# Tangi and State Funeral:

# Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu &

# Prime Minister Norman Kirk

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# Dedication

*I dedicate this thesis to my beautiful father, Alfie McRae.*

*What's it all about Alfie…*

# Abstract

The tangi of Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (Te Arikinui) in 2006 paralleled the State funerals for New Zealand Prime Ministers like Norman Kirk who died in 1974.  State funerals require the huge mobilization of people and resources and always attract the attention of the national and international media.  The death of a Prime Minister is news worthy, but what of a minority indigenous fourth world leader like Te Arikinui?  Why did her passing attract so much media attention?  In this study I argue that media representation of the tangi of Te Arikinui was largely about social, cultural and symbolic capital.  In media saturated societies such as Aotearoa/New Zealand, through mainstream media outlets like TV One News and the Waikato Times, Te Arikinui's tangi event claimed a dominant space in the lives of Maori and non Maori alike.  The data source includes print news media coverage of the tangi of Te Arikinui and the State funeral of Norman Kirk.  Descriptive narrative and abductive analysis inform the methodology used in this study.  As expected, print media reporting of both events progressed through the three stages identified by Durkheim, those of, separation, liminality and reincorporation. The ownership of death, the deceased and the continued possession of their mortal remains, itself a cultural object with symbolic and cultural capital, reflected the actual power and control of the possessor.  State funerals and tangi are about the ritualized performance of grief and mourning, and require the appropriate social, cultural and symbolic capital for its enactment.

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To my family, my partner Kevin, my Turipuku and Takataka, and my mum, Te Ruhi, you have all in your own way contributed to this thesis, your love and belief has given me sustenance. I thank you.

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# List of Newspaper Acronyms

NZH    New Zealand Herald

WT      Waikato Times

WTW  Waikato Times Weekend

HP      Hamilton Press

SST    Sunday Star Times

WH     Weekend Herald

# Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *Haka* | A Maori posture dance |
| *Hapu* | Relational kinship network |
| *Hawaiki* | The place from which Maori came |
| *Hine-nui-te-po* | The guardian of an underworld |
| *Hongi* | Pressing of noses and foreheads |
| *Hui* | Form of gathering, meeting |
| *Iwi* | Tribal group |
| *Kakahu* | Maori cloak |
| *Karakia* | Prayer |
| *Karanga* | Welcoming chant |
| *Kaumatua* | Elder |
| *Kawa* | Protocols |
| *Koroneihana* | Coronation, large gathering of followers of the Kingitanga movement |
| *Korowai* | Cloak ornamented |
| *Kotahitanga* | Unity and solidarity |
| *Kuia* | Female Elder |
| *Kura Kaupapa* | Maori emersion primary schools |
| *Mahau* | Verandah of the meeting house |
| *Mana* | Status and prestige |
| *Manaakitanga* | Reciprocity |
| *Manuhiri* | Visitors or visiting group |
| *Maoritanga* | Maori cultural, practices and beliefs |
| *Marae* | The area in front of the wharepuni |
| *Mauri* | Life essence |
| *Mere* | A short flat weapon of stone, normally greenstone |
| *Nehu* | Burial or cremation |
| *Nga Mahi a Rehia* | Maori performing arts |
| *Paepae* | The place on the marae from which orators rise to speak |
| *Pepeha* | Tribal or proverbial sayings |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Poroporoaki* | Farewells |
| *Poukai* | Kingitanga movement gathering |
| *Powhiri* | Welcoming ceremony |
| *Rangatahi* | Young generation or people, youth |
| *Rangatira* | Maori leaders |
| *Rangatiratanga* | Good leadership |
| *Raupatu* | Confiscated land |
| *Ruru* | Shake hands |
| *Taiaha* | A long weapon of hard wood with one end carved and often decorated with dogs' hair |
| *Tangata whenua* | Local people or host group |
| *Tangi* | Traditional rituals of death and mourning, cry, wailing |
| *Taonga* | A treasure, a right, not a privilege, family heirlooms |
| *Tangihanga* | Traditional rituals of death and mourning, cry, wailing |
| *Tapu* | Prohibited, restricted |
| *Te Kohanga Reo* | Maori language emersion pre-schools |
| *Te Rerenga Wairua* | The leaping place of spirits |
| *Tikanga* | Correct procedure, rules |
| *Tipuna* | Ancestors |
| *Tumanako* | Name of waka that carried Te Arikinui to Taupiri Mountain |
| *Tupapaku* | Corpse |
| *Tupuna* | Ancestor |
| *Turangawaewae* | A place to stand |
| *Urupa* | Burial ground |
| *Waiata* | Songs, dance and chants |
| *Wairuatanga* | Respect, carefulness, diplomacy and good judgement |
| *Whaikorero* | The capacity to orate, oratory |
| *Whakapapa* | Genealogy |
| *Whakatauki* | Proverb |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Whanaungatanga* | Relationality, kinship |
| *Whanau pani* | Bereaved family |
| *Wharepuni* | Principal house of marae |
| *Wharekai* | Dining Hall |
| *Wharekura* | Maori emersion secondary school |
| *Wharemate* | Specially dedicated shelter, mourning house |
| *Whare Wananga* | Place of higher learning |

# Chapter 1: Introduction

Social and cultural capital make important contributions to communities and societies. Social capital might be described as the glue that binds communities together, like trust, cooperation, relatedness and a sense of identity and belonging.  Cultural capital might be seen as the assets, tangible and intangible, that advantage individuals and communities in their aspirations, and as such, has some overlaps with the idea of social capital.  When challenged by critical events, like environmental catastrophes (floods, earthquakes), economic down turns (redundancy, unemployment), terrorist attacks or the death of significant community leaders, social and cultural capital enable individuals and communities to respond in resilient ways, facilitating the: healing of grief, restoration of social order, and the strengthening of relationships to enable members to return to everyday life.  In this thesis, through the lens of the print media, I explore the presence, form and nature of social and cultural capital in two critical events: a state funeral for the New Zealand Prime Minister Norman Kirk; and the tangi of Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (Te Arikinui).

Elected leader of the Labour Party in 1965, *Norman Kirk* led the Labour Political Party to an electoral victory at the age of 49 (Boon, 2005). In 1972, he became one of New Zealand's youngest Prime Minister's following the defeat of a 12 year National led government.  Kirk was well liked and respected by New Zealand and people expected Kirk to be around in politics for at least 10 years.  Norman Kirk died in hospital on the 30$^{th}$ August 1974 while serving in office.  Monday the 2$^{nd}$ of September 1974, marked the first official day of Kirk's State funeral where he lay-in-state at Parliament House until his funeral service at St Paul's Cathedral, Wellington on Wednesday the 4$^{th}$ of September 1974.  Kirk was the driven through the central business district of Wellington, on route to the Wellington airport where a Royal New Zealand Air Force Hercules flew Kirk to Christchurch.  He lay-in-state overnight at the Christchurch Town Hall where he also received a memorial service on Thursday the 5th of September 1974.  Flown from Christchurch to Timaru, Kirk was driven to the local cemetery at Waimate, where he received a burial service before being laid to rest (Boon, 2005).

*Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu*, like Kirk was also a prominent national leader. She was raised to the paramouncy of the Kingitanga Movement by election on the 23rd of May 1966 following the death of her father King Koroki (King, 1987). At the age of 34 Te Arikinui became the first woman and 6th leader of the Kingitanga Movement. Te Arikinui's contribution to her community and the Maori world was acknowledged and recognized nationally and internationally. Te Arikinui died at Turongo House on the 15th of August 2006 and was followed with elaborate and appropriate traditional funeral rituals. Wednesday the 16th of August 2006 marked the first day of Te Ata's tangi. Turangawaewae Marae (Turangawaewae) located at Ngaruawahia in the Waikato, is where her tangi took place; she lay-in-state for six days with her funeral service on Tuesday the 22nd of August. On this day, Te Arikinui was carried by Tumanako (canoe) down the Waikato River to Taupiri Mountain for her burial service.

Both these events, a State Funeral and a Tangi, attracted a significant amount of media coverage – print, television and radio, beginning with the announcement of the passing, through until interment. Analyses of how Maori are portrayed in the mainstream media (Barclay & Liu, 2003; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine, & Barnes, 2006) highlight how the media perpetuates negative representations and supports a standard story of Pakeha dominance (McCreanor, 1989, 1997). Maori are typically represented as "bad", as having an inherently violent nature with a "culture inferior to the mainstream culture" of New Zealand (McCreanor, 1989, pp 91-92). On any day of the week, if one opens any mainstream New Zealand newspaper, reporting on Maori events or involving Maori people is either absent, or if present, is in some way negatively constructed. Maori are rarely presented positively (Phelan & Shearer, 2009). And when death involving Maori is reported, it is usually in association with some crime, situation of violence, abuse or neglect, or to do with some 'suspicious' circumstance. The emphasis is on the morbid or the sensational.

Death rituals for most Maori tend to be humble family affairs, held in the relative privacy of homes or at the marae away from prying cameras and news reporters. But, when 'big deaths' of 'big people' like Prime Ministers and British Royalty or other major leaders and personalities occur, the media has been seen to play an important role in informing and educating the public; providing security, assurance and predictability during a period of emotional and sometimes political upheaval; creating a sense of unity and identity in

mourning, and in maintaining social order (eg., Schwartz, 1991).  Previous research suggests that this is achieved through a focus on positive symbols of social, cultural and symbolic capital represented and shaped through media reporting (eg., Turnock, 2000; Walter, 1999; Worcester, 1997).  For these reasons, the media presents a ready archive through which to examine a variety of aspects about the media, about a state funeral for the New Zealand Prime Minister Norman Kirk, about the tangi of Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (Te Arikinui); and the communities concerned.

In this study, I use print media reporting, mainly for reasons of accessibility, to examine the nature of social, cultural and symbolic capital represented in print media reporting of the State Funeral for Prime Minister Norman Kirk and the Tangi for Te Arikinui Dame Te Ataairangikahu. This chapter is organised into two sections.  In the first section, I describe the nature of social and cultural capital and make linkages to how these ideas might be organised within a Maori framework.  In the next section, I examine the impact that death has on communities, how societies have responded to death overtime, the function and symbolism of funeral rituals, and how this contributes to overcoming the rupturing effect that death has on communities.

## Social and Cultural Capital

### Social Capital

Interest in the concept of social capital by researchers, policy makers, economists, educationists and community developers over the last 10 years has exploded.  A quick search of the ISI Web of Knowledge indexing service returns 5,826 peer reviewed journal articles or reviews published between 2000 and 2009.  Most articles have been in the area of sociology, the field occupied by theorists such as Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) whose work concerned the connections within and between social networks particularly between education settings and the home (Field, 2008).  Robert Putnam, a political scientist, is said to have galvanised the attention of researchers and policy analysts to the point that the World Bank considers "that social capital is critical for societies to prosper economically and for

development to be sustainable" (World Bank, 2010b, para 1). This explains the second highest concentration of publications in the ISI Web of Knowledge index being in the area of economics, in particular, "how social capital can be enhanced and harnessed for sustainable social and economic development" (World Bank, 2010a, para 4). While sociology and economics are the two most dominant subject areas that have social capital as a serious interest, my cursory exploration of the ISI Web of Knowledge indexing service reveals work on the idea spanning some 82 different subjects; from the social science disciplines to engineering, mathematics and information sciences, affirming that the scholarly community sees some merit in the idea that is worth exploring.

Baron, Field and Schuller (2000) summarise the key characteristics and 'promises' of the cumulative interest in the concept of social capital. First, a focus on social capital shifts the focus from the behaviour of individual agents to the pattern of relations between agents, social units and institutions. It presents a stress on relationships, what makes them positive and agreeable, or negative and objectionable. It also focuses attention on the human capacity to work with contradictions, frictions and conflicts yet continue to cooperate and get on. The second point relates to how social capital provides a link to understanding the relationship between the individual or small group events and social structural events reflecting theoretical contributions by Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988) on inequality, exclusion and social power differentials. Thirdly, Baron et al (2000) see the proliferation of interest in social capital and the development of methodologies as a positive and with the potential to offer a foundation for interdisciplinary dialogue and theoretical development. Their fourth point concerns the place of values in social science. Integral to social capital are ideas of trust, sharing and community (Baron, et al., 2000). It raises questions about assumptions concerning human behaviour on which analysis and policy are based. It challenges individualism and raises questions about the quality of relationships in different contexts, home, workplace, locale and the global village. Because of their value laden nature, "they call into question relationships between professionals and the public; between decision-makers and other citizens; between the more and the less powerful" (Baron, et al., 2000, p36). Lastly, Baron et al point to the problem solving capacity of engaging with social capital. For the investigation of, for example, health, poverty or economic development, social capital can act as an intermediary factor. Higher levels of social capital mean better health, less crime, and so

on. They see the outcome of analyses as answers, however stated. Lastly, one imagines as part of dissemination, advocacy or education strategies, social capital introduces prescriptions or recommendations for action and social change as to how trust, social cohesion, positive relationships and community goodwill might be fostered and networks built (Baron, et al., 2000, p37).

Given the spectrum of interest from all scholarly fields in the concept of social capital, it should be of no surprise that there are also a multitude of definitions. Healy (2004, p10) concluded that "although differences arise among users of the term in relation to a precise definition, there is broad agreement that trust, norms of reciprocity and social sanctions are at the core of the concept". For the purposes of this study, I have chosen the following definition for ease in finding parallels in the Maori world. Healy (2004, p7) draws our attention to the *resourcefulness* of communities leaving over to local informants the opportunity to describe the exact nature of those resources. Social capital (Healy, 2004, p7), therefore, can be defined as the resources inherent in self-organised human networks based on:

1. reciprocal expectations and obligations of support, engagement and delivery *[Trust]*
2. reciprocal communication of information, knowledge, norms and understandings *[Values]*; and
3. belonging *[Identity]* that facilitates collective action.

**Social Capital in the Maori World**

For Maori, the indigenous peoples of New Zealand, the world is traditionally structured according to relational kinship networks premised on a core set of values. In this section I describe five values that I, in agreement with Ritchie (1992), suggest are central to relationships and conduct in the Maori world. I follow this with some 'common sense' examples of how these value dispositions are enacted, and then elaborate the concept of cultural capital defined within a Treaty of Waitangi frame.

*Central values*

Kluckhohn and Stodtbeck (1961) proposed that for every society a few central or focal values can be used to constitute a mutually interdependent set of what makes for the 'good life' (Oyserman, 2001). These are the fundamental dispositions for positive community life and present a foundation on which individual and group goals might be achieved. As a certain type of 'self-organised human network', James Ritchie in his book *Becoming Bicultural* (1992) proposed, of Maori kinship networks, five ways of valuing: whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, and wairuatanga. Ritchie (1992, pp67-84) described each value as follows:

> **Whanaungatanga** refers to whanau or body of close kin whether linked by blood, adoption or fostering. It is a process concept concerned with everything about relationships between kin. It ties people together in bonds of association and obligation. It affirms and transcends tribal identity. It locates individuals and gives meaning to relationships across time and place. Whanaungatanga assists people to determine and recognise rangatiratanga by drawing on whakapapa (geneaology) to determine mana or status and prestige.

> **Rangatiratanga** has two dimensions. The first is related to whanaungatanga and is determined according to kinship lines. They are the person or people who hold the mana and bring a sense of gravitas to certain events, roles or communities. The second dimension is related to effectiveness, to being good at doing things or getting things done. Rangatiratanga is often referred to as leadership and authority.

> **Kotahitanga** refers to the search for unity within the complexity of status, history, kinship, the human need for affirmation and esteem, and recognition. Kotahitanga might be loosely translated as 'unity', described by Ritchie as the Holy Grail of Maoridom – rarely found. It does, however, explain a tendency towards inclusiveness and the balancing of powerful opposites.

**Manaakitanga** is the process of reciprocal, unqualified caring. Caring for another and each other affirms the sense of all of us being a part of one another. The reciprocated obligation need not be immediate. There is simply faith that, one day, that contributed will be returned.

**Wairuatanga** acknowledges that all aspects of the Maori world have a spiritual dimension. Wairua is not separable metaphysical stuff; it is soul permeating the world of both things and not-things. It is an attitude towards the world that makes the use and application of Maori concepts work. To ignore wairuatanga is to reject the Maori sense of respect, wonder, awe, carefulness, and their application to everything in an orderly, meaningful way.

Nikora (2007) suggests that in proposing only five aspects of valuing, some may argue that James Ritchie has subsumed too much detail. She asserts that the framework proposed is actually far more complex than what might first appear and that the real challenge is to understand those social interactions based on institutions, relationships and norms in and of the Maori world. This leads to what I proffer as a Maori contextually based definition of social capital being social interactions based on Maori social obligations, institutions, relationships and norms as shaped and guided by the process values of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, and wairuatanga that enhance personal or shared well-being.

### *Social capital in action in the Maori World*

Elaborating this idea in a 'common sense' way may help the reader to better recognize the nature of social capital in a particular Maori context, the marae. A marae, symbolically, is situated at the heart of a hapu relational kinship network. It is a communal gathering place; its facilities include a wharenui, a sleeping or meeting house often adorned with narrative art forms and named after a common ancestor. The wharenui epitomizes the origin and identity of the hapu, in turn engendering a sense of attachment, pride, relatedness and cohesion (Teddy, Nikora, & Guerin, 2008). Other facilities include a dining hall, cooking and ablution facilities. Hui or marae events range from small gatherings to address community concerns,

through to large celebrations or tangi (traditional rituals of death and mourning). Central to all of these activities is the provision of food, hospitality and care, an aspect upon which the success of hui, and mana or prestige of a marae community, is often measured.

All marae workers understand the critical importance of broader networks to large marae events. The scale of most tangi is usually unknown. It is not until after a person has passed away and interest is measured, that numbers likely to attend can be estimated. Even so, one has to wait for the day to know for sure. While designed to cater for large groups, the facilities at most marae might extend, on average, to catering for groups of 150-300 or so people. In the event of a large unexpected gathering, marae workers who are able to activate their investment in whanaungatanga and call upon the support, advice and resources of extended marae, hapu and tribal networks, know that he or she has access to a vital and trustworthy resource. The successful mobilization of tangible and intangible resources rests on rangatiratanga or good leadership and integrity in relationships, resulting in a sense of kotahitanga or unity and solidarity in a goal achieved or job well done. Having activated the social capital in relationships in this way obligates the marae and its workers to future acts of reciprocity – such is the way of manaakitanga. And within all this, is a significant amount of wairuatanga, for the process demands respect, carefulness, diplomacy and good judgement. The activation of extended networks, given the responsibility to reciprocate, is not a decision that marae take lightly.

Following on from the above example, a young person who may exist within the same network of social relations may have a strong and extensive network of peers, relatives and family, but may lack contact with people to help with finding employment or access to wider social opportunities. While the Maori world has long established networks of whanaungatanga, each individual is obligated to invest energy in them through processes of manaakitanga in order to manifest the synergies of reciprocity that bring about a sense of kotahitanga or belonging and solidarity with others. Metge (1964), in her study of Maori migrants to the city of Auckland in the 1950's, identified amongst some of them a pattern of taking for granted or abusing kinship privileges. She reported that when challenged, such offenders would often retort that the victims were being unreasonable and un-Maori. Through the lens of Ritchie's (1992) ways of valuing in the Maori world, casting victims as unreasonable and un-Maori is an appeal to the victims values of manaakitanga and

kotahitanga, of care and unity, in spite of the offenders diminished valuing of whanaungatanga. Metge (1964) noted that the city was on the side of the offender, who could simply reappear on the doorstep of some other obliging relative to repeat the cycle of failing to repay money or goods borrowed, staying indefinitely, failing to contribute to household expenses, bringing home of unwanted beer parties or failing to offer general help and assistance. Abusing the fabric upon which social capital in the Maori world is founded, as in other communities (as cited in Putnam, 2000), can result in decreases in trust, generosity, support, respect, order and a sense of community spirit or wairuatanga.

The two examples presented above, illustrate how social capital can be harnessed for positive and negative outcome. This is not peculiar to Maori, but rather, a fundamental aspect of social capital. What's good for some people may well have negative consequences for others. Bourdieu's (1986) analysis of the upper class and working class mobility clearly articulates how exclusion, marginalisation and oppression can be perpetuated. He achieves this by defining and examining the idea of cultural capital, or the endowment of individuals and groups that advantage them above others.

### Cultural Capital

Whereas social capital might be described as the glue that binds communities together like trust, cooperation, relatedness and a sense of identity and belonging, cultural capital might be seen as the assets (Throsby, 1999), tangible and intangible, that advantage individuals and communities in their aspirations, and as such, has some overlaps with the idea of social capital. Bourdieu (1986, p. 242) defined three forms of cultural capital. The first is the *embodied* state, being dispositions of the mind and body, like those aspects of daily life and consciousness that characterise the social, cultural and class defined communities we are born into. They include dispositions such as accent, dialect, facial expressions and styles of social interaction. The second form is the *objectified* state, material items considered cultural goods, like pictures, books, dictionaries and instruments. Given his exploration of how the upper class maintained their material and social privilege, clearly Bourdieu had products of high culture in mind, rather than products of every day culture. In Bourdieu's analysis, items considered to be products of craft (hand weaving, carving) in contrast to high culture (oil

paintings, orchestras) are not considered to be of value for they present no real advantage to the French upper class, this being the context he was concerned with. The last form is the *institutionalized* state, like educational qualifications that might be converted, through employment, into economic capital and in turn present a pathway for upwards mobility.

For this present study, Bourdieu presents a starting point and conceptual orientation to how we might elaborate a concept of cultural capital for a New Zealand context, and in particular, Maori, a fourth world indigenous people. In the section below, I describe the Treaty made between Maori and migrant settlers in the 19th century, and how this agreement referenced both tangible and intangible Maori cultural capital, their dispossession from it leading to significant disadvantage, marginalisation and subjugation. If domination and dispossession resulted in these outcomes, then it might be suggested that dominant group resistance through the re-evaluation, re-growth and reclamation of Maori forms of cultural capital might present pathways to renewed pride, a sense of cohesion and upward mobility reflective of a regeneration of social capital in the Maori world and New Zealand more generally.

### *Cultural capital within a Maori context*

The Treaty of Waitangi concluded in 1840 by Rangatira or Maori leaders and the Queen of England, is a simple document (Orange, 1987). The first article of the Treaty set out the terms of British settlement and allowed for the orderly establishment of a settler government and laws. The second article allowed Rangatira to prevail over their customary domains and that they would retain the undisturbed possession of their lands, forests and fisheries and *o ratou taonga katoa,* those things Maori treasured and held dear. While these items were of an environmental and material form, they clearly had economic value and were sought after by British settlers and the settler government. If Rangatira wanted to sell these assets, then the Crown would have first right of purchase. The third article extended citizenship rights and responsibilities to Maori in the new British colony promising no disadvantage or discrimination. In short, the Treaty invited British settlement and good government, guaranteed that Rangatira would not be dispossessed, nor suffer any disadvantage in their own land (Durie, 1998). As history has transpired, such was not the outcome. Maori were dispossessed, suffered significant loss of both tangible and intangible

resources and status (Orange, 1987) and in the present day enjoy less of the advantages and privileges of a settled society than their fellow New Zealand citizens (Ministry of Social Development, 2009).

The Maori experience and narrative of the Treaty of Waitangi through time reflects the aggressiveness and greed of the settler government, individual settlers, and institutions such as the church (King, 2003). It was not until 1975 that Maori were presented with an instrument through which to bring grievances against the Crown in the form of the Waitangi Tribunal (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). As at 11 June 2009, 2034 claims had been registered with the Tribunal (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Of relevance to this study is the value placed by claimants on those items, tangible and intangible, definable as cultural capital (Throsby, 1999). The wording contained in the Treaty of Waitangi that most relates to the idea of cultural capital is *o ratou taonga katoa,* those things Maori treasure and hold precious (Kawharu, 1989). Taking Bourdieu's (1986) three states of cultural capital; embodied, objectified and institutionalised, we can begin a sketch of the parameters of what might constitute cultural capital in a Maori context. In so doing, and recognising that the Waitangi Tribunal process continues to struggle with an evolving understanding of *o ratou taonga katoa* (as cited in Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Williams, 1997), this descriptive sketch must be viewed as preliminary rather than definitive.

**Embodied**: Te Reo Maori and tribal dialects; conceptual frameworks and ways of thinking; tribal performing and visual art styles; customary practices and beliefs that structure daily life; an understanding and engagement with the physical, social and metaphysical worlds; whakapapa (genealogy), kinship relationships and continuity with tipuna (ancestors), food preferences, skin adornments like moko, and genetic material (DNA).

**Objectified**: All aspects of the environment personified as domains of the Atua – for example, the seas, fisheries, forests, winds, lands, crops, rivers, mountains and mists, and knowledge and technology pertaining to them. All objects, their symbolic representation and functionality made by our tipuna and left for us, and which we make for each other. All traditional knowledge repositories (genealogy, chant, art

works) and their modern equivalents (books, manuscripts, ephemeral, images, audio and video-recordings). All forms of traditional cultural expression.

**Institutionalised**: Individual and shared qualifications of skill, competence, status and prestige that enhances mana, in quantity and quality, of the collective. Competence and achievement, for example, in care, defence and protection, in the arts, leadership, encounter, conflict resolution, knowledge preservation and distribution, performance ritual, genealogy, healing and oratory are examples of capacities that accumulate mana to both individuals and the broader group. Ascribed status through descent, occupation of place, or possession of hereditary goods is enhanced by acquired skills and competence again for group benefit.

The process of revaluing and renewing Maori cultural capital, as defined above, has been an ongoing project throughout the 20th century (Durie, 1998; King, 2003). Collectively, Maori firmly resisted policies of assimilation, choosing to remain Maori and assert their Rangatiratanga, and at the same time, enjoy their entitlements as New Zealand citizens (Walker, 1990). But behind a dominant group perception of homogeneity and solidarity in what was thought to be a new ethnic identity devoid of tribal roots (Belich, 1996), the sodalities of the Maori world remained strongly committed and connected by whakapapa, kinship and land. Maori are just as much tribal now (Durie, 1998), as they were when the first settlers arrived in the 1770's.

In light of resistance, New Zealand society has changed too. Some of what Maori value is now an ordinary part of New Zealand culture. Maori values, practices and institutions now appear in legislation, in social, health and environmental policy, and in work place practice. Here are some examples. Rugby is New Zealand's national game. A rugby game played by the All Blacks, the national representative team, is not considered a real game unless preceded by the haka – a Maori posture dance (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002). The performance of the national anthem of New Zealand is not considered complete unless it is performed in both Maori and English (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2008) Te Reo Maori or the Maori language is considered a taonga – a treasure, a right, not a privilege (The Waitangi Tribunal, 1986) and nobody makes too much fuss over the appropriation of Maori

words into New Zealand English (Bayard, 1995). The incorporation of Maori values and concepts into New Zealand legislation is happening, even if it is an ongoing and sometimes rocky project eg., Resource Management Act, 1991 (Ministry for the Environment, 1991). Since the 1980's, the education sector has seen a mushrooming of initiatives to value Te Reo Maori and Maori modes of learning.  These include: Te Kohanga Reo – Maori language emersion pre-schools; Kura Kaupapa –Maori emersion primary schools; Wharekura – emersion secondary schools; and Whare Wananga – Maori tertiary providers.  At graduation ceremonies, most New Zealand universities permit the wearing of kakahu, of Maori cloaks as a complement to usual academic attire even if their official policies might state otherwise. And kakahu appear on other occasions of national significance, for example, when Queen Elizabeth or her family visit, they will often honour both the occasion and Maori, by wearing their own kakahu gifted to them on earlier occasions.

The renewing and revaluing of things Maori considered precious is not just a matter of reaffirming a positive cultural identity or re-finding knowledge of old. There is an added benefit. A foundation of knowledge and skills built within the Maori world, presents opportunities to access other alternative and distinct kinds of cultural capital (Smith, 2003). For example, knowing how to play softball provides the foundation for playing baseball or vice versa.  Knowledge and skills of oration presents valued credentials for roles as kaumatua across the government sector.  Skills in marae management are the same as for skills on business management.  Indeed, the one study I found that specifically focussed on Maori using a social/cultural capital model is that by Kingi and Battye (2009). They found that people who have a firm grounding in traditional Nga Mahi a Rehia (Maori performing arts) can readily adapt to mainstream disciplines such as drama, music and modern dance, in turn enhancing their job prospects and the possibility of converting their cultural capital into other forms of cultural capital.

Before leaving the concepts of social and cultural capital, another form of capital deserves mention.  In the next section I describe the nature of symbolic capital and its importance in the Maori world.

*Symbolic capital*

Everything in the Maori world has symbolic capital as the world is made up of objects vested with mauri, a life essence. It is "an energy which binds and animates all things in the physical world. Without mauri, status and prestige or mana, cannot flow into a person or object" (Royal, 2009, para 5). This way of knowing, adapting to, harnessing and modifying the natural environment for individual and collective gain is a form of cultural capital (Jansson, 1994), one that particularly advantages indigenous peoples over those less knowledgeable of such environments. Bourdieu (1984) defined symbolic capital as the resources available to an individual on the basis of honour, prestige or recognition, and functions as an authoritative embodiment of cultural value. The capacity to orate or whaikorero is highly valued in the Maori world, particularly during encounter ceremonies where having an orator to represent and make the identity and relationship of a group known to others facilities the social exchange (Salmond, 1975). But it is more than this. Orators, occupy a space where they facilitate the energy inherent in objects, bodies and landscapes, and bring to life the metaphysical connections between the living and the dead (Rewi, 2010). They embody this power and authoritatively draw on it to weave a web of whanaungatanga or relationality, to establish a sense of kotahitanga or unity, and do so paying heed to the necessities of manaakitanga, of care and responsibility as their positions and actions as rangatira demand (Rewi, 2010). For these reasons, orators embody a symbolic capital that brings honour, prestige and recognition to themselves, those they represent and to occasions, a capital that others recognise as valuable and meaningful to a community making them sort after, sometimes to play important and necessary roles, sometimes to simply be present.

The vast range of objects, landscapes, physical structures, metaphysical beings, relationships and people that embody those ideas and values Maori hold to be important (L W Nikora, 2007; Ritchie, 1992; Te Awekotuku, 1996; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003) is far too numerous to outline here, but they all embody a mauri, an essential essence, and as a 'signifier' are often reflected in pepeha or tribal or proverbial sayings used to identify people with place, genealogies, symbolic landscapes and structures. The following is an example, and as such, serves to exemplify some aspects of the symbolic capital that epitomize what Maori value.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ko Pukeroa Oruawhata te maungatapu* | Pukeroa Oruawhata, the sacred mountain |
| *Ko te Utuhina te awa* | Utuhina, the river |
| *Rotoruanui a Kahumatamomoe te moana* | Rotoruanui a Kahumatamomoe, the sea |
| *Ko Tamatekapua te tupuna* | Tamatekapua, the ancestor |
| *Ko Ngati Whakaue te iwi* | Ngati Whakaue, the tribe |
| *Ko Ngati Te Roro o Te Rangi raua ko Ngati* | Ngati Te Roro o Te Rangi and Ngati |
| *Turipuku nga hapu* | Turipuku, the sub-tribes |
| *Ko Te Kuirau te papa tapu* | Te Kuirau, the sacred ground |
| *Ko Te Roro o Te Rangi te tupuna whare* | Te Roro o Te Rangi, the ancestral house |
| *Ko Kaimatai tona piringa* | Kaimatai, the safe haven |

Te Roro o Te Rangi (2007). Pepeha. Retrieved 3rd
July 2010, from http://www.naumaiplace.com

Translation by the author

This review of literature so far, has been concerned with concepts of social, cultural and symbolic capital, and, in the absence of any significant studies that have surveyed these ideas in some comprehensive way within a Maori context, I have looked at possible parallels in the Maori world. In the next section, I turn to reviewing that literature about death, loss and grief.

## Death, Loss and Grief

For mortals, death is a fact of life. How people and communities treat with and recover from death is highly variable and often unpredictable. In the Western world, how death is understood and the meanings associated with it have changed over time (Howarth, 2007). Death studies theorist, Tony Walter (as cited in Howarth, 2007) developed a typology of death that is worth reviewing as it presents a broad framework for viewing death and death rituals in New Zealand society and across ethnic and religious groups. Walter's typology considers changes in world views about death across: pre-industrial or traditional societies; modern societies; and post-modern societies. My review of this typology is useful in that it reflects how people and societies have dealt with death, loss and grief overtime. The three

sections that follow paraphrase the descriptions offered by Howarth (2007) in her book titled *Death and Dying – A Sociological Introduction*.

**Typologies of Death**

***Death in pre-industrialise or traditional societies***

In pre-industrial or traditional societies, religion is fundamental to people's perception of death. Religion is seen to provide a canopy or shelter by alleviating the fear of death. Diminished fear in this respect translates to the strong belief in life after death and the existence of a 'sacred world' or 'God's world' beyond the world of the living and the world of the dead. The community is at the centre of society and provides the social context for meaning making. Death, like life, is located in the public realm, it is visible and expected. Religious leaders hold authority in traditional communities and are active in all aspects of death. For example, as the proximity of death nears, priests provide the dying with spiritual guidance. Unless death comes suddenly, community members do the necessary preparation before its arrival, such as gathering around the dying to farewell and witness last requests. At deaths advent prayers by the living are conducted and believed to provide spiritual cleansing and assist the deceased on their journey to the sacred world. Distinctive to traditional societies is that people know what to expect, know what is expected, and know how to behave. Explicit social norms and behaviour is characteristic of traditional societies, particularly in the domain of death.

***Modern Societies***

In modern societies, changes in attitudes to death occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This initially involved the beginnings of secularization and although nature and its offerings were seen as symbols of Gods glory, challenges from the science argued that death was a social problem, as opposed to inevitable and in the hands of God. So, rather than purgatory seen as a doctrine of death, philosophies such as quality and quantity of life became more important. At the early stages of modernity, people became more aware of

individualism, the idea of self, and of the obvious difference between life and death; life was about living a 'good life'. With the beginning of industrialization, communities in the eighteenth century found themselves engaging development, particularly in towns and urban areas. Communal living such as in small and close knit communities was on the decline. As a consequence, death came to be viewed as an individual loss. Medical authorities replaced what was once thought of as a religious matter, and saw their role as servicing a pain free death, or less painful death, to prolong life and ultimately limit death to old age or accidental death. With the medical experts managing and to some extent controlling death, medical science gradually became the authority on death, made evident by the fact that the majority of people that died, did so, in institutions such as hospitals. With the phenomenal development of medical science through the 18th and 19th centuries, death discourse progressively evolved to 'sickness' discourse. Here, mortality is constructed as a consequence of disease and sickness and can be explained by medical science. While religion saw death as a significant part of life, the medical profession saw death as its nemesis. This adversary view of death highlights how society in general and medical professionals saw themselves, not just as inventors of medical wonders but more pointedly, protectors from death. However a critique of the medical management of death is the impersonal bureaucratic care that it created, characterized by physical and emotional isolation, and inevitably a lonely death (Elias, 1985). This separation of death from the community is better explained by the term *sequestered*, which is the removal of death from the public realm that often involved community participation and collective ritual ceremony, to the private world of the individual. This sequestering of death from the public to the private sphere provides an analogy distinctive of the change that occurred in the transfer of authority from religion to medical science in the modern era.

### *Postmodern Societies*

The mid-20th century or postmodern era saw the medical authorities management of death challenged. Lead by academics like Sudnow (1967) and Glaser and Strauss (1965, 1968, 1971) coupled with the advent of the Modern Hospice Movement in Britain (Clark, 2005) and the Death Awareness Movement in North America (Bregman, 2003), the cultural organization of death under the medical model was questioned (Howarth, 2007). Challenges

also came from the Natural Death Movement (Albery & Wienrich, 2009) which opposed and critiqued funeral professionals and medical science for removing the autonomy of dying and death from the individual. Appeals were also voiced from the pro-euthanasia sector (Manning & Safsten, 1999) in the form of lobbying, not just for legislative change on humanitarian grounds, but also in reaction to the power of medical science to extend life. The argument from this quarter emphasized the need for more personalized choice in the dying and death process; one that located individual autonomy and empowerment at its centre.

Walter's typology of death (as cited in Howarth, 2007) provides a concise overview of how western society has viewed death over-time and the consequences of the views held for organising around death. Such examinations of death reflect thinking of theorists in the discipline of sociology. Below I turn to examine how the discipline of psychology has responded and theorised death.

**Psychology of Death**

During the postmodern era, models that focused on personalized constructs of dying and death derived from psychology, with work by Kübler-Ross (1969) in particular, becoming influential. Although her original model focused on stages of coping with dying, it was later applied to stages of grief, that is: *denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance* (Kübler-Ross & Kessler, 2005). Grief, for the purpose of this study, is seen as both a physical and psychological manifestations of loss. For example, physical grief may be expressed through wailing and crying, whereas psychological grief may involve refusing to accept the loss of a loved one or a state of depression that derives from the realization of what has been lost, such as a shared identity in the case of a wife's death. Dealing with grief as a result of loss according to Kubler-Ross's model and others, for instance, Bowlby's (1980) Attachment Theory, and Parkes' (1987) Bereavement Reaction Model, is both processual and linear. Loss, a process in itself, involves making sense of the loss, finding benefit from the loss, and identity change, for example, constructing a new identity after the loss of a loved one (Neimeyer, 2001). Bowlby (1980) claims that all forms of loss lead to detachment, which he

argues, is necessary for the bereaved to return to an efficient and autonomous functioning state. The bereaved for the purpose of this current study are individuals who have lost a significant other, such as a husband, parent, daughter, grandchild or friend and include the communities or societies that the deceased strongly affiliated too. The concept of detachment is illustrated by the bereaved moving on with their lives, which takes place once attachment to the deceased is relinquished and new attachments are formed (Hunter, 2007). This prescriptive laden, individualised psychology of death (Abramovitch, 2001a, 2001b) is portrayed in what Walter (2002) terms the 'Sinatra Syndrome' encapsulated in the song 'I did it my way'. Typical of the post modern view of death is the prevailing discourse of 'personal choice' (Walter, 2002).

Critics of postmodern psychological theory (Kastenbaum, 2003; Walter, 2002) argue that by encouraging a developmental linear model of death focussed on individual choice, in isolation from community and culture, implies that deviation from this position is abnormal. Successful historical and cultural interventions or ways that have assisted people and communities to address death, loss and grief are denied. Moreover, cultural practices that, for example, encourage the bereaved to negotiate the physical loss of a loved one in their own time, while maintaining a meaningful relationship with the deceased, as opposed to relinquishing all 'ties' are seen as a sign of personal inadequacy or failure. By promoting individual constructs of the meaning of death, without considering the social world in which the individual lives, is both misleading and ethnocentric. As Rosenblatt claims, "Western cultural concepts such as 'dying' and 'grief' originated in the context of its culture" (1993, p. 13) , one that values individualism. The scope and diversity in cultural reactions to death is a measure of its universal impact, rather than, the psychic unity of mankind (Huntington & Metcalf, 1979). Different people grieve in different ways, for some people psychological interventions provide assistance, while for others psychological models "provide a dysfunctional straightjacket" (Walter, 1998, p. 84).

People and community reactions to death are not haphazard, nor does it simply involve viewing death as an organic fact of life. People and group responses and meaning making of death are expressive, diverse, insightful, meaningful and often spontaneous. An example of how communities make meaning of death can be seen in the mass gatherings that were

generated by the entire Liverpool community, following the Hillsborough Football Stadium disaster in 1989 (Walter, 1991). Communities variable response to death can also be seen in what Walter (1999) referred to as a 'natural phenomena' following the death of Princess Diana. Here, he is referencing the way the public claimed such spaces as supermarkets across England as sites where they could memorialise Diana. The American people's response to September 11 is an example of a national community's construction of death and mourning, expressed through displays of spontaneous mass candlelight gatherings, which became a ritual part of a nation's expression of grief (Kitch, 2003).

The diversity of the cultural meaning of death can be seen in work by Froggatt (1997) who applied Turner's (1967) concept of communitas, characterized by the sharing of grief and ritual and the absence of hierarchy and social structure, to the way modern hospice culture treats the experience of dying and death. The model involves creating a space that encourages communitas, thereby facilitating respite and communality, important factors in the transition of the bereaved to re-enter daily life. The encouragement of communitas and its value and benefit can be seen in the proliferation of bereavement support groups today, reinforcing the notion of death's sociality (Walter, 2002). Valentine (2008) claims that the cultural determinism of death and grief depicted in the medical model, has given way to the view that individuals construct and make sense of their world, and inevitable death, through processes of interaction and negotiation with each other. Irion (1991) argues that the shift in the nature of funerals today, demonstrated by open and shared ritual as opposed to being confined to the private world of the bereaved, better reflect the psychosocial needs of the individual and community overall.

The role of shared funeral ritual in the context of psychological assistance and adjustment of the bereaved is well acknowledged (Bolton & Camp, 1989; Hockey, Katz, & Small, 2001; Kellehear, 1996; Walter, 2002) as have the positive psychosocial and therapeutic benefits of the funeral event itself (Bolton & Camp, 1989; Neimeyer, 2001; Valentine, 2008). These benefits include open expressions of grief and the support and comfort that comes with shared mourning (Bosley & Bromley, 1990; Castle & Phillips, 2003; Romanoff, 1998; Walter, 2002). Hunter (2007) maintains that "the value of funerary rites is found in both social and psychological functions that they fulfil" (p. 159).

Ritual that function to support and aid the bereaved can be seen in the final death ceremony.  An example of this is the unveiling of gravestones, a common practice among Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand that takes place one or more years following death (Salmond, 1975).  Unveilings involve the uncovering of a grave marker (Hunter, 2007), such as a headstone that is encrypted with the deceased name, birth and death dates and often include the encryption of a loving message from the immediate family.  Research by Rosenblatt, Walsh and Jackson (1976) on the value of final death ceremonies found a significant correlation between the presence of these final death rites and less prolonged grief.  Further psychological benefits of death ritual can be seen in Danforth's (1982) study of funeral laments in rural Greece in which mourners actively participate in creating individualised meaning through laments as continuing conversations with the deceased.  The rituals assisted the bereaved to gradually move towards reconfiguring loss within their personal lives and social interaction with others.  Here, the loss of a loved one is perceived as part of who the bereaved is, rather than dismissed as a negative experience.

A case study by Lerner (1975) that investigated the shift in mourning practices, beliefs and societal support for widows in Britain found that widows were psychologically better off before World War I.  With the war, death lost its uniqueness and became 'taboo' or something that was exclusively private.  This was attributed to deaths regular occurrence as a product of war, and its potential negative intrusion on the collectives psyche.  The philosophy that resonates here is that in order to minimalise its intrusiveness, death belonged behind closed doors.  The consequence of this was support systems, emotional responses to death, traditional ritual expressed through, for instance, extended mourning periods and the wearing of elaborate mourning clothes were either denied or lost (Lerner, 1975).  The denial of such death ritual suggests that too great an emphasis on the dwelling of death and all the nastiness that comes with war, such as the massive waste of life, promotes to much 'doom' and 'gloom' as opposed to the future and renewal of life that the end of war brings.  It is well accepted that the denial of death in western societies evident by the regular occurrence of death behind closed doors and in institutions, demonstrates how western societies have become 'death-denying' (Hockey, et al., 2001; Howarth, 2007; Walter, 2002).  Kellehear (1984) offers an alternative perspective and suggests that rather than death itself being neglected and hidden, it is the social and cultural diversity of death that is being marginalized and denied by the

dominant societal opinion of what death means.  Howarth (2007) claims that it is because of death's rich diversity and complexity, expressed in its various and numerous cultural meanings, that "neither modern nor postmodern death can be so clearly defined" (p. 36).

To summarise, how western societies have dealt with death has changed. While traditional and modern periods saw social changes in how societies treated death from a religious to a medical science approach, individualism or individual agency gained currency through the dominance of psychological models in post modern times.  The inadequacy of psychology in relation to death largely derives from its predisposition to 'universalise' death, thus denying the cultural diversity and complexity that exists within and across societies. Death rituals play an important role in assisting people with grief as well as honouring and paying tribute to a loved one that has passed on. The next section examines traditional anthropology and sociology death ritual theory, the objective being to explore the functions death ritual service societies.

### Traditional Death Ritual Theory

Theories that engage the concept of death and related rituals largely derive from the disciplines of anthropology and sociology and can be traced back to the 19th century.  Tylor (1871) and Frazer (1911) were among the first who theorised that early human perception of death derived from the idea that the soul and its continuation after death lead to the origin of religion.  Although Tylor and Frazer's approaches have long been discredited (Barnard & Spencer, 2000), 20th century interest in the study of religion shifted to religions function in society (Tong, 2004). French sociologist Durkheim and fellow functionalists Hertz, Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, through the analysis of death rituals, attempted to demonstrate how a religious system serves to uphold and protect broader social systems by creating equilibrium and maintaining social solidarity.  Durkheim (1965) in his work titled *The elementary forms of the religious life*, first printed in 1915, proposed that death rituals are society's expression of moral and social unity that function to rebuild society by reaffirming and strengthening the social capital upon which social order depends.  Building on Durkheim's work, Hertz (1960) in his book *Death and the Right Hand* theorized that the death of a member of a society

disrupts its continuity and stability.  Death rituals, therefore, function to regain community balance and to reintegrate mourners back into day-to-day life (Hertz, 1960).  Hertz saw death as a two phase transformative process, rather than an instantaneous event (Bloch & Parry, 1982).  The first phase entails the literal and symbolic need of the collective to adjust to the loss of a member through temporary departure from everyday life.  This need is expressed through the belief that there is a perilous period when the soul of the deceased has the potential to be socially uncontrollable and the separation of mourners from community life must take place.  The second phase involves the reassertion of the collective into society.  The end of the mourning period acts as a catalyst, the soul has relocated and settled into the community of the dead and the collective consciousness of the living has been resettled through death ritual (Bloch & Parry, 1982).

In contrast, Malinowski theorized that death deeply touches the private lives of people and asserts the idea that people have a twin attitude towards death, involving both hope and fear.  Religion according to Malinowski is a significant contributor in peoples' sense of hope and continued life as opposed to fear and despair in the face of death.  Malinowski (1948) argues that death rituals must serve some "biological function of religion" (p. 34) that "saves man from surrender to death and destruction" and strengthens "the desire for life" (p. 33).  Rituals therefore serve the purpose of assisting individuals during a period of upheaval and distress and provide a space to express the social loss of a member of society.

Social anthropologist Van Gennep's work *The Rites of Passage* (1909 as cited in Van Gennep, 1960) focused on how major rituals such as death and marriage change the social status of individuals in society.  Van Gennep theorised that death rituals, like other rites, are marked by a threefold progression of successive ritual phases that function to mark the transition of a bereaved individual, family and community from one social status to another.  Van Gennep's tripartite model involves: the *separation* phase in which the bereaved individual or community is distanced from their non bereaved status; the undefined *liminal* phase in which the bereaved are neither here nor there but are in a state of transition; and the *reincorporation* phase in which the bereaved individual or group re-enters society as bearer/s of new status (Davies, 1997). From this perspective, death ritual provides members of society with the means or methods of dealing with death, as well as the transformation of social status, for example, from wife to widow.

Turner developed several important elements in his approach to ritual and produced a number of essays including; *Schism and Continuity* (1957), *Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage* (1964 reprinted in Turner, 1987) and *The Ritual Process* (1969). Turner saw ritual as both processual in nature and as the social glue or capital that holds societies together. He pointed out that ritual entails the use of symbols such as objects, activities, words, relationships, events, gestures, or spatial units that represent the smallest units of ritual activity. For Turner, symbols as meaningful vehicles of ritual are categorized into two types; dominant and instrumental. Dominant symbols appear in many different ritual contexts, but their meaning possesses a high degree of autonomy and consistency throughout the total symbolic system. Instrumental symbols are the means of attaining the specific goals of each ritual performance (Turner, 1967, pp. 31-32). From Turner's perspective, ritual, symbols and religious beliefs are connected, and he defines ritual as "a stereotyped sequence of activities involving gestures, words, and objects, performed in a sequestered place, and designed to influence preternatural entities or forces on behalf of the actors' goals and interests" (as cited in Dolgin, Kemnitzer, & Schneider, 1977, p. 183).

Other expansions of Turner's work include the concepts of liminality and communitas. Greatly influenced by Van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* (1909 as cited in Van Gennep, 1960), Turner focused on the liminal period, a phase in which people who have lost a loved one, such as a widow, withdraw from everyday life. Liminality is defined by the absence of social order and social structure. And people in mourning are collectively viewed as a community of mourners. Turner introduced the concept *Communitas* to express the comradeship experienced among the *Liminal* personae (Davies, 1997).

More recent theorising emphasises the transformative nature of rituals. According to Clothey (1983) it is the transformative nature of rituals that set them aside from other social actions. Transformation in this respect relates to the transformation of one state of being into another changed state or being. Ritual processes are active rather than passive; and rituals change both people and things (Watson & Rawski, 1988). Like other rites, death ritual are learned through participation and involvement such as attending funerals and experiencing first hand appropriate behaviour, explicit rules and expectations.

Rituals give significance to life's passages.  They provide form and guidance to our lives, prescribing behaviours during the perilous time when bodies, minds, and spirits are broken.  Without rituals, we would have no map for how to act, no occasions for people to share their common bonds and experiences (Achterberg, Dossey, & Kolkmeier, 1994, p. 3).

To recap, death rituals from an anthropology and sociology perspective are seen to mainly fulfil social functions.  While Durkheim's original analysis of death ritual emphasizes their unifying function, their fundamental purpose is to maintain social order, an idea important to this thesis.  Death ritual and practices assist people and societies to mark the loss of a significant other without that loss becoming and continuing to be socially disruptive.  What follows below, is a descriptive account of the general pattern (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2009) of tangi or Maori death ritual ceremony, and secondly, the State Funeral in the Western World, for such is the mainstream world of New Zealand.  In so doing, it is important for the reader to understand that irrespective of the universality of death, people the world over commemorate death and mourn in ways different and sometimes confusing to others, yet meaningful to themselves (Robben, 2004; Rogak, 2004; Ronan, 1978).  Death rituals are culturally defined, peculiar to specific groups of people, with meanings carried over between generations through their ongoing participation.

**Tangi**

The tangihanga is the major Maori ceremonial occasion.  Within its orbit is drawn virtually every phase of Maori custom and belief that exists today.  Its strength is such that in spite of Pakeha opposition, criticism and derision for more than a century, it has survived and continues, with many adaptations and changes in form, but with the same purpose and spirit as in the past...There is a need for ceremony so that the dead may be properly farewelled, his or her virtues extolled (and, quite often, faults and failings almost brutally enumerated), the bereaved comforted, the ties of relationship renewed and the deep well of Maoritanga tapped so that all who come may refresh and strengthen themselves (Dansey, 1992, p. 110).

I began with a quote from Harry Dansey because it highlights the centrality of tangihanga as the ultimate form of cultural and community expression in the Maori world today. It speaks of the fluidity of tangihanga, its general pattern and its unqualified status, people know what to do, what comes next and what counts as doing the right thing – as tikanga (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2009). The description of the different elements of tangi draws heavily from my own experience and paraphrases writing by Paratene Ngata (2005) titled *Death Dying and Grief*; Anne Salmond (1975) on Maori ceremonial gatherings published in her book *Hui*; and Maori Marsden (Marsden, 1992) titled *God, Man and Universe: A Maori View.*

The duration of tangihanga is generally two to three days before the nehu (burial) or cremation, although burial is still preferred by Maori, in which viewing, mourning, remembering as well as eulogizing of the deceased takes place on the marae. The rituals performed during tangi include the performative elements of powhiri (welcoming ceremony), karanga (welcoming chant), tangi (wailing), whaikorero (formal speeches), waiata and haka (songs, dance and chants), poroporoaki (farewells) and karakia (prayer) (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2009). At a time of critical emotional upheaval, the general pattern of tangihanga is reassuring (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2009). Open expressions and unrestrained grief are an important part of tangi and are demanded in the sense that they are welcomed and embraced (Dansey, 1992). Kin relationships are strengthened and renewed and whanau members across generations reconnect. Stories and tales of the deceased (and others that have passed on), including conquests and calamities are told and retold, inviting much laughter and reflection (Dansey, 1992). These contrasting emotions are natural and encouraged (Rua, Rua, Te Awekotuku, & Nikora, 2010). Reciprocity is a principle (Ritchie, 1992) rather than an expectation and is highly valued in Maori society. People travel from afar to pay their respects. Whanau gather to do the necessary work at the marae, and koha (gifts) such as money and food are received often to reciprocate and acknowledge what has previously been given (Dansey, 1992). Tangi is a time when the collective community remember, grieve and pay tribute to all those members that have passed before (Salmond, 1975).

Again, paraphrasing from the works of Buck (1950), Ngata (2005), Salmond (1975), and Te Awekotuku and Nikora (2009), tangihanga starts proper at the arrival of the tupapaku

(corpse) and the whanau pani (bereaved family) to the marae. The karanga (chant of welcome) performed by the women of the marae, welcome the deceased and manuhiri (visiting group) who also respond with their own karanga. Karanga are performed at the arrival of every manuhiri group and is a significant part of tangihanga. At the completion of the karanga and depending on the kawa or protocols of the hapu/iwi (tribal group), the casket is either laid in the wharenui (meeting house), on the mahau (verandah of the meeting house) or in the wharemate, a specially dedicated shelter or building on the marae, with photographs of the deceased and whanau members that have passed before placed at the front of the casket or hung on the wall behind. Taonga (family heirlooms) such as kakahu (cloaks) and green stone are placed on top of the open casket. Throughout the duration of tangi, the tupapaku is never left alone but always kept company by immediate and extended family. Once the manuhiri are seated the whaikorero take place. Tangata whenua begin the whaikorero (orations) and, in turn with the manuhiri, the orators speak directly to the deceased and farewell her/his spirit to the afterworld. Whaikorero acknowledge those recently passed; speak of kin ties and whakapapa links; the sadness felt by those left behind; and thanks are extended to those who have gathered. A waiata (chant) concludes a whaikorero, and the last orator from the manuhiri presents a koha. After the oratory is over, the manuhiri and tangata whenua hongi (press noses and foreheads), tangi (cry), and ruru (shake hands). Hongi symbolises the meeting and sharing of personal mana (prestige), mauri (life essence) and tapu (in this context personal sanctity); its purpose is to bring together tangata whenua and manuhiri. And the passage of death brings another kind of tapu, that of contamination, danger and risk, not lifted until after appropriate incantations, water and food rituals. In this regard, feasting is important.

Descriptions, such as that of tangi above, deserve interpretation and theorising, yet the literature remains silent in this regard. There are many variations on the nature of death and afterlife (Best, 1982). A commonly referred to variation (Buck, 1950) holds that death is personified by Hine-nui-te-po, the guardian of an underworld to whose care we are all are destined. Death facilitates the re-unification of the deceased with ancestors. The role of the living is to assist the spirit on its journey, to Te Rerenga Wairua, the leaping place of spirits, to return to a mythical Hawaiki – the place from which we have come (Buck, 1950). Much of the karanga and whaikorero that occur at tangi treat with this subject (Karetu, 1992). As Rua

et al (2010) explain, the separation of the bereaved from everyday activity assists in restricting the contaminating influence of death.  Death presents a risk and interrupting the journey of spirits may send them on uninvited tangents to that of their goal destination.  To be contaminated by death interrupts everyday life requiring appropriate restorative rituals.  So, in the process of tangi, those 'close' to death, like the bereaved, and others tasked with assisting spirits on their way, are separated from ordinary everyday activity until after appropriate rituals have been completed.  But there is another reason for this.  The bereaved are not considered to be their ordinary selves.  The Maori world acknowledges the emotional pain of death and the need for relief from ordinary activity, presenting tangi as a therapeutic, symbolic and ritualised process for grieving and healing (Dansey, 1992).  So, while a person may not feel particularly inclined to emote, patterned rituals, symbolic gestures or the purposefully crafted combination of words orated, often move even the most stoic.

Having described the general pattern of tangi (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2009) and reviewed some interpretations of those occurrences at tangi, in the next section, I move on to look at parallels between tangi and state funerals.

**State Funerals**

Little is written on the protocols and symbolic meanings that overwhelm state funerals in New Zealand.  The archive that presents the most information is the print media (archived by the New Zealand National Library http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz and Newztext http://www.knowledge-basket.co.nz).  Reporting typically includes the passing of the significant person, the arrangements for their lying in state, the funeral and burial.  Between these critical notices are reports on reactions by national leaders, at home and abroad, and family and community members.  Reports also include descriptions about what is being done to 'cover the gap' the deceased has left, particularly in the case of Prime Ministers who die in office, opportunities for public engagement and mourning, and symbols of a nation in mourning, for example, flying the national flag at half-mast.

There are many parallels between state funerals and tangi.  Though usually smaller in size, tangi take place over similar time periods, involve numerous rituals, performances and formality.  Writing in contrast to what Garlick (1999) describes as the strongly emotive, more informal private funeral, the state funeral he sees as "much more elaborate, with the element

of ritual both more prominent and more formalized […with] a far greater focus on the performative elements of the ceremony" (Garlick, 1999, p. 1). There are a number of rituals within state funerals. There is the "funeral service in the church, the procession, the lying-in-state, and other smaller rituals that go together to make up the state funeral obsequies for a distinguished person" (Garlick, 1999, p. 1). The direct emotional intensity of a private funeral, while diminished in the state funeral, "is made up for by the status of the deceased in the esteem of his [sic] culture, which is signified by the spectacular nature of the occasion" (Garlick, 1999, pp. 1-2).

Not everyone is entitled to a state funeral, but all Maori are entitled to a tangi, provided they can lay claim to a kinship and marae community who in turn, lay claim to them. State funerals are normally reserved for national leaders, like monarchs, heads of state and prime ministers. Sometimes, state funerals are accorded others who have served the nation and who are recognized as doing so; or who have died in an event considered a national catastrophe. In New Zealand, state funerals have been accorded to: Premiere John Balance 1839 – 1893 (McIvor, 2007), child health reformer and first private citizen to be honoured by a state funeral, Frederic Truby King, 1858 – 1938 (Brookes, 2007); private citizen and community advocate and leader, Janet Fraser 1883 – 1945 (Stace, 2007); the 21 unidentified victims of the 1953 Tangiwai disaster (McSaveney, Stewart, & Leonard, 2009); Prime Minister Sidney George Holland, 1893 – 1961 (Gustafson, 2007); and Prime Minister Norman Eric Kirk, 1923 – 1974 (Bassett, 2007). The most recent state funeral to occur in New Zealand was the celebrated mountaineer, explorer and philanthropist, Sir Edmund Percival Hillary, KG, ONZ, KBE, 1919-2008 (McKenzie-Minifie & Gay, 2008).

Tangi and state funerals are public events involving the public performance of grief (Garlick, 1999; Kear & Steinberg, 2002). The spaces where these events are enacted, for example, the marae, parliament buildings, cathedrals or cemeteries, might be viewed as theatres of grief and mourning (Kear & Steinberg, 2002), complete with actors, like parliamentarians, orators, the military and public. These performances include scripts like 'an order of service', a eulogy or enactments that pertain to whaikorero and karanga, all staged with attention to the embodied nature of grief and its enactment in speech, intonation, posture, emotional expression. In all performances, there are signs (Thody, Course, & Appignanesi, 1997) or stage props like flags, canopies, greenery, caskets, buildings, condolence books,

uniforms and processional ways, evoking sacred space, risky space and respect, status and prestige.  And sometimes, signs might signify more mundane observances like a marae being closed to visitors, or 'cleaning in progress'.  And there are symbols, presented and manipulated to image notions of nationhood, power, distinctiveness, resilience, resistance, community, kinship, relatedness and identity.  Yet, as was the case in the state commemoration for Princess Diana, meanings contested through the performance of grief, remain nonetheless though perhaps differently meaningful for actors and audiences in grief (Frears, et al., 2007; Kear & Steinberg, 2002; Thomas, 2002; Turnock, 2000; Walter, 1999).

Constructing tangi and state funerals as performances permits the researcher, as observer, to step back from the emotionality and drama of death to observe and theorise the 'play' complete with theatre participants, spaces, styles, technologies, props, constraints, superstitions, rituals and ticketing – all aspects of theatre in themselves, being forms of social, cultural or symbolic capital.

In the chapter that follows I describe how I went about the task of examining the nature of social, cultural and symbolic capital represented in print media reporting of the State Funeral for Prime Minister Norman Kirk and the tangi for Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu.

# Chapter 2: Methodology

In this study, I examine the nature of social, cultural and symbolic capital represented in print media reporting of the State Funeral for Prime Minister Norman Kirk and the tangi for Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu.  To recap, social capital can be described as the glue that binds communities together like trust, cooperation, relatedness, a sense of identity and belonging.  Cultural capital can be seen as the assets, tangible and intangible, that advantage individuals and communities in their aspirations.  Symbolic capital relates to objects, people or actions of power, prestige or status.  The print news media, the primary data source used in this study, is newspaper reporting of political news such as community events and issues rather than entertainment material.  Because the print news media plays a critical role in this thesis as the primary data source, it deserves some examination before explaining how I engaged with this source.

This chapter starts with a section about the news media, where I explain why I think the print news media in particular, is an appropriate medium to explore social, cultural and symbolic capital.  Here, I survey some of the contributions the news media have made to reporting on public funerals. The next section deals with how I accessed and retrieved reporting, and the sources I used and why.  This is followed with a description of how I 'read' these data sources and constructed a descriptive narrative and abductive analysis of the state funeral of Prime Minister Norman Kirk, and the tangi for Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikahu.  The chapter concludes with how I present the findings of my analysis of print media sources.

## The Media

To have a newspaper, or radio or television station reporting on events in a community of interest does not simply add to the communication channels available across a community, but actively promotes social participation, cohesion, the circulation of values, mores and norms for behaviour, as well as informing and educating (Silverstone, 2007).  Having the media in one's community, actively reflecting the identity and what it means to be a member

of that community brings about a sense of community and collective identity.  Having access to the media, to speak into and through the media, presents individuals and communities with an advantage over those who either have little or no access to the media, or who are forced to engage a media that is outside of their communities of interest (Daley & James, 2004).  Until recently, the Maori community in New Zealand were forced to access and speak through mainstream media whose primary audience is the dominant mainstream, not Maori.  The advent of Maori and Iwi radio, along with the Maori Television Service has gone some way towards ameliorating this situation (Cleave, 2009), and has refocused media representations of social, cultural and symbolic capital in Maori communities, however, such media continue to remain on the margins, as do their audiences.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the mainstream media has not treated fairly with Maori.  Maori are rarely presented positively (Phelan & Shearer, 2009), and when death involving Maori is reported, it is usually in association with some crime, situation of violence, abuse or neglect, or to do with some 'suspicious' circumstance.  This raises the question, why use the mainstream print news media to study the nature of social, cultural and symbolic capital, particular with respect to public death and mourning?  I answer this question below.

## Public Death and Mourning in the Media

When we think of public mourning rituals, media representations are often part of what we imagine.  Media representations of public mourning rituals, particularly of significant personages, like Pope John Paul II and Tāufaʾāhau Tupou IV, King of Tonga, depict elaborate processions, significant public participation, religious symbols, demonstrations of civic religion and national symbolism.  Often the emotions related to these depictions are diverse and complex such as sadness and despair, as well as unity and belonging.  Central to this thesis is the idea that within media saturated societies, that is, societies in which people interact and regularly engage the media on a daily basis, public mourning is conducted, at least partially, in and through the news media (Walter, 1999).

The role of news media in public death and mourning has received a significant amount of scholarly attention.  Examples are of the 'Diana event' (A. Kear & Steinberg, 1999;

Merck, 1998; Walter, 1999); September 11, 2001 (Kitch, 2003); the murder of Pim Fortuyn, a Dutch right-wing populist politician (Pantti & Wieten, 2005); the death of John F. Kennedy Junior (Kitch, 2002); and the public mourning that followed the Hillsborough tragedy (Walter, 1991). Kitch (2003) describes public mourning as "a process led by and centered in the news media" (p. 172). Dayan and Katz's (1994) conceptualize media events such as public funerals as exceptional occurrences that interrupt routine television broadcasts and the mundane progression of everyday life. These are the big events, said to shape history. They cause us to pause and reflect on life and, perhaps the direction of and change in society. During such events the public is invited to withdraw from everyday life and to engage in something bigger. We are invited to become part of the event, and in the process renew social values and bonds (Walter, 2002). We are encouraged to experience the spirit of communitas through acts of collective mourning (Walter, 2002). During these times, the media are seen as sites of popular engagement and involvement (Fiske, 1994) and it is through the media that 'a nation in mourning' is cultivated.

How the news media construct collective acts of mourning has received significant attention from academics and researchers. Kitch's (2002) study on news coverage of the mourning of John F. Kennedy Junior found that news media played a major role in defining and affirming national beliefs and values, and suggests that in times of tragedy and disruption, news media use themes such as hope and healing to console society and restore social order. Pantti and Wieten's (2005) study on Dutch television news reporting of the death of right-wing politician Pim Fortuyn, who held controversial views about immigrants and Islam, found that the news media played a key role in Denmark (at a national level) in mediating diversity and achieving a multicultural consensus. The media created a nationwide bereaved community by focusing on both individual and collective expressions of mourning, thus converting emotions such as anger and hate into unifying and less destructive depictions of grief. Moreover, in his work on American news and magazine coverage of September 11, Kitch (2003) found that by framing the event as a national one, the media created a sense of national solidarity, thereby fostering large demonstrations of civic ritual. Findings also confirmed that the media constructed progressive narratives which began with a nation in chaos and fear, subsequently transformed into one of order, courage and patriotism (Kitch, 2003). Walter's (1991) research on news media reports of the Hillsborough tragedy suggest

that media representation of mourning reflect people's interest in how individuals and communities grieve and manage loss. He found that media coverage of the tragic event generated public debate and deliberations on what constitutes a fitting way for an English football community to mourn.

The news media's role in creating a sense of community and social cohesion when disaster and tragedy occur is not new. Much of the scholarship on news coverage of public mourning highlights that media narratives are often "represented as integrative events, moments of national consensus and unity born out of mourning together" (Pantti & Wieten, 2005, p. 301). Within media depictions, Durkheim and Mauss's (1963) theory of collective ritual often resonates. According to Durkheim, it is when societies come together in religious and secular ceremonies that a 'collective effervescence' is generated. In these temporary moments, collective identity and beliefs transcend personal and egotistic interests, and social solidarity is affirmed through ceremony, ritual and symbols. This can be seen in news media's provision of public forums in which people can express and experience what were once deeply private feelings (Kitch, 2000; Walter, 1991). Media coverage of public mourning now includes portrayals of ordinary people openly expressing their feelings, alongside experts providing advice on how to overcome the trauma (Pantti & Wieten, 2005). That news coverage provides a primary vehicle for public mourning highlights the ritual role it plays and the function it serves society today (Dayan & Katz, 1994).

Couldry (2003) argues that the news media not only provide expressions of public death and mourning but actually construct it. Reporting on death and funerals is not simply a matter of narrating rituals, symbols, participation and views, but now typically include a re-enactment of the life of the deceased (Ariès, 1974). News media coverage of the death and commemoration of Princess Diana is a case in point. The media not only reported on events from the point of her death through to her burial, but revisited her life in such a way as to construct the narrative and image of her being 'the people's princess' (Jim, 2000), in turn, offering an experience in its own right (Dayan & Katz, 1994).

As well as playing an educative role, news media are also seen as protectors of mainstream societal values and cultural identities. The media provide a 'cultural flashpoint' (M Schudson, 1992), a symbolic moment that inspires and motivates reflection on societal norms, hopes and fears. Dayan and Katz (1994) see media events as portrayals of the

idealized version of society that remind society of "what it aspires to be rather than what it is" (p. ix). Carey (1997) contends that the function of journalism is not the representation of information, but the representation of shared beliefs expressed through shared ceremony that bring people together in fellowship and commonality. During these unified moments the news media provide people with access to the moral centre of society (Shils & Young, 1975). The 'centre' according to Shils (1975) relates to societies' sacred central value system, such as the core values and beliefs that are espoused by a society including its authoritative institutions and secular roles such as the Police or Prime Minister who often embody the sacred centre. Media's framing of public mourning will most often include religion or religious institutions even during an era of diminishing subscription.

> As a carrier of ritual tradition, religion can be argued to play an important role in establishing bonds between the audience and the community members performing the ritual, thus the imagined community of the nation is established through the ritual which incorporates the nation's religious history. That is to say that the presence of religion in the news reconstructs religion as one of the social centres of the society (Pantti & Sumiala, 2009, p. 126).

Mediapolis, a concept developed by Silverstone (2007) explains, in part, how the news media provide a forum in which people can participate in civic life today. Drawing from the ancient Greek *polis* which is based on shared space for civic communication, mediapolis represents a technologically mediated forum where public life and social issues such as public death and mourning can be discussed and deliberated upon. As is reflected in the ancient polis its mediated equivalent is primarily exclusive, somewhat elitist, and is constructed through processes of symbolic power. Thus some people or groups monopolize the mediated forum through greater access and have more say than others. This is made evident by the voices and opinions of experts and professionals being valued and relied upon to frame public and social issues (Silverstone, 2007). Increased media visibility and appearance is key to mediapolis as what constitutes public life in contemporary societies takes place more or less solely via the media.

With reference to conversational journalism, Zandberg and Neiger (2005) see journalists as representatives (of their society) and delegates (of their culture) of news instead of neutral professionals. Journalists engage participants in an event in a conversation. The journalist is positioned as a representative of the mainstream view, in conversation with participants and engaging a process of negotiating meanings, which in turn, sees journalists and their audience sharing a common understanding that is shaped by their common culture (Schudson, 1989). According to Waisbord (2002) when tragedy strikes such as the death of a national figure, journalists desire for national unity (Rorty, 1991) override professional neutrality and the privileging of information. In this instance, journalism of conversation underscores how journalism is invested in and represents shared emotions and feelings of a nation.

Although the meaning of death is anything but simple or linear, its location in mediated societies is apparent in the fact that people are constantly confronted with death and the news of death every day. We continually face mortality, as the world shrinks or perhaps as our networks expand. Death, it would certainly seem, is a regular occurrence, whether on a personal level such as the death of a family member or friend, or on a social level like the death of a national icon or celebrity. How people view and respond to death and related ritual and how they react and participate in death is greatly influenced by the media (Walter, 1991). In intensely mediated societies, the media is fundamental to how people are now "much more up-front about death" (Walter, 1991, p. 86). Bell (1997), a leading scholar of ritual studies, acknowledges the influence of the media both in ritual performance and how ritual is experienced today. The media delivers death and associated ritual into our homes and private spaces as well as public and social places. In this way the media offer people the opportunity to directly participate or not. The point here is that people can choose to engage, through buying newspapers, clicking a button, or not. In media saturated societies today, death is no longer in the 'closet' but firmly on our kitchen tables, computers and television sets.

As this review above shows, news media reporting of public death and mourning is critical to how we perceive ourselves as individuals and members of a civil society that cares about and demonstrates its regard for its significant leaders and representatives especially during the mourning of such individuals. It is also important to our sense of being part of a greater whole, a part of a community and nation, and a part of a nation in mourning. These

are difficult ideas to conceptualise and engender, yet in our contemporary media saturated world, it is a performance we have come to expect and take-for-granted.

With increasing diversity in our communities, it becomes imperative that the mainstream media gets it's reporting on the theme of 'diversity in unity' right, least it misses its mark.  To do this, it must momentarily suspend its alignment with and reinforcement of the dominant group view, to incorporate all views, or at least look as if it is.  For these reasons, the mainstream print media, rather than Maori print, radio or television, is used as the primary data source to study the nature of social, cultural and symbolic capital expressed through two instances of public mourning in New Zealand.

## A Prime Minister and an Ariki

My real interest in this thesis resided in pursuing a study about the death rituals and mourning for Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu.  In 2007, when I began thinking about a thesis, Te Arikinui had just recently passed away, and the Maori world was still reeling from her loss.  Her son had been elected to take up the mantle of leader of the Kingitanga movement, and people and communities were adjusting to these changes.  In 2006, the Maori and Psychology Research Unit at the University of Waikato had gone about the task of compiling the entire print news media coverage of the public mourning of Te Arikinui as it occurred in the New Zealand Herald and the Waikato Times.  I had the opportunity read this clipping collection and to relive and reflect on with fellow students our own individual experiences of this remarkable experience.  I knew that Te Arikinui and this collection of newspaper clippings were to be the focus of my graduate research work.

One of the significant aspects of Te Arikinui's tangi was the extent to which people and communities committed, in person, with resources, with networks, with expertise and knowledge, to making it happen.  People came from all over the world to help and to be a part of and witness to the mourning rituals.  Our university even permitted staff to cancel classes to attend the tangi!  And even I, engaged, in person, in every possible way that I could, through being at Turangawaewae, watching television reports, reading the newspapers, talking to others.  It was a national event unparallel by anything else I had witnessed in my lifetime.

Because of its remarkable nature, I felt it deserved some equivalent event to present a point of contrast, to increase my ability to be critical and to see beyond my own community of interest.

The state funeral for Prime Minister Norman Kirk was the closest event that I saw as a parallel to the tangi for Te Arikinui. And, it was the last state funeral that had occurred up until 2007 when I started my research. Given that Norman Kirk's state funeral was widely reported on in the print media, it presented as the only obvious case for analysis.

While print news media articles are the sole data source for this study, I acknowledge that television would have played a significant role in the New Zealand public engaging and participating in Kirk's state funeral and the tangi for Te Arikinui. In 2006, during Te Arikinui's tangi, five television channels including Television One, Two, Three, Maori Television and Prime, which are all 'free to air' channels, provided significant coverage to the country. In contrast, television viewing hours in New Zealand during Kirk's State funeral in 1974 were limited to four days a week with only a single channel, Television One, operating at the time. Given the difference in the amount of television reporting between these two events, and the expense to access these archives, a television news media analysis was not an option available to me at the time. Print media sources, data collection and analysis for Norman Kirk and Te Arikinui are described below.

**Norman Kirk**

*Print Media Sources*

Five days of print news media articles from the New Zealand Herald (NZH), and The Evening Post, were collated from the 2nd to the 6th of September 1974. The timeframe was selected on the basis that it gave detailed coverage of the four day state funeral event. The specific print news media articles selected were chosen because they provided sequenced coverage of the State funeral that portrayed the transition of Kirk's last 'rite of passage'. That is, the print news media articles provided a three-phase process which involves the deceased as well as the community (Kitch, 2000). This process began with the separation phase, that is, the news of Kirk's death and withdrawal by society from everyday life; the liminal phase,

where most of the mourning ritual takes place by the 'community in mourning'; and the reincorporation phase which entails Kirk's burial and re-entry by society into routine life (Davies, 1997).

The NZH was chosen as a data source because it provided extensive coverage of Kirk's State funeral and because of its high national circulation. In total thirty four (34) print news articles of various sizes, such as entire front page articles and small excerpts, were collated from the NZH and The Evening Post, a local Wellington based evening newspaper which was selected because it offered additional information not reported by the NZH. Other newspapers including The Dominion, a Wellington based morning newspaper, and The Press, the Christchurch daily newspaper were examined via micro-fiche, however were not included as part of the data source because they did not reveal any new information. Four photographs taken during Kirk's State funeral are also included in the primary data set.

### *Data Analysis*

The analysis began with reading and re-reading the primary data set multiple times. By repeatedly reading print news articles, I 'got a feel' for the categories and themes inherent in the print news plot-line of the event. This informed a purely descriptive account of Kirk's entire State funeral event. According to Sandelowski (2000), descriptive analysis in qualitative research entails the presentation of the facts of the case, in everyday language. The 'key' text (primary data set) included in the descriptive account were determined by their link to, or illustration of, possible representations of social, cultural and symbolic capital, as well as demonstrations and meanings of how communities mourn. For example, print news articles that focused on what I perceived as people's response to the news of Kirk's death, people's expressions of grief, how people participated in his State funeral, and what signalled the end of mourning, were selected. My personal experience of the funeral process also informed the descriptive stage.

After describing the entire funeral event, I moved to interpreting the data. Geertz (1973) argues that, all cultural materials may be treated as texts and are subject to interpretation. The interpretive analysis entailed providing an accurate *sequence* of the event as it unfolded in the raw data; *explanation* such as historical context; and *meaning making*

which derived from the raw data and my own assumptions.  Assessment of 'my' understandings involved comparing my interpretations with previous research and literature, a process that entailed identifying parallels between the two and where variances occurred possible explanations were given.

During the interpretive stage, three categories and processes relating to the research objectives emerged, and thirteen themes which conveyed key story lines developed.  The categories evolved in a temporal sequence with, for example, a beginning, middle and end.  The themes emerged from their association with the categories.  The three categories that inform the conceptual framework include; *The passing of a leader, Power, symbols and Unity, A nation in mourning and Transitioning Death*.  The two themes that evolved from the *The passing of a leader* category were; (i) Shock and disruption, and (ii) In Safe Hands.  The three themes that emerged in relation to the *Power, symbols and Unity* category were: (i) Parliament House - Symbolic Setting; (ii) Casket Adornments - Flag, Cloak, Flowers and Greenery; and (iii) Inclusion and Unity.  From *A nation in mourning* emerged the themes (i) The Closing Down of a Nation; (ii) State and Religion; (iii) the Role of the Church; and (iv) The Church and the Nation.  In final category, *Transitioning Death* stands on its own.

**Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu**

*Print Media Sources*

Seven days of print news media articles from the Waikato Times (WT), Waikato Times Weekend (WTW), Hamilton Press (HP), Sunday Star Times (SST), New Zealand Herald (NZH), and the Weekend Herald (WH) were collated from 16th August 2006 to the 22nd August 2006.  The timeframe was selected because it corresponded with the announcement of Te Arikinui's death through to her interment.

The entire collection of news papers provided extensive coverage of Te Arikinui's tangi, however repetition in terms of the topics and items covered occurred across all news papers.  For this reason, I chose as the primary data set print news media articles which

provided in-depth and descriptive coverage.  For example, I chose print news media articles that gave historical context, factual information and illustrative details.

The primary data set is made up of a total of 74 articles that ranged from entire front page articles to medium size excerpts.  The WT and WTW are regional Waikato District newspapers.  The WT is published Monday to Friday, and the WTW, the regional weekend paper is published on Saturday's.  The NZH, the WH and the SST are all national newspapers, and were chosen because of their high national circulation. The NZH is published Monday to Friday, the WH is a weekend news paper published on Saturday's, and the SST is a Sunday news paper.  Six photographs taken during Te Arikinui's tangi are also included in the primary data set.

### *Data Analysis*

Although the rationale behind using Kirk's State funeral as a case study was to facilitate a comparative analysis between his and Te Arikinui's tangi, it also provided me with the opportunity to gain an insight prior to analysing Te Arikinui's primary data set into, through the lens of print news media, how communities mourn when the death and funeral involve a public figure.

The analysis stage began with reading and re-reading Te Arikinui's primary data set. This process ensured I got an overall feel for the entire story line as it was told by the print news media.  Like Kirk's State funeral, print news media representation of Te Arikinui's tangi "not only covered, but conducted a public funeral ceremony conforming to what anthropologists identify as the three stages of 'transition rituals'" (Kitch, 2000, p. 215).  A good understanding of the story line including content and structure, my own personal experience of tangi, the conceptual framework developed from Kirk's case study, and a good understanding of the literature, provided a solid informative foundation for the analysis of the data set.

The conceptual framework developed from Kirk's case study, specifically the high level categories of *Grief, Relationships,* and *Departure* informed the structure by which Te Arikinui's data set could be described and analysed, however, I was not constrained by this. Instead, I evolved a unique construction drawing Maori conceptualizations and resonances.

The evolved themes were: i) *Nga maunga korero, nga parikarangaranga* which analysed the representations of social, cultural and symbolic capital; ii) *Manaakitanga, Whanaungatanga, Kotahitanga,* where I organize media narratives around preparing the marae; logistical demands; offers of support and enculturated resources. The three themes of iii) *The Loss of a Rangatira;* iv) *'The Lady'* and v) *The closing down of State Highway 1,* are considered independently but address loss, relationships and challenges respectively. Theme vi) is about *A Tangi for an Ariki*, and mostly considered the cultural and symbolic capital of the Turangawaewae marae setting, the role of Waikato as hosts, and the respect the world gave Te Arikinui. The next theme I have titled vii) *Wairuatanga* where I deal with the rituals of succession, and reflect on the magnitude of the event, and the funeral service. The last three themes occupy a liminal space and considers transitions from the marae to the viii) Waikato river, then on to ix) Taupiri, where Te Arikinui is interred. The last theme is about the creation of a durable biography, a story capable of enduring through time.

My analyses of these two events are presented in the following two chapters that engage, through the media, with the State funeral for Prime Minister Norman Kirk, and tangi for Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu.

# Chapter 3:  A State Funeral for Prime Minister Norman Kirk

## Overview

In this chapter, I begin by discussing the sudden passing of a leader, the shock and disruption which resulted, and the following sense of a national being in safe hands.  This is followed by an analysis and discussion of power, symbols and unity which were evident in the print media coverage of the State funeral for Norman Kirk.  This includes exploring the role played by symbolic settings, such as Parliament House, adornments on the casket and those elements which conveyed a sense of inclusion and unity.  A nation in mourning and how this was conveyed via the media follows, with aspects such as the closing down of a nation, state and religion, and the role of the Church in the mourning process.  Lastly, this chapter explores transitioning death, focusing on the way in which Norman Kirk made his way home, allowing for a transition in the mourning process, moving from a focus on the nation to his community.

## The Media in the 1970's

Up until the 1970's, New Zealand was mainly concerned with establishing an efficient broadcasting infrastructure to secure transmission across the mountainous and remote landscape (Horrocks & Perry, 2004).  By the end of the 1960's transmission challenges had been mostly resolved.  By 1969, national television was centralized, and the immediacy of television was embedded into the consciousness of its viewers.  During this period, news coverage gradually moved from attention directed by state interests, for they were the owners of the means of broadcasting, to news content that favoured public interest and opinion (Horrocks & Perry, 2004).  Broadcasting hours from 1960 to the early 1970s transmitted four nights a week and later in 1975 the arrival of a second channel increased viewing hours to five days a week (Phillips, 2001). The first live international broadcast was in 1973, the wedding of Princess Anne and Captain Mark Phillips.  Significant television news coverage in 1974

included: the Commonwealth Games that were hosted in Christchurch; coverage of the All Black tour of the United Kingdom; coverage of the heavy weight boxing match of Mohammed Ali and George Foreman; and Norman Kirk's passing and state funeral.

In the 1970's local and national radio which was live on-air 24 hours, 7 days a week, were a part of New Zealander's daily lives, with regular programming initially focused on rural farming communities, and later spreading to cover programming of regional, national and international significance. Though not a focus of this thesis, radio would inevitably have been a medium through which New Zealanders heard about and followed the events of Norman Kirk's passing and funeral. There was minimal Maori language or subject content, and what was broadcast was confined to a Sunday evening.

Regional and national newspapers are the data source of this thesis. In 1974 the New Zealand Herald, a national paper based in Auckland, published a morning edition from Monday to Saturday. The Dominion a morning paper and The Evening Post, both Wellington based, also published from Monday to Saturday. The Press a Christchurch based news paper published Monday to Friday. Sunday news papers that circulated nationally during the 1970's were the Sunday News and the New Zealand Sunday Times. For the majority of the New Zealand public, news print coverage of Kirk's passing and state funeral would have provided an accessible, regular and reliable account of the entire national event. I now turn to the narrative presented by the print media of the passing and state funeral of Norman Kirk.

## A Leader Passes

Like Kübler-Ross & Kessler (2005) claim, when death is unexpected it is common for people to be shocked and in some way to express that shock. In Kirk's case, print media reporting of his death did not seem to convey the intense sense of shock as might be expected, rather, the headlines focused on funeral preparations. For example, the first news item carried the headline "Death of the PM: State funeral to be held in Wellington" (NZH, 2 September 1974, p. 1). Consequently people would have heard of his death through radio or television reporting on the Saturday evening and throughout Sunday. So, the immediacy of Kirk's passing and the sense of shock that might have accompanied initial announcements in the

print news media was diminished by the passage of time. It was no longer fresh news and could not be constructed as 'breaking news' or by a reporter located 'on the spot'. People had found out through other news outlets. Reflecting the Sunday time lapse, the Monday newspapers were therefore more focused on tributes, funeral arrangements and the change in Cabinet ministers and government activities. The Sunday lapse gave the print media time to gather such stories.

### Shock and disruption

Before describing and discussing the closure of government and other funeral arrangements, I want to dwell a while on the few 'shock reactions' that were reported. In Kubler-Ross's (2005) five stages of grief model, the first stage of denial deals with shock and disbelief. In Kirk's case, people were stunned by his sudden death and could not comprehend that he would no longer play an active role in New Zealand politics, as he had for the last 40 years, and the print media conveyed this response. Under the heading of "disbelief" the media wrote…

> As the word spread among Saturday night parties and other social functions, the initial disbelief gave way to sorrow that dampened earlier high spirits (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 1).

> Mr Watt the Acting Prime Minister and Mr Muldoon leader of the Opposition Party left an official function in Auckland on Saturday night without interrupting festivities (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 1).

In these reports we also see how death ruptures daily lives and routines. The news of Kirk's death instantly rippled out across the nation and into international fora. For example, Australian Prime Minister…

> Mr Whitlam, who was at a Labour Party ball in Melbourne when he received the news of Mr Kirk's death, immediately called for a minute's silence (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 1).

By focusing on the public's response to Kirk's death, the print media, allowed the New Zealand public to witness the effect Kirk's death had on the nation, how it was expressed and what his death meant to people, supporting Kitch's (2003) claim that the news media are a principle player in the construction of public death and mourning.  In the following report, the withdrawal of Cabinet Ministers from routine duties to organise Kirk's State funeral provides an example of the need to configure resources towards the task of mourning.

> The realization of the death of the Prime Minister, Mr Norman Kirk, struck home to a stunned nation yesterday as grief-stricken Cabinet ministers begin the sombre task of arranging a State funeral in Wellington on Wednesday (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 1).

Through the news media, a New Zealand public could examine for themselves how fellow citizens and those of the international community were affected by Kirk's unexpected death.  In the reports above of statements and reactions by national and international leaders, and those that follow below, we see the news media beginning the construction of a 'nation unified in grief' (Kitch, 2003) in their coverage of ordinary New Zealanders expressing sorrow and grief.

> People had been in and out of the headquarters in Queen St all morning.  Some were close to breaking down. Mr Hastings said the person who telephoned him on Saturday night with the news was in tears.  "I personally am very affected by it" he said (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 2).

The Federation of Labour President, Mr T.E. Skinner said "Even now I can't really realize he will not be with us" (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 1). Although shock was still a part of the reported narrative, people like the Bishop of Auckland, Rt Rev. E.A. Gowing also expressed loss and a sense of helplessness, a feeling caused by a person or people feeling as if they had no control or responses available to change an unchangeable situation (Davison, Neale, & Kring, 2004).

> Many of us have not recovered from the shock of Mr Kirk's death. At this tragic moment it is hard to imagine how New Zealand will be able to face its increasing responsibilities without his leadership (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 3).

Perhaps this feeling of helplessness reflects peoples fear that Kirk's death signifies the loss of a powerful advocate of the impoverished and the end of a socially conscious government.  Mr B. Beetham, the Social Credit Political League Leader said:

> Mr Kirk will be remembered by all New Zealanders as a great humanitarian whose driving motivation was a deep and abiding concern for the underprivileged both in this country and overseas (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 2).

In addition, the Leader of the Values Party, Mr R. Clough reflected…

> Of all Prime Ministers since the last war, Mr Kirk stands out as a man of principle, dedicated to the cause of the ordinary people of New Zealand (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 3).

The reporting of these comments by politicians Beetham and Clough take the readership beyond the initial shock of Kirk's passing and it's disruptive effects, to begin the process of mourning and negotiating a durable biography (Walter, 1996b)  to enter into the story of a nation.


**In Safe Hands**

News media focus on Kirk's state funeral arrangements and the government's leading role in these provided a sense of order and security, conveying the message that despite the loss of their leader, the New Zealand government was in control and the country was in safe hands.  As Kitch (2003) claims, at times of uncertainty, the news media interpret and manage public emotions through their use of progressive narratives.  In this instance, rather than focusing on the potential negative consequences of a leaderless government, the news media concentrated on the unity, stability and strength of the government at a time of great despair (Pantti & Wieten, 2005).

For many New Zealanders, Kirk's state funeral was their first experience of this type of event. The last state funeral held for a Prime Minister who died in office was Michael John Savage in 1940, 34 years earlier (Gustafson, 2007). The news media's functional role is illustrated by the government, through the media, informing and educating the New Zealand

public on state funerals and traditions, thereby ensuring the public had some idea of what to expect in relation to the rituals and symbols which would be encountered.

> When the Prime Minister's casket arrives at Parliament House early this afternoon it will be carried up the front steps to the main foyer by his ministerial colleagues. The lying in State will have the traditional guard drawn from the Armed Services. On Wednesday, Mr Kirk's body will be carried from Parliament by members of the New Zealand Police flanked by his ministerial colleagues. The pallbearers will arrive at the main entrance of the Anglican Cathedral of St Paul at 11 a.m. After an ecumenical funeral service, the cortege will leave St Paul's and drive through the business area of Wellington to the airport. The casket will then be taken by air to Christchurch where it will lie in State in the Christchurch Town Hall from Wednesday afternoon until a service in the Town Hall at 11 a.m. on Thursday. After the service at midday the cortege will travel through Christchurch streets to the airport and rejoin the aircraft for a journey to Timaru. The cortege will go by road to Waimate cemetery for a graveside ceremony at 2.30 p.m. (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p.1).

The aspirations of a nation in the context of 'doing the right thing' and honouring their chosen leader in such a way that affirms his status can be seen in the provision of elaborate funeral ritual and symbols and the presence and use of various State assets. For example the embodied and institutionalised cultural capital present in government representatives, state military and police personnel and Parliament House (Throsby, 1999).

Through the media, the nation was invited to withdraw from routine life, mourn and participate in Kirk's funeral rites in an ordered, controlled and unified fashion, as reflected in the participation of the public, church, armed services, police and politicians. On the day Kirk's death was officially announced (Sunday 1st September) the New Zealand flag flew at half mast at Parliament House signalling the death, while in office, of the nation's political leader. On the same day, as the nation waited and prepared itself for the State funeral event, the government through the news media, informed the public that the new leader of the Labour Party and Prime Minister of New Zealand would not be chosen until after Kirk's burial. Under the news headline "No decision on future leader before Friday" the media wrote…

> Until a ballot was held by the Labour caucus for the leadership of the party, power would lie with the executive council. The time for the caucus meeting to decide the

leadership had yet to be finalized but it would definitely not be held until after Mr Kirk's funeral on Thursday (The Evening Post, 2 September, 1974, p. 2).

While the media may have wanted to have made much of the gap in leadership, the clear message sent by the Labour caucus to the New Zealand public, and no doubt internationally, was twofold: firstly, the country was in secure and capable hands, and hands that were the right hands to hold the power of a nation; and secondly, that it was perhaps unseemly to entertain a discussion of such matters during a period of bereavement and mourning. In the following section, I pick up on the themes of power, nationhood, identity and unity and the ways in which they formed both 'backdrop' and essential 'stage props' in the performance of Kirk's state funeral.

## Power, Symbols and Unity

### Parliament House: A Symbolic setting

Parliament House is the 'powerhouse' of New Zealand, invested in ideological meaning (Goss, 1988). For instance, it legitimates New Zealand's democratic process, the political elite, and the authority and positions they hold. It validates systems of government and institutional systems that produce national decisions which are then reflected in New Zealand policy and law. Symbolically, Parliament House constitutes power, identity, participation and unity expressed through, for example, political freedom of choice and democracy. It also justifies ceremony, ritual and traditions even if they tend to reflect British influence.

When Kirk died, the Beehive building was in the process of construction. If Parliament House was a power symbol, then the construction of the Beehive might be seen as the nation's capacity for growth, development and enterprise; a fitting backdrop to a state funeral viewed by the nation and the world. The image in Figure 1 provides a precise example of how, in this instant, the news media constructed a cultural flashpoint (Schudson, 1992), that is, an idealized version (Dayan & Katz, 1992) of a progressive nation, New Zealand.

**Figure 1** Funeral procession for Prime Minister Norman Kirk leaving Parliament. Evening Post staff photographer, 4th August 1974 (1/4-021831-F).

Parliament House was the initial setting for Kirk's State funeral where tradition and ceremony were reproduced, and officials, politicians and the public alike gathered to mourn Kirk and participate in a series of funeral and cultural rituals. As a symbol, Parliament House provided a strong explicit statement of a national event, with national political representatives given the right to pay their respects ahead of the public.

> The coffin, of solid, polish mahogany, was carried up the red-carpeted front steps of Parliament Buildings by 10 senior Cabinet Ministers. At 12.07p.m. the lying-in-state, under a catafalque constructed in the main foyer, began. As soon as ministers, members of Parliament and one or two diplomats had paid their respects, the public, headed by two or three hundred mourning Maoris [sic], began streaming past the body of the Prime Minister. By late last night there had been many emotional scenes as the public paid their respects at a rate which reached about 1500 people an hour for two or three hours (NZH, 3 September, 1974, p. 1).

Since 1984, a Maori dimension has been incorporated into Parliamentary rituals. At the state opening of Parliament, Maori participate with a karanga (a call for people to enter parliament), a haka (ritual challenge) and a powhiri (formal welcome ceremony) (Ministry for Culture and Hertiage, 2007). This inclusion reflects a symbolic valuing of Maori ritual within the nation's power frameworks, in this instance, Parliament.



**Figure 2** Prime Minister Norman Kirk's coffin being carried up the steps of Parliament. Evening Post staff photographer, 2nd August 1974 (EP/1974/4891/13A-F)

An interesting aspect of the above description is the priority given to Maori to 'head' the public paying of respects. They are described as 'mourning' Maori, as opposed to the general public, on a 'walk past' to pay respects. Also of interest, is that Maori in the 1970's occupied some status during Kirk's funeral event. This status may be explained by the relationship Kirk shared with Maori people. Maori saw Kirk as a Prime Minister who took a personal interest in their affairs and as a primary vehicle for achieving their aspirations. Kirk had long recognized that Maori identity and culture was important to Maori health and wellbeing, and subsequently a progressive New Zealand (New Zealand Government, 1974).

The putting aside of differences and politics to respect Kirk's passing, to acknowledge a sadness felt by all in Parliament and the nation as a whole, is symbolized in opposition members crossing the house to offer their condolences to Cabinet Members. Normally Parliament, that is, the House of Representatives is a place that fosters segregation. This 'coming together' is an illustration of how liminality and communitas (Turner, 1969) replaced national political structures.

> Moving tributes were paid in Parliament yesterday afternoon to the late Prime Minister, Mr Kirk. The public galleries were full and people wept as they listened to 10 members of Parliament giving valedictory addresses. After the House had adjourned, several senior Opposition members, including the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Muldoon, the Deputy Leader, Mr Talboys, the Rt Hon. Sir Keith Holyoake and the Rt Hon. J. R. Marshall, walked across the House to shake hands with Mr Watt (NZH, 4 September, 1974, p. 1).

**Casket Adornments – Flag, Cloaks, Flowers and Greenery**

The adornment of the casket is a normal and perhaps expected part of casket decoration in contemporary societies. The New Zealand flag has a blue background with the Union Jack in the top left quarter. The four stars of the Southern Cross take up the remaining three quarters. The Southern Cross reflects our location in the South Pacific and the Union Jack, our recent history as a British colony and dominion. The flag was adopted in 1902 when

New Zealand sent soldiers to fight in the Boer War (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010a).

> Once inside the foyer the body of the Prime Minister was laid under the catafalque. Mr Watt placed a New Zealand flag over two-thirds of the casket, and Mr Rata placed a kiwi feather cloak over the rest.  Mr K.T. Wetere (Govt-Western Maori) placed some greenery on the flag and the late Prime Minister's chief press officer, Mr J. L. Knowles, placed a specially prepared photograph of Mr Kirk in front of the casket (NZH, 3 September, 1974, p. 1).

A national flag is a nation's most potent symbol of power (Znamierowski & Slater, 2009).  National flags convey a special relationship to the country they represent.  For example, the New Zealand flag locates New Zealand on the world map, differentiates New Zealand from other countries, and reaffirms identity boundaries.  Flags are used simultaneously to symbolize as well as encourage nationhood, create bonds, honour the efforts of citizens, legitimate the formal authority of national defence groups like the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police, as well as to motivate patriotic action, pride and loyalty (Firth, 1973). The national flag also signifies 'service to country', for example, all government departments, established to 'serve the nation' usually have a flag pole to fly the New Zealand flag on authorized occasions.  The flag is also depicted in the New Zealand coat of arms used by major institutions and local authorities (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010a).

Many nations use their respective flags to adorn the coffins of people who die in service to their country.  Our most vivid images of flags used in this way are usually received via television coverage, especially of funerals of American military personnel.  In Kirk's state funeral, the New Zealand flag was used to symbolize the service provided by Kirk to his nation, and the love and respect of the nation for him (Durkheim & Mauss, 1963).  What is interesting in this case is that other items, symbols of other relationships, were offered, accepted and placed on the coffin.  The love of the Waikato people, and that of the Maori world, was symbolized within the kiwi feather cloak, an object of status and prestige, referred to below.

> The kiwi feather cloak, Mr Rata said, had been made available on behalf of the Maori people by the Waikato tribes. It symbolised their love for "Kirk, the man" (NZH, 3 September, 1974, p. 1).

The same is symbolised in the offering by Sir Eruera Tirikatene, politician and Ratana church leader, and the Rev. P. Manahi, also of the Ratana Church, who accompanied Kirk until he was laid to rest at Waimate.

> On the read-carpeted stage festooned with greenery, the official party stood in a semi-circle as a representative of South Island Maoris [sic] placed on the casket the personal kiwi cloak of the late Sir Eruera Tirikatene.  The Rev. P. Manahi, the senior minister of the Ratana church, then spoke in Maori of the life and leadership of the dead Prime Minister, describing him as "father advocate" of the Maori people (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p. 1).

Cloaks are symbols of prestige, mana, power, leadership, achievement and responsibility.  In the Maori world they are often made available to adorn coffins, to reflect the status of the deceased and to keep them 'warm' (Te Kanawa, 1992). To the Maori mind, an unadorned coffin looks and feels cold and uncared for.  It provides a 'cloak' to mask or distract from the coffin – a powerful symbol of the fact and presence of death.

The ongoing availability and use of a cloak in this way adds to its symbolic power.  It is not uncommon for families to have cloaks reserved specifically for this purpose.  On two occasions during Kirk's funeral, two iwi groups made cloaks available, Waikato and Ngai Tahu, both a symbol of their respect, care and affection for Kirk and his work for and with Maori.

Greenery was also placed on the casket.  While flowers have a particular significance in the western world (Walter, 1996a), in the Maori world greenery like kawakawa, karaka, ferns and palms are used to decorate places of lying in state and mourning (Rua, et al., 2010). They signify death.

**Figure 3** Alongside the coffin of the late Prime Minister Norman Kirk at Parliament House, Wellington. Evening Post staff photographer, 2nd August 1974 (1/4-021782-F).

Flowers surrounded Kirk's coffin while he lay in state at Parliament. Flowers have varying meanings.  Poppies are used to remember fallen soldiers in Great Britain and Commonwealth countries.  Love and romance are symbolized in red roses, typically

exchanged on Valentine's Day. Kowhai flowers symbolise the New Zealand Women's Refuge Movement. When associated with death, flowers are the perceived symbolism of the funeral rite. They signify feelings such as love and respect and esteem (Drury, 1994). They are also tributes of remembrance (Walter, 1996a). The customary British practice of strewing caskets with flowers or carrying wreaths and garlands at funerals is a custom New Zealand has inherited from Britain (Drury, 1994).

However, Maori and British influenced traditions and customs were not the only death ritual performed at Kirk's State funeral. Signifying the admiration and deep feelings held for Kirk by the New Zealand Samoan community, under the headline "Mr Kirk given 'Royal' farewell by Samoan community" the media reported:

> The ceremony began at 10.30am when the 20 bare-chested Samoan men – their shoulders glistening with raindrops – moved slowly up the main steps of Parliament chanting their sorrow at the loss of a great leader. Behind them came two Samoan women with the mat. Somehow a pathway opened up for the group as they moved inside a foyer jammed with mourners. Leading the Samoans was an elder, Mr Leifi Taua followed by his son, Chief Leifi–Alagwalii who was wearing a traditional Samoan necklace. In their hands the group carried branches of Samoan plants. The group slowly filed around the casket, and the two women stepped in front of it holding the mat out. A further chant was started, led by the elder, mourning for their dead chief. Then the mat was taken by the elder and his son and draped carefully over the casket (The Evening Post, 3 September, 1974, p. 1).

While Samoan people will read the above extract from their own perspective (Loto, et al., 2006), the following reporting demonstrates a blatant disregard of the offer made by Maori to the event, subverting the solemnity of the salutation by referencing what participants probably noted as insignificant background noise (Bechtel & Ts'erts'man, 2002).

> There was a traditional Maori salutation from the crowd of about 400 when the hearse containing the coffin drew into Parliament grounds at noon. As the chant of grief from the Maori, who were gently waving small pieces of greenery taken from trees in Parliament grounds it was almost drowned by the roar of an NAC Boeing 737 taking off from Wellington Airport (NZH, 3 September 1974, p. 1).

A Maori readership might have felt thrilled to have been included and represented in this way at such an auspicious event but disappointed and perhaps unsurprised that the media continued

to maintain a mainstream stance of portraying Maori in an unfavourable light (Hodgetts, Masters, & Robertson, 2004).

### Inclusion and Unity

Much of the commentary above has referred to the relationships that diverse communities in New Zealand had with Kirk. Their active participation in the state funeral event was made possible by their want to be there. Their embodied and symbolic presence, in korowai and 'ie toga (fine mats), allowed the media to present a narrative of unity and inclusion within a bereaved and mourning nation. As this chapter unfolds below, I illustrate how the media portrays and includes other sections of society, like religious groups, political parties, provincial cities and towns, and the rural heartlands all contributing to a unified and inclusive nation. For now, I turn to the media's narrative of a nation in mourning.

## A Nation in Mourning

### The closing down of a nation

Kirk's prominent status and reputation preceded his death. People appreciated his political contribution to New Zealand, his character reflected in both stature and personality, and his statesmanship. Kirk came from a working class background; he was the first Labour Prime Minister to be born and grow to maturity in New Zealand (Boon, 2005). He modelled an 'ordinary' man that had made a significant difference. The nation's appreciation and recognition of Kirk's investment is demonstrated by, for example, work commitments being in various ways suspended, and priority given to participating in national funeral rites. Under the heading "Time Off To Pay Respects" the media wrote…

> The Employers' Federation had agreed to recommend to its members that they give their workers time off to attend memorial services to the late Prime Minister, Mr Kirk, or to watch the funeral service on television, said the acting Prime Minister, Mr Watt, last night (NZH, 3 September, 1974, p. 3).

That the acting Prime Minister, Mr Watt, is communicating the recommendation of a very powerful industrial relations body of the day, adds to the legitimacy of the recommendation to permit its members time off work.  The media constructs this invitation as coming from the highest office in New Zealand, and gives strength to the expectation that employers, their workers and the public suspend their daily routines to bodily engage in state funeral rituals, or, if unable, to watch the funeral service on television.  They are invited to pause (Dayan & Katz, 1992), to renew their social values and bonds and to engage in the spirit of a nation through acts of collective mourning (Walter, 2002).  Also, we can see a powerful alignment between the media and the state, communicating details of how the state funeral was to take place, how the public could engage, and the state's expectation that they would do so.  The media becomes part of the state's cultural capital, a tool to promote and mobilize social capital, that is, social participation, cohesion, and the circulation of values, mores and norms for behaviour (Silverstone, 2007).

The magnitude of the state funeral and the expectation of participation were made more evident by the anticipated presence, and the inferred attention of a large number of international dignitaries.  New Zealand would be on show with an international audience.

> Prince Charles, who will represent at Mr Kirk's funeral service, will spend tomorrow night at Government House, Wellington.  The list of overseas visitors who will be attending the State funeral service in Wellington is still being added to, but among those who are certain to attend are: The Australian Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, and his wife; the United States Secretary of Labour, Mr Brenan, and Senator Vance Hartke; a former United States Ambassador to New Zealand, Mr John Henning, and Captain D. Madison and his wife, personal friends of Mr and Mrs Kirk; President de Roburt, of Nauru; the Premier of the Cook Islands, Sir Albert Henry; the Prime Minister of Fiji; Ratu Sir Kamasese Mara; and the Chief Minister of Papua New Guinea, Mr Somare (NZH, 3 September, 1974, p. 3).

As a Christian nation in the 1970's, New Zealand marked Sunday as the Sabbath, a day of worship, family and rest.  It was the only conceivable way to spend a Sunday, to do otherwise was to invite the scorn of the more committed (Walrond, 2010a).  Moreover, recreational shopping was impossible because shops, with the exception of the odd dairy were closed, as were bars (Walrond, 2010b).  Other significant Christian calendar anniversaries

were also similarly observed, like Christmas Day and Easter Friday. In the event of a state funeral and the passing of a Prime Minister while still serving the nation, the literal closing down of the nation and suspension of all ordinary activity was the only appropriate response; a mark of respect and oneness of expression that the nation as a whole could make.

**State and Religion**

Kirk arrived at Parliament on Monday 2$^{nd}$ September 1974 where he lay in state until Wednesday 4$^{th}$ September, the official funeral day. On this day, Kirk was formally moved from Parliament House to the adjoining St Paul's Cathedral. In the presence of thousands of people who had gathered to witness the event, Kirk's casket, draped in the New Zealand flag, was carried from Parliament Buildings by members of the police force, with Ministers acting as honorary pallbearers, and placed in a waiting hearse. Flanked by Cabinet Ministers on foot and witnessed by a large solemn crowd who lined the short route, Kirk's casket was slowly conveyed the 100 yards by hearse across the forecourt of parliament, to the Cathedral (NZH, 5 September, 1974).

Through the media, New Zealanders witnessed the significant roles played by the late Prime Minister's Senior Cabinet throughout the State funeral, thus reaffirming the unity, power, continuity and legitimacy of the Labour Government. This is best embodied by the acting, and to become, Prime Minister Bill Rowling, the then Minister of Finance. He performed key tasks and rituals throughout the state funeral and symbolically pronounced the government's intention to continue in the same power position they occupied prior to Kirk's death. As symbolized through the cooperation of the police and ritual participation of members of the armed services, the Labour party had protection to do so.

Maori symbolism and cultural customs also played a part as Kirk was moved from Parliament to the Cathedral. However, during this transitional phase, symbols of specific communities and of diversity that had previously dressed the casket while Kirk was lying in state, were absent. Instead, the casket was adorned only with the New Zealand flag. The reason for their absence was probably more pragmatic than anything else.

Shortly before the casket was carried in from Parliament Buildings by eight police senior sergeants, the traditional call of mourning – a karanga – came from members of the Maori community gathered outside the cathedral (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p. 1).

In the above extract, we see the media present Maori as ritualized bodies, performing karanga or calls of grief and bereavement (Te Awekotuku, 1991), receiving the deceased from the political space of parliament, into the sacred religious space of the Cathedral.  They are not described as members of the public.  Rather, they are presented as people engaged in and essential to the state funeral ceremony, at least in this part of the ceremony and in this part of the world, that is, in their own land.  And perhaps it is the wairuatanga, the spirituality that rises from the land, that the media attempts to reference and foreground, something found between spaces and bodies, outside the heart of politics, or the sanctuary of the Cathedral, rather than within.  Whatever, Kirk's journey takes him for a short while, between the powerful symbols of Church and State.

**The Role of the Church**

St Paul's Cathedral lies at the heart of the Wellington Anglican Diocese, connecting our present with the role played by the 'Anglican' Church Missionary Society in the colonization of New Zealand.  The Anglican Church sought to expand its reach in the same way that the Head of the Church sought to expand the British Empire.  Juxtaposed against the House of Parliament, the physical placement of the church represents the separation of religion from the state, but in its proximity to Parliament Buildings reflects its continued influence and power.  Moreover, that Queen Elizabeth II continues as our 'symbolic' Head of State and also as Head of the Anglican Church further reinforces this relationship.  It is into this institution that Kirk, members of his family and church, the Salvation Army, were carried, continuing the idea of serving the nation and upholding national institutions of importance and power (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p. 1).

Media reports estimate more than 10,000 people in attendance at the ecumenical service at St Paul's Cathedral.  While family, friends, the Prince of Wales, leaders of nations, international dignitaries, fellow politicians and the public filled the 1000 seat capacity Cathedral, outside, loudspeakers relayed the service to a massive crowd assembled on the

Cathedral forecourt.  Under the headline "Somber Silence Marked Nation's Grief On Death Of A Famous Son" the media wrote...

> Wellington showed the face of New Zealand's grief in a crowd of more than 10,000 that waited in uncanny stillness this morning for the funeral service of the Prime Minister (Mr Kirk) (The Evening Post, 4 September, 1974, p. 1).

The clergy for the day comprised representation from a diversity of religions (Catholic, Methodist, Salvation Army) but clearly the Anglican clergy presided over the service and performed the most significant roles. For example, the Anglican Primate of New Zealand, the Archbishop A. H. Johnston, delivered the sermon, while the Anglican Bishop of Wellington the Rt Rev. E. K. Norman and the Dean of the Cathedral the Very Rev. Walter Hurst, carried out other significant duties such as the final blessing within the ecumenical service.

> A simple Maori anthem, sung with deep conviction by the combined Wellington Maori choirs, formed a climax to the moving State ecumenical funeral service for the late Prime Minister, Mr Kirk yesterday.  Few of the 1000 people who packed St Paul's Cathedral remained unaffected by the choral tribute (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p. 5).

In pre-1970 New Zealand, most New Zealanders would have a repertoire of hymns learned at Sunday school as children, through attending Sunday church services, or through religious instruction at school.  While the media is silent on the name of the hymn, that it was in Maori, performed by a combined choir and was said to move so many, leads me to believe that it was likely that the tune, at least, was known to its audience.  One also assumes that the words to the hymn were provided to those in the Cathedral enabling them to also participate – such is the usual church custom.  It is well known that music and song can evoke powerful and physical reactions allowing the reliving of emotional sequences that happened when first it was heard (Juslin & Sloboda, 2001).  Sloboda (2007) suggests that emotions are tuned to detect change and when the emotional temperature has risen far enough, the move from recognising something to feeling something is triggered.  Perhaps this presents an explanation for what the media reported as occurring in St Paul's Cathedral.  Maybe the final Maori hymn served to instil a sense of connectedness among those attending the funeral service as part of a

community of mourners, provoking an emotional response and a recognition of shared grief and loss through the performance of the hymn.

**The Church and the Nation**

Kirk's funeral was largely predetermined by State ritual, symbolism and tradition. As a political figure and the official leader of New Zealand, Kirk was not just a public figure; he was a symbol of the public. In this way, the New Zealand public expected to contribute and play some part in his funeral. It was this anticipated public expectation that also influenced the form Kirk's funeral took. On the official funeral day, authorities across New Zealand organised and conducted memorial services of their own. Despite the geographical distance from the central symbol of the funeral, Kirk's casket, the size and scope of participation by the New Zealand public marked the day in many cities. This demonstrates that the meaning making of death and grief, is socially constructed, as opposed to an individual process (Valentine, 2008). For example, under the heading 'A City Pauses To Pay Tribute' the media reported:

> At church services, outside shop windows in Queen St, in shops, in offices, and at home, thousands of Aucklanders yesterday paid tribute to the late Prime Minister, Mr Kirk. About 1000 people filled the Holy Trinity Cathedral, Parnell, for a half hour ecumenical memorial service which began at 12.15pm. The service was attended by civic dignitaries, church leaders and people from all walks of life... At St Patrick's Cathedral about 700 people took part in a Requiem Mass for Mr Kirk and at the Central Methodist Mission 350 attended a special service… At St Mathew's-in-the-City, about 1000 packed the church to watch the State funeral service on television. Many stood in silence outside because the church was full (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p. 3).

In Auckland, local government together with religious and secular authorities organised memorial services and facilities for public participation, creating mourning spaces for the public to place their grief. That special services were well attended suggests places of worship such as churches and cathedrals played an important role in people's thinking about, engaging with and responding to death and grief. It also suggests that gatherings and places such as these provide a space where people can build and find a sense of community to engage

crises, to memorialise and to celebrate extraordinary events, and in this instance, to mourn a very special person.  Occasions, as in the loss of a Prime Minister, extend beyond the everyday and demand reassuring contexts and processes where people can find security when the everyday and ordinary has been ruptured.  Group participation allows people to compare and contrast their own feelings and reactions with those of others, in turn providing social and psychological benefits (Bosley & Cook, 1994).  The opportunity that Kirk's passing afforded to people to respond collectively was facilitated, not just by the State or through church services, or by businesses allowing employees time off to 'attend' services, in person, or mediated through television broadcasts (Dayan & Katz, 1994).  On the day of the funeral, the one channel available to New Zealanders was tuned to the national broadcast of the state funeral rituals.

Only a few elite New Zealanders, overseas guests, immediate family and close friends had the privilege of attending those events centred on Kirk's actual remains.  In this regard, the media played a crucial role in allowing the rest of New Zealand the mediated ability to see, to engage, to participate (Fiske, 1994).  The media was able to take the New Zealand public into a space where only a few could engage, invoking in the viewer the experience of being there, of playing a part, of having participated.  But something more crucial also occurred.  The media provided people with a common experience to share and discuss.   They were able to talk about what happened in the church, the hymns that were sung, the traditions and protocols enacted.  In this way the media provided the general public with the opportunity to analyse and assess for themselves such things as whether the 'right thing' had been done; whether the public symbol and symbol of the public had been adequately celebrated and mourned; and whether New Zealand as a nation was a caring humane society.

Through the media, the New Zealand public gained new insights into Kirk. For people that did not share Kirk's political allegiance, perhaps through the media they came to understand why he was mourned by thousands of fellow New Zealanders.  In the following tribute, the President of the Labour Party, Mr T. E. Skinner, informs and educates the public of Kirk's first national decision as the 1972 newly elected Labour Prime Minister of New Zealand.

> One of my fondest memories will be that immediately on the election of the Labour Government and even before he had taken office, Mr Kirk said the first thing his Government was going to do was to give a bonus to old-age people.  He said, 'some might not want it, but I've been up and down the country and many of them do … because some don't need theirs, there is no reason why those who do shouldn't have it' (NZH, 2 September, 1974, p. 3).

Again, we see the continued negotiation of a durable biography (Walter, 1996b), something that continues throughout the print media's reporting of this event.

The news media reporting of this event, not only informed and educated, but provided structure and content, and was responsive to a variety of community needs (Dayan & Katz, 1994).  There was something for everyone; history, pageantry, ceremony, dignitaries, royalty, the trivial and the transcendent, with the media regularly announcing when and what it was to cover.  Informing the New Zealand public of the televised funeral event, the New Zealand Herald wrote...

> This afternoon's coverage begins, after the opening news and weather, with the valedictory speeches for the late Prime Minister, Mr Kirk, made in Parliament on Tuesday.  After that the cameras switch to Waimate in the south island for a grave-side service and burial (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p. 11).

This diversity of television broadcasting and commentary perhaps matched the diversity in motivations.  People were differently motivated; some perhaps felt morally obligated – it was the right thing to do; and others perhaps fell upon the opportunity to feel a part of a collective event; or maybe some just watched television, read newspapers and talked to others about the event, simply because they could.

> The public stood three or four deep around some shop windows in Queen St to watch the State funeral service on television sets.  In shops and offices, staff paused either to watch the funeral service on television sets provided by some employers or to listen to the service on radio.  Most hotel and tavern bars closed between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. Some shops did likewise. Buses of the Auckland Regional Authority were off the road for a few hours (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p3).

Once the state rituals were concluded in Wellington, Kirk began his journey away from the nation's locus of political power, back to his electorate and home town of Waimate. The rituals along the way changed in focus, to become rituals and symbols of a community to which he belonged.

## Transitioning death

The Wellington public turned out in droves to directly participate in Kirk's funeral rituals as he left the capital city for the last time. Lambton Quay, Willis Street and Manners Street, the central business district of Wellington, comprised Kirk's procession route. The working population, largely made up of public servants who collectively symbolise the cogs and wheels of government, lined this route. Symbolically, the procession route and the public turnout affirmed the late Prime Minister's connection to both place and people, and likewise, them to him. For a short period, the 'running' of the nation was put aside by its public servants to make expressions of grief and honouring of New Zealand's ultimate public servant. Resonating Durkheim's (1963) 'collective effervescence', the Wellington public positioned themselves at every vantage point, location and site along the route, to pay their final respects to Kirk, playing both participants and audience in the public event.

> The largest crowd yet to line Wellington City streets said farewell yesterday to Norman Kirk. The previous record crowd greeted United States President Lyndon Johnson when he visited the city in 1966. Yesterday the crowd was much, much bigger. But it was a different sort of crowd. There was no air of expectation, no children waving flags and no chatter. There was a strange, respectful quiet about Lambton Quay, Willis St and Manners St. In the whole of Lambton Quay and Willis St only two shops – a takeaway food bar and a butcher – were open. People stood on the footpaths, four and five deep in places. In other areas, especially in Lambton Quay, two lines of people waited in the middle of the road. They stood in the rain to await the funeral cortege (NZH, 5 September, 1974. p.1).

Kirk's final departure from Wellington was as ritually orientated as it was symbolic of the Labour Government's assertion of its power, evident by the presence of 100 servicemen, the Royal New Zealand Air Force Hercules and Senior Government Ministers.

At Wellington Airport the hearse will be taken between an honour guard of 100 servicemen to an RNZAF Hercules for the flight to Christchurch. ...Senior Cabinet ministers– the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr Freer, the Minister of Finance, Mr Rowling, the Minister of Maori Affairs, Mr Rata, the Minister of Police, Mr Connelly, and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr May–will travel in the Hercules (NZH, 3 September, 1974, p. 3).

And so, Kirk departed the capital, Wellington, his headquarters, the seat of his political and national career, the place that gave him power and authority, and the place that the nation looked to. He and his family left Wellington and the nation's gaze turned to Christchurch, the place of Kirk's political beginnings, and later, to Waimate, the place of his birth.

**The Return Home**

Norman Kirk returned home yesterday to Christchurch, the scene of his early political achievements, on one of the city's greyest days. Gloomy low cloud and unremitting rain matched the mourning in the hearts of thousands of residents who turned out to pay their respects. An almost unbroken line of men, women and children stood in the rain as the cortege moved slowly through Burnside and Fendalton. Near his home, the former Bishop of Christchurch, the Rt Rev, A.K. Warren, was one of the thin but steady line. Most people however were of no rank or high position. They were ordinary citizens and their children – like the five "devoted subjects" who inserted a death notice in the morning paper. "To a friend we never met, but respected wholeheartedly" (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p. 1).

Through the media, New Zealand witnessed Kirk's arrival, lying in state, and memorial service in Christchurch. Although formal, it was not dominated by cultural or symbolic capital of the state or high church. There were no international dignitaries and royalty and no Parliament House. Instead, the honours bestowed on Kirk symbolised those relationships he established during his early political career. In 1953, at the age of 30, Kirk became the youngest mayor of Kaiapoi. In 1957, he became the Member of Parliament (MP) for Lyttleton, and later in 1969 until his death, the MP for Sydenham (M. Clark, 2001). Kirk was regarded as a man of integrity and someone to be trusted, and his decisions and actions affirmed this. For example, when appointed as the Mayor of Kaiapoi he permitted the media to attend council meetings to ensure transparency of public funds, and much later, did likewise with the Labour Party annual meetings (M. Clark, 2001). For the people of Christchurch, the

late Prime Minister's 'stopover' had a particular resonance for the city. They were able to remember what Kirk had done for them, they could pay their respects, and farewell him. As important, they could also lay claim to him as their son, brother and father, as an ordinary man.

> At the Town Hall, which Mr Kirk opened less than two years ago, the plaintive Maori mourning call of the karanga sounded as a police party carried the casket through the dimly lit auditorium. The Rev. P. Manahi, the senior minister of the Ratana Church, then spoke in Maori of the life and leadership of the dead Prime Minister, describing him as "father and advocate" of the Maori people. As evening shadows turned a grey day into darkness, it was the turn of the Christchurch people again. Undaunted by the continuing rain, they queued in their hundreds to file through the hall and pay their respects to the dead Prime Minister (NZH, 5 September, 1974, p. 1).

Christchurch Town Hall was the site where the city paid tribute to its leading member, and the rest of the country participated, via the media, in a community orientated funeral as opposed to a state orchestrated event. Town halls in a functional sense constitute a key 'local' place where people and communities gather to participate and experience community activities and events. They are places in which the deeds of local people, or a local hero, are given focus, acknowledged, praised and celebrated. Symbolically, town halls represent local identity, culture, values, and power in the sense that significant community decisions are often made in these settings. And so, it was in this context of 'localness' that Kirk was honoured, remembered and mourned by his community.

> As soon as the doors were closed at 9 am people began gathering outside in light rain to wait for the service to begin. Some were admitted to the main auditorium, but many others had to watch the service on television in the hall's two smaller theatres. Several hundred stood outside and listened as the voices and music were relayed over loudspeakers (NZH, 6 September, 1974, p. 3).

Like the State funeral service in Wellington a diversity of religions were present at the Christchurch memorial service. However, unlike Wellington, the Anglican clergy did not lead the service. Instead, a leader from Kirk's own church, the Salvation Army Lieutenant-Colonel T. A. McKenzie called the gathering to prayer, while the main address was given by the

Chairman of the National Council of Churches the Reverend Kenape Faletcese (NZH, 6 September, 1974).

> Under a sky still sodden with rain, the city of Christchurch yesterday paid its farewell tribute to the late Prime Minister. In a simple but moving memorial service in the Christchurch Town Hall, the chairman of the National council of churches, the Rev. Kenape Faletcese, said that Mr Kirk's death had touched the hearts of many people and brought many friends to New Zealand (NZH, 6 September, 1974, p. 3).

These shifts in symbolic power, from the colonialism of the Anglican Church to the church of the family, the Salvation Army, and to the community of churches, the National Council, reflects a move from funeral rites supercharged with political, national and colonial power to those focused on community and ordinary citizens. Accordingly, it was this theme that dominated media reports while Kirk was in Christchurch. Where the State, its grandeur and ceremonial tradition dominated Kirk's funeral in Wellington, in Christchurch the local people, and their physical presence dominated.

Similarly, this theme of 'localness' that presided in Christchurch continued in Waimate where Kirk was to be buried in simple but powerful displays of love, respect, esteem (Drury, 1994) and remembrance (Walter, 1996b). Carrying the headline "Waimate citizens respond with array of flowers" the Evening Post wrote…

> A spontaneous gesture by the living relatives of people buried in the Waimate cemetery has transformed a desolate graveyard into a colourful scene as the town prepares to bury its most famous identity this afternoon (The Evening Post, 5 September, 1974, p. 1).

And so, in Waimate, Kirk's funeral journey came to an end. In contrast to the elaborate displays of funerary and State symbolism in Wellington, the public ceremonies and masses in Christchurch, his burial and final farewell in Waimate was simple and intimate, attended by the local population, residents of the South Island, friends, close associates and family. His mortal remains were received back home by his community, and ultimately, by the remains of his ancestors contained the land in which he was raised.

Waimate received back its most distinguished son yesterday and with tenderness and dignity committed his body to the earth.  Sombre–faced residents of the small South Canterbury borough took up the burden of the nation's grief as they buried the Prime Minister, Mr Norman Kirk, in the simple lawn cemetery just outside the town boundary.  Mr Kirk's grave, close to that of his parents, is in the shadow of the Hunter Hills, where he loved to roam as a youngster (NZH, 6 September, 1974, p. 3).

## Summary

The state funeral for Prime Minister Norman Kirk presents a way of looking at the social, cultural and symbolic capital of a nation and how this is portrayed and created in and through the print media.  Cultural capital, those objects, bodies, spaces and landscapes that furnish a capacity to create and enact national ways of mourning are present in the forms politicians, the military, the police, public servants, New Zealand citizens, international guests, the media, and the resources they bring to the performance of state rituals.  What this analysis demonstrates is the critical role the print media plays in instructing its audience as to expected behaviour, places for their engagement and enactment, and what it means to be a nation in mourning.  Symbolic capital is a product of presenting the nation's cultural capital, for example, Parliament House and the Cathedral, in ways that intensify the focus on elements of power, status and prestige.  We see the diminishing of symbolic capital, as the deceased is carried from the power centre of the nation, and concomitantly, away from the symbols of power, back to the humble community of Waimate.  However, while evident in media reports of events in Wellington and Auckland, what becomes more evident as the journey to Waimate takes place, is the lived cohesive quality of social capital that is more characteristic of small towns and communities, rather than that amongst members of large political centres, like Wellington, a site for often brutal and divisive politics.

One last point is to be made about Kirk's state funeral.  Sir Eruera Tirikatene, politician and Ratana church leader, the Rev. P. Manahi, also of the Ratana Church and politician Mr Matiu Rata, all accompanied Kirk until he was laid to rest at Waimate.  Their presence and participation performed a significant duty to Maoridom.  With Matiu Rata from the north and Sir Eruera Tirikatene from the south, the whole of Maoridom was symbolically represented.  Moreover, Kirk's spiritual journey was cared for with the constant presence of the Ratana Church.  In between ceremonies, places, buildings and spaces, Kirk was

transitioned always with the first voice of the tangata whenua, through karanga. Maori had their own social, cultural and symbolic capital invested in this event, and these aforementioned people carried the burden of care, reciprocity, unity, spirituality and sense of relatedness and responsibility through their embodied presence and the offering of objects of mana, prestige and status. In sum, their performance served as a symbolic acknowledgment of the service provided by Kirk to the Maori people. This was communicated by and through the mainstream media, whether or not they were conscious of the very important role they were playing.

## Chapter 4:  The Tangi for Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu

Television broadcasting hours in New Zealand run 24 hours a day seven, days a week, 52 weeks of the year.  It is an ordinary aspect of New Zealanders daily lives.  New Zealand has four national mainstream channels, two national Maori channels, one of which is a Maori language channel, and Sky a private channel. While national and private channels provide daily news programmes, segments and updates at regular time slots throughout the day, international news programmes such as CNN and BBC are also televised live daily, in the early hours of the morning.  On the spot live news reports dominate routine news segments today, allowing the New Zealand public to receive news simultaneously as it occurs.  It is generally accepted by viewers and broadcasters alike that national and international 'breaking news' items will interrupt routine broadcasting schedules, or in special cases, news events such as a royal marriage or funeral, will replace regular television programmes.  Television is a dominant news centre that a large proportion of the New Zealand population access to keep up to date with news at home and abroad.  For many of the New Zealand public including New Zealanders living abroad, television would have been the medium through which they heard the news of Te Arikinui's passing, and the week long tangi event.

There are a multitude of radio stations in New Zealand today including national, regional, local, iwi and pirate stations that provide around the clock broadcasting.  Though not a focus of this study, a number of the New Zealand public would have heard the news of Te Arikinui's passing and followed coverage of her tangi via the radio.

## Nga Maunga Korero, Nga Parikarangaranga

The print news media and specifically news papers are the primary data source for this research.  Print news media provides its New Zealand audience with up to date news, seven days a week.  It is accessible and perceived as a reliable news source.  In 2006, community, local, regional and national news papers were available to the country and provided extensive coverage of Te Arikinui's tangi.  There was also a variety of magazines, including several published by, for, and about Maori.  They are not included in this study.

To open this chapter, my first comment is on the nature of mainstream print media highlighting a contemporary turn in attitude and tone. The first news item that heralded the passing of Te Arikinui in the Waikato Times was titled "TEARS FOR TAINUI".

> One of the Waikato's most revered leaders, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, died yesterday... Today, the Waikato Times marks her passing with a special edition. Below is the story of her last hours and what happens next. Turn to Page 4 for tributes and tangi preparations; read our tribute in the Page 6 editorial, and relive Dame Te Arikinui's life on Page 7 through her obituary. And we want to give readers an outlet for their grief. If you have a memory of Dame Te Arikinui, or a tribute, you want to share with everyone, let us know and we will publish it (WT, 16 August, 2006, p. 1).

The Waikato Times allocated valuable paper space to open expressions of grief and tributes to Te Arikinui. Generally a sensationalist newspaper that typically portrays 'Maori news' critically and more often negatively, the allocation of paper space, that is the whole of the front page, was perhaps an indication of how highly revered Te Arikinui was across society. It signaled an expectation that this would be a significantly large event, with the Waikato Times playing the lead role in presenting coverage and news. Moreover, the paper clearly saw itself as a conduit for information, education, tributes and biographic information about Te Arikinui. Reflecting accepted behavior in the 2000's, public expressions of grief and remembering from ordinary New Zealanders was invited for publication alongside the more usually expected tributes gathered from notable people.

It was no secret that Te Arikinui had been ill – the Waikato Times had carried earlier reports of her illness and hospital admissions over the preceding year.

> This year in January, Tainui took the rare step of issuing a public statement about Dame Te Arikinui's health – confirming persistent rumours she was undergoing dialysis treatment (WT, 16 August, 2006, p. 7).

Moreover, they had reported on the last public address Te Arikinui would make before her death where she herself commented on her failing health, the inadequacy of words to communicate her gratitude, and her feelings of fatigue. Waikato, the Kingitanga, and those taking note of press reporting, knew Te Arikinui's time was near.

Dame Te Arikinui celebrated her 75th birthday last month.  In May, tens of thousands
gathered at Turangawaewae to commemorate the 40th anniversary of her coronation.
Looking frail and at times tired from the effects of regular dialysis treatment, Dame Te
Arikinui attended some of the week's events.  In a moving speech on the final day of
commemorations, she spoke of struggling to find words to thank her people.
Alternating between English and Maori, she said that for the previous 40 years she had
spoken at length on the anniversary of her coronation, but now was unable to.  "In the
past it was no problem to stand and speak for 30 to 40 minutes.  Now I can't these
days.  I get tired and struggle".  She spoke of her gratitude for the "days that have been
given to me to be able to walk amongst you" and for the support she had received as
the revered leader of the Kingitanga (NZH, 16 August, 2006, p. 1).

To put the reporting of Te Arikinui's death and tangi in context, below is a list of

notable figures or tragedies involving significant media reporting. The media had time to do

their research, to prepare their performance and to consider their angles and would have been

influenced by the reporting of these other big deaths and how the international and local press

had imagined and reported death.  The Waikato Times also had years of experience covering

events in the Waikato.

**Table 1  Significant deaths 1997 - 2006**

| 1997, 31 August | Diana Princess of Wales |
|---|---|
| 2001, 11 September | Twin Towers World Trade Centre |
| 2002, 31 March | Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother |
| 2004, 18 April | Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, President of Fiji |
| 2005, 29 April | The Venerable Pope John Paul II |

The annual reporting of the anniversary of the Coronation of Te Arikinui, or Koroneihana, and

Raupatu Settlements, meant that the Waikato Times had a track record, and the confidence of

the Kingitanga, Turangawaewae and the Waikato iwi to whom Te Arikinui belonged and who

would play host to her tangi.  This is clearly apparent in the 'breaking news' headline:  "The

queen is dead: How the news came". While the headline was probably written by editorial

staff, the text could have only been written by Waikato for publication in the Waikato Times.

> He Aitua.
> E nga maunga korero,
> e nga parikarangaranga o te motu,
> tenei te reo o te arohanui e whakaatu nei kua au to moe o Te Arikinui o Te
> Atairangikaahu.
> To the land's lofty mountains and the echoing valleys we bring sad tidings of the
> passing of Te Arikinui o Te Atairangikaahu (WT, 16 August, 2006, p. 1).

This is how the iwi of Waikato told New Zealand and the world of Te Arikinui's passing. There was no great shock or surprise. It was deliberately worded, gentle and with a quiet reassurance and confidence. Evoking the symbolism of sacred mountains and valleys, the sad but expected passing was communicated simply, succinctly and in a deeply moving and very Maori way. While the announcement was intended for the world, it spoke intimately to Maori leaders and tribal groups of profound loss and sadness, and heralded the beginning of the widely practiced and culturally patterned response to death in the Maori world. The world was to engage this passing through Maori rituals of mourning, through the institution of tangi.

Reflective of Walter's (1996b) understanding of traditional societies, in many cultures being surrounded by family and friends when death arrives is viewed as the quintessential way to die. Knowing that a loved one was at home with family when life succumbs is the 'right way' or 'how it should be' in the Maori world (Ngata, 2005). This was the case for Te Arikinui, surrounded by people who knew and loved her.

> The monarch, who had seven children, had recently celebrated her 75th birthday and in
> May marked 40 years as the Kingitanga head. She is survived by her husband
> Whatumoana Paki and was surrounded by family and kaumatua at her residence at
> Turangawaewae in Ngaruawahia when she died (WT, 16 August, 2006, p. 1).

Speaking on behalf of the Waikato iwi, the late Hare Puke and Waikato kaumatua prioritises grief in his reply to a number of questions posed by reporters, such as the name of the successor of the Kingitanga Movement. This precedence given to 'the people's grief' is the foundational purpose of tangi, that is, to provide an environment that allows and sustains the emotional behaviour of the bereaved (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2009).

> Hare Puke said while those questions would be a background to proceedings, the
> expression of emotion for a "radiant lady" would be at the forefront. "I think there

> will be a process but that will be undertaken by the people, but in the first place the grief and the mourning of the people will have to be paramount (WT, 16 August, 2006, p. 1).

The tone of urgency and priority given to grief by the Waikato iwi was quickly founded, no sooner had Te Arikinui's death been announced, crowds of people descended on Turangawaewae to mourn her loss. While parallels exist between Walter's (1996b) traditional society and Maori society, in both societies, the meaning making of death takes place within the community, differences are also evident. Religion is fundamental to traditional societies' interaction with death. For Maori, tikanga or customary practice and cosmology is fundamental to how Maori perceive and treat death (Dansey, 1992).

## Manaakitanga, Whanaungatanga, Kotahitanga

> Only hours after the news broke, the streets alongside the country's senior marae and the seat of the Kingitanga movement of which Dame Te Arikinui was the head, were already lined with cars. Last night, floodlights were on and people were stationed outside closed entrances. Early this morning a church service for about 300 family members was held at the marae. About 30 people worked through the night preparing the marae. Everyone was wearing black and the women had their heads adorned with the traditional wreaths of greenery to mark their mourning. The main entrance to the marae was being water blasted and trucks were arriving loaded with trestle tables and road barriers (WT, 16 August, 2006, p. 1).

The contraction of whanau, marae and tribal networks such as the Kingitanga movement, the 300 family members, and the 30 volunteer workers to focus their energy on preparing for the significant customary rituals to follow, provide an example of a sophisticated social capital and its activation. Ritchie's (1992) five values of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, and wairuatanga present an explanatory framework for understanding the motivation for this intense activity and movement of people.

**Preparing the marae**

From my own experience and by way of explanation, the people (volunteers) that arrive at the marae well before the tupapaku (deceased) are the core group of workers, normally the community of the deceased, who remain throughout and host the tangi event. These are the head cooks, the waitresses, butchers, cleaners, and the 'kapok gang' – sleeping house workers. They are the people that know how to prepare the entire marae complex; are the organisers, 'movers and shakers', and in this respect, the leaders. Placed within a Treaty of Waitangi framework they represent tangible cultural capital; and their collective mana, skills, knowledge, leadership, management capacity, and aptitude are manifestations of a cultural capital institutionalized within the marae, and in this context, the Kingitanga movement. The consequence of this existing capital for the immediate bereaved is reassuring and comforting, knowing that all will be taken care of at a time of great emotional turmoil (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2009).

**Logistical demands**

The New Zealand public through the news print media was made aware of the cultural magnitude of Te Arikinui's tangi event. For example, under the news headline "Maori Queen's tangi is expected to be the largest this generation has seen" the New Zealand Herald wrote...

> Thousands are expected to travel to Turangawaewae to farewell the mother of seven and devoted leader whose charisma and humility, combined with impeccable whakapapa (lineage), ensured a fierce love and loyalty from her people. Dame Te Arikinui was lying in state at her residence, Turongo, last night. Today it is expected she will be carried on to the marae for what is expected to be a week-long tangi before she is buried alongside her ancestors on Waikato's Taupiri Mountain (NZH, 16 August, 2006, p. 1).

The basic logistical demands such as parking, catering, accommodation and seating for tens of thousands of people over a week require significant resources in terms of manpower and facilities. The management of several hundred volunteers, and the concomitant tasks and

responsibilities that such numbers give rise to, is immense, yet it is widely known throughout Maoridom and the larger New Zealand society that the Waikato people are more than familiar with and capable of hosting a substantial number of people at any one time. For example poukai, one day cultural events unique to Waikato iwi, began in 1885 at Whatiwhatihoe. A vision of King Tawhiao, poukai are used as a way of disseminating news and bringing people's concerns to the Kingitanga leadership, as well as being a time of feasting and grieving for people recently passed away. Poukai are currently held annually at 30 Waikato marae and affiliated marae, and some cases, can be attended by well over 1000 people.

Turangawaewae marae has catered for a significant number of people long before the electric stove or dish sterilizer became standard tools in its kitchens, and even before it had what would be deemed as a 'kitchen' today. Events such as the Coronation attract significant crowds. In 2006, over 40,000 people attended the 40th coronation of Te Arikinui (Te Awekotuku, personal communication, 1 July 2010). People, primarily volunteers, who work at these events, know what to expect, and likewise what is expected of them. However, what was clearly different in this instance was the sheer critical mass of people that Turangawaewae was required to host and the logistical standards the event required. The media picked up on this critical aspect of hosting Te Arikinui's tangi with frequent reports on the activities of organizers, workers, volunteers and their roles.

### Offers of support

Miss Mahuta [Labour MP and niece of Te Arikinui] said volunteers catered for 8000 people yesterday and they had been flooded with offers of help and donations of food from other marae throughout the Waikato (WT, 17 August, 2006, p. 1).

The national significance of Te Arikinui's tangi is reflected in various donations and assistance received from the local and national community. Although the above report speaks to the collective action and support from numerous Waikato marae, substantial donations were also received from various businesses and corporations, for example, New World Ngaruawahia, Te Ohu Kaimoana, Coolines, Fonterra and Rivermill Bakery. The New Zealand Army, who supplied 16 staff and two field kitchens throughout Te Arikinui's tangi also had a presence (WH, 19 August, 2006, p. A6).

The following news item carrying the headline "Tainui teens pitch in at marae" speaks to the suspension of everyday life to engage the activities of tangi.  As the extract above demonstrates  in relation to business, the extract below speaks to the social capital of relationships with schools that have long associations with Waikato, and to the embodied cultural capital of young people.  The experience of these young people within an apprenticeship system based on whakapapa is demonstrates both capacity and resilience and the ongoing process of enculturation, that is, the learning of the requirements of the culture by which he or she is surrounded, and acquires values and behaviours that are appropriate or necessary in that culture (Grusec & Hastings, 2007).

> Tainui teenagers may not be at school this week but they're putting a different kind of education into action. Around 300 students from Ngaruawahia High School, Nga Taiatea Wharekura, Fraser High School, Te Wharekura o Rakaumanga, and Te Kura Kaupapa o Rau Aroha are working at Te Arikinui Dame Te Arikinuiirangikaahu's tangi at Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia. From the kaumatua tables Parehe Nikau supervises her young helpers.  As she watches the waitresses and waiters – none of whom look over 18 – she nods her head.  "They are all brought up in the Kingitanga, from the time they're in Kohanga they know the Kaupapa" she said.  "They also know the dynamics of this dining room and the outside area.  They know what to do in here – they could almost run the place by themselves. They know people are important and they need to be fed, that it's important to be hospitable" (WT, 18 August, 2006, p. 1).

**Enculturated resources**

Similarly, the following item under the headline "Tangi is a family affair" (WT, 19 August, 2006, p. A8) portrays the engendering of social capital, and transmission of cultural capital from one generation to the next enabling a continuity among family members and between generations of shared beliefs, values and practices (Throsby, 1995). Te Arikinui's tangi is an example of an event of cultural significance.  It is in episodic events (Salmond, 1975) like this, that Maori retreat to, away from the daily challenges of negotiating the dominance of mainstream norms and behaviours, to enculturate, revitalize, sustain and continue the transference of Maori ways of being.  Tangi's are family affairs.

Tilly has barely stopped working since she learned of the death of Te Arikinui Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu. A few hours' sleep a night is all she needs before starting all over again. Likewise her 84-year-old mother. She sits on the paepae with her old friend in the coffin beside her and will remain there until Monday. Despite poor health she could not stay home. Meanwhile, Tilly's husband Hone is helping to prepare and dress the waka that will carry Te Arikinui along the Waikato River to her final resting place at Taupiri. And somewhere on Turangawaewae, Tilly and Hone's eight children are serving visitors, cutting up meat, tidying up and collecting and arranging the greenery. If they're old enough their grandchildren will also have a job to do and if they're not they will be watching and learning until they are.

## The Loss of a Rangatira

For 40 years Te Arikinui reigned as the Kingitanga leader, providing security, assurance, familiarity, continuity and service to her Kingitanga community, the wider Maori and Pacific communities, and the New Zealand nation. For many people, in particular Maori, Te Arikinui was the most potent symbol of the Kingitanga Movement and with her loss, would come change as communities reconfigure to address her absence (Howarth, 2007). The Chairman of Tainui Group Holdings, Tukoroirangi Morgan's tribute echoes the profound loss and sadness felt by Te Arikinui's people and Maori.

> Tainui chairman Tuku Morgan said news of the loss had caused "deep despair" among the Tainui people. "This is a huge loss, the loss of a Queen who was much loved and hugely respected. "She propelled the Maori cause and provided an international face that benefited all Maori. We will miss her calm and measured leadership, and beautiful smile" (WT, 16 august, 2006, p. 4).

The news article carrying the headline "Pacific Island leaders join farewell to Dame Te Arikinui" speaks to the anticipated attendance by Pacific nation leaders and representatives, illustrating the respect and sadness, experienced by people and communities beyond iwi boundaries and New Zealand shores. That government and secular agencies in the Cook Islands intended to fly their national flag at half mast on Te Arikinui's burial day reinforces the close relationship shared between the Kingitanga Movement and the Polynesian state. This ritual response by the Cook Islands and its people provides an example of how the unifying and cohesive nature of death rituals (Durkheim, 1965) transcends geographical distances.

Cook Islands Prime Minister Jim Marurai said it was with great sadness that Cook Islanders had learned of the death of Dame Te Arikinui. In an official message to Dame Te Arikinui's husband and family, and the people of Tainui, Mr Marurai said: "We hope that your sorrow will be relieved by the thought that she contributed in many ways to her people and to the way of life of all New Zealand. Please accept our deepest sympathies and prayers at this time of sadness". He called on all government departments and non-government organisations in the Cook Islands to pay their respects by flying flags at half mast on Monday (WT, 17 August, 2006, p. 5).

Similarly, other Pacific nation representatives also anticipated attending Te Arikinui's tangi.

Pacifica Island leaders and dignitaries are making their way to Ngaruawahia's Turangawaewae Marae to pay their respect to Te Arikinui Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu. After the announcement of her death on Tuesday, the countries with strong bonds to Dame Te Arikinui and Tainui were making hasty plans to send a representative (WT, 17 August, 2005, p. 5).

Like the Waikato Times, the New Zealand Herald also provided a website, in which people from around the world, could share tributes and pay their respect to Te Arikinui, some of which were published in the print news. While some tributes spoke from a place of personally knowing Te Arikinui, others spoke of what she symbolised in their lives. For a New Zealander residing in Perth, Te Arikinui's passing invoked feelings of patriotism...

A shining star has been extinguished and we feel her loss across the distance. Her loss brings home the truth that, wherever we are, we are still New Zealanders at heart (NZH, 17 August, 2006, p. A7).

For a resident of California the significant loss felt by Te Arikinui's death is explicit...

Dame Te Arikinui was a born leader, an immense matriarch, a loving mother to her family and people she will be greatly missed. I second the statement "she was an immense presence in our lives – her dignity, her compassion, and her visionary influence will be a huge loss to Maoridom". Blessings to the family at this time. It is with the utmost respect that we will be alongside the country and nation mourning the Queen. Until we meet again (NZH, 17 August, 2006, p. A7).

International and national leaders and dignitaries were not the only people who travelled substantial distances. Ordinary people, young and old, throughout the country also

withdrew from their everyday lives to attend Te Arikinui's tangi in person. For example, in the following news item carrying the headline "Southern school closes in respect for queen's death", the Waikato Times wrote...

> Invercargill's Te Wharekura O Arowhenua will be closed for the rest of the week as a mark of respect for the late Maori queen, Te Arikinui Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu. The school's head girl, Jahna Hura, confirmed while packing her bags last night that the school would be closed while she, Principal Arni Wainui and three other senior pupils attended Dame Te Arikinui's tangi at Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia. Miss Hura, who is Tainui and has been to the Waikato marae many times before, said she would be making the 20 hour drive to the Waikato with the three pupils while Mrs Wainui would travel by plane (WT, 17 August, 2006, p. A5).

## 'The Lady'

Te Arikinui was widely known simply as 'The Lady'. Perhaps the sadness felt by many and the reason why tens of thousands of people travelled to Turangawaewae to pay their respects in person can be attributed to, at least in part, the fact that Te Arikinui was an approachable leader. Her humility was genuine, and people were at ease with her. She softened the rigid access protocols observed prior to her ascent to the Kingitanga mantle. Te Arikinui led the Kingitanga for 40 years, a period during which some people and institutions felt the movement to be irrelevant and contrary to a progressive nation and the notion of nationhood (King, 1987). Te Arikinui was a visible leader, particularly in the Waikato region. She travelled widely within New Zealand responding to invitations to be amongst Maori communities. She also had a fond affection for the Pacific and had cultivated genuine relationships with pacific leaders who over the years had reciprocated with visits to Turangawaewae. Her friendships also extended to Elizabeth II, Queen of England with whom Te Arikinui had an ongoing relationship. As well as being and effective Maori woman leader, Te Arikinui was a wife, mother, aunty, grandmother and great grandmother, epitomising the ideal of being Maori today. And, she enjoyed doing ordinary things just like everyday people. The following two news items describe encounters had by everyday people with 'the Lady'. Under the news headline "Fish 'n' chips and chat with a queen" (NZH, 18 August, 2006, p. A5) the media wrote...

It is clear Dame Te Arikinui cut across many boundaries of the socioeconomic divide, despite her position within the Kingitanga movement. Christopher While from Melbourne said many years ago his path crossed with Dame Te Arikinui's while he was travelling in New Zealand. "We had stopped at a takeaway in a small country town when two cars pulled up and some well-dressed and elegant Maori got out to order food. I was unaware of their identities at the time, but did notice the beautiful tiki the only woman was wearing. I was introduced and we spoke briefly ... how many other royal persons would you be likely to meet at a small country fish-and-chip shop?

Former Waikato diocesan classmate Barbara Jolly, of Te Awamutu, said Dame Te Arikinui had shown leadership qualities from an early age and was a prefect at the school. "Her old school was a big bond. On one occasion she could not make a reunion, so she asked me to gather six people from our school years and bring them to Turangawaewae for lunch"(NZH, 18 August, 2006, p. A5).

Many people outside Te Arikinui's local community also experienced and appreciated her leadership style within formal settings. Throughout her reign Te Arikinui had developed strong relationships with diverse organisations, state agencies, and local, regional and national authorities.

Environment Waikato chairwoman Jenni Vernon said Dame Te Arikinui's leadership style demanded attention. "The respect she had went way beyond iwi boundaries" (NZH, 18 August, 2006, p. A5).

Mighty River Power chief executive Doug Heffernan said his dealings with Dame Te Arikinui had always been warm and friendly. Company executives often met Tainui leaders to discuss key operational matters, Mr Heffernan said. "She kept everyone focused on the key areas of importance, which often involved a common interest. There was no ambiguity at all. Her strength of will was clear and the health of the [Waikato] river was a paramount issue for her" (NZH, 18 August, 2006, A5).

On the 19th August, the Waikato Times (2006, E2, p2) carried a simple headline "Tributes to the lady". The press had created their 'people's princess' (Frears, et al., 2007) equivalent in 'The Lady'.

## The closing down of State Highway 1

Before I describe and discuss Te Arikinui's tangi, I want to focus on news media reporting of the impact her tangi had on New Zealand's major network State Highway 1 (SH1). SH1 runs the entire length of both the North and South Islands providing access to New Zealand's main cities, towns, communities and rural areas. In key areas such as Ngaruawahia, SH1 facilitates high volumes of traffic including freight, public transport as well as regular commuter and tourist traffic (refer to maps on following pages). SH1 runs through the centre of Ngaruawahia, so for the tens of thousands of people that attended Te Arikinui's tangi daily, it was the main route. The possible problems this significant increase in traffic could have caused, prompted the New Zealand Police to divert general traffic away from Ngaruawahia throughout the tangi event. Carrying the headline "Cops ready road for chaos" the media wrote:

> Extra police will be on duty and roads are likely to be closed as tens of thousands of mourners pour into Ngaruawahia over the next few days. Police plan to divert SH1 traffic west of the Waikato River to avoid traffic jams during Te Arikinui Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu's funeral (WT, 16 August, 2006, p. 4).

Taupiri Mountain, Te Arikinui's burial ground, like Ngaruawahia is located on SH1 and also carries a substantial volume of traffic. SH1 runs parallel to the Waikato River, which is the route Te Arikinui was carried by waka to Taupiri Mountain. Through the media, Transit New Zealand, the government agency responsible for traffic and road ways, informed the New Zealand public of access changes to SH1. Under the news headline "SH1 to close and detours in place to cope with huge volume of funeral traffic" (WH, 19 August, 2006, p. A6) the media wrote...

> STATE Highway 1 will close on Monday between Ngaruawahia and Huntly for the Maori Queen's funeral... Transit NZ expects to close the main highway and part of a branch route near Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu's final resting place on Taupiri Mountain for at least six hours from 10am. Local traffic will be diverted across bridges at Huntly and Ngaruawahia to a road which follows the opposite bank of the Waikato River. But that road includes a one-way bridge and several other narrow and difficult bends, so the police hope trucks and other long-distance traffic will give the

entire district between Pokeno and Tirau a wide berth by travelling instead along SH2 and SH27.  A section of SH1B, which runs between Taupiri and Hamilton via Gordonton, will also close.  Message boards at Tirau and on Auckland's Southern Motorway will urge drivers to take the longer eastern detour, and travelers other than local residents who get as far south as Ohinewai will be encouraged to turn left at the interchange to Tahuna, north of Morrinsville.

Perhaps state authorities were provoked by the realisation that whether or not alternative plans for general traffic were arranged, tens of thousands of people would descend on Waikato's main cemetery to witness and participate in Te Arikinui's burial.  These factors considered and the potential danger this could cause resulted in the closure of a section of SH1 for six hours.



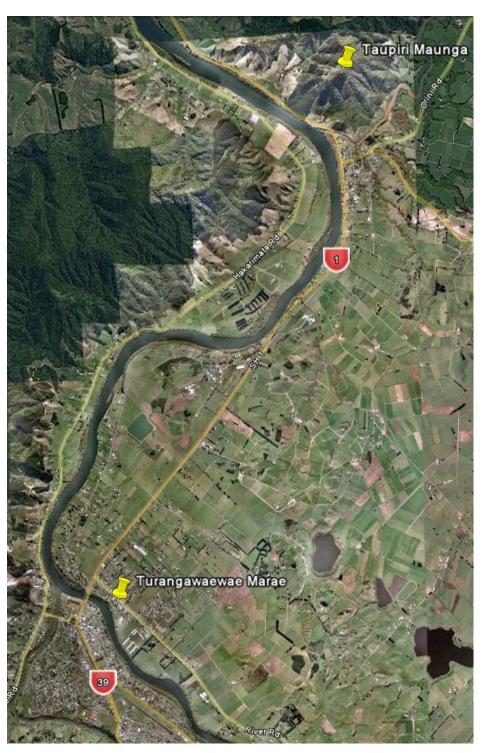Figure 4  Map showing regional road network [courtesy Google Maps]

**Figure 5** Map showing State Highway One from Turangawaewae Marae to Taupiri Maunga [courtesy Google Maps]

That a significant stretch of SH1 was closed for several hours would have required some local and national businesses to change their everyday routine operations, such as the route they would normally travel. The effect of this, would have increased operation costs and added pressure to existing resources.

> Waikato road policing manager Inspector Leo Tooman said the funeral would generate one of the largest movements of people to be seen in the Waikato. "It will impact hugely on the transport network". He said the police had worked with trucking organisations to ensure freight traffic kept clear of SH1 but anyone else intending to use the road needed to plan their journeys well in advance and to expect delays (WH, 19 August, 2006, p. A6)

Similarly, aware of the possible congestion that funeral traffic could have on the already overcrowded Auckland roadways, the Auckland Regional Transport Authority organised discounted transport for a large contingent of Auckland mourners.

> The Auckland Regional Transport Authority is offering about 440 seats on two return trains from its suburban fleet to mourners for a special return fare of $20, leaving for the Waikato between 7.40am and 8am. Those trains will stop at a normally disused platform at Ngaruawahia for passengers to be carried back north to Taupiri by buses. National rail operator Toll is also arranging a limited service train with the Tainui tribal federation for about 300 elderly and disabled mourners from Ngaruawahia to Taupiri, where the track runs along the foot of Dame Te Arikinui's burial mountain (WH, 19 August, 2006, p. A6).

The major logistic challenges that the Auckland Regional Transport Authority, Transit New Zealand, Toll New Zealand, Regional Council Environment Waikato, and the New Zealand Police Force would have encountered arranging special transport for Te Arikinui's burial day, and alternative roadway conditions over the week long tangi, apart from the fact that these very independent State and Regional agencies had to achieve some level of cohesion, would have required significant planning, preparation and scheduling. Suggesting that Transit New Zealand's decision to close a section of the country's main network was not just proactive, but perhaps motivated by the fact that a large number of the New Zealand public would suspend their everyday lives to be part of something big, something historical, something intrinsically Maori.

>Tainui is working with Toll New Zealand to organise a train to carry kaumatua and kuia from the marae to Taupiri, while Regional Council Environment Waikato is bringing in 60 buses to run a continuous free shuttle service from 8.30am to 5pm between the two (WTW, 19 August, 2006, p. 1).

Other institutions were also prompted to alter routine schedules in response to the tangihanga proceedings...

>Waikato Hospital is cancelling surgery because its emergency department is extra busy – and it fears Te Arikinui Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu's tangi will make it busier. About 100,000 mourners are expected over the next week and the many elderly Maori likely to attend are in the most high-risk group for poor health (WT, 17 August, 2006, p. 1)

Death disrupts people's lives and ruptures communities (Durkheim, 1965). But extraordinary death brings nations to a halt (Frears, et al., 2007; Schwartz, 1991; Walter, 1999). Such was the case in the state funeral for Norman Kirk. But his was a state funeral. Te Arikinui's tangi was not. In times of crisis, the state can take extraordinary measures to intervene to ensure security, continuity and community. To inter Te Arikinui at Taupiri Maunga, Waikato relied heavily on the cooperation and goodwill of the state, government agencies, private business and the public. As the media extracts above show, these agencies not only worked together but organized to anticipate potential challenges and found ways to surmount or circumvent them. Expressions of social capital (Halpern, 2007; Healy, 2004), of trust, cooperation, social agreement and goodwill from all quarters, characterized media reporting of Te Arikinui's tangi. Nothing was a problem. Anything could be achieved.

## A Tangi for an Ariki

### Turangawaewae Marae – the setting

Located at Ngaruawahia, the heart of the Kingitanga country on the banks of the Waikato River, Turangawaewae marae is the largest marae in the country. There are five

wharepuni or sleeping houses; Mahinarangi, Pare Waikato, Kimikimi, Pare Hauraki and Turongo, and three wharekai; Kimiora, Akora and Te Mata o te Enua.  As Kirkwood (2000) tells us, the naissance of Turangawaewae and more specifically its location in Ngaruawahia are found in a whakatauki by the second Kingitanga leader, Tawhiao Matutaera:

> Ko Arekahanara taku haona kaha
> Ko Kemureti taku oko horoi
> Ko Ngaruawahia taku turangawaewae

The intent movtivating Tawhiao's prophecy was the provision of a marae for 'all people', and its physical manifestation, is the creation of Te Arikinui's aunty, Te Puea Herangi (King, 1987).  The geography of marae today (Durie, 2001) generally consists of a marae atea, the open space or ground in front of the wharepuni (meeting house) which serves as a place for social purposes. The focal point of most marae is the whare tupuna, which facilitates major gatherings and ceremony and at night acts as a communal sleeping house. The wharekai (dining hall) and ablution facilities make up the marae complex. Marae today are used for a whole host of cultural and secular events and activities, for example, tangi, weddings, memorable birthdays, family reunions, hui (meetings) and wananga (workshops) or for the purpose of accommodating groups (Durie, 2001).  Marae are a place of human and spiritual dimensions and give visible and physical expression to its people and community (L. W Nikora, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2007). Marae engender cohesion and unity that in its basic form derives from shared whakapapa (lineage).  Marae is a place where tangata whenua have turangawaewae (a place to stand) and where Maori cultural values, beliefs, practices and traditions have priority and are affirmed and reaffirmed (Te Awekotuku, 1996).

Turangawaewae marae hosted Te Arikinui's tangi.  Its visual and physical presence is an explicit symbol of the Kingitanga movement.  It is the Kingitanga stronghold, in this way its history is one with the Waikato people (King, 1987).  A history that saw Waikato displaced from their way of life and a history that has seen the reclamation of a Waikato identity, land and waterways (Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated, 2010).  Symbolically, Turangawaewae constitutes collective power articulated by Waikato's distinct identity, expressed through annual Kingitanga coronation celebrations, the poukai in March, and the summer regatta (Ritchie, 1992).  Turangawaewae is an assertion of resilience and collective

resolution. Turangawaewae vindicates Waikato people's right to assert what is theirs, and the 1995 Waikato Tainui Treaty of Waitangi Claim (Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated, 2010), which saw the Crown compensate the Waikato iwi with a land and monetary settlement of $170 million, gives expression to that right. Like other marae, Turangawaewae is where its people, like Te Arikinui, return to, to begin in accordance with tikanga, their 'final rite of passage' (Te Awekotuku, 1996).

Reflecting Tawhiao's prophecy, Turangawaewae is seen as a senior marae of the nation, made apparent by the many cultures, distinguished guests and peoples welcomed over time to the marae. Through the news media coverage of Te Arikinui's tangi, the New Zealand public was educated about Turangawaewae, the Kingitanga and the people that it has hosted.

> The prominence of the Kingitanga and its recognition by national and international leaders was reflected in visits by pacific and commonwealth dignitaries and world leaders, including Bill Clinton and Nelson Mandela. Members of the British royal family also paid their respects to Maori. Many of the country's Prime Ministers were visitors to the Queen's official home at Turangawaewae Marae, including Jenny Shipley and Jim Bolger. Helen Clark is understood to have maintained regular contact (NZH, 16 August, 2006, p. A5).

**Waikato – the hosts**

The first day of Te Arikinui's tangi was symbolic of the entire tangi, in the respect that it was inherently a Waikato event. Waikato protocol and tikanga permeated every ritual and practice, and determined the form Te Arikinui's tangi took. In many respects, the tangi was not unlike other tangi. The first day was set aside primarily for people of Waikato, a practice that allows the home people of the marae, the family and hosting iwi to have their time to mourn and prepare for the days ahead. Her people came in their thousands to grieve, celebrate, and honour their 'Lady'. Speaking on behalf of Waikato, Tukoroirangi Morgan said...

> This is an opportunity for Tainui to have their private moment before the thronging masses arrive. Our time is also about galvanising the collective in preparation for those masses (WT, 17 August 2009, p. 1).

Under the headline "Long wait for moment in history" the media wrote...

> They began arriving before 8am, before workers had finished wiring the ceremonial
> panels along the front entranceway.  It was icy cold then and they came prepared. The
> women twisted leaves together making the wreaths for their heads and then twisted
> handkerchiefs in their hands as they struggled to cope with such a momentous loss.
> They kissed each other, wiped their eyes from time to time and waited... Predictions
> of the gates opening at midday proved optimistic.  But at 1.30pm a murmur spread
> throughout the crowd, the people stood and queued and several minutes later they
> made their way inside. The voices of several rangatahi broke the silence with a haka.
> On the paepae[1] sat 20 kuia accompanying Dame Te Arikinui's casket which was
> draped in her father's cloak.  Above her were family photographs, the cloaks of
> Kingitanga leaders who had gone before her and above that palm fronds hung from the
> meeting house.  The crowd quickly filled the forecourt and beyond until all the seats
> were taken and the overflow stood shoulder to shoulder at the back.  From the right-
> hand side, Motu Katipa stood to speak. The biggest tangi many will see in their
> lifetime had begun (WT, 17 August, 2006, p. 5).

The most powerful and commanding symbols present throughout Te Arikinui's tangi
were the five korowai belonging to Kingitanga leaders Potatau, Tawhiao, Mahuta, Te Rata
and Koroki.  They covered the wall above the casket, and their portraits were placed upon
them. Photographs of  Te Puea Herangi (the founder of Turangawaewae and aunt to Te
Arikinui), Te Atairangikaahu Senior (Te Arikinui's mother), the late Sir Hepi Te Heuheu of
Tuwharetoa, and Te Arikinui's brother, Sir Robert Te Kotahi Mahuta completed the display.
Together with Te Arikinui they embody and symbolise the 148 year old movement that
continues to be a rich source of Maori identity, values, beliefs, traditions, and customs
(Ritchie, 1992).  The Kingitanga descent line embodied by the images serves to bring the
world of ancestors into that present moment to join with the living to support the deceased to
move beyond their mortal form and on to their spiritual journey.  The images also present a
history to be recalled, remembered and re- negotiated (Walter, 1996b) as the most recent of
the line is sent to rejoin them. The verandah of the ancestral house Mahinaarangi, was, for that
time, a liminal space between worlds (Turner, 1987).

The paepae, the place where orators stand to speak from and who are responsible for
the facilitation of marae rituals of encounter, ensured that appropriate customary practice was

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[1] The paepae is usually where the orators are positioned.  The position of the kuia and the casket in this
extract is wrong.  They were situated on the mahau, the verandah of the carved house, Mahinaarangi.

followed.  They modeled the level of appropriate behavior, the norms and expectations of the occasion, and urged themselves and visitors towards excellence.

> Throughout the afternoon, loud and proud male voices acknowledged their dead forefathers before the large, ever increasing crowd.  The men often gestured toward the eight large photographs displayed on the wall behind Dame Te Arikinui's casket.  Sometimes the amplified drone of oratory was interrupted by a waiata, a song of lament.  It was moving and powerful (NZH, 17 August, 2006, p. 1).

While there were the formalities, there were the less formal encounters and ordinary activities of marae to get on with.   Tangi are also occasions in which relationships are rejuvenated, lost contact is rekindled, and new contacts embraced (Dansey, 1992).  Away from the marae atea, the New Zealand public, through the media, was able to experience the contrasting dimensions of tangi (Ngata, 2005). The public were given insight into its social aspects imaging whanau members, young and old, delighting in the warmth and joy of reconnecting.

> Away from the main crowd, people busily made their way from one marae building to another, greeting one another with hongis [sic], hugs, and smiles.  Others stood alone and watched.  Deeper inside the marae grounds, a handful of friends and family had already sat through a welcoming ceremony. They sat on the banks of the Waikato River in the late afternoon sun as the children, some shirtless, played (NZH, 17 August, 2006, p. 1).

**World Respect**

Resonating with the high regard and admiration felt for Te Arikinui, iwi leaders, the political elite, dignitaries and the general public in their thousands arrived at Turangawaewae over several days to pay their respects.  The broad range of people that participated in person represented a diverse New Zealand.  This diversity is noted in age, gender, ethnicity, political orientation, iwi affiliation, the distance people travelled, and the communities, towns and cities they travelled from.  Through the news media the nation was made aware that tens of thousands of the ordinary New Zealand public withdrew from their daily lives to be part of something historically, socially and culturally significant. Implicitly, they were invited to engage.

A group of up to 500 from Tuwharetoa was to attend this morning, followed by groups from Te Arawa, Whanganui and Raukawa, each numbering in their hundreds. Ngapuhi representatives – likely to be among the largest contingents – were expected this afternoon (WT, 17 August, 2006, p. 1).

The tangi was further swelled by large contingents from Iwi including Ngati Porou, Kahungunu, Tuhoe and Ngati Hine (WH, 19 August, 2006, p. A6.).

On the third day of Te Arikinui's tangi the country woke to the headlines "PM pays her respects to monarch" (WH, 19 August, 2006, p. A6).

The Mother of the nation and the Leader of the nation were among the thousands to descend on Turangawaewae Marae yesterday to mourn Maoridom's longest serving monarch, Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu.  Prime Minister Helen Clark, a large Government contingent, Green and New Zealand First MPs and former *One News* presenter Judy Bailey – often called the Mother of the Nation – were among visitors to the Ngaruawahia marae.  Helen Clark, in a move demonstrating the bond shared between the two leaders, was invited to sit beside the coffin of Dame Te Arikinui, and next to her eldest son, Tuheitia Paki[2], a position reserved for only those very close to the family.  The Prime Minister was also the first woman (and likely to be the only one) to speak on the marae during the tangihanga, a domain normally reserved by Tainui protocol for men (NZH, 19 August, 2006, p. A6)

While certain protocols prevail with men and women having respective gendered roles to engage, a certain amount of pragmatism is also exercised, particularly when political leaders and dignitaries visit the marae.  Prime Minister Helen Clark embodied the nation, and the nation had come to pay their respects.  In such circumstances, the office held by the person is given priority over their gender, to give voice to those they represent.  It was probably politically expedient for Waikato to also facilitate the Prime Ministers contribution particularly at a time when the political issue of guardianship of the Waikato River was still on the table and yet to be determined by the then Helen Clark Labour government. Through news media reports the nation heard what their chosen leader had to say.

Over the past 40 years there has been immense change for Maoridom.  Te Arikinui has been a source of continuity, a link to the past and a creator of a new future.  Miss Clark

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[2] This reporting is ambiguous as Tuheitia Paki was not seated near the casket at the time of Prime Minister Helen Clark visiting to pay her respects.

said where there were opportunities for development for Maori Dame Te Arikinui was to be found. She said her influence was felt throughout the country. She was a force for unity in this country and we are the better for it. Her presence will be very greatly missed (WT, 18 August, 2006, p. 1).

Reflecting the many relationships Te Arikinui formed and maintained during her reign the print news media under the headline "Dignitaries queue to pay last respects" wrote...

The first dignitaries to pay their respects to the late Te Arikinui Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu were welcomed on to Turangawaewae Marae early today. Queues outside the marae began forming about 6.30am. Among those waiting were former Prime Ministers Jim Bolger and Jenny Shipley, along with Sir Douglas Graham, the former National minister responsible for negotiating Tainui's 1995 raupatu settlement. Outgoing Governor-General Dame Silvia Cartwright and her husband Peter also arrived early and sat outside chatting with mourners alongside Maori Party co-leader Tariana Turia. The gates opened at 8am and among the first people to be welcomed was a contingent from Waikato University (WT, 17 August, 2006, p. 1).

For many of the New Zealanders, a tangi was foreign territory. News media coverage of Te Arikinui's tangi was the first time they had heard or learnt of the Kingitanga movement and its place in our history. And many Pakeha New Zealanders attended the tangi, with marae spokes people speaking through the media, to help them negotiate the protocols of the marae. Under the headline 'Chance for pakeha to mourn' the media reported…

Family spokeswoman Nanaia Mahuta said today the family wanted to accommodate Dame Te Ata's many pakeha friends who had been keen to know when they could visit her. It had been decided the reserve the marae for her pakeha friends, ethnic communities and members of the public to pay their respects between 8am and 10am tomorrow. Paterson Park will be available for parking and people are to go to the main gate where they will be instructed on protocols and guided to join the procession (WT, 18 August, 2006, p1).

In the above extract, we see the part the media played in informing the public on how they specifically could participate, how their participation would be welcome, and how the marae would accommodate them. They were expected. And they came. And the media reported on it.

Yesterday, at Turangawaewae marae in Ngaruawahia, something happened that many people had never seen before – protocol was dispensed with and the public was able to file past the coffin for two hours without the usual formal welcomes – a solemn procession. Thousands took the opportunity to pay their respects…A middle-aged Pakeha woman was in tears as she approached the steps of the meeting house. Gaye Stradwick, born in Australia, had never been on a marae before and had never met Dame Te Arikinui. She and her husband Jack are pastors of the Fusion Church in Auckland and rose at 5am to travel to Ngaruawahia to support two of their parishioners who are from Tainui. This is a once in a lifetime opportunity, Stradwick said. None of us are probably going to see anything like this again. It's affected us quite deeply and yet we don't have any connections with Maori family. I think it's a spiritual thing – that feeling that Tainui has a rich spiritual history and the Queen B was the keeper of that history. There's a deep sense of the moment, and the occasion (SST, 20 August, 2006, p. A3).

Tens of thousands of people were estimated to have attended the tangi for Te Arikinui. They came from all corners of the world, representing a diversity of communities, nations, ethnicities and cultures. Through death, they connected as a community of mourners, getting tasks done, sharing the responsibility, uniting in purpose within the experience of *communitas* (Turner, 1967) to farewell the 'Lady'. And they were also the beneficiaries of tangi (Dansey, 1992; Durie, 2001), taking time out from their mundane routines of everyday life, to engage a world of ritual and of liminality (Davies, 1997). In these ways, this community of interest and relatedness came together to heal the rupturing effect of death (Hertz, 1960), to provide comfort and reassurance to the bereaved, to honour the deceased, and to negotiate a durable biography (Walter, 1996b), for that is the purpose of tangi (Dansey, 1992; Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2009). And, all this would not have been possible if it were not for a sense of relationship, trust, cooperation, connectedness and purpose. The media represented these ideas of social capital to the public, and as my analysis of the 'solemn procession' of the Pakeha public suggests (WT, 18 August, 2006, p1; SST, 20 August, 2006, p. A3), these ideas took on a salience within the public sphere (Garnham & Inglis, 1990), motivating and mobilizing the public towards a common aspiration – to share in a remarkable event, to find a space to place their grief, to live history and mourn.

## Wairuatanga

### Succession

The day before Te Arikinui's burial, the topic of succession was in the foreground of news media reporting.  As part of the larger reported narrative, the media educated the New Zealand public of the traditions and customs on which Kingitanga succession ceremonies were founded.  For example, a prescriptive element of the final rite of passage of a Kingitanga leader is the anointing of the successor (Stokes & Te Waharoa, 2002). Through news media coverage the New Zealand public were informed that the customary process used to choose a successor in 2006 would be no different to that used in 1858 at the succession ceremony of the first King Potatau Te Wherowhero at Pukawa on Lake Taupo (Stokes & Te Waharoa, 2002).

> Ngati Tuwharetoa, whose paramount chief Tumu te Heuheu is helping to guide discussions in choosing the new successor, provides another ongoing Kingitanga link.  On behalf of his brother, Timi te Heuheu said the relationship between Tainui and Tuwharetoa stretched back longer than when Te Heuheu Tukino III Iwikau started talks about who should be the original king.  It is a continuum.  The difference between what happened then and what happens now is only in the change of faces (WT, 19 August, 2006, p. A3).

Unlike other successions, in the Kingitanga context, it is not based on descent.  Tribal leaders confer and elect, preferably by consensus, the person to succeed.  These deliberations occur in the background throughout the tangi of the incumbent, up until the last night when tribal leaders gather and make their preferences known.  All other successors have come from within Waikato, and so, it came as no surprise that the person chosen was also of Waikato.  On the day of Te Arikinui's funeral, Tuheitia Paki, of the house of Te Wherowhero, was anointed and succeeded his mother.

KING TUHEITIA TAKES HIS PLACE AS MAORIDOM'S SEVENTH MONARCH
Cloaked in the kiwi-feathered korowai[3] of the second Maori King Tawhiao, Tuheitia
made the procession to the carved wooden throne of the Kingitanga, or King
Movement, marking his transition from Prince to King.  Seated beside Dame Te
Arikinui's casket, the seventh Maori monarch had his eldest son Whatumoana Paki
standing at his right shoulder.  Forty years ago, as an 11-year-old boy, Tuheitia Paki
had watched seemingly overwhelmed as his mother became Queen in a similar
ceremony.  The dual burden of grief and the weight of uniting Tainui and Maoridom
was at times apparent on the face of the father of three.  Yesterday's ceremony was
steeped in tradition, combining elements of the first coronation – that of his great-
great-great-great-grandfather King Tawhiao.  At the formal ascension or "raising up"
ceremony, he was tapped on his head with a Bible which became a royal tradition in
1858 when the first leader of the Kingitanga was crowned. The same Bible was used to
crown the previous Maori monarchs, and in keeping with tradition, a descendent of the
first Kingmaker, Wiremu Tamihana, performed the ceremony (NZH, 22 August, 2006,
p. 1).

Like Te Arikinui's funeral, Tuheitia's succession ceremony was steeped in tradition.
And the news media interpreted the history and nuances of the ritual.  In contrast to Kirk's
state funeral where ritual tended to have British colonial and Christian Anglican church
origins, the tangi and succession rituals emerged mostly from within the Maori world, with a
Christian 'turn' reflecting the influence of Christianity.  Pai Marire tohunga, Tui Adams,
presided over the ceremony.  Pai Marire was established in Taranaki in 1862 by Te Ua
Haumene, and was the first expression of an organized independent Maori Christianity
(Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010b). The biblical translation of Pai Marire means
'goodness and peace'.  It remains as the first religion for many people of Tainui.  The news
media played a principal role in providing the New Zealand public with something to discuss,
talk about, share with others their thoughts, feelings and opinions, and to decide for
themselves, whether Te Arikinui was given the 'farewell' she deserved.  At the same time, for
those who knew little of the Maori world, its customs and leadership, they were presented
with a story counter to the standard story of a passive indigenous population living lives just
like 'us'.

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[3] Images taken on the day show that Tuheitia Paki wore a Kaitaka Cloak and Pureke rain cape, not a
'kiwi-feathered korowai'.

**Magnitude**

The media estimated that 100,000 people participated in person by the end of Te Arikinui's tangi, and the last day attracted the largest numbers.

> In the dull early light at Ngaruawahia the sound of thousands of people mourning is a low hum. People speak quietly, when they have to, children are subdued. It is the final day for Tainui to say goodbye to their beloved Te Arikinui Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu. Several thousand people crowd on to Turangawaewae Marae, picking their way across muddy ground for any vantage point. For those unable to see directly, proceedings are relayed to two screens. Although many have been at the marae all night paying their final tributes, the day proper starts at 7.15am. Four single bells sound across the silence. Then a hymn by the Ratana band standing on the front lawn of Turongo, Dame Te Arikinui's official residence, wafts across the forecourt along with a lone karanga. Dame Te Arikinui's coffin is carried on to the paepae of Mahinarangi for the final time. One of the pallbearers is her eldest son Tuheitia Paki, soon to take her place as the leader of the Kingitanga. A church service follows (WT, 21 August, 2006, p. 1).

As is a common practice within Waikato, on the night before the burial mourners congregated in a common area, to pay tribute to Te Arikinui. Many people stayed throughout the night to participate and listen to the many personal tributes paid to 'the Lady'. This forum of social exchange presents an opportunity for people to discover from others experiences, new insights into the deceased. It can also have the opposite effect in which people disregard others stories of the deceased because they are inconsistent with their own. Perhaps like Danforth (1982) study found, these open forums in which people share their stories and experiences with the deceased, help facilitate individualized meanings of loss.

**A Funeral Service**

Following the succession service for the new King, the service that followed for Te Arikinui was ecumenical and included representation from most Christian Churches in New Zealand. Of the service, the media reported:

> Among the speakers is Archdeacon Ngarahu Katene, who describes Dame Te Arikinui as an extraordinary person, "whose romance with life is whimsical and rare". He says people like her are "life's magic; their magic has shaped our lives"… Archbishop Vercoe praises the way Dame Te Arikinui has moved among her people, sustaining them with her presence. There are murmurs of agreement for both speakers then more whispers as messages of sympathy from Queen Elizabeth, Prince Charles and the Pope are read. In a moment that engenders laughter among the crowd, one of three doves released "because ma'am loved her doves", refuses to fly away. It lingers and looks, as bemused by the situation as those charged with letting it go. Eventually it plucks up courage, flaps its wings and soars skyward (WT, 22 August, 2006, p. 1).

The release of the three doves provided a light moment at a time of great sorrow and introduced a new element in an occasion redolent with protocol and tradition. Symbolising other relationships is the presence of the Ratana Band. Music is viewed by the Ratana religion as a way of enticing people to God and its spiritual element is seen to provide protection against evil spirits (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2009). Perhaps in this context, the Ratana Band music is symbolically representative of 'clearing a path' for Te Arikinui's journey to her ancestors. And the significance of their role symbolized the continuation of a shared relationship between Ratana and the Kingitanga movement.

> A path is cleared to the gate, keening voices fill the air and Dame Te Arikinui's casket - carried shoulder high - leaves. A huge contingent of family, friends and officials visitors follow her to the hearse… Outside, crying kuia walk single file to find their bus to take them to Taupiri as the Ratana band readies to lead the hearse to the river's edge. The procession is led by a young man in a blue blazer and black bow tie, his face a mix of intense concentration and nerves. But his pacing is impeccable as the muted music of the band carries to the thousands of people already lining the river banks. A final haka is performed on the green lawns of Turangawaewae, and there are many willing hands to take the casket to the waka Tumanako bedecked in all its finery, a canopy of woven flax at its centre (WT, 22 August, 2006, p. 1).

As Te Arikinui departed the marae, attention is turned to the banks of the Waikato River, where the waka Tumanako awaits to carry her down the river to Taupiri maunga.

## Waikato Te Awa

When Te Arikinui's procession moved from the folds of Turangawaewae marae to the shores of the Waikato River, they entered into a transitional space symbolic of Waikato's

continuous relationship with the river.  For Waikato, the river is a sustaining 'life force'.  It is where they derive their identity, and through which their health and wellbeing comes.  The river is a fulcrum of a distinctive 'Waikato-being' (Waikato-Tainui Te Kauhanganui Incorporated, 2010).  It is within this context that Te Arikinui was conveyed by Tumanako down the Waikato River drawing on the power of the 'riverscape' to express a shared relationship between people and place (Te Awekotuku & Nikora, 2003).

> Out on the river the skill of the paddlers takes over.  They manoeuvre their way downstream accompanied by three other waka whose occupants chant to maintain the rhythm of the paddling.  All along the river are people watching history pass them by.  Meanwhile, at Taupiri the last wisps of the morning fog linger at its summit.  Crowds stream from buses and walk the final stretch along SH1.  The mountain is already a sea of black-clad mourners, as thousands wait for their Arikinui (WT, 22 August, 2006, p.1).

Trains, buses, cars and boats conveyed the crowds to Taupiri; but the focus of the day, Te Arikinui, travelled by a carved and ornamented waka, on her beloved river.

## Taupiri Te Maunga

*Ko Taupiri te maunga, Ko Waikato te awa, Ko Te Wherowhero te tangata*

Looming above a bend in the river, Taupiri maunga literally embodies the history, identity, mana and prestige of Waikato / Tainui, and indeed, their mortal remains.  Chosen by King Tawhiao, Taupiri is the main Waikato urupa (cemetery).  In 1894 he transferred the remains of relatives that had been buried on raupatu (confiscated) land to this site.  In later years, in 1941, King Koroki and Te Puea relocated other members of the kahui ariki (ariki families) from scattered urupa to this consecrated, revered and accessible burial place (King, 2003).  This is where Te Arikinui was greeted by mourners on the last leg of her journey on this earth.

Kuia form an honour guard from the road to the cemetery… The waka Tumanako lands, the casket is handed to a group of warriors and the paddlers walk silently past the crowds. Taniwharau and Turangawaewae rugby league players who will haul the casket to the top of Taupiri Kuao get some last minute coaching. They are to walk at the pace of the slowest kuia walking beside them (WT, 22 August, 2006 p. 1).

Once again, the congregation of mourners was vast, numerous, and diverse. Every age group, ethnicity and background attended, including artists from the Dine (Navaho) nation, and the Koori of Sydney. Maori from every canoe, every iwi group, were at Taupiri that momentous day. Such was the power of the occasion, and the mana of the deceased.



The funeral of Māori Queen Te Arikinui Dame Te Ātairangikaahu last month was a significant operation for Waikato District police as thousands of mourners gathered to pay their final respects.
Photo: Mark Taylor, Waikato Times

**Figure 6** Te Arikinui arrives at Taupiri

As the warrior pallbearers hand over their charge for the ascent the chanting begins… And suddenly the hillside is a mass of arms moving in unison encouraging the pallbearers, calling Dame Te Arikinui to her final home… And at the top, the sounds of haka and karanga echo off the gullies. A whaea kaikaranga has waited for hours in the cold to begin her last link of the karanga chain, to call her loved one home to the urupa atop Tainui's sacred mountain. Her lament begins as the teams of men surge up the maunga. The whaea also calls to the tupuna, who already lie in the clay of Taupiri acknowledging their presence. The black sea of mourners parts to let the men through, and after a last huge effort up the steep slopes, the Queen is there, surrounded by chanting warriors with taiaha and mere. People spontaneously join in the haka as King Koroki's korowai is lifted from the casket, and Dame Te Arikinui is lowered into the ground (WT, 22 August, 2006, p. 1).

And so, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu was laid to rest on Taupiri Kuao on the 22nd August, 2006. The world had a new Maori King to which the media turned its attention.

## A durable biography

Before concluding this chapter, I want to reflect a little on the media's role in creating a durable biography (Walter, 1996b). A durable biography is a narrative of a person's life, in its construction shared with others to create a story capable of enduring through time. It is a biography that enables the living to integrate the memory of the dead into their ongoing lives, something achieved principally through conversations with others who knew the deceased (Walter, 1996b, p7). Media reporting, television and radio coverage, and online portals presented the public with biographic sketches of Te Arikinui's life, as well as tributes, short and long, from well known leaders to ordinary citizens. By virtue of its style of reporting, forever seeking after the short, all encompassing phrase that says it all, Te Arikinui become 'the Lady', and 'The People's Queen' (WT, 16 August 2006, E2, p7). But during the tangi, there were other all encompassing phrases that deserve mention here, for it is within these descriptors, that Te Arikinui's enduring biography emerges. Eventually, her biography will be written, but for the moment, it remains a task to do. The following was published under the headline 'Leaders pay tribute to respected Queen' (Waikato Times, 16th August 2006).

She probably did not know it, but to me she was someone I wished to model myself on (Dame Silvia Cartwright).

A mighty kauri has fallen (Prime Minister Helen Clark).

She was a mother to thousands. That will be her legacy - her maternal and regal leadership (Waikato Anglican Bishop David Moxon).

She set an example for Maori and non-Maori. She did it with mana, wisdom and charm (Hamilton Mayor Michael Redman).

Dame Te Ata has been one of New Zealand's finest ladies (Waikato Mayor Peter Harris).

I was always impressed by her quiet, dignified leadership, her sense of humour and her love for all people (South Waikato Mayor Neil Sinclair).

Utterly loved at home (Pita Sharples, Maori Party co-leader).

You will see one of the biggest tangis ever held over the next few days (Maori Affairs Minister Parekura Horomia).

She was an outstanding people manager and a great visionary (Sir Tipene O'Regan).

You think of Tainui and you think of Dame Te Ata. She was a very gracious woman. They will be hard shoes to fill (Dianne Yates, MP).

In spite of her huge leadership role, I found her a kind, gentle and approachable person (Martin Gallagher, MP).

At a time when other countries have been in denial around race relations issues, Dame Te Ata was one who worked to ensure we worked our way through them (Sue Moroney, MP).

She was a real people person who could bridge the gap between cultures (David Bennett, MP).

She was a remarkable, charismatic woman whose presence did much to inspire all she came in contact with (Lindsay Tisch, MP).

She was important not just for the Kingitanga but for all of New Zealand and internationally as well and of course we mourn her (Nandor Tanczos, MP).

## Summary

In summary, I return to the way in which Waikato told the world of the passing of Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu. They invoked the symbolism of sacred mountains and valleys speaking symbolically and intimately to Maori leaders and tribal groups, knowing what their culturally patterned response to death in the Maori world would be. "He Aitua" is not simply a call to mourn, but one that speaks to the responsibilities and obligations that people feel at these times. It is a call to reciprocate and engage, that through the evocation of the powerful imagery vested in the 'lofty mountains' and 'echoing valleys' manifests in the drawing together of relational networks to concentrate its entire capital – social, cultural and symbolic, in the performance of distinctive indigenous rituals, customs and practices. Te

Arikinui has become part of that landscape first spoken to when her death was announced. She has returned to the mountains and valleys from whence she came.

*E taku Ariki, moe mai.*

# Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this thesis I have described two national events, the tangi of Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu and the State funeral of the New Zealand Prime Minister Norman Kirk. To my knowledge these events have not been described in quite this fashion, establishing a foundation for the future work and analysis of state funerals and tangi for prominent Maori and New Zealanders.

This study presents the possibility of new ways of mourning. The tangi for Te Arikinui presented the state and nation with a distinctively different way of being in, belonging to and representing New Zealand. In a country continuously engaged in the project of becoming a bicultural nation, we need to be open to new ways of configuring the resources that flow from our communities into the national consciousness. As the Maori and state relationship over time has demonstrated, appropriation, subjugation and the perpetuation of inequity does not add to positive race-relations or an inclusive society. In fact, the opposite is achieved. As this examination of the commemorations for Kirk and Te Arikinui demonstrates, where there is a will to respond respectfully and meaningfully, the possibilities are numerous.

As expected, print media reporting of both events progressed through the three stages identified by Durkheim, those of, separation, liminality and reincorporation. State funerals and tangi are about the ritualized performance of grief and mourning, and require the appropriate social, cultural and symbolic capital for its enactment. The performance must evoke the right images, symbols, feelings and responses, at the right times. There is an order, a staging of performance. For state funerals this involves state symbols, rituals, pomp and formality; while for tangi the symbols come from and return to the landscape, and the social and cultural capital found in and between people and relationships.

In Kirk's state funeral and Te Arikinui's tangi, we can see the sharing of cultural capital, ways of doing things that raise the presence of symbolic capital in the overall event. In Wellington, we see the offer by Maori and accepted contribution by the state of korowai, karanga and embodied ways of mourning. This contribution presents to the state the social and cultural capital necessary to demonstrate the state's responsiveness and willingness to incorporate acts, objects, performances and symbols meaningful to participants and observers and to the nation overall. The same is true for of the offer by Pakeha and the accommodation

by Turangawaewae of a 'walk pass' for those more accustomed to performing the paying of respects according to their custom. And other exchanges were also made, in both cases, by visiting diplomats, heads of state and cultural and religious leaders.

What these exchanges amount to, is the possibility that Maori and the state can create and share rituals that include and represent different forms of capital that in their representation are meaningful and engage diverse audiences, nationally and internationally. This suggests that future performances of state funerals particularly those of significance to Maori, may well become more closely reflective of events such as the tangi for Te Arikinui.

This study must be considered foundation. There are many more questions to be asked of these two events, particularly in relation to the media, that is, print news media, television, radio, and new digital online media like Facebook and Twitter. While not so relevant to Kirk's state funeral, it was a media engaged by thousands of people during the tangi for Te Arikinui.

As mentioned earlier, the biography of Te Arikinui has yet to be completed. One would hope the biography is not too far off so as to capture the lived experiences of those involved in the intimate details of her tangi. While media coverage presents one perspective, it does not substitute for being there.

Ceremonial rituals, customs and practices unique to the passing of an Ariki are not regular occurrences. Neither are state funerals. In my review of literature and internet scans, I found no accessible source that documented in detail what it takes to organize a New Zeraland state funeral, what the important symbolic representations are, and who should play leading roles. The same is true for the passing of an Ariki. Clearly there is work here to capture what I consider to be a endangered heritage knowledge.

Lastly, we should not underestimate the value of social, cultural and symbolic capital to and in our communities and society. In Te Arikinui's words,

> I want my people to hold on to our beautiful way of life. We have rich and priceless traditions; even those who are not well off materially have a cultural richness we need to share among ourselves and also with our Pakeha kith and kin (Te Atairangikaahu, 1992, p31).

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