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The routes of roots reggae in Aotearoa/New Zealand: the musical construction of place and identity.

Jennifer Anne Cattermole

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Master of the Arts (Music)
at the University of Otago, Dunedin,
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Abstract

This thesis explores the routes of roots reggae by looking at how New Zealand musicians and consumers have used this globally disseminated and commodified cultural product to locate themselves in various geographical places and cultural spaces. Chapter two examines how New Zealand roots reggae consumers and musicians have used this music and its associated cultural symbolism to construct their sense of place and cultural identity. New Zealanders’ reactions to reggae’s adoption and localisation demonstrate that place and identity are thought about in rooted (emphasising continuity or non-change) and routed (emphasising change and adaptation) ways. Reggae’s roots/routes are explored from a different perspective in chapter three. Despite evidence of reggae’s localisation in multiple places challenging prevalent understandings of cultures as being bounded, self-enclosed and distinct place-bound entities, New Zealand consumers of this music index Jamaica as the place of reggae’s roots. The discourses of New Zealand reggae consumers are analysed to show how they have used the representations of Jamaica found in roots reggae lyrics (and the music’s visual marketing) to construct their own senses of place and cultural identity. The lyrics of several New Zealand roots reggae songs are analysed in chapter four. This chapter demonstrates how some New Zealand reggae musicians have used roots reggae to overcome their sense of cultural dislocation, marginalisation and demoralisation by ideologically relocating themselves to their perceived ancestral homelands (the places to which they trace their roots), and by creating both real and imagined communities at a range of different geographical scales.

This thesis aims to shed light on how the recent acceleration in the pace of globalisation has changed the dynamics within the multiple relationships between culture, identity and place, leading people to re-think and reflect about place in different ways as they become increasingly aware of human interconnectedness around the globe. The process of globalisation has raised important questions as to where culture is located; how people use music to conceptualise place and to construct social relationships; and how culture and real and imagined communities are defined. This thesis investigates how New Zealand reggae musicians and consumers have used reggae to construct identities that are rooted/routed to one or more places and peoples, and thus refutes postmodernist arguments that globalisation has resulted
in an identity crisis, a sense of placelessness, cultural deterritorialisation and
homogeneity. While this thesis is located in the field of ethnomusicology, its focus on
the ways in which music informs and constructs people’s sense of place also
contributes to knowledge in the fields of contemporary popular music studies and
cultural/human geography.
Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of all those who generously gave up their time and provided valuable insights into the local roots reggae scene. In particular, I wish to thank musicians Tigilau Ness, Ara Adams-Tamatea and Dean Hapeta; DJs Two Tone Tony, Basstech and Lemon; James Moss, managing director of Jayrem Records; John Thornley, editor of *Song and Spirituality*; and music critics and journalists Duncan Campbell and Graham Reid. I also wish to acknowledge the kind assistance of Joanne Alexander and Trish Morant from Statistics New Zealand; the New Zealand Television Archive’s Sally Williamson; Karen Pickford and Liisa McMillan at Replay Radio; and the staff at the University of Otago Central, the Dunedin Public and Hocken libraries - especially the Hocken Library’s Paulette Milnes, without whose help much of this research would not have been possible. I am also deeply indebted to the University of Otago staff members who generously gave of their time and wisdom: Christine Rimene, Māori Research Facilitator; Karyn Paringatai, teaching fellow at *Te tumu* (School of Māori and Pacific Studies); and Music Department lecturers Graeme Downes and Rob Burns. Most especially, I wish to thank my supervisor Dr Henry Johnson for his advice, support and encouragement.
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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the influence of roots reggae in New Zealand. Reggae originated in Jamaica in the late 1960s, and has since been disseminated to and localised by members of numerous cultures around the world, including New Zealanders. Although this music was first introduced to New Zealand in the early 1970s via imported recordings,\(^1\) 1979 can be regarded as a seminal year in the history of reggae in New Zealand: Keskiidee (a British ex-patriot Jamaican theatre troupe) toured the country; the film *The Harder they come* (starring Jimmy Cliff as the lead character Ivan O’Martin) played to New Zealand audiences in a limited 2-week season in a Queen Street (Auckland) cinema;\(^2\) and most significantly, reggae superstar Bob Marley performed at Auckland’s Western Springs. Among the audience members at Bob Marley’s Western Springs concert were Dilworth Karaka, David Grace, and Thompson Hohepa—musicians who were inspired to adopt reggae.\(^3\) Dennis O’Reilly asserts that “outside of Jamaica, I would say there was no other country where reggae had such an impact as in New Zealand.”\(^4\) New Zealanders are reportedly among the biggest consumers of reggae per capita anywhere in the world, particularly of Bob Marley’s music:

> It’s impossible to know how many Bob Marley albums are around in this country, so many were borrowed and dubbed on to tape to be played at the beach or hangi, in the bach, caravan park or on the marae. On available figures … Bob has sold a staggering 351,000 units, but that’s just on CD and tape - and only includes sales through Polygram and Universal. You’d have to add to that the vinyl sales (and he was an artist of the vinyl era, after all) and what he previously sold through Festival Records and Music World.\(^5\)

---

\(^1\) The earliest reggae album released in New Zealand was *The harder they come* (29/10/73), featuring Jimmy Cliff. For a list of early reggae releases (1973-1982) from Festival Records New Zealand (initially the only company that had the import licensing rights to Island Records) by Jimmy Cliff, Toots and the Maytals and Bob Marley and the Wailers, see William G. Hawkeswood. “I’n’I Rastafari: identity and the Rasta movement in Auckland.” M.A. (Anthropology) thesis, University of Auckland, 1983. 75.

\(^2\) This film had been released in 1973, but had been banned in New Zealand to prevent giving “Black youth any encouragement in the wrong direction.” See Hawkeswood. “I’n’I Rastafari”: 67.

\(^3\) Karaka went on to become a member of Herbs; Grace a member of Dread Beat and Blood, Survival, and Injustice; Hohepa is a member of Katchafire.


Māori are reported to be the biggest consumers of Bob Marley’s music, “buying 7 out of 10 units.” When Marley died in May 1981, the Hawkes Bay freezing works came to a virtual standstill as hundreds of Māori workers stayed at home to mourn his death. The popularity of reggae festivals such as the One Love Unity celebrations on Waitangi Day and the Raglan Soundsplash, the widespread local interest expressed in touring museum exhibitions on the subject, and the continued popularity of reggae produced both locally and overseas, indicate that reggae music is an important musical phenomenon in New Zealand – one that necessitates in-depth study.

1.2 Aims and objectives

This thesis aims to generate a greater understanding of global cultural flows and the dynamics of music adoption and localisation. Due to industrialisation and globalisation, music is being disseminated more extensively and rapidly than in the past. The availability of an increasingly wide range of musical resources has enabled a growing number of people to use them in the construction of identity and place. The adoption and localisation of imported musical styles has been variously described using terms such as musical borrowing, world musics microphone, transculturation (a process by which cultural forms move through time and space and interact with other forms); hybridisation (the creation of new cultural forms by these interactions); and indigenisation (the process by which cultural hybrids take on local

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8 The Rotorua museum exhibition “Coming in from the cold: the Bob Marley story” attracted around 7,000 people in December 1997 (“Dead singer a big hit.” The Press 30 January 1998, p.4); The Bob Marley exhibition at the Robert McDougall gallery in Christchurch (November 1995-January 1996) attracted around 42,000 people. This exhibition was also displayed in the Museum of New Zealand and in Wanganui (Megan Lane. “Reggae’s star still shining.” The Evening Post 15 February 1996, p.13); The “Coming in from the cold” exhibition at the Mangere Community Outreach Services Gallery (4 August – 15 September 2001) was expected to attract around 10,000 people (“Marley expected to draw big crowd.” The Manukau Courier 2 August 2001); The Te Papa exhibition “ReggaeXplosion” (29 March – 14 July 2002) was also shown at the Canterbury Museum (Bess Manson. “New Zealand’s reggae roots.” The Dominion 28 March 2002, p.17; “Check out the roots man.” The Press 29 December 2001, p.30)
features). The cultural changes that have resulted from the adoption and localisation of globally disseminated musics such as reggae raise important questions as to where culture is located; how people use music to conceptualise place and to construct social relationships; and how culture and real (objective, materialist, physical, concrete, existing in perceived space) and imagined (subjective, idealist, symbolic, cognitive, abstract, existing in conceived space) communities are defined. An investigation of why, when, how and where reggae has been adopted and adapted in New Zealand will generate valuable insights into the issues of cultural geography, global cultural flows, and the location of cultural identity.

Globalisation is not a new process. However, the thesis of time-space compression argues that we are in a qualitatively new and dramatically intensified phase. The intensification, or acceleration in the pace of the process of globalisation has changed the dynamics within the multiple relationships between cultural identity and place, and has led people to re-think and reflect about place in different ways as people become increasingly aware of human interconnectedness around the globe. Postmodernist theorists such as Anthony Giddens argue that globalisation has altered the way in which people experience space and time, involving a loss of historical continuity and memory, and a preoccupation with instantaneity and with surfaces disconnected from the meanings behind them. Giddens asserts that one consequence of modernity has been “the phantasmagoric separation of space from place, as places become thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them.” Globalisation, according to this argument, has resulted in an identity crisis and sense of placelessness; cultural deterritorialisation and homogeneity. Similarly, Jody Berland states that “situated in many places at the same time, tuned in, hooked up, wired into, we know how to see ourselves as part of a global village and to see its boundarylessness as the essence of who we are.” Joshua Meyrowitz also asserts that electronic media have blurred traditional distinctions

between individuals and groups, social situations and physical places, and that this has contributed towards the homogenisation of places and group identities and experiences and to the lack of a sense of place. This thesis refutes the postmodernist argument that history has disappeared in the pursuit of the instantaneous and that authenticity has been supplanted with a celebration of surfaces (promoted by, and a product of media industries who aim to sell their product to as many people as possible). Instead, it argues that roots reggae music plays a crucial role in the social construction of place and cultural identity in New Zealand.

Reggae has been disseminated and consumed globally, and has been reterritorialised in various contexts around the world. At the same time, reggae music has not been deterritorialised from Jamaica, the place which is indexed as reggae’s sole authentic place of origin. This can be seen as evidence that globalisation has stressed rather than erased the particulars of place. The primary aim of this thesis is to explore how New Zealand musicians and consumers have used reggae to construct their identities and sense of place. In achieving this objective, this thesis explores the questions of who creates culture and determines musical meaning, describes the attraction of New Zealanders for reggae music, and assesses the degree of localisation of this music. This study of roots reggae as one example of a globally disseminated musical genre - offers an important perspective the relationship between place and cultural identity in today’s highly commodified world.

1.3 Literature review

This research is an exercise in critical studies in popular culture. While this thesis is situated within the field of ethnomusicology, it also draws on theoretical approaches from human or cultural geography, social anthropology, postcolonial studies, and popular music studies in order to understand the routes of roots reggae, and its role in New Zealand consumers’ and musicians’ constructions of place and identity. It utilises cultural globalisation literature specifically focussing on the impact that global processes (in this case, the global dissemination of reggae) have on distinct localities, and examines some of the theoretical underpinnings related to identity formation. In the past, ethnomusicologists have tended to study music in, or in relation to particular

places, and to be concerned with local musical meanings and practices. As Jochen Eisentraut asserts:

Most ethnomusicological study is concerned with music ‘in context,’ and the wider cultural context concerned is usually one in which that music has developed for some considerable time – albeit often in very specific circumstances, and with displaced populations of various kinds. There has been relatively little ethnomusicological study of cases in which members of a particular community adopt a musical style with which they have apparently no historical connection whatsoever.  

This study of roots reggae music in New Zealand, a place with little historical connection to Jamaica (reggae’s indexed place of origin), contributes towards knowledge of music adoption and localisation in today’s global age.

Over the past decade, scholarly interest in issues concerning place and space has increased across a broad range of disciplines, including ethnomusicology. Rather than treating place as simply an inert geographical setting for social and cultural activity, research has been conducted within political studies, media and cultural studies, human/cultural geography, social/cultural anthropology and other fields on the way in which places are socially and materially constructed, textually represented, thought about and reflected upon. The construction of place has been situated within a broader context of globalisation and understood in terms of relations between places and between aspects of the local and the global. In the context of increasing geographical connectedness, place continues to matter and is becoming more important. Cultural geography provides the theoretical foundations for examining the spatial constructions of musical practices, particularly how the local operates within national and global frameworks.

This thesis is underpinned by recently re-theorised perspectives on the role of music in cultural geography. The examination of the role of music in geography is a comparatively recent area of enquiry. This can perhaps be attributed to the belief that music is not geographical but metaphysical, magical and inexplicable, and to the complexity of its expression which engages sight and sound simultaneously. As Smith argues, it is as if a claim for “the non-social, implicitly metaphysical qualities of music has almost succeeded, making music perhaps the last of the arts to be looked at

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from a critical cultural perspective.” 19 Lily Kong has traced the lack of popular music studies in geography to a tradition of cultural elitism, whereby researchers have privileged serious and enduring cultural artefacts over popular cultural forms which have been regarded with disdain as being “mere entertainment,” trivial and ephemeral.20 This is part of the wider priority attached to vision reflected in both the empirical underpinnings of science and in postmodernism’s origins in architecture and art. Music, for example, lacks tangible ethnographic material which can be analysed and explained in ways that other material aspects of culture have been studied. Cultural geographers such as Susan Smith have challenged the visual bias in geographical work, and have argued for the “more explicit incorporation of sound generally and music in particular into research in human geography, and especially into those aspects of the subject concerned with cultural politics.”21

From the early 1970s, geographers interested in music mainly approached the subject by mapping the diffusion of musical styles in space to create cartographies of sound. Popular music could be represented spatially, explained and described in terms of the location and origins of musical scenes, styles and pieces; the diffusion of musical styles across space, its movement through social hierarchies, or the networks of musical tours; patterns of trade of musical products; or the location of supposed hearths of musical culture.22 Variants of this cartographic tradition attempted to evaluate the cultural distinctiveness of musical expressions at a variety of spatial scales, from regional21 to global;24 involving images of place evoked through music

21 Smith. “Soundscape”. 238.
lyrics, sacred and profane places, and even an atlas of the live performances of Elvis Presley. Such cartographic depictions of musical styles and scenes provided valuable detail on particular styles of music, the ways in which they were disseminated, and the lines of migration undertaken by performers. They hinted at the need for greater emphasis on ethnographies of music, and for developing a musical sense of place as the starting point for more developed analysis. However, such studies were limited through their “failure to engage with the social and political contexts in which music is produced,” and the socially constructed nature of human understandings of place and space. Such cartographies need to be situated in networks of economic, social and political relationships. As Cohen states, musical forms and practices “originate within, interact with, and are inevitably affected by, the physical, social, political and economic factors which surround them.”

Since the mid-1990s, there has been increasing recognition of music’s spatial dimensions, the mutually generative relations between music and place, and music’s role in the politics of place, the struggle for identity and belonging, power and prestige. There have been an increasing number of journal articles, human geography textbooks, academic literature (and citations of these works in atlases, encyclopaedias and bibliographies), and conferences exploring the complex relationship between music and place. Recent studies have examined the strategies by which place is constructed, experienced or imagined through music and the political motivations behind this. An emerging body of work in cultural geography has provoked new ways of thinking about music’s role in locating culture, and constructing place, space, and cultural identity. Some current key issues of geography and music are the nature of

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28 Kong, “Popular music in geographical analyses”: 186.
soundscapes; definitions of music and cultural value; the geographies of different musical genres; and the place of music in local, national and global cultures. Lily Kong asserts that current and future trends in geographical analyses of music include the analysis of symbolic meanings; the role of music as a form of cultural communication; the cultural politics of music; musical economies; and music and the social construction of identities. Scholars working in the field of popular music studies have begun to address topics such as the musical semiotics of place; globalisation and the music industry; popular music and tourism; transnational popular music communities; the spatial logics and geographical alliances of various musical genres and styles; and the rhetoric of the local that informs specific popular music sounds and scenes.

This thesis examines New Zealand roots reggae music (as well as discourses and visual symbolism pertaining to this music) to show how New Zealand musicians and consumers use reggae to form relationships with people and places. It demonstrates how they think about place and culture in both rooted and routed ways, and explores the role that reggae has played in expressing and constructing the cultural geopolitics of New Zealand. People’s identities are complex, and this thesis only explores some of the ways in which New Zealanders use reggae to understand relationships between themselves and other people and places. Future researchers interested in exploring reggae’s place in New Zealand could investigate in greater depth how reggae has been used to construct relationships between people and the supernatural world (see appendix A, sections 7.1 and 7.4). The sonic indexing of place could also be explored further with reference to the interpolation of environmental sounds in reggae songs. A more developed analysis of the networks that facilitated or prevented reggae’s movement to, around and out of New Zealand is also needed to shed further light on the processes of globalization, and on reggae’s role in the cultural politics of New Zealand. Appendix B provides a list of New Zealand reggae-influenced bands and solo artists which can be used as the starting point for further research.

32 Kong. "Popular music in geographical analyses": 183-198.
33 See for example, Mará’s self-titled recording (1993), which features natural sounds (such as whale and bird calls, a lion’s roar, thunder, waves on a beach), and various sounds of an urban landscape (such as people talking, laughing and crying, passing cars).
1.4 Method

An inductive research method was used for this thesis. While the literature discussed above creates a theoretical framework for the discussion, this thesis is organised around themes identified from analyses of data provided by members of the local roots reggae scene (such as musicians, critics and event promoters), reggae songs lyrics, music and album covers. The content of chapter two is largely derived from a stylistic analysis of overseas and locally-produced reggae songs. In order to have a fairly representative sample, twenty roots reggae songs (ten produced overseas,\(^3\) and ten produced locally\(^3\) were selected for analysis. Of the overseas sample songs, five topped the New Zealand music charts\(^3\) and the other five were chosen because of their status as classic or essential reggae songs (as recommended by Dunedin roots reggae DJ Two-tone Tony; internet record vendors such as Amazon.com and Irielion.com; and Steve Barrow and Peter Dalton’s Reggae: The Rough Guide).\(^3\) This sample is not limited to Jamaican roots reggae artists, as it includes the British reggae artists 10CC and UB40. Of the New Zealand roots reggae songs, Herbs’ “French letter,” Katchafire’s “Giddy up,” and Aotearoa’s “Maranga ake ai” were chosen on the basis of their high position in the New Zealand music charts. The remainder of the samples were chosen in order to represent a wide range of songwriting talent, and includes some of the most well-known New Zealand roots reggae artists. All of these artists have recorded their music, and with the exception of Boil Up, have received press coverage. The analyses which form the basis of chapter two were based upon


36 “Red, red wine,” “Beautiful woman,” “Sweat (a la la la la long),” “One love,” and “Dreadlock holiday.”

aural transcriptions of these songs, therefore any mistakes are entirely my own. The stylistic analysis of roots reggae is one particular area that demands further research. A more in-depth stylistic comparison between imported reggae and New Zealand reggae would be highly valuable in showing how this music has been adopted and localized. There is also enormous scope for further research into related Jamaican forms of popular music such as ska, rocksteady, dancehall, dub, and the role played by local DJs/selectors and soundsystems. Analyses of reggae lyrics (of both overseas and local roots reggae artists) have contributed to the organisation of the information presented in chapters three and four; and analyses of album covers/visual symbolism feature in chapters two and three.

The research material for this thesis has been mainly derived from secondary data sources (such as magazine and newspaper articles and internet websites) featuring New Zealand reggae music, reviews of live concerts and recordings, or interviews with local artists. I had hoped to include more ethnographic material in this thesis. With this aim in mind (and with an awareness of time and resource constraints), I prepared a questionnaire to send to New Zealand roots reggae artists (see appendix C). This questionnaire was designed to gather information about the musicians’ reggae backgrounds, their influences, their reasons for adopting reggae, the impact that reggae had on them, and the kinds of people and places that they try to connect with through their music. As some of the musicians that I wished to send this questionnaire to were Māori, my supervisor and I consulted with Christine Rimene (Māori Research Facilitator) prior to preparing this questionnaire to ensure that I was aware of the ethical issues involved. Christine Rimene reviewed and approved this questionnaire before it was submitted to the University of Otago’s Ethical Committee, who also (after minor alterations), gave their approval. I was able to contact the members of nine local reggae groups by using the bands’ websites, by contacting journalists and music critics who had interviewed these artists, and by contacting their record companies, managers and the owners of venues where they have performed. Three musicians responded to my questionnaire. More in-depth study incorporating fieldwork is needed in the study of New Zealand roots reggae.

1.5 Thesis organisation

This thesis is organised into five chapters. The chapters that comprise the main body of the thesis (chapters two to four), each examine the routes of roots reggae from a different perspective. Chapter two investigates the adoption and localisation of roots reggae in New Zealand, and analyses the musical style, instrumentation and language used in roots reggae (texts), as well as of some of the cultural symbols (intertexts) that are associated with this music, to illustrate how New Zealand musicians and consumers use reggae to construct their cultural identities and sense of place. This chapter also discusses the intra- and inter-cultural debates surrounding the issue of cultural authenticity which have arisen from reggae’s localisation. This discussion of New Zealanders’ reactions to the musical and cultural changes brought about by reggae’s localisation will shed insights into their rooted (emphasising continuity or non-change) and routed (emphasising change and adaptation) concepts of place and identity. It also demonstrates how cultural boundaries are deconstructed, reconstructed and maintained.

Chapter three investigates the relationship between place, culture and music by looking at how and why roots reggae is seen as being rooted in Jamaica, particularly in light of reggae’s global dissemination and its localisation in multiple locations around the world, including New Zealand (as discussed in chapter two). This chapter investigates roots reggae’s geographical rootedness/routedness, and challenges prevalent understandings of cultures as being bounded, self-enclosed and distinct place-bound entities. This chapter examines the images, meanings and experiences of Jamaica represented in Jamaican reggae music’s lyrics and in the visual imagery used in the music’s marketing. This analysis shows that Jamaica is predominantly represented in two contrasting ways: either as the ghetto (predominantly conveyed via reggae lyrics), or as an idealised/romanticised tropical island paradise (predominantly conveyed via reggae’s visual marketing). This chapter explores this dialectic using Henri Lefebvre’s concepts regarding the representation of space and spaces of representation.\(^{39}\) These images of Jamaica have been used by New Zealand reggae consumers to construct their own senses of place and cultural identity.

Chapter four looks at how New Zealanders have used roots reggae to construct postcolonial identities, primarily focusing on an analysis of the lyrical content of New

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Zealand roots reggae songs. Reggae’s introduction to New Zealand in the early 1970s coincided with a period of social restructuring, with people strongly and publicly voicing their opposition to the oppression of groups such as women, Māori and Pacific Islanders. The use of reggae as a form of identity relocation is particularly salient for New Zealanders who have experienced a sense of cultural dislocation as a result of their displacement from their ancestral homelands, and perceived shortcomings with their here-lands (and with the policies and actions that have contributed towards their oppression and marginalisation in postcolonial New Zealand society). Songs such as Marley’s “Get up, stand up,” which called for the oppressed to rebel against their oppressors, as well as songs such as “One love,” which advocated social equality, held considerable appeal for members of a New Zealand society undergoing substantive social change. These messages have been internalised by New Zealand reggae consumers, and have been used in the reconstruction of their relationships to other people (whether by resisting or reinforcing hegemonic social hierarchies) and places. For example, some members of oppressed cultural minorities in New Zealand have used reggae to overcome their sense of cultural dislocation, marginalisation and demoralisation by ideologically relocating or re-routing themselves to their perceived ancestral homelands (the places to which they trace their roots), and by creating both real and imagined communities at a range of different geographical scales. Reggae musicians and consumers have also used this music to both challenge and reinforce the male domination of women (and to reconstruct gendered and sexualised identities and private and public spaces in New Zealand), as well as to reconstruct their relationship with the natural environment. Reggae has not only been used to construct and make sense of relationships between people (both between and within cultures), but also to construct relationships between themselves and the natural environment.

Chapter Two: The Localisation of Roots Reggae in New Zealand

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the extent to which New Zealand roots reggae consumers have adopted and localised this music. It is divided into two main sections, the first of which demonstrates how local musicians have created a localised version of the style by using instruments, languages and musical forms indigenous to New Zealand and Polynesia. This syncretic musical form not only indexes New Zealand musical and geographical roots, but has also enabled musicians and consumers to explore new cultural routes by adopting the stylistic attributes and instrumentation of roots reggae, as well as Rastafarian linguistic and symbolic practices. These adopted elements are used in local roots reggae’s songs and visual marketing, and function as identity signifiers with potentially multiple meanings (such as a preference for reggae, adherence to Rastafari, and/or resistance to oppression), thus contributing to the formation of a heterogeneous reggae subculture in this country. This analysis of local roots reggae texts and intertexts (visual symbolism) offers vital clues as to how New Zealand musicians and consumers use reggae to construct their cultural identities and senses of place. For the purposes of this chapter, the term text refers to the musical sound of New Zealand reggae. The lyrical content of the music is discussed separately in chapter four.

The second main section explores the intracultural and intercultural debates surrounding reggae’s authenticity/inauthenticity as a form of local place and cultural identity expression. As Martin Stokes asserts, the term authenticity is a “discursive trope of great persuasive power”\(^1\) which indicates what is significant about New Zealand reggae, and how the performance or consumption of this music makes some New Zealanders different from others. The use of terms such as authentic/inauthentic and pure/impure in discourses pertaining to localised reggae reveals how New Zealand listeners and musicians emplace this music (local or foreign), and how they use it to maintain, contest and construct social and spatial boundaries defining us and them. It also sheds light on how New Zealand reggae consumers think about music, place and identity in routed (local reggae as a legitimate local music; emphasising

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travel, cultural change and adaptation) and rooted (local reggae as an inauthentic local music; emphasising dwelling, cultural continuity and stasis) ways.

2.2 (G) Localising reggae in New Zealand

This section examines the extent to which New Zealand reggae musicians have adopted and localised roots reggae. Analyses of the musical style, instrumentation and language used in New Zealand roots reggae, as well as of the cultural symbols that are used to identify reggae fans and practitioners, show how they use this music to construct and articulate their cultural identities, and demonstrate that New Zealand reggae is not merely a simulacrum of an imported musical style. The New Zealand reggae artists featured in the analysis below adhered to imported stylistic models in many respects (particularly in the initial stages of their careers), yet localised reggae by incorporating elements from their own musical heritages. As a syncretic musical form, localised roots reggae enables musicians and consumers to affirm their roots, as well as to explore new cultural routes. This section sheds light on the cultural changes that have resulted from reggae’s localisation by examining how New Zealand consumers have adopted, adapted or rejected the cultural values, beliefs and practices transmitted via the music.

2.2.1 Musical style

Reggae is often used as a generic term to describe Jamaican popular musics produced since the 1960s such as ska, rocksteady, one-drop, rockers, lovers, dancehall and dub. To be more precise, reggae is the form of Jamaican music that was most popular from around 1969 to 1983, a period which can be subdivided into the early reggae period (1969-1974) and the roots reggae period (1975-1983). Although the exact etymology of the term reggae is unknown, it has been suggested that the term was derived from sireggae, a Jamaican term for prostitute; that it means sex-talk; that it is an onomatopoeiatic term derived from the rhythm guitar sound; and that the term means raggedy, everyday, and from the people. This term first appeared in music in Toots and the Maytals’ single “Do the reggay” (1968). This thesis is primarily

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concerned with the roots reggae style which was popularised internationally by artists such as Bob Marley in the 1970s. This particular style of reggae synthesised elements derived from many different musical styles, including: American styles such as rock ‘n’ roll, funk, rhythm and blues, jazz, country and western, blues, soul, gospel, and Latin American music; Trinidadian Calypso; Jamaican African-influenced traditional and folk forms such as revival, kumina, Rasta nyabinghi drumming, obeah, etu, gombay, jonkunnu, pocomania, and Maroon music; and Jamaican popular musics such as mento, ska and rocksteady. The African musical retentions which are present in roots reggae (which is predominantly influenced by African-American and African-Jamaican musics) enable African-New Zealand consumers and performers to assert and affirm their Black African cultural/geographical roots (this topic is explored further in chapter four with particular reference to New Zealand Rastafarians).

One example of the retention of African musical elements is the emphasis on rhythm in roots reggae songs. Drumming is perhaps the most internationally recognisable feature of African music, and is also a crucial element of Rasta nyabinghi ceremonies. Jamaican roots reggae musician Count Ossie’s song “Oh Carolina” was the first to fully incorporate the three burra drums (the bass, fundeh and akete/repeater) in the music, and over time these drum patterns were distributed to instruments which, although capable of playing melodies, are used percussively in reggae. For example, the off-beat (beats 2 and 4) skank (triadic harmony chords played on the rhythm guitar and/or keyboard instrument) derives from the fundeh drum pattern (see appendix D, section 2.1). A variation on this pattern is the Hammond Organ’s shuffle, which can be heard for example on The Abyssinians’ “Satta massagana” (see appendix D, section 2.2). These decorations or elaborations of the fundeh drum pattern, which can also be seen in the rhythms played on the high hat cymbals, derive from the akete drum patterns used in Rasta nyabinghi drumming. The bass guitar and drum kit riddim (rhythm), which is derived from that of the Rasta bass drum, interlocks with those mentioned above. The bass/kick drum commonly plays

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4 See for example, Bob Marley’s “Is this love!” (Kaya. Polygram Records, 1978)
6 See for example, Bob Marley’s “Talkin’ Blues” (Natty Dread. Island, 1974).
7 See for example, Toots and the Maytals’ “Reggae got soul” (Reggae got soul. Mango, 1989)
four-on-the-floor (playing every crotchet beat); while the snare drum (or *Timbali*, a Cuban drum which resembles a snare drum, but only has one skin as opposed to two and no snare) emphasises the third beat of every bar, and sometimes also the last semiquaver beat of each bar (see appendix D, section 2.4). Rim shots (where the drum head and rim are struck simultaneously with the side of the stick) and crash cymbal accents add rhythmic variety to the music. The bass guitar usually enters no later than the third beat of the bar, and emphasises the tonic and fifth notes of the harmony skank chords (see appendix D, section 2.3).

Amidst these interlocking rhythmic patterns, the voice and other melodic instruments provide an element of continuity. Melodic hook lines (repeated melodic phrases) are played by the horn/brass section (usually comprising trumpet or tenor and/or alto saxophone and trombone). These instruments usually play only in the instrumental sections, whereas the guitar link (melodic ostinato pattern)\(^\text{11}\) tends to feature throughout the entire song (see appendix D, section 2.5). Other African musical retentions that can be found in reggae include the use of polyriddims (polyrhythms); ascending portamento in the vocal lines, particularly at the ends of phrases;\(^\text{12}\) call-and-response vocal interaction between the lead and backing vocalists; and the predominance of minor tonalities (Western tonal harmony), an element which Verena Reckford suggests is derived from the pentatonic scales used in African traditional music.\(^\text{13}\) Roots reggae songs are usually in 4/4, and the tempo and key usually remain unchanged throughout each song (see appendix D, section 3).

While these stylistic features are characteristic of Jamaican roots reggae tailored to the local Jamaican market, it is important to note that the international style of roots reggae exemplified by the music of Bob Marley and the Wailers (and thus the style of roots reggae that has had perhaps the greatest impact in New Zealand) differs in some ways from the original. Mike Alleyne states that “Marley’s texts are not immune to ideological mediation and defusion by capitalist forces which facilitate their access to discourse,” and that Western capitalist influence has played a major role in “shaping textual material away from its cultural content.”\(^\text{14}\) For example, Bob Marley’s first

\(^{11}\) See for example Bob Marley and Peter Tosh’s “Get up, stand up.” (*Burnin*., Island, 1973)

\(^{12}\) Examples of this can be found in the first vocal phrase of Culture’s “Two Sevens Clash” and in the chorus of Toots and the Maytals’ “Beautiful woman.”

\(^{13}\) Verena Reckford. “Reggae, Rastafarianism and cultural identity”: 72.

Island Record’s release, *Catch a fire* (1973), features a treble-oriented mix in contrast to the lower frequencies and bass textures characteristic of Jamaican reggae; the music was accelerated in postproduction; and several tracks feature overdubbed instrumental lines played by Euro-American session musicians, many of whom had never played reggae before. In contrast to the minor tonalities used in many Jamaican roots reggae compositions, most of Marley’s songs are written in major keys in order to appeal to Western European audiences “conditioned to the ‘sweetness’ of Euro-Western harmonic and melodic design.” Marley used greater harmonic variety in his songs in comparison to previous Jamaican roots reggae artists, which featured the use of two alternating chords (often chords ii or bVII alternating with i. See appendix D, section 1). Rather than catering to the singles market, or producing an album of singles arranged around hits, *Catch a fire* was an original, thematically unified full-length album. This album was technologically well-produced, and the resulting sound was far removed from the rough and raw recordings produced prior to this time (an aesthetic element which contributed towards reggae’s nature as a roots music, music of the ghetto population). The packaging of this album was also slick and professional.

In order to maximise the music’s appeal and saleability to European and Anglo-American audiences, reggae musicians (and/or their European and Anglo-American record companies, which were responsible for the global dissemination of reggae) generalised and softened reggae’s revolutionary lyrics. The lyrical content of Marley’s songs also became more international in focus, and he used metaphorical language to create ambiguity and make the songs’ messages applicable to as wide an audience as possible. The rebellious image of Jamaican roots reggae artists was also toned-down in the music’s marketing. For example, Marley’s 1974 album, which was originally entitled *Knotty dreads*, was changed to *Natty dreads* by Island Records’ Chris Blackwell because “‘Natty’ had connotations of being ‘hip’ and ‘fashionable’ whereas ‘knotty’ implied a sense of uncompromising Rasta militancy and race-consciousness symbolised by the extolling of locks.”

As the New Zealand music market is

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The video *Classic Albums: Bob Marley and the Wailers’ Catch a Fire* (Heartland Reggae/Image Entertainment, 1999) specifies the alterations and additions that were made to each song on the album.

Verena Reckford, “Reggae, Rastafarianism and cultural identity”: 72.

dominated by Ang-o-American styles, these changes to reggae’s style and marketing would have made the music more accessible and familiar to local audiences.

Stylistically speaking, New Zealand roots reggae music is similar to international roots reggae style in many ways (see appendix D). However, despite these stylistic similarities, the discourses of local roots reggae critics and musicians indicate that a distinctive New Zealand style of reggae exists. For example, reggae produced by local bands such as Herbs, Dread Beat and Blood, Sticks and Shanty, and Aotearoa has been variously described as unique, distinctive, real, pure, true or genuine Kiwi Pacific, Pacific, Pasifika, homegrown, or Polynesian reggae; music which is “one step beyond pure Jamaican reggae, with an obvious indigenous feel,” and which “couldn’t have come from anywhere else.” Some commentators make an explicit link between local roots reggae and New Zealand’s geography, thereby emphasising that this music legitimately belongs here. For example, Dread Beat’s music is said to have a “sense of space that was essentially Pacific.” This sense of space could perhaps relate to the use of instruments with different timbres spread across the frequency range; or perhaps in songs where the vocal harmonies are octaves, perfect fourths or fifths apart – thus resulting in a bare, open sound - at least when compared to triadic harmony (see appendix D, section 2.6). Dread Beat’s music is also described as containing “something essentially Aotearoa” which is defined as “an atmosphere of rolling seas and wide open space; the rhythms by contrast, have an urban edge that is inescapable.” The natural and human-constructed geographies of Polynesia are also indexed by Graham Reid, who asserts that Herbs’ music is “a reggae set against the gentle roll of Polynesia, and a reggae of the streets of Ponsonby, Newton and Otara.” By explicitly linking the sounds of localised reggae to how they imagine New Zealand or Pacific space, these people root this music in New Zealand.

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22 Kereama (Graham) Reid. “Multicultural Herbs ready to go back to their roots.” Tu Tangata 4 (February/March 1982): 10.
25 Kereama (Graham) Reid. “Multicultural Herbs ready to go back to their roots”: 10.
They establish that this music is a local cultural product, and therefore de-emphasise reggae’s Jamaican stylistic origins. The comments that New Zealand Polynesian reggae is reminiscent of rolling seas and ‘the gentle roll of Polynesia’ are validated by Herbs member Charlie Tumahai, who states:

What I was playing was West Indian style reggae, roots reggae. It wasn’t until I put one against the other – playing Herbs, then Marley, Herbs, then Black Slate, then it struck me... the key to it for me was Herbs have more of a roll. The roots reggae is more of a staccato style; they leave holes, take things away. It’s very heavy. Whereas the Herbs rhythm is more of a rolling thing, quite smooth. It came home when the Wailers walked into one of our rehearsals, and they clicked. They said, ‘Oh, reggae, but different!’ I said, yeah – it took me a while too.28

The sound of original Jamaican roots reggae can certainly be described as crisp and staccato, and is achieved by padding the inside of the drums to deaden the sound and by using compressors in the studio. This Jamaican musical aesthetic perhaps derives from the *nyabinghi* drums, which are double-membrane drums usually made of rum kegs and goatskin. As a result, these drums do not produce a very resonant sound. The more legato style of playing reggae found in New Zealand is one distinguishing aspect of the local style.

Local musicians such as Herbs’ Toni Fonoti deliberately set out to “put Pacific influences into mus.c, make island culture more available, give it a modern sound.”29 As Dilworth Karaka explains, contemporary American bands taught the members of Herbs a valuable lesson: “One thing we took out of all the American bands was that they were all talking about their own culture. They were all singing about themselves, and that’s what we did. We hooked into our Kiwiana culture. We didn’t know it at the time but that was our driving force, our way of life.”30 The influence of Polynesian musical styles on local reggae music was scarcely avoidable according to Unity Pacific’s Tigilau Ness, who describes his home city of Auckland as being “the hub of the Pacific for having the most Polynesian peoples in it in the world. Without a doubt,
we influence and are influenced by that in our music." So how then have New Zealand reggae musicians established a distinctive local identity in their music?

Commentators usually identify the vocal harmonies and melodies, in addition to rhythmic elements of this music, as giving the sound a distinctive local identity. For example, the vocal arrangements of both Aotearoa and Dread Beat and Blood’s reggae are described as being “all Māori,” with the “use of strong harmonies [giving] their music a distinct New Zealand feel.” Distinctive Polynesian harmonies are also ascribed to the music of Herbs and Unity Pacific. “Massive” or “fine” melodies are also seen as being an attribute of New Zealand reggae music, particularly in reference to bands such as Dread Beat and Blood, Herbs and Aotearoa. This view is consolidated by Ngahiwi Apanui’s comment that “Māoris have always got this thing for melody. They love melody, heaps and heaps of it! The close triadic harmonies which feature in reggae by some local and overseas artists (see appendix D, section 2.6) may be connected in part to the musicians’ backgrounds in church choral singing. Christianity has had a tremendous impact in the Pacific, and Zealand Pacific Island reggae musicians such as Tigilau Ness grew up in strongly Christian families. This possible connection between church singing and reggae complements and emphasises the spiritual nature of reggae lyrics praising and giving thanks to Jah. This emphasis on vocal harmony and melody in particular indicates a different aesthetic in comparison to that of Jamaican roots reggae fans and practitioners, who value the rhythmic elements of the music over the melodic or harmonic aspects.

The rhythmic attributes of locally produced reggae are also seen as contributing towards its distinctive identity. For example, Fred Faleauto’s drumming was said to give Herbs’ music “a distinctive Pacific feel. The sparse kit, the rim shots, the incessant shuffle;” “he somehow transferred to an ordinary kit the hand and stick rhythms of the islands.” The Pacific or Māori guitar strum patterns used for example

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36 Duncan Campbell. “Two great reggae albums”:
on albums such as Aotearoa’s *Tihei Mauriora* and *He waiata mo te iwi* also contributes towards this music’s distinctiveness. The perceived similarities between the Pacific strum (in which beats 2 and 4 are emphasised) and the rhythm guitar skank in reggae was one of the reasons for reggae’s adoption in New Zealand, particularly for Māori and Pacific Islanders. For example, Tigilau Ness could readily identify with reggae because “it definitely had a rhythm that is similar to Pacific Island rhythms played on the ukulele or guitar,” and that “when I first heard Marley in 1974-5, straight away the music got me, because it’s like the ukulele. You can hear the island palm tree stuff.”

The Hawaiian straight ukulele strum

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The Māori strum

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Figure 1

The Pacific and Māori strums

New Zealand musicians have also drawn upon other elements derived from the traditional musical styles of their own cultures to create their own distinctive localised style of roots reggae. This enables them to acknowledge their cultural/geographical roots, in much the same way as African-Jamaican musicians who use perceived African musical elements in their reggae songs. Having already mentioned some of

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the musical elements that various commentators have used to identify Pacific and Polynesian reggae music, the following discussion will focus on how Māori musicians draw on elements of their musical heritage to construct contemporary Māori identities.

One traditional (defined here as a musical form which has been in existence since pre-European contact) Māori musical form which has been extensively drawn upon by Māori reggae musicians is the *haka* (posture dance with stylised shouted accompaniment). This may partly be due to the Māori *haka* beat being said to have a reggae-like sound. *Haka* are usually in 3/8 time, so perhaps this comment relates to the polyrhythmic aspect of reggae in regard to the use of triplet figures. Because the *haka* is often mistakenly conflated with the *peruperu, whakatū waewae* and *tūtū ngārāhu* (all war dances), it is often symbolically associated with anger and defiance towards one’s enemies. However, due to this misconception, this musical form is particularly appropriate to express the angry and defiant sentiments of songs such as David Grace and Injustice’s “Tino rangatiratanga” (“Absolute chieftainship”), “Pakaitore” and “Revolution,” which advocate Māori self-determination, social justice and freedom from oppression. As in predominant contemporary performance practice, elements derived from *haka* in reggae recordings are performed by men, even though in the past there were *haka* for either or both men and women as well as *haka* for children.

Stylistic elements derived from *haka* include the use of a declamatory style of vocal delivery. This is also a feature of *waiata* (the generic term for sung styles of traditional Māori music), where it is used to emphasise important words and phrases such as the names of people and places. It is used, for example, to emphasise the names of the famous historical figures Titokowaru, Kawiti and Hone Heke in David Grace’s “Empower my people,” and to emphasise the concept of “Tino Rangatiratanga” in his song of that name. This style of vocal delivery is also used at the ends of phrases in songs such as Southside of Bombay’s “All across the world,”

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David Grace’s “Pakaitore” and Moana and the Moahunters’ “Kua mākona” (“Be satisfied”). Sometimes, the voice descends in pitch at the ends of these declaimed words. Examples of this can be found on the declaimed words “tangata whenua” from David Grace’s song “Africa,” as well as in the songs “Mura ahi” and “He aha te whakatau” from Ruia and Ranea Aperahama’s album Whāre Māori. Another element derived from haka is the use of te arero (the out-thrust tongue). Prior to European contact, this was a feature of the peruperu, but is now an individual form of expression used by haka performers to signify their contempt and defiance of their enemies. Examples of this can be heard, for example, in David Grace’s songs “Tino rangatiratanga,” “Pakaitore” and “Revolution.” In “Pakaitore” and “Revolution,” the material delivered in a haka style involves call-and-response between the lead and backing vocalists. This is another characteristic feature of haka, and is also one African-derived feature of reggae music. However, to my knowledge, local reggae musicians have not consciously drawn parallels between this aspect of reggae and haka. The syllable Ks used in David Grace’s “Revolution” as well as the shouted He! used to end this song and “Pakaitore,” as well as Survival’s song “1840,” are traditional haka endings. The shouted He! is currently used to end the All Blacks performance of part of Te Rauparaha’s ngeri (short, informal composition in haka form performed with or without dance; performed to encourage performers as a preliminary to a haka, and to accompany everyday activities such as work and eating) “Ka mate!”

In addition to drawing on elements derived from haka, Māori musicians have used elements derived from sung styles (generally classed as waiata) of traditional Māori music in their reggae songs. Many waiata have a limited vocal range, and the pitches are centred around an oro (durational tonic or fixed intoning note). Melodic movement is mainly stepwise, and when leaps occur, they are usually leaps of a minor third or perfect fourth. Examples of this form of melodic construction can be heard in

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52 McLean. Māori Music:: 53.
54 For further information on this ngeri, see chapter six of: Timoti Kāretu. Haka! The Dance of a Noble People. Auckland: Reed, 1993.
55 McLean. Māori Music:: 110.
David Grace’s song “Matua whaea,”30 and Hori Chapman and Ahurangi’s “Toro atu.”37

David Grace and Injustice. “Matua whaea.”


Figure 2
Melodies centred around an oro

Similarly, the chanted material at the ends of Ahurangi’s “Whakarongo” (“Listen”)58 and Southside of Bombay’s “What’s the time Mr. Wolf?”59 – both of which are performed by men – essentially remain on one pitch. In “Whakarongo,” there are occasional steps down in pitch to the note below the oro, and the vocal line descends in pitch at the end of the phrase. Similarly, Aotearoa’s song “Māoritanga”60 is sung predominantly on one note only.

Welcoming songs sung entirely in te reo Māori (the Māori language) are featured on albums such as Herbs’ Long ago and Aotearoa’s He waiata mo te iwi. In their traditional cultural context, these songs would be performed as part of the ritual of encounter used to welcome manuhiri (visitors) onto the marae (meeting house).61 By recontextualising these musical expressions, the bands symbolically assume the role of hosts on the marae, while the audience represent the manuhiri. In accordance with Māori custom, the karanga “karanga ra”62 performed on the album Long ago is performed by a female, whose calls provide a safe pathway or route along which audience members can travel to enter Herbs’ soundworld. Similarly, Aotearoa’s “He

59 Southside of Bombay. “What’s the time Mr. Wolf?” Live in Aotearoa.
waiata pōwhiri\textsuperscript{63} (welcoming song) functions to invite the audience members into the experience of listening to the band’s music. In its original context, the karanga would involve an exchange of calls between the kai karanga, usually a kuia (female elder) of the host marae, and an elder female member of the manuhiri. It is the initial point of verbal contact between both groups, and as such carries with it the mana (pride, prestige) of the marae, hapū (subtribe) and iwi (tribe). The kai karanga of the host marae would be wearing black and holding greenery in her hands. Waiata pōwhiri are not invariably performed for every group of manuhiri who visit a marae, but when they are performed they can begin either before or during the karanga. For people familiar with marae protocol, these pieces of music may have additional meanings. The karanga used at the beginning of Long ago welcomes Māori from all iwi, as it refers to the seven waka that arrived in the Great Fleet: Tainui, Te Arawa, Aotea, Tokomaru, Takitimu, Kurahaupo, and Matatua. Both this karanga and Aotearoa’s waiata pōwhiri acknowledge the tipuna (ancestors), thereby creating a space in which past, present and future generations of those involved in this aural experience (both musicians and audience members) are brought together. These pieces of music unite the performers and listeners on a symbolic level that is highly significant in Māori cultural terms. By performing these pieces in conjunction with reggae songs using contemporary recording media, both Herbs and Aotearoa emphasise the continuity of Māori culture from the past to the present.

2.2.2 Instrumentation

A Jamaican roots reggae ensemble is likely to consist of the following instruments: drums (drum kit; one of more of the Rasta nyabinghi drums; added percussion instruments such as shakers and bells), horn/brass section (trombone, trumpet, alto and/or tenor saxophone); rhythm and bass guitars; and Hammond organ. The table below shows that New Zealand reggae bands have used similar instrumentation in their recordings.

\textsuperscript{63} Aotearoa. “He waiata pōwhiri.” He waiata mo te iwi.
### Table 1

**Instrumentation**

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<th>Band</th>
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- The instruments listed here were not necessarily used simultaneously in each performance, but were used at various times throughout the bands' careers.

### Table 1. Cont.

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<td>Hammond organ</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
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<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td>✓✓✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The instruments listed here were not necessarily used simultaneously in each performance, but were used at various times throughout the bands' careers).

The Hammond organ and hand drums in particular were distinctive features of early Jamaican roots reggae recordings, and their adoption by local musicians indicates a close imitation of imported stylistic models. The Hammond Organ, which can be heard, for example, in the introduction to Bob Marley and the Wailers' "No woman
no cry,” was originally intended for Church performance. Where reggae recordings do feature this instrument, the songs have a ‘Churchy’ feel which particularly suits those with Rasta spiritual content. This instrument can be heard, for example, on local recordings such as Unity Pacific’s *From street to sky* and the album *Tino waiata reggae*, while hand drums can be heard on recordings by Sticks and Shanty and Boil Up. William Hawkeswood notes that in Auckland reggae bands of the early 1980s, “the Conga player is usually the star performer,” and that bongos and nyabinghi drums (fundé, akete and bass) were also used. The organ and hand drums were perhaps particularly significant for local Rastafarian reggae musicians in terms of constructing their perceived African roots and articulating their spiritual beliefs.

Although local musicians imitated the instrumental ensembles heard on imported recordings to a large extent, some key differences exist. For example, virtuosic electric lead guitar solos were not present in any of the ten overseas songs used in this analysis, but were found on recordings such as Dread Beat and Blood’s “Waitangi” and Sticks and Shanty’s “We love reggae.” This perhaps indicates the influence of guitarists such as Carlos Santana and Led Zeppelin on these local artists. The use of instruments indigenous to New Zealand and the Pacific Islands also contributes towards reggae’s localisation, and the formation of a distinctly local variant of this style. The use of such instruments in an originally Jamaican musical style enables local musicians to construct and maintain their cultural/geographical roots. Of the musical samples used in this analysis, only three recordings featured the use of Māori instruments whose use pre-dates European contact. This is perhaps largely attributable to the comparatively recent revival of these instruments by people such as Hirini Melbourne, Richard Nunns and Brian Flintock. When these instruments are used in contemporary reggae recordings, they index Māori culture and enable the musicians to express and construct their contemporary Māori identities. For example, Hori Chapman and Ahurangi’s reggae-influenced song “Whakarongo” features the use of a bone *kōauau* (flute), an instrument which was traditionally used to accompany *waiata* singing. This is a versatile existing piece of music, which can be performed in a

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68 This instrument is an open-tube, 12-15cm long with a bore of 1-2 cm. They can have 2-5 fingerholes, although most have 3. These instruments can be constructed from materials such as human or dog
variety of ways. A karanga weka (weka call; the weka is a native New Zealand bird) is also featured on this recording, which is highly appropriate since the opening line asks listeners to “whakarongo ki nga manu tioriori” (“listen to the decoy bird call”). The poi (ball attached to a string which is swung and hit in time to the beat of the song) is another traditional Māori instrument that is used in reggae recordings such as Moana and the Moahunters’ song “Kua mākona,” and Ngahiwi Apanui’s “Whārikihia” (“lay out [your love]”) to provide percussive rhythmic sounds. Apanui describes “Whārikihia” as an oriori, “a lullaby for those times when you are apart from your lover. The lyrics gently ask your lover to lay down her love as a path for you to come together to ease the pain of being apart.” The use of poi throughout this song is appropriate, as Barry Mitcalfe notes that in the early to mid-nineteenth century, poi songs/dances were composed by puhi (women set aside for dynastic marriages) to accompany oriori. He speculates that this practice may pre-date European contact.

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bone, whale tooth ivory, and wood (for example, houhou, kaiwhiria, mataii, neinei, poroporo, tāpākīhi/tutu, whau and māhoe. Kōauau iwi toroa are made from albatross leg or wing bones. McLean, Māori Music: 184-5.

69 Karyn Paringatai. Personal communication, 28 October 2003.

70 This instrument was reconstructed by Brian Flintoff, based on the only known example of this instrument, which is held in the British Museum. It is similar in shape to the ngura, but with a shorter neck and a single fingerhole. It accurately replicates the weka’s call, and can also be played as a melodic instrument. Hirini Melbourne, Toiapiapi. New Zealand: Titi Tuhuwai, 1993, 31.

71 Common poi were traditionally made by wrapping dry raupo leaves around an object to give them weight and form, and had short strings. McLean. Māori Music: 128.


73 This is the generic term for lullaby. Oriori were traditionally performed to the children of chiefs and the nobility to educate them about their whakapapa. The subject matter of this oriori perhaps has more in common with a waiata aroha (love song). For more information about oriori, see McLean. Māori Music: 143.

74 See the CD liner notes for Ngahiwi Apanui’s album Tō reo Māori e.

Hori Chapman playing the kōauau

Examples of Kōauau

Poi

Poi performance

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76 Image from CD liner notes. Hori Chapman and Ahurangi. Tōku reo.


Karanga weka.\textsuperscript{80}

Figure 3
The kōauau, poi and karanga weka

Perhaps due to lack of knowledge of how to play these instruments, their scarcity, and issues relating to the appropriateness of recontextualising them (particularly as reggae is an adopted popular music style), local reggae artists seem to have drawn sparingly upon traditional Māori instruments as a musical resource. Nevertheless, for those who have gained access to these instruments and learnt how to play them, these instruments enable Māori to modernise without losing their ties to their tradition, heritage and cultural roots.

Similarly, the use of Polynesian drums and rhythmic patterns has enabled New Zealand Pacific Islander reggae musicians to construct and maintain their cultural identities; enabling them to connect with their ancestral homelands (the islands to which they trace their roots). For example, the recording of the Rarotonganui Cultural Club performing percussion instruments which comes at the end of Herbs’ album \textit{Long ago}, is significantly entitled “Going home.” Cook Island drumming can be heard throughout D-Faction’s album \textit{Take a little piece}, and Polynesian drumming is also used extensively on Mana’s self-titled album.\textsuperscript{81} Examples of the kinds of instruments being used in these recordings, as well as their nomenclature are listed below.

\textsuperscript{80} Image from: Hirini Melbourne. \textit{Toiapapiti}: 8.
### Table 2

**Polynesian percussion nomenclature**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument types</th>
<th>Instrument names</th>
<th>regions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slit log drums</td>
<td>lali</td>
<td>Fiji, Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tō'ere</td>
<td>Cook Islands, Society Islands,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marquesas Islands</td>
<td>tōkere</td>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nafa</td>
<td>Samoa, Niue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pātē</td>
<td>Samoa, Tokelau, Rarotonga, Cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>logo</td>
<td>Samoa, Niue, Tokelau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka’ara</td>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struck plaques</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td>Tokelau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struck tins</td>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>Tonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘apa</td>
<td>Samoa, Tokelau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tini</td>
<td>Tonga, Cook islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membranophones</td>
<td>fa’atete</td>
<td>Society Islands, Marquesas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pahu</td>
<td>Society Islands, Marquesas, Hawai’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pa’u</td>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pūniu</td>
<td>Hawai’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Box drums</td>
<td>pōkihi</td>
<td>Tokelau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolled mats</td>
<td>fala</td>
<td>Tokelau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gourd idiophone</td>
<td>ipu</td>
<td>Hawai’i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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**Figure 4**

**Drums and Toeres**

2.2.3 Language

As language is one of the key markers of cultural identity, this section analyses the lyrics of several New Zealand roots reggae songs (see appendix E) to see how the musicians use language to construct their cultural identities. Most New Zealand reggae songs are sung in English; mainly because musicians want their music to be understood (and purchased) by as many people as possible, and also in an attempt to gain airplay on commercial radio stations. Cultural and economic constraints such as the language competency of both musicians and consumers, and the targeting of particular consumers also factor into musicians’ language choices. In addition to English, Dread Talk, te reo Māori and Pacific Island languages are used. All of these languages are highly significant in terms of signifying the place and cultural identity of the musicians and their audiences.

New Zealand reggae artists have adopted elements from Dread Talk (also termed Rasta Talk, I-ance or I-yaric), the Rastafarian mode of speech disseminated by popular reggae artists such as Bob Marley, adopted the Jamaican patois; and even used Jamaican accents in their pronunciation of these words in their music. These linguistic elements of their music, which are found particularly in the early recordings of New Zealand reggae artists, may be attributable to their close imitation of Jamaican stylistic models and/or their desire to assert their authenticity as reggae artists. Bands such as Dread Beat and Blood, Mana, Sticks and Shanty, Unity Pacific and the Twelve Tribes of Israel have Rastafarian members, and the use of Dread Talk in their lyrics signifies their Rasta identity. However, non-Rasta reggae musicians also use certain words and phrases derived from this lexicon, perhaps indicating the extent to which Dread Talk is entrenched in reggae music as a genre. The use of Rasta terminology by reggae producers and consumers in everyday speech, rather than signifying a Rasta identity, may signify their belonging to a group of people who enjoy reggae.

There are three main characteristics of Dread Talk which are found in New Zealand reggae lyrics. Firstly, Dread Talk is characterised by the use of Biblical proverbs and terminology. New Zealand reggae artists assign meanings to these terms which are consistent with Rastafarian usage. For example, the term Babylon is used in songs by bands such as Mana, and Upper Hutt Posse to represent White (Western;

Anglo-American and European) culture. In the Book of Revelations, Babylon is portrayed as the final earthly city. Rasta use this term to refer to the postcolonial Western power structure and Roman Catholicism. Babylon is symbolic of the forces that oppress Black people (particularly oppressed members of diasporic and indigenous populations) through institutions such as the economic, political, education and justice systems. It is characterised as being evil, destructive and unnatural. The Rasta term Jah or Jah Jah was derived from the Old Testament’s Yahweh or Jehovah (see appendix F, section 1). Bands such as Dread Beat and Blood, Herbs, The New Zeal Band, Mana, and Sticks and Shanty use this term to refer variously to God (the Almighty, Lord, Father), or Jesus Christ/Haile Selassie I, the King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering lion of the tribe of Judah. The various meanings attributed to the word Jah have enabled the Christian members of Herbs to comfortably use this term; perhaps seeing it as an equivalent term for God. For example, Spencer Fusimalohi explains that the use of this term “just fits the music. You don’t have to be afraid to use Jah just because you’re not a Rastafarian. Rastafari is everywhere. Everyone is a Rasta in their own way.” Another biblical term used in reggae songs by bands such as Sticks and Shanty and the New Zeal Band is Zion. Rastas use this term to identify Heaven/Ethiopia; the place where Jah resides and to which Black people will be returned.

Another characteristic of Dread Talk found in some New Zealand reggae songs is the modification of English words to bring “the form of the word closer to the (literal phonetic) meaning and to eliminate inconsistencies between form (sound) and meaning.” Linguist Velma Pollard has also commented on this modification of

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85 Ethiopia was invaded by Mussolini in 1935, and the Pope blessed the planes carrying out the attacks; the Treaty of Rome established the European Economic Community (EEC), which local Rastas believe controls New Zealand trade; Romans fought at Carthage, and killed Christians and Christ; Roman Catholics are believed to control the government and the educational system. See Hawkeswood. “I’n I Ras Tafari”: 121
lexicon to create "words that bear the weight of their phonological implications."89 For New Zealanders illiterate due to poverty, as well as for Māori, for whom oral communication is an important aspect of Māoritanga (Māori culture), this emphasis on the phonological significance of words may have been a possible reason for reggae’s appeal. In Māori culture, the spoken word is regarded as having considerable power. Oral communication represents an alternative to Western European written forms of communication, and a return to traditional cultural roots, as prior to European colonization, information was primarily communicated via oral means. For example, the use of terms such as downpressor (oppressor – modified because ‘op’ sounds like up, thereby implying that oppression is positive) and overstand (understand – modified because it is impossible for anyone to stand underneath another person) in songs such as David Grace and Injustice’s “One people” and Upper Hutt Posse’s “Beware a de Wiya”90 are examples of this Rastafarian modification of language. By creatively modifying the language of their oppressors to represent their own values and beliefs, Rastas signify their resistance to British hegemony. These modifications to the sound and meaning of English terms generate a strong sense of identity among those who use this lexicon.

The third characteristic of Rastafarian lexicon found in some New Zealand reggae songs, and perhaps the most significant in terms of identity, is the use of the first person pronoun ‘I.’ It replaces all first person pronouns (me, mine, my, we, us, our, ours) and second person pronouns (you, yours, your). This emphasis on ‘I’ affirms an individual’s subjectivity and sense of power, pride and self-confidence, thus defying the objectification and depersonalisation that can occur in the context of domination and oppression (as experienced by some members of the indigenous population and diaspora communities). The expression I’n’I (I and I) found for example in songs by Sticks and Shanty, Mana and Dread Beat and Blood,91 refers both to a person’s sense of belonging within the Rasta community and to the presence of God within each person.92 This expression contributes towards creating and maintaining a person’s Rasta identity. The assertion of the divinity of all human beings explains the

92 Chevannes. Rastafari. 185.
Rastafarian movement's epistemological or authoritative individualism, and thus the absence of a formal doctrine and of people designated to mediate between humans and God. It also forms the basis of Rastafarian calls for an egalitarian society characterised by equality, liberty, dignity, mutual respect and equity in terms of access to human and natural resources. The prominent use of the word 'I' contributes towards the construction and maintenance of a person's individual and group identity.

The use of Dread Talk is most prevalent in the songs written and performed by New Zealand Rastas. The Rastafarian members of bands such as Mana, Sticks and Shanty and the Twelve Tribes of Israel Band, for example, use Dread Talk to spiritually and culturally align themselves with the international Rasta community. However, most of the songs analysed that featured elements of the Rastafarian lexicon as well as Jamaican accents, were performed by non-adherents to Rastafari. For example, Upper Hutt Posse's first album Movement in demand features lyrics such as: “To tell you what's right inna dis creation / Dready ave fi come to change the situation” from their song “Dread on a mission,” and “to make ya gwan get a nice and irie” from “Beware a de Wiya.” In contrast to the band's latest album Mā te wā\(^9\) which is sung entirely in te reo Māori, this use of Dread Talk and Jamaican accents can be attributed to close imitation of Jamaican models, and perhaps the desire to assert a sense of stylistic authenticity in order to compete commercially with reggae imported from Jamaica. The continued use of Jamaican Rastafarian terminology and expressions by some non-Rasta New Zealand musicians may reflect the extent to which this language is entrenched in reggae music as a genre.

Māori reggae musicians that use te reo Māori in their lyrics are highly conscious of the importance of language in the maintenance of cultural identity. For example, Moana Maniapoto Jackson asserts that te reo is “vital for the survival of the culture. In language [you have] the whole values of a culture expressed.”\(^9\) Maaka McGregor makes a similar point:

> All the type of music that we play in our life is orientated towards te reo Māori and while performing our language it will ensure our language will survive…. We are the only people in this world that speak Māori – that is our uniqueness in the world.\(^9\)

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The importance of te reo and Māoritanga retention is stressed by Māori reggae musicians such as the band Aotearoa in their song “Māoritanga,” which advocates Māori to “te tautoko tou reo” (“support your language”). The high value accorded to te reo Māori is indicated in Hori Chapman and Ahurangi’s song “Tōku reo,” in which te reo is described as ohooho (valuable), māpihi maurea (tiger shell personal adornments), whakakia marihi (precious earrings) and pounamu (greenstone). All of these items have enormously high cultural value for Māori.

Given the predominance of the English language in New Zealand, language retention can be difficult for Māori and for members of Pacific Islander and other non-English speaking immigrant communities. The issue of language retention is one of vital importance for Māori, particularly in light of the loss of Māoritanga that has resulted from European colonisation. As Ranea Aperahama explains, when he was growing up “speaking Māori wasn’t cool. Even your Māori cuzzies laughed at you and gave you a hard time if you spoke it.”97 For all New Zealanders, language is an important means of maintaining their cultural roots. However, due to the paucity of fluent speakers in Māori and other Polynesian languages in New Zealand and due to resistance from mainstream radio stations in regards to playing local music with non-English language content,98 local reggae artists from these cultures predominantly sing in English. Aotearoa’s Ngahiwi Apanui, for example, decided to use both the English and Māori languages to ensure that the band’s message could be reliably interpreted by their target audience of Māori youth: “my first idea was to have a group singing totally in Māori. After a while it became obvious that there was a whole section of Māoridom that would miss out on what we do if we didn’t sing in English as well.”99 The results of language loss can be clearly seen in early New Zealand reggae bands such as Herbs. The Māori language content of Herb’s reggae music is essentially limited to shouted interjections such as “haere mai” in “Station of Love” and “te waka” in “Light of the Pacific.”100 On these earlier reggae recordings, Māori and other Polynesian languages tend to be used when performing songs in a non-reggae style. Examples of this include Herbs’ performances of the traditional Māori

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98 The artists do receive airtime on iwi and student radio stations.
song “E papa,” and the traditional Samoan song “Meteli,”101 and Mana’s “Kolomotu’a” which is sung in Tongan. One important exception to this is Herbs’ song “Whats’ be happen?”102 which contains lyrics in Samoan, Tongan, Māori and English. The use of these four languages reinforces the band’s kaupapa (philosophy) of Pacific unity, and strengthens their expression of a Polynesian identity.

Census figures show that the number of Māori speakers has increased over recent years,103 perhaps due to the recognition of Māori as one of New Zealand’s official languages (the other being English), and the success of education schemes such as Kohanga reo (language nests).104 The rise in the number of people learning te reo (as part of the Māori Renaissance) is reflected in a corresponding shift towards greater Māori language content in the music of local reggae musicians. For example, Aotearoa’s songs “E pipi,” “Mana Māori Motuhake,” “Aroha ki te tangata,”105 and “Māoritanga,” and Moana and the Moahunters’ “Kua mākonā” feature the sole use of te reo Māori; and many of the songs performed by Aotearoa and David Grace and Injustice are bilingual. The reggae songs on Hori Chapman and Ahurangi’s album Tōku reo,106 Upper Hutt Posse’s album Mā te wā and Ruia and Ranea Aperahama’s album Whāre Māori107 are sung entirely in te reo Māori. In addition, three albums have been recently released featuring covers of well-known reggae songs performed in te reo Māori.108 These recordings not only provide Māori with access to their reo in a familiar, enjoyable and non-threatening way, but they also make te reo accessible to

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103 In 1913 ninety percent of Māori school children could speak Māori in comparison to less than five percent in 1975. The New Zealand education system has been organised around Western European constructs with little recognition of mātauranga Māori (Māori systems of knowledge). From around 1900 the speaking of te reo Māori (the Māori language) in schools was forbidden and punishable. Mason Durie. *Te Mana. te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-Determination.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 60; In 2001, 25.2% of Māori could hold a conversation in Māori, and 1.2% could speak Māori only.
105 Within 3 years since its inception in 1982, there were 188 Kohanga Reo established around the country. By 1990 there were more than 550 in operation. The Kura Kaupapa scheme, which started in 1990, extended Māori language learning into primary school education. Ranginui J. Walker. “Māori people since 1950.” In *The Oxford History of New Zealand* 2nd ed, edited by Geoffrey W. Rice, 498-519. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992. 515.
107 “E te iwi Māori,” “Whakarongo,” “Tōku reo,” “Toro Atu” and “Te reo Tuatahi.”
108 “He Aha te Whakatau,” “Mura Ahi” and “E Kore te Aroha.” This album was released in 1995. Te Taur o te Reo Māori (Māori language year).
non-Māori. As Ruia Aperahama states, “by producing such albums, we’re encouraging the viewpoint that te reo Māori is very much a living language outside of schools, institutes and marae-focused activities.”\textsuperscript{109} The increasing use of \textit{te reo} in New Zealand reggae recordings is evidence of the increasing degree of localisation and secularisation of the music, and stands in contrast to earlier reggae bands that used Jamaican Rastafarian lexicon to a large extent.

Table 3
Summary of languages used in local reggae recordings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dread talk and English</th>
<th>Māori</th>
<th>Māori and English</th>
<th>others</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980-1984</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990-1994</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-1999</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2004</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totals:</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Of the songs analysed for language use, the number of original reggae songs performed solely in \textit{te reo Māori} during the 2000-2004 period was three. The total of 34 includes songs from Ruia and Ranea’s \textit{Waiata of Bob Marley I and II}; and the album \textit{Tino Waiata reggae}).

2.2.4 Symbols of identity

Symbols are important in the establishment and maintenance of any identity. Cohen defines symbols as “objects, acts, concepts, or linguistic formations that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of disparate meanings, evoke sentiments and emotions, and impel men to action … For the individual, symbols are fundamental mechanisms for the development of selfhood.”\textsuperscript{110} Epstein also stresses the importance of symbols in the construction of group identity, asserting that such identities are given affective power when individuals invoke symbolic values and meanings.\textsuperscript{111} The colours and symbols derived from the Ethiopian flag, the wearing of dreadlocks and the smoking of ganja have been prominent in reggae lyrics and in the visual imagery used in its marketing. Initially these symbols served as boundary markers for distinguishing


Rastas from the non-Rasta population, but in contemporary New Zealand society these symbols may signify an interest in reggae music or they may have a range of non-reggae related meanings. These symbols therefore have a wide range of meanings, and are used in the construction and maintenance of both individual and group identities.

2.2.4.1 The red, gold and green tricolour

Many cultures use flags as potent symbols of identity. The red, gold and green tricolour and the Lion of Judah symbol derived from the Ethiopian national flag are prevalent on the album covers of roots reggae recordings, and are two of the most readily identifiable symbols associated with reggae music. These symbols were originally adopted by Jamaican Rastas in order to signify their Ethiopian identity. The red, green and gold colours also partly coincided with those used in Marcus Garvey’s UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) emblem which was black, red and green. The use of the colour black in images (such as the African continent, ganja leaves, Haile Selassie, Bob Marley and the Lion of Judah) superimposed on a red, gold and green background (or as a background to the tricolour) thereby maintains Rasta’s connection with Marcus Garvey. For New Zealand Rastas, these colours signify their African and more specifically Ethiopian identity: the black symbolises the African people, the red symbolises their blood, the green symbolises Africa’s verdant vegetation, and the gold symbolises Africa’s mineral wealth.\textsuperscript{112} However, today the use of these symbols does not necessarily imply an ideological commitment to Rastafari. They may be used to imply an ideological commitment to the freedom of oppressed peoples, or they may simply signify a love of reggae music. Although some New Zealanders identify the red, gold and green tricolour with the Rastafarian movement, others mistake these colours for the Jamaican national flag (which is black, yellow and green). These symbols are thus multifarious sign vehicles which are able to be interpreted in many ways by different people, each of whom interprets the symbol based upon their experiences and beliefs.

These symbols are celebrated in reggae songs such as Herbs’ “Reggae’s doing fine,” which asserts “I-den-ti-ty, will always be what we see yeah / The yellow, the

\textsuperscript{112} Chevannes. \textit{Rastafari}: 15-16.
red, the green I-den-ti-ty. They are used in Katchafire’s band logo (see figure 5 below), on items of clothing such as T-shirts and tams (knitted hats) worn by reggae consumers and musicians; and some New Zealand roots reggae musicians have used the red, green and gold tricolour and Lion of Judah symbol on album covers as part of the music’s marketing.

Figure 5
Katchafire’s logo

In many cases, these symbols are used in conjunction with Māori symbols. For example, the name of the band (Dread Beat and Blood) is shown in red, green and gold on their album Tribute to a friend, and the album cover also depicts Hone Heke chopping down the flagpole flying the British flag, and a Māori male moko (tattoo). Similarly, the cover of Sticks and Shanty’s album Jah magic features an image of a Māori waka (canoe) superimposed in black against a red, green and gold background. The Tino Rangatira Māori flag and its constituent colours of red, black and white is used, for example, on the cover artwork and liner notes of David Grace and Injustice’s Weapons of peace, and the name of the band is superimposed upon a red, gold and green background. Figure 6 depicts the album covers for Ruia and Ranea Aperahama’s album The waiata of Bob Marley (which features a stylised Bob Marley with a full facial moko, and uses the red, green and gold tricolour on the album cover and liner notes), and The waiata of Bob Marley II (in which the red, green and gold is replaced by the red, black and white tricolour of the Māori flag).

113 Herbs. “Reggae’s doing fine.” What’s be happen?
The use of symbols derived from both the Ethiopian and Māori national flags creates a sense of Māori nationalism, and strengthens beliefs in Māori decolonisation and freedom from neo-colonial oppression. These symbols are thus important in constructing a sense of group solidarity between people who share a love of reggae music and/or subscribe to the music’s spiritual and socio-political messages.

Therefore, in a general sense, the red, gold and green tricolour and Lion of Judah symbol signify to consumers that the music contained on these albums is reggae music. More specifically, these symbols enable Rastafarian musicians and consumers to construct and express their Ethiopian identity and to connect with their African cultural roots. For consumers who associate these symbols with the freedom of oppressed peoples, this reading is strengthened and localised through their conjunction with Māori symbols. The use of images such as the Māori flag and of Hone Heke chopping down a flagpole flying the British flag are potent symbols of Māori nationalism, desires for decolonisation and cultural pride.

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The UNIA flag\textsuperscript{116}  

The Rastafarian flag\textsuperscript{117}  

The Māori flag\textsuperscript{118}  

Tribute to a friend

Weapons of peace

Māori reggae, volume one

Tino waiata reggae

Take a little piece

Figure 7

The Ethiopian and Māori flags and their use on local reggae album covers\textsuperscript{119}


Reggae musicians’ decisions to use only symbolic motifs derived from their own cultural heritages are also highly significant in terms of constructing their cultural identities. For example, the cover artwork of Herbs’ album Long ago by Norman Tewhata depicted “seven shields representing the seven waka and the seven members of Herbs.” Further examples of Māori symbolism can be seen on Ruia and Ranea’s album Whāre Māori, Aotearoa’s Tihei mauriora, and Listen: the very best of Herbs; while Pacific Island motives feature on the cover of Unity Pacific’s From street to sky.

![Image of Tihei Mauriora, Listen: the very best of Herbs, and From street to sky covers.]

Figure 8
The use of Māori and Polynesian motives on local reggae album covers

2.2.4.2 Dreadlocks

The practice of wearing Dreadlocks (uncut and uncombed hair) is another widely recognisable symbol of Jamaica, the Rastafarian movement and of reggae music, even though a minority of Jamaicans are Rasta and not all Rastas wear dreadlocks. The exact origins of this practice are unknown, although various authors have suggested some possible answers. Barry Chevannes attributes the adoption of Dreadlocks in Jamaica to the Youth Black Faith in the 1950s to symbolise the members’ identity as social outcasts; other writers attribute this practice to members of Leonard Howell’s

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121 Aotearoa. Tihei Mauriora. Wellington: Jayrem, 1985. Image from Dix. Stranded in paradise: 332. In the original image, the words tihei mauriora are red; therefore this cover features the red, black and white colours of the Maori flag.
Pinnacle commune; and some posit that this hairstyle was adopted in the 1940s as the result of seeing photos of Africans variously identified as Kenya’s Mau Mau freedom fighters, Gallas, Somalis, Masais, or Ethiopian monks. The perceived African origins of this practice legitimated the wearing of dreadlocks by African-Jamaicans, and strengthened their sense of African cultural roots. Similarly, New Zealand reggae musicians such as Tigilau Ness looked to their cultural roots to legitimize this practice. Ness sees connections between the Māori topknot, the Niue Islands haircutting ceremonies and the wearing of dreadlocks:

> In their history I think sometimes that Māori people wore dreadlocks. We must have, being out in the bush with the hair long. There are no photos, there could be paintings – maybe there are – of black people here with dreadlocks… So now if you see a Niue Islander, a Māori and a Samoan with long hair in a picture you go ‘Oh, yeah,’ you don’t see that all the time it was part of our history.  

Knowledge of this practice was transmitted to New Zealand via reggae music. The wearing of Dreadlocks has become associated with reggae largely through the widespread popularity of Bob Marley as a performer and through roots reggae compositions such as “Natty dread.” As part of reggae’s marketing as an exotic cultural product, the wearing of dreadlocks became a fundamental aspect of reggae’s image to the extent whereby musicians such as Frederick “Toots” Hibbert were refused international recording deals for their refusal to locks-up. Therefore, although not all roots reggae practitioners are dreadlocked Rastafarians, the large number of those who wear dreadlocks can partly be attributed to pressures applied by the international record industry.

New Zealand reggae musicians, such as the members of Sticks and Shanty and Mana, have locked-up in order to signify their African/Rastafarian/Israelite identity and their devotion to the Rasta lifestyle; to inspire dread and awe in themselves and others, and in accordance with Biblical injunctions against hair cutting related in Numbers 6:5 (see appendix F, section 2). Those who wear dreadlocks but do not profess the Rastafarian faith, may do so in order to establish their authenticity or credibility as reggae artists with their audiences. The practice of wearing dreadlocks

124 Chevannes, Rastafari: 77.
125 Campbell, “Rasta in Aotearoa”: 18-19.
has several meanings for Rastas. Some Rastas believe that the shaking of dreadlocks unleashes Jah’s earthforce, or cosmic energy, against the oppressors; and for Rastas who view their dreadlocks as the symbolic representation of a lion’s mane or a crown, this practice contributes towards their sense of pride and self-worth. The lion symbolises strength, power, dignity, supremacy and honour, and the crown signifier is related to the crown worn by Haile Selassie at his coronation. However, not all Rasta reggae musicians wear dreadlocks; and not all dreadlocked reggae musicians are Rasta. Today, New Zealanders wear dreadlocks to signify their preference for reggae music and/or their beliefs in Rasta and in freedom from oppression; and many wear dreadlocks as a fashionable hairstyle. Although this hairstyle is accorded a number of different meanings, its distinctiveness and its contravention of Western European hair-grooming practices (that is to say, cutting, combing and washing with shampoo and conditioner) does distinguish its wearers from mainstream society and therefore contributes towards the creation of both individual and group identity.

2.2.4.3 Ganja

The smoking of ganja (marijuana) is a practice associated strongly with Rastafarians. Knowledge of this practice and its spiritual significance has been transmitted in roots reggae songs such as Bob Marley’s “Kaya,” Black Uhuru’s “Sensimillia” and Peter Tosh’s “Legalise it.” Songs such as these undoubtedly appealed to New Zealand marijuana smokers for legitimising this practice, but were not a significant reason for its adoption in wider New Zealand society. Barry Chevannes attributes the sacralisation of ganja (marijuana) to the Youth Black Faith, who claimed that government attempts to suppress its use was tantamount to an attempt to suppress the people. By giving ganja ritual sanction (see appendix F, section 3), they expressed their contempt for the state and society, and their resistance to British hegemony. While some Rastas eschew its use, others smoke ganja as a religious sacrament to promote social and spiritual healing, invoke inner clarity and facilitate reasoning. It “dispels gloom and fear, induces visions and heightens the

127 Che Fu (whose real name is Che Kuo Eruera Rauhihi Ness) is one example of a Rasta who does not wear dreadlocks. Having locks on one’s heart is seen as being a much more important requirement for being Rasta than just adopting the outward visual signs. Moana Maniapoto. “Brown sounds gaining ground.” Mana: the Maori News Magazine for All New Zealanders 26 (February/March 1999): 31.
feelings, creating a sensation of fellow love and peace." A communal pipe or “chalice” is used to smoke the herb as praises are offered to Jah. Ganja smoking is therefore a means of creating and celebrating communality.

These beliefs and practices are mentioned in songs such as Sticks and Shanty’s “Babylon,” which contains the line “smoking ganja from the Collie tree.” Ganja is also referred to in reggae songs produced by musicians, who unlike the members of Sticks and Shanty, are not Rastafarian. While some New Zealanders use ganja for spiritual and/or medicinal purposes, many use it as a recreational drug. For example, the name of the band Herbs, the title of their album *Homegrown*, and the lyrics “Fill the cup lively up, light up” from their song “Reggae’s doing fine” all refer to the smoking of ganja, a former recreational pastime for the group. Katchafire’s songs “Collie herb man” and “Sinsemilla” also refer to ganja (see appendix A, section 4). New Zealand roots reggae performers, for example Unity Pacific, have lent their support to the legalisation of marijuana by playing at events such as J-Day (3 May 2003), the sixth Annual International Celebration of Cannabis and Rally Against Prohibition organised by NORML (National Organisation for the Reform of Marijuana Laws). The illegality of ganja smoking and the often communal nature of this practice strengthen the sense of solidarity and group identity for participants, as well as signifying their resistance to British hegemony.

2.3 The politics of cultural expression: imitation or authenticity?

The above sections have examined some of the implications of reggae’s adoption and localisation for New Zealand place and identity construction, and shown that New Zealand consumers have responded to this music in a number of different ways: by listening and dancing to reggae; by performing localised forms of this musical style; by using reggae to legitimate existing practices such as smoking herb; by adopting the symbols of Rastafari as fashionable elements in a new style; and by adopting Rastafari, entailing changes not only in their dress and personal appearance, but in their entire lifestyle and worldview. Whether the adoption of reggae confirmed and legitimated, or entailed drastic changes in, peoples’ ideology, practices and personal appearance, it has been perceived in two very distinct ways: either as a legitimate

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130 Sticks and Shanty, “Babylon.” *Philistines*.
http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/PO0304/500153.html
form of contemporary cultural expression, or as a destructive threat to existing local cultures. The accelerating pace of cultural change that has resulted from the global spread of cultural products such as reggae music has generated a heightened sense of risk or anxiety for some people; a sense of increased opportunities for communal identity and meaningful personal expression for others as “the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede, and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding.” This section looks at how terms such as authenticity and imitation have been used to debate the appropriateness of reggae’s localisation, both within and between local cultures. Attitudes regarding the cultural changes resulting from reggae’s localisation reveal an underlying politics of cultural expression, and also show how New Zealanders think about reggae, place and culture in routed and rooted ways.

New Zealanders who see the cultural changes that have resulted from reggae’s adoption and localisation (particularly the adoption of the Rastafarian faith) as eroding, destroying, and contaminating a perceived original/authentic/pure culture can be regarded as having a strongly rooted concept of culture and place. For example, concerns were raised at the second Hui Kaitito held at Rotorua in April 1984 over the influence of reggae on local Māori and Polynesian musicians. Similar concerns have been raised by Witi Ihimaera, who comments that the adoption of non-indigenous forms of music such as reggae is leading to a lack of concentration on the development of Māori music from within Māori culture. He goes on to say that composers need to go back to their roots and develop a genre appropriate to Māori culture - even if it means sacrificing their popular standing among the community - in order to develop a “truly unique Māori sound, which takes its compass point from its very own magnetic lodestone, the pounamu ngakau, the greenstone landscapes of the heart.” The localisation of reggae has been viewed by some Māori as a threat to cultural integrity and a weakening of the sense of cultural identity that holds the group together. The return to cultural roots (by cohering the community around its foundational ideologies and practices), and the imagining of oneself as a member of a

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133 Wilson. “Hori and Hemi buzz on”: 34.
closed and self-sustaining culture, is a powerful defensive strategy against Pākehā cultural influence.

Questions regarding the appropriateness of reggae’s place in Māoritanga and tikanga (custom) have been raised, for example, by Pat Hohepa, a professor at Auckland University, who states that Rastafarians “converted a lot of our own people [Māori]. Not only in the music, but also the way they look. And I think for most Māori people that’s frightening.” Even reggae musicians such as Aotearoa’s Ngahiwi Apanui assert that “Rastafarianism doesn’t fit with being Māori.” Apanui adopted reggae music in order to ensure that his messages reached his target audience: Māori rangatahi (youth). Over time, he intended to gradually incorporate more traditional Māori elements into the band’s music: “I would say the elements of tūturu Māori [Māori tradition] are slowly being put there and people may not even notice them until they find Aotearoa in two years time has a completely different sound, one very much based on traditional structures.” Māori such as Hohepa and Apanui stress the importance of retaining traditional Māori musical forms in terms of regaining a sense of pride and identity.

These rooted notions of place and cultural identity are not only held by Māori, but also by Pākehā who see New Zealand reggae as a threat to their own social position of dominance. For Pākehā, the preservation of pure and authentic traditional forms of Māori and Pacific Island musics may represent an “idealistic form of colonialist nostalgia.” For example, comments on the concept of fixity in the ideological construction of otherness in colonial discourse. The cultural fluidity (change and adaptation) implied by the very existence of New Zealand reggae means that Pākehā can less readily stereotype subaltern groups; and this reduces their ability to socially position the other in relation to the self. Māori and Pacific Island cultural change therefore threatens a sense of a secure, neo-colonial Pākehā cultural identity. By using the technologies and resources of the dominant social group subaltern groups are seen as a threat to the existing social hierarchy in New Zealand. Although

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New Zealand is a bi-cultural nation, the social power relationship between Māori and Pākehā cultures is not equal. Pākehā culture is recognised as being the dominant, mainstream culture; whereas Māori are a subaltern culture. The anti-establishment message of New Zealand reggae songs which call for Māori self-determination has engendered a negative reaction from Pākehā who wish to maintain the existing social hierarchy, and fear that the music will have its intended effect of increasing Māori social awareness, cultural pride and solidarity. These negative responses to the cultural syncretism that accompanied reggae’s adoption (particularly the internalisation of Rastafarian beliefs and practices) reveal desires to retain distinctly local cultural identities oriented around perceived traditional cultural values.

In contrast, New Zealanders who view local roots reggae as a form of cultural celebration, as an authentic expression of contemporary local cultural identities that legitimately belongs here, can be regarded as having a more rooted concept of place and culture. The adoption and localisation of reggae can be viewed as part of an ongoing and perpetual process of cultural change and adaptation. As Antonio Gramsci argues, popular music styles are neither imposed nor self-generated but are the result of negotiation over constantly shifting cultural terrain. These concepts best account for the phenomenon of New Zealand roots reggae. With the exception of members of the Twelve Tribes of Israel Band (who received tuition from Jamaican musicians Hensley Dyer and Egbert Evans), New Zealand reggae musicians learnt to play reggae by doing covers of reggae songs, and by listening to and imitating the vocal and instrumental lines on reggae recordings. In this sense, New Zealand roots reggae is based upon the imitation of existing stylistic models.

However, as demonstrated in this chapter, local musicians have localised this music by incorporating their own musical, political, philosophical, religious and cultural elements into this adopted musical style, and in so doing, have redefined the concept of cultural authenticity in such a way that reggae music constitutes a legitimate and authentic form of expression for their own cultures. Localised roots reggae therefore contains multiple layers of meaning (found in the lyrics, musical sounds, and associated visual imagery) which pertain to the experiences of local musicians and consumers. For example, when defending his decision to adopt reggae

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music, Brother Zeb states: “Even though people tell us we deal with a music that belongs to another culture, let me just say that ninety percent of the Pacific islands feel the same way as we feel, and that when we play and sing, we do it with our whole heart and soul.” Similar justifications are made by musicians such as Dean Hapeta, who asserts that “if we’re Māori and doing this music … it’s Māori music plain and simple;” and that it has been “important for us, from day one … to add our own elements to any overseas trends.” Similarly, Moana Maniapoto-Jackson, believes that her music is “Māori music. The statements we make in our music, the instruments we use, it’s a political as well as a musical statement.”

New Zealand reggae music therefore fulfils Witi Ihimaera’s definition of Māori music, as being “Māori if Māori people say it is.” In addition, Ihimaera’s decision to include lyrics by Herbs in *Te Ao Marama (the dawning of the light)*, a five volume anthology of Māori literature, could be seen as endorsing reggae as a legitimate form of expressing official Māori oral *kaupapa*.

Reggae has enabled musicians and consumers to modernise and to express their contemporary, hybridised/glocalised identities while still enabling them to maintain or reclaim their sense of cultural/geographical roots. The adoption and localisation of reggae music has enabled its predominantly Māori and Polynesian performers in particular to explore, assert and define their identities in contemporary New Zealand society. By synthesising traditional and contemporary musical elements, these musicians create a strong link between their past and present. Reggae can therefore contribute towards people’s root identity restoration, assertion and maintenance, enabling them to modernise without compromising their sense of who they are (how they identify themselves culturally in terms of ideologies and behaviours) and where they are from (past and present cultural locations) – issues which are central to questions of cultural identity. It provides them with a *tūrangawaewae* (a place to stand from which to assert their authority); a location from which they can construct

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and express their sense of belonging to various social/cultural groups and places. Reggae enables them to create a public space in which they can express their cultural distinctiveness, and strengthen their pride and group solidarity.

For people who feel alienated from traditional forms of their culture (whether because of lack of access to cultural groups, or whether they are perceived as no longer being relevant to contemporary identities and values), reggae provides access to their culture in a more familiar and non-threatening way. As Moana Maniapoto Jackson explains, “it’s a real exciting challenge to incorporate contemporary styles and the traditional. To mix it up. Using something contemporary and something traditional makes it more exciting for youth today that aren’t into that traditional kinda thing – it can only be productive because you’re bringing in elements young people otherwise wouldn’t get access to.”

Reggae enables local musicians to retain their ties to heritage while remaining flexible and adaptive to outside cultural influences; and to thereby construct routed identities that are comprised of a range of traditional, contemporary, local and global influences. By infusing reggae with their own cultural resources, they are celebrating their identities, and rejecting the idea that culture must remain static and resistant to change. This examination of the style and symbolism of New Zealand roots reggae has therefore revealed how New Zealanders think about place and culture in both rooted and routed ways.

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3.1 Introduction

Richard Middleton notes that “musical objects, however integrated into particular social practices, always carry the marks of their (contradictory) origins and of other (real or potential) existences. And this then raises the whole question of how they relate to specific social locations.” This chapter seeks to answer this question by investigating roots reggae’s geographical rootedness and routedness. It is organised into two main analytical parts. The first section investigates why roots reggae is seen as being rooted in Jamaica, particularly in light of its global dissemination and its rootedness in multiple locations around the world. In doing so, this section challenges prevalent understandings of cultures as being bounded, self-enclosed and distinct place-bound entities.

The following section foregrounds reggae’s role in mediating meanings and experiences of Jamaica by analysing the music’s lyrics and the visual imagery used in its marketing. Although roots reggae produced in numerous different places has been imported to New Zealand (thereby mediating the musicians’ experiences of many places), this chapter primarily focuses on Jamaican roots reggae, as the experiences of place mediated through this music and the images used in its marketing have strongly influenced how people construct and express their own senses of place in its adoptive contexts. Jamaica can be imagined in a plethora of ways. However, this analysis reveals that Jamaica is predominantly represented in two contrasting ways: either as a ghetto or as a romanticised tropical island paradise.

Predominantly, the roots reggae musicians who largely control the music’s content, and the members of the recording industry who manufacture, market and distribute this music, occupy very different social, political, economic, cultural and lived spaces. The theories of Henri Lefebvre (1904-1994) are used to explore the contradictions inherent in this dichotomy between reggae as a space of representation for Jamaica’s ghetto population, and as an example of the representation of space by tourism officials and record company marketers. An investigation of how these meanings of place have been constructed sheds light on the role played by reggae musicians and marketers in shaping the geographical imaginations of people located

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outside reggae’s place of origin. This is necessary to understanding how New Zealand reggae consumers have constructed their senses of place and cultural identity by relating their experiences of place to those depicted in imported reggae. This chapter further explores the relationship between reggae, place and cultural identity.

3.2 Reggae’s geographical roots/routes

Music is frequently thought of as being culture specific, and sounds are often identified in terms of their place of origin. One can find numerous examples of world musics in many cultures where they are consumed as symbols of their simultaneously real and imagined original culture: New Orleans jazz, Merseybeat, Mississippi blues, Japanese enka, Gos techno and trance music, Algerian rai, and the Liverpool and Dunedin sounds to mention only a few. Similarly, reggae has been globally disseminated, and localised versions of this style can be found in numerous cultural contexts around the world. Yet reggae consumers worldwide, including New Zealanders, still index Jamaica as roots reggae’s place of origin in the course of producing and consuming this music. Music regularly informs place image, influencing the ways in which people identify, categorise and represent places. Music’s role in tourism advertising, television and film-making attests to its powerful ability to stimulate people’s geographical imaginations and conjure their senses of place. As Martin Stokes comments, “the musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organises collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity.” By evoking personal and collective memory, music not only reflects, but preforms knowledge of people and places – shaping people’s preconceptions, experiences and memories. The use of musical instruments and styles associated with a particular place of origin to represent that place in television, film-making and advertising attests to music’s powerful ability to construct people’s geographical imaginations. This section outlines some of the reasons why Jamaica is indexed as roots reggae’s homeland, and investigates the implications of this concept for New Zealand as a place where this style has taken root.

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Reggae music, particularly roots reggae, can be regarded as part of Jamaica’s popularly imagined geography as it is the style of music most commonly associated with Jamaica by international audiences. Jamaica is a Western Caribbean Island which lies ninety miles south of Cuba, encompasses 4,411 square miles and is divided into fourteen parishes, making it the largest island of the former British West Indies and the third largest island in the Caribbean. The Jamaican expression “we likkle, but we talawah” (“we are little, but we are mighty”) is apt, for although small in land mass, Jamaica has had an immense impact on the world music marketplace.

Initially, Bob Marley and the Wailers’ album *Catch a fire* and the film *The harder they come*, both of which were released in 1973, were largely responsible for putting reggae and Jamaica on the map. Subsequently, reggae stars such as Bob Marley (1945-1981), Peter Tosh (1944-1987) and Jimmy Cliff (1948-) achieved international recognition and popularity. The attention and status given to Jamaican roots reggae in many popular texts about Jamaica and reggae music, as well as in some academic works about the subject, has largely eclipsed knowledge of and interest in both non-Jamaican produced reggae music and of other styles of Jamaican popular music such as ska, mento, rocksteady and dancehall.4

Although Jamaica has been mythologised as reggae’s home, reggae has been performed and consumed in diverse contexts around the world, including “parts of the world far beyond the Atlantic diaspora of Africa, Great Britain and the Americas, where its popularity can be attributed to emigration from the Caribbean. Reggae is attended to and produced by Europeans, Polynesians, Native Americans, Africans and Asians who may never have been to Jamaica or met a Jamaican, but find meaning and identity through participation in the music.”5 Reggae has been adopted, for example, by people living in Chile, Russia, Japan and Israel, by Hopi and Havasupai Indians in Arizona, Palenquero Maroons in Columbia, Urban youths in Nigeria and South Africa, members of the British working class, New Zealand Māori and Aboriginal  

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4 There has been some research on non-Jamaican reggae music, but there is enormous scope for further research in this area. For an overview of popular styles of Jamaican music see, for example, Chris Potash, ed. *Reggae, Rasta, Revolution: Jamaican Music from Ska to Dub*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1997.

Australians. CNN even aired a story about an astronomer from the American Midwest who was trying to make contact with extraterrestrial life via radio signals beamed into space. His music of choice was reggae because of its universal appeal. Although roots reggae originated in Jamaica, its performance and consumption extends far beyond its perceived homeland, and beyond Jamaican or other African diasporic communities. An examination of the New Zealand music charts reveals that reggae produced in the United Kingdom and the United States has been as popular or even more popular with local audiences, than music produced by Jamaican or local artists (see Appendix G). Reggae musicians not only from Jamaica, but also from places such as the United Kingdom and Japan have toured New Zealand, and numerous local bands have been influenced by this style. Reggae has transcended geographical and cultural boundaries, and can be said to have multiple homes, or places of performance and consumption. This provokes a wider conceptualisation of cultural place without limiting it to geographical boundaries, and raises questions about the contradiction of studying people who think of roots reggae as a Jamaican music yet perform and consume localised (non-Jamaican) versions of this style.

Given this evidence of reggae's many contexts of performance and reception, why then do New Zealand reggae performers and consumers continue to reference Jamaica as reggae's homeland? Part of the answer may lie in the current predominant (Western) preconceptions and meanings of place and culture, definitions which are being challenged by several scholars in light of the recent (post-1973) intensification of the process of globalisation. Cultures are usually thought of as relatively stable or fixed sets of beliefs and practices which have achieved a settled continuity over time in a particular place. However, as James Clifford asserts, “human location is

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8 Following the decline in popularity of roots reggae in Jamaica and the ascendancy of dancehall, the continued international demand for roots reggae music was satisfied by performers from non-Jamaican contexts. This may partly explain the predominance of European and American roots reggae artists in the New Zealand music charts.
10 UB40 have toured New Zealand several times, performing for example at the Sweetwaters festival held in South Auckland in 1989, 1988 and 1999, and touring in 1991.
constituted by displacement as much as stasis.”\textsuperscript{13} Anthony Giddens makes a similar point:

In premodern societies, space and place largely coincided, since the spatial dimensions of social life are, for most of the population... dominated by “presence” – by localised activity... Modernity increasingly tears space away from place by fostering definitions between “absent” others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction. In conditions of modernity... locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distinct from them. What structures the locale is not simply that which is present on the scene; the ‘visible form’ of the locale conceals the distantiated relations which determine its nature.”\textsuperscript{14}

The assumption that cultures should exist in circumscribed places has been challenged by developments in travel and communication technologies, the expansion of world markets and the renewed complexity of ownership within those markets, and by new and different geographical movements and migrations of people, of information, and of products. The phenomenon of travel entails a complex range of experiences of cultural dislocation and relocation, not only in a physical sense, but also in an ideological or imaginary sense. The increasing interconnection between people inhabiting different places means that we can no longer assume a homologous relationship between local place and local culture (and cultural products such as music). Rather than seeing cultures as being rooted to particular places, we also need to account for their routedness. As Clifford asserts, “if we rethink culture and its science, anthropology, in terms of travel, then the organic, naturalising bias of the term culture – seen as a rooted body that grows, lives, dies, and so on – is questioned. Constructed and disputed historicities, sites of displacement, interference, and interaction, come more sharply into view.”\textsuperscript{15}

The routedness of reggae is evident in its global circulation in which all five of Arjun Appadurai’s ‘-scapes’ (finanscapes, technoscapes, ideoscapes, ethnoscapes and mediascapes) are implicated.\textsuperscript{16} The increasing mobility of people, finance, technologies, ideologies and media has led cultural geographers Doreen Massey and


\textsuperscript{15} Clifford. \textit{Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century}; 25.

Pat Jess to re-theorise people’s attachments to place. Building on the work of scholars such as Eric Wolf, who advocates that “rather than thinking of social alignments as self-determining, we need – from the start of our enquiries – to visualise them in their multiple external connections,” Massey and Jess argue that places are essentially open and porous, the products of interaction with other places, and the location of particular sets of intersecting social relations. They see social space as all of the networks and complexities of social interaction and interconnection, whether small- or large-scale in their dimensions. According to Massey, the local is constituted within wider flows, networks and actions:

If the global really is ... part of the constitution of, and therefore inside, the local, then the definition of the specificity of the local place cannot be made through counterposition against what lies outside; rather it must be made precisely through the particularity of the interrelations with the outside. It is, if you like, an extroverted notion of the identity of place, an internationalist constitution of the local place and its particularity.

Similarly, Stuart Hall argues that cultures, like places, are meeting points where different influences, traditions and forces intersect. Cultures can be seen as shared interpretive frameworks or systems of meaning which people use to understand their place in the world. Space and place are dynamic realities, created by social and cultural processes (including social practices which produce meaning as well as the practices which are regulated and organized by those shared meanings). Geographies and cultures intersect and inform each other: “just as cultures are constitutive of geographies, so are our geographies inherent to the culture-building process.”

Nevertheless, these theorists recognise that place and culture are still predominantly conceptualised as being as being enclosed, distinct, settled and

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internally coherent. The emphasis on the distinctiveness or uniqueness of peoples’ homelands, as well as the rise of concern over ethnicities, nationalisms and other place-bound identities indicates that cultures are still thought of as being rooted to particular places. This may itself represent a reaction against the increasing mobility of culture and cultural artefacts. People still emphasise their roots or places of origin as being important aspects of their identities, and base their attachments to places primarily on ancestral practices of dwelling. Social and spatial othering remain important ways of constructing place and cultural identities in today’s increasingly mobile and interconnected world. Conflict and rivalry over the legitimacy of people’s occupancy of particular places, as well as the status and meaning accorded to places, continues unabated. Some of the key differences between these rooted and routed conceptualisations of place and identity are outlined in table 4.

Table 4
Rooted and routed conceptualisations of place and identity

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<tr>
<th>Some conventional ways of thinking about place and identity</th>
<th>Some new ways of thinking about place and identity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Endogenous relationships (inward-looking)</td>
<td>Exogenous relationships (outward-looking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homogeneous</td>
<td>Heterogeneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rooted</td>
<td>Routed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomous, self-sufficient</td>
<td>Permeable, contingent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process of linear historical development</td>
<td>The result of intersecting global flows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enclosed, strongly bounded, insular</td>
<td>Open, porous boundaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settled</td>
<td>Unsettled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability, continuity</td>
<td>Changing, dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internally coherent and unified; spontaneous, grassroots, of the people</td>
<td>The result of particular sets of interacting social relations, both internal and external to particular place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular, essentialist</td>
<td>Multiple, pluralist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerned with origins</td>
<td>Concerned with origins and destinations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The notion of communities or localities as bounded geographic entities has increasingly been seen as problematic to the study of cultural products such as music. Nevertheless, as the discourses of people involved in the New Zealand reggae scene (outlined in the following sections) will demonstrate, roots reggae remains ideologically rooted in a real and imagined Jamaican homeland. Rooted (as opposed to routed) definitions of place and culture remain powerful, despite the fact that
reggae’s localisation in multiple contexts around the world is evidence of the porosity of cultural and geographical boundaries.

3.3 Representing and interpreting Jamaica

Jamaican ghetto

Jamaica as a tropical island paradise

Figure 9
Jamaica: the ghetto and tropical paradise

Imagine that you are in Trenchtown, a ghetto located in the Jamaican city of Kingston. The heat is oppressive; you are literally dripping with sweat. The air is harsh from the acrid smell of burning cane and rubbish fires; the smell of the rubbish that litters the street is so palpable that you can almost taste it. The houses to either side of you are decaying, dying – like the malnourished and sick people you pass in the street. You see drunken people; people whose eyes are glazed and bloodshot from drugs. You are not surprised. Life in the ghetto is hard, and the people need some form of escape from the harsh realities of ghetto life. You hear the sound of gunshots, a child crying from hunger, people shouting, dogs barking, and reggae blaring away from a distant soundsystem.

Now, imagine that you are in the tropical island paradise of Jamaica. The palm trees sway lazily overhead, while coconuts litter the glistening white sand of the beach surrounding you. A gentle cooling breeze provides a welcome respite from the heat. You sip from the cool drink lying in the ice bucket beside your hammock, and turn

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over a page of the novel that you are reading. You have already booked a place on a
boat cruise later that evening, and you are looking forward to sharing the romantic
tropical island sunset with your partner. Apart from the barely audible lapping and
hissing of the waves, the only sound that you hear are the faint strains of roots reggae
music playing somewhere in the distance.

These two contrasting images of Jamaica mediated via reggae’s sound and visual
marketing have shaped the geographical imaginations of New Zealanders. Stokes
asserts that music is socially meaningful largely because it provides a means by which
people recognise people and places, and the boundaries that separate them.\textsuperscript{24} Music
articulates our knowledge of other peoples, places, times and events, and ourselves in
relation to them. This section looks at some of the ‘interpretive moves’ made by New
Zealand reggae consumers, each of whom identifies and links the musical sounds and
messages to their unique set of accumulated socio-political, musical and cultural
experiences.\textsuperscript{25} While roots reggae produced in New Zealand is rooted in local
experiences and subjectivities, it enables local consumers to experience places and
peoples that are perceived and conceived as being strikingly similar or very different
to their own real and imagined homes. In this way, reggae has played a significant
role in constructing New Zealand consumers’ cultural identities and senses of place.

This section also explores the dichotomous relationship between roots reggae’s
‘spaces of representation’ and ‘representations of space’\textsuperscript{26} by analysing the images
used in reggae’s marketing (for example, on posters and album covers), the choice of
song or album title, and the thematic content of many roots reggae songs. The
discourses of people involved in the local scene are also analysed to show how New
Zealand reggae consumers have interpreted these images, and have identified with
Jamaica based upon its representation of space and spaces of representation. This
section will shed light on the role of global flows of music in the construction of
peoples’ senses of place.

\textsuperscript{24} Stokes. “Introduction”: 5.
\textsuperscript{25} Steven Feld. “Communication, music and speech about music.” Year Book for Traditional Music 16
\textsuperscript{26} Henri Lefebvre, The Production of Space. Malden, MA: Blackwell publishers. Cited in Mapping the
Beat: Popular Music and Contemporary Theory, edited by Thomas Swiss, John Sloop, and Andrew
3.3.1 The ghetto

This subsection will demonstrate that roots reggae musicians predominantly use their music to articulate and express their simultaneously real and imagined experiences of ghetto life, and shows that New Zealand Māori and Pacific Islanders in particular have claimed a shared sense of place identity with Jamaicans due to similar experiences of place. Although there have always been wealthy and powerful members of these communities, the following tables show that New Zealand Māori and Pacific Islanders have experienced greater social and economic deprivation than Pākehā (see also appendix H).

Table 5
Incidence of poverty by ethnic group 1992-1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic group</th>
<th>% of poverty</th>
<th>% of all poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pākehā</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>65.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islanders</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The small number of Pacific Islanders in the household economic survey database makes the Pacific Island measures statistically less reliable than those of Māori and Pākehā. See Charles Waldegrave, Bob Stephens and Paul Frater. “Most recent findings in the New Zealand poverty measurement project.” Social Work Review 8 (1996): 3)

Table 6
Deprivation profiles of ethnic groups in 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NZDep96 index of deprivation</th>
<th>Percentage of deprived people by ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pākehā and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(In the NZDep96 index of deprivation, 1 indicates the least deprived and 10 indicates the most deprived. Pākehā and others represent 71.7% of the total usually resident New Zealand population. Māori represent 14.5% of the total usually resident New Zealand population. See Peter Crampton, Clare Salmond and Russel Kirkpatrick. Degrees of deprivation in New Zealand: an atlas of socioeconomic difference. Auckland: David Bateman ltd, 2000.)
The gritty urban reality of ghetto life as conceived and perceived by local and Jamaican musicians is an example of what Henri Lefebvre has termed ‘spaces of representation.’ For Lefebvre, spaces of representation are rooted in the concrete spaces and places of everyday life, and are literally embodied in spatial practices through which space is used in ways quite different from those imagined and desired by the powerful. They are countermappings “linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, and also to art.”\textsuperscript{27} As composition is the sphere of music production over which musicians are able to exert the greatest degree of control, an analysis of roots reggae lyrics provides a starting point in which to examine the music’s spaces of representation. Reggae has functioned as a medium with which to express the anger, hopes and frustrations of disempowered, oppressed and marginalised peoples worldwide, enabling them to express ideas and emotions that are perhaps unable to be publicly expressed via other means (for example, through being unable to read or write, or through limited access the publishing industry or other forms of mediated communication such as television or radio). By enabling these people to voice their ideas, feelings, and experiences to an international public, reggae can be viewed as a highly valuable cultural “resource in the social, sensual and symbolic production of place and local subjectivity.”\textsuperscript{28}

Many Jamaican roots reggae musicians use their music as a medium through which to express and articulate their lived experiences of place. Because of its origins in the slums/shanty towns of West Kingston, roots reggae has become widely recognised as ghetto music. Many Jamaican roots reggae musicians live, or have lived, in places such as Trench Town (also known as Kingston twelve), Tivoli Gardens, Ghost Town, Jones Town, Denham Town, Waterhouse, and Olympic Gardens. As roots reggae musician Frederick “Toots” Hibbert asserts, reggae music was originally produced and consumed by Jamaica’s poor:

Reggae just mean comin’ from the people, an everyday thing, like from the ghetto. When you say reggae you mean regular, majority. And when you say reggae it means poverty, suffering.

\textsuperscript{27} Lefebvre. \textit{The Production of Space}. Cited in \textit{Mapping the Beat}, edited by Swiss, Sloop, and Herman: 8.
Reggae has been used to express and construct the ways in which people (both residents and non-residents) experience Jamaica’s ghettos. Roots reggae has also enabled musicians from other countries, particularly those who experience living environments and social conditions similar to those of Kingston’s ghettos, to construct and produce their own sense of place and to forge a shared sense of identity. For ghetto residents, roots reggae provides a route to upwards social mobility; a way of escaping the ghetto. As the lyrics of Roman Stuart’s song “Natty sings hit songs” (1975) state:

I get up every day and look into the world.
I see big cars, I see pretty girls.
I’d be a better man if I could get money in my hand.
Help me O Jah, I want to come on strong.
I want to sing a hit song.

Commercially successful musicians such as Bob Marley, Jimmy Cliff and Inner Circle’s Jacob Miller earned enough from their recordings to move uptown, and although some audience members accused them of selling out to the industry, they maintained grassroots support by continuing to represent ghetto experiences and concerns in their music. Roots reggae functions as a medium in which to represent, as well as generate public awareness about, the harsh circumstances of impoverished peoples’ lives (particularly those living in Third World and postcolonial countries) and gives voice to the frustration, anger and anguish of those marginalised and disenfranchised.

The following analysis reveals that the dominant representation of place constructed through roots reggae is that of the ghetto. The subject matter of many roots reggae songs suggests that roots reggae is ideologically rooted in the ghetto experience. One fundamental social issue addressed by roots reggae musicians is

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31 See, for example, Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “Trenchtown” (Confrontation, Polygram Records, 1983) and “French Town rock” (Live! Island, 1975), the Gladiators’ “Trench Town mix up” (Trench town mix up, Virgin, 1976), the Royals’ “Ghetto man” and “Sufferer of the ghetto” (Pick up the pieces.
that of poverty. In 1962, Jamaica had the world’s highest level of economic inequality, with the wealthiest five percent of Jamaicans possessing thirty percent of the national income, while the poorest twenty percent of the Jamaican population controlled only two percent.\(^{32}\) Songs such as Pablo Gad’s “Hard times” draw attention to the enormous disparity in the distribution of Jamaica’s national income between a wealthy minority and a poor majority: “de ‘ave all ‘ave all, an’ de ‘ave not ‘ave none.” Similarly, Peter Tosh’s “Stop that train” states: “Some livin’ big, but the most is livin’ small.”\(^{33}\)

Many roots reggae songs explore the causes of poverty, and also examine some of its effects. The economic struggle and hardship experienced by the majority of Jamaicans is largely attributed to high unemployment; an issue which is mentioned in songs such as Third World’s “You’re playing us too close.”\(^{34}\) Those fortunate enough to be earning wages still have to endure poor working conditions for low wages.\(^{35}\) Because most Jamaicans cannot afford to educate their children, they remain trapped in the cycle of poverty. Illiteracy is the subject of Horace Andy’s “Illiteracy,” and is mentioned in songs such as Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “Slave driver” and Culture’s “Share the riches.”\(^{36}\) Poverty has resulted in many Jamaicans being unable to afford the basic necessities of life. They endure hunger and starvation,\(^{37}\) poor clothing, and inadequate or non-existent housing.\(^{38}\) As Pablo Gad’s “Hard times” so eloquently states:

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\(^{34}\) Third World. “You’re playing us too close.” *You’ve got the power*. Sony, 1990. See also UB40’s song “I in 10” (*The best of UB40 vol. I*. Dep International, 1987). The band’s name itself refers to the title of the form used to apply for the unemployment benefit in the United Kingdom.


\(^{37}\) See for example, Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “Them belly full” (*Natty dread*. Island, 1974). The lyrics of the chorus state: “Them belly full, but we hungry / A hungry mob is an angry mob / A rain a-fall, but the dirt it tough / A pot a-cook, but de food no tough.”

\(^{38}\) See for example Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “Talkin’ blues,” which contains the line: “The hand ground was my bed last night / And the rock was my pillow too,” and “Concrete jungle” (*Babylon by bus*. Island, 1978) where “the living is harder.” See also songs such as The Mighty Diamonds’ “I need
The lyrics of songs such as Bunny Wailers’ “Fighting against convictions” indicate that poverty and unemployment have caused many poor Jamaicans to resort to crime in order to provide for themselves and their families. Autobiographical accounts of the musicians’ brushes with the law can be found in songs such as Bob Marley’s “Three o’clock roadblock.” Arson, murder and burglary are often mentioned in roots reggae lyrics. Steel Pulse’s “Man no sober” indicates that many people try to escape the tensions, hardships and suffering of ghetto life by drowning their sorrows in alcohol. Numerous roots reggae songs highlight the devastating emotional and psychological effects of ghetto life on its inhabitants. There are frequent references in roots reggae songs to women and children weeping and wailing, and the name of bands such as the Wailing souls and Wailers also foregrounds the despair, anguish, pain and suffering experienced by some ghetto residents.

Jamaica’s representation as a place of poverty and hardship in reggae lyrics is supported by the visual imagery used on a record covers such as Johnny Osbourne’s album Nightfall showcase and the Wailing Souls’ album Equality. Reggae’s ghetto roots are strengthened by the use of visual depictions of the ghetto in association with the music. The titles of albums such as Mykal Rose’s Voice of the ghetto and

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41 See for example, Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “No woman no cry” (Natty dread. Island, 1974) and “Hallelujah time” (Burnin.’ Island, 1973).

42 Reggae songs do not only express suffering and misery. Marley’s “No woman no cry” depicts the ghetto as a place of compassion and love. Optimism, hope and positivity are expressed in songs such as Marley’s “Positive vibration” (Babylon by bus. Island, 1978).

UB40’s *Guns in the ghetto*\(^4\) also refer to roots reggae’s ghetto origins. The images of Jamaica transmitted via audio-visual recordings such as the documentary *Roots, rock, reggae: inside the Jamaican music scene* and the film *The harder they come* starring Jimmy Cliff predominantly represent the harsh realities of ghetto life.\(^5\)

Johnny Osbourne.
*Nightfall showcase*\(^6\)

The Wailing Souls.
*Equality*\(^7\)

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Reggae not only reflects the musicians’ ghetto experiences, but also produces and constructs how other people perceive and conceive their own lived environments.

New Zealand roots reggae consumers who have experienced social conditions and built environments similar to those represented in Jamaican roots reggae songs, have used these shared experiences to construct a sense of shared place and identity. In New Zealand, some suburbs are segregated along class and cultural lines, and to live in these places is to suffer an equivalent stigma to that borne by people living in the ghettos of Jamaica, Europe or America. Oppressed New Zealanders of all cultural backgrounds (particularly New Zealand Māori and Pacific Island reggae consumers, who like African-Jamaicans are over-represented in the lower socio-economic classes), have been able to experience a sense of social empathy with Jamaican roots.

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reggae musicians. This is an example of what Bell Hooks calls “the authority of experience,” which she asserts is “an important basis of alliances between cultures.”

As Bob Marley sings in “Redemption song,” “who feels it knows it Lord.” Che Fu, for example, states that one of the reasons why Pacific Islanders identified with reggae was because they could relate the music directly to their own life experiences:

The Jamaicans talked about struggle. Our people knew what that was about. Reggae talked about poverty, hunger … yep, our people could relate to that.

We could relate to reggae. It spoke for the poor people, the ghetto people – the music said something about the truth.

Similarly, Katchafire’s Logan Bell states that:

Bob Marley’s music has always had a special relevance for Māori because he sang a lot about cultural pride, about mana and about the struggles and hardships that oppressed peoples face – we could immediately identify with that. When you’ve got hardly any material things music can be hugely inspirational, something you can draw a lot of power from. That’s why a lot of people still love that classic, vintage sound that 70s reggae had.

DLT (Darryl Thompson) states: “We’re not copying overseas sounds, but we’re relating to them. It’s the same with reggae, it’s about something we’ve experienced, being ripped off or whatever, it’s something we see.”

The above quotes indicate that these Māori and Pacific Islander musicians possess the authority of experience that underpins their identification with Jamaican roots reggae.

It is certainly no coincidence that several of the earlier reggae bands in New Zealand originated in places like Porirua – described by musician Jules Issa as “the Trenchtown of New Zealand” and Ponsonby. Tigilau Ness recognised that the problems of poverty voiced in reggae were similar to those being faced in Ponsonby.

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54 For example, Dread Beat (formerly Dread Beat and Blood); Survival; David Grace and Injustice; Sticks and Shanty; and Land.
56 For example, The Twelve Tribes of Israel Band (formerly The Dread Lion Band); Herbs (formerly Backyard); and Unity Pacific (formerly Unity)
He recalls that Ponsonby’s population in the late 1960s was “seventy percent Pacific Island and Māori and thirty percent European,” and that this place was “very violent and alchohol influenced” with “women getting beaten up by their husbands, children running loose in the street and in fact one father chasing his son up the road with a machete [saying] ‘I kill you, I kill you’.” The Ghettos of Unity Pacific’s song “In the ghetto” referred to “Ponsonby … Otara, South Auckland, and at that time Masterton, Palmerston North, Porirua, Newton - all the places where there were majority Pacific Island or Māori people. I wandered around Otara a lot and saw gangs, those are ghettos, ghettos of the mind, poverty of the spirit, and they breed actual, physical ghettos in the end … with music like this at least we’ve got a chance to say: ‘Change it’.”

Several New Zealand musicians have used roots reggae music to generate their own space of representation; to contest and thereby reclaim social space. Roots reggae functions as a medium through which these musicians can represent their own lived experiences of poverty, discrimination and oppression. For example, “In the ghetto” performed by Herbs and Unity Pacific, Dread Beat and Blood’s “Love in the ghetto,” Unity Pacific’s “Got no job,” and Sticks and Shanty’s “Poverty” all articulate the poverty and poor living conditions experienced by themselves and members of their communities. Several New Zealand reggae musicians have targeted issues that are seen as being closely linked to the poverty experienced by many urban Māori and Pacific Islanders. Conflict with the New Zealand justice system is the subject of songs such as Sticks and Shanty’s “Courthouse” and Herbs’ “Whistling in the dark.” The latter song specifically targets the issue of police brutality and racism directed at Māori and Pacific Island youth. Moana and the Moahunters’ song “Kua mākona” is about the negative effects of alcoholism, and Southside of Bombay’s “Running” highlights the issue of domestic violence (see appendix A, section 3). These songs

59 Jamaican songs about police oppression include Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “Burning and looting,” Black Uhuru’s “Vampire” (Sensimilla. Island, 1990), “General penitentiary” and “Abortion” (Guess who’s coming to dinner. Heartbeat, 1983),and Burning Spear’s “Institution” (Social living. Blood and fire, 1994).
60 “In the ghetto” (Herbs. Long ago. Auckland: Warrior, 1984; Unity Pacific. From street to sky. New Zealand: Moving Productions, 2002); “Love in the ghetto.” (Dread Beat and Blood. Tribute to a friend. Wellington: Jayrem, 1997); “Got no job” (Unity Pacific. From street to sky); “Poverty” and “Courthouse” (Sticks and Shanty. Jah magic. Wellington: Jayrem, 1987); “Whistling in the dark”
not only articulate the lived experiences of the musicians, but they also play a significant role in constructing the ways in which these places are experienced by other New Zealanders. By generating awareness about these social issues and by asserting their right to social equality, roots reggae provides Māori and Pacific Islanders with a strong moral position from which to lobby for social change. It enables them to reconfigure ghettoised/stigmatised spaces from spaces of oppression to potential spaces of individual and communal empowerment; to develop ways of thinking about place that resist or subvert dominant categorisations and stereotypes.

3.3.2 The tropical island paradise.

Representations of Jamaica as a tropical island paradise are a stark contrast to the representation of Jamaican ghetto life described in the above subsection. There are several examples of tropical island visual images being used in reggae’s marketing - images which are largely chosen by record company employees. This kind of imagery is also widely used to promote Jamaica as an appealing tourist destination by the Jamaican Tourist Board. This particular representation of Jamaica is perhaps intended to appeal to consumers’ fetish for exotic musical artefacts, and to replace images of Jamaica as a place of poverty with images more appealing to tourists. These attempts to conceal Jamaica’s ghettos from the international public can be regarded as an example of what Lefebvre has termed the representation of space, a concept which embodies the ways in which spaces and places are conceived by dominant groups in society and through which the dominant order of society is materially inscribed.

There are several examples of tropical island imagery used in the marketing of roots reggae. For example, album covers such as Third World’s *Prisoner in the street* and Garnett Silk’s *Nothing can divide us* picture the artists superimposed upon a background denoting cloudless blue skies, calm blue sands, white sandy beaches and palm trees. The palm tree, which is often used to symbolise tropical islands, is also featured on Peter Tosh’s album *Negril*. The titles of albums such as Third World’s *Ninety-six degrees in the shade*\(^1\) strengthens consumers’ associations of Jamaica as a place of heat and sunshine. These images are also used in audio-visual media. For

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example, the covers of videos such as *One Love: The Bob Marley all-star tribute*, *Jamaica* and *The Reggae Movie* also use tropical imagery to market roots reggae music.

Third World.  
*Prisoner in the street*  

Garnett Silk.  
*Nothing can divide us*  

Peter Tosh.  
*Negril*  

Inner Circle.  
*Barefoot in Negril*  

Inner Circle.  
*It's da non stop best: Higher bass.*

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68 *The Reggae Movie*.
In comparison with the abundance of songs representing Jamaica as a struggling Third World nation characterised by poverty and civil unrest, there are few roots reggae songs whose lyrics represent Jamaica as a tropical island paradise. The lyrics of songs such as Inner Circle’s “Summer jammin’” and “Sweet Jamaica” do not conform to the majority of roots reggae songs, in which the musicians relate their experiences of ghetto life. This may indeed be due to the fact that members of this band were able to move out of the ghetto and experience a better quality of life. The

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70 Songs about the political violence surrounding the 1976 and 1980 Jamaican elections include Ernie Smith’s “Jah Kingdom” (Mr. Smith’s. Wild Flower, 1982), Max Romeo’s “War inna Babylon” (War inna Babylon. Island, 1976), Junior Murvin’s “Police and thieves” (Police and thieves. Island/Def Jam, 1977), Leroy Smart’s “Ballistic affair” (Ballistic affair. Island, 1977), Black Uhuru’s “Carbine” (Red Island/Mango, 1981), Bob Andy’s “Fire burning” (Fire burning. Sanctuary/Trojan, 2003), and Third World’s “Street Fighting” (Prisoner in the street. Polygram Records, 1999).
In comparison with the abundance of songs representing Jamaica as a struggling Third World nation characterised by poverty and civil unrest, there are few roots reggae songs whose lyrics represent Jamaica as a tropical island paradise. The lyrics of songs such as Inner Circle’s “Summer jammin’” and “Sweet Jamaica” do not conform to the majority of roots reggae songs, in which the musicians relate their experiences of ghetto life. This may indeed be due to the fact that members of this band were able to move out of the ghetto and experience a better quality of life. The

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lyrics “Summer jarmin’,” for example, represent Jamaica as a place where people have fun partying to reggae music, as a place of sunshine, and a place where people can forget their worries:

How sweet the sunshine feels
Coming down from the heavens above …
Girls on the beach havin’ fun
Come on out and enjoy the sun
Get on outside
‘Cause it’s summertime …
Don’t you worry ‘bout a thing
‘Cause everything’s gonna be allright …
Are you ready to dance?
Are you ready to sing?
Reggae party’s about to begin …

Perhaps the closest that Bob Marley ever came to writing an archetypal Jamaican tourist number was his song “Smile Jamaica.” He wrote this song at Prime Minister Michael Manley’s request, and performed it at the “Smile Jamaica” concert in 1976. Although this song can be interpreted as representing Jamaica as a happy place, Marley also makes a subtle political statement urging for the improvement of living conditions for Jamaicans:

We’re going to help our people
Help them right
Oh Lord, help us tonight
Cast away the evil spell
Throw some water in the well
And smile! In Jamaica72

As many New Zealanders will have never visited Jamaica or met a Jamaican, tourism advertising has been significant in shaping how New Zealanders interpret these images and lyrics. Mediated images of place which represent Jamaica as an unspoilt paradise of sunshine, tranquillity, relaxation and pleasure, are part of the Jamaican Tourist Board’s marketing strategy to attract tourist revenue to the island.

Roots reggae is part of the “cultural capital”\textsuperscript{73} of Jamaica, attracting many tourists to annual festivals such as Sunsplash and Sumfest. However, little has been done to identify this market and develop attractions for music tourism because the gritty urban reality of Jamaican ghetto life portrayed in many roots reggae songs contradicts the image of Jamaica that the Jamaican Tourist Board wishes to portray. As a Jamaican Tourist Board memorandum dated the 10\textsuperscript{th} of October 1975 stated:

A good part o’ the attraction of reggae music to its metropolitan audience is the anger and protest of the lyrics. We obviously face a contradiction between the message of urban poverty and protest which reggae conveys and that of pleasure and relaxation inherent in our holiday product. In short, when we promote reggae music we are promoting an aspect of Jamaican culture which is bound to draw attention to some of the harsher circumstances of our lives. All of the articles written on the sound so far do this. Our view is that we should leave other agencies and local music interests to carry the ball from here on.\textsuperscript{74}

Despite the widespread interest in roots reggae music, the most popular genre of reggae internationally, the Jamaican government has discouraged reggae’s performance through legislation banning the use of soundsystems, their refusal to fund reggae events, and their promotion of musics such as dancehall soca which Deputy Director of the Jamaican Tourist Board Basil Smith calls:

good, happy, positive music, it just fires up parties you know, and there is none of the negative baggage which you would get in some aspects of reggae, for example. Now, this is not an official position that we take, but it’s good wholesome fun … and this is what you need in a resort vacation industry.\textsuperscript{75}

With little or no airplay on Jamaica’s radio stations,\textsuperscript{76} one of the only means by which reggae could be heard in Jamaica was through open-air soundsystems. In 1997 the Jamaican government passed the Noise Abatement Law, which carries penalties of up


\textsuperscript{76} The Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation played reggae only after midnight.
to J$50,000 fines, possible imprisonment, and the confiscation of equipment for the operation of public address systems that can be heard more than one hundred yards away. This effectively suppressed the use of soundsystems by local musicians in lower-class, densely populated areas. Instead of financially supporting and developing reggae music for the international market, government spending in this area is limited to promotional tourist events featuring musics such as rap, soul, jazz, gospel, steel band, traditional Jamaican folk music and soca (a hybrid of soul and calypso). From 1992 onwards, annual carnivals promoted by private interests with the cooperation of the Tourist Board have featured calypso and soca performance, along with a smattering of uptown artists such as Byron Lee and the Dragonaires, Ernie Smith, and Pluto Shervington. These events are held in conspicuously middle-class districts such as Mona Heights and New Kingston, and event promoters are increasingly adding North American rap, pop and rhythm and blues performers to draw larger crowds.

While roots reggae has been largely shunned as a vehicle for tourist development because of its lower class origins and anti-establishment politics, the Tourist Board chose to use Bob Marley’s “One love” in its advertising, largely because of the instant association of reggae with Jamaica. In this advertisement, images of light-skinned children and African-Jamaican women braiding White women’s hair appear on screen while Marley sings “One love, one heart, let’s get together and feel allright.” This can be seen as an attempt to conceal or erase the negative memory of Jamaica as a place of class-based ethnic conflict between the Black underclass and white/mulatto upper-class - images which are conjured in the imagination by listening to the lyrics of many roots reggae songs. The use of reggae to instead represent an idealised unified, harmonious nation devoid of social inequality or class conflict to international audiences (as encapsulated by the national motto “Out of many, one people”) serves the interests of the island’s middle and upper classes. This hidden subtext/transcript represents a counter-ideology to that of the many Jamaican reggae musicians who

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80 See “Join us” by The Twelve Tribes of Israel Band (Join us. Wellington: Jayrem, 1989), which opens with the line “out of many we are one” and advocates the unity of all people in the spirit of the Commonwealth Games (held in Christchurch 1990).
draw attention to Jamaica’s maldistribution of income and social stratification. By marketing selective, restricted images of Jamaica as a tropical island paradise and idyllic holiday retreat, and by promoting reggae in ways that do not contradict this desired image, the Jamaican Tourist Board is engaged in shaping collective memory, generating a form of distraction or false consciousness for both Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans.

Since the early 1990s, the concept that memories can be altered or erased has been used by a Los Angeles-based school of critical urban theorists including Mike Davis, Allen Scott and Edward Soja, and Norman Klein who uses the phrase “erasure of memory” in the title of a book. Davis, for example, draws attention to the role of mass media in spreading contradictory myths about Los Angeles: as a sunny paradise and glamorous movie capital, and as corrupt Babylon and futuristic dystopia. The mass media, which includes the marketing and circulation of reggae music recordings, is responsible for generating similar contrasting images of Jamaica: as a tropical island paradise, and as the ghetto. The currency of Jamaica’s idealised image for New Zealanders “resembles what psychologists call ‘distraction,’ where one false memory allows another memory to be removed in plain view, without complaint – forgotten.” By using Marley’s message of love and peace as a symbol of national unity, the Jamaican Tourist Board are creating a kind of false consciousness in order to obscure existing social inequalities. That these idealised images should be given so much credence indicates the power of mediated images of place in constructing the collective memory of society.

An analysis of the discourses of New Zealand roots reggae musicians, music critics and event promoters reveals that the images of Jamaica promoted by the Jamaican Tourist Board have become part of their geographical imaginations. Reggae is often described using terms such as hot, warm, sunshine, summery and tropical. Music critic William Morris, for example, describes Unity Pacific’s album From street to sky as being “brought to life by a warm tropical breeze blowing off the Pacific.”

84 Klein. The History of Forgetting: 2.
Similarly, Graham Reid specifically contrasts the ways in which Wellington and Jamaica are popularly imagined by many New Zealanders, when he asks why

Wellington is so enamoured with the warm sounds of Jamaica. From this distance, the capital's attraction with ska and things reggae seems odd. After all, isn't that the soundtrack to somewhere more consistently summery and - how to put this politely - less wind-blown?"86

John Tuala of the Christchurch Samoan roots reggae band I&I describes reggae as "heat music, relaxing music,"87 and the Black Seeds’ Shannon Williams states that reggae "has that warm, caressing vibe - I suppose you could call it a summer vibe."88

Reggae music is seen as being one of the “elements that capture the essence of the sunshine season,"89 and many reggae events take place in summer.90 Promoter for The Summer Reggae Explosion John Pell comments that “people can relate to [reggae] sitting on the beach and just relaxing."91 These comments by New Zealanders involved in the local scene indicate that reggae is associated with a Jamaican homeland, and that reggae’s place of origin is imagined as a place of heat, leisure and relaxation.

Reggae’s lack of strong rhythmic and harmonic drive may reinforce this particular way of imagining Jamaican space. Reggae eschews the rhythmic propulsion of rock music, for example, because the strongest beat occurs on beat three and there is no kick-drum reinforced downbeat. The harmony can also be relatively static, featuring alternations between the tonic and either the subdominant, flattened leading note (functioning as a dominant substitute) or supertonic chords (functioning as a subdominant substitute). These progressions are relaxed in nature as they lack the harmonic tension of caused by the leading note before it resolves to the tonic. These relaxed elements can perhaps be associated with heat and a lack of physical energy, as experienced in the tropical islands or Jamaica or Polynesia, or during the New Zealand summer. Given that there is little evidence in either the lyrics or the intrinsic

87 “It’s bye bye to I & I.” *The Press* 28 April 2000, p.20.
90 For example, the Whaingaroa/Raglan Soundsplash Festivals (2001-2003), the One Love Unity Celebrations (6th February 1995-2003), the Kaikoura Roots Festival (2001-2003), the Whopper Chopper series, the Summer Reggae Explosion (Wellington’s Taki Rua Theatre - 27th of January 1995), and the Vibes On A Summer’s Day concert (Western Springs Stadium February 2003).
sound of reggae music which merits the use of descriptive terms such as hot, warm and summery, visual imagery representing Jamaica as a tropical island paradise has been largely responsible for determining how New Zealanders conceive and perceive Jamaica.

Jamaica’s representation as a tropical island paradise has a particular resonance for New Zealanders who claim South Pacific Island identities (for example, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian or Samoan) in terms of physical geography, climatic and lifestyle similarities. Che Fu, for example, explains reggae’s appeal for people, who like himself claim a South Pacific Island identity, in geographical, climatic and cultural terms: “[reggae] came from a place of islands, sand, coconut trees and seamanship. So our people could feel what they were singing.” Similarly, his father Tigilau Ness asserts that “Jamaica being in the Caribbean relates to New Zealand because this is a Pacific country and the same sun, the same aura is here. Like it is in the islands.” These views are expressed in Herbs’ song “Light of the Pacific,” with the lyrics:

Across the Caribbean blows a Pacific breeze
And now be seeing how it used to feel
It was before Herbs openin’ doors
South Sea shores cannot be ignored
Pacific Islands kept in silence
Sounds so different its roots in Pacific

Other New Zealand reggae musicians perceive more general geographical similarities between Jamaica, the Island nations of Polynesia and New Zealand in terms of these places being small, geographically isolated island nations. For example, Salmonella Dub’s Andrew Penman believes that one reason for reggae’s appeal in New Zealand was “probably because we’re an island nation and a bit out on a limb like Jamaica.” He further states that “as an island culture we’ve a lot in common with Jamaica, especially as now we’re becoming a Third World country.” All of these islands can

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92 Che Fu’s father, Tigilau Ness, was born in New Zealand. His parents immigrated to New Zealand from Niue in the 1940s. Che Fu was raised by Tigilau’s mother, according to Niuean custom.
93 Che Fu quoted in: Maniapoto. “Brown sounds gaining ground”: 32.
also be regarded as being located within the broad geographic area of the Pacific Ocean. Barnaby Weir of the Wellington band the Black Seeds asserts that reggae “reminds us we are an island in the Pacific.” All of these perceived, shared climatic and geographical elements form the foundation for a shared sense of place and identity.

3.3.3 Roots reggae, exoticism and consumer fetishisation

For New Zealanders (particularly those of Pākehā ethnicity) roots reggae is consumed as a cultural product of an exotic, different, other, and appeals to the wealthier members of New Zealand society because of its sheer contrast to their sense of cultural identity and place. Pākehā are generally categorised as being on the opposite side of the ethnic (White rather than Black) and class (upper class rather than lower class) divide in comparison to roots reggae performers. Their reaction to reggae, which is associated with a gritty, streetwise vision of reality, may include elements of fantasy, imagined sympathy and shocked fascination. The exoticism of reggae owes as much to the music’s marketing as to the marketing of Jamaica as a tourist destination. The majority of roots reggae album covers depict dark-skinned and often dreadlocked musicians, whose visual appearance is markedly different from that of many Western European peoples. Images of the ganja-smoking rebel and freedom fighter (carrying guns and wearing combat fatigues) may have been particularly appealing to youth, who could relate reggae’s anger and protest to their own generational conflict. It enables those living in suburbia (seen as dull, safe and predictable) to voyeuristically experience the ghetto (seen as risky, dangerous and exciting).

The consumption of reggae as the cultural product of an exotic other can be seen as a form of consumer fetishism, and could be referred to along the lines of Smith’s comments on ‘ethnic tourism’ which is “marketed to the public in terms of the ‘quaint customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples’.”\(^{100}\) The consumption of reggae music in New Zealand can therefore be related to a desire to experience, and through the act of consumption, vicariously participate in the place and culture of the exotic

\(^{98}\) Barnaby Weir quoted in: Reid. “Seedbed for the warm sounds of Jamaica”: p.8.


other. As Frith states, “the issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience.”

For New Zealand roots reggae consumers, the act of consumption (as a form of tourism at home) can be viewed as a means of creating routes, or conceptual pathways, used to travel to an imagined exotic or distant culture (in this case a real and imagined Jamaica) without visiting its actual location. The consumer enters a tourist/travel sphere of real and imagined routes or ethnoscapes between peoples and cultures. Travel, in this sense, to a physical place is not always a process, but often a concept. Tourism is not always simply about people visiting a geographic location in terms of physically departing from home and travelling to a distant foreign land. The imagining of Jamaica through listening to roots reggae music can be regarded as a safe form of ‘virtual’ or ‘sonic tourism’ which broadens the sensibilities and imagination of the traveller. This highlights the role of sound in general, and music in particular, in the production of place. It also questions the emphasis given to the visual rather than the aural in discourses relating to tourism.

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102 See Clifford. Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century.
4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores reggae’s role in the social construction of postcolonial New Zealand identities and spaces. Reggae offers consumers of this music a specific paradigm of human relationships which they perceive to be ideal as measured against the reality of their own lived experiences: relationships with other people, other forms of life, with natural and human-built environments and the supernatural world (deities, ancestors, and the unborn). A cultural politics of music can be observed in the ways in which New Zealand consumers and musicians have used reggae to assert different conceptualisations of the past, present and desired future of specific places and cultural identities. The lyrics of New Zealand reggae songs and the discourses of local musicians are analysed to show how various cultural groups have used this music to articulate their desire to control the access to (and use of) material, symbolic and territorial resources. Genealogical ties to land, particularly those that extend over a long period of occupation, play an important role in this contest for social power and cultural space.

This chapter is divided into three main sections, each of which explores how New Zealand reggae consumers have used this music to construct their identities and senses of place. These identities (some of which transcend perceived cultural/geographical boundaries) are discussed separately in this chapter, even though in reality New Zealand reggae consumers and performers may identify themselves with one or more of these places and peoples. The first section explores how some New Zealanders have used reggae to overcome their sense of cultural dislocation, marginalisation and demoralisation by ideologically relocating themselves to their perceived ancestral homelands, and by creating both real and imagined communities at a range of different geographical scales. It discusses how New Zealand reggae audiences have used this music to reinforce as well as challenge Pākehā hegemony. The second section looks at how New Zealand consumers have used reggae to construct gendered and sexualised identities and private and public spaces, and to challenge and reinforce the male domination of women. The third

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section focuses on how reggae has been used to make sense of human relationships with the natural and supernatural worlds.

### 4.2 Cultural dislocation

Both Jamaica and New Zealand are nations dealing with the legacy of British colonialism. The dominance of British culture in both countries has had important consequences for all peoples living in these countries who are not of British descent. The ancestors of most contemporary Jamaicans, for example, were forcibly removed from their African homeland and transported to Jamaica to provide slave labour on British-owned sugar plantations. The lyrics of songs such as Burning Spear’s “Slavery days” and Peter Tosh’s “Four hundred years” attest to the psychological scars borne by their descendants. British colonial rule (which ended in 1962) contributed to the acculturation of Jamaicans of African descent to British culture, and the subsequent denigration and marginalisation of African culture. Some African-Jamaican musicians have subsequently used reggae to articulate and counteract their sense of physical and psychological disconnection from, and their longing to return to, their m(other)land – the place to which they trace their roots.

Contemporary New Zealanders, or their ancestors, all migrated to New Zealand at some point in time. However, the importance of perceived ancestral homelands in the maintenance of cultural identities is perhaps most acute for New Zealanders who experience a sense of cultural dislocation. People’s emotional, spiritual and corporeal attachments to a particular place can be intense when they are perceived to be threatened. A sense of cultural dislocation can be caused, for example, by physical displacement from ancestral homelands through migration, whether to New Zealand or from rural to urban areas (for example, Māori displacement from iwi lands bought or confiscated by Pākehā colonists, post-World War II Māori urbanisation and

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2 See also Culture’s “Pirate days” (Two sevens clash. Shanachie, 1977), Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “Redemption song” (Uprising. Polygram, 1980) and “Slave driver” (Catch a fire. Island, 1973).
3 Between 1700 and 1786 more than 600,000 Africans were transported from the west coast of Africa, primarily from the Igbo, Coronamtee, Mandingo, Congo, Ashanti and Akan peoples. Slavery was abolished in 1834. See Eric Williams. Capitalism and Slavery. New York: Russell and Russell, 1961. 146.
4 In the twenty-five years since 1945, eighty percent of Māori moved from their rural iwi areas to towns and cities. The government housing policy of “pepper-potting” made it difficult for Māori to retain their iwi links in an urban situation. Some urban Māori were physical dislocation from rural marae (places where knowledge of te ao Māori; tikanga, te reo, whakapapa and mythology) was shared. See Mason Durie. Te Mauta, te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Māori Self-determination. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. 54-55.
Pacific Island labour migration, dawn raids and the deportation of Pacific Island overstayers in the mid-1970s. Cultural alienation can also be caused by the predominantly monocultural, Pākehā-oriented nature of New Zealand cultural institutions such as the education system and the media, and by a lack of access to cultural groups or organisations, or through the lack of strong, non-threatening and charismatic leadership of these groups. As a result, non-Pākehā may no longer speak their cultural language or participate in their cultural community. Additionally, because of the social othering of some Pākehā (for example, racist stereotypes reinforced by external categorisation in many aspects of daily life, including psychological and physical forms of bullying and work, school or other public places), those who were unwilling or unable to conform to the dominant Pākehā culture could not be assigned nor accept the label of ‘New Zealander.’ Due to perceived pressures to conform, they may feel self-conscious or patronised if they try to maintain their distinctive cultural identity and their social ties to friends and family in their ancestral homelands. These factors can result in some New Zealanders experiencing intense feelings of loss, longing, grief and nostalgia for their homelands, and a sense of being unwelcome, out-of-place and of not belonging or fitting in to New Zealand society. As the lyrics of Herbs’ “Repatriation” state:

Going back to another nation
Nobody wants me here
I’m living a life of fear and misery …
Got to find a new vocation …
I’ll be leaving all my friends behind
A stranger among strangers …
It’s a frightening, frightening situation

5 From 1972, police (operating in conjunction with the immigration department) began to arrest immigrants who overstayed their temporary work permits, or worked on visitor permits, in dawn raids. The National Government won the 1975 election in a landslide victory, partly due to their racist stance on immigration. National blamed immigrants (particularly Pacific Islanders) for causing “undue pressure” on New Zealand’s health and education resources, and for jeopardising Pākehā New Zealanders’ employment opportunities and living standards. A disproportionate number of Tongans and other Polynesians were among those arrested in dawn raids, detained and deported. The Auckland Police Chief advised all those who did not “look like New Zealanders” (including Māori) to carry their passports, and these were randomly checked by police in public. See Joris de Bres and Rob Campbell. The Overstayers: Illegal Migration from the Pacific to New Zealand. Auckland: Auckland Resource Centre for World Development, 1976.
The lyrics of several reggae songs draw attention to the importance of reconstructing or maintaining cultural and ideological links to particular ancestral homelands in light of the perceived threat posed to these cultures by Pākehā postcolonial society. In response to the dystopia experienced by New Zealand reggae consumers occupying undesirable social and geographical locations (that is, low socio-economic positions and inner-city ghetto areas), ancestral homelands become imagined utopias - places where they can feel normal or at home, and can live out their ideal relationships with other people, other forms of life and the natural environment. The knowledge that such places exist, even if they may be inaccessible or distantly located to people’s current places of residence, helps to generate a secure sense of cultural identity. Reggae has enabled New Zealand consumers to recover/restore their cultural roots.

4.3 Cultural relocation

This section shows how some New Zealanders have used reggae music to articulate their desires for decolonisation, and to thus contest and reclaim social space. It is necessary to situate this study in the context of wider socio-political relations within New Zealand, as the meanings attributed to reggae have been contested, and are inextricably linked to the political relations between different social groups. The timing of reggae’s introduction to New Zealand in the 1970s was significant as it coincided with a period of social restructuring. From the mid-1960s, progressive social movements such as the Women’s Liberation and Black Civil Rights movements such as the Black Panthers of Oakland, California) had an impact in New Zealand. The resultant climate of heightened political and social consciousness saw an increased recognition of the rights of oppressed groups (with the formation of organisations such as the Māori Women’s Welfare League, the Polynesian Panthers and Nga Tamatoa), and mass demonstrations protesting over issues such as the

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6 Herbs, “Reo repatriation,” Long ago. Auckland: Warrior, 1984. This song about cultural alienation was written by an English friend, Peter Stretch, and tells of the difficulties that he had in assimilating himself to life here.

7 In the same vein as Marley’s “Natty dread” (Natty dread. Island, 1974): “A dreadlock congo bongo. / I children, get your culture.”
Vietnam War, South African Apartheid and nuclear testing. The Māori Renaissance which began in the mid-1970s saw the strengthening of Māori politics in response to increasing Māori urbanisation, ongoing economic marginalisation, and the continued alienation of te reo Māori (the Māori language) and tikanga Māori (Māori custom) from mainstream New Zealand society. Māori protest actions such as the 1975 Land March, and the occupation of Bastion Point (1977-78) brought Māori grievances (incurred as a result of colonisation) to the nation’s consciousness (see appendix I).

This socially and politically volatile situation created a fertile breeding ground for reggae, as many New Zealanders responded to the message of reggae songs that urged the oppressed to rebel against their oppressors in order to achieve social equality, freedom and justice. The increased social/cultural power of oppressed groups prompted New Zealanders to critically reflect on and re-evaluate their place in this country. New Zealanders’ sense of place and culture has undergone a period of rupture, in which identities “are questioned by those who carry them, are called into question by others, or are severely tested by events ... such situations call for a renarration of identity.” The fundamental questions of cultural identity for New Zealanders involve their response to the members of other cultures, the legitimacy of their occupancy of the land, and an anxiety over or need to articulate the distinctive characteristics of their own culture. Music not only reflects political and cultural shifts, but is bound up in the processes through which these changes occur.

Simon During states that “the post-colonial desire is the desire of decolonised communities for an identity.” The following subsection outlines how New Zealand roots reggae musicians have used reggae to articulate a cultural politics of difference; to reinforce, challenge, negotiate and transform dominant hegemonic ideologies. It addresses the question of where culture is located by looking at how New Zealand roots reggae musicians and consumers have used this music to construct social and spatial boundaries defining ‘us’ (involving a sense of sameness, proximity, closeness, inclusion, belonging) in relation to ‘them’ (involving a sense of difference, distance, separation, exclusion). The dynamic processes and interrelationships in identity formation involve the concept of power-geometry: “space is by its very nature full of power and symbolism, a complex web of relations of domination and subordination,”


of solidarity and co-operation.” In the maintenance, negotiation and transformation of social power hierarchies, identities are constructed internally by each group for itself and externally by one group for another. Stuart Hall argues that “identities can function as points of identification and attachment only because of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render ‘outside’,” and that the unities that identities appear to proclaim are “constructed within the play of power and exclusion.”

For Homi Bhabha, this “social articulation of difference” forms a “complex on-going negotiation” as boundaries are established and transgressed, differences marked out and challenged.

As a vehicle for articulating anti-establishment values and concerns, reggae has enabled some New Zealanders to consciously exclude (rather than being excluded, alienated and marginalised by) Pākehā culture, and to thereby gain a sense of empowerment. Political power is embedded in, and articulated through, the negotiation, articulation, and mobilisation of sameness and difference. Identity construction and emplacement (cultural geopolitics) is a strategic activity which entails positioning ourselves in relation to others, and music provides one means by which the moral and political hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed: “Music does not simply provide a marker in a pre-structured social space, but the means by which this space can be transformed.”

Music is bound up in places as “articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings.” Such networks are layered and differentiated in various ways, as new cultural alliances inherit the particular set of circumstances, traditions and social relations of older generations. Places are formed by the juxtaposition and co-presence of different cultural forces, discourses and their effects. Social groups with differential access to resources impose differing cultural expectations and needs upon particular geographical spaces. Local reggae songs are sites where the use and occupation of New Zealand territories (and relations of domination and subordination, inclusion and exclusion, privilege and deprivation between and within cultures) are contested.

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14 Doreen Massey. Space, Place and Gender: 154.
Reggae has been used to territorialise the identities of local musicians and consumers, and to construct real and imagined alliances between themselves and peoples occupying locations which are perceived as being similar to their own, as well as those that represent their desired ideal of social equality. While people are spatially located, one or more places may be important to an individual’s sense of identity - leading to the formation of multilayered geographical identities formed at a variety of spatial scales (from the most intimately private to the truly global). In public and private ways, music is an active agent in the social and spatial production and reproduction of everyday life.\textsuperscript{15} Thinking of place and culture in terms of intersecting social networks explains how New Zealanders can use reggae music to locate themselves in highly idiosyncratic and multiple ways. We are “multiple and contradictory subjects, inhabitants of a diversity of communities (as many, really, as the social relations in which we participate and the subject-positions they define), constructed by a variety of discourses and precariously and temporarily sutured at the intersection of those positions.”\textsuperscript{16} Most members of these communities never directly interact with each other, but still claim a sense of affinity.

People can occupy multiple and sometimes contradictory subject positions, and these can come to the fore in different situations and places. Massey argues that the various spatial scales that an individual occupies articulate “space to be a product of interrelations,”\textsuperscript{17} and that these multiply-emplaced identities “can be either, or both, a source of richness or a source of conflict.”\textsuperscript{18} Music informs the construction of individual and communal identities (identities which are grounded in a historicised, politicised sense of person and place), and the spaces and places where those identities are lived out. Reggae has enabled consumers to affirm (this is who we are), explore (this is who we think we are) and celebrate (rejoicing in the act of social solidarity) their ideal or imagined relationships, and to learn about and physically

embodi different sets of social relations. They have used this music to position themselves in relation to groups of people located both within and beyond New Zealand’s socially constructed geographical boundaries - to construct “trajectories rather than boundaries across space,” and to “illumine affinities, resemblances, and potentials for alliances among a world population that now must be as dynamic and mobile as the forces of capital.” This is evidence that globalisation has resulted in the increased importance of the “work of the imagination” regarding the construction of place and identity.

4.3.1 Claiming an African/Israelite identity

Roots reggae has become known as a roots music primarily because of African-Jamaicans’ emphasis on their African cultural roots. The names of bands such as the Abyssinians, the Ethiopians, the Congos, and Israel Vibration, as well as songs such as Peter Tosh’s “African,” “Apartheid,” “Equal rights” draw attention to the band members’ African/Israelite roots. These African cultural/geographical roots are reinforced by the visual imagery used on some Jamaican roots reggae album covers.

Burning Spear.  
Jah Kingdon

Culture.  
Live in Africa

Peter Tosh.  
Mama Africa

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Figure 12
African imagery used on Jamaican roots reggae albums

As the table below shows, a small but increasing number of New Zealand reggae consumers have identified with the African-Jamaican musicians on the basis of shared experiences of cultural dislocation, and have found a sense of empowerment, rootedness and belonging by becoming Rastafarians and by adopting an African/Israelite cultural identity.

Table 7
New Zealand’s Rastafarian population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Rastafarians</th>
<th>Percentage of the total usually resident population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>0.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>0.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1296</td>
<td>0.035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(All percentages are rounded to three decimal points).

Tigilau Ness states that “when you have a people without a culture, who have been robbed of their culture, the next best thing is to pick up the topmost culture that’s around …right now, we have to delve into our own histories and find out where it

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connects, that’s what I do.” The adoption of a positive surrogate Black identity is an example of the invention of tradition, which:

Occurs more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which the ‘old’ traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated.

For New Zealanders, being Black or African is not determined by the melanin levels in one’s skin but by one’s culture - entailing knowledge of Marcus Garvey’s life and teachings, of the African continent and its peoples, and an acceptance of Africa as humankind’s place of origin. New Zealand Rastas who ideologically relocate themselves to Africa undergo what Cashmore calls a “secondary socialisation,” wherein their conception of the world and themselves (as taught to them at home and at school) breaks down in the face of the more persuasive Rasta perspective. For New Zealand Rastas who have rejected their Pākehā identity, their adoption of an African identity signifies their willingness to relinquish some of their power and control over resources, and their commitment to the decolonisation of New Zealand society. For those who see themselves as having been oppressed, the adoption of an African cultural identity has given them a strong and secure sense of their individual and group identity; an alternative identity to both their ethnic identity and to the implicitly Pākehā ‘New Zealander’ identity. This reconstruction of cultural identity has formed part of their strategy to counter the culturally dislocating effects of forced migration and Pākehā neo-colonial oppression.

There are a number of ways in which contemporary New Zealand Rastas have been able to claim an African/Israelite identity, including physical descent, divine designation, and similar social experiences of cultural dislocation as a result of oppressive British colonial rule. Some New Zealand Rastas (particularly Māori and Pacific Islanders) believe that they are descended from Shem, Noah’s eldest son, and

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thereby claim common descent with the Hebrews in the Old Testament. This kinship connection is asserted in songs such as The Twelve Tribe of Israel Band’s “The land of the long white cloud,” which characterises Polynesians as children of Jah, descended from Shem and Abraham:

New Zealand is a group of islands
The people are brown, from Shem line they have come
These are Abraham’s seed
The island that was lost has now been found …
The islands down in the South Pacific
Where Jah children gather to repatriate

This biblical kinship connection can be extended to all New Zealanders, as Shem was one of three brothers descended from Noah. Tigilau Ness states:

Reggae may have originated in Jamaica, but then where did Jamaicans come from? That’s why reggae is roots music. You trace the roots and it goes back to Africa. We all originate from there. Science and archaeologists are still finding proof that this is so. The Bible has always accurately defined this.

According to this point of view all people are able to trace their roots to Africa. This belief that Africa and Ethiopia in particular is the cradle of human civilisation is used to support a positive Black identity.

Rastas derive a sense of empowerment through their Afrocentric interpretation of the Christian Bible (particularly the Old Testament and the Book of Revelations in the New Testament), and selectively interpret passages from the Bible in order to advance a hermeneutics of Blackness (see appendix F, section 4). Reggae songs such as Steel Pulse’s “Not King James version” and Junior Delgado’s “King James” convey the Rastafarian belief that the King James translation of the Bible distorted the text’s meaning to advance the ideology of White superiority and to sanction slavery in

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34 Tigilau Ness. Personal communication, 26 July 2003.
Babylon. This view is supported by New Zealand Rasta Te Hoko Whitu, who states that “[Pākehā] use the Church to snare a lot of people by oppressing them and saying it was the will of the Lord. But it’s not.” He sees Christianity as an instrument of oppression, whereby Pākehā missionaries legitimated and justified European hegemony through teaching that Māori should endure the suffering and impoverishment of their everyday lives in return for salvation in the afterlife. Rastas acknowledge the Bible’s portrayal of Black people as being cursed with perpetual servitude as a result of Noah’s curse of Canaan, Ham’s son (see appendix F, section 5), but believe that divine liberation from this curse took place long ago, and that Babylon is responsible for prolonging the oppression of Black people contrary to Jah’s will. Rather than Blackness representing punishment for sin, Rastas interpret Christian theology and Scripture to represent Blackness as a positive marker of cultural identity—a signifier of honour and distinction rather than degradation and shame.

Like the ancient Israelites, New Zealand Rastas believe that they have been divinely designated God’s chosen people. Since the early nineteenth century, Christian teachings based upon the New Testament were used by Pākehā preachers to assert that God was created in the image of Europeans and that Europeans were God’s chosen people, thus helping to sustain and legitimate Pākehā hegemony. Rasta has allowed New Zealand Māori and Pacific Islanders to reverse this perspective; to believe that they are God’s chosen people and that Pākehā are the idolators and gentile usurpers. The Song of Solomon 1:5-6 is interpreted as meaning that Solomon was Black: “I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon. Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me.” Rastas reasoned that Christ was also Black, as both Christ and Solomon were descended from David. Rastas saw Haile Selassie I’s (whose title means power of the trinity) coronation in 1930 as fulfilling Marcus

36 Steel Pulse. “Not King James version.” (Babylon the bandit. Elektra/Asylum, 1990); Junior Delgado. “King James.” (One step more. Island, 1988). See also Jimmy Cliff’s “The harder they come” (The harder they come. Mango, 1973), which criticizes the teaching that there is a “pie in the sky” when you die.
38 Bronwyn Elsmore. Mana from Heaven: 168.
39 See Marley’s “Blackman Redemption” (Confrontation. Polygram Records, 1983), which describes Haile Selassie as: “coming from the root of King David, through the line of Solomon, His Imperial Majesty is the power of authority.”
Garvey’s prophecy that “whenever a Black King is crowned in Africa our redemption is near,”\textsuperscript{40} and the biblical prophecy related in Psalm 68:31 that “Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.”\textsuperscript{41} Of the Makonnen family, Haile Selassie claimed descent from King Solomon of Judah (Israel’s wisest king) and the Queen of Sheba.\textsuperscript{42} Ethiopia’s successful maintenance of its independence; the homage paid to him by European leaders (most significantly the Duke of Gloucester who represented his father the King of England) and the titles ‘King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah’ (see appendix F, section 6)\textsuperscript{43} that he assumed at his coronation, were seen as further evidence that Haile Selassie was a living deity and Earth’s rightful ruler. The belief that “God is not blonde-haired blue-eyed, God is brown,”\textsuperscript{44} and that the power and authority of God inhered in people with dark skin pigmentation, carries enormous socio-cultural significance for people deprived of a sense of self-worth (see appendix F, section 7). It legitimates and affirms New Zealand Polynesian peoples’ humanity and dignity, and entitles them to superior rather than inferior social status.

The biblical books of Joshua, Judges, Isaiah, Psalms and Revelation contain the stories of several Hebraic prophets who actively led their people in their liberational struggle for independent nationhood.\textsuperscript{45} These have provided Māori with a model of resistance aimed at the retention and reclamation of their land and culture. Like adherents to the Māori prophetic/millenarian religious movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,\textsuperscript{46} New Zealand Rastas have drawn parallels between their experiences of colonisation (land dispossession, poverty and marginalisation) to the plight of the ancient Israelites under Egyptian enslavement. They see themselves

\textsuperscript{40}Garvey’s prophecy is not verified in any of his writings or recorded speeches. He is reputed to have said this in a Kingston church in 1927 (see Steven Davis and Peter Simon. Reggae Bloodlines: In Search of the Music and Culture of Jamaica. New York: Da Capo Press, 1992, 69) or in 1916 (See Leonard Barrett. The Rastafarians. Boston: Becon press, 1997, 67)\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{41}Selassie was aware of his veneration by Rastafarians, but never proclaimed that he was God or the leader of the group.


\textsuperscript{44}Merata Mita. Ruatoria Dread.

\textsuperscript{45}See, for example, Sticks and Shanty’s song “Philistines” (Philistines. Wellington: Jayrem, 1988) which refers to the story of the prophet Moses, who emancipated the Israelites from Egyptian enslavement.

\textsuperscript{46}Māori prophets such as Te Whiti, Te Kooti, Rua Kenana, King Tawhiao, Ratana. See Elsmore’s Mana from Heaven for an in-depth discussion of Māori Millenarian religions.
as exiles living in Babylon, and use reggae to articulate their desires to return to their African homeland (see appendix A, section 7.2). For example, as the lyrics of Unity Pacific’s song “Thou [sic] We Are” state:

‘Though we are
A long, long way
From our home, Israel
We’ll be allright’

To counter their present sense of dystopia, Rastas believe that (like the ancient Israelites) Jah (an abbreviation of Jehovah or Yahweh) will protect his chosen people, grant them victory over their enemies, and redeem them by rescuing them from White captivity and aiding their return to their promised land (Ethiopia and Shashamene in particular). \footnote{Haile Selassie I (whose pre-coronation name was Ras Tafari Makonnen), set aside 500 acres of land for returned diasporic Africans. Known as Shashemene, this land is located about 250 km south of Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, in the Goba desert. The Rastafarian community at Shashemene is located north of the centre of the town on the main road leading from it. Songs about repatriation to Africa include Sugar Minott’s “River Jordan” (The best of Sugar Minott. VP Records, 1998); Bunny Wailer’s “Fig tree” and “Dream land” (Blackheart man. Mango, 1976); Culture’s “Black Star Liners must come” (Two sevent clash. Joe Gibbs, 1977), “Holy Mount Zion” (Harder than the rest. High Note, 1978), and “Ethiopians waan guh home” (International herb. High Note, 1979); Marcia Griffiths “Steppin’ out of Babylon” (Stepping. VP Records, 1978); Fred Locks “Black Star Liners” (Black Star liner. VP Records, 1975); Bob Marley’s “Exodus” (Exodus. Island, 1977) and Black Uhuru’s “Leaving to Zion” (Guess who’s coming to dinner. Heartneat, 1983). Black Star Liners was the name of the steamship company Garvey founded in 1916 to repatriate diasporic Africans to Africa.}

As Jules Issa, a New Zealand reggae musician and member of the Twelve Tribes of Israel explains:

Being Twelve Tribes, I look to Africa ... Africa to me means Motherland, salvation for when judgement comes to the world. Every time I think of Africa, my heart pours out in tears because I want to be there. I am an African – I’ll be mocked for saying that, but first I am an Israelite and we look to repatriate to Africa because we see that Selassie I is Jesus Christ in his second advent and he gave us a piece of land which is strictly for the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

‘Bring my sons and daughter from the four corners of the earth, bring them back here.’ (See appendix F, section 8).

Reggae music is regarded as “the second power” (the first power is Jah); a powerful force with which to help destroy oppressive Western cultural, political and economic institutions and achieve liberation for all oppressed peoples. Just as Moses and the
Israelites caused the walls of Jericho to collapse by chanting, Rastas believe that they can chant down Babylon\(^4^9\) by performing reggae music. The roles of oppressors and oppressed will be reversed; “the stone which the builders refused is become the head stone of the corner” (Psalm 118: 22). They believe in an imminent, this-worldly, total salvation wherein Jah will pass an adverse judgement on the Western world, and Babylon will be destroyed in a supernaturally controlled ecological backlash (the imagery and theology for which is found in Revelation 17:1-5), after which black people will reign with Jah with power and authority in the new millennium (see appendix A, section 7.3).\(^5^0\) These beliefs are part of a wider vision for positive social, political, economic and religious reform which will result in a utopian world of peace, harmony, joy and justice. For New Zealand reggae consumers who claim African roots, this music articulates their view of the world as it currently is, and the world as they would like it to be.

4.3.2 Polynesian identities

Reggae musicians who are of joint Pacific Island and Māori whakapapa, as well as those who are involved in Polynesian reggae bands, use their music to construct a Polynesian identity by drawing on their cultural heritages as part of their image, themes and politics. For example, Che Fu, who is of Niuean and Māori whakapapa (genealogy), claims, “I’m here to reflect Polynesia.”\(^5^1\) He defines Polynesians as “everyone who lives in this area, regardless of actual ethnicity … It’s a whole Aotearoa thing you know?,”\(^5^2\) and also as “the Pacific Nation, indigenous people.”\(^5^3\) The latter statement is broader than the first, as it implies a poly-cultural Polynesian identity that transcends the cultural/geographical boundaries of New Zealand to include the wider geographical area of Polynesia; and is also narrower in the sense that it is confined to indigenous people rather than being non-ethnicity specific.

\(^4^9\) The role of reggae music in chanting down Babylon, and the celebration of the impending Armageddon which spells Babylon’s doom, are found in songs such as Marley’s “Catch a fire,” “Jump Nyabinghi,” “Chant down Babylon” (Confrontation, Polygram records, 1983), and “Ride natty ride” (Survival, Island, 1979); Dennis Brown’s “Whip them Jah Jah” (Live in Montego Bay, Sonic Sounds, 1992); and Bunny Wailer’s “Ready when you ready” (Liberation, Solomonic, 1989).


\(^5^3\) Che Fu quoted in: Ginny Anderson. “Che’s way.” Air New Zealand Panorama May 2002. 34.
Herbs, a multicultural band with a predominantly Polynesian membership, consider their music to be Pacific reggae which communicates a sense of “oneness of the Pacific.”\textsuperscript{54} Their \textit{kaupapa} (philosophy) of unity among the Polynesian peoples of the Pacific is expressed, for example, in their song “Themsthe Breaks.”\textsuperscript{55} There was considerable tension between Māori and Pacific Islanders during the 1980s, and as Duncan Campbell asserts, Herbs “epitomised the common purpose of Māori and Islander at a time when the youth of the two communities were more intent on gang warfare.”\textsuperscript{56} Band member Spencer Fusimalohi indicated that this cooperation “boils down now to just individuals and the majority of Māoris and Islanders get on well.”\textsuperscript{57}

Pacific Island New Zealand musicians have used reggae to draw attention to the social issues that they face, and to construct a public space for voicing their concerns and identities. The \textit{kaupapa} of resistance against colonial oppression found in many reggae songs is relevant to the locations and experiences of all New Zealanders who occupy low socio-economic class positions and co-habit the same poor rural and urban areas. Such shared experiences of place have led to the construction of real and imagined communities among oppressed New Zealanders largely irrespective of culture. However, in particular it has contributed to the creation of a New Zealand Polynesian identity between Māori and Pacific Islanders living in these communities; an identity which transcends the geographical boundaries of New Zealand to include the broader geographic area of Polynesia. New Zealand Pacific Islanders and Māori share their residence in New Zealand; their ancestral ties to the South Pacific region;\textsuperscript{58} social experiences of colonisation, prejudice and discrimination; perceived class locations due to low socio-economic status; and friendships based on social and musical bonds such as an expressed interest in reggae.\textsuperscript{59} Aotearoa’s Ngahiwi Apanui, for example, invokes underlying cultural similarities as a reason for the formation of a Polynesian identity: “there’s a divide and rule mentality of administration in the

\textsuperscript{54} Trishia Downie (producer). \textit{Te kaha o te waiata / Herbs: the power of music}. Wellington: Matte Box films/New Zealand Film Commission, 1988.


\textsuperscript{58} For the members of Herbs, their tour of Tonga and Fiji in 1982 was part of “searching for roots in Hawaiiki.” See Kereama (Graham) Reid. “Multicultural Herbs ready to go back to their roots.” \textit{Tu Tangata} 4 (February/March 1982): 10.

Pacific, lots of Māoris hate Islanders, or Islanders hate Māoris. Why should they? Out of all the people in the Pacific we’re the most closely related.”  

Aotearoa’s song “Kanaky people” advocates “Pacific unity” in order to “kick out colonial rule!”, and expresses Māori solidarity with the indigenous Kanaky people of New Caledonia, who like Māori have experienced oppressive colonial rule.

Pacific Islanders have migrated to New Zealand in search of improved material conditions and education for their children. Tigilau Ness says that Unity Pacific’s song “Thank you” is partly “about my feelings on being a Pacific Islander in New Zealand, of being allowed to retain our culture and be who we are. A better life; for that I’m really grateful.” However, perceived pressures to assimilate to Pākehā culture, the strict enforcement of immigration laws, their comparatively short period of occupation, and New Zealand’s biculturalism have precluded Pacific Islanders from making strong claims to New Zealand roots. The framework for cultural politics in New Zealand is bi-cultural (Māori and Pākehā), even though New Zealand is a multicultural society. Today, the term Pākehā (a term first used by Māori to categorise non-Māori) is most commonly used as a designation for people of Western European, or specifically British culture. All other diasporic populations of non-Māori residing in New Zealand are thus excluded from this cultural-political framework. For these reasons, Polynesian reggae musicians have not used their music to construct a legitimate place for their culture in New Zealand, and to assert their equal rights to control over New Zealand’s natural and human resources. Instead, those who have experienced a sense of rootlessness and dislocation have used reggae to maintain and (re)construct ideological routes to their ancestral homelands. For example, in addition to using Pacific Island languages and instruments in their reggae songs, the members of Herbs draw attention to Pacific Island issues in their lyrics. For example, “Mama’s song” and “Whats’ be happen?” mention the detrimental effects of Pacific Island emigration, not only to the islands themselves which become “weak and abandoned, abandoned and forsaken,” but to the migrants themselves, who lose in quality of life (non-work time) what they gain in material possessions such as a house or car.

“Lonely faces” deals with the issue of youth suicide, an issue particularly relevant in Samoa63 (see appendix A, section 9).64

4.3.3 Māori identities

The situation is very different for Māori reggae musicians, some of whom have used reggae to construct a legitimate place for their culture in New Zealand, and to assert their equal rights to control over natural and human resources. Reggae has been deeply implicated in the rise of Māori political consciousness and the assertion of Māori identity, sovereignty and language, and has given ideological strength to te ao Māori (the Māori world) in contemporary New Zealand society (see appendix A, section 8). The subversive, anti-establishment political messages of Jamaican reggae songs such Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “Get up, stand up”65 resonated with the political aspirations of Māori for self-determination and decolonisation. New Zealand reggae lyrics calling for freedom from Pākehā oppression contest Pākehā cultural dominance in an attempt to reconstruct New Zealand cultural space.

In addition to using te reo, traditional puoro (instruments), and elements derived from traditional vocal genres, Māori reggae musicians have voiced the values and concerns of their people in their lyrics in order to strengthen their sense of group solidarity and personal self-worth. Reggae has provided them with a kaupapa; a place from which to express their knowledge, ideas, grievances, anger and frustration; and most importantly, a place from which to assert and explore an oppositional identity to that of the dominant Pākehā society.66 These musicians fit Cornell West’s definition of the ‘new politics of difference’: the “articulations of talented contributors to culture who desire to align themselves with demoralised, demobilised, depoliticised and disorganised people in order to empower and enable social action.”67 Māori reggae musicians such as Aotearoa’s Ngahiwi Apanui, consciously adopted reggae music

64 Herbs. “Mama’s song” (Light of the Pacific); “What’s be happen?” (What’s be happen?); “Lonely faces” (Long ago).
65 See also “Revolution” (Natty dread. Island, 1974), “Crazy baldheads” (Rastaman vibration. Island, 1976) and “Babylon system” (Survival. Island, 1979); the Revolutionaries “MPLA,” “Angola,” and “PLO” (Well charge. Channel One, 1997); and Burning Spear’s “Red, gold and green” (100th anniversary. Island, 1976).
because of its association with resistance to oppression: “reggae has become the black political music. So because a lot of our songs are politically motivated we’ve used reggae.”68 Reggae therefore enables the band to express their anti-establishment political views using a style of music familiar to their target audience: Māori rangatahi (youth). Although reggae music originated in Jamaica in response to a particular set of social conditions, Apanui acknowledges that it has crossed many national boundaries to become a worldwide musical representation of resistance to oppression.

Some Māori reggae musicians have encouraged active resistance to Pākehā hegemony in their songs. Songs such as Aotearoa’s “Maranga ake ai”69 and “Stand up for your people,”70 David Grace and Injustice’s “Pakaitore” and “Tino rangatiratanga,”71 and Ahurangi’s “E te iwi Māori”72 uphold the concepts of mana Māori motuhake (Māori self-determination) and tino rangatiratanga (absolute chieftainship) which underpin the Māori political struggle for decolonisation/self-determination. These songs advocate for Māori rangatahi to rise up in resistance to Pākehā oppression, and encourage Māori to get politically motivated, be socially aware, and to maintain their mana.73 As Ngahiwi Apanui explains:

We all believed in being Māori, and that the language and culture was everything we were and are…. We wanted to say, here we are, we are Māori and we don’t give a shit about what you think. You disregard us and you’re in for trouble. It was the feeling of the youth at the time. It was a political ‘hot potato’ but it gave us a high profile.”74

Māori reggae musicians use their music to empower their people by promoting Māori pride in their cultural heritage, and hence a sense of positive Māori cultural identity. Aotearoa’s Ngahiwi Apanui, for example, aims to use music to make “Māori culture and Māori cosmos and being Māori acceptable to young Māori people.” Some Māori reggae musicians draw upon their history in order to empower Māori

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73 The term mana (pride, prestige, authority) was used in the Declaration of Independence (1835) to describe aspects of Māori sovereignty. Durie. Te Mana, te Kawanatanga: 2.
rangatahi; to ensure that they can “look up be proud again.” These musicians are presenting Māori rangatahi with a positive revisionist account of their history - “the half that was never told.” This not only helps Māori to explain their present social position but also provides a sense of direction for the future. Until recently, historians have written about New Zealand history from a Eurocentric, colonial perspective. This victor’s history has been taught in New Zealand schools, and has thus been internalised by many Māori who have come to see themselves as the defeated enemy. This has contributed toward a lack of Māori morale and self-esteem. To counter this, songs such as David Grace and Injustice’s song “Revolution” encourage Māori to:

Learn about your own
I say leave Christopher Columbus alone
You ought to learn about our warriors
Yeah, history books they call them murderers
When all we’re doing, we’d fight fire with fire

David Grace explains the importance of recovering a sense of history and integrity for Māori:

At school all they were teaching us was about Captain Cook and Christopher Columbus, what good guys they were. When I came back here from Aussie I went to my marae and started reading the truth about what happened, and I was really pissed off. They sent missionaries to pacify our people. We gifted land to the missionaries so they could build schools, but a lot of them never did. Then they put the land in their own names and started selling it off. I thought I’d rather write about that than anything else.

Songs such as David Grace’s “Empower my people” and “Rua Kenana” celebrate the achievements of Māori leaders and represent Māori history from a Māori point of view. Grace’s “Empower my people” emphasises the positive qualities of historical Māori leaders such as Titokowaru (a Taranaki rangatira) and Hone Heke and Kawiti (of the Ngati Hine and Ngapuhi iwi respectively). Titokowaru is characterised an

honest man "who walked his talk," Hone chopped down the British flag "cause it was not equality” and “Kawiti’s intelligence was greater than Her Majesty’s.” Upper Hutt Posse’s “Tell dem de youth” advocates teaching Mori history from a non-Eurocentric perspective in schools, and criticises New Zealand history for “only start[ing] inna 1840.” It refers to Maui Tikitiki and Kupe as the discoverers of New Zealand as opposed to Captain Cook and Abel Tasman, and depicts European colonisers as the murderers of Māori culture, language and religion in their greed for land. The album cover for Movement in demand depicts leaders from several iwi, and the liner notes include Rewi Maniapoto’s slogan “Ka whawhai tonu matou, ake, ake, ake!” (“we will continue to fight for evermore!”).

As Dean Hapeta explains, the idea behind this was to emphasise that the effort of these leaders “is still going on today, it’s not forgotten.” By drawing attention to the long history of Māori resistance to Pākehā hegemony, and the achievements of Māori leaders, reggae promotes Māori cultural pride and solidarity.

Contemporary Māori emphasise the historical length of their occupation of New Zealand. For example, the lyrics of Hori Chapman and Ahurangi’s song “te reo tuatahi” state: “O Aotearoa, Aotearoa, te wā kāinga o te iwi Māori” (O New Zealand, New Zealand, the true home of the Māori people”). They thereby de-emphasise their practices of travelling, even though Māori mythology accounts for the initial discovery of New Zealand by Kupe and the subsequent migration of Māori to New Zealand. For example, the lyrics of Hori Chapman and Ahurangi’s song “te reo tuatahi” state: “O Aotearoa, Aotearoa, te wā kāinga o te iwi Māori” (O New Zealand, New Zealand, the true home of the Māori people”). They thereby de-emphasise their practices of travelling, even though Māori mythology accounts for the initial discovery of New Zealand by Kupe and the subsequent migration of Māori to New Zealand.
Zealand in the Great Fleet of seven waka (canoes).\(^8\) Such autochthonous claims to land are of significant political and economic importance, as they directly challenge Pākehā control over the access to and use of natural resources and thereby form part of Māori decolonisation strategies.

However, the political importance of land to Māori pales in comparison to its spiritual and cultural importance. Māori identify themselves as the tangata whenua (people of the land). This concept represents both their indigenous or first nationhood status, and their role as the kaitiaki (guardians and caretakers) of the land. The term whenua refers both to the land and to placenta. According to Māori tikanga (custom), a person’s placenta is buried in the ground after birth and when that person dies, they are buried with their whenua.\(^8\) Māori believe that there is both a spiritual and corporeal connection between themselves and their land, and that this gives them both moral and historical land-entitlement. The Māori relationship with the environment is characterised by:

1. A reverence of the total creation as one whole, and recognition that everything in the universe has te taha wairua (spiritual aspects), te taha hinengaro (mental aspects) and te taha tinana (physical or economic aspects).

2. A sense of kinship with all fellow beings, as illustrated through the whakapapa (genealogical) ties of all natural resources in the universe. All things in the natural world are regarded as the progeny of Papatūānuku (maternal Earth) and Ranginui (paternal sky). A common bond is recognised in this order, and Māori interrelate to their surrounding environment accordingly.

3. A sacred regard for the whole of nature and its resources as being gifts from the gods. The presence of mauri (life force) present in all animate and inanimate objects entrusts people to appreciate and respect that resource, therefore the over-use, depletion and/or destruction of natural resources is antithetical to normal resource management practices.

4. A sense of responsibility for these gifts as the appointed kaitiaki (stewards or guardians), and rangatira. Tikanga (customary activities) upholding the

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concepts of *tapu* (the status accorded to all elements of the natural world in recognition of their *mauri* and divine origin) and *rahui* (temporary access restrictions relating to the condition of a resource and the nature of the tapu in or around a specific area) ensure the conservation of natural resources in order to protect the *mauri* inherent in them.

5. A distinctive economic ethic of reciprocity. What you take from the environment, you return in kind.

6. A sense of commitment to safeguard all of nature’s *taonga* (treasured resources) for future generations.85

Land is of fundamental importance to Māori, as their *Māoritanga*, *iwitanga* (tribal culture) and *mana* are inextricably tied to their ancestral iwi lands. Herbs member Dilworth Karaka, for example, asserts that Māori identity is based upon his sense of “oneness with our land.”86 He says that the Māori land rights issue is “almost something I feel too bitter about. The nuclear thing is bearable because it involves the whole world but for land rights there is only us and it’s right in our backyard. Once people understand how important land is to the Māoris then they’ll understand Māoris...All they have to do is give it back and let us decide what to do with it, not tell us.”87 The fundamental importance of *rohe* (iwi lands) to an individual’s sense of Māori identity expressed, for example, in David Grace and Injustice’s song “I will always come back,” in which David Grace refers to his iwi affiliations and the significant landmarks which demarcate his traditional iwi lands such as mountains and rivers.88 As the lyrics of his song “One People” state:

You can always take the people from the land
But you can never take the land from the people
The land can never be taken, it don’t belong to you89

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86 Downie (producer). *Te Kaha o te Waiata*.
88 David Grace and Injustice. “I will always come back.” *Weapons of peace*.
Given the importance of land to Māori, it is hardly surprising that some Māori musicians have used reggae music as a forum for voicing their grievances in relation to the displacement of Māori from their iwi lands as a result of colonial settlement. A focal point for Māori land grievances is the Treaty of Waitangi, a document which Māori reggae musicians have condemned as removing the “earth right” of Māori, as being “a fraud” and “the big rip off,” and as a symbol of Pākehā deception regarding “information withheld” and the “lies in history” regarding the confiscation of Māori land. The importance of the retention and reclamation of their whenua for future generations also finds expression in songs which voice support for protest activities such as land occupations. For example, David Grace’s “Pakaitore,” expresses his support for the 1995 occupation of Moutoa gardens by Wanganui Māori, who refer to this land by its original name of Pakaitore. Similarly, the cover of Herbs’ first album What’s be happen?, featuring an aerial photograph of Bastion Point on eviction day 25 May 1978 when two hundred land rights protesters were arrested, highlights Māori land rights issues. Reggae is therefore used to contest Pākehā ownership of traditional iwi lands, particularly those that were illegally confiscated by Pākehā; and advocate that Māori assert their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi in regards to access to and control over natural resources in order to decolonise.

Some Māori reggae musicians who are advocates for Māori nationalism assert the need for a unified Māori identity which is distinctive from and resistant to Pākehā hegemony. They urge Māori to look beyond the historical animosities that exist between some iwi, and to unite against the threat posed to Māori by Pākehā culture. They are not suggesting that Māori abandon their iwitanga, but that they imagine themselves as belonging to a pan-iwi Māori nation. As the lyrics of Aotearoa’s song “Singing for our people” state, “there can be no division, we must fight the derision of the other side.” Moana Maniapoto-Jackson perceives a need for Māori unity in light of the role of urbanisation in increasing iwi disunity and the presence of both intra- and inter-iwi conflict and divisiveness. This desire for a unified Māori community is

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60 Signed between representatives of the British Crown and some Māori rangatira on the 6th of February 1840.
linked to a desire for a strong cultural identity, particularly for urban Māori who have become dislocated from their *iwi*:

One thing we have got to work on is working out our iwitanga and Māoritanga and the unity of our people and the cross-tribal division. There is too much divisiveness between tribes. Even people within tribes don’t work in well together... We got to get together. And that’s reality, especially when most of us are in an urban situation.\(^{97}\)

A pan-iwi Māori culture can therefore be seen as a site of resistance and struggle for social and political change. Māori will be strongest and most effective in bringing about change if they face these issues together, nevertheless respecting *iwi* differences in protocol and *tikanga*.

### 4.3.4 Constructing the (imagi)Nation

Māori assertions of a coherent, living, indigenous culture have problematised Eurocentric conceptions of identity, and have fractured the idea of an implicitly Pākehā nation. Currently, New Zealand is a multicultural society with a bicultural political framework (Māori, Pākehā), but New Zealand’s national identity remains oriented towards the dominant Pākehā culture. New Zealand became a Dominion in 1907, but still retains ties with England through being a member of the Commonwealth and recognising Queen Elizabeth II as the Head of State. Some New Zealand reggae artists advocate for a multicultural nationalism (or a *both/and* rather than *either/or* biculturalism) in which all New Zealand cultural groups have equal social status, yet maintain their distinct cultural identity. An emphasis on co-existence and inclusion can be understood as a way of thinking about place and identity in ways which escape the process of excluding the other. As Tigilau Ness states, “we have got a lot to tell the rest of the world about how to live together in peace, love and unity... [in a country that has] all sorts of religions and beliefs, but we’re not ducking bullets ... to show the rest of the world how to turn the guns into ploughshares.”\(^{98}\)

The theme of national unity and social equality is expressed in reggae songs such as Herbs’ “One brotherhood” which contains the lines: “We’re one brotherhood, Aotearoa... Together we’ll stand, together we have power.” The first verse of this

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\(^{97}\) “Moana (part two).” *Te Iwi O Aotearoa* 31 (March 1990): 23.

\(^{98}\) Graham Reid. “Rastaman follows the son.” *The New Zealand Herald* 22 February 2003, p.3.
song indicted those who suppress people fighting against oppression ("So you knock me down with your modunok baton"), and refers to their indifference about "the bad things goin' on," specifically, the "cover up about the goalposts and the slaves" - a reference to the anti-Apartheid protests that took place during the 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand. The second verse refers to Māori people who, in their struggle "to get free," are fighting for land in Raglan and Orakei and are shouting in parliament. This verse indicted the "crazy people wanting more, more, more" who are "wrecking the joint while they take from you and me," and the song as a whole advocates for Māori and Pākehā to work together towards a solution to the cultural conflict in New Zealand.99 Similarly, reggae musician David Grace states:

We've got to move together - Māori, Pākehā, whatever. There's a lot of angry radical Māoris around the place who are taking their anger out on the people of today. Instead of putting their energy into something positive they want to go around being negative, and they're being just as racist as the Nazis. We've got to put our energy and action towards the Crown and the Government. That's where it's going to happen, not out on the street.100

These New Zealand reggae musicians desire to achieve a levelling of the existing social/cultural hierarchy in New Zealand. By challenging Pākehā control over the decision-making processes pertaining to their lives they are contributing to nation-building discourses, and to the continual process of cultural identity formation that occurs as people compete for control over natural and human resources. They thereby contribute towards how people construct imagined communities such as the nation,101 in addition to the real communities formed through face-to-face social relationships.

Pākehā who are sympathetic towards or actively support the aims of Māori self-determination and the redress of grievances expressed in some reggae songs, accept their culture's culpability in the historical and continuing oppression of Māori and other New Zealand social groups, and the need to effect restitution, reconciliation and justice. Pākehā have performed in multicultural reggae bands actively promoting

99 Herbs. "One brotherhood." What's be happen?
100 David Grace quoted in: Campbell. "Choose your weapons": 13.
101 Nations are mental constructs because the members of the nation will never know their fellow members, yet have a sense of shared identity; a collective identity which is sustained despite the level of exploitation and injustice between fellow citizens. See Benedict Anderson. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1983.
Maori sovereignty and social equality in some of the songs they perform. For consumers who have internalised these values, their consequent adaptation of the values and practices in order to accommodate those of oppressed social groups is an example of routed place and identity construction. New Zealand Europeans who accept a Pakeha identity (a Maori categorisation) relinquish some of the social power that lies in the ability to define social boundaries, and signify their rejection of neo-colonial hegemonic structures and ideologies as well as their identification with a New Zealand rather than British homeland. Since the 1960s, the dominant geographical frame of cultural reference for Pakeha has shifted from Britain to New Zealand, and consequently allusions to Europe as a primary point of reference and identity no longer resonate for many Pakeha. Some Pakeha are using reggae to re-imagine their cultural identity in a bi-cultural relationship with Maori, and this marks a cultural shift from antagonistic cultural division to mutual definition.

However, local reggae musicians who promote the values of peace, “one love” and social harmony in their music may in fact reify rather than challenge the dominant position of Pakeha in New Zealand society. These neutral, abstract values can be interpreted as representing a unified, harmonious and homogeneous New Zealand. They have the potential to disguise existing cultural and class inequalities and obscure the power differences that promote one cultural orientation as hegemonic. The defusion of the anti-establishment messages found in some reggae songs is exemplified by the annual One Love Unity reggae concerts which take place on February 6, which celebrates both Bob Marley’s birthday and the day on which the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. As Robyn Walker (co-ordinator for the One Love event in Wellington, 2001) asserts, “it is removing the politics – it’s about promoting the love.” Similarly, Will ‘Ilolahia (Auckland One Love organiser, 2001) believes that “Waitangi Day should be a day of happiness and unity, a happy day, and that is what we are doing. Bob Marley talked a lot about bringing people together, so that is really relevant to what we are trying to achieve on Waitangi Day.”

102 For example, Tim Robinson, who played drums for Aotearoa’s “Maranga ake ai.”
103 However, one response to the perceived threat posed to Pakeha social dominance has been the strengthening of ties to Western European homelands, and the defense of a ‘New Zealander’ identity. Some New Zealand Europeans are strongly offended by the use of the term Pakeha to categorise them, many erroneously believing that the term means ‘white pig.’
Day." Graham Reid sees these One Love Unity concerts as an opportunity to "celebrate [Marley's] life, music and message of dignity, tolerance and racial unity," and suggests that Marley's appeal for Pākehā audiences indicates "a much greater common ground of shared aspiration and understanding between Māori and Pākehā than some would have us believe." These events provide New Zealanders with an opportunity to celebrate national unity on a day often marked by conflict between Māori and Pākehā. The popularity of reggae among people of both low and high social status may suggest a shared commitment to the levelling of the New Zealand cultural/social hierarchy, social equality and the redress of oppressed peoples' grievances.

The interpretation of reggae as a signifier of peace, love and harmony enables those Pākehā New Zealanders who have privileged access to resources to endorse a vision of social co-operation without actually relinquishing any of their social power, and without challenging their Western European cultural roots. According to Stuart Hall:

> The ruling faction reduces the oppositional potential of a sign by attempting to construct a national consensus of meaning and feeling about it, subordinate factions arrest it to mark their identity as separate from that of the ruling faction. Subordinate factions claim or reclaim the sign as their own and as a sign of resistance to domination. This dialectic manifests itself as a struggle over the meaning of the sign.

The co-optation of reggae, and the transformation of this music from a signifier of resistance to oppression to a signifier of peace and love, can be regarded as a form of Pākehā cultural adaptation which subsumes difference in order to maintain social dominance. The adoption of New Zealand reggae by some Pākehā can signify their commitment to relinquish some of their social power; but it can also reduce the value of reggae as a symbol of social revolution for oppressed peoples and thus contribute towards the reification of their subordinate social status. In addition, the consumption of reggae produced by members of the indigenous culture enables Pākehā to assert

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106 Quoted in: Bain, "Bob's still stirring it up"; p.22.
that they legitimately belong here, and reduces the effectiveness of this music for
signifying a separate and uniquely Māori identity.

4.3.5 Glocal communities

The experiences of oppression being related through reggae music have the
potential to be widely recognised, both by members of the New Zealand population
and by oppressed peoples worldwide. Māori and Pacific Islander roots reggae
musicians in particular have used reggae to assert a sense of belonging to an imagined
glocal or translocal community of oppressed peoples. This is an example of what
Gayatri Spivak calls ‘strategic essentialism,’ which overlooks the heterogeneity of the
group in order to build unity around common needs and desires. The poverty,
oppression, marginalisation and discrimination experienced predominantly by
postcolonial indigenous and diasporic communities from around the world forms the
basis for this collective identity. Roots reggae can therefore be regarded as providing
a space of representation for peoples who lack representation in other spheres of
public life. The widespread nature of oppressive social conditions may provide a
partial explanation for reggae’s global appeal.

New Zealand reggae musicians see their struggles as being similar to those
experienced by other oppressed indigenous and diasporic groups worldwide. These
musicians advocate unity and solidarity among all oppressed peoples in order to
achieve social, political and economic reform. For example, Upper Hutt Posse’s Dean
Hapeta refers to this identification with the collective struggles of oppressed peoples
worldwide as “black outernationality.” He sees Pākehā discouragement of such an
identification as a divide-and-rule tactic: “here, we’re told we’re not black, we’re
brown, and have nothing in common with black Americans. There, they say that’s
wrong, they’re fighting oppression just as we are and just as the blacks in South

109 Roland Robertson uses this term to emphasise that local and global are defined by each other, and
that they frequently intersect, rather than being polarised opposites. The combination of these terms to
form the word ‘glocal’ refers to the interdependent nature of local and global contexts. The term
‘glocal’ is used in this thesis to denote identity formations that, although rooted in particular
geographical locations, are also routed to peoples and places beyond these perceived geographical
boundaries. Glocal identities are simultaneously local and global, rooted and routed. See Roland
Robertson, “Glocalisation: time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity.” In Global Modernities, edited
111 Kerry Buchanan, “Te Kupu: words intended to penetrate mainstream society.” Unesco courier
Africa are. Colonisation has done such a good job on Māori that they don’t see that.”

Hapeta envisions a “coming together of indigenous people and people of non-white colour,” as well as “the poor, whatever colour you are.”

The title of Hapeta’s album Whakakotahi means ‘to make one.’ Its message is aimed at indigenous peoples worldwide, “for people to realise that we’re under the same type of oppression as those in Australia and the United States, in fact all the people who face white oppression.”

Similarly, Moana Maniapoto Jackson believes that:

We might be a little bunch of Māori here in Aotearoa but there is a whole bigger bunch of black people all round the world. And that may be the way. To link in and network with them. Not anything military and that, but to realise we are all in this together and that black people outnumber whites. We have to realise that there is strength in solidarity.

This identification with an imagined global community of oppressed peoples creates a sense of empowerment for those who have been disempowered.

Some New Zealand reggae songs express solidarity with oppressed and/or indigenous populations in their music. For example, David Grace’s song “Equal rights” calls for the freedom and the granting of equal rights to Chinese youth and political prisoners, and black people living in Rwanda and Somalia. Grace’s “Africa” refers to the greed and capitalist exploitation of natural resources in Africa by multinational corporations such as Shell while the African people starve. David Grace also indicates sympathy towards and support for the Ogoni people of Nigeria, whom he refers to as “tangata whenua,” and “the guardians of the land.”

David Grace’s “Occupation” is a critique of the process of colonisation from the perspective of indigenous peoples such as the indigenous people of America and the Kanaky people of New Caledonia. It draws comparisons between the British “occupation of our own [Māori] lands” and the treatment of other indigenous peoples.

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by colonial governments. He cites the examples of the massacre of indigenous Amerindians by the U.S. cavalry at Wounded Knee and the murder of Kanaky people in New Caledonia by French troops.

Some New Zealand reggae songs specifically call for the freedom of Black South Africans who were oppressed under the Apartheid system. This issue was brought to the forefront of the national consciousness by the 1981 Springbok tour to New Zealand. For example, songs such as Herbs’ “Azania (soon come)”\(^{120}\) express a sense of solidarity with the “brothers and sisters” in Azania, and offer the “freedom fighters” a message of hope that “liberation soon come.” This song critiques apartheid as an “evil system” whereby “white racists [hold] power through the barrel of a gun.” Dread Beat and Blood’s song “Nyambingi tribesmen”\(^{121}\) states that “Africa will unite when the oppressors lose the fight,” and refers to Black Nationalist figures such as Steve Biko, Nelson Mandela, Haile Selassie I and Marcus Garvey (see appendix A, section 10).

In its broadest application, New Zealand reggae musicians and consumers have used reggae to assert a global pan-cultural identity, whereby all cultures are accepted as having equal value. The potential danger of this view is that it can be interpreted as suggesting that inequalities both within and between different cultures do not exist, and thus to maintain the hegemonic dominance of a ruling group. To avoid this, New Zealand reggae musicians thus contrast this ideal of social equality for all against existing models of social stratification. For example, David Grace’s “A lot of aroha” contrasts the ideal of aroha (love) and social harmony against today’s disharmonious world which is plagued by “mass destruction, world pollution,” where there are “too many bombings, too many killings,” where “politicians are subtracting blood from the stone of poverty” and “power struggles split the people.”\(^{122}\) Similarly, his song “Equal Rights” expresses a desire for “freedom to all, peace to all mankind” and for everyone to “have equal rights.”\(^{123}\) Herbs’ “Tahu’s song” calls for people to “pull together,” “trust one another,” and to “put aside our personal feelings,”\(^{124}\) while “Sensitive to a Smile” calls for “love for me, love for you” to achieve a world of “peace and love in

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\(^{120}\) Herbs. “Azania (soon come).” *What’s be happen?*

\(^{121}\) Dread Beat and Blood. “Nyambingi tribesmen.” *Tribute to a friend.*

\(^{122}\) David Grace and Injustice. “A lot of aroha.” *Weapons of peace.*


harmony.\textsuperscript{128} The chorus of Dread Beat and Blood’s “I unity” also calls for love, peace and global unity:

> Take a stand and fight, whether you’re black or white
> If you’re gonna fight, fight together with all your might
> Learn about love and not the hate that destroys the world
> I’m singing for the little black boy and the little black girl\textsuperscript{126}

Several New Zealand reggae songs assert the need for love in order to achieve freedom, peace, unity and justice for all humanity (see appendix A, section 6). These values have enabled local musicians and audience members to construct intercultural or glocal identities that transcend the perceived cultural and geographical barriers of New Zealand. For example, Upper Hutt Posse’s Dean Hapeta asserts that the “cultures of this world must synthesise to the point where the world’s culture becomes one, but this is a oneness of many, a oneness of diversity ... one love!”\textsuperscript{127} Moana Maniapoto-Jackson asserts that “music is a very unifying force,”\textsuperscript{128} and that “while some of our music is aimed specifically at Māori youth and women, the message is quite global and I ensure that its delivery is inclusive. Music is so embracing and anyone can relate to messages about respect and appreciation of roots, about positive revolution.”\textsuperscript{129} Similarly, Southside of Bombay’s Damon Grant asserts that “the theme of the band, if you like, is unity. That’s what we try and push in a lot of the music and everybody firmly believes in that in their hearts.”\textsuperscript{130}

Although reggae music is interpreted by different people in culturally specific terms, reggae’s messages of world peace, unity, love, social justice and equality have the potential for widespread recognition among the world’s cultures. This has perhaps been the most important factor in the widespread acceptance of reggae music. Reggae music enables both the musicians and their audiences to align themselves with an imagined glocal community of people committed to the ideals of world peace and

\textsuperscript{126} Dread Beat and Blood. “I Unity.” 	extit{Tribute to a friend}.
\textsuperscript{127} Mark Cubey. “Polifusion: Te Kupu.” 	extit{Loop} 2/4 (September/November 2000): 27.
social equity. It acts as a communal gathering force which is capable of creating imagined intercultural communities that transcend perceived barriers such as culture, class, age, religion, gender or sexuality. As the lyrics of Sticks and Shanty's “That's the way” state:

Rock to the reggae music
Let’s sway to the reggae beat
Let’s all dance and join hands
That’s the way it should be
Let’s come together
Black, yellow and white

People from diverse backgrounds are able to participate in shared activities such as discussing, listening and dancing to reggae music, and this can foster a sense of shared identity. Some New Zealanders participate in the global reggae interculture, which Mark Slobin defines as a “cultural formation that crosses geographic, ethnic, linguistic and/or political boundaries and is constituted primarily through ongoing participation in cultural production,” and use this music to define and articulate their glocal identity as a reggae fan and/or practitioner.

4.4 Gender politics

Geographical space is inherently embroiled in gender politics, and gendered identities and spaces have been contested and redefined using reggae music. This section investigates the gendered geographies of roots reggae music by looking at how New Zealand reggae consumers have responded to the male-female relations represented in imported songs. It explores how reggae has been used to construct the spaces assigned to particular genders, specifically in regard to private spaces (codified as feminine) and public spaces (codified as masculine). Music is inherently gendered and sexualised, and its role in the creation and maintenance of identity gives it “not only the power to articulate sexual identities and communities but also [the]...

ability to facilitate the production of sexualised space.” Popular music is a pervasive tool for reiterating particular gender norms and conditioning society’s acceptance of these as natural. Song lyrics, as well as men’s and women’s roles within reggae bands, reify and contest how women and men are perceived and how they perceive themselves, and thereby reflect and construct people’s gendered and sexualised identities. There has been very little scholarly discussion of how gender identities are constructed in roots reggae music, as reggae lyrics are predominantly discussed and analysed in terms of their religious and socio-political content. It may surprise many people to learn that a large number of roots reggae songs are in fact love songs. These songs are equally important as those of a spiritual or socio-political nature in terms of reflecting and constructing place and identity, particularly in terms of regulating and normalising gender relations.

Some Jamaican musicians (both male and female) have used reggae music to reinforce negative values and images associated with oppressed sexual minorities such as women. Jamaican women are acculturated to believe that their virtue and attractiveness to men lies in their physical bodies (whether it is their ability to provide sexual pleasure, or to do housework and care for children) as opposed to attributes such as their intellectual abilities and earning capability. This has contributed to a devaluing of women in comparison to men in Jamaican society. A large number of roots reggae love songs, such as Bob Marley’s “Stir it up,” “Rock it baby” “Satisfy my soul,” “Is this love?,” “Turn your lights down low,” and “Pimper’s paradise,” are explicitly sexual in nature, involving the male narrator inviting a female to have sexual intercourse with him. Such songs are androcentric and degrading to women. Lyrics that culturally reproduce women’s sexual objectification undermine the goals of some women to achieve economic and political liberation, and work against the formation of any concerted, organised movement toward liberation. The reification of women as people whose role it is to provide sexual pleasure for men can also be

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140 This kind of sexual objectification of women is common to many genres of music, not just reggae.
found in New Zealand reggae songs such as Katchafire’s song “Giddy up”111 (see appendix A, section 1.1).

Jamaican female reggae musicians such as Rita Marley and Marcia Griffiths sing praises to Jah (a male deity), the Black Man and Ethiopia, and while Rita Marley’s “Who feels it knows it” speaks of women’s burden in slavery and in contemporary society, no mention is made of the male prerogative inside and outside Rasta society.142 This is most likely the result of orthodox Rasta’s ritual subordination of women (which is situated within a broader cultural, political and economic framework). Based on their reading of the Christian Bible, Rastas regard women as the embodiment of sin.143 Women must defer to men, wear feminine clothing such as long dresses and skirts, cover their hair in public, refrain from speaking in church, and are deemed contaminated because of their ability to menstruate and give birth (see appendix F, section 9).144 Women’s minds must be cultivated by men in order to receive the fullness of divine knowledge, and the phrase ‘growing a dawta (daughter),’ which refers to the female initiation into Rastafari, indicates women’s child-like social status. In comparison, men are considered the head of the household, and dominate leadership positions within the organisation. While many Rastas are adamant in their desires for freedom from colonial, capitalist hegemony and self-determination for members of the African diaspora, few have seen liberation as a right of women.

However, while some female reggae artists have internalised these values and reified them in their music - thereby actively perpetuating their own oppression – others have used their music to contest their second-class citizenship as well as their roles as sexual objects and domestic servants. The Rastafarian movement has not been unaffected by the wider struggle by women for equal rights. Rasta women have revisited and critically evaluated their own self-definitions, juxtaposed against patriarchal beliefs and practices ascribed by the men who created the movement,145

144 The monthly seclusion/containment of Rasta women precludes their participation in society from one week to three weeks (in the Bobo Shanti sect). Women’s biology is thus systematically used to institutionalise their marginalisation in political and socio-cultural arenas.
and reggae musicians such as Judy Mowatt have applied the anti-hegemonic ideals of Rasta to the male domination of women. Songs such as “Black woman,” “Slave Queen,” “Strength to go through,” “Sisters chant,” “Only a woman,” “Big woman” and “I’m not mechanical” challenge the dominant paradigms of gendered identity by celebrating the strength and dignity of Black women, while drawing attention to women’s subjugation by men. Reggae plays an important role in articulating female resistance to male domination, and in creating, delineating and protecting female spaces and identities. The lyrics of “Only a Woman,” for example, state:

Don’t treat us inhuman
Just because we’re only women,
We’re not weak, we are strong,
We’ve been held back for too long …
We’ve got God-given talents just like you
Open the doo: and let us through

Similarly (and perhaps surprisingly given the misogynistic views held by many Rastafarians), Sticks and Shanty’s song “Woman intuition” is notable for its explicit support and positive view of women. This song asserts that “In Jah books we are all the tops.” It admonishes men who abuse, mistreat and disrespect their women, and expresses admiration for women’s strength:

Men, who do you think youse are
Telling them rot to go far?
You lock them away,
Even tell them what to say
Oh, we feel it’s a shame …


147 See also Carlene Davis’s “She’s not for sale” and “Taking control” (*Songs of freedom*, Lagoon, 1993); Ranking Ann’s “Liberated woman” (*A slice of English Toast*. Ras Arico, 1991); Lillian Allen’s “Sister hold on” (*Conditions critical*. Verse to vinyl, 1988); songs by Sister Carole, Sister Artia Celis and Cynthia Richards; and collections such as *Roots Daughters* (Ras Ari, 1988).

Oh, we feel you are all so tough,
Always standing side to side
To the people who treat you rough ...
Every day we hope, and every day we pray
For people not to be this way.

Southside of Bombay’s “Running” similarly addresses the issue of domestic violence. By espousing the ideal of gender equality, the members of Sticks and Shanty have evidently rejected the patriarchal, misogynistic element of Rastafarian ideology in favour of prevailing values of gender equality in New Zealand. This is not to suggest that gender equality has been achieved in New Zealand, but that the ideals of the women’s liberation movement are an important part of our national heritage and present identity.

Space and place are often shaped and defined according to dominant ideologies and politics, which with respect to gender and sexuality in the realm of music, remain overtly patriarchal and heterosexual. Public performance spaces in particular are stereotypically characterised as male-dominated spaces. While there are fewer female reggae performers and composers in comparison to males, women do publicly perform reggae. In overseas and local public performance contexts, women’s roles have largely been restricted to that of background vocalists - a subordinate role in comparison to the male lead vocalists and instrumentalists - mirroring women’s subordination to men in wider society. Judy Mowatt, Rita Marley and Marcia Griffiths, for example, performed as Bob Marley’s backing harmony trio the I-Threes. Following this format, female backing trios are part of local bands such as the Jah Remnant Crew (Carlynn Matahaere, Jules Issa and Gail Tipene) and the band performing on Ruia and Ranea’s Waiata of Bob Marley II (Erina Aperahama, Vivienne Merito and Stephanie Pohe). The New Zealand band Cornerstone Roots are exceptional, with women instrumentalists Naomi Tuao (bass guitar) and Lisa McLeod (keyboards and vocals). Like Judy Mowatt, Rita Marley and Marcia Griffiths, New

152 New Zealand was the first country in the world to enfranchise women, granting them the right to vote in 1893.
Zealand female reggae artists such as Jules Issa, Barbara Ryland, Lei D Lee, and Moana Maniapoto-Jackson have also performed as lead vocalists and solo artists in their own right. While female reggae musician Jules Issa, is a Rastafarian and believes that women are subordinate in status to men, she uses her position of gender equality within her iwi to justify her participation in perceived male-dominated activities such as DJing:

> In my tribe, Ngati Porou, women are allowed to speak on the marae ... Women are very much like warriors, like the men. It's the only tribe in New Zealand that's like that, and being of that tribe I'm not afraid to attack an area where there's strictly men involved, like DJing. It's not an easy thing in New Zealand to be a woman and travel around with men and they think they dominate - no way! ... Rasta isn't sexist ... I won't go and say 'All men are crap' because it's not me. I demand a lot of respect, but I also give a lot of respect out too, it has to go both ways. I give respect to the brothers because I read my Bible and I know that God is the head of man and man is the head of woman. My teaching from the Bible is to love thy husband and be in subjection to him, but don't be a slave to him. I don't go around wearing trousers because I give respect to the male figure. But males still give respect to the wives, to the sisters, you can either be a softie and be run over or stand firm and speak what's on your mind. No man can rule me if they are unruly themselves.\(^{154}\)

By publicly performing reggae, women are contesting the male dominance of public space.

4.5 Environmental politics

This section shows how reggae has been used to construct urban and rural spaces by examining the link between roots reggae, environmental consciousness and spirituality using evidence derived from local reggae events, and the discourses and music of New Zealand roots reggae musicians. Roots reggae music has functioned as one medium through which key tenets of Rastafarian ideology such as I-tal livity (natural living), communitarianism and environmental awareness have been transmitted to New Zealand audiences. Rastas believe that, contrary to Jah’s will, Western culture promotes disharmonious relationships not only between humans, and also between humans and the natural environment. In contrast to perceived divide and rule tactics (isms and schisms) used by the dominant culture, Rastas promote unity

(kotahitanga), healing, giving and reciprocity. They signify their rejection of Babylon (which is seen as being artificial and predatory in nature), by caring for Gaia (Mother Earth/the natural environment), and creating self-sustaining lifeways by cultivating their own l-tal (organically grown) produce. This self-sufficiency is aimed at furthering the goal of independence from dominant Päkehä society. The Rastafarian ideal proscribes the use of synthetic materials, chemically treated or manufactured foods, tobacco, alcohol and drugs (with the exception of ganja, which is considered a healing herb). Rastas rarely eat meat and strictly prohibit the eating of pork, shellfish and scaleless fish (especially large or predatory fish, as eating them is seen as endorsing predatory human behaviour) in accordance with biblical injunctions (see appendix F, section 10). They believe that the entire universe is organically related and that the key to physical and social health is to live in accordance with organic principles.\textsuperscript{155} As a result of internalising these values, some New Zealand Rastas have migrated from urban areas to form self-sufficient rural communes in a conscious attempt to free themselves from Päkehä postcolonial oppression. People who make this lifestyle choice reconstruct their cultural identities by altering their relationship with the natural environment.

Rastafarian values and practices concerning the use of natural resources resonated with the desires of some New Zealanders for a clean, green environment. In recent years, there has been a growing awareness of, and concern over, the human (ab)use of natural resources. The intensity of national debates over environmental issues such as the unsustainable rate at which forests and fisheries are being depleted, pollution (for example, the use of CFCs, chemical toxins, and the dumping and recycling of waste), nuclear testing and genetic engineering highlight the importance which many New Zealanders attach to preserving the natural environment. New Zealand’s landscape is often imagined as being a pristine place of rugged mountains, primeval forests, clear bush streams and unspoilt sandy beaches,\textsuperscript{156} and this clean, green and environmentally friendly image plays an important role in how many New Zealanders define themselves in relation to other places and peoples. It is important to their sense of place and identity.


\textsuperscript{156} This idealised image of New Zealand has been promoted by tourism media, much the same way as Jamaica has an idealised image as an unspoilt tropical island paradise.
Concerns expressed over the long-term survival of Earth’s species have prompted some New Zealanders to critically evaluate and assess the impact of their cultural practices on the environment and their place in the Earth’s ecosystem. For those who live in modern, urban capitalist societies, reggae’s messages of harmony between people and the environment represent an attractive, alternative and viable worldview and lifestyle option. For contemporary Māori, communitarianism and the sustainable use and equal distribution of natural resources represents a return to a traditional way of life. These values of reciprocity, sharing and collective ownership are a stark contrast to the industrialisation, nihilism, competitive materialism and individualism characteristic of the modern Western lifestyle in built urban environments. By identifying with and adopting some elements of the Rastafarian lifestyle (if not adopting the Rastafarian faith), New Zealand reggae consumers gain a sense of community and group solidarity in contrast to the alienating mass-ness of a capitalist society which is “over-organised, over-centralised and fail[s] to offer realistic opportunities for individual and minority expression.”¹⁵⁷ They not only align themselves with like-minded individuals in the communities where they live, but with an imagined community of people from different cultures around the world who share these values.

Because reggae music is associated with a natural, organic and communitarian lifestyle, it offers some people a route or pathway with which to experience the natural environment. The actual sound of reggae music is thought to be natural, as it mirrors natural sounds such as the human heartbeat.¹⁵⁸ DLT (Daryl Thomson) for example, states that “roots music is very organic and it’s hard to think about mother nature and love when you’re stuck in a concrete jungle, but Aotearoa still has those vibrations to give.”¹⁵⁹ Brian McMillan of Cornerstone Roots asserts that reggae is an organic music: “If you sit in the bush somewhere you can hear lots of sounds and you can define those sounds by their volumes and frequencies … if you get thirteen musicians playing at different frequencies and volumes and on different beats, that’s reggae man.”¹⁶⁰ Similarly, fellow band member Naomi Tuao states:

When sitting amongst nature I am tuned into an orchestra of sounds, whether it is the wind, insects, birds, ocean, or animals walking the earth. It is amazing how all these sounds can be heard all at once because they are at different frequencies and volumes. In this context roots reggae music best emulates those organic sounds.\(^{161}\)

Their belief in the organic nature of reggae is reflected in their choice of band logo.

Figure 14
The Cornerstone Roots band logo\(^{162}\)

Concern over the human destruction of the environment (and ultimately of all life on planet Earth) is expressed in reggae songs such as Marley’s “Redemption song” and Tosh’s “No nuclear war,”\(^{163}\) and in several New Zealand reggae songs. These songs are significant in constructing how people conceive of their relationship between their environment (natural and built) and themselves. The adverse impact of nuclear testing on the environment is one issue that has been addressed by New Zealand reggae musicians. The issue of French nuclear testing in the South Pacific has been vastly important in terms of the construction of a New Zealand national identity, and has been a significant factor in New Zealand’s foreign relations with the United


States and France. Herbs’ songs such as “French letter,” “Nuclear waste” and “No nukes” protested against French nuclear testing at Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific, indicting the exploitation of the Pacific through militarism and tourism by a foreign superpower. As Willie Hona explains, “[Herbs’] anger isn’t so much directed at the people as to what is being done to the environment. It’s wrecking everything up there.” In response to the resumption of French nuclear testing at Mururoa Atoll in 1995, Herbs issued a re-release of their single “French letter.” To encourage social action over this issue, consumers were asked to detach the postcard attached to the recording cover addressed to the French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac with the message “as a citizen of the Pacific, I denounce your nuclear testing programme: NO!” As bassist Jack Allen stated, “we’ve made people a bit more aware of what’s going on – like with the nuclear thing. No-one knew about it. We’d like people to become a bit more aware and take notice.”

Drummer Fred Faleauto asserted that “the awareness came across when we started to do koha [free, gift] gigs for Greenpeace, organisations like that, from the early days.” Karaka further explained that “a lot of Tahitian, and Samoan, Tongan people were over for treatment of cancer, and the song French letter grew from there.” Herbs’ association with Greenpeace continued throughout the band’s performing career. The group performed at the Rainbow Warrior festival, and composed an anti-driftnetting song for Greenpeace in 1990. Herbs’ song “Rust in dust,” contains a serious message about the adverse impact of the herbicide 245T on the environment, and the subject matter is also a pun on the band’s name. Songs such as Mana’s “Earth spoiler” and “Man eater” also express concern over the human destruction of the environment (see appendix A, section 5).

Annual festivals such as the Soundsplash Eco Reggae Fest (first held outdoors in 2002) and the Te Ao Marama Festival (held since 1990), both held at Whaingaroa (Raglan), celebrate reggae’s rootedness in nature. The Te Ao Marama Festival, at

164 Herbs, “French letter” (Light of the Pacific); “Nuclear waste” (Long ago); “No nukes” (Sensitive to a smile).
169 “Rust in dust” (Herbs. Sensitive to a smile); “Earth spoiler” and “Man eater.” (Mana. Mana. Auckland: Manu and Manna Music, 1993).
which reggae bands such as Cornerstone Roots\footnote{Cornerstone Roots performed with Korumandal at an anti-genetic engineering rally in Garden Place to mark GE-free Day 2001. See “Line up,” The Waikato Times 26 July 2001, p.9.} have taken part, focuses on caring for the environment and celebrating the earth. This festival features exhibitions and workshops held by groups representing Māori artists against genetic engineering, Māori organic producers and Māori and Asian healers.\footnote{Tracy Cooper. “Festival looks to our future.” The Waikato Times 4 February 2002, p.8.} Similarly, the organisers of Soundsplash have a zero waste policy, and food stalls at this event sell organic cuisine, herbal teas, coffee and fresh juices. Numerous banners, merchandise and flyers promote a clean, green and G.E.-free New Zealand. At the 2002 event, T-shirts worn by Wellington group Trinity Roots featured the slogan ‘Keep it in the lab.’ The local board riders club \textit{Te Ngaru Roa A Maui} sold food prepared in a \textit{hangi} (a traditional style of cooking food in the earth) to promote understanding and respect for Tangaroa’s (god of the sea) environment. Ten percent of the profits from this event were donated to Whaingaroa Harbourcare. This festival has been promoted as “a spiritual celebration for the nation….a conscience rhythm for Gaia to resonate.”\footnote{Ina May Haggard. “Reggae New Zealand style: Mud splashing at the Whaingaroa Soundsplash 2002.” Online. Accessed 28 August 2003. Available from \url{Jahworks.org: An Online Publication About Caribbean-Based Music and Culture. http://www.jahworks.org/music/concert/newzealand.html}}

At the Goddess Temple, people can meditate, or participate in yoga and Thai massage. At midnight on the 9th February 2003, people gathered at the temple to send out positive vibrations, energies and healing messages to “all those nations hell bent on war.”\footnote{“Soundsplash Eco Reggae festival 2003. 8th Feb 2003, Waimui Reserve, Raglan.” Online. Accessed 28 August 2003. Available from \url{http://www.cornerstoneroots.com/motherland/soundsplash03News.html}} Both of these festivals explicitly link roots reggae to environmental and spiritual concerns. The discourses and music of local roots reggae musicians, and the nature of events such as those described above, demonstrate that reggae has played a role in constructing and articulating relationships between people and the natural and supernatural worlds.

\begin{itemize}
\item[ootnote{Cornerstone Roots performed with Korumandal at an anti-genetic engineering rally in Garden Place to mark GE-free Day 2001. See “Line up,” The Waikato Times 26 July 2001, p.9.}]
\item[ootnote{Tracy Cooper. “Festival looks to our future.” The Waikato Times 4 February 2002, p.8.}]
\end{itemize}
Chapter Five: Conclusion

This thesis has explored how roots reggae has been used by some New Zealand musicians to construct their cultural identities and sense of place. The phenomenon of New Zealand roots reggae shows how the intensified cultural contact brought about by globalisation (in terms of the increasing movement of finance, technology, media, ideas and people around the globe) has changed the dynamics within the multiple relationships between culture, identity and place. Globalisation has led people to rethink and reflect on their attachments to places in different ways as they become increasingly aware of human interconnectedness around the globe. This thesis refutes postmodernist arguments that globalisation has resulted in an identity crisis, a sense of placelessness, cultural deterritorialisation and homogeneity. It instead shows how roots reggae – as one example of a globally disseminated and commodified cultural product – has been used to reterritorialise New Zealand cultural identities in ways that build upon and expand conventional understandings of cultural locatedness. Rather than thinking about places in rooted ways, this thesis has demonstrated that there is currently a dialectical tension between rooted and routed notions of place and identity.

As is the case with many world musics, roots reggae’s geographical roots or origins are imagined during the course of its production and consumption in its adoptive contexts. The global dissemination of this music suggests the existence of dynamic, mobile and fluid soundscapes. However, concepts of authenticity, originality, credibility and distinctiveness link reggae to Jamaica – which is indexed as the place of reggae’s roots, as its homeland. An analysis of Jamaican reggae lyrics and visual marketing shows that Jamaica has been predominantly represented in two contrasting ways: either as a ghetto or as a tropical island paradise. New Zealand consumers have used reggae to ideologically travel to places that are perceived as being similar or different to the real and imagined places that they occupy. Reggae is now produced and consumed in many places around the world, including New Zealand. However, despite evidence of reggae’s ability to travel, as well as its ability to facilitate travel in an ideological sense, rooted definitions of place and culture remain powerful.

This thesis has looked at how New Zealand roots reggae musicians use this music to index their cultural roots, and to construct new cultural routes. Roots reggae is known as a roots music partly because it enabled Jamaican reggae musicians to
articulate their experiences of ghetto life. Contemporary New Zealanders, or their ancestors, all migrated to New Zealand at some point in time. However, a sense of cultural dislocation or dystopia has been acutely experienced by those who have been physically dislocated from their ancestral homelands and whose cultural identity is perceived as being threatened (for example, Māori displacement from iwi lands bought or confiscated by Pākehā colonists, post-World War II Māori urbanisation and Pacific Island labour migration, dawn raids and the deportation of Pacific Island overstayers in the 1970s); who do not want to, or find it difficult to conform to the dominant Pākehā culture; who lack access to cultural groups, or who find such groups to lack strong, non-threatening and charismatic leaders, and therefore may no longer speak their cultural language or participate in their cultural community; who have been marginalised and alienated by the implicitly mono-cultural Pākehā-oriented nature of cultural institutions such as the education, health and justice systems and the media; and who have encountered racism.

These factors have contributed towards a sense of being unwelcome, out-of-place, of not belonging or fitting in to New Zealand society; to feelings of loss, longing, grief, rootlessness, dislocation, nostalgia for and desires to return to homelands; and to a sense of disempowerment and demoralisation. New Zealanders who have been oppressed, marginalised and alienated by the powerful members of society, and who occupy undesirable social and geographical locations characterised by substandard or non-existent housing, poverty, hunger, unemployment, poor healthcare and education, crime and violence, understandably desire to be located elsewhere. Reggae has been used by some oppressed New Zealanders to articulate their desires for decolonisation, and to contest and reclaim social space. By transforming ghettoised spaces into spaces of empowerment, this music has enabled them to re-emplace and gain a positive sense of their own identities. By using reggae to articulate the experiences, hopes and frustration of ghetto residents, the ghetto has become a place from which to lobby for social change. The recognition that the kinds of social problems faced by these people are not restricted to themselves can enable these people to gain a sense of strength in solidarity – not only between members of their own communities, but also between themselves and other people who experience similar conditions worldwide (such as residents of the ghettos in West Kingston, Jamaica; Black South Africans under Apartheid; and other indigenous peoples in postcolonial nations).
Reggae is also known as a roots music because it enabled African-Jamaican musicians to express their desires to return to their African ancestral homelands. Some oppressed New Zealanders have gained a sense of empowerment by becoming Rasta and by claiming African cultural roots and an Israelite identity. Although this identification with Africa may seem unusual at face value, it is justified through claims to shared experiences of cultural/geographical dislocation and oppression; through shared physical descent; and through a shared belief that they have been divinely designated as God's chosen people. Rastas derive a sense of empowerment through their Afrocentric interpretation of the Bible, using this text to legitimise their assertions that God and Christ were Black, and to assert their right to social equality, their dignity and humanity.

These African roots are asserted in a number of ways. Reggae music itself is predominantly influenced by African-American and African-Jamaican musical forms, and therefore includes musical features which index Africa, for example: the use of polyrhythm, vocal call-and-response, and minor tonalities influenced by African pentatonic scales. The importance of rhythm in reggae also indexes its African roots. This is evidenced by the use of congo, bongo or burra drums in performances by New Zealand reggae bands such as Boil Up and Sticks and Shanty, and in the percussive use of melodic instruments – a feature which resulted from the distribution of the rhythmic roles of the burra drums (bass, fundeh and akete) to other instruments within the reggae texture. New Zealand Rastas also assert their African/Israelite roots through using Dread Talk, which features the use of biblical terms, the modification of English lexicon, and the use of the 'I' pronoun; and through adopting Rastafarian symbols, beliefs and practices such as the red, green and gold tricolour, dreadlocks and ganja consumption.

Instead of adopting an African/Israelite identity, some New Zealand reggae musicians have used their music to maintain or reclaim their existing cultural identities. Local musicians and consumers have emplaced or rooted reggae in New Zealand or the wider area of Polynesia by drawing on elements of their own cultural heritage and musical traditions. This is evident in their use of instruments indigenous to New Zealand and Polynesia such as the kōauau, karanga weka, poi and Polynesian percussion instruments such as the tōkere (log idiophone) and pahu (membranophone); their use of te reo Māori and Pacific Island languages such as Tongan and Samoan; their borrowing of elements derived from Māori pre-European
contact musical forms such as *haka* (such as the use of *te arero*; a declaimed style of vocal delivery; call-and-response between the lead and backing vocalists; and the *Kss aue* and *He* endings) and *waiata* (for example, the use of melodies with a limited vocal range constructed around an *oro*, featuring mainly conjunct melodic movement with leaps of a third or fourth); and their use of traditional musical song forms such as *karanga*, *waiata powhiri* and *oriori*, as well as existing pieces of traditional music on their recordings. It can also be seen in their use of images such as the *koru* motif, Māori wood carving and *moko* designs, and Pacific Island weaving patterns in the visual marketing of their music.

Although reggae is seen as being rooted in Jamaica, some local musicians and consumers have asserted that their music is real, pure, true, or genuine New Zealand or Polynesian reggae, and that it is uniquely and distinctly local. New Zealand roots reggae is described as representing wide open spaces and rolling seas, as well as having an urban edge – thereby indexing both the natural and human-constructed geographies of Polynesia. These perceived similarities between local roots reggae and the local environment support their assertion that this music legitimately belongs here.

New Zealand roots reggae lyrics also convey the musicians’ sense of cultural identity and their relationship to place. Perhaps due to their comparatively recent length of occupation in Aotearoa, in addition to their experiences of oppression and dispossession, Polynesian New Zealanders have tended not to use reggae to assert their belonging in this country. They have, however, used reggae to maintain or reclaim their Polynesian roots, by singing about issues pertinent to their homelands such as youth suicide (Herbs’ “Lonely faces”), nuclear testing (Herbs’ “French letter” and “Nuclear waste”), and the detrimental effects of emigration (Herbs’ “What’s be happen”). Several reggae songs emphasise the length of Māori occupation in this country, and their status as *tangata whenua*; and highlight the necessity of retaining or reclaiming *Māoritanga*, *tikanga*, *te reo*, *whenua*, and a proud history.

Reggae songs such as Aotearoa’s “Singing for our people” advocate the formation of a pan-iwi Māori identity which still recognises people’s *iwitanga*, and urges Māori to unite in order to fight Pākehā hegemony; while songs such as Herbs’ “One brotherhood” advocate a multicultural nationalism, whereby all New Zealanders work together to achieve the ideal of social equality. Some New Zealanders have recognised the need to effect restitution, reconciliation and justice to oppressed members of New Zealand society, and have been sympathetic towards the calls for
decolonisation and social equality expressed in some reggae songs. Their consequent adaptation of the values and practices in order to accommodate those of oppressed social groups is an example of routed place and identity construction. New Zealand Europeans who accept a Pākehā identity (a Māori categorisation) relinquish some of the social power that lies in the ability to define social boundaries, and signify their identification with a New Zealand rather than British homeland. However, for some New Zealanders, the message of unity found in reggae songs such as Bob Marley’s “One Love” has supported their notion of a homogenous New Zealand culture devoid of social inequalities. This particular interpretation has reified the current social hierarchy, enabling Pākehā to comfortably maintain their position of social privilege and dominance, and their cultural roots to European homelands.

In addition to being used in the construction of cultural spaces, reggae has been used to reconfigure gendered or sexualised spaces. Reggae lyrics, and the roles of female and male performers, have both challenged and reified the codification of private spaces as feminine and public spaces as masculine, and have contested and reinforced the definitions of culturally assigned gender attributes (for example, by highlighting women’s ability to be rational, strong, and intellectual; and conversely, the ability of men to be emotional and weak). Although some reggae lyrics derogate women as sexual objects, artists such as Judy Mowatt and the local band Sticks and Shanty have challenged the patriarchal domination of women using reggae music. Reggae’s introduction to New Zealand in the 1970s coincided with a particularly active period for New Zealanders involved in the Women’s Liberation Movement, and this can perhaps be seen as a possible reason why the misogynistic views expressed in some Jamaican reggae songs were rejected here.

Roots reggae has not only been used to reconstruct relationships between people, but also to reconfigure the urban and rural spaces that they inhabit. Songs such as Herbs’ “French letter,” “Nuclear waste,” “No nukes,” “Rust in dust,” and Mana’s “Earth spoiler” and “Man eater” reflect and construct relationships between people and the natural and supernatural worlds. They advocate for the protection of the environment, and for the sustainable use and equal distribution of natural resources. These values have particular resonance for many New Zealanders, for whom a clean, green image is part of their mythologisation of place in much the same way as tropical island imagery is for Jamaica. By addressing environmental issues in their music, these musicians are re-evaluating the place of humans within the ecosystem, and are
using their music to articulate their ideal relationships between humans, the natural environment and other living creatures. By adopting elements of the Rasta lifestyle, which is perceived as being the antithesis of Western capitalist society, these values also provide New Zealand reggae musicians and consumers with a means of resisting Pākehā hegemony.

These cultural changes that resulted from reggae’s adoption and localisation in New Zealand have been met with two common responses: reggae has either been seen as a legitimate form of contemporary cultural expression, or as a destructive threat to existing local cultures. Terms such as imitation and authenticity have been used to debate the appropriateness of reggae’s place in New Zealand, and to construct cultural boundaries defining ‘us’ and ‘them.’ New Zealanders who see these cultural changes as destroying, contaminating and undermining a perceived original, authentic, or pure culture can be regarded as having a strongly rooted concept of culture and place, entailing the notion of culture and place as being static, bounded, homogenous. In contrast, New Zealanders who view local roots reggae as a form of cultural celebration and an authentic and legitimate expression of contemporary local cultural identities, can be regarded as having a more routed concept of place and culture, entailing the concepts of place and culture as being heterogeneous and changing over time. Reggae has enabled musicians and consumers to modernise and to express their contemporary, hybridised/glocalised identities while still enabling them to maintain or reclaim their sense of cultural/geographical roots. An examination of the style and symbolism of New Zealand roots reggae has therefore revealed how New Zealanders think about place and culture in both rooted and routed ways.

To conclude, cultural identities are conventionally thought of as being rooted to particular places – particularly those where they or their ancestors have dwelt. New Zealand reggae musicians have used roots reggae in this conventional sense to construct identities that are rooted to the places where they currently live, and to places where they or their ancestors have lived in the past (such as childhood homes and ancestral homelands). However, they have also used roots reggae in more imaginative and cosmopolitan ways in order to identify themselves with people worldwide who share their current sense of dystopia (for example, the sense of dissatisfaction that some urban “ghetto” residents experience in regard to their current places of residence, and with the policies and practices which shape their lived environment) and their utopian visions for the future (such as their desires to be
located in idealised ancestral homelands; in the exotic tropical island paradise of Jamaica; in a world where humans live in harmony with each other, with other forms of life, and the natural world). Several forms of cultural identification have arisen in response to the culturally dislocating effects of colonialism, both in terms of physical displacement from ancestral cultural homelands, and continued oppression and marginalisation.

While travel in a physical sense has resulted in a sense of dislocation for oppressed and dispossessed New Zealanders, reggae has provided them with a means of ideologically relocating themselves to distant and imaginary places located in the past, present and future. As a result of globalisation, cultures can be viewed as being routed to multiple places, including but not limited to the place or places of one’s origins/roots; as being flexible and changing as opposed to being static and unchanging, heterogeneous rather than homogeneous, and comprised of intersecting global flows instead of being bounded and internally coherent. This thesis has contributed to understandings of where identity is located; how people use reggae music to construct social and geographical boundaries defining ‘us’ and ‘them’ (that is, who we are and where we are from); and how real and imagined communities are defined. With the multinational entertainment industry continuing to disseminate music genres worldwide, theorists of cultural and social change will continue to face the challenge of evaluating music’s role in the construction of place and identity, and the place of music within the complex and constantly changing dynamic of a world which is historically, socially and spatially interconnected.
Glossary

Aotearoa – New Zealand (land of the long white cloud)
aroha – love
awa – river
haere mai – welcome, come here
hangi – traditional style of cooking in the earth
haka – posture dance with stylised shouted accompaniment
hapū – extended family, sub-iwi
iwi – tribe
kiatiaki – guardian, caretaker
kaitiakitanga – guardianship
karanga – female call welcoming visitors onto the marae
karanga weka – weka call
kaupapa – philosophy
kōauau – wooden or bone open-ended ‘flute,’ usually with three holes
koha – gift
kohanga reo – language nests
kotahitanga – oneness, unity
kua mākona – be completely satisfied
kuia – female elder
mana – pride, prestige, authority
manuhiri – visitor, visiting group
Māori – ordinary, the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Māori mana motuhake – Māori self-determination
Māoritanga – Māori culture
māpipi maurea – tiger shell personal adornments
marae – meeting place
maranga – rise up
mātauranga Māori – Māori systems of knowledge
maunga – mountain
mauri – life force
moko – tattoo
ngeri – short, informal composition in haka form performed with or without dance
noa – profane, the opposite of tapu
ohooho – valuable
oriori – lullaby
oro – durational tonic or fixed intoning note
Pākehā – non-Māori (particularly of Western European descent)
Papatūānuku – earth mother
peruperu – war dance with weapons, accompanied by stylised shouting
poi – ball attached to string, swung and hit in time to the beat of the song
pounamu – greenstone
pōwhiri – welcome
puhi – women set aside for dynastic marriages
puoro – instruments
rāhui – taboos, restrictions
Ranginui – sky father
rangatahi – youth
rangatira - chief
rohe – iwi lands
taonga - treasures
Tangaroa – the God of the sea
tangata whenua – people of the land, the Māori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand
tapu – sacred, the status accorded to all elements of the natural world in recognition of their mauri and divine origin
te ao Māori – the Māori world
te areo – the out-thrust tongue
te taha wairua – spiritual aspects, relating to mana atua, the fundamental spiritual values of Māori culture
(te taha hinengaro – mental/cognitive aspects, relating to mana tangata, the political decision-making world, human rights
(te taha tinana – physical/perceived aspects, relating to mana whenua, the economic system, trusteeship of land
(te reo Māori – the Māori language
tikanga - custom
tino rangatiratanga – absolute chieftainship, sovereignty
tipuna - ancestors
tūrangawaewae – a place to stand from which to assert authority
tūtū ngārāhu – war dance
tūturu – true, authentic, traditional
waiata – the generic term for sung styles of traditional Māori music
waka – canoe, all iwi trace their descent to one of the waka in the original fleet
whakakia marihī - precious earrings
whakakotahi – to make one, to unify
whakapapa – genealogy
whakattū waewae – war dance
whenua – land, placenta
whenua tipu – ancestral land
Bibliography


Reid, Kereama (Graham). “Multicultural Herbs ready to go back to their roots.” Tu Tangata 4 (February/March 1982): 10.


Wilson, Janey. “Hori and Hemi buzz on.” *Tu Tangata* 26 (October/November 1985): 34.


**Discography**


Videography

(Excludes music videos and performances on programmes such as “The big night in” and “When the haka became the boogie,” and shows such as “Mai time.”)


**Materials held in the New Zealand Television Archive**

  Programme catalogue number: ZKOHA-16-05, held at the television archive. Basis form number: P42071.
  - This video looks at the influence of reggae music and the Rastafarian religion on Māori youth. Owen Reid, a member of the Rastafarian band “The Wailers,” discusses the Rastafarian religion and reggae music. Members of the New Zealand reggae group “Mana” discuss their similarity to and solidarity with Rastafarians.

  - This video discusses the “Reggae Explosion” exhibition documenting the history of reggae music and culture using art, film, music and photographs, being shown at the Canterbury Museum. Reggae fan Aidan Griffin talks about reggae and dub being historically and culturally important for New Zealand.

  - The video looks at the Te Papa “Reggae Explosion” exhibition. Daniel Scotford talks about the impact that Bob Marley’s 1979 visit to New Zealand, and the political unrest of the 1970s (eg. calls for Māori self-determination and the return of Māori land), had on the popularity of reggae in this country. He also talks about the characteristics and history of reggae.

- “Flipside series 4, programme 2,” (“Flipside late series 1, programme 2”), screened on *Flipside; Flipside late* 26 June 2003. Presented by Vanessa Clarke and Mike Puru; reported by Evie Ashton; executive producer Simone McNaught; directed by Carla Andersen. Programme catalogue number:
  - 18:23–18:26 minutes into this video, Evie Ashton looks at New Zealand reggae band Katchafire.


  - Anton Carter visits a practice session of Rastafarian reggae band Second Power, comprised of Mäori, Pacific Island and Jamaican Rastafarians. Tigilau Ness explains the basis tenets of the Rastafarian religion, and asserts that smoking Marijuana is not a necessary part of the faith; that Rasta is a Christian faith and a way of life for its adherents. He also talks about repatriating to Africa, highlighting civilisation’s African origins, and asserting that his islandness goes back to Africa and does not begin in the islands.

- Documentary footage of the Keskidee tour of New Zealand (1979) is held in the Film Archive, Cable St, Wellington.¹

Internet resources

Three useful internet sites for information on New Zealand reggae are:

- http://www.geocities.com/SunsetStrip/Studio/3251
- http://www.newzealand.rastainoz.com/
- http://www.spraci.net/listings/nz/reggae

The following New Zealand reggae-influenced bands and musicians also have their own websites:

- Cornerstone Roots – http://www.cornerstoneroots.com/
- Che Fu – http://www.che-fu.com/
- Katchafire – http://www.katchafire.co.nz/
- Salmonella Dub – http://www.salmonelladub.com/
- Trinity Roots – http://www.trinityroots.com/
- Upper Hutt Posse – http://www.tekupu.com/
Appendix A: New Zealand roots reggae song themes (with excerpts of song lyrics)

Section 1: Gender relationships
Section 1.1: love between women and men

  Wrap it up. / Throw it all in the paper ... gonna need it at the club tonight. / Who you with? ... ‘Cause I’m gonna have some tonight ... and if you do me a favour ... I’ll fix you and it’ll be alright ... Gonna get partied. / Gonna be sure. / Gonna do all the things that appeal to me. / I’ll do it all ... I’m gonna set it off slow, / and then everything’s gonna take me / thru it all. / Making it easy / ‘cause I don’t wanna be alone, baby. / Practicing up at Armadillos / just to burn it clear, / and then I’ll be spinning out around Hood street. / Nobody’s gonna care. / You know you make me all jelly / when you do me like that

- Katchafire. “Colour me life.” (Revival).
  I’m coming directly for you ... Whatever you want girl, I’ve got it ... ‘cause it’s all right when you’re feeling low. / Yes, it’s all right honey, don’t let go ... whatever you’re missing, I’ll find it. / Whatever you’re wishing, I’ll make it come true ... You know you colour me life, / you colour me thinking, / colour them cool. / And if you’re feeling all right, / then why are we waiting? / Colour them cool, bet you’re no fool. / Whatever you’re drinking, I’ll buy it. / Whatever you’re thinking, I’m thinking it too ... Whenever you’re leaving, I’ll follow. / Just give me the reason, I’m right there with you

- Katchafire. “Seriously.” (Revival).
  Seriously, it’s been a long time / since I’ve heard from thee, / since you dropped me on line. / Well I know / what you’ve been going through. / And I know what I’ve been telling you. / Girl seriously give me another one ... I happen to know what’s gonna happen next. / The rhythm will pull you on into this here jam. / I reckon the rhythm just can’t stop you moving. / And everywhere you look, people be dancing near, yeah. / I don’t drive no flashy, / I don’t wear no flashy ring girl. / You don’t see me trying bling bling girl, yeah. / Give me another one

- Katchafire. “Done did it.” (Revival).
  Oh no, you done did it. / No you did not do it at all. / I won’t let you forget it ... Going out like a light bulb. / Feel the aroma, ooh. / Feeling left out in the cold. / You best go over. / If you want it, you got it, don’t wait for no-one. / Go run to your surprise ... got to take your own advice. / I go blame it on Kenneth, / and it’s not even Kenneth’s fault. / Why don’t you admit it? / And like it’s funny but not at all. / It’s blowing up in your face now / like an explosion. / Someone’s taking your place now. / Don’t say I told ya. / Hey, you got to wake up, got to get out, got to get movin’

- Katchafire. “Giddy up.” (Revival).
  Girl I hope you don’t mind a little bit / of, of skankin’. / Oo, all of the people in the house / gonna get a bit / of, of skankin’. / So get up and come ride with me, yeah ... Well I can see you / rockin’ in your chair. / Oh how I wish you / would come up over here / right next to me, / and rock a little while. / Right up close to them speakers girl. / Well now I need you / to come up next to me, / so I can tell you / just how it’s gonna be ... ‘Cause girl you make me smile, / and I’m hopin’, wo wo wo. / Jordy gonna make y’all giddy up. / Logey gonna watch y’all giddy up. / Katchafire gonna see y’all giddy up
Said, I've got much love for you darling, / but I'm still gonna roll with the rhythm. / Well I hope you understand girl ... the way I'm living. / Hope I’ll be forgiven. / I didn’t mean to be the villain, yeah ... so you better hold my hand girl. / This is exactly where I’m heading. / The rhythm is pulling me into the place / where all negativity cease to exist, yeah. / Finally, I’m trapped on a planet on my own in space. / When Babylons falls it go hit you in the face. / Feel the rhythm, / bounce to the rhythm

Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Let it be me.” (Sweet heaven).
God bless the day I found you, / I wanna stay around you. / Now and forever, / let it be me, / and so I beg you, oh girl, / let it be me

Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Rockers and lovers.” (Sweet heaven).
Shining bright as the morning star, you know that’s who you are ... In the beginning, God created man, / and from man came woman, so sweet ... taught as children to become as one ... We got a love that’s so fine, so fine, / so let it shine.

D-Faction. “Take a little piece.” (Take a little piece).
I can’t think of anything else but you ... couldn’t help but lovin’ the way I knew only. / I can’t let go, I can’t get over. / Didn’t want to make you cry, oh no, / and I ask myself but I don’t know why ... the things between us baby were working out. / Now I let go, and you let go. / Don’t you know that I will always love you so. / Take a little piece of my heart. / Wrap it in love, never ever gonna forget you darling ... I love you and I care for you / don’t you know now why I want to see it through

Don’t wanna dance, but you’re dancing. / You got so much to do, you’ve got so much time, / busy moving, and you’re happy all the time. / Your spirit’s always high, / happiness not just a dream. / Content in all affairs, satisfied ... loving you girl. / Bedtime, you’re always on my mind, / and not just sometimes. / Everything is just right, / blessed in Jah sight ... think as God glued us ... Who cares what people say? / My love is your love, / and I know your love is mine.

Walking hand in hand you by my side, / I see the sparkle in your eyes. / I get this feeling deep inside / that you’ll be with me till the end of time. / You say to me let’s walk on. / The midnight air soothes my mind. / I know that you’ll always by mine / and I will love you till the end of time. / You were always on my mind, / and I will love you all the time. / Say that you’ll always be mine. / Say you love me all the time. / A face so true I can’t help but love you. / You look so sweet whenever we meet. / Come sit with me on the sandy shore, / and watch the waves roll in as the day goes on

Herbs. “Stolen time.” (Long ago).
If we could live together / hearts bound and tied. / Make that life no matter, / take it side by side. / Chains they hold no bearing, / feeling of restraint. / So keep the love, don’t shed it. / Good times will feel no pain. / Sleeping on stolen time ... Make that same mistake, / not knowing where to go. / Maybe time will be too late, / but surely we will know
Section 1.2: Women’s liberation

  Waitatatia kia aroha / kia rangimārie, kia harikoā / he waiata mo te Ao katoa / waiatatia, kia rangimārie. / Kia tau te rangimārie, / kia harikoā / he waiata mo ngā wāhine, / mo ngā tāne / me ngā taitamāriki. / He waiata aroha … He waiata mo tātou katoa / mo ngā wāhine, tāne, tama / kōtiro

  Whārikiwhia e hine tō aroha mai i tawhiti e / hei ara haere māku ki a koe / i te pō, i te whiti o te marama e / kia taunga anō tāua / e wero nei te aroha e. / Whārikiwhia e hine tō aroha mai i māmāo / hei whakamahana i taku moe / e rere nei tāua ki a tāua e / kia rere tahi ai e / e wero nei te aroha e. / Whārikiwhia e hine tō aroha mai i tawhiti e / e toro mai o ringa kia pā mai ki ōku / e awhi nei tāua e / kia moe tahi ai e / e wero nei te aroha e! / Ahakoa rā te uaua o te haere / te taumaha o te mahi / te rangirua o ōku whakaaro / te maranga o te rangi / te makariri, te mahana ā waho / tau tonu au i a koe

Section 2: Celebrating reggae and Bob Marley
Section 2.1: Reggae music

  Free Jah rhythm. / I come prepared I still Jah livin.’ / Every day I skank till I’m illin.’ / I want to see your hands if you feel it. / Native man original rude boy makin’ you skank. / Revival of Jah music, stand strong and use it, / and shine … My people find time to slow down / ‘cause time keeps ticking everyday … reggae music keeps the doctor away. / Reggae music in the morning keeps your head right. / Reggae music in the evening keeps your soul tight

- Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zealand Band. “In the mood.” (Sweet heaven).
  Come swing reggae music, swing on. / Play on Jah Jah music, play on … Sitting on the shore one day, / watching the tide pass by, yeah. / I can hear this melody / sweet, like the birds in the tree, yeah. / Then my bass he play, / and then the place it start to shake (shake, rattle and roll) … and then we started jamming all night long … Sometimes this life it gets so rough, / feel like you can’t take no more. / But you’ve got to keep on moving, / ‘Cause it’s sure gonna be a cloudy day. / But when the music’s playing, yeah, / it ease all my pain, yeah

- Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zealand Band. “Reggae soundz.” (Sweet heaven).
  Dance to the beat of the reggae sounds … Reggae right here, reggae everywhere, oh yeah. / Reggae has gone international … Reggae got so much soul / reggae got funky too, yeah. / Reggae is a natural beat I can’t refuse … this is Jah music played from the heart … come and make you move your feet, make you swing and sway
Sticks and Shanty. “That’s the way.” (Philistines).
Let’s rock to the reggae music, / let’s sway to the reggae beat. / Let’s all dance
and join hands together. / That’s the way it should be. / When you’re feelin’
sad and blue, / no notions of what to do, / like this world is comin’ down on
you. / Look up to Jah and he will guide us through ... Make the sun shine in
your heart. / Let no-one change the person you are. / Come together black,
yellow and white. / Let’s rock through the night until we see the sunrise

Sticks and Shanty. “We love reggae.” (Philistines).
When night time comes, it feels so good ... we play reggae music. / We love
reggae music, / reggae makes us rock and makes us feel so good ... you find
today I’ve got a lot to say, / but it’s kept down deep inside. / Reggae is good,
reggae’s oh so good ... Keep your faith my dreadlocked friends, / and walk
with your heads up high. / Keep your music my reggae reggae friends

Herbs. “Light of the Pacific.” (Light of the Pacific).
You know there’s different ways and different days. / Music like the moon
passing through her phase. / Time will come for another change. / Brand new
sun will shine its rays. / World will turn and begin to learn. / Sounds so
different, its roots in Pacific. / Thief in the night, come turn on the light. /
Pacific light ... Across the Caribbean blows a Pacific breeze, / and now be
seeing how it used to feel. / It was before Herbs openin’ doors. / South sea
shores cannot be ignored. / Pacific Islands kept in silence

‘Cause if you wear a frown on your face / they’re going to put you down in
that place. / ‘Cause if you broadcast hate I say / you’ll never get ahead that
way. / You’ll never be a dread that way. / ‘Cause we’re singing reggae every
day. / We like it, we like it that way ... You’ve got to get the most out of life. / No
more murdering and strife ... nobody there to help you out

Section 2.2: Tributes to Bob Marley

Herbs. “Reggae’s doing fine.” (What’s be happen?).
Once upon a time I would have cried, / dwelt in sadness in thoughts of your
death. / But you the soul coming in, coming in from the cold. / The lion with
the lamb, you reign in Zion. / For the love of man you shall sing ... sing with
kings. / So now I raise my blazing sail. / No heavy heart can change the scales.
/ The very streets will always be mine. / Good times ... reggae’s doing fine ... You
got no rivals, just us survivors. / Fill the cup, lively up, light up. / We who
love you know what to do ... Identity, will always be what we see, yeah. / The
yellow, the red, the green identity
Section 3: Ghetto life
Section 3.1: Poverty and hardship

- Katchafire. “Lose your power.” (*Revival*).
  Got a letter in my pocket, / if you want to see it I can pull it. / We can pop it together. / Whoa no, baby stop it. / Just another overdue bill / that I’ve got nothing to pay on. / Disregard it. / You can get off June, I know ‘cause I done it yesterday / You can get it off July, but then anyway / you’re gonna lose your power, oh no … There’ll be no hot shower, oh no … You and I should take another look / to see if we can make it forever, / or if you think then we can drop it. / Pick it up and put it in the list of things / that’s helping me sing my song.

- Unity Pacific; Herbs. “In the ghetto.” (*From street to sky; Long ago*).
  I was hopin’ that we could come together. / You were hopin’ that we could see the light / ‘cause there’s weepin’ and there’s waitin’ in the ghetto … and I must make my way back home … Last night I heard you, heard you cry my name. / Last night I heard you, say you wanna die. / ‘Cause there’s lootin’ and there’s shootin’ / in the ghetto … People who know no comfort, no home. / They wait in boats, drag each other down.

- Dread Beat and Blood. “Love in the ghetto.” (*Tribute to a friend*).
  At least we got love in the ghetto … we are free from Babylon. / Living in the city, getting down to the nitty gritty. / Come on in, I’ll take you by the hand … come on in I’ll help you understand. / Here comes the oppressor man, holding out his oppressing hand. / Reality, reality.

- Unity Pacific. “Junior’s song.” (*From street to sky*).
  Look at the way our children suffer. / Look at the way we’re forced to live. / Born to cry in man degradation. / What kind of future is that ticket? / Handouts and UE benefits … They’re doin’ it again and again … Every year the season’s changin’ / and in time the tables too. / Well, there once was room for talkin’ / action and I unity will do. / People, power they can misconstrue, / so now the foot is on the other. / Me say tell me junior, what you gonna do, yeah?

- Unity Pacific. “From street to sky.” (*From street to sky*).
  I was born in the city, / I was raised in the streets. / I’d religion in my system / I was poisoned in my sleep. / Look at me now … Well, the factory was my future, / and the ghetto was my grave. / Don’t ask no exceptions, / when you tell me to behave … Well, here I am this mornin’ / with three kids and a wife. / I know I not much remember / the days of my life … I think I’m gonna make it this time.

- Unity Pacific. “Got no job.” (*From street to sky*).
  Got no job / no money comin’ in, / plenty of problems / nobody listenin’. / Come on listen closely now, / you’ve got to make it through somehow. / The answer lies within your hands … Left my home / across the sea. / Hey Mr Busman … come look at me, / to you I cannot tell a lie. / Busman look me in the eye, / and tell me I don’t qualify. / Oh I, I wonder why. / Every day now, / misfortune on misfortune. / The blues comin’ my way. / Dig the ditch to get the money honey / to buy the bread to get the strength, / to go back and dig that ditch again.

- D-Faction. “Hard times.” (*Take a little piece*).
  Mine is just a poor man’s story … Born from pain, guts and glory … Well us they try to denigrate / with prejudice, fear and hate … but together we’ve
fought the rising tide, / persecuted then crucified ... they try to drive a wedge between us ... but we hold tight ... we only wanted to live our lives, / speak our minds but they denied us. / Hard times, we try to make the best of hard times ... We never seem to matter to them ... But don't they know they never can win.

- Sticks and Shanty. “Jammin’.” (Jah magic).
  Says we’re ammin,’ sitting in a hard place. / Nobody can tell you what to do out there ... Says the kingdom of freedom is in your minds this time

- Sticks and Shanty. “Poverty.” (Jah magic).
  Weep, weep for the poverty, weep. / Weep, weep, dreadlocked dread has got a hold on me. / No use cryin’ for the poverty, injustice you feel. / The system is bad but there’s no none can do. / Have faith in yourself and let be what must be ... Oh rise up my brothers, let voices be heard. / Tell of the sorrow inside.

  You carry the burdens of life, / and the youth, sometimes nothing but strife. / Who want to know what is going on? ... mashed up youth, reggae tells the truth. / Dready dready quite contrary, / how does your garden grow? / With silver bells and cockleshells, pretty maids all in a row

- Dread Beat. “Simplicity.” (All our lives).
  Do you believe in what’s really happening today? / So many people’s lives been torn up and thrown away. / I can see the why the whole wide world is finding it so hard to live in simplicity. / What’s the matter with you, brother man? / What’s the matter, can’t you understand? / Simplicity, humanity. / We believe the things that the Māori people say. / Don’t let them rule our lives, / and lead our culture astray

- Dread Beat. “Who’s gonna save the world?” (All our lives).
  I can’t take it any more. / Oh, what are we supposed to do? / You take, ‘n take, ‘n take too much, / but you don’t wanna give, no. / Children are starving. / Destruction and poverty. / Please give a helping hand. / Who’s gonna save the world? / So much confusion everywhere now, / but people don’t you worry, help is near. / It won’t take long now ... You see ‘em livin’ out on the streets, yes. / Can’t get no work, can’t get no pay, / can’t make ends meet, no. / When will they ever learn / that the best things in life are free?

- Katchafire. “Get away.” (Revival).
  I got to get away sometimes, oh yeah ... I got to slip away to my special place. / I woke, yeah, on a cloudy day. / Feeling blasé blasé from last night’s party. / In the back of my mind I got work today. / Couldn’t find my shoes, too lardy dardy. / Excuse me sir, me car broke down. / My Mrs left me with the baby now. / And I can’t make that date today. / It might have to be another day. / I said I’m sorry

Section 3.2: Conflict with the New Zealand justice system

- Dread Beat. “Colonial law.” (All our lives).
  I said colonial law, oi / interrogation, oi / in the East, oi / said them creating war. / Like thieves in the night / burning all their culture, / destroying it all, yeah. / Takes another man’s life, / got to settle down, hey. / What’s been happening? ... Babylon is keeping us in chains

- Sticks and Shanty. “Courthouse.” (Jah magic).
  While I stand in a box ... see Babylon cops, / and a man in a big black frock ... change the rules all the time ... rich man’s troubles seem the poor man’s sugar. / Poor man’s sugar seems the rich man’s troubles. / Black and white, in
the books of Jah love / we must learn to love the law. / Judge not I Judge, time’s on my side ... I and I know the rule

➢ Herbs. “Thems the breaks.” (Light of the Pacific).
Yeah, please your honour ... oh won’t you look at me / and hear my plea? / Captain social welfare / and Mr Police / tellin’ us again / through rejection to behave. / Today I walked the streets, / it’s the same every day ... our values you mistake / in the system you make. / Keep us in our place / with the rats in the race ... you don’t understand / how we fit in your plan. / When you educate rules / and make tests for the best, yes, / and call it a school. / Compete with the rest. / Social worker concern / till from books they learn. / Without leaving their chair / they tell you they care

➢ Herbs. “Whistling in the dark.” (What’s be happen?).
I was walking along just beating the feet / when I chance to meet a pig on his beat. / The look that he sent was one of contempt. / I made no offence but he took to defence, / said if I did him wrong he’d move me along. / They’re whistling in the dark, no bite all bark. / ‘fraid of young minds, one spark all fire. / Warriors will rumble, blue boys will stumble ... I was chasing a cloud when I saw a crowd. / Thought I’d check it out when I heard this shout. / You’re obstructing the law, gonna kick your ass. / It was self-defence, not malicious intent. / What I gave, gave back to stop his attack ... I was minding my own, floating so free. / Carload of D’s pulled me up I and D (what’s you name boy?). / They put me in chains then asked me my name. / They kept me all night, ignored all my rights. / Said give them some names, better play the game

Section 3.3: Alcoholism
➢ Moana and the Moahunters. “Kua mākona.” (Tahi).
Aue, aue tākiri e, kua makona kua makona e / māmā e nei aha / i tenei hanga i te iau / panahia atu e / māmā mai e / te tau e / kua makona e / ko tenei wai he panui he karere / kia tamariki me nga taonga whakarere / ki te iwi n ake pia i hiriori / ka huri te hinengaro whakariori / ko reira aro mai koutou i waho na / ki enei kupu kua makona / Ks hi kss hi ha

Section 3.4: Domestic violence
It’s another Friday night, / daddy’s out on the town and he’ll be drinking. / He’ll be late home tonight. / When he sees my ma I know he’s gonna beat. / And the justice say, where you going at 3 o’clock in the morning? ... He said I’m running ... she said I’m running ... from all that ain’t right. / These things can make you feel so bad. / In a crowded room, feeling all alone, all alone. / Maybe someday he will find a way to true happiness. / Maybe someday she will find a way to ease the pain

Section 4: Ganja
➢ Katchafire. “Collie herb man.” (Revival).
What would you say if a collie man comes for you? / What would you do ...? I’m gonna run and steppa. / To this here groove come down to the dance of old. / Come on and dance with me to the rhythm of love. / Collie herb man mixed with the soundsystem. Me got some good karma – it’s good marijuana. / Come share it with me
Katchafire. “Sensimillia.” (Revival).
Oh... to judge me to false offence. / Oh, retaliation ... I ain’t got no enemy, / but if you diss me / I will retaliate ... Where there’s smoke there’s fire. / Nothing can stop the fire. / Comin’ straight to your living rooms. / Bouncin’ off your walls. / Bouncin’ off your car windows. / Allright, we’re gonna talk about somethin’ old, and somethin’ new. / Gimme sensimillia


Sitting on a slab of concrete, / feel a chill on your whoopsee. / Feeling irie ’cause you’re free. / Smoking ganja from the collie tree. / Put the sun in your life, feel the glow. / Baby, cruise with me / so that Jah up high can see / the love we have can never be denied. / Jah he cruises on, no selfish pride. / Love is real, love we all can feel. / How can you love a person / if first you don’t respect them? / Set their persons free.

Unity Pacific. “Are you strong?” (From street to sky).
Are you strong? / Are you really really tough? / Wanna light up another number / or do you think you’ve had enough? / Can’t you see the filth that we are under, oh? / And I think that we are gonna get it rough. / Oh no, delays, there’s a men in the way, / you gotta get it put down. / So you shift it over here, shove it over there. / Soon you’ll be running yourself to the ground. / Are you strong? / Are you ready for some more? / Pollution and anti-humans / are wickeder than ever was before. / So you’d better get your act together ... Oh God, where did I put it? / It’s got to be here. / I gotta find it. / Must’ve dropped it here somewhere. / I can hear them knockin’ at the door.

Section 5: Environmental issues
Section 5.1: Anti-nuclear testing

Dread Beat and Blood. “Rainbow Warrior.” (Tribute to a friend).
Rainbow Warrior. / She sailed for peace and love ... one night taken by surprise, / blown into the skies. / Today came the heathens, / and sent the rainbow into the sea. / We’re still gonna fight it ... The warrior was there ... to stop them and their nuclear

Can you see yourself / under a coconut tree? / Wanting for nothing, / well maybe a cooler breeze. / When all things romantic / mean the South Pacific, / and the only beast / is a spit on the feast. / Do you know what makes the ocean glow? / When unwelcome guests / are making nuclear tests ... Is there nothing at all / that can appease your greed? / Could you please leave / the air we breathe? Why is it something we’ve done? / You all seem to forget / about nuclear fallout / and the long-term effects, defects yeah. / Is there anything gained / when you are to blame? / Let me be more specific. / Get out of the Pacific. / Quittez la Pacifique ... nuclear free, yeah!

Unemployment is all around, / starving children lying on the ground ... ban nuclear power in the world today. / Nuclear waste is coming down ... on you. / You better watch out now. / Thinking people a determined crowd, / won’t live under no mushroom cloud. / A kind man turn, says it’s up to fate. / Wise men scorn him, millions demonstrate ... Ask your neighbour, / ask your lover, / ask your friend / or ask your brother
Herbs. “No nukes.” (Sensitive to a smile).
What’s this talk of destruction? / Why can’t people work it out? / All this fussin’ and a fightin’, / it’s not the way to go about it. / We don’t need no nuclear shower. / Skies above will surely die. / Think about the superpower’s / insanity imposed upon me. / What would you say if the / world was in fear—no nukes! / How would you feel / if the world disappeared? / Stop this game, is this a deformed fantasy? / Who’s to blame for this reality? / It’s not us, you know it couldn’t be. / Let warfare cease, to keep our planet free … Start from here, let’s join in unity. / Make a stand, a peaceful eternity. / It’s the love that keeps this harmony. / Sure to grow, so don’t let it go. / If it’s safe, test it in Paree. / Got to store it in Washington DC. / In a can, dump it in Tokyo. / You can keep out islands nuclear Pacific free.

Section 5.2: Anti-herbicides
Herbs. “Rust in dust.” (Sensitive to a smile).
I feel no sway in the jungle, / I hear no call of the wild. / I see deformed fish in the water, / no more birds in the sky … Rust in dust, the jungle is burning … the whole world’s learning. / In you we trust – the promise was broken … They leak pollution in the deep blue sea. / Kaimoana is getting less for me. / I feel the anger from underground. / Mother earth will not be around … I hear the news on the radio, / negotiations underway / about the future of herbicides. / Everybody must decide that they don’t want no / 2 4 5 T, no

Section 5.3: The destruction of the environment
Mana. “Man-eater.” (Mana).
Man you are the eater. / Kill all the beast, you just don’t care. / Man you are the teacher. / Teach what is wrong so your end is near. / Your killing last all day long, / you never want to be wrong. / You eat up what is magnificent, / soon you will all be gone. / You are the man-eater, eater of life. / Eat up what you see, you will be living in strife. / You are the man-eater. / Civilisation, it is the man-eater. / People come and people go, / love is life but love there is no. / Devil that you know, that’s why aggression you show. / Why you do these things, you just don’t know. / Your ignorance that keeps you living in sin. / Stop your technology, ‘cause you know you ain’t gonna win. / Man trying now to eat everything up. / I know he will ‘cause it’s man’s destiny. / You’ll eat up everything till there be none. / Then come time for the Mighty One.

Mana. “Earth spoiler.” (Mana).
You’ve been waiting for peace, we’ve been waiting for so long. / We’ve been giving them love, they’ve been giving us wrong. / To gain is to fight what they’ve written. / Come Lord, come put things right. / Oh look now father what they have done. / They’ve changed the right so that you look wrong … no care for us, no care for none … Hang on the little children … hang on the meek and afflicted … hang on before you give yourself to evil, / father’s coming to get you … The people’s faces I see in everyday, / mostly tears is what they say. / Authorities they like to make them cry, / they like them watch, they like them die. / All you have made they do waste, ‘cause they do lust. / They try their best to bring thing to dust. / Oh look now father what they have done, / kill all the trees that there be none … kill all the flesh thing they have won.
Section 6: Advocating world peace, unity, love, harmony, justice and equality

- Dread Beat. “All our lives.” (All our lives).
  There’s no use arguing, / it’s time that you must know ... ‘Cause we’re stuck all our lives together ... you and me. / Come with me and I’ll take you to that promised land / where everybody will unite as one. / You got to love your little brothers / and love your little sisters too. / ‘Cause when it comes to the time to unite, / we can all push on through.

- Dread Beat. “Peace and love.” (All our lives).
  What are you looking for? / Tell me, what are you trying to see? / You’re tryin’ so hard but you can’t / seem to break free from Babylon. / I’ll take you where, / where the air is fresh and clean, / and every man will have to live as one, / ‘cause unity is what we need.

- Mana. “People.” (Mana).
  People all over the world. / Time for people to start going, / signs of times they are showing. / Ya kill each other from town to town. / Symptoms are showing, so you can’t stay around, / ‘cause your twin is of death, / and your master has no respect. / So your life of hate and greed shall be destruction ... So people, why don’t you love one another? / What’s wrong man to love your brother?

- Mana; Herbs. “Tahu’s song.” (Mana; Long ago).
  There are times that I remember so. / Sweet vibrations going through my head now. / I saw visions of this unity / walking within my surroundings. / Somewhere along this clouded path / so many visions have gone astray. / Now’s the time for this reality / upon my soul this day ... Ain’t it, ain’t it so sad / that man can’t love one another ... that man can’t trust one another ... We just put aside our personal feelings. / Together our unity surrounds us. / Worldly people will be no more. / God will show the signs of healing. / He will wait around for no-one, / or anything in this universe. / Man has played the foolish game too long, / it’s time he learnt to see the truth, yeah!

- Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Lost in love.” (Sweet heaven).
  Loving and caring, / hoping and praying. / These are the richest things on earth. / They are the things money can’t buy ... I beg you, let’s get lost in love / and throw all our hatred away. / Let’s get lost in love ... and bring all the goodness with you, yeah. / Let’s get lost in love / and sing a song of joy.

- Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Footstep.” (Sweet heaven).
  ‘Cause love don’t have no boundaries, yeah. / It’s free to roam the heavens, yeah, / through hail and stormy weather, Oh God. / Love abounds in victory, yeah.

- Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Peace and love.” (Sweet heaven).
  We’re striving for peace and love, / all over the world. / So come let’s chant Jah Jah love ... and I just can’t help seein’,’ oh yeah / all the wicked things going on ... You see, God created the heavens and earth / for us to use and not to abuse / you know God is watching you, oh yeah. / Everything you say, and everything you do. / You can’t run, you can’t hide. / We’ve got to learn to live, side by side.
Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Sunrise.” (Sweet heaven).
If people had their rights / there wouldn’t be much strife. / We’ve got to hold on tight. / We’ve got to live our lives / daily by day, in perfect harmony

Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “What is life?” (Sweet heaven).
What is life, without love? … In this life of competition / there’s so much war and attrition. / not enough loving and caring. / We’ve gotta have love, let’s keep on sharing. / Love, what we need is love … Inna Babylon system / there’s so much strife and tribulation … we all know the solution … and there’s people dying, / and there’s children crying

Mana. “Ain’t gonna stop.” (Mana).
All this love in my heart for the children. / Ain’t gonna stop from loving …
The youth them on the corner, / they’re dancing to the reggae beat. / Dem say they have to wonder why / Tribulations all they see. / Oh yes, they haven’t got a place, oh no, / for them to go to sleep. / Yes, they say that they hate Babylon, / they’re wanting to be free … They want to be free, oh yes, from captivity, / and want to live on and on, and live righteously. / The youth of today, oh Lord, / they mean so much to me. / Babylon they say, oh yes, hey boy, / you come along with me

D-Faction. “Pride.” (Take a little piece).
I can hear those freedom bells ringing. / Whoa I got my pride. / And I can hear a thousand angels singing … Well I might stumble and I might fall, / but I don’t have to worry, / he’ll catch me when I fall … Well as sure as the day will follow the night … one day my brothers and sisters will unite

Livin’ in a building where the people are white. / Livin’ in a system where they’ve got it so right … we’re all learning about lovin’ all the time. / Singing, take a stand and fight / whether you’re black or white. / If you’re gonna fight / fight together with all your might. / Learn about love and not the hate that destroys the world. / I’m singing for the little black boy / and the little white girl. Fussin’ and a fightin’ in the streets late at night … they’re fighting for the justice that is due to us all / and the beatings that we take by the law.

When I look around and don’t see harmony, / too many bombings, too many killings, / so many people’s destiny. / Yeah, I look around and governments I see, / politicians are subtracting blood from the stone of poverty. / I can see a lot of aroha is needed there … When I look around, separation I see. / Power struggles split the people, / the system is disharmony. / The world is in a time, revelations you will see. / Mass destruction, world pollution, / until we live in harmony.

We say we’re one people … waiting for the day when Jah shall come. / Righteousness … ‘Cause if righteousness is you then Jah shall come. / Every day fussin’ and a fightin’, / people killing and back-biting, / not understanding the situation. / ‘Cause we’re gonna be free someday … Where no council is, the people will form. / Politics drinking human blood, / power to form radiation. / We’ll never give up the fight … ‘Cause we’ll never give up our rights, oh no, oh no. / You can always take the people from the land, / but you
can never take the land from the people. / The land can never be taken, it don’t belong to you … children of your children … and the children of their children

- Sticks and Shanty. “Jah magic.” *Jah magic*.
  Honey, yes … Let us praise the magic man. / Even though we can’t see him / I know he’s here every day … we know that love’s all around. / Stand side to side, / black, yellow, red and white. / Jehovah, Jah God, Jah guide, / my shining light … Shine so bright

- Sticks and Shanty. “Only Jah know.” *Jah magic*.
  Only Jah Jah knows. / When the children are bright, / sign the songs of love not hate. / Maybe we can learn from their mistakes, / always doing things that weaken … only Jah knows the children’s souls.

- Sticks and Shanty. “Natural reggae.” *Jah magic*.
  Everythin is beautiful, in their own light. / Take a real good look at life, ‘cause everything is light. / The meaning of what is life. / Freak out on what was, / don’t freak out on what is, / ‘cause now we know life is love. / Freaky birds that fly, freaky clouds in the sky. / Freak out on the natural planes of life … Jah knowledge the roots of life … Jammin’ in the house of the King of Kings … whole lot of hands reaching up for the light. / Touching on hope, so true and sincere, / knowing that Jah Jah removes all fear.

- Sticks and Shanty. “Jah’s rainbow.” *Philistines*.
  Come to Jah’s rainbow, / under one sky, one God, one name. / Come to Jah’s rainbow of love … where there’s love and understanding, / peace, harmony and forgiving and Jah’s will … from the edge of the world a shift is coming / so we’re off to the beaches to meet, yes to greet / for the first time to meet. / But with hearts for just this day, / long ago now has passed away / but never forgotten … now you’ve got to take it easy through the hurries along the way. / Many will try to stop you / from a getting your own way. / Give Jah a quiet thought. / Positive vibes carry on.

- Sticks and Shanty. “Play it safe.” *Philistines*.
  I’d like to help you get your feet back on the ground, / let this love flow through you. the love that I have found. / There’s people hate you, they despise you. Don’t shed a tear. / Jah has released me, taken away my fear. / He keeps me looking forward to my future, / directing my feelings towards a positive cure … Life is loving, full of sharing and giving all you got. / Realising that sacrifice is pleasing in Jah sight. / Staring straight into another’s eyes and picturing the light. / Looking forward to everlasting life. / So keep on cruising, moving, dancing, prancing, / and searching for the light. / Sanctification everlasting

- Sticks and Shanty. “Love vibes.” *Philistines*.
  Love vibes they conquered the conquerors. / So if you’re looking for someone to love, / with their words it’s already tough enough … You’re gonna make your move real soon, / and you ain’t gonna sit and wait, / ain’t even gonna hesitate … Hey there sugar, you’re raging in your own world. / Babylon, you’re at it again, yes you’re playing around again. / Not till, yes, you find it’s too late … Jah has opened, he has opened up the Zion gates. / If you’re not there, you’re late. / Jah, backsliders in hardship do their things their own way, / but the good shall be satisfied.
Sticks and Shanty. “Controlled madness.” (Philistines).
Take away the madness, forget about the sadness. / It will try to control your mind. / Life is short, full of hate and pride ... throw away the negative attitude, / hold onto this positive vibe. / Seems so easy to say, so try it and you’ll know.

Aotearoa. “Aroha ki te tangata” (“Love to the people” - lyrics unavailable)

The Twelve Tribes of Israel Band. “Join us.” (Join us).
Out of many we are one / like the birds beneath the sun. / North, south, east and west, / we are one in Commonwealth. / Shout it long, shout it loud / from the land of the long white cloud. / Let the games seal together, / this bond of love forever. / Hip hip hooray, oh happy days. / Why don’t you join us, join us / at the Commonwealth games? / From the Caribbean, across the seven seas / come the diplomats for humanity ... they come together from all over the world / as one people, as one nation

Herbs. “Crazy mon?” (Light of the Pacific).
Oh crazy mon. / He’s livin’, he’s learnin’, every day now. / Some days are bad, some days are good. / No worries, no problems. / Only live for today, / ‘cause he’s so crazy, believin’ what is right ... believin’ what is wrong ... Ain’t gonna listen to no politician. / Ain’t gonna watch no 6 o’clock news. / All he sees is so much trouble ... they say he’s crazy, will they ever learn? / Bring your children to the land of Jah. / Here there is no violence, and only love. / Whereas tomorrow brings war full of sorrows. / No more crazy mon, no more freedom

Herbs. “Station of love.” (Sensitive to a smile).
We’re gonna jump on the reggae train. / We’re gonna ride it till we go insane ... we’re gonna ride it on down the lane. / Let’s get going to the station, station of love. / Grab your tickets, ain’t no worries, no worries at all, yeah. / People come from round the world / just to ride our train. / Lots of love in our hearts / that we all contain, yeah ... all aboard, climb aboard / and find you a seat. / Settle in, a long journey / is coming your way

Herbs. “One brotherhood.” (What’s be happen?).
We’re one brotherhood Aotearoa. / Fighting man against man in the eleventh hour. / Brother and sisterhood yeah, Aotearoa. / Together we’ll stand, together we have power. / So you knock me down with your modunok baton / ‘cause I make a big noise / about the bad things goin’ on. / ‘Cause it’s a cover up / about the goalposts and the slaves. / But you’d rather not know. / Time is dealing out your days ... Well, they’re fighting for land in Raglan, / and they’re fighting for land I Orakei, / and they’re shouting in parliament. / People trying to get free / on a paradise island. / Crazy people wanting more, more, more. / And they’re wrecking the joint / while they take from you and me

Dread Beat. “No more war.” (All our lives).
We don’t want no war. / See, we just can’t let it go on. / Too much blood’s been shed, / too many people dead. / Brother killing brother ... Oh Jah, we ask you for guidance ... but no-one listens, / and now we’re missing times we knew
Section 7: Spiritual Themes

Section 7.1: Praising and giving thanks to Jah

- Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Heaven.” (Sweet heaven).
  I said, thank you Lord ... You the creator, who created all, yes you did. / You made the sun to shine, / and the rain to fall, yes you did ... When will man learn, he’s got to love each other / instead of trying, trying to kill each other. / In the city, people, they get blown away / don’t even know, what the hell is going on, what’s going on. / I beg you heaven, hold a place for me. / I said dear Lord, take my soul to keep ... Love is a thing you should never hide, / it’s full of mercy and joy. / It can’t be bough no soul, no way. / More precious than your silver and gold, / more sweeter than the honey from the tree, yeah, / the greatest gift a man could ever have, whoa ... Oh take my hand, Lord, take me over. / Oh take me by the hand. / The one who part the red sea, yeah / and drowned the Pharaoh’s army, yeah

- Mana. “Jah knows.” (Mana).
  I beg you please, Oh Mighty One / in Holy Mount Zion, / your tender mercies, / your love and kindness / for all mankind. / Yes, Jah love come shining through. / To myself I’ve got to be true ... King of Kings, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Juda! / Oh yes, Jah people should be rising up / to give Jah thanks and praises. / Some are holding back, oh yes / what’s deep inside their heart

- Unity Pacific. “Thank you.” (From street to sky).
  Thank you, thank you, / bless you, thank you ... New Zealand ... Aotearoa / God defend New Zealand, / and all humanity / for helping my people / in the South Pacific. / They bombed the Rainbow Warrior. / They bombed Mururoa. / I thank you New Zealand / for helping to stop their nuclear tests / In the South Pacific ... For helping Somalia / and Ethiopia, / up in Bosnia, / down in South Africa, / Nelson Mandela. / For helping Rarotonga, / and in Samoa, / up in Papua, / down in Antarctica, / and in East Timor

Section 7.2: Returning home

  You know it feels like I’m a long long way from home, / and it seems I’ve got such a long way still to go ... I stopped to read a signpost beside the road. / It tells me there are many ways I can go. / To my right the way is rocky, / to my left the way is winding, / the road behind me stops dead, / so I follow the path ahead as it leads me home ... I and I must keep I vision strong, / and I and I will never be alone. / We’re on our way home ... It’s the little things in life that bring you to your knees, / and you can’t see the water for the stormy seas, / unless you’re moving. / Keep on moving, forward ... I have many friends to walk along beside, / and with their help together we can increase our stride. / And we can hear the voices calling, / the songs of those who’ve fallen, / the blood and tears passed on, / gives us the courage to carry on, / when we make our way home.

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2 Psalms 150: “Praise him with the sound of trumpet; praise him with the psaltery and harp. Praise him with the timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs. Praise him upon the loud cymbals: praise him upon the high sounding cymbals. Let every everything that hath breath praise the LORD. Praise ye the LORD.”
Unity Pacific. "Though we are." (From street to sky).
Why I see the skies / above our heads, / The earth below, / where we once
dread. / The roots are dyin' / from where we fed. / Our children cryin' / Rastafari dread. And though we are / a long long way / from our home, Israel / we'll be allright. / Though we roam over here, roam over there / freedom our right

Sticks and Shanty. “Row papa row.” (Jah magic).
Row papa row. / We're gonna keep the ship a movin', / we're gonna find our
children a home. / We're gonna sing about your soul, / about your soul so long
ago ... Look at them, they're singing to the sky. / Women, they laugh and they
cry. / Look at him, he's holding his head high. / You don't even question why. / There's time to search, to find. / Jah knowledge holds the keys to time.

Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Footstep.” (Sweet
heaven).
Every man's got a dream, yeah, / to reach his destination. / But no man knows
the hour, no no way / when the Lord shall come in His full glory, yeah. / Oh
God, and they crowned him King of Kings / and Lord of Lords, / and his
messenger came powering through / I've got to get my wisdom. / Walkin' on
over / through the gates of Zion, Oh Lord, / just to get my footstep ... With a
clean hand and a pure heart, yeah, / the gates will open up for you

Section 7.3: The coming of Judgement Day; liberation from oppression

Brother Zeb and Lei D Lee with the New Zeal Band. “Judgement Day.”
(Sweet heaven).
I see children suffering all over the world. / I can't believe they just let it go
on. / Can't they hear there's a knock at the door, / and when it opens shall be
dread for some. / When will they learn they've got no time to lose ... Oh
woah, get down on your knees for this is judgement time ... many are called
but the chosen are few ... mother says there's a pocket full of tears. / She's
wondering why, and what's going on? / She tries her best, she's put to the test.
/ But to the end, her son crucified, / she lives a life full of sorrow, yeah

Herbs; Mana. “Jah's son.” (Light of the Pacific; Mana).
I see too many people in this world today / are blind to see, or forget what it
means. / He's on his way. / I see too many people in this world today / don't
know what's right from wrong. / He's always there. / I sing brothers, you got
to search yourself right ... I sing sisters, you got to look at yourself. / The day,
the day he promise to come / is here to stay, that's why I sing to you, / Jah's
son is coming your way

Mana. “Give thanks.” (Mana).
I mon give thanks / to be alive once again ... Let your light shine before men, / to
realise once again / the Most High has come again. / Yes, the people who
sat in darkness / in the regions of the shadows of death. / Yes, the light of our
father / in this time has come to save us, yeah, yeah, yeah! ... If we walk, if we
walk in Jah light, / oh little children, in our father's light. / Yes, the love, the
love of our father.

Mana. “Cry.” (Mana).
You're living life this time of misunderstanding. / No love, no care for people
you are mishandling. / Give what you feel, take what you want, / 'cause we're
the slaves of the evil one ... If the people are gonna die, / then we all gotta cry,
/ and if the people don't know why, / you all got to cry. / Now man's want is
for everything. / Up with the greed, down with the need, / just shores of
poverty. / What’s more you owe not you, you owe not me, / you owe the one Almighty, / who’s beating down so heavily. / Your cities that you say never sleep, / shall crumble to dust and you shall weep, / ‘cause you remain in your industries of lust. / Your ships of air and sea shall all decease. / Look at life, look at the maker, / he won’t be pleased / Get you out from the undertaker / What’s not yours you have want and have taken.

Listen to what the prophets say, / ‘cause where you gonna run to? / You can’t hide on Judgement Day ... Jah Rastafari ... Jah, can you hear I? / And I pray.

Moses led the children out of Egypt ... led them through the rising waters. / Moses made the waters go backwards. / Holy Mount Zion is for all God’s children ... and the Philistines ... tried to bring slavery back ... because Moses would not let them put this upon the children

Section 7.4: Non-Rasta spiritual themes

Matua, whaea, tama, wairua tapu, / me nga anahera pono. / One day I heard a prayer but something was missing, / they forgot about the mother. / She was the missing link for all mankind, yeah, / but now she’s been recovered ... How can you have a son without a mother, yeah? / We’ve got to love one another

Herbs. “Dragons and demons.” (What’s be happen?).
Let me tell you a tale / that never never fails / to make you dread / what’s on ahead. / It’s told by the church / to keep you on earth, / and written in law, say forbidden for all. / We’re here on this earth / to learn how to grow. / Not dragons or cemons. / Not words, but deeds. / Cast them out. / In order put your house. / Never get far / if you stay where you are. / Dragons and demons are in your head. / Nothing to fear except what’s in here. / Dragons and demons are living within. / Dragons and demons if you’re thinking sin. / Everyone’s got a secret / they will never tell. / And everyone’s got a something / they will never sell. / That secret, that something / is your heaven and hell. / Your dragons and demons / make you saint or heathen

Ruia and Ranea. “Arohaina ra koe” (“Could you be loved”)
(Ends with a traditional Māori chant to te Pō, the darkness of creation): Tihei wini wini / Tihei wana wana / tihei nako nako. / Ki te po uri / Ki te po roa / Ki te po tango tango / Ki te po tiha tiha / Ki te po na.

(Papatūānuku and Ranginui, Mother Earth and Father Sky, are the primeval parents): Whakarongo ki nga manu tioriori. / Whakarongo ki a ratou oriori. / E tu ake nei, ko nga maunga kōrero / hei pou mo te whāre nei / te whāre o te iwi e / ko Rangi te tuanui, / Papatūānuku te papa. / Ko tatou he iwi mana motuhake / ko te mahi he tiaki i te whenua. / Me nga taonga tuku iho ... nga uri Whakatupu

Toro atu nga peka o te Kauri / ka puta ai he kākano i te Ao nei / ka awhi awhi i a Papatūānuku / kia tupu ake ki runga ki te Rangi / ka tu tiha he tīnana o te Kauri / kei hōhonu nga pūtāke raro iho / i te whenua, kia mau, kia ū
Section 8: Māori issues
Section 8.1: Retaining te whenua, and resisting Pākehā neo-colonial oppression

  Well, first they take away their earth right, / that which they call their home. / Then you try to buy their pride, / they honour the treaty alone. / Take off your mask Babylon, / we know who you are. / Behind the mask of a coloniser, / gonna meet them I to I. / You use the law like a weapon, / you’ve got the police on your side ... and still the treaty’s denied.

  Waitangi. / The treaty was a fraud, / and we cannot afford / to lose, to lose. / They gathered in the parade / while the big rip off was made ... When oppressor man / he showed his hand / and it went down in history ... March people!

  We can rave about it forever, / to pretend that we are as one. / But I know something a little different. / And I have to say ‘cause 1990’s gone, / I can’t see no reason to celebrate. / It doesn’t mean nothing to me. / And maybe when we end this struggle, / and maybe when the land is free. / And only a thinker would say it’s a victory, / but it seems a long way to go / to celebrate the years, 150 yeah. / Just shows how much you don’t know. / I’m talking about information withheld, / what was confiscated and what was sold. / I’m talking about the lies in history, / the other half that was never told ... and so they got the land, yeah / a family in their hand, yeah. / They’ve got control of our destinies, yeah, / our past history, yeah. / ‘Cause they only tell what they want told. / For 150 years ... ago ... Whawahai tonu ake, o nga iwi Māori, He!

  When I see Māori people stand up for their rights, / yeah, it makes me feel good inside. / Pakaitore, / weighs heavy on their minds ... So rise up, yeah. / Say what you doing. / Sooner or later you’re gonna see the truth ... Say what you feeling, / everybody’s feeling it through and through. / The decision to move out before the coppers / attacked the pa in riot gear. / Afraid no way ... ‘cause these people are free to fight another day ... this is an occupation and we’re sticking together, / he whenua Māori a Pakaitore

- David Grace and Injustice. “I will always come back.” (Weapons of peace).
  Oh Taranaki, / I will always come to you. / I will always come back. / Taranaki te maunga, / Waitara te awa ... ati awa o ngati tama ... Toa rangatira ... Ngati toa o ngati raukawa ... Oh Hikurangi ... Hikurangi te maunga, / Waiapu te awa

  E te iwi Māori / kia tu, tu Rangatira / kia kore te kawana / e takahi i to Mana Māori Motuhake. / Kia mau, kia ū ... mo ake tonu atu ra. / E te iwi Māori. / E nga iwi, nga iwi kee / kia mau, kia ū / ki ngā tikanga / tuku iho na nga tupuna / i hainatia te Tiriti / he tiki i nga taonga katoa / kia kore ai e ngaro e / to tātou Mana Māori Motuhake

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3 The Hikurangi mountain and the Waiapu river are landmarks for Ngati Porou. Te Atiawa and Ngati tama are Taranaki iwi.

Ahī … Tiriti I Waitangi … Tēna koutou e ngā iwi e, / i runga i ēnei moutere e toru. / Aotearoa, Waipounamu, Whare Kauri ē. / Nō te tau kotahimano e waru rau / wha te kaua kua tutaki ōku Mātua / koia no ēnei ra ka whānau mai ahau. / Nō muri i te mārenatanga, / ka tīmata raua ki te whahai / aue ra taku pouī me taku mamae i raro i ēnei ahuatanga e … Aue te aroha e kihakihaka ake nei i roto i taku whatumanawa e / aue he aroha ki ōku mātua e. / Pakoko kau taua i te riri e kai i te pū kai i te tangata / he tangi nā taku ngākau ki a whakamutua e / Kua pīpi te toto ki roto i te oneone / e kore ra e tāea te horoi atu / te warewaretia ranei


Revolution, / there’s gonna be a revolution. / Hey everybody gather round, / come and listen to the truth that I’ve found … Hey Māori people learn about yourself, / I say leave Christopher Columbus alone. / You ought to learn about our warriors, / yeah, history books they call them murderers. / When all we’re doing, we’d fight fire with fire, / an eye for an eye

Aotearoa. “Mana Māori motuhake.” (He poumanu - lyrics unavailable)

Now there’s a movement, / a movement on the street. / People movin,’ / they shuffle to the beat. / I hear them talking, / they’re talkin’ on the street. / Words like freedom from oppression, / ‘cause that’s what my people need … Akuanei, / maranga ake ai / I said it soon come now. / Tu ake whahai kia maranga ake ai. / How much longer / must we keep on talkin’? / A million miles already / and we keep on walkin’ / All my life I get told about / the right of the great white way. / I said how much longer / before we get up and say, white people / e te iwi i / maranga ake ai … No more knockin’ / knockin’ on closed doors / I said Māori people, / gotta wake up, gotta take up the cause. / Can you feel it comin,’ a brand new time?

Aotearoa. “Sweet child.” (He waiata mo te iwi).

Oh sweet child, / we struggle for your future … we struggle for your reo … when you’re able, will you say / kia ora for fighting in your day?

Aotearoa. “Stand up for your people.” (He waiata mo te iwi).

Who says what is the right time? / Who says what is the now time? … We wait no more, we wait no longer / we are the now, we are the stronger. / Don’t stay down, don’t stay under. / Don’t sit back, stand up for your people

Aotearoa. “Singing for our people.” (He waiata mo te iwi).

Well we’re singing for our people / in a way that has never been done before / taking the thoughts and the feelings / we know belong to us all. / ‘Cause we’ve seen what we can do / and that strength will see us through. / It’s been a long lonely road, / but there’s still a way to go. / But our feet won’t stumble. / Well there can be no division / we must fight the derision of the other side. / Got to break down the walls / we must give it all to help the cause … and when our goal comes in sight / the strong will take the right / to voice the song of the people. / The victory song of the people.

Aotearoa. “Positive.” (He waiata mo te iwi).

Well I’m taking out the time to join my people on the move. / Carrying the hopes and dreams and stirrings of our youth. / Safe under the banner that flies red and black. / Many but yet one we are, there’ll be no turnin’ back. / ‘Cause we’re positive, we will recover. / So positive, staunch sister and brother, whoa. / Well as the strength of new awareness lifts our people in the land, / and the
call for mana Māori raised by the voices of demand. / It’s the voice of the staunch and the voice of the bold. / A voice of today, but so many years old.

Section 8.2: Retaining te reo, Māoritanga and tikanga

  Tōku reo, tōku ohooho ... tōku māpīhi maurea ... tōku whakakai mārīhi e, / he māpīhi pounamu, / E nga matua, / e nga tamariki, / e nga tupuna, / e nga mokopuna, / e nga māma, / e nga pāpa, / e nga iwi katoa o Aotearoa. / Kōrero te reo Māori

  Ko te reo Māori, te reo tuatahi o te whenua / ko te iwi Māori, te iwi tuatahi o te whenua. / O Aotearoa, o Aotearoa, / te wā kāinga o te iwi Māori. / Aue, aue te aroha ... nga tamariki mokopuna ... nga taonga. / Hei whakaroranga te whāre tangata ... te wairua ... mo nga mea katoa

  He aha te whakatau ete iwi kei a koe ano te tikanga / e rua rā ngā huarangi ... mā wai ra e hoe te waka. / E kī ana te kupu a ngā matakite / he wā tōnu kei te haere mai e kīte / ai koutou he mea wahine mana / e whakatakoto tikanga kit e motu e ... Ko winitana he take ano ke e tana / ka ao ... ka awatea / kua whakatata atu kit e tau 2000 / ka tika rā kia rere kote patai nei. / (Put anoa ai ki waho e) / toko toko tao kotahi te tūnga / toko toko rangi ka ngaro te kai ka ngaro te tangata / kia whakarongo ake ai au kit e tangi a te manu / a te pīpiwhararoa / kūi kūi whitiwhiti ora

- Aotearoa. “E pīpī” (He pounamu - lyrics unavailable)


- Aotearoa. “He mihi ki nga tipuna” (He wātata mo te iwi - lyrics unavailable)

Section 9: Displacement from Pacific Island homelands

  Oh mama and papa / are feeling hungry. / And Jah Jah’s children / are dancing ahead. / So you come to the Pacific / you discover your roots. / The ocean was calm ... but there was no blues. / We are Jah’s children. / Only Jah’s children / have the power to make things change. / Only you can stop yourself from dying ... and hope we live again.

  Lonely people, lonely places / casting shadows on our faces. / Far too old and far too young. / Oh so lonely, feel so wasted. / Empty playgrounds, no more children. / Sounds of laughter lost forever. / Brothers and sisters show your faces. / Feel no shame, I’m not to blame. / Watching sunrise warms my heart. / Morning dew falls from my eyes. / Lonely people don’t have to hide. / Feel it all come from inside. / Call for help before it’s just too late

  Reo repatriation. / Going back to another nation. / Nobody wants me here. / I’m living a life of fear and misery ... Got to find a new vocation. / I’m in a country I’ve never seen, / somewhere I’ve never been, a mystery. / I’ll be leaving all my friends behind. / A stranger among strangers ... it’s a frightening, frightening situation. / I’m lost in a limbo land. / Nobody understands / I want to be free

- Herbs. “Whats’ be happen?” (Whats’ be happen?).
  Say you’re alright brada, / ‘cause you’ve just bought a house. / Come into it at eve / and in the morning you leave. / Say you’re alright brada, / ‘cause you
got hire purchase. / No need to pay, / just slave and slave and slave. / What’s / to happen / when the children turn away. / And why for you stay / when nothing remains. / And why for you laugh / when I long for home. / Sing that / song, that Samoan song (Talofalava) ... that Tongan song (Malolelei kainga) ... that Māori song (Kia ora). / Say you’re all right brada / once you catch a / boat, and smoke big heaps / no worry, no worry about sleep. / Say you’re / all right brada / ‘cause a car is handy, / while your island grows weak and / abandoned, / abandoned and forsaken, yeah. / Tai mai ia au po lea mea / e / tupu pea o ese tamaiti. / Olea le mea ete nofo / ai pe’aia va lei’ai semea o totoe. / Olea le mea ete afa / ai pea ou mafau – fau i ai aiga. / Usu lau pese, usu lau pese Samo. (fa soifu) ... usu lau pese Tonga (Ofa atu kia moutolu katoa) ... usu lau pese Māori (ko haere ra)

Section 10: Support for oppressed peoples
Section 10.1: Support for South Africans under apartheid

 Mana. “South Africa.” (Ain’t gonna stop).
 Abuse of all laws / in heaven ... Apartheid, South African policy. / For diamonds and gold, / the souls they have sold. / In hell they will burn for / eternity. / Cry South Africa ... children are tortured and suffering. / The proud / man knocked down, / his land they will take / for the greed and the lust of / mankind ... Jehovah, / he hold out his hand for the suffering ... He hold out / his hands just for you. / Kenya, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Uhuru, / South Africa

 Unity Pacific. “Red squad.” (From street to sky).
 Hear the tale of the red squad story, yes. / Hear the tale of the pain and glory, / yeah. / ‘Cause I hear the sound of the beaten down. / Touched so low, they / kissed the ground. / That’s what I know about the red squad story, yeah.

 Unity Pacific. “Time is running out.” (From street to sky).
 Time is running out, / and we got to do / something about it ... That’s what my / good friend say / on the news just the other day / And as I pressed him on / to see what else he had to say, / desperately he said to me that / they’ve announced it publicly. / A big black poster in Ponsonby, yes. / a Dread feelin’ / come over me. Now the time has come / for I and I to face the truth. / See / who’s stooped to conquer I, / men and women and all our youth. / Yes, this is / what they sow / from ten long years and a week ago, / and a this is all they got / to show, / a time has come to face the foe

 Dread Beat and Blood. “Nyambingi tribesmen.” (Tribute to a friend).
 Nyambingi tribesmen, / we are the Nyambingi tribesmen. / And we’re / searching for the truth in a way which will show the youth of today. / Africa, / South Africa. / Steve Biko died in chains, / Marcus Garvey died in vain, / Nelson Mandela will do the same. / They were staunch all the way

 Sticks and Shanty. “South African wa.” (Jah magic).
 South African wa ... South African children, / they plead from afar ... the / children of Jah ... little Ethiopians. / Message is loud and clear. / Let the / whole world shake with fear. / I and I can only look and stare, / the world goes / backwards

 Herbs. “Azania.” (What’s be happen?).
 Pretoria, we see through all your lies. / Hiding your evil system under / multiracial disguise. / White racists holding power / through the barrel of a / gun. / Soon come the liberation war, / send racists on the run. / Soon come
Azania. / Power to the freedom fighters ... liberation soon come ... power to the brothers and sisters ... Steve Biko, murdered in your jails / while spreading the word to all black men. / You’ll win when you know you can. / Nelson Mandela, languishing on Robben Island, / but you can’t keep ‘em, no you can’t keep ‘em down ... Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Azania

Section 10.2: Support for other oppressed peoples

  It’s an occupation of our own lands ... what happened at Wounded Knee, / was a massacre by the US cavalry. / History now shows, / indigenous people murdered by the US cavalry ... Kanaky people in New Caledonia. / French troops killing them too. / History now shows, / indigenous people murdered by the French army.

  Freedom to all, peace to all mankind. / The boss don’t care if you’re deaf or blind. / ‘Cause the only blind are those who see. / Been around for millions of years, / still can’t live in harmony. / While troops kill the youth in China, / freedom political prisoners. / Freedom black people in Rwanda, / just can’t go on living the way you are. / ‘Cause equal rights and justice, / some don’t know what freedom is. / Everyone must have equal rights ... I sing for freedom ... Freedom black people in Somalia

- Aotearoa. “Kanaky people.” (He waiata mo te iwi).
  Kanaky people, give them a hand. / Kanaky people, oppressed in their own land. / ‘Cause it seems nobody cares, / no-one seems to give a damn. / It’s colonial oppression / till the French regime leaves their land ... Pacific unity is long overdue. / Let’s stand together, me and you. / We’ll make our stand, staunch and true. / Brothers and sisters, kick out colonial rule!

Section 11: Historical figures and events

- Dread Beat and Blood. “Blair Peach.” (Tribute to a friend).
  Blair Peach. / Beaten and battered, but still it didn’t matter to them ... Justice is a thing that is ignored, / the system is against what we’re marching for ... The special patrol them a murderer. / We can’t let them get much furtherer ... they kill Blair Peach the teacher.

  Rua left his mark on this world ... Rua Kenana / Tuhoe prophet from the Uruweras ... He told his people not to go to war / let the white man fight the white man’s war ... They lived on the Maunga Pohatu. / Children of the mist is what they call you. / Oh Tuhoe, Tuhoe nui tonu.

  Why do so many people have to die? / No reasons why ... Tragedy has struck, / Oh Babylon ... They died in an earthquake ... Mexico has crumbled to the ground

Section 12: Learning from past mistakes

  Long ago was so long ago. / Close your eyes, / imagine all those memories in your mind. / Realise the downfall of that time has made you wise ... Every day I awake and find you standing there by me. / You say you lost your way. / I don’t believe a single word you have to say ... if I knew then what I know
now. / It’s in my mind ... Now I know let bygones be bygones from now on. / Live for today. / Keep memories in your mind they’ll always say

I know a lot of people / who have made mistakes before, / still they have to carry on. / Work so hard for the children, / show them what is right from wrong. / People, got to help them understand. / People, got to lend them a helping hand. / Teach the children the truth. / It’s up to me and you, / and everything we way and do. / Only Jah knows it’s true ... I know a lot of people / trying hard to stay alive. / Still they have to carry on. / Mistakes they’ve made. / Still Jah knows they must go on
Appendix B: List of reggae-influenced New Zealand bands and solo artists

* This list is not conclusive, but provides a starting point for future researchers. The previous names of these bands, alternative spellings of their names, and the real names of individual artists are shown in parentheses. Where known, their artist’s cultural identity is indicated in italics.

Accidentals
Ahurangi (Formed in 1979, originally known as Utu, from Taitokerau and Mangataipai in the North Hokianga)
- Hori Chapman – songwriter, acoustic/rhythm guitarist, player of traditional Māori instruments and lead vocalist; Māori, Scottish and English
- Hemi Rudolph (Hemi Rurawhe) – songwriter and vocalist
- Joseph Ewing – lead guitarist
- Neil Forest – keyboards and 12-string guitar
- Ruia Aperahama and Andrew Clouston - saxophonists
- Dion Kuka, Tame Nepia and Alan Foulks – percussionists
- Mike Abbot – drums
- Nopera Pikari and Wayne Baird – lead guitar
- Glen Campbell – steel guitar
- George Mockua – bass
- Stuart Pearce - keyboards
- Neil Cruickshank – drummer, songwriter
- Kevin Rangihuna, and Brent Thompson – bassists
- Hori Taite, Gerrard Tahu and Christian Erclano - songwriters
- Stephen Key – drummer
- Lillian (Inez) Chapman, Ariana Martin, Leiana Robertson, Merimeri Solomon, Jo Mane, Tania Remana, Erana and Jackie Hemingsen – backing vocalists
- Tikei Tora

Anapapa
Aotearoa (1985-1988)
- Ngahiwi Apanui – lead vocals, rhythm guitar; Ngāti Porou
- Maaka (or Mark) McGregor – drums and percussion; Ngāti Raukawa
- Tim Robinson; Pākehā. Mark Te One; Te Atiawa. Neil Cruickshank; Ngāti Kahungunu – drums
- Kevin Hodges – guitar, saxophone; Ngāpuhi
- Kerry Noda; Waikato. Tiare Te Roera - keyboards
- Charles Royal – keyboards, guitar; Ngāti Raukawa
- Solomon Simmons – saxophone; Ngāti Porou, Taranaki
• Tai Fuimacno – drums, vocals; *Ngapuhi*
• Dennis Mason – saxophone and vocals

Ardijah
Banana Revolution
Bamboo
Big Belly Woman
Black Seeds
Bluey
Bwa da riddim
Boil Up
Brazil Beat Soundsystem
Bronz Battlelion
Brothers and Sisters
Bunyip
Captain Silva
Chaos (also spelt Kaos, Māori membership including bassist Elma Rei, from Porirua)
Cheek ta cheek
Che Fu (Che Ness)
Coalrangers
Coconut Rough
Concord Dawn
Confucius (Nara Thomas)
Cornerstone Roots
Damn Native
David Grace and Injustice (from Porirua, Horoeka and Otaki)
• David Grace – lead vocals, songwriter, acoustic guitar
• John Grace – bass guitar, backing vocals
• Sandy Ngatoro – keyboards
• Cameron Sław - keyboards
• Des Mellon - drums
• Charles Haenga Jnr. – lead and rhythm guitars
• Junior Arai - guitar
• Mark and Adrian Wagner, Boy Grace and Andre Munro – backing vocals

David Papa Levi and Statement
D dub
Dejusa

D-faction
• Tony Nogotautama – vocals, guitar, percussion
• Dave Talea – vocals, percussion
• Mary-Anne Mataio (Antonovich) - vocals
• Terence Peyroux, John Peyroux, Paul Fa’asee, Junior Mett, Mi’i Rongo, Ngatama Rongo, Nikola Peyroux, Neil Forrest – Cook Island drummers
• Ronald La Praed, Pete Pita, Robbie Carpenter, Semi Leo – bass
• Ben Galiki Nuia, Richie Campbell – drums
• Dave Bridgeman – guitar
• Sue Dyson, Saylene Leauane – backing vocals
• Simon Lynch – keyboard, mandolin, programming

Diatribe
DLT (Darryl Thompson)
Downtown Brown and the Sunshine Soundsystem
Dread Beat and Blood. (From Porirua and Horoeka. Formed in 1984, from members performed in bands such as ‘Harumbe,’ ‘The Reggae Rockers,’ ‘Chaos,’ and ‘Sticks and Shanty.’ Band changed name to ‘Dread Beat’ after David Grace left in 1987)
- David Grace – lead guitar, lead vocals, songwriter; Ngāti Kahungunu, Whakatohea
- Nana Parata – rhythm guitar
- Allan Huriwai – keyboards, vocals
- Nathan Warren - bass
- Tam Epiha - drums
- Johnny Tipuna – vocals, percussion
- Sandy Ngatoro – vocals, percussion

Dreadford
Dreadrock
Drulocks
D28
Dub Asylum (Peter Mac)
Dub Congress
Dubhead and Andrew Manning
Dubious Brothers
Dubwize Soundsystem (Rock ‘n’ riddim soundsystem; DJ Messenjah, MCs Papa Levi and Little Jah)
DW Browne
East meets West
East of Kingston
Eight
Electric Puha
Fa’aosofia brothers
Fa’atalatala
Fat Freddy’s Drop
Flic
48 Sonic
Front Line
Hallelujah Picassos
Harumbe
Hello Sailor
Herbs (From Ponsonby, Auckland. Managed by Will ‘Ilolalia and Ross
- Toni Fonoti – lead vocals, percussion; New Zealand-born Samoan (1979-1982)
- Spencer Fusimalohi – lead guitar, vocals; Tongan (1979-1983)
- Fred Faleauto – drums, vocals; Auckland-born Samoan-Cook Islander (1979-1988)
- Perry and Deve Pou – guitar and bass respectively, Māori brothers (1979)
- John Berkley – Bass, English (late 1979-?)
- Phil Toms – bass, lead vocals (band member since at least 1981)
• Dilworth Karaka – rhythm guitar, vocals; Māori (Tainui) (1979-)
• Willie Hona – guitar; Māori (Ngā Puhi); (1983-1988)
• Morrie Watene – saxophone, vocals; Māori (Ngāti Whātau); (1981, became full-time member in 1983)
• Carl Perkins – percussion; Māori, (Ngā Puhi); (1983-1985)
• Tama Lundon – keyboards, vocals; Māori, (Ngā Puhi); (1983-)
• Jack Allen – bass; Māori (Te Arawa); (? – 1985)
• Charlie Tunahai – Bass, vocals; Māori (1985-)
• Gordon Joll – drums (1988-)
• Thom Nepia – percussion, vocals

Additional musicians
• Maurice Jones – accordion
• Brian Fonoti – percussion
• Brian Glamuzina – harmonica
• Gerard Carr – drum programme
• Kerry Lamb and Malcolm Smith – synthesiser
• Corina Fleming and Bunny Walters – backing vocalists
• Tama Renata – backing vocals, acoustic guitar
• Rarotonganui Cultural Club - Polynesian percussion

Hugh Harawhira
Imon Star
I-foundation (from the Hutt Valley and Wainuiomata)
Imperial Guards
Ina T
I ’n’ I
In the Whare
Iwi
Jahmz Levi and Mystic Sista
Jah Productions
Jah Remnant Crew
Jah Rule
Jamboree Sound
Jamoa Jam
Jay Rei
Kaihana
Karioi Riddim Selection
Katchafire (based in Hamilton; formed 1998)
• Jamey Ferguson – keyboards, saxophone, guitar, lead and backing vocals, songwriter; Māori (Tūhoe, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou)
• Grenville Bell – lead and rhythm guitar; Māori (Waikato, Ngā Puhi)
• Haani Totorewa – keyboards, vocalist; Māori (Waikato, Ngāti Naho, Ngāti Hine)
• Logan Bell – lead and backing vocals, rhythm guitar, songwriter; Māori (Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Toa, Waikato, Ngā Puhi)
• Thompson Omeku Hohepa – lead and backing vocals, rhythm guitar; Māori (Ngāti Whātau, Ngā Puhi, Te Arawa, Ngāti Tawharetoa)
• Leon Davey – Percussionist; Māori (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Maniapoto)
• Jordan Bell – Drummer, percussionist; Māori (Ngāti Koata, Waikato, Ngā Puhi)
• Ara Adams-Tamatea – Bass player; Māori (Waikato, Ngāti Kahungunu, Te-Aitanga-a-Māhaki)
• Steven Dobbs – Sound technician; Pākehā.

King Kapisi
Kog Transmissions Soundsystem
K-Tel
Land
Laughin’ Gas
Lei D Lee (Leiana Robertson) and Priestess
Leo and Will
(Ras) Lionheart
Looney Tunes
Mad “Scratch” Buckingham
Mana (from Auckland)
• Carl (Joseph) Perkins – lead and backing vocals, guitar, drums, percussion
• Davis Felix – lead vocals
• Spencer Fusimalohi – Lead vocals, lead guitar, percussion, backing vocals
• Jack Allen – bass, percussion
• Kaikau Lungi – drums, percussion
• Francis Harawira and Chris Watts – bass
• Daniel Harawira - drums
• Brian Taite (“Brother Zeb”) – rhythm (riddim) guitar
• Kevin Rangihuna, Lloyd and John Henare (“Bubble Dan”) - keyboards
• Pihana Tah: Pehi and Derick Cox – lead guitar
• Ian Donaldson and Allan Folks - percussion
• Chris Nielson and Andre Mason – Alto saxophone
• Tom Nepia – Gueka, backing vocals
• Tama Lundon, Tina Tumupu, Tui Lagaia, Lei D Lee, Pinochio – backing vocals
• Walter Pikimuwi – flugal horn
• Mana Ruahine - trombone

Managers
Many hands
Mellow MR
Midge Murray
Mighty Asterix
Moana and the Moahunters
Nandor and the Bassteppa Soundsystem
Napoleon and the Lost Liku Lovers
Native Sons
New Zealand Band (Auckland)
• Brian Taite (aka Brother Zeb, Rangitane) – songwriter, rhythm guitar, lead vocals, toasting, programming
• Kevin Rangihuna – keyboards, songwriter, programming
• Leiana Robertson (“Lei D Lee”) – songwriter, lead vocals
• Dready Dan – keyboards
• Daniel Harawira (Te Aupouri) - drums
• Francis Harawira (Te Aupouri) – bass
• Eddy – bass
• Daren Geenaway – drums
• Brian Cook – Saxophone
• Roger Fox – trombone
• Chris Nielson – trumpet
• Leanne Katene, Helen Katene, Michelle Katene, Hella Lukupa, Wi Taite, Terry Moana Rapley, Tanjah, Tutuvera Wichman, Diana Rangihuna, Harvey, Tare, Lucky and Trinity – backing vocals
• Kuru Apirana – percussion programming
• Artie Webster – guitar
• Reid Snell
• John Henare (Raukawa) - keyboards
• Maui Rickus (Ngāi Tahu)
• Sharon Mackey (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Maniapoto)
• Neil Cruickshank - programming

Offbeats
Otautahi Allstars
Pa Boys
Paradigm
Pevise
Pitch Black
Project Kora
Rainbow Country
Red
Reggae Rockers
Renegade Soundsystem
Rhombus
Rhythm Africa band
Riot Riddim Soundsystem (Wicked Youth, Tuffy Culture and Bobbylon)
Roots Foundation Soundsystem (DJ Lemon, Mu, Goosebump, Koa, Roast Chicken and Marek)
Ruia and Ranea (Hareruia and Kuaranea Aperahama)
Salmonella Dub
Satta Soundsystem
Screaming Orgasms
Sergeant Benji
Selector X
Shapeshifter
Simon and Fire (Toni and Brian Fonoti)
Sir Vere
Sista Mary
Sister J (Jackie Hemmingsen)
Skankamelia
Son. sine
Sonar
Soundboy Mouse
Soundclash
Southside of Bombay
Space Monkees
Sticks and Shanty (also spelt Sticks ‘n’ Shanty. From Porirua. Formed in around 1976)
- Reihana Ngatoro – lead vocals, lead guitar, rhythm guitar, percussion
- Gilbert Ngatoro – backing vocals, keyboards, percussion
- Roger Pupuke – drums, percussion
- Sandy Kiwa Ngatoro – keyboards, lead and backing vocals, percussion
- Michael Ngatoro – backing vocals
- Chris Irwin – live sound engineer
- Barbara Ryland – lead and backing vocals, percussion
- Richard Tararoa and Carlos Ratana – bass
- Reid Ratana – rhythm and lead guitar
- Jules Issa – vocals
- James Ngatai
- Jimmy Edwards

Stinky Jim
Storm
Survival (Managed by Hugh Grace; performers include his sons Boy Grace, David Grace, John Grace, nephews Simon, Nathan and Sandy and niece Jackie).

Tamini
Taste of Bounty
Te Mokai
Third Ave reggae band
Toni Huata
Tony Littlejohn
Trinity Roots
Tu Crucial Soundsystem
Tuffy Culture

Twelve Tribes of Israel Band (Soundsystem; the Dread Lion Band. Formed c. 1982-1990. Managed by Lance Reynaud).
- Hensley Dyer – songwriter
- Toni Fonoti (“Tony Simon”) – lead vocals
- Brian Fonoti – bass
- Julie Rylan (“Jules Issa”) – Ngāti Porou
- The Mighty Asterix – vocals
- Drummer Zeb – drums
- Brian Taite (“Brother Zeb”) – rhythm guitar
- Teina Dan – bass
- Archie Benj – lead guitar
- Ras Bo Asher – Keyboards
- Dready Dan – Keyboards
- Brennan Judah (Brennan Putu?) – tenor saxophone
- Enock – percussion
- Steven Key – drums
- Tigilau Ness

Unified Ones (Aranui High School band 2002)
Unitone Hifi
Unity Pacific (Unity reggae band; I Unity; Second power. From Auckland, formed in around 1978-9)
Unity Reggae Band (Managed by John Petrie, Rarotongan, 1978/1979-1981),
- Tigilau Ness - lead and backing vocalist, acoustic guitar player, *Niuean*
- Kaikau Lungi – drummer, *Tongan*
- Danny Wilson – lead guitar, vocals, *Ngā Puhi*
- Bill Taite – Bass, *Māori*
- Tia Kingi (*Waikato*), Tomo Nahi (*Ngā Puhi*), Miriama Rauhihi Ness (*Ngāti Whakatere, Raukawa*) - Backing vocalists

- Tigilau Ness
- Kaikau Lungi
- Elma Rei – keyboard and bass player, *Māori*
- Brian Fonoti – keyboard player, *Samoan*
- Hensley Dyer – Lead guitar, *Jamaican*
- Dilworth Karaka – guitarist, *Māori* (part-time member)

**Unity Reggae Band (reformed 1992)**
- Tigilau Ness
- Teinakore Winau - bass and keyboard player, *Rarotongan*
- Steven Keys – drums
- Robert Halcrow – lead guitar, *English*
- David Parry – Rhodes keyboard and Hammond organ, *Scottish*
- Tala Niko – percussion, *Samoan*
- Dilworth Karaka

Upper Hutt Posse
- Wai
- Wairua talk
- Weave
- Will and Barnaby
- Zuvuya
Appendix C: Questionnaire

The routes of roots reggae in Aotearoa/New Zealand: music adoption, and the musical construction of place and cultural identity.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?
This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for the Master of the Arts degree. This research project aims to show how ‘roots’ reggae music has been used by some people in Aotearoa/New Zealand to construct place and cultural identity. It evaluates the questions of who creates culture and determines musical meaning; describes the attraction of New Zealanders for reggae music; and assesses the degree of localisation of this music. An investigation of why, when, how and where reggae has been adopted in Aotearoa/New Zealand will generate valuable insights into the issues of cultural geography, global cultural flows, music adoption and the nature of cultural identity.

What Type of Participants are being sought?
The participants being sought are musicians who have composed and performed music in a ‘roots’ reggae style. I am seeking participants over 18 years of age.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?
Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to fill out a questionnaire, and you will be given the option of agreeing or disagreeing to further contact with the researcher. This process should not result in any discomfort or harm to the participant. Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?
You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?
The data collected will include:

- How did the participants gain access to reggae music? (for example, finding out about the music from print media such as books and magazines; recordings borrowed from friends or bought from particular music stores; at live concerts given at particular venues; in films or on TV; by hearing the music while travelling overseas).
- What did reggae music mean to them? How has reggae music affected what they do and what they believe, and how has this changed over time?
- Why did reggae music appeal to them?
- Which musicians have influenced their musical style and how did they learn to play reggae music?
- How, when and why did the musicians join their band?
- Where have the musicians rehearsed and performed?
- How would they describe their involvement with the recording industry?
- How would the musicians describe their musical style? If their musical style changed over time, how and why did this happen?
- What factors influenced their choice of language and instrumentation in their songs?
- What factors determined the lyrical themes of their music?
- How is place important to them in terms of their identity? To which place(s) do they trace their roots?

If further contact takes place between the participant and the researcher, the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee are aware of the general areas to be explored, but have not been able to review the precise questions to be asked. In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

This data is being collected for a Master of the Arts thesis by a student studying at the University of Otago. This data will provide ethnographic information in order to substantiate this Master of the Arts thesis. Jennifer Cattermole and Dr. Henry Johnson will have access to the data. Results of this project may be published but any data included will in no way be linked to any specific participant, unless their express permission is given to use their names. You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish. The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

What if Participants have any Questions?
If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-
Jennifer Cattermole or Dr. Henry Johnson
Department of Music
University Telephone Number:-
c/o 479-8884

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee
CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS
I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.
I know that:-
1. my participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. the data (audio-tapes) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed;

4. this project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

5. my involvement in this project should not involve any discomfort or risk. Should any stress, harm, or related concerns arise, I can contact the researcher at any time.

6. I understand that no remuneration or compensation is to be received.

7. the results of the project may be published and will be available in the library but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity, unless I have given the researcher my express permission to use my name.
I agree to allow the researcher to use my name in their research

Yes / No (Please circle or highlight one)
I agree to take part in this project.

........................................
(Signature of participant)

........................................
(Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee
**Questionnaire**

1. Which roots reggae–influenced bands have you performed with? Could you please tell me about these bands?

2. Which musicians have influenced you? When and how did you hear or find out about their music? How did you learn to sing or play in a roots reggae style?

3. Why did roots reggae music appeal to you? What was it about the music that you liked or that you could identify with? Why did you decide to perform (and compose) music in this style?

4. How has listening to and performing roots reggae changed what you believe and what you do? Did these changes happen quickly or slowly?

5. Which places and/or peoples do you identify with? How are these important to you? How do you express your sense of belonging to these places and peoples in the music that you perform? (eg. instrumentation, language, lyrical themes, musical style, imagery used on singles/albums covers)?

I give my permission for the researcher to contact me via phone, E-mail or letter to ask further questions related to my answers to this questionnaire

Yes / No (please circle one)

If Yes, please leave your preferred contact details below.
Appendix D: Musical traits

Section 1: Harmony

Table 8

Harmony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chords</th>
<th>Songs (NZ)</th>
<th>Songs (overseas)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, vi and bVII</td>
<td>“French letter”</td>
<td>“Satta massagana”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and ii</td>
<td>“Waitangi”</td>
<td>“When two sevens clash”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and bVII</td>
<td>“E te iwi Māori”</td>
<td>“Right time”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, VI and V</td>
<td>“Mura ahi”</td>
<td>“One love”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary &amp; Secondary</td>
<td>“Ain’t gonna stop”</td>
<td>“Sweat”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“We love reggae”</td>
<td>“Red red wine”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Maranga ake ai”</td>
<td>“Dreadlock holiday”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Red squad”</td>
<td>“Beautiful woman”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Giddy up”</td>
<td>“Police and thieves”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Earth right”</td>
<td>“Slavery days”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Chords I and ii
  - **Herbs. “French letter.”**
    - Instrumenta: E major (8 bars), F# minor (4 bars), E major (8 bars)
    - Verse: E major (4 bars), F# minor (2 bars), E major (2 bars)
    - Chorus: E major (15 bars)
  - **Mana. “Ain’t gonna stop.”**
    - Bars 1–4: F major (½ bar), Eb major (½ bar), D minor (½ bar), C minor (½ bar)
    - After bar 4: Bb major7, C minor7 (over F)
  - **Aotearoa. “Maranga ake ai.”**
    - A major (2 bars), B minor (2 bars)
  - **Culture. “When two sevens clash.”**
    - G major (2 bars), A minor (2 bars)
  - **The Mighty Diamonds. “Right time come.”**
    - D major (1 bar), E minor (1 bar)
Junior Murvin. “Police and thieves.”
Chorus: G major (2 bars), A minor (2 bars)

- Chords I and bVII

A minor (½ bar), G major (½ bar), A minor (1 bar)

Burning Spear. “Slavery days.”
F major (1 bar), Eb major (1 bar)

- Chords I, vi and bVII

Dread Beat and Blood. “Waitangi.”
Introduction, chorus and verse: A minor (2 bars), F major (1 bar), G major (1 bar)
Section C: F major (1 bar), G major (1 bar), A minor (2 bars), F major (1 bar), G major (3 bars)

Sticks and Shanty. “We love reggae.”
Introduction: A minor (1 bar), G major (1 bar), F major (1 bar), G major (¾ bar), G major (¼ bar), A minor (1 bar), G major (1 bar), F major (2 bars), (first four bars repeated twice), A minor (8 bars)
Chorus: repeat first four bars of the introduction
Verse: F major (2 bars), G major (2 bars), F major (2 bars), G major (1 bar), F major (1 bar)
Section C: G major (2 bars), F major (2 bars) - repeated 3 times, G major (1 bar), F major (1 bar)

- I, and IV (and/or ii as a subdominant substitute)

Ruia and Ranea Aperahama. “Muraahi.”
Chorus: E minor (1 bar), A minor (2 bars), E minor (1 bar)
Verse: E minor (2 bars), A minor (2 bars), E minor (1 bar), A minor (1 bar), E minor (1 bar)
Section C: A minor (1 bar), E minor (1 bar), A minor (1 bar), E minor (1 bar)

The Abyssinians. “Satta massagana.”
Instrumental: C major over A (1 bar), B diminished over E (1 bar), A minor (2 bars)
Section A: A minor (2 bars), D minor (2 bars), (repeat twice), A minor (2 bars), B diminished (1 bar), A minor (1 bar)
Section B: D minor (2 bars), A minor (2 bars), (repeat twice), A minor (1 bar), B diminished (1 bar), A minor (2 bars)

Unity Pacific. “Red squad.”
Verse: D minor (2 bars), A minor (2 bars)

Boil up. “Earth right.”
Introduction: D minor (2 bars), G minor (2 bars)
Verse: D minor (2 bars), G minor (1 bar), D minor (1 bar)

10CC. “Dreadlock holiday.”
* note: from verse 3, the harmony modulates to Ab minor (a semitone higher).
Introduction and Verse: G minor (1 bar), C minor (1 bar)

- Predominantly primary triads (I, IV and V)

UB40. “Red red wine.”
Introduction Ab major (implied)
Chorus: Db major (1 bar), Gb major (1 bar), Ab major over E (1 bar), Gb major over Ab (1 bar), (repeat twice), Ab major (2 bars), Eb major (1 bar), Ab major (1 bar)
Verse: Ab major (2 bars), Db major (2 bars), Gb major (2 bars), Db major (2 bars), (repeat of first 4 bars), Gb major (2 bars), Ab major (2 bars)

Unity Pacific. “Red squad.”
Chorus: C major (2 bars), G major (2 bars), F major (1 bar), E major (1 bar), A minor (2 bars), E major (2 bars), A minor (2 bars)

Katchafire. “Giddy up.”
Introduction: D major - added 7th or 13th (1 bar), C major (½ bar), Bb major (½ bar)
Chorus and instrumental: F major (1 bar), Bb major (1 bar), C major (½ bar), Bb major (½ bar), F major (1 bar)
Verse: F major (1 bar), Bb major (1 bar), F major (1 bar), C major (1 bar) (+ same as chorus)
Section C: Bb major (1 bar), F major (1 bar) – repeat twice, F major (1 bar), C major (½ bar), Bb Major (½ bar)

Boil up. “Earth right.”
Chorus: D major (2 bars), G major (2 bars), D major (2 bars), A major (2 bars), G major (2 bars), F major (2 bars), G major (2 bars), A major (2 bars)

Bob Marley and the Wailers. “One love – people get ready.”
Introduction: Bb major (2 bars), F major (2 bars)
Chorus: Eb major (1 bar), Bb major (1 bar), F major (½ bar), F major 7 (½ bar), Bb major (1 bar)
Verse: Bb major (1 bar), G minor (1 bar), Eb major (1 bar), Bb major (1 bar), Bb major (1 bar), G minor (1 bar), Eb major (½ bar), F major (½ bar), Bb major (1 bar)

Inner Circle. “Sweat (a la la la la long)”
C major (1 bar), A minor (1 bar), D minor (1 bar), G major (1 bar)

10CC. “Dreadlock holiday.”
* note: from verse 3, the harmony modulates to Ab minor (a semitone higher).
Instrumental: G minor (¾ bar), D minor 7 (¼ bar), C minor 7 (¾ bar), D minor 7 (¼ bar), G minor (¾ bar), D minor 7 (¼ bar), C minor 7
Chorus: G minor (¾ bar), F major (¼ bar), Eb major (¾ bar), D minor (¼ bar), C minor (¾ bar), D minor (¼ bar), Eb major (1 bar)
Section D: Eb major (¾ bar), F major (¼ bar), (repeat twice), Bb major (¾ bar), D major 7 (¼ bar)

Toots and the Maytals. “Beautiful woman.”
Verse: Eb major (4 bars), Ab major (4 bars), Bb major (4 bars), Eb major (2 bars), Bb major (2 bars), (repeat first 12 bars), Eb major (4 bars)
Chorus: Eb major (2 bars), Ab major (2 bars), Eb major (2 bars), D diminished (2 bars), Eb major (4 bars)

Junior Murvin. “Police and thieves.”
Verse: B minor (2 bars), A minor (2 bars), (repeat twice), C major (2 bars), D major (2 bars)
Section 2: Instrumental roles

Section 2.1: Rhythm guitar and/or keyboard skank


Inner Circle. “Sweat (a la la la long).” Bars 34-7. Keyboard.


Section 2.2: The keyboard shuffle


---

1 Every song featured the keyboard and/or rhythm guitar playing on beats two and four.
2 Fourteen of the twenty examples surveyed, including this example, feature this rhythmic pattern. See also Katchafire’s “Giddy up;” Mana’s “Ain’t gonna stop;” Ruia and Ranea’s “Mura ahi;” Boil Up’s “Earth right;” Dread Beat and Blood’s “Waitangi;” Inner Circle’s “Sweat;” UB40’s “Red red wine;” Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “One love – people get ready;” The Abyssinians’ “Satta massagana;” Culture’s “When two sevens clash;” The Mighty Diamonds’ “Right time;” Burning Spear’s “Slavery days;” and Toots and the Maytals’ “Beautiful woman.”
3 Two of the twenty examples featured this rhythmic pattern. See also Junior Murvin’s “Police and thieves.” The rhythm guitar part in the following example is similar to the keyboard shuffle pattern found in these songs.


Section 2.3: Bass guitar

- **Tonic notes**

- **Predominantly tonic and dominant notes of harmony chords**


10CC. “Dreadlock holiday.” Bars 57-60.

The Mighty Diamonds. “Right time.” Bars 4-5.


---

4 Three of the twenty examples featured this rhythmic pattern. See also Aotearoa’s “Maranga ake ai” and Ahurangi’s “Te iwi Māori.” The following example is a variation on this pattern.

5 In every song of this analysis, the bass guitar emphasized the tonic, (plus the third and/or fifth notes) of the harmony triads (the keyboard and/or rhythm guitar skank).


Predominantly triadic harmony notes

Inner Circle. “Sweat (a la la la long).” Bars 10-13.


Burning Spear. “Slavery days.” Bars 11-12.

Katchafire. “Giddy up.” Bars 9-12.

Sticks and Shanty. “We love reggae.” Bars 9-12.


Section 2.4: Percussion

Table 9

Drum entries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Solo intro.</th>
<th>In intro.</th>
<th>Entry after intro.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Songs (NZ)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;French letter&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Waitangi&quot;</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;E te iwi Māori&quot;</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mura ahi&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Ain’t gonna stop&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;We love reggae&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Maranga ake ai&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Red squad&quot;</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Giddy up&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Earth right&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Songs (overseas)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Satta massagana&quot;</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;When two sevens clash&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Right time&quot;</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;One love&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Sweat&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Red red wine&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Dreadlock holiday&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Beautiful woman&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Police and thieves&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Slavery days&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

➢ Fast two-note start

Percussion


Percussion


Percussion


Percussion

Culture. "When two sevens clash." Bars 1-2

Percussion
Sticks and Shanty. “We love reggae.” Bar 8.

Percussion

Katchafire. “Giddy up.” Anacrusis.

Percussion


Percussion

Aotearoa. “Maranga ake ai.” Bars 4-5.

Percussion


Percussion

Unity Pacific. “Red squad.” Anacrusis

Percussion


Percussion

➢ No quick two-note beginning


Percussion


Percussion


Percussion
Bass drum
Sticks and Shanty. “We love reggae.” Bar 9.


Snare drum


---

6 Nineteen of the twenty examples featured the use of this bass drum rhythm. The fast pace of 10CC’s “Dreadlock holiday” precludes using the four-on-the-floor rhythm.

7 Sixteen of the twenty examples surveyed featured the snare-drum pattern used in this song. The exceptions to this standard snare drum pattern are found the following two examples.

8 See also Ahurangi’s “E te iwi Māori” and Katchafire’s “Giddy up.”
High hat cymbals

Junior Murvin. “Police and thieves.” Bar 9.9

Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum


Bass Drum
High hat
Snare Drum

Mana. “Ain’t gonna stop.” Bar 5.10

Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum

Ruia and Ranea Aperahama. “Mura abi.” Bar 17.

Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum

Inner Circle. “Sweat (a la la la long).” Bars 10-11.

Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum
Tambourine

---

9 See also The Abysinnians’ “Satta massagana;” Sticks and Shanty’s “We love reggae;” and Herbs’ “French letter.”

10 See also Bob Marley and the Wailers’ “One love – people get ready;” The Mighty Diamonds’ “Right time;” Burning Spear’s “Slavery days;” Aotearoa’s “Muranga ake ai;” and Ahurangi’s “E te iwi Māori.”

Wood Blocks
Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum


Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum


Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum

Katchafire. “Giddy up.” Bars 9-10

Percussion
Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum

Unity Pacific. “Red squad.” Bars 1-2

Bass Drum
High Hat
Snare Drum

---

See also UB40’s “Red red wine.”
Boil up. “Earth right.” Bar 33.

Section 2.5: Melodic links

Table 10

Instrumental solos, melodic hook lines and ostinati

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Songs (NZ)</th>
<th>Solo sections</th>
<th>Hook lines (links) and/or ostinati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“French letter”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Waitangi”</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“E te iwi Māori”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mura ahi”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ain’t gonna stop”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“We love reggae”</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Maranga ake ai”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Red squad”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Giddy up”</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Earth right”</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Songs (overseas)

| “Satta massagana”           | X             | √                                 |
| “When two sevens clash”     | X             | √                                 |
| “Right time”                | X             | √                                 |
| “One love”                  | X             | √                                 |
| “Sweat”                     | √             | √                                 |
| “Red red wine”              | X             | √                                 |
| “Dreadlock holiday”          | X             | √                                 |
| “Beautiful woman”           | X             | √                                 |
| “Police and thieves”        | X             | √                                 |
| “Slavery days”              | X             | √                                 |
Instrumental solos


> Introduction – melodic hook lines


Melodic riffs


Inner Circle. “Sweat (a la la la la long).” Bars 34-6. Keyboard.


Ostinati


## Section 2.6: Vocal harmonies

### Table 11

The relationship between lead and backing vocals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Songs (NZ)</th>
<th>Call and response</th>
<th>Together</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“French letter”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Waitangi”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“E te iwi Māori”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mura ahí”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ain’t gonna stop”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“We love reggae”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Maranga ake ai”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Red squad”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Giddy up”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Earth right”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Songs (overseas)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Songs (overseas)</th>
<th>Call and response</th>
<th>Together</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Satta massagana”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“When two sevens clash”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Right time”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“One love”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Sweat”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Red red wine”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Dreadlock holiday”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Beautiful woman”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Police and thieves”</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Slavery days”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Parallel Triads**

Dread Beat and Blood. “Waitangi.” Bars 14-16

Ruia and Ranea Aperahama. “Mura ahí.” Bar 41.


Katchafire. “Giddy up.” Bars 13-14

Herbs. “French letter.” Bars 37-8

Herbs. “French letter.” Bars 62-4

Herbs. “French letter.” Bars 123-4


Mainly parallel fourths and fifths

Burning Spear. “Slavery days.” Bars 11-12.


Boil up. “Earth right.” Bars 57-63

Inner Circle. “Sweat (a la la la la long).” Bars 2-5.


Sticks and Shanty. “We love reggae.” Bars 4-7.


UB40. “Red red wine.” Bars 28-9

Section 3: Other musical traits
Table 12

Other musical traits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4/4 time</th>
<th>Tempo (approx. b.p.m)</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Modulation</th>
<th>Polyrhythms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Songs (NZ)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“French letter”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Waitangi”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“E te iwi Māori”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mura ahi”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ain’t gonna stop”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“We love reggae”</td>
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<td>160</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Red squad”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>½ (C)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Giddy up”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Earth right”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>½ (Gm and D)</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Songs (overseas)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Satta massagana”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“When two sevens clash”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Right time”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“One love”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>Bb</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Sweat”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Red red wine”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>Db</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Dreadlock holiday”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>√ (Bb, Abm, B)</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Beautiful woman”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>Eb</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Police and thieves”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Slavery days”</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>√</td>
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</table>

## Appendix E. Language use

### Table 13

#### Language use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Album, Song</th>
<th>Language</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dread talk</td>
<td>Maori</td>
<td>Pacific Island</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Azania (soon come)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Dragons and demons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ <em>What’s be happen?</em></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ One brotherhood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Whistling in the dark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Reggae’s doing fine</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ French letter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Thems the breaks</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Mama’s sorg</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Jah’s son</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Crazy mon?</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Light of the Pacific</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Maranga ake ai</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ E te rangatini</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Dread, beat and blood</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Love in the ghetto</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Blair Peach</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Rainbow Warrior</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Nyambingi tribesmen</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Unity</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Waitangi</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Long ago</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ Jah reggae</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Lonely faces</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ On my mind</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Repatriation</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Nuclear wasce</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Stolen time</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Tahu’s song</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ In the ghetto</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mana. <em>Ain’t gonna stop</em> (1986)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>✓ South Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Ain’t gonna stop</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Jah knows</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aotearoa. <em>He waiata mo te iwi</em> (1987)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✓ Sweet child</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stand up for your people
Singing for our people
Kanaky people
Positive

Herbs. *Sensitive to a smile* (1987)
No nukes
Rust in dust
Station of love
Jah knows

Jah magic
Courthouse
Row papa row
Only Jah know
Woman intuition
Jammín’
Natural reggae
South African wa
Poverty

Dread Beat. *All our lives* (1988)
Colonial law
Tragedy
No more war
Teach the children
Simplicity
Who’s gon ra save the world
All our lives
Peace and love

Jah’s rainbow
Play it safe
Don’t wanna dance
Love vibes
That’s the way
Philistines
We love reggae
Controlled madness
Burden of life
Babylon

Twelve Tribes of Israel. *Join us* (1989)
Join ss

Homegrown
Way I am
Sometimes

Rua Kenana
1840

- Lost in love
- Footstep
- Judgement Day
- In the mood
- Let it be me
- Heaven
- Peace and love
- Rockers and lovers
- Reggae soundz
- Sunrise
- What is life?

- Earth right
- Getting there

- A lot of aroha
- Equal rights
- One people
- Africa
- Matua whaea
- Tino Rangatiratanga
- Pakaitore
- Revolution
- Pain and desperation
- Occupation
- Empower my people
- I will always come back
- Live as one

- E te iwi Māori
- Whakarongo
- Tōku reo
- Toro atu
- Te reo tuatahi

- Hard times
- Take a little piece
- Pride

- Mana Māori Motuhake
- Aroha ki te tangata
- E pipi
- He aha te whakatau
- Mura ahi

- Whārikihiia

Unity Pacific. *From street to sky* (2002)
- Are you strong?
- In the ghetto
- Red squad
- Thou we are
- Thank you
- Junior’s song
- Got no job
- Time is running out
- From street to sky
Appendix F: Biblical references

Section 1: The biblical foundations of the terms ‘Babylon’ and ‘Jah’
Revelation 17: 1-5
I will shew unto thee the judgement of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters: With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication; and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication ... And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.
Psalm 68: 4
Sing unto God, sing praises to his name: extol him that rideth upon the heavens by his name JAH, and rejoice before him.

Section 2: Biblical support for the wearing of dreadlocks
Numbers 6: 5
All the days of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled ... he shall be holy, and shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow.
Leviticus 21: 5
They shall not make baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corner of their beard, nor make any cutting in their flesh.
Isaiah 8: 13
Sanctify the LORD of hosts himself, and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread
Job 13: 11
Shall not his excellency make you afraid and his dread fall upon you?

Section 3: Biblical sanction of ganja use
Genesis 1: 29
And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat
Genesis 1: 12
And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind: and God saw that it was good
Psalm 104: 14
He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth
Genesis 3: 18
And thou shalt eat the herb of the field
Proverbs 15: 17
Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith
Revelation 22: 2
In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life, which bore twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

1 All references are from the King James version of the Bible
Section 4: The prominence of Ethiopians in the Bible

Numbers 12:1
And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married; for he had married an Ethiopian woman.

Jeremiah 38: 6-13
Summary: Ebed-melech, the Ethiopian, helped to save the life of the prophet Jeremiah.

Acts 8: 27
And he arose and went: and behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians, who had the charge of all her treasure, and had come to Jerusalem to worship

I Chronicles 1: 10
And Cush [Ham’s son] begat Nimrod: he began to be mighty upon the earth

Matthew 27: 32
And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name: him they compelled to bear his [Christ’s] cross.

Section 5: Noah’s curse of Canaan

Genesis 9: 18-27
Summary: Noah curses Canaan, Ham’s son, to servitude as punishment for Ham having seen Noah’s nakedness.

Section 6: Messianic titles

Revelation 19:16
And he hath upon his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

Revelation 5:5
And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof

Section 7: Biblical citations supporting the idea that God, biblical personalities and the common people were black

Lamentations 5: 10
Our skin was black like an oven because of the terrible famine

Jeremiah 14: 2
Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?

Daniel 7: 9
I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was as white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool.

Jeremiah 8: 21
For the hurt of my people I am hurt; I am black, astonishment hath taken hold on me

Psalm 87: 3-4
Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God. Selah. I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me: behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this man was born there
Psalm 21: 3-4
For thou preventest him with the blessings of goodness: thou settest a crown of pure gold on his head. He asked life of thee, and thou givest it him, even the length of days for ever and ever.

Section 8: Biblical support for repatriation
Isaiah 43: 3-6
For I am the LORD thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour: I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee. Since thou wast precious in my sight ... I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will say unto the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back: bring my sons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.

Revelation 7: 4
And I heard the number of them which were sealed: and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

Section 9: Biblical sanctions regulating female behaviour
Genesis 3: 16
Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be unto thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.

Ephesians 5: 22-4
Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their husbands in every thing.

1 Corinthians 11: 3-9
Summary: Prohibits women from praying with their heads uncovered.

Deuteronomy 22: 5
The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman’s garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the LORD thy God.

1 Corinthians 14: 34-5
Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in church.

Leviticus 12: 4
And she shall then continue in the blood of her purifying three and thirty days; she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purifying be fulfilled.

Leviticus 15: 19
And if a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days: and whoever toucheth her shall be unclean until the even.

Section 10: Biblical food prohibitions
Numbers 6: 2-4
Summary: Prohibits Nazarites from drinking wine and strong liquor, and from eating grapes or other vine products.
Leviticus 11

Summary: Forbids the eating of camel, hare, coney and pig; scaleless or finless fish, birds such as the eagle, ossifrage, ospray, vulture, kite, raven, owl, night hawk, cuckoo, hawk, little owl, cormorant, great owl, swan, pelican, gier eagle, stork, heron, lapwing and bat; four-legged flying creatures; creatures with paws; and animals such as the mouse, weasel, tortoise, ferret, chameleon, lizard, snail, mole
Appendix G: New Zealand record charts

Table 14

Highest charted reggae singles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date first entered the charts</th>
<th>Highest chart position</th>
<th>Total number of weeks in the charts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aotearoa (NZ)</td>
<td>Maranga ake ai</td>
<td>7 / 6 / 85</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aswad (UK)</td>
<td>Don’t turn around</td>
<td>13 / 5 / 88</td>
<td>1 (2 weeks)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Give a little love</td>
<td>5 / 8 / 88</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Next to you</td>
<td>8 / 3 / 91</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Best of my love</td>
<td>5 / 7 / 91</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shine</td>
<td>16 / 9 / 94</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big mountain (US)</td>
<td>Baby I love your way</td>
<td>29 / 4 / 94</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sweet sensual love</td>
<td>23 / 9 / 94</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Get together</td>
<td>16 / 2 / 96</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black slate (UK)</td>
<td>Amigo</td>
<td>6 / 2 / 81</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boom boom</td>
<td>3 / 4 / 81</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Live a life</td>
<td>7 / 8 / 81</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black uhuru (JA)</td>
<td>What is life?</td>
<td>16 / 11 / 84</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Great train robbery</td>
<td>20 / 6 / 86</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bob Marley and the Wailers (JA)</td>
<td>Is this love?</td>
<td>22 / 9 / 78</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Could you be loved?</td>
<td>5 / 9 / 80</td>
<td>2 (2 weeks)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Redemption song</td>
<td>15 / 5 / 81</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No woman no cry</td>
<td>12 / 6 / 81</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reggae on broadway</td>
<td>16 / 10 / 81</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2 New Zealand music charts have existed since 25 March 1966. Until 16 May 1975, the national top twenty was printed in the New Zealand Listener. From 1975, the national top forty was published by the Record Publications branch of the Recording Industry Association of New Zealand (RIANZ). In May 1979, the chart expanded to include the top fifty. For further information, see: Dean Scapolo, New Zealand music charts (1966-96): singles, Wellington: IPL Books, 1997. See also: “New Zealand top 50.” Online. Accessed 10 November 2003. Available from http://www.charthitz.net.nz.

3 The place of the band or solo artist’s origin is indicated in parentheses. JA is an abbreviation for Jamaica; NZ of New Zealand; US of the United States; and UK of the United Kingdom.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>15 / 7 / 83</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo soldier</td>
<td>One love –</td>
<td>20 / 7 / 84</td>
<td>1 (7 weeks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people get ready</td>
<td>Waiting in</td>
<td>28 / 9 / 84</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Could you</td>
<td>19 / 7 / 85</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>be loved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Get up</td>
<td>31 / 10 / 92</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stand up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iron lion</td>
<td>30 / 10 / 92</td>
<td>2 (2 weeks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Keep on</td>
<td>23 / 6 / 95</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fallin’ in</td>
<td>27 / 7 / 97</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture club</td>
<td>Do you really want to hurt me?</td>
<td>12 / 11 / 82</td>
<td>2 (4 weeks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(UK)</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>18 / 3 / 83</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church of</td>
<td>1 / 7 / 83</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the poison</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karma</td>
<td>28 / 10 / 83</td>
<td>1 (6 weeks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chameleon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Victims</td>
<td>27 / 1 / 84</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It’s a</td>
<td>25 / 5 / 84</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miracle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>War song</td>
<td>26 / 10 / 84</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medal song</td>
<td>8 / 2 / 85</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demus, Chaka and Pliers (JA)</td>
<td>Move away</td>
<td>11 / 4 / 86</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tease me</td>
<td>1 / 10 / 93</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demus, Chaka and Pliers (JA)</td>
<td>She don’t</td>
<td>12 / 11 / 93</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>let nobody</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demus, Chaka and Pliers (JA)</td>
<td>Twist and</td>
<td>18 / 3 / 94</td>
<td>2 (1 week)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shout</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demus, Chaka and Pliers (JA)</td>
<td>I wanna be</td>
<td>19 / 8 / 94</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demus, Chaka and Pliers (JA)</td>
<td>Every kinda</td>
<td>1 / 11 / 96</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demus, Chaka and Pliers (JA)</td>
<td>people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desmond Dekker (UK)</td>
<td>Israelites</td>
<td>13 / 6 / 69</td>
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*Data unavailable for 3 August 1997 – the end of December 1997; therefore data for this entry is incomplete.*
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<td>I got you babe</td>
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<td>Bring me your cup</td>
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<td>C'est la vie</td>
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<td>Until my dying day</td>
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<td>Natty dread</td>
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<td>Chances are</td>
<td>23 / 10 / 81</td>
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<td>Legend</td>
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<td>Rebel music</td>
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<td>Talkin’ blues</td>
<td>29 / 3 / 91</td>
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Table 15

**Highest Charted Reggae Albums**

Data unavailable for 3 August 1997 – the end of December 1997; therefore data for this entry is incomplete.

This data includes songs produced by roots reggae artists, as well as artists influenced by roots reggae. New Zealand album charts have existed since 2 May 1975, when the RIANZ published the national top forty based on nationwide record sales. In May 1979 the chart was expanded to include the top fifty. For further information see: Dean Scapolo. *New Zealand Music Charts (1975-2000): Albums*. Wellington: IPL Publishing, 2001. See also “New Zealand top 50.” Online. Accessed 10 November 2003. Available from [http://www.charthitz.net.nz](http://www.charthitz.net.nz)
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<td>Natural mystic</td>
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<td>Chant down Babylon</td>
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<td>One love: the very best of</td>
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<td>Culture club (UK)</td>
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<td>Kissing to be clever</td>
<td>3/12/82</td>
<td>2 (2 weeks)</td>
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<td>Colour by numbers</td>
<td>25/11/83</td>
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<td>Waking up with the house on fire</td>
<td>30/11/84</td>
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<td>From luxury to heartache</td>
<td>23/5/86</td>
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<td>This time</td>
<td>22/5/87</td>
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<td>Demus, Chaka and Pliers (JA)</td>
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<td>Tease me</td>
<td>20/5/94</td>
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<td>Dread Zeppelin (US)</td>
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<td>Un led</td>
<td>22/2/91</td>
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<td>Five million</td>
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<td>Jimmy Cliff (JA)</td>
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<td>Fower and glory</td>
<td>13/4/84</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Herbs (NZ)</td>
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<td>Whats’ be happen?</td>
<td>21/8/81</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>Light of the Pacific</td>
<td>15/4/83</td>
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<td>Long ago</td>
<td>23/11/84</td>
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<td>Sensitive to a smile</td>
<td>19/6/87</td>
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<td>Best of Herbs</td>
<td>14/1/94</td>
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<td>Listen: the very best of</td>
<td>27/1/02</td>
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<td>Inner Circle (JA)</td>
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<td>Bad to the bone</td>
<td>1/4/94</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Reggae dancer</td>
<td>2/9/94</td>
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<td>Greatest hits</td>
<td>30/1/98</td>
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<td>Reggae man</td>
<td>6/5/01</td>
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<td>Katchafire (NZ)</td>
<td>Revival</td>
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<td>Maxi Priest (UK)</td>
<td>Bonafide</td>
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<td>Best of me</td>
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<td>Fe real</td>
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<td>Musical youth (UK)</td>
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<td>29/4/83</td>
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<td>Peter Tosh (JA)</td>
<td>Bush doctor</td>
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<td>10CC (UK)</td>
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<td>Title</td>
<td>Release Date</td>
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<td>soundtrack</td>
<td>How dare you!</td>
<td>19/3/76</td>
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<td>Deceptive bends</td>
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<td>Live and let live</td>
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<td>17/3/78</td>
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<td>Bloody tourists</td>
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<td>17/11/78</td>
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<td>Greatest hits '72-'78</td>
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<td>26/10/79</td>
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<td>Look hear</td>
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<td>13/6/80</td>
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<td>Toots and the Maytals (JA)</td>
<td>Knockout</td>
<td>18/6/82</td>
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<td>UB40 (UK)</td>
<td>Signing off</td>
<td>31/10/80</td>
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<td>Present arms</td>
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<td>4/9/81</td>
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<td>Labour of love</td>
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<td>4/11/83</td>
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<td>Geoffrey Morgan</td>
<td></td>
<td>23/11/84</td>
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<td>Baggadariddem</td>
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<td>25/10/85</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rat in the kitchen</td>
<td></td>
<td>5/9/86</td>
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<td>Live in Moscow</td>
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<td>7/8/87</td>
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<td>Best of UB40</td>
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<td>27/11/87</td>
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<td>UB40</td>
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<td>23/9/88</td>
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<td>Labour of love</td>
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<td>12/1/90</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Promises and lies</td>
<td>23/7/93</td>
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<td>Labour of love 1 and 2</td>
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<td>23/12/94</td>
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<td>Best of UB40 vol.2</td>
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<td>10/11/95</td>
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<td>Guns in the ghetto</td>
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<td>25/7/97</td>
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<td>Labour of love 3</td>
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<td>25/12/98</td>
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<td>Very best of UB40 1980-2000</td>
<td>8/12/00</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Cover up</td>
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<td>27/1/02</td>
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<td>Labour of love 1, 2 and 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3/8/03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ziggy Marley and the melodymakers (JA)</td>
<td>Conscious party</td>
<td>3/6/88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H: Poverty statistics

Housing statistics
- 1981 - 44.92% of Māori and 34.41% of Pacific Islanders own their own houses, compared to 73.2% of Pākehā
- 1981 - 49.58% of Māori and 59.53% of Pacific Islanders rent, compared to 23.02% of non-Polynesians
- 1986 - 83.9% of Māori and Pacific Islanders were offered fewer and poorer properties than Europeans
- 1975 - Pākehā were more likely than Māori and Pacific Islanders to get rental accommodation
- 1983 - 45% of homeless people were Māori in the Lower Hutt valley (8.6% of the population), and 23% Pacific Islanders (2% of the population); compared to 32% of Pākehā (86% of the population)

Employment statistics
- 1980 – employers preferred Pākehā over Māori (who were offered 20% fewer job interviews than Pākehā) and Pacific Islanders (who were offered 24% less job interviews)
- 1981 – the Pacific Islander unemployment rate was 10.3%, compared with the overall New Zealand rate of 4.5%
- 1981 – there were 3½ times as many Pākehā in professional or technical jobs as Māori
- 1981 – 75% of the Pacific Island workforce was employed in the service, production, transport and labouring categories, compared to 50% of the total New Zealand workforce
- 1981 – 41.3% of young Māori women and 33% of Pacific Island women were unemployed, compared with 17.6% of all people aged between 15-19 yrs (10% women).
- 1986 – 28.3% of Māori aged between 15-19 yrs were unemployed, compared with 17.6% nationally
- 1986 – nearly 15% of Māori workers were unemployed when the national unemployment rate was 6%
- 1981 – 3.6% of Māori are self-employed, compared to 14% of non-Polynesians
- 1982 – 59% of Māori school leavers were entering low paid production or service industries, compared to 37% of non-Māori

Income level statistics
- 1981 – incomes of Māori households was 20% below those of non-Māori
- 1981 – 88% of Māori families with a child under 1 year of age earned less than $10, 150 pa, compared to 67% of Pākehā; and 49% of Pacific families had an income of $7, 160 pa, compared to 22% of Pākehā
- 1981 – the median income of Māori men was 83% that of non-Māori, and that of Māori women 57%
- 1981 – 4% of Pacific Island families with a child under 1 year of age had an income above $13, 950 pa, compared with 12% of Pākehā
• 1981 – the median annual gross income for Pacific Island male occupier (35-44 yrs) households was $16,300, compared to $20,000 for non-Polynesian households
• 1981 – 45% of Māori families with a child aged 5 years earned less than $7,160 pa, compared to 23% of Pākehā

Health statistics
• 1985 - 11.7 Māori babies die in every 1000 born, compared to 5.7 non-Māori babies
• 1984 – the mortality rate for Pacific Islanders were 25% higher than for non-Polynesians
• 1981 - Māori life expectancy is 7 years less than non-Māori men, and 8.5 years less for women
• 1984 – Māori comprised 20% of all psychiatric committals and 30% of patients at Oakley Hospital
• 1986 – Māori sickness, mortality, hospital admission and morbidity rates were at least twice those of Pākehā
• 1984 – in less than 20 yrs, the Māori youth suicide rate increased by 6 times.

Education statistics
• 1981 – 62% of Māori left school without qualifications, compared to 28% of non-Māori
• 1981 – 54.4% of Pacific Island school leavers aged between 15-19 yrs have no qualifications, compared to 36% of non-Polynesians
• 1981 – 3.5% of 15-19 year old Māori and 6.5% of Pacific Islanders held UE, compared to 17.6% of all 15-19 year olds
• 1982 – 60 children were bussed out of Otara schools (3% Pākehā) to schools in Howick (1% Māori) because their parents did not want them to be schooled with Māori
• 1984 – 90% of the Māori workforce had no formal qualifications
• 1983 – 2% of Māori went to university, compared to 12% of non-Māori

Immigration statistic
• 1986 - Pacific Islanders constituted 33% of overstayers, but were 86% of those prosecuted
Appendix I: New Zealand human rights and environmental issues timeline from the mid-1960s

1966 - Citizen’s Association for Racial Equality (CARE) formed
- the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights adopted
1968 - underground newspaper Te Hokioi circulated
- Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOOHR) formed
- New Zealand accedes to the Convention on the Political Rights of Women
1970 - Nga Tamatoa formed, Waitangi Day protests in 1971
- the Polynesian Panthers were also formed at around this time, as well as other groups such as the Auckland Citizens Against Racial Discrimination
1970-1972 - mass demonstrations protesting against the Vietnam War
1972 - New Zealand ratifies the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination - reported on biennially.
- Equal Pay Act.
1973 - Select Committee on women’s rights established
1975 - Māori Land March from Te Hapua to Wellington, led by Whina Cooper, promoted by Te Rōpu o Matakite. It draws attention to Māori land rights and grievances.
- Waitangi Tribunal established
- Select Committee on Women’s Rights produces the report "The Role of Women in New Zealand Society". The report recommended that legislation to prohibit and combat sex discrimination should be introduced and that a human rights commission, focusing on the eradication of sex discrimination, should be set up.
1976 - Matakite o Aotearoa and Eva Rickard, land protests result in the return of the Te Kopua block, Raglan/Whaingaroa.
- Amnesty Aroha formed, a civil liberty group
1977 - Orakei Māori Action Committee led by Joe Hawke, the beginning of the 506-day occupation of Takaparawhau (Bastion Point). Ngati Whatua stand against the loss of their land and emphasize the crucial part land issues and grievances play in New Zealand race relations. Land returned in 1988.
1979 - The Haka Party incident at Auckland University leads to a national inquiry by the Race Relations Conciliator. A national debate over social and cultural attitudes takes place. The report "Racial Harmony in New Zealand: A Statement of Issues" results. The Waitangi Action Committee begins annual protests.
1980 - formation of the Mana Motuhake Party, led by Matiu Rata
1981 - Springbok Tour of New Zealand causes anti-apartheid protests which polarise the country.
1984 - Te Hikoikoi Waitangi, organised by the Waitangi Action Committee
- Process of establishing a Ministry of Women's Affairs begins (The Ministry is fully staffed and operational by mid 1986).
1985 - sinking of the Greenpeace vessel the Rainbow Warrior

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7 For further information on human/civil rights in New Zealand see http://www.hrc.co.nz/index.php?pg=448. This timeline begins in the mid-1960s, the period immediately preceding the introduction of roots reggae to New Zealand.
- New Zealand Labour Government led by David Lange refuses the entry of USS Buchanan, ANZUS pact broken
- Treaty of Rarotonga signed 8th August, creating the South Pacific Nuclear Weapon Free Zone
- New Zealand ratifies the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

1987 - Non-nuclear legislation introduced
   - Māori Language Act makes Māori one of New Zealand's two official languages.
   - New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General: In this judgment the Court considered that the Treaty was a partnership. The judgment marks the beginning of new Treaty jurisprudence.
   - Muriwhenua Waitangi Tribunal case against the Government Fisheries Quota Management System

1990 - Treaty of Waitangi protest action
1992 - the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission established. One third of the commercial fishing quota transferred to Māori through the Sealord Agreement
1995 - Occupation of Moutoa Gardens/Pakaitore by Wanganui Māori
1997 - Ngai Tahu Treaty of Waitangi land settlement
1998 - Hikoi of Hope, march to parliament protesting land issues