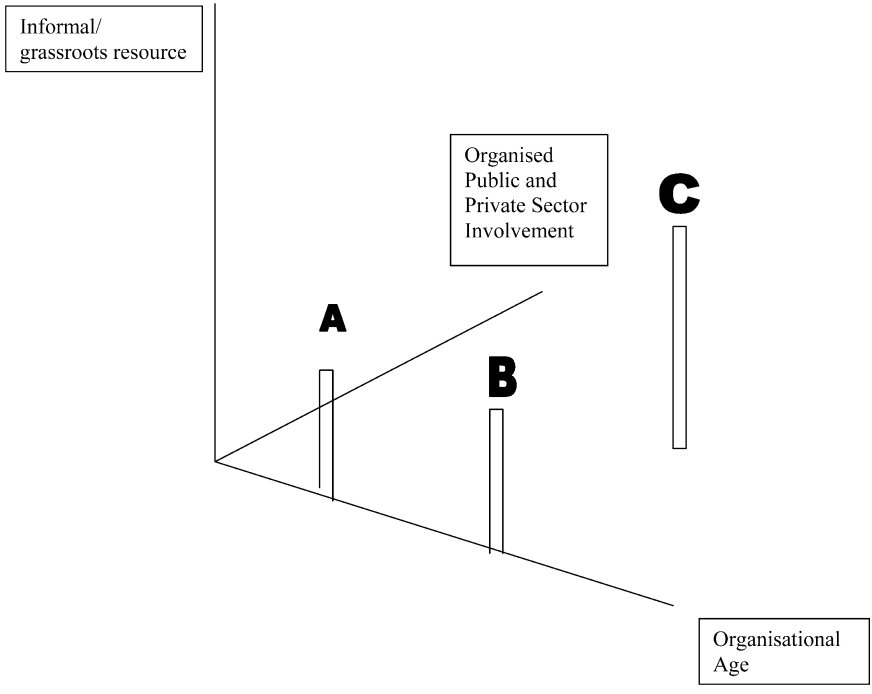

Figure 1 Dimensions of festival maturation

authorities seek to utilise such events as part of a co-ordinated strategy of tourism development. Hence, even while local grassroots involvement is still strong, and events still retain functions of reinforcing community cohesion and the enhancement of an individual's sense of well-being through providing a sense of belonging, there is grafted onto the event a further relationship of purposeful economic planning.

Hence, the vertical axis of Getz's original model, labelled 'Community Size and Resources' may be divided into two. First, there is the 'Informal/grassroots resource base', and second there is the formal structure of 'Organised Public and Private Sector Involvement'. This distinction does not invalidate the original Getz model in the sense that in tracing a relationship between an 'Informal/grassroots resource base' and the variable 'Organisational Age' on the horizontal axis, it is still possible to discern a changing leadership/organisational style. Being a 'grassroots' event does not preclude the adoption of a formal or professional approach to event organisation. This would be particularly true when the individuals concerned possessed professional qualifications and skills. Hence the continuum of 'Informality' to 'Professionalism' can still be identified but it is suggested that a modification of Getz's concept can be undertaken as shown in Figure 1.

In this instance there exist three dimensions, *viz*.:

(1) the 'Informal/grassroots resource' base;
(2) the 'Organised Public and Private Sector Involvement' continuum; and
(3) organisational age.

Thus, an event like the Taranaki Rhododendron Festival might have initially occupied the position shown by column 'A' in Figure 1. As it grew, but prior to its gaining sponsorship from the Bank of New Zealand, the festival would have occupied the position labelled 'B'. Finally, having gained its sponsorship, while increasing yet further its grassroots support, the festival might be said to occupy position 'C'.

It can be noted that the axis, 'Organised Public and Private Sector Involvement', might itself be sub-divided into two given the different objectives between a public service orientation towards community economic and social enrichment on the part of the public sector, and the private sector objective of profit generation. It can be objected that on closer examination considerable overlap between the two sectors exists in terms of actual outputs as measured by job and income creation. This would certainly be the argument of proponents of what might be termed 'New Right' political thinking, while the adherents of more Centrist or Social Democratic views would argue for qualitative differences in the types of job creation undertaken. If the latter view is followed, then obviously it becomes more difficult to develop a diagrammatic representation of the model. It might be said to take the form:

$$O = f(G, PS, BS, OA)$$

where

O = Organisational style;
G = Grassroots;
PS = Public Sector;
BS = Business Sector;
OA = Organisational Age.

This formulation has the advantage, or disadvantage, of forcing us to consider the nature of the relationship between these variables – it cannot be assumed that they are additive, while Figure 1 implies that the relationship between the determined and independent variables is non-linear. This will need to be the case given the bi-directional nature of Getz's description of 'Organisation Style – that is, an event may regress from the formal to the informal types of leadership over time. What perhaps is required is a better understanding of the nature of this relationship. The diagram also has the complicating factor that 'professionalism' in an organisation may be a variable reflected by an externally imposed 'professionalism' of the public and private sector bodies. Therein may exist tensions between the 'grassroots' originators of the festival and the desired outcomes of tourism planning bodies.

The issue thus arises as to whether this proposed model has any validity, and furthermore to what extent might it be applicable to situations where the motive for, and organisation of the festival arises from a non-European culture.

The Nature and Scale of the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Arts Festival

The Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival (ATMPAF), commenced as the Polynesian Festival in 1972 at Rotorua. It is currently a biennial

event where groups who have been judged the best for their regions in both New Zealand and Australia come together to compete for the top places in six 'aggregate' and six 'non-aggregate' categories. The aggregate categories are whakaeke (entry), waiata-ā-ringa (action song), mōteatea, poi, haka, and whakawatea (exit). The six 'non-aggregate' categories are kaitataki tane (male leader), kaitataki wahine (female leader), kakahu (costume), waiata tira (choral), te reo (language) in original compositions and te reo (language) excellence for diction, pronunciation and content. In early February 2000, 37 groups, each with a maximum of 40 performers, came together to present their 30-minute performances of a waiata tira and the six aggregate categories. Contemporary issues and concerns continue, as in the past, to be popular themes for original compositions, thereby permitting Maori to comment upon the current political scene and its leaders, inside and outside Maoridom, utilising humour and satire within a context of Maori understanding of events.

The festival has been held at various locations throughout New Zealand from its inception, including Rotorua (1972, 1973, 1996), Whangarei (1975, 1988), Gisborne (1977), Lower Hutt (1979, 1998), Auckland (1981), Hastings (1983), Christchurch (1986), Waitangi (1990), Ngaruawahia (1992, 2000) and Hawera (1994). The way in which the festival competition is organised has changed over time. Currently, the ATMPAF is held over 4 days, normally from a Thursday to a Sunday. Groups gather on the Thursday for a powhiri (welcome) and the opening ceremony where the Governor-General of New Zealand and the Maori Queen, as patrons of the ATMPAF, have played significant roles. Competition begins on Friday morning and ends on Sunday afternoon. The prize giving and closing ceremony bring closure to the event on Sunday afternoon. Four groups have won the ATMPAF on at least each of two occasions. Two groups, Waihirere and Te Roopu Manutaki, have competed at every festival (ATMPA Society Annual Report, 1997/1998). Some groups, such as Waihirere, are primarily whanau and hapu (family and extended family) based groups and others such as Te Roopu Manutaki from West Auckland are of mixed tribal membership from urban areas. Groups focus on a variety of aspects in their performances including singing style, choreography, diction and originality of composition.

The numbers of group supporters and spectators who attend this event have grown since 1972, from approximately 5000 to over 20,000 per day in 1996, and an estimated 11,000 per day in 2000. Along with such growth in numbers leading up to the 1996 Rotorua festival, has come growth in the number of Maori entrepreneurs who come to sell and promote their products, and create support for their business. A significant number of government agencies and educational institutions also see the event as an opportunity to promote their services to the Maori public. The organisers of the festival also see the interest of entrepreneurs and organisations as a way to raise funds. The festival budget has always included the travel of all groups to the festival, their accommodation and food while they are at the festival and all festival overheads. This is consistent with the Maori concept of *manaakitanga* which can be understood as 'hospitality' and caring for guests. Consequently one of the significant costs of the festival continues to be group travel and marae accommodation. If a group chooses to make alternative arrangements for either travel or

accommodation, the group pays for the costs over and above the budgeted cost of travelling by bus or staying at a host marae. Twelve of 13 regions each have one representative on the national committee. Auckland, due to its significantly high membership, has two representatives on that committee. Regional competitions are organised by the regional committees that are normally chaired by regional delegates to the national ATMPAF committee. Outlining a brief history of the festival, Hauraki (1997: 3) said that, 'the national committee has an overall coordinating role for each festival. At each festival however, the national and regional committees both have individual and shared responsibilities'. Sponsorship is an example of an important task that involves both the national and local organisers.

In addition to sponsorship the ATMPAF has always relied on significant support from host community volunteers in order to run the festival. At the 2000 ATMPAF at Turangawaewae Marae for example, there were, for example, over 600 volunteers. These volunteers are responsible for a range of activities such as stage building, food and hospitality provision, arranging marae accommodation, implementing site arrangements, traffic control and similar activities. Such volunteer help is well established in Maoridom, as is, for example, indicated by Salmond (1976) in her study of Maori ceremonial gatherings, entitled *Hui*. The history of the festival can be described as one of: (1) first steps; (2) crisis; (3) consolidation; (4) achieving stability; and (5) success and wider recognition.

A history of the festival – first steps

For much of the early period of the Festival a prime agency was the Maori Purposes Funding Board. The Board had been established by the Maori Purposes Act of 1934 and in section 4(c) of that Act its purpose was defined as the 'encouragement and teaching of the Maori arts and crafts'. By 2002 it had no Board members and its functions had been subsumed by Te Puni Kokiri, the Ministry of Maori Development. However, on 11 August 1964, the then existing Maori Purposes Fund Board decided that:

> A committee be appointed to consider and make recommendation on a proposal that the Board sponsor and grant prizes for National Maori Cultural competition. (www.atmaps.org.nz/history1.htm, May 10, 2003)

Subsequently, in 1969, a National Development Conference made two recommendations to government about the way in which Maori performing arts should be organised. These recommendations were adopted and became the responsibility of the Tourist and Publicity Department, the Maori and Pacific Island Affairs Department and the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute. Recommendation number 359 of the conference related to featuring Maori culture as a quality attraction for tourists and encouraging the participation of traditional Maori entertainers. Recommendation number 361 of the conference related to financial support for traditional Polynesian entertainers to compete in district and national competitions. These proposals, while new, were to an extent a confirmation of an existing framework of competition that already existed at a smaller scale at regional level. It is also notable that the motives

included a wish to better Maori performance in the commercial arena of tourist productions – a wish that perhaps indicated a recognition of the potential importance of tourism in a world that was about the change for New Zealand given that in the United Kingdom the Wilson government had heralded a new policy of embracing the European Economic Community. Equally, the Conference's linking of Maori and Pacific Island peoples' culture implies much about the marginal position both occupied in the 1960s within New Zealand.

Nonetheless, a Polynesian Entertainment sub-committee of the Tourism Development Council was established to advise the Departments on appropriate ways to move forward with recommendations 359 and 361. In April 1970, the Polynesian Entertainment sub-committee passed three resolutions for submission to the Tourism Development Council. The submissions were:

(1) That this committee support the proposal that there is the need for a permanent entertainment group in Rotorua under the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute.
(2) That the Minister of Maori & Island Affairs be recommended to set up a committee to inaugurate annual Polynesian Festivals on a regional and national basis. It is recommended that in the first place such a committee be on the same representative basis as the sub-committee set up by the National Development Council to study this question.
(3) That the national organisation eventually set up to organise these festivals be recognised by government as the body to advise government on the selection of Maori entertainment groups to represent New Zealand overseas. (Meeting resolutions, 28 April 1970: To W1845 53/19)

In October 1970, the Maori Purposes Fund Board (MPFB) granted $5000 to fund the 1972 festival and specifically stated that the money should be used to 'promote a national festival of Maori and Polynesian singing and dancing' (ATMPAS archives). As noted above, annual regional competitions were already being held in Northland, the Bay of Plenty, the Waikato, Gisborne, Hawkes Bay, Wellington and the South Island. The sub-committee expected that their first job was to encourage competitions in the Aotea and Auckland regions so that a national competition could be held that was representative of New Zealand. The public was informed about these initiatives by the Minister of Maori and Island Affairs via the media as well as letters to Chairpersons of District Maori Councils (ATMPAS archives). In 1971, Sir Kingi Ihaka established and chaired a Polynesian Festival Committee (PFC) as a sub-committee of the MPFB. The committee comprised representatives of the Department of Maori and Island Affairs, the Tourist and Publicity Department, the Maori Women's Welfare League, the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute and Wiremu Parker (NZ Broadcasting Commission) who was the adjudicating advisor. The committee was committed to promoting cultural aspects of performance rather than performance for tourist appeal (ATMPAS archives). The MPFB was chaired by Jock McEwen, Secretary of the Department of Maori and Island Affairs. The secretary of the MPFB was also a Department employee.

On the 31 March 1971, the Maori and Island Affairs Department reported to the Minister of Maori and Island Affairs that the first festival was being

organised for March 1972 at Whakarewarewa. Earlier meetings of the sub-committee had strongly suggested that

> Rotorua was the obvious venue for the national competition. . . .since marae are available to performers, there is ample accommodation for tourists and staging facilities are sufficient to cater for audiences of up to 5000 both outdoors and under one roof. (Meeting resolutions, 28 April 1970: To W184553/19)

Leading up to the 1972 festival, it was noted (ATMPAF archives) that the biggest challenge was organising the competition, for example, what aspects of the performances were to be judged, who were going to be the judges and how were they going to judge? It was decided that each group's 20-minute performance would be made up of two compulsory sections – choral and cultural. First and second placed groups from each regional competition competed in the 1972 Rotorua festival.

Team rules and judging criteria were drawn up and three newsletters informed groups of the venue, dates, powhiri, kawa, rules, costs, accommodation, judges and order of performance. Newsletter No. 2 in particular had a strong reminder about the importance of clear pronunciation of words. Two other pieces of correspondence were sent out to the districts, one was a letter stating that 'women's piupiu should be below the knee', the other was a reminder to groups that 'what was done on stage was a re-enactment of what happened on marae' (ATMPAS archives).

Initially, the PFC also dedicated a significant amount of time to discussing the nature of the powhiri and the opening ceremony. The challenge was to bring a large number of Maori, Pacific Island and Pakeha together to participate in a national 'Polynesian' event. The PFC was very committed to organising an event that was appropriate for the tangata whenua and the manuhiri, including New Zealand dignitaries, Pacific Islanders and Pakeha.

Donations were received from six large private organisations including Watties, Shell Oil, General Motors, Kiwi Records, Dominion Breweries and NZ Forest Products (of 53 who were sent proposals by the organising committee). In addition to these donations and the MPFB grant, each participating group was asked to contribute $100 towards their transport to Rotorua. Programme brochures cost spectators 20 cents (ATMPAS archives).

A history of the festival – early crises

In March 1972, 17 Maori groups (Te Ao Hou, No. 73, July 1973) of which 13 were competitive performed indoors at the Rotorua Sports Dome where 5000 spectators gathered to celebrate the festival. Five Pacific Island groups performed representing the Samoans, Tongans, Tokelauns, Niueans and Cook Islanders. Waihirere won the Maori competitions, Ngati Poneke came second and Waioeka from Opotiki, third ([Ihaka] *Te Ao Hou*, 1972).

In 1972, Cabinet approved the PFC as the official body to advise Government on the selection of Maori groups to represent New Zealand nationally and overseas. Waihirere, winners of the 1972 festival, went on to represent New Zealand at the South Pacific Festival of the Arts in Fiji. During the

remainder of 1972, meetings of the national and host committees were held to organise the second festival in 1973 to be held at the Rotowhio Marae of the Arts and Crafts Institute at Rotorua.

The Maori Purposes Fund Board granted $5500 for the 1973 festival. In May 1973, the organising committee estimated a loss of $5000: The 1972 Rotorua festival had made an operating deficit of $5961. Later that year, the PFC debated how long the festival could run at a loss? The committee decided that 'the festival should not be ruled by balance sheets' and that success of the festival 'could not be measured by dollars' (ATMPAS archives). Twenty-eight teams performed over 2 days at Rotowhio. Admission to the festival was NZ$2.50 per adult. Mawai Hakona from Lower Hutt was the winner and went on to represent New Zealand at the opening of the Sydney Opera House. After the 1973 Rotowhio festival, the organisers had a better appreciation of the demanding workload and costs of organising an annual national festival and therefore decided that subsequent festivals would be held biennially. Another reason for extending the time for the third festival was in order to review adjudication procedures. A number of complaints had been received about the addition of marks and the inconsistency between judges at the 1973 Rotorua festival.

In 1974, a governmental restructuring of the Department of Maori and Island Affairs left the organising committee unsure of funding. In fact the Department of Maori and Island Affairs became the Department of Maori Affairs. Fewer meetings were held in the first part of the year but from September 1974 onwards, the planning for the 1975 festival commenced in earnest. The Polynesian Festival Committee included Sir Kingi Ihaka, Dr Peter Sharples from Auckland, Ngapo Wehi from Gisborne, Wiremu Kerekere, Paraire Huata, Monte Ohia, Napi Waana and Dr Pei Jones from Ngati Maniapoto. Leading up to the 1975 Whangarei festival it was recognised that the commitment of volunteers and local fundraising was to be critical. Costs were expected to be three times those of the 1973 festival because of the distance of the Whangarei venue. A suggestion was made that local teams contribute a koha (gift) of $8 per person to the host committee. There was significant discussion about the need for more funds at all levels of the festival organisation including publicity, local and national administration and venue organisation. Indeed, in 1977, at the Gisborne festival, Sir Kingi Ihaka made the following comment in his opening address:

> ... it is our hope that immediately following this festival, the committee will, in consultation with the Minister of Maori Affairs, formulate ways and means of assuring that future festivals will not be in jeopardy through lack of funds. (recalled in Timoti Karetu's Opening Address at the Hawera Festival, 1994)

During 1978, a seminar about rules and judging criteria was organised by the Polynesian Festival Committee. The MPFB granted $1000 for administration and hospitality. All of those who attended the seminar had been given a report to read pertaining to all aspects of past New Zealand Polynesian Festivals. The report was the basis of discussion at the seminar. Some of the issues included future festival venues, the role of the Festival committee, a review of

the rules, the role of district delegates, the selection of judges, the purpose of the festival and training of judges.

Leading up to the 1979 Lower Hutt festival, the Maori Purposes Fund Board set aside $10,000. The host committee was asked to prepare a comprehensive budget including transport, accommodation and catering. In December 1978, the host committee forecasted a budget deficit of $43,000. Costs were based on 960 performers and the same number of supporters. The MPFB and the organising committee were unsure whether the 1979 festival would go ahead. These inevitably led to a number of options being considered for the 1979 Lower Hutt festival and finally the following scenario was implemented. Groups were asked to contribute $400 (increased from $200) each. The organisers budgeted $15 per head for each host marae. If marae were catering for a group of 40 plus their 40 supporters, the marae would be given $1200 for catering and accommodation for three days. Admission fees to the 1979 Lower Hutt festival were set at 50 cents for children over five years, $2.50 per day for adults and $5.00 per day for family passes. The host organising committee was also asked to cut costs wherever they could. Judges were billeted privately.

In the end, the actual funding granted by the MPFB was $16,362 and three other national organisations, including the Minister of Recreation and Sport, Mr Highet's fund, the Special Arts Fund and the Pacific Arts Cultural Council, granted $16,500 in total. After the above funding decisions were made, there was a meeting between the MPFB and the New Zealand Polynesian Festival Committee about a special fund being set up for future festivals. At the time, Mr Ben Couch was the Chairman of the MPFB and Mr Sam Ruawai the secretary.

A history of the festival – consolidation

Nineteen Maori groups and five Pacific Island groups participated at the 1979 Lower Hutt festival. There were separate competitions for Maori and Pacific Island groups.

On 24 July 1979, the Minister of Maori Affairs announced the launching of the QEII Arts Council. During that same time there was concern from the Minister about weaknesses in the organisation of the festival due to a number of contentious issues including the structure of the administration under the MPFB. He believed that the organising committee should be disbanded and set up as a new committee under the new Arts Council. Soon after, Sir Kingi Ihaka sent a letter to the MPFB outlining the PFC's concerns about the Minister of Maori Affair's suggestions that the committee could be made redundant. In September 1979, the MPFB resolved that it would make two recommendations to the Minister of Maori Affairs. First, that the PFC not be disbanded and second, that the government should establish the committee as an independent body.

Certainly issues of funding continued to bedevil discussions and in an attempt to clarify the situation, in 1980, Sir Kingi Ihaka wrote to the New Zealand Maori Council stating that the festival almost entirely relied on funds from the MPFB (Letter in archives). Actual funding from the MPFB in 1980, a non-festival year, was $595, and anticipated funding from the MPFB for the next year was $15,000. In September 1980, Sir Kingi announced an

estimated budget for the 1981 festival. Income was estimated to be $42,000 and expenses were estimated to be $105,000.

Leading up to the 1981 Auckland festival, groups were informed of a new performance rule set by the PFC that only men do the haka. As stated by Karetu (1993: 80), '. . .many groups refused to abide by this decision of the national committee and gave vent to their spleen in song and haka'. Karetu (1993: 81) also reflects on the 1981 festival describing how two women judges performed a haka just to make the point to the national committee that they were not endorsing the rule.

In 1981, Auckland hosted the Polynesian festival at the Avondale Racecourse during Waitangi Day weekend between the 6 and 8 February. Thirty-four teams performed comprising 24 Maori groups and 10 Pacific Island groups. Groups were asked to contribute $800 each, admission fees for adults were $5 and $3 for Saturday and Sunday, respectively. Tickets for children were priced at $2 and $1.50 for Saturday and Sunday, respectively. Monies received by the organising committee of the 1981 festival included competition fees ($16,899), festival proceeds ($42,880), fundraising ($1052) and grants/donations ($43,705). Costs to organise the festival were in excess of $86,477. The balance in the festival account in May 1981 was $18,420 although there were still some outstanding costs.

The host committee organised accommodation for groups from outside Auckland. Non-performers (supporters) were not allowed to stay with performers and they were asked to find their own accommodation through an organisation convenor. Private billeting of judges continued at the 1981 festival. The New Zealand Polynesian Festival Committee took full responsibility for merchandising and the organisation of promotion, advertising, media and photographs. At the opening ceremony Sir Kingi suggested a name change for future festivals. His suggestion was to change the name to the New Zealand Festival of Maori and Pacific Island Arts. This had come to the fore due to discussions about the meaning of 'Polynesian' and the lack of participation by Pacific Island groups. Sir Kingi encouraged feedback about his suggestions and concerns with reference to not only a name change, but also costs and the issue of competition. About competition he said, 'many take part at the national level not for what they can give but what they expect to receive', and 'it has become for some, a serious competition with a possibility of an overseas trip as a prize. . .' (ATMPAS archive).

Until the 1981 festival the main concerns from the public and participants had primarily pertained to judging and finance. An example of a response to Sir Kingi's concerns about competition was received by letter from a kaumatua (personal communication, 17 February 1981) who said, 'I agree with the points you raise, . . . competition is destructive because it promotes winners and destroys losers. If you say we should have a genuine festival then the competitive element must be removed'. Such comments are of importance, because tensions were emerging between those who saw the event as a social occasion based upon a celebration of Maori culture, and those who viewed the event as a driver through competition of new understandings and developed of artistic endeavour. As will be noted below, if anything, those tensions have become sharpened over the years.

After the 1981 Avondale festival, Sir Kingi Ihaka prepared a comprehensive report for the Minister of Maori Affairs. Among his comments were:

> Our major concern, which undoubtedly inhibited our natural and normal acts of hospitality, was finance. In the past we have relied primarily on the Maori Purpose Fund Board for funding. This year we extended the financial net much wider, with the result that had we failed to do this we would have had no option but to cancel. The problem of finance will continue unless drastic steps are taken to ensure that the burden is shared equitably by all concerned. It is surely not our custom that hosts be responsible for transport costs of visitors which this year exceeded $50,000 (in financial report, Catering – $39,619 and Transport – $21,916). My hope is that a more satisfactory method can be found for future festivals in order that the hosts are not unduly burdened with excessive costs. The media with the exception of Radio NZ and Radio Pacific were, in the main, more interested in the happenings at Waitangi than the happy, united and exciting atmosphere at the festival. Is this a sign of the times? Are we being tarnished by the acts of a very small minority, undoubtedly affecting race relations, or is this typical of NZ society? Throughout the performances, there was a team who saw little of the programme who were primarily responsible for the more menial tasks of preparing kai (food) with limited facilities and amenities. The silent workers . . . were in many ways the backbone of the festival. It is a well known truism among Maori that the success of any gathering is measured primarily in terms of the adequacy of food and it is to the real credit of this small hardworking team that they were able to provide lavishly. (Ihaka, 1981, ATMPAF archives)

A history of the festival – achieving stability

From archival material it would appear that the Minister of Maori Affairs in 1981 was certainly cogniscent of the issues, but was in favour of disbanding the Polynesian Festival Committee and reorganising a structure under the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council. Additionally there were strong feelings that the festival should not be the sole responsibility of the Department of Maori Affairs. On 17 August 1981, the Maori Purposes Funding Board was asked by the Minister of Maori Affairs to give favourable consideration to three parts of a recommendation that included:

(1) The termination of the New Zealand Polynesian Festival Committee as a recognised sub-committee of the Maori Purposes Fund Board.
(2) The establishing of the said committee under the general direction and control of the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council.
(3) The provision of financial assistance toward future festivals by way of grants to the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council. The value of each such grant will be by resolution of the Board. (Maori Purposes Fund Board, 1981)

The resolution accepted was that the Maori Purpose Funding Board (MPFB) 'would accept the recommendations in principle subject to the feelings of the

Polynesian Festival Committee and subject to proper arrangements being made to establish the Polynesian Festival Committee as a body with some status' (Maori Purposes Fund Board, 1981). It was noted that the MPFB was not discarding the Polynesian Festival Committee (PFC) and that it was doing what the PFC wanted (ATMPAS archives). Accordingly a sub-committee was set up to look at the options for the best way to restructure.

As noted, co-existing with concerns about funding and structure there remained a concern about Pacific Island peoples' participation at the festival. A number of individuals felt that Pacific Island participation was relatively lacking when considering its growing presence within the population in New Zealand. In turn though, the PFC had been criticised by the Pacific Island community as not being representative of all Pacific Island groups in New Zealand and that in comparison to Maori membership, Pacific Island numbers had been consistently low. Mr McEwen, chairman of the MPFB, reminded board members that, if the PFC was to continue as a sub-committee, the MPFB had no brief to organise events for Pacific Islanders. There were suggestions that the PFC should be a sub-committee of Maori and South Pacific Arts Council (MASPAC). The MPFB preferred to see the committee as an independent body so that they had more flexibility in raising funds. Some members of the MPFB also felt that Pacific Island arts and cultural groups should have their own independent budget.

These issues and the sustained growth of the festival placed continuing pressure on the MPFB, leading it to recommend that it should not be the sole funder of the event. The Board suggested that local governments and the Department of Internal Affairs should also take responsibility for supporting the event. In a letter to the MPFB secretary to clarify her position, Whetu Tirikatene-Sullivan (Tirikatene-Sullivan, 1981), long-time Member of Parliament for Te Taitonga (Southern Maori) and member of the MPFB highlighted a number of the MPFB concerns including the issue of funding. Tirikatene-Sullivan said,

> Internal Affairs should fund Maori Arts promotion in the same way as it funds the Arts, generally. It should not be left to be funded from the Maori Affairs budget (which should give priority to social and economic needs), or Maori sourced monies. (Tirikatene-Sullivan, 1981)

As a reaction to funding issues, on 1st January, 1983, groups were advised by letter (ATMPAS archives) that the registration fee for the 1983 festival was increasing to $1500. There was, at might be expected, some negative reaction and also threats of withdrawal. Additionally, to ease the administrative load, groups became responsible for paying their own bus costs and then getting them reimbursed by the National Committee.

The 1983 Festival was hosted in Hastings between 24–27th February. Twenty-three New Zealand Maori groups and two Australian Maori groups competed in the Maori section. Pacific Island groups performed in a non-competitive section. Grants were received from the Council for Maori and Pacific Island Arts ($17,000) and the MPFB ($14,000). The admission costs for adults and children were $5 and $2 respectively. Private billeting arrangements for judges was organised again. TVNZ and Radio NZ also paid $2000

for live coverage, a highlights programme and a documentary. Producer Ernie Leonard said that he, 'wanted to make the coverage into a people type programme, instead of just on-stage performing' (ATMPAS archives).

Sir Kingi wrote the following in the 1983 Festival Programme, 'If the future of the festival is to be assured, we must find ways and means of placing the financial aspect on a sound basis. The marked increase in fees is an attempt to alleviate the burden, particularly on our hosts'. Some of the questions he asked were, 'Is competition at district and national level necessary? Is it worth the stress and strain it places on groups and organisers?'

After the 1983 festival, an issue arose about the collation of marks for Ngati Rangiwewehi and Taniwharau, and it was an important issue for the National Committee to work through. Judge Mick Brown was invited to facilitate a resolution. Another issue for the PFC to consider was a suggestion by Waihirere to increase the performance time from 20 minutes to 25 minutes. In 1985, the Christchurch hosts asked for another year so that they could raise funds to host the event and therefore there was a three-year gap between the 1983 and 1986 festivals. The 1986 festival was held at the QEII Park in Christchurch. Twenty-six groups competed in front of approximately 11,000 spectators. Once again, there was no Pacific Island competitive section.

As reported in the New Zealand Woman's Weekly (December 1986: 32), the festival continued to be 'a time of sharing the nervousness and excitement of going on stage' and also a 'sharing at a deeper level. Grievances, concerns, values, endeavours and hopes'.

Kuru Waaka also made some comments at the 1986 Christchurch festival about the impact of the festivals on Maori culture. He said,

> we realise exactly how much further ahead we are, especially with regard to the preservation of the culture of our people which was the whole purpose of the exercise right at the very start. I cannot see it diminishing in any way. As a matter of fact, it looks as though we are faced with the problem of it being too successful and it may crumble under its own weight but that is something for us to worry about and we will ensure that will not happen. (TVNZ, 1986)

Indeed, the event was still being significantly aided by volunteer action. For example, in 1986 the organisers had a fixed budget of $6000 for the stage. The actual cost of the stage would have been $20,000 but a loss was averted through the local Polytechnic donating equipment and volunteer labour (TVNZ, 1986).

Two years later, in 1988, the festival was held at Okara Park, Whangarei. A new competition system was tested. There were three pools. On the Friday and Saturday, teams competed in their respective pools. The top two groups from each pool then performed for a second time for the overall aggregate prize on the Sunday. Individual prizes for the six aggregate categories and six non-aggregate categories are taken from the Friday and Saturday pool performances.

Up until the mid-1980s, two teams represented each region. During 1984 and 1985, there was considerable discussion at PFC meetings about how many groups should represent each region. A number of delegates from regions with high numbers of groups imposed pressure on the committee to change

the rule. The outcome of the discussions was a new rule. The outline of the rule is that if a region has more than five groups competing, two groups go to the ATMPAF. If a region has more than nine groups, three groups go to the ATMPAF. If a region has more than 14 competing, four groups attend the ATMPAF. If a region has 20 groups or more competing, five proceed to the ATMPAF. Since the 1986 festival there has been considerable growth in the number of groups at each festival. This has had, as might be imagined, significant cost implications.

A history of the festival – success and recognition

In 1990, the festival was held at Waitangi in conjunction with a number of other national events that had been organised to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Performances were staged in a very large circus type tent. Competition in 1990 reverted back to the old system of competition. Groups performed once and winners were selected for each category as well as the aggregate from the one performance.

From 1991 many of the issues about funding and structure began to be sorted out and the current structure of organisation emerged. In that year the Ministry for Culture and Heritage took over a number of functions from the Department of Internal Affairs, and the event fell within their auspices. Additionally Te Puni Kokiri (The Department of Maori Development) provided various facilities to the Aotearoa Maori Traditional Performing Arts Society that had taken over from the old Polynesian Festival Committee. To some extent this represented a more proactive Governmental stance, a stance it might be hypothesised that was in turn an appreciation of the growing importance of Maori politically and economically in wider New Zealand society. Additionally, the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between the British Crown and the Maori chiefs had concentrated minds on the contemporary status of Maoridom. Additionally, in 1992, the festival was held at Ngaruawahia which was perhaps symbolically important as the home of the Maori Queen – a monarchy established by Maori at the time of the Kingite movement of the 1860s – the period of the Maori Land Wars. The venue setting was the bank of the Waikato River at Turangawaewae Marae. Twenty-seven groups performed in pursuit of the top prizes. Like the 1990 festival, the competition was not organised into the pool system, all groups performed once. In a television interview, Bill Kerekere, ex-tutor of Waihirere, said, 'no matter who the top six groups are, any of them could travel overseas to represent Maoridom over there' (TVNZ, 1992).

Leading up to the 1992 festival, (now renamed the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival) the national committee had decided that future festivals would not be competitions. At the prize-giving held in Kimiora, Turangawaewae Marae, Sir Kingi decided to canvass the opinion of the groups regarding the decision (Karetu, 1993).

> The groups unanimously rejected the proposal, thus indicating their desire to have the competitive aspect retained. Group leaders and performers are convinced that the high standard of performance at present enjoyed is due to the competitive aspect. (Karetu, 1993: 84)

In a television interview, Dame Te Atairangikaahu (the Maori Queen) was excited by the fact that the 1992 Ngaruawahia festival was being broadcast by Tainui Television. She believed it was, 'an effective merging of the traditional media with that of contemporary times. For it presents a festival of the people, for the people and by the people' (TVNZ, 1992). At the opening ceremony Sir Kingi emphasised the new name of the festival, deliberately stating that the title was 'the Aotearoa Maori Performing Arts Festival, previously known as the New Zealand Polynesian Festival' (TVNZ, 1992). The changed title, the embryonic television coverage and the new structure all point to the Festival achieving higher degrees of maturation – which maturation was also reflected in the Festival securing corporate sponsorship.

Between the 1992 Ngaruawahia festival and the 1994 Hawera festival, Sir Kingi Ihaka passed away. Timoti Karetu, Professor of the Maori Studies Department at the University of Waikato, became the new Chairperson of the National Organising Committee. In 1994, the festival was held at Hawera. Approximately 12,000 people gathered to watch 24 groups compete. The pool system had been voted in again by the national organising committee. Waka Huia received the overall aggregate prize, Ngati Rangiwewehi came second and Waihirere came third. These overall places did not go by without some concern about the competition system. On the Saturday afternoon, Te Roopu Manutaki, from Auckland had received six first places out of ten categories. The overall aggregate results surprised many people. Due to a number of complaints, the National organisers sent out a formal notice to all groups explaining the pool system. A summary of the notice was also published in Kia Hiwa Ra (Sarich, 1994) for the benefit of supporters and the greater public.

In February 1996, the Festival was held in Rotorua in front of a full capacity crowd of 20,000. Certainly it appeared that the stands and grass areas at the Rotorua Racecourse in front of the stages were full to capacity every day of the festival. The local support must have been inspirational for the local teams of which two were placed in the top three. Ngati Rangiwewehi and Te Matarae i o Rehu from Rotorua were placed first and third respectively.

In 1998 at the Trentham Racecourse, Wellington, 33 groups competed at the festival and there were 20,000-plus spectators. The 30 groups of 40 performers each came together to compete over a three-day period, presenting 25-minute performances of waiata-a-ringa, waiata tahito, poi and haka, entry and exit. Over and above this timeframe, groups performed their choral item. The festival organisers promoted the event as a world class event. In the 1998 festival programme, the Executive manager of the ATMPA Society and National ATMPAF committee wrote about their commitment to producing a professionally managed and self-sufficient enterprise which aimed to foster, develop and protect the traditional Maori performing arts in the pursuit of excellence (ATMPAF Committee, 1998). Television coverage was now much more extensive and New Zealand's state financed television station, TVNZ1 carried full and extensive coverage of the events on the last day with many interviews. Increasingly professionalism was being seen in the performances with a creative use of colour and music, including music derived from contemporary sources. That this was a concern to some is indicated by the comments of Dame Te Ata, who referred to the changes in performance style as, 'the

fading of the 'Maori spirit' (TVNZ, 1998). Certainly, among kapa haka groups the meaning and place of 'traditional' performing arts and contemporary performing arts were being questioned at both regional and national levels, if only because the interpretations awarded to these terms were important in assessing and judging performance. Indeed there were 'some whispers' amongst groups about an idea floating around the national committee about organising two different festivals, a 'traditional' one and a 'contemporary' one.

Meanwhile, the permanent issue of finance was still prevalent in the minds of organisers. In 1998, the Festival Executive Officer, Doug Hauraki, announced that 'it costs in excess of $1 million to stage and that it takes a mammoth amount of commercial, promotional and marketing expertise' (ATMPAF Committee, 1998, programme, p. 4). In 1998, groups paid a registration fee of up to $4107 (excluding GST) each. A couple of groups paid less because of the accommodation deals they organised for themselves. For the financial year ending 30 June 1998 (a festival year), the 'ATMPA' Society generated revenue of $999,422. Ticket sales, sponsorship & grants and affiliation/registration fees at the February 1998 festival amounted to $310,828, $424,255 and $120,242 respectively. Stalls, other sales and other income made up the remainder of the revenue category. Ticket prices ranged from 15 dollars to 100 dollars per day depending on seating location. The 15-dollar seats were on the grass and the 100-dollar tickets were for the corporate lounges and included lunch and access to a bar. Sponsors had limited access to the corporate boxes. Four years earlier at the Hawera ATMPAF, it cost all adult spectators $30 for a weekend pass and $10 for a single day pass. The significant expense categories included catering ($72,271), the stage ($75,850), accommodation ($199,967), travel ($156,207), and venue ($156,527). Net profit after tax was $11,070. Issues were raised during the 1997/1998 financial year that had not been resolved and therefore Doug Hauraki, in his report in the Annual Report 1997/98, signalled some unfinished business for the next year. These included:

- redefining the Society's business;
- resolving the boundaries of some rohe (regions);
- the rewrite of both the Society's Constitution and the Competition Rules;
- the completion of the process to register the Society for tax exemption purposes; and
- the patenting of the Society's logo. (ATMPA Society, 1997/1998: 7)

In 1998 the media paid significant attention to the pressure being placed on the government to support the Maori performing arts. After 26 years of constant searching for substantial, secure sponsorship and funding, the government, via the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, finally agreed to grant the ATMPA Society $1.103 million per year for 1998/1999 (from 1 July 1998) and 1999/2000. This funding is a direct line item in the Cultural Affairs budget. As set out in the Vote Cultural Affairs section of the Government's financial reports, this funding is for Maori performing arts services and is linked to two government outcomes. The first outcome is 'the raising of New Zealand's profile by touring internationally, and fostering appreciation of and participation in traditional Maori cultural activities through a

programme of kapa haka competitions' (Treasury Report, May 1999: 411). The second outcome is 'the presentation of high-quality kapa haka to communities throughout New Zealand' (Treasury Report, May 1999: 411). This funding enables the Festival Society to concentrate on enhancing traditional Maori performing arts in New Zealand. This funding also covers operational costs, professional development of regional committees, wananga for judges and promotion of kapa haka in New Zealand and internationally. Some examples of the way in which these funds have been spent to meet these outcomes include a 1999 tour of the South Island by Waihirere who also represented New Zealand at the Commonwealth Games in Kuala Lumpur in 1998. The Society also sponsored a group to attend a waka building hui in Hawaii in 1999.

In June 1998, the end of year report by the chairperson of the ATMPAF and the Festival Society, Timoti Karetu, was positive in the face of change. He said that although the government had announced the funding of $1.103 million, there were new challenges ahead that include 'dealing with the value encapsulated in our motto of ''whaia ko te iti kahurangi''. That is to aspire to the highest pinnacles of excellence' (ATMPA Society 1997/1998: 20). Karetu went on to write about the Society viewing change as something positive and the importance of the relationship with stakeholders and the Society's environment (1997/1998: 20). Some of the challenges from Karetu's point of view were:

- the increase of the Society's accountability and transparency processes;
- the enhancement of the Society's ability to sustain itself;
- the planning of short, medium and long-term strategies and the achievement of them;
- the aspiration to reach the highest of quality standards in all business transacted. (ATMPA Society, 1997/1998: 20)

Karetu went on to recognise the significant support of the ATMPAF by the major sponsors such as, Te Waka Toi through Creative New Zealand, Smokefree NZ through the Health Sponsorship Council, Telecom New Zealand, the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board, Mobil Oil NZ Ltd, the Community Employment Group (CEG), Te Puni Kokiri, the Education, Training and Support Agency (ETSA), The Maori Trust Office, Wilson and Horton, Moana Pacific Fisheries, Ansett NZ, Poutama Trust and the Hutt City Council. Karetu specifically made a concerted effort to formally acknowledge each of the above sponsors because without their continued support since 1992, the festivals would not have been as successful as they were.

Between 3–6 February 2000, the ATMPAF was held at Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia. Thirty-seven groups competed in three pools on Friday and Saturday. The top two from each pool performed for a second time on the Sunday for the overall aggregate prize. International visitors from Hawaii, Canada and Taiwan participated in the festival providing what Doug Hauraki called 'entertainment and a cross-cultural exchange' (ATMPA Society, 1999). As befitted the location, there was a concern that hospitality should be extended to as many as was possible and a priority of Dame Te Atairangikaahu and the local Tainui organising committee was to keep the admission

price as low as possible. In 1998 during coverage of the Trentham festival, she publicly welcomed the people of New Zealand to Turangawaewae Marae for the 2000 festival. She also said,

> We haven't these fine facilities of this racecourse (Trentham Racecourse). We just have our marae of land there by the river where we can come and sit close together and hold hands so that everyone will have the opportunity to see the events of the year 2000. (TVNZ, 1998)

As Dame Te Atairangikaahu had envisaged, several thousand people gathered on the banks of the Waikato River at Turangawaewae Marae to watch the participating groups. Temporary seating for 4000 spectators and grass area for another several thousand spectators forced people to sit closely on the river banks in front of a 22 m × 18 m barge stage. No matter where spectators sat, the price was standard. There was some differentiation of price relating to the timing of ticket purchases. Since October 1999, tickets had been on sale from Event Ticketing's 0800 number or major centre's information offices. The plan was to have no gate sales. Leading up to 31 December 1999, 3-day entry cost $50 per adult and $20 per child. From 1 January 2000, the price increased to $20 a day for adults and $10 a day for children. However, due to a low number of advanced sales prior to the festival, there were gate sales at Turangawaewae. There were also clear rules about what spectators should not do that were stipulated in advertisements leading up to the event. Two examples include no chilly-bins and no prams in the grass area in front of the stage.

The maximum numbers at the festival were expected to be 15,000. It is thought that due to the way in which costs and seating rules were promoted, ticket sales were not as successful as the organisers had forecasted. On the other hand the organisers had forecasted a registration fee of $5280 for all participating groups, but at the end of 1999, with the success of winning grants and sponsorship, the national committee announced that this fee would be subsidised by $2000. Thus groups only paid $3280. The 2000 Ngaruawahia festival drew the largest number of competing groups. Although spectator numbers were not as high as the two previous festivals, the atmosphere was just as intense. The Waikato River flowed past as a backdrop to the stage, significant not only to Waikato-Tainui but to groups from all regions who through whakapapa, history and politics have a connection to what it represents. With the light of the setting sun and at different points during the festival days and evenings, the stage came alive with a range of performances, some influenced mostly by tribal styles and history, others influenced more by international experiences in the performing arts. Waihirere's entry for example, was characterised by one commentator as a 'Porgy and Bess' number. The 37 competing groups represented regions throughout New Zealand and Australia, highlighting the growth and sustainability of kapa haka across the two countries. The performances displayed an expertise base in the Maori performing arts that has been built on a particular network and national infra-structure that continues to have a significant impact on the way in which Maori 'traditional' performing arts (as the title of the festival implies) are organised and managed.

Discussion

There has been considerable growth over the past 28 years since the first festival in 1972. The number of active kapa haka has grown from 36 to over 100, all regions have competitions and are represented on the national committee. The new Society and the new levels of government funding dictate a broader focus on activities over and above the biennial festival. A number of challenges lay ahead for the Society and the ATMPAF National Committee including their overall direction and purpose, organisation and management.

Thus far this paper has outlined a history of the festival from its inception to the first festival of the 21st century based on secondary sources of information and through the eyes of the researchers. In doing so, various issues and tensions, if not crises might be identified. These include:

(1) the evolution of an event from being a representation of marginalised groups to one that represents a greater confidence in the role of Maori people in contemporary society;
(2) financial stability and the implications of government funding;
(3) the meaning of 'traditional' and 'contemporary' for the festival and the Society – this tension not only relates to style of performance but also to gender issues within Maoridom;
(4) the representation of groups and their regions;
(5) the relationship of the regions to the national committee and Society;
(6) the increasing role of corporate sponsorship and the role accorded to national media;
(7) the festival as competition, and, like many such events, the tension between the wish to simply participate and a will to compete;
(8) the role of Maori performing arts in the relationship between Maori and Maori, and Maori and non-Maori.

It is suggested that these tensions are not unique to Maoridom, but might be representative of many of the issues that pertain to the establishment of festivals that involve indigenous peoples. However, the issues are perhaps more evident in the case of this particular event because of its longevity and success. The evolution of the event has not occurred in a vacuum. The period from 1964 to the present has been one of significant advancement for Maoridom. Land settlements have been made, Maori businesses are becoming established and tertiary education achievements are becoming more common. Yet many of these achievements require Maori to operate within a world dominated by a European perspective and in a cultural environment that is less holistic than their own. For many years the only wholly Maori cultural context was arguably that of the marae-based hui or meeting and as Salmond (1976) notes, the marae was 'a place to stand' – an evocative term for a society that seeks identity through relationship to place, and which sought to make a stand to confirm its own identity. The Festival sprang from similar roots – it was an event of cultural display, of providing pride through participation in that cultural performance and of reaffirming past traditions. It has been shown that it broke free from a categorisation of 'Polynesian' and equally, although that is another story, in New Zealand Pacific Island peoples are beginning to achieve

similar success with the Pasifika Festival and the more recently established Pasifika Wearable Arts Event. Such a breaking free was and remains important because while sharing a commonality of culture with Pacific Island peoples, Maori possess a special status within New Zealand as *tangata whenua*, the original people of the land. It was therefore perhaps inevitable that, as these social and political processes played through, that the Festival began to attract more formal support, and certainly the economic success enjoyed by the Festival in 2002 owed much to its recognition by both government and corporate sponsorship.

Such funding however begins to relocate the Festival from what might be described as an informal but wholly Maori context to one that while still Maori dominated, is more subject to the conventions of Western government and traditional norms of accountability and transparency based upon written records. Both public funding and sponsorship require external auditing. It should not be thought that Maori see these as being inimical to their interests; indeed many would claim the opposite to be the case. Additionally, it has required higher degrees of professionalism on the part of the organisers, and today the Society has copyrighted its logo and communicates via a web site (www.atmpas.org.nz). However this very growing professionalism has its parallels in the nature of performance, and a real issue for many kapa haka groups is the limits of what is deemed to be traditional. Kapa haka is an art form, and like all dance forms involves creativity in music and movement. This creativity argues that it can be true to a tradition even while seeking to take advantage of new media to become, potentially, a multi-media presentation. It is for this reason that debate about judging has been continually an issue, for the debate goes beyond simply a question of adherence to a traditional mode of presentation; rather it begins to examine the nature of being Maori in a culture that tends to be holistic. Using a metaphor, does one tend to be less Maori for using a computer, less Maori for employing Pakeha scientific rationalism in research, or less Maori for engaging in performance for a Pakeha corporate sponsor? The answers to such questions are not wholly easy, yet the question remains real even if the answers are located in an evolutionary process. The debates in the festival are therefore symptomatic of a series of debates, inter-tribal and inter-generational within Maoridom, as well as between Maori and non-Maori.

And where does tourism impact on these issues? Technically it might be said that by definition the Festival is a touristic event because it involves travel and a need for accommodation away from home. Secondly, the event was in part inspired by a perceived need to ensure that tourists could be entertained by skilled performers. Thirdly, it is an event with which many Pakeha (non-Maori New Zealanders) are becoming better acquainted through television coverage. Television audiences have increased from 50,000 in 1986 to 133,560 in 2000 (www.atmpas.org.nz – 12 May, 2003) during a non-peak television viewing time, and there has been some evidence that Tourism New Zealand would wish to feature the event more strongly although at the time of writing (2002) the authors were unable to find a link to the Festival on the www.purenz.com web site, which is the site maintained by Tourism New Zealand. Such suggestions pose an issue which is familiar in the events and

festivals literature – it is the question of whether opening a festival to a wider audience begins to change the nature of the festival and what is being celebrated, or, inversely, does it permit a minority to better address the majority? Certainly a wider audience might help provide a more secure financial support, but those issues seem, at least for the moment, to be put aside in view of the greater governmental support now being obtained under an arts, heritage and cultural banner. Certainly the Festival is specifically recognised in the Cultural Tourism Strategy prepared by the Cultural Tourism Group in 2000 (see page 2 of that strategy), although it is noted that with reference to Maoridom such initiatives are to be tied with the development of a national Maori Tourism Association. Currently Maori Tourism Associations are being established on a regional basis to parallel the existing Regional Tourism Associations, and thus the Festival will be drawn into a portfolio of product. Consequently, the future of the Festival seems ensured, but its format remains subject to the dynamics that are being worked out. Judging from recent past festivals, the kapa haka groups are moving toward more contemporary forms of expression, and among the drivers for this are the groups based upon urban marae that do not have the same traditional affiliation to a specific iwi or tribal grouping. Such groups are rediscovering and reinterpreting a sense of being Maori within the reality of their daily experiences of urban living, which are different to the place centredness of traditional rural-based tribal groupings.

It can also be argued that the above history indicates that the dimensions of the concept proposed, namely grassroots and public sector involvement, professionalism and event 'age' are evidenced as possessing importance, but the process is marked by ruptures and new directions as the issues of organisational matters have their own energies and inertias both separate and complementary to the exogenous concerns of public policy and commercial involvement. The congruence between grassroots support, governmental policy and commercial sponsorship on a significant scale seems to have emerged after a long period of establishing directions and consensus within the Maori community. However, it would be a mistake to interpret initial problems as deficiencies – rather it might be likened to 'forces of creative destruction' as various successes created problems and such problems were interpreted as opportunities.

To conclude therefore, this history illustrates that cultural festivals mirror many different dynamics and are places of discourse between different paradigms of traditional and evolving culture, between minority and majority groupings, between a need for independence and a dependency, usually on public authorities that might in other circumstances be seen as part of the majority-dominated structures. They reveal tensions within minority groupings in evolving understanding of managing affairs in a society dominated by different contemporary concerns. Financial necessities loom large in any thinking, but the basis of support remains freely given volunteer labour. Such festivals confirm a sense of identity, even as that sense is challenged by a wish to be creative and to experiment. The case study also illustrates the importance of key figures, personalities with a sense of vision, the movers and shakers (as described by Russell & Faulkner, 1999) who are able to sustain a development and over time create a new force within a society. Indeed, in a society

where *mana* (recognised position and authority) is important and complex as being dependent upon achievement and family ties, the role ascribed to individuals by participants and information sources is paradoxically both all encompassing, yet bounded by strong senses of community responsibility. In short, cultural celebration is no simple thing, but a changing fusion of debate and discourse, a shifting compromise between ideals and realities imposed by resource scarcities, and of energies and barriers – all of which produce colour and action – and sometimes, as in this instance, success.

Glossary

Aotearoa – Maori name for New Zealand

Hui – a meeting. While a *hui* may be informal, it is often associated with a protocol whereby speakers will identify their *whakapapa* which traditionally means tribal association but in contemporary Maoridom may extend to a statement of professional interest and experience when attending a *hui*, especially if concerned with business.

Marae – meeting place, organised on a tribal (iwi) basis and managed by a Marae Committee.

Manuhiri – guests

Powhiri – welcome to a marae which includes a challenge to guests to assess whether they come in peace.

Tangata whenua – the people of the land – this term is used to describe not only Maori *per se*, but the tribe (iwi) that is traditionally associated with a place or region. For example Te Arawa are the *tangata whenua* of the region based on Rotorua. Membership of a tangata whenua bestows both identity and responsibilities to care for and protect traditional lands.

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