

Mika's *haka* and *Mika HAKA*: Performing as the 'Other'

Mark Hamilton (University of Canterbury, New Zealand)

E kore e hekeheke, he kākano rangatira.

*I will never be lost, for I am the seed of chiefs.*¹

In 2000, I assisted Māori performer Mika in forming a company called Torotoro.² With this group we created a dance show called *Mika HAKA*.³ The predominantly male cast was comprised of Māori and Pasifika⁴ teenagers. Their choreography was based on the *haka*.⁵ The production was developed expressly for presentation at the Edinburgh Fringe. Mika hoped this show would help him to achieve commercial success in Britain. Immediately prior to creating *Mika HAKA*, Mika was performing *haka* in his queer cabaret at arts festivals in Australasia and the UK. I first saw him perform in 1997.⁶ He wore a green catsuit cut low at the back to expose his buttocks, and was flanked by two Māori drag queens in heavy mascara, stilettos and bikinis.⁷ The three men's hyper-femme, revealing costumes accentuated their muscularity, which they displayed overtly, stomping and slapping their chests and thighs during the show's final, vigorous *haka*.

¹ I follow here the Māori custom of using an established proverb to commence a public speech, connecting the topic at hand to ancient discourse preceding.

² Mika (Ngapuhi) b.1962, formerly named Terence Pou at birth, and Neil William Gudsell by his adoptive parents. Torotoro is a Māori word meaning: 'to visit, reconnoitre [and][...] scout, advance guard' (Moorfield 2005).

³ *Mika HAKA* premiered in Auckland (New Zealand) at the Maidment Theatre on 25 January 2001. The eleven founding members of Torotoro were: Arianna Cook Tamati (Ngapuhi), Terri Ripeka Crawford (Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Porou, Tūhoe, Ngati Mahuta), Corrina Hunziker (Ngapuhi, Ngāti Swiss), Ioane Leota (Samoa), Anthony McCarthy (Ngapuhi), Kororangi Pihema (Ngapuhi), Rangi Rangitukunoa (Ngati Ranginui, Ngai Terangi, Ngati Ruanui, Ngati Maru), Tamiaho Searancke (Waikato Tainui), Kereama Te Ua (Te Aitanga a Mahaki, Whakatohea, Tuhoe, Apanui, Tuwharetoa, Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri), Christina Perenita Tuifao (Samoa), and Tangata Ngatoko (Cook Islands).

⁴ Pasifika: a term widely used in New Zealand for people of Pacific Island descent who grew up in New Zealand.

⁵ *Haka*: 'vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words' (Moorfield 2005). In my usage, and that of common parlance, *haka* commonly refers to *haka taparahi*, which is a 'ceremonial dance performed without weapons' (Moorfield 2005).

⁶ *Mika and the Uhoras*. By Mika. Assembly Theatre, Edinburgh, 3 Aug. to 1 Sept. 1997.

⁷ The drag queens were Cassandra & Korneisha, aka contemporary dancers Taiaroa Royal (Te Arawa, Ngai Tahu, Ngati Raukawa, Uenukupako) and Tane Mete (Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Koriki).

Mika was adopted at birth by a *Pākehā*⁸ couple. Until he was eighteen, still and moving images of Māori – targeted at non-Māori viewers – were his principle source of contact with Māori culture. In his performance practice, Mika continues to work without a specific tribal tradition. He engages instead with exoticising fictions, originating both inside and outside New Zealand, about Māori, and Māori men in particular. In anticipation of non-Māori audiences, Mika centred Torotoro's performance in *Mika HAKA* on the movements seen in *haka*, rather than the use of the words that accompany these gestures. He used the confrontational and exhibitionist elements of this physical vocabulary to form the basis of Torotoro's athletic dance style. Mika's primary objective was to structure *Mika HAKA* in such a way as to focus audience attention on Torotoro's bodies.

The very substance of Torotoro's Polynesian physiques was of prime importance to *Mika HAKA*. In order to maximise white audiences' potential sexual interest in the dancers' brown skin and marked muscularity, Mika conditioned Torotoro till they were toned and lithe, and costumed them in the bare minimum. Intent on making a saleable international show, he asked them to incarnate Eurocentric fantasies of South Seas natives. Playing the exotic 'Other' is Mika's forte, and he wanted Torotoro to learn his tactic.

I want to consider the ways in which *Mika HAKA* constructed sensational images of Māori men by subverting conventions pioneered in *kapa haka*⁹ – now considered 'traditional' performance. By doing so, how might *Mika HAKA* be seen to have challenged the definitions of Māori identity *kapa haka* is seen to uphold? To

⁸ *Pākehā*: New Zealanders of European descent.

⁹ *Kapa haka*: Māori group performance. A number of historians locate the birth of *kapa haka* in the 1930s, when Parliamentarian Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi, cousin-protector of the Māori king, staged large events to advance a Māori cultural resurgence and develop bicultural diplomacy (Walker 2001; King 2003). A differing angle of historical research presents *kapa haka* as developing primarily from Māori performance overseas and for tourists to New Zealand (Makereti 1986; Galbraith 1992; Werry 2001).

pursue this enquiry, I will analyse one song from *Mika HAKA*, as performed in Edinburgh, called 'Ko te Iwi' – meaning 'Of the People' (Mika, Haines, and Hamilton).¹⁰

In 'Ko te Iwi,' Torotoro were seen to dance in ways that appeared to alternate acts of challenge with seductive gestures. On the one hand, they were aggressive indigenes, marching on the audience with fierce stares and balled fists to claim their 'personal sovereignty.' Yet, on the other, they were provocatively garbed teenagers, whooping and smiling whilst shaking their bottoms flirtatiously to loud music. Torotoro appeared to switch between confrontational and invitational modes of audience address. Their eye contact appeared imperious then compliant. The dancers thrust out their limbs abruptly and aggressively, penetrating the space, then flipped to fluid and expansive twirling movements, which made them seem vulnerable. Significantly, throughout it all, Torotoro's minimal clothing ensured that in every action their bodies were revealed.

Fig 1. Courtesy of Patangaroa Limited



¹⁰ *Mika HAKA*. By Mika and Torotoro. George Square Theatre, Edinburgh. 3-25 Aug. 2003.

I will examine how Torotoro's performance of this song might be seen to have referenced the 'Othering' of Māori that is persistent in New Zealand. With reference to the work of New Zealand historian James Belich and performance studies scholar Christopher Balme, I consider how performance by Māori before non-Māori audiences might be seen to perpetuate racial stereotypes. Finally, I will consider how Mika's particular experiences of growing up Māori and gay, in a small *Pākehā* town, might be seen to inform his relationship to these stereotypes and his use of them to create theatre.

In 1994, New Zealand historian James Belich gave a series of lectures at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. He explored a number of key Othering stereotypes of Māori that he had identified in his survey of European settlers' writings. Each of these he labelled with a different colour: green, red, black, brown and white. It is fifteen years since Belich spoke, and longer still since the texts he referenced were written. I observe, however, that a number of the typifications Belich identified were incarnated in *Mika HAKA*. Indeed, their manifestation might be considered indicative of the endurance in New Zealand of Othering constructs of Māori people.

This phenomenon might be attributed to New Zealand's particular societal order. Though the country's population is becoming increasingly multicultural, people of European descent predominantly occupy positions of power. Meanwhile, governmental policies and legislation acknowledge native title and promote pro-Māori positive discrimination. In toto, the national culture sustains a Māori-*Pākehā* binary. In daily life, this division can be seen to encourage articulations of ethnicity in which essentialist typifications of Māori, based on markers such as skin-difference, readily arise. Homi Bhaba considers all such constructs to be fetishistic (66-84).

Developing this idea, Josephine Lee suggests that the fetishism underlying racism is a desire for ‘the pleasurable and energizing magic’ often attributed to ‘colored’ bodies (152). But Kobena Mercer, in his 1986 analysis of images of black men, suggests that ‘racial fetishism’ sustains dichotomous stances (187). In 1991, he elaborated that the ‘black’ body can be rejected fearfully, or covetously idealized (190). These tensions can be observed in Belich’s colour-coded list of Māori typifications, and their manifestation in *Mika HAKA*.

Belich says that in settlers’ writing, pre-contact Māori man was often portrayed as a benign ‘green savage,’ possessing those ‘virtues that Europeans lacked’ (22). He makes a comparison between this ‘green’ figure and the Noble Savage, whose genesis he attributes to Rousseau (22). This ‘Green Māori’ typification – being pure, natural and bucolic – held no value for Mika, who has frequently told me that such pastoral images deny the modernity of urban Māori life. Furthermore, it might be noted that the passivity of such figures had little to contribute to the dynamism central to Mika’s burlesque.

In battle circumstances, however, Belich says the Green Māori turns Red. This stereotype, he says, promotes conceptions of the Maori race as ‘inherently war-like, its menfolk natural warriors’ (18). Drawing on the ‘myth of Martial races,’ it seeks to ‘ennoble’ Māori as ‘Conan-like barbarians’ (18). The Red Māori ideal persists through contemporary lionising of Māori sportsmen. Rhetoric and imagery assign the apparently innate yet volatile power of these men a patina of national glory (Hokowhitu 21). This conflation was the central conceit of the Adidas advert created for screening during the Rugby Union World Cup in 1999, which spliced footage of the All Blacks with re-enactments of *haka* as performed by tribal war parties (*Black*). Mika choreographed Torotoro to evoke similar notions of the Red Māori. In ‘Ko te

Iwi', the six athletic men and two women dancers of Torotoro – wearing black Lycra hot pants and not much else – performed actions that seemed to indicate their combative intent. Recorded, synthesized nightclub music with a driving bass line accompanied their dance, while Mika declaimed a lyric in *te reo* (Māori language).

*He kohu tau.
Kō au anake, he patapatai ana.
Kō tāku wairua e rere atu nei.
Kō tāku ngākau e piri mai.
Kō tāku tapu, he parerau, he tohu tikitiki.*¹¹

One section was in English:

Be the chooser not the chosen and nominate yourself.
When you know what you want, you get it.
You are kings, you are queens, leaders of the pack.
Retain your personal sovereignty.

Staring directly, the young dancers marched towards the audience. They held their torsos still and erect, and lifted their thighs high with each stride. When those to the fore reached the stage's edge, in unison each dancer planted a clenched fist on the floor with a deliberate flourish. They paused momentarily, and glared at the audience from under their eyebrows.

Behind the Red Māori, Belich spies a shadow figure, which he identifies as the bestial Black Māori, ruled by primal 'passions' (27). These 'Black savages,' says Belich, are assigned innumerable 'unsophisticated vices and disabilities,' rendering them 'less human and more animal than their exact opposite, the civilised European' (14). This Black stereotype gained global renown through the hard drinking and violence of Alan Duff's antihero Jake 'the Muss' Heke (Duff).¹² The excitement offered by the volatility and wildness associated with the Black Māori made this figure a fit for *Mika HAKA*. It seeded a number of Torotoro's choreographic motifs.

¹¹ 'My identity is hidden from you. Only I can explain who I am. My spirit flows out from me, my thoughts gather to me. My sacredness resides in the crown, the symbol that is my topknot of hair.'

¹² Duff is a Māori author whose critique of Māori people's self-perpetuation of their under privilege is epitomised in Jake's alcoholism and consequent dysfunction.

For example, mid way through ‘Ko te Iwi,’ Torotoro released their rigid postures. They rolled their heads and twisted their torsos, flexed arms and clawed hands in writhing circles. Their eyes flared, and the whites showed around their pupils. Their retracted lips revealed clenched teeth. The dancers seemed to momentarily loll towards abandon. Becoming somewhat chaotic, they slipped towards an explosion – regaining focus just before it seized them.



Fig 2. Courtesy of Patangaroa Limited

Adding white to red and black constitutes an iconic Māori colour scheme. This is the palette of the painted decorations on the rafters of tribal meetinghouses, and the flag that symbolizes the quest for the restoration of Māori sovereignty. The entry of Belich’s ‘White Māori’ into my analysis is pivotal. He is an indigene ‘civilised’ through religious conversion, Europeanization, or social assimilation (32).¹³ Mika actively sought to bar ‘Whiteness’ from the choreography of *Mika HAKA*. Five of the

¹³ Belich finds that ‘Whitening’ has often been proposed as the only route for Māori following the supposed moment of ‘Fatal Impact’, when their native world order began its slide into extinction after meeting the colonialists’ ‘superior’ culture (32).

original *Mika HAKA* cast had Western contemporary dance training that made them efficient and precise, but Mika disliked their lightness and fluidity, which he told me was too derivative of ballet. He sought instead to construct the show's dance using the staccato rhythms and angularity of the *haka*, male Pacific Island dance, and break dance (which is widely practiced by young Māori and Pasifika men).



Fig 3. Courtesy of Patangaroa Limited

Belich gives the White Māori a close cousin he calls 'Brown Māori' – a 'servant, faithful and true, but not too bright, [a] clown,' held in 'affectionate contempt or contemptuous affection' by non-Māori (20). Though Mika attempted to bar White dance vocabulary from *Mika HAKA*, the show's burlesque might be seen to promote Brownness. For example, the middle of 'Ko te Iwi' featured a rhythmic interlude. The strident lyric gave way to rapid rattling Pacific Island log-drumming. During this section of the song, Tōrotoro suspended the combative challenge implied in their performance. They began to leap about – clapping their hands and slapping their chests – as if in celebration. Whooping and smiling, they shook their shoulders

to shimmy their pectoral muscles, and jerked their hips to waggle their buttocks. These frivolous and flirtatious moments, and the dancers' big smiles, were a peculiar contrast to the song's messages about personal sovereignty.

Some critics (in emails, phone calls and occasional fist fights) suggested to Mika that he made the dancers of Torotoro into White Māori who played Brown Māori – that Torotoro were indigenous artists wholly acquiescing to the values of *Pākehā*. Indeed, Mika deliberately ensured that Torotoro operated without tribal affiliation, uniting simply as 'Māori.' For many *kaumātua* (Māori elders) such a blanket identity is a homogenising colonial construct. They propose that only a definite *iwi* (tribal) culture protects a Māori person from gradual assimilation into dominant *Pākehā* society. It could be suggested that Torotoro's performance in *Mika HAKA* lacks the particularities of *iwi* culture, which authenticates *kapa haka* as a valid expression of Māori identity (Papesch 37).

I would like to argue, however, that this perspective could be considered complicit with continuing colonialism. Its recourse to ancient precedent might be seen to concretise Māori as the historicised 'Other' fixed in the curatorial colonial gaze. Belich identifies a 'myth of the Frozen Maori, locked into immutable tradition' (26). In his 2007 discussion of Pacific performance, Balme connects such cultural 'freezing' with the salvage paradigm visible in certain schools of ethnography, and the 'invention of tradition' arising from a nostalgic quest for 'peoples and places apparently located outside the realm of modernity' (186-187).

Aspects of *Mika HAKA* might be seen to have specifically opposed such cultural petrification. The choreography's close integration of hip-hop with *haka* could be seen to have foregrounded the complexities of the dancers' contemporary urban Māori identities, as well as their identification with other marginalised people

of colour. In the first half of 'Ko te Iwi,' though Torotoro's dance was distinctly innovative, it was comparable to the movement vocabulary seen in contemporary *kapa haka* performances. At the item's end, however, this connection was quite stretched, if not broken. Tilting their torsos side to side, Torotoro slid back and forth between two silhouette forms. They punctuated their arrival in each crisp shape with a tiny, sharp bounce, which read to the eye as if their bodies were clicking into a groove. While Torotoro's silhouettes echoed the figures of Māori *whakairo* (carved figures), their robotic dynamic – predominant throughout this looping phrase – replicated a core quality of break dance technique. The close of 'Ko te Iwi' simultaneously showed the blend of inherited and imported aesthetics that constituted Torotoro's urban Māori-Pasifika culture.

What might the comparison of *kapa haka* and *Mika HAKA* reveal about the contemporary contestation of definitions of Māori identity? While Mika may consider *kapa haka* a conservative construction that historicizes Māori, his critics claim *kapa haka* is *tūturu Māori* (authentic),¹⁴ and that *Mika HAKA* is an opportunist hotchpotch and not truly Māori at all. Yet, in a number of ways *Mika HAKA* and *kapa haka* could be considered similar forms. The history of *kapa haka* suggests that since its inception this idiom has addressed two audiences – Māori and non-Māori. This led Christopher Balme, in 1998, to call *kapa haka* an 'intercultural art' (186). In his 2007 book, he elaborates on this analysis, determining that indigenous Pacific performers simultaneously address their kinfolk and the 'colonizing majority' (15). Furthermore, he highlights a native-colonial duality that might be observed in New Zealand theatre practice. He notes that its 'heavily syncretic' nature frequently frames indigenous performance practices within 'European dramaturgical conventions' (192). The

¹⁴ *Tūturu*: 'real, true, actual' (Moorfield 2005).

cardinal transposition central to *kapa haka* might be considered an exemplification of this duality; aspects of tribal meeting rituals, ordinarily sited in a ceremonial courtyard, are performed on a raised platform (viewed from one side only), in keeping with European proscenium arch conventions. Using Balme's analysis, both *kapa haka* and *Mika HAKA* might be termed intercultural performance; each addresses, to a differing degree, an audience's appetite for 'alterity' (123), while using conventions familiar to them to ensure a degree of accessibility.

The crucial difference between *kapa haka* and *Mika HAKA* is that the former intends to reference tribal traditions accurately, while the latter does not. The Wehi family (Ngāti Porou) are leading *kapa haka* exponents, based in Auckland.¹⁵ They train young performers to become versed in Māori cultural 'authenticity' (Pounamu Performing Arts). This, they say, requires strong 'roots' (New Zealand Qualifications Authority). The majority of Māori leaders propose that such roots are secured through actions such as recitation of *whakapapa* (genealogy), visits to *papakāinga* (ancestral homes), and participation in *marae kawa* (tribal rites) (Durie 58). *Kapa haka* might be said to site its performers in the continuum of Māori history, whereas *Mika HAKA* encouraged each member of Torotoro to focus on the contemporary capital value of his body - in particular, the body's potential to perform the fictions woven about Maori by non-Māori.

Mika endeavoured to teach Torotoro how to use erotic, self-exoticising performance as a means of self-empowerment. It seems, however, that they lacked the particular personal history that had educated him in this strategy. Torotoro's

¹⁵ I observed the teaching and performance work of the Wehis on a number of occasions: *Competition Performance*. By Te Waka Huia. ATMPAS Festival, Ngaruawahia. 2-6 Feb. 2000; *Training Class Presentation*. Pounamu Training Systems Centre, Auckland. Oct. 2000; *Tourist Presentation*. By Te Waka Huia. Stamford Plaza Hotel, Auckland. Apr. 2001; *Competition Rehearsal*. By Te Waka Huia. Waipapa Marae, Auckland: 22 Apr. 2001; *Competition Performance*. By Te Waka Huia. Te Matatini, Palmerston North: 22-25 Feb. 2007.

embodiment of the Other might be seen to have lacked the ironic sophistication of Mika's own *haka*. Mika grew up experiencing himself as Other. He was openly queer from a young age (Mika, 'Growing Up Gay' 143-154). He was also the only Māori member of his immediate family, and one of very few in the local community. Mika learnt that he was Māori through *Pākehā* people commenting about his skin-difference (Mika, 'He Iti Taku Iti' 224-227; Interview). His access to Māori culture was through essentialist typifications of Māori circulating in *Pākehā* society (Mika, Interview). Experiences of reaction to his appearance, and stereotyped images of Māori, were the sources that informed Mika's development of a queer, indigenous self-identity. They are also the resources that he has continued to mine when constructing his theatrical celebrations of this identity. Mika is aware that his Māori identity is his own construct, developed largely in dialogue with non-Māori (Mika, Interview). His theatrical performances accommodate non-Māori audiences' expectations about his ethnicity. His strategy of self-exoticising might be seen to accept the 'commodification and consumerism' that – said Balme in 2007 – is implicitly part of such an audience's 'desire for authenticity' (17). Though Torotoro performed Mika's choreography precisely, it might be said that they lacked the propensity to objectify their selves, in the way that Mika objectifies himself. Torotoro's average age was eighteen. Before touring with *Mika HAKA* the dancers had had little experience of interacting outside of Māori or Pasifika society. In addition, they all identified as heterosexual.

Torotoro's performance of *Mika HAKA* did not have the irony evident in Mika's *haka*. Their dance, therefore, may have appeared to perpetuate racial essentialism without critique. Mika's performance as a fantastic Other is informed by prolonged experiences of displacement arising from his adoption and his queer sexual

orientation. His sense of difference distanced him from the heteronormative orders of both *Pākehā* society and Māori tribal life. He performs from a place of not belonging, of always identifying as Other. Mika's performance practice queers both gender norms and those pertaining to Māori identity.

My analysis might seem to suggest that Mika exploited Torotoro by choreographing them to dance his queer version of Māori identity. He sought to capitalize upon the objectification of their young brown bodies in order to gratify a Western gaze. As such, Mika might be seen to have facilitated the kind of projection of White racial and sexual fantasies on to darker skinned men that Mercer has identified in Mapplethorpe's photographing of African American men ('Imaging' 173; 'Skin Head' 190). Mika chose the Torotoro dancers primarily for their physical attributes. When he met them, these teenagers were not sophisticates versed in strategic subversion or reclamation of stereotypes. But, in their daily lives, the Torotoro dancers navigated the racial stereotyping, described by Belich, which might be seen to arise from the societal schism of New Zealand's biculturalism. Torotoro were not unaware of how Māori and Pasifika people might objectify themselves for a sexually desiring Western gaze. It would be a simplification to suggest that Torotoro's collaboration with Mika disempowered these dancers. Rather, Torotoro and Mika might be seen to have operated according to different but complementary agendas. While Mika's focus was global, Torotoro's was domestic. Mika's strategy of exploiting international market opportunities for staged Māori-Pasifika Otherness gave Torotoro income, travel and education. In addition, the holistic rehearsal process through which Torotoro developed their stage personae provided them with opportunities to explore pressing issues of identity – other than those pertaining to the Māori-*Pākehā* divide – that tensioned their daily lives. Each dancer brought questions

of belonging to *Mika HAKA*. These concerned relationships between Māori and Pasifika, between urban and rural Māori, and vernacular contestations circulating in those communities regarding ideas of cultural authenticity. While Torotoro might be seen to have played the exotic other at Mika's request, he supported their search for a reconciliation of these issues. Torotoro were immersed in exploring the inconsistencies that destabilized their space of belonging, while Mika had settled in a space of otherness, from which he formulated his identity.

References:

- Balme, Christopher. 'Staging the Pacific: Framing Authenticity in Performances for Tourists at the Polynesian Cultural Center.' *Theatre Journal* 50.1 (1998): 53-70. Print
- . *Pacific Performances: Theatricality and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the South Seas*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print.
- Belich, James. 'Race and New Zealand: Some Social History of Ideas.' Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, Uni. of Canterbury (NZ). Uni. of Victoria (NZ). 1994. Lecture.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London, New York: Routledge, 1994. Print.
- Black*. Dir. Gregor Nicholas. Perf: All Blacks - New Zealand Rugby Union Team. Saatchi & Saatchi (NZ), 1999. Television.
- Duff, Alan. *Once Were Warriors*. Auckland (NZ): Tandem Press, 1990. Print.
- Durie, Mason. *Te Mana, Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*. Auckland (NZ): Oxford University Press, 1998. Print.
- Galbraith, Philippa Janne. 'Colonials in Wonderland: The Colonial Construction of Rotorua as a Fantasy Space.' Diss. University of Auckland (NZ), 1992. Print.
- Hokowhitu, Brendan. 'Race Tactics: The Racialised Athletic Body.' *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue* 1 (2003): 21-34. Print
- . 'Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport.' *The Contemporary Pacific*. 16.2 (2004): 259-284. Print.
- King, Michael. *Te Paea: A Life*. Auckland (NZ): Reed, 2003. Print.
- Lee, Josephine. 'Bodies, Revolutions, and Magic: Cultural Nationalism and Racial Fetishism.' *Modern Drama* 44.1 (2001): 72-90. Print

- Makereti. *The Old-time Maori*. Auckland, NZ: New Women's Press, 1986. Print.
- Mercer, Kobena. 'Imaging the Black Man's Sex.' *Photography/Politics Vol. 2*. Ed. P. Holland, J. Spence and S. Watney. London: Comedia, 1986. Print.
- . 'Skin Head Sex Thing: Racial Difference and the Homoerotic Imaginary.' *How Do I Look: Lesbian and Gay Film and Video*. Ed. B. O. Choices. Seattle: Bay Press, 1991. Print.
- Mika. 'Growing up Gay.' *Growing Up Gay: New Zealand Men Tell Their Stories*. Ed. J. Allan. Auckland (NZ): Godwit, 1996. Print.
- . 'He iti taku iti.' *Growing Up Maori*. Ed. W. T. Ihimaera. Auckland, NZ: Tandem Press, 1998. Print.
- . Personal interview. 15 – 26 Jan. 2007.
- Mika, Joel Haines, and Mark James Hamilton. 'Ko te Iwi'. *Mika HAKA*. Auckland, NZ: Patangaroa, 2001. CD.
- Moorfield, John C. *Te Aka Maori-English English-Maori Dictionary*. Auckland (NZ): Longman/Pearson Education, 2005. Print.
- New Zealand Qualifications Authority. 'Pounamu Training Systems – Believing All Things Are Possible.' *Rongopai, Māori PTE Pānui*, June 2001. Web. 26 Oct. 2009. <www.nzqa.govt.nz>
- Once Were Warriors*. Dir. Lee Tamahori. Perf. Temuera Morrison, and Rena Owen. Fine Line Features, 1994. Film.
- Papesch, Te Rita. 'Kapa Haka.' *State of the Maori Nation: Twenty-first Century Issues in Aotearoa*. Ed. M. Mulholland. Auckland (NZ): Reed, 2006. Print.
- Pounamu Performing Arts. www.maoriperformingarts.co.nz. Annette Wehi, 2008. Web. 26 Oct. 2009.

Walker, Ranginui. *He Tipua: The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngāta*. Auckland (NZ): Viking, 2001. Print.

Werry, Margaret Louise. 'Tourism, Ethnicity, and the Performance of New Zealand Nationalism, 1889-1914.' Diss. Northwestern University, 2001. Print.