

Processional performances in Norway and New Zealand: a comparative discussion



The illustration on the front page is a collage of images from the four processions. Arranged by: Myfanwy K. Moore.

1. Dated 17th of May 2007. The “Barnetog” in Oslo. Photo: Myfanwy K. Moore

2. Dated 11th of November 2004. “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior.” Photo: Television New Zealand.

3. Dated 17th of May 2007. The “Russetog” in Oslo. Photo: Myfanwy K. Moore.

4. Dated ca 8th of October 1975. The “Māori Land March” in Awapuni. Photo courtesy of The Dominion Post Collection and the Alexander Turnbull Library, New Zealand.

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Foreword.

The initial motivation for writing this thesis came from a desire to analyse Norway's National Celebration through a performance theory framework. This desire was two-fold: Firstly, I have been a practitioner and student of the theatre all my adult life, and in more recent years my fascination for viewing events occurring outside the theatre building or space has grown as the body of work on the subject has grown. Secondly, I wished to view this "særnorsk"¹ phenomenon that is Norway's National Celebration actively from my position as an immigrant to Norway from New Zealand: I had the feeling that if I could truly understand "17.mai,"² I might come a long way to finally understanding my adopted culture. Thus, I have consciously written this thesis from a phenomenological position, as my own experiences have been the catalyst and locus of this investigation.

As I began to research the topic I realised that I was constantly using New Zealand, the country in which I lived for the first 25 years of my life, as a frame of reference. To have studied everything that happens on the 17th of May as a kind of theatre event was proving to be too vast a topic. A rationalisation needed to occur. In dialogue with my supervisor Anita Hammer, and in coherence with my own wishes, the focus of this work shifted from "17.mai" to processions in general. Following from that it was then possible to compare processions from Norway and New Zealand. Three of the processions may also be categorised as being parades, however the term parade is a sub-genre of the procession. The term procession is preferred in this context as it opens for a wider definition of the phenomenon.

Between biography and research.

Having stated that this thesis will be written very much from a personal point of view – located as it is in my "betweenness" as a New Zealander in Norway – it is appropriate to foreground an explanation of what this entails.

There is a succession of predictable questions or comments a visitor, or an immigrant to Norway from New Zealand can expect to hear. "New Zealand? That's a long way away, that's about as far away as you can possibly get from Norway. Isn't there a lot of sheep there? Doesn't it snow there? Isn't New Zealand a lot like Norway anyway?" Questions surrounding the problematic of living long term in a country in which you did not grow up, and so do not have your cultural roots has fascinated me since the moment I realised that being an immigrant in Norway was actually quite trying and surely, when you got right down to it, New Zealand and Norway really weren't *that* much the same. In the last years, I've read all manner of books about immigrants' interactions and meetings with Norwegians and Norwegian culture in order to try to understand what it is, in its entirety, I have married myself to. I married a person, whom I liked a lot. That person happened to be a Norwegian. At the time I wasn't aware of how much else I was getting myself into. (And, it must be said, neither did he.) Straddling two cultures as I am, it now seems appropriate to cast my gaze back towards my own homeland in a more decided and informed manner, and make a comparison of the two. As foreigners are wont to do, I too have sought out fellow New Zealanders in this very northern land – seeking companionship, and communal understanding. Norway is, in these conversations of criticism, found to be lacking so disappointingly compared to our own dear (and mythologised) New Zealand. Most of this is located in the difficulty of dealing with bureaucracy; a difficulty that always seems heightened in a foreign country. One dreams of the time when

¹ Being especially characteristic of Norwegian culture.

² 17.mai: 17th of May. Colloquial term for Norway's Constitution Day and National Celebration.

certain rights and procedures were simply in place because one was born there. It is also located in a certain feeling of loneliness, of feeling slightly different, or “outside” and unsure of where to place oneself. Though, it must be said that I have received a lot of help and hospitality from Norwegians since the day I arrived here. It is also true that my meeting with Norway has been easier than many others. As several Norwegians said to me during my first months here: “Well at least you’re not black. You look like a Norwegian; at least the authorities won’t harass you.” This points to an interesting idea, that it is not my ethnicity that marks me as foreign, it is specifically my nationality that does this. It is only once I open my mouth that I am marked as different. Who am I now that I have become a “Kiwegan,” as we have begun to call ourselves? How does that specific background frame my meeting with Norway and Norwegians, and how does it frame how I feel about, and position myself in relation to my own country? I am only able to return home once every second year, my connection to New Zealand, and my sense of whom I am as a New Zealander is weakened by this time/spatial distance. I too have begun to mythologise the “Land of the long white cloud,”³ at times indulging myself in the belief that everything in New Zealand, from the health system to hairdressers, is better than in Norway.

Who I am and where I have come from have a decided impact on the observations made, and conclusions drawn about the object of research. Preconceptions about New Zealand and Norway are instrumental in the shaping of my opinion of these two nations: An awareness of a tendency towards subjectivity and bias will be paramount in this discussion. How this comes in to play for the method of research and the subject material, and the implications of this will appear as a through line throughout this work. All the events I describe make up, in a way, an historical narrative that I have composed. The struggle to write history, and to represent events is an ongoing performative process characterised by subjectivity. The performative process occurs between myself as author, the events that become historical in their recording, and this text.

³ Commonly thought to be the English translation for Aotearoa, the Māori name for NZ, which in itself is a historical construct. Before the white man came to NZ the different Māori tribes referred to the islands in different ways.

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⁴ Barnetog: Children’s parade.

⁵ Russetog: Parade for the graduating high school students.

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Chapter 1: Processions as performances of identity and ideology.

1.1. What you see is not always what you (are supposed to) get.

On the 17th of May 2007 I went into the centre of Oslo to observe, and by my spectatorship participate in, Norway's National Celebration. Part of this celebration includes an afternoon parade for all the graduating high school students in Oslo. The so-called "Russetog".⁶

The day had started in cornflower blue brilliance, with the sun beating down upon the town. Towards the afternoon, however, the weather had deteriorated. The wind had picked up and the winter chill returned, curling its fingers around corners, and marking out grave shadows around the bases of buildings. I'd arrived a bit before three o'clock to the designated starting point of the "Russetog" and was able to sit and observe the comings and goings of a increasingly more intoxicated public that gathered in groups or roamed about – either randomly or with an obvious destination in mind. People, dressed either in National costumes, civilian clothes, or blue or red overalls, mixed together while music of a dangerously loud level poured out of a student-owned bus parked nearby. The bus was large with its own generator to power its considerable stereo system, and had been painted in the baroque style, with puffy white clouds over a powder blue-sky background. People yelled at each other over the din. At three o'clock, or there about, the Kampen Janitsjar⁷ marched up an adjoining road lead by four members of the mounted constabulary. The horses forged a way through the mooching teenagers, the precision of their uniforms in sharp contrast to the baggy and sagging red overalls of the Russ.⁸ The parade had at least begun with a certain amount of pomp and style. The signifiers where there – a marching band requisitioned to lead the procession played loud ostentatious music with a sound beat - excellent for marching in step to. This was, however, to little avail. The graduating high school students who were loitering around seemed to be of one undecided mind. Should they go or should they stay? They were having a lot of fun: Some were dancing on top of another parked up bus, others were drinking and carousing around. The idea of launching off on a parade at that moment seemed most unappealing. Half of those who were there, after some minutes of deliberation and in a half-hearted sort of way, wandered off down the road after the marching band while the rest remained behind. I had gotten up from the steps where I had been waiting to take some

⁶ Russetog: graduating high school students' parade.

⁷ Janitsjar: A janissary band from Kampen, a district within Oslo.

⁸ Russ: Graduating high school student(s).

pictures, but barely had time to take any. I felt a pang of disappointment, and decided to wait and see what would happen next: More carousing and more dancing on top of the bus. More milling around. After perhaps five minutes another group of students wandered off down the road with beers, noisemakers and flags in hand, leaving the rest behind to continue dancing, chatting and running around.

On that afternoon in May I went looking for a parade and found one of sorts. It is the “of sorts” part of this sentence that is of interest. What I had been expecting to see differed greatly from what I in fact did see. In preparation for observing the “Russetog” and “17.mai” in general I had come across a film released in 1969 by Anja Breien called “17.mai – en film om ritualer”.⁹ Despite having lived in Norway for seven years, and having participated in at least four Norwegian National Celebrations, I had never made the effort to go and watch the “Russetog”, so in a way I didn’t *exactly* know what to expect. I knew that the parade I would see in 2007 would differ from the images shot in 1967, but I had no idea to what extent. Thus it was that I attended the celebration with images of manageable number of fresh-faced young individuals, marching along with banners upheld upon which were painted political slogans, or advertisements for that year’s comedy revue. More than that though, I also went expecting to see a parade and all of what that entails: People marching together – for themselves and for the spectators. People marching with some sort of collective purpose. The paraphernalia of symbolism represented by flags, national colours and costumes, red overalls and caps. In a sense this is what I saw, and yet something was awry. From my experience, and in general it can be said that in order for an event to be called a procession or parade, certain signifiers need to be in place. What happens when those signifiers fail to appear, or appear slightly askew? What happens when the form unravels? What holds well theoretically does not always function in practice: What you see is not always what you (are supposed to) get.

1.2. Founding documents in action.

In this thesis I will argue that the examples of the procession that I have chosen to examine from within a performance framework *are ideology in action* as they are each linked to *founding documents*. That is, they are performances of the doctrines, opinions, and ways of thinking of the nations of New Zealand and Norway with particular reference to those ideals laid down in each country’s founding document. On their own, and as a consequence of this, these processions are also performances of national identity, and as such are designed with a

⁹ 17.mai – en film om ritualer: 17th of May – a film about rituals.

specific purpose in mind, as I will argue: To strengthen and maintain the nation by continually bringing both its history and the hallmarks of its cultural references to the fore. It can be said that one of the most important functions of the procession is to manifest a sense of communal union augmented by feelings of sentiment and solidarity. This communal union is thought to be, within the context of this thesis, in service to the performance of ideology. Incorporated into the structure of the thesis emerges also a discussion which straddles two prevailing schools of thought within the study of theatre - performance and theatricality. This arises naturally out the choice of main theorists: Richard Schechner representing the performance point of view, and Elizabeth Burns who draws upon concepts of theatricality in her writing. A brief overview of these two perspectives will follow in Chapter two.

Therefore, the investigative foundation of this thesis lies in the following hypotheses:

1. These processions are performances of national ideology and identity.
2. They are founding documents in action, as the significant events surrounding the creation of these documents are their *raison d'être*
3. The function of communal unity, or solidarity and sentiment, is in service to this performance of ideology.
4. Approaching the material from a performance, and a theatrical point of view may, or may not, yield different conclusions.

As stated above, this thesis looks at the procession as a performance genre that serves to build and maintain national identity within a society or group. It will also consider the hypothesis that a procession can also be looked upon as ideology in action, as each parade is linked to the founding documents of the country in which they take place: For New Zealand this is the Treaty of Waitangi, written and signed in 1840, and for Norway this is her Constitution written and signed in 1814. In order to explore the hypotheses stated above, I will look at the following examples: From Norway: the “Barnetog”,¹⁰ being the main event on Norway’s National day celebration, and the “Russetog” or graduating high school students’ parade also held on Norway’s National Day. From New Zealand, the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior”, a ceremonial event held in Wellington, November 11th 2004, and “Matakite o Aotearoa”, the “Māori Land March” which occurred in the spring of 1975 and spanned the length of the North Island.

¹⁰ Barnetog: children’s parade.

In the foreword to this thesis I have already given a background for my initial choice of subject matter – being the Norwegian National ceremony. I have stated that my interest lay in coming to terms with an adopted culture as a New Zealander living in Norway. Through a process it became clear that it was reasonable to examine the processional aspects of “17.mai,” and compare these with at least two processions from New Zealand. My personal interest in the day and the problematics associated with it led me to look for similar events in New Zealand, which could be described as serving a similar purpose to the Norwegian “Barnetog” which I have perceived as being central to the upkeep of the Norwegian national self-image. I had hoped greatly that Waitangi day, New Zealand’s National Day, had also included a parade or procession as a part of its festivities. Unfortunately, because of Māori protest and the way in which processions make for easy protest targets, the processional element of the Waitangi day celebration had been dropped in favour of a family orientated, three-day festival, containing both official and unofficial ceremonies. As I began to investigate the processions I had chosen as my objects of research, I began to realise they were in some way linked to ideas of nationhood and national identity. The procession for the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior”, set in contrast to the “Māori Land March”, in my view, presented two ends of an emerging continuum. The “Unknown warrior” being orchestrated primarily by the state and intended for the benefit of all New Zealanders, and operating in accordance with the state. Whereas the “Land March” was in protest of the state and seemingly only intended for the benefit of a percentage of New Zealanders. I am aware that a more recent protest procession was performed by Māori in 2004, “Hikoi¹¹ 2004”, protesting a change in legislation about the seabed and foreshore of New Zealand – in essence an issue of ownership and right. However, my decision to include the 1975 march in my thesis instead of “Hikoi 2004” was strengthened when I saw an image from a newspaper documenting the protest from 2004: It showed a young boy holding the iconic image from the 1975 march. The image depicted Whina Cooper MBE¹² starting off on the 800km long march to parliament holding the hand of her mokopuna¹³ Irene. (See figure 31 in Chapter five.) The 1975 march is thus the seminal experience, and it has, albeit with hindsight, become a powerful historical event. I would also categorise the “Unknown warrior” as a seminal event feeding into national identity.

¹¹ Hikoi: march.

¹² Whina Cooper: Kuia (Māori female elder). She founded the Māori Women’s Welfare League, initiated a major survey of Māori housing which brought government attention to the case, and was noted for her work in land rights. She was appointed a MBE (member of the order of the British empire) in 1953.

¹³ Mokopuna: grandchild.

The “Russetog” became a natural source of investigation as, when looking at “17.mai” questions began to arise about the continued validity of holding the procession on Norway’s National Day. To my mind this procession presented itself as a possible example of what happens when the form begins to unravel, and therefore makes an interesting contrast to the other examples.

1.3. A cross-section of methods.

I’ve always liked a good story. This may account for my love of the theatre from childhood, and it may also account for the narrative tendencies in my accounts of the four processions I have described as the material for investigation. The backbone of methods upon which this thesis rides, are multiple, as it uses elements of a qualitative approach, including; hermeneutics, a comparative analysis, and the performance approach itself. These can be seen to be descriptive of a postmodernist approach, and performance, as a part of a qualitative approach, seeks to break down the constructs of the social life and reveal different aspects as interacting interrelating pieces rather than authorial wholes.¹⁴ Thus in my mind, the term performance describes not only an event, or a set of theories, but also a method of research.

The qualitative method “...is based on intensive study of as many features as possible of one or a small number of phenomena.”¹⁵ Based on my own interpretive/narrative descriptions and my own observations, the investigative “eye” holds a phenomenological position – all hallmarks of the qualitative approach. While this may be a “...revoicing of an individual’s experience...” it is hoped the work will be “...able to generalize beyond the individual and articulate transferable meanings of what makes an experience what it is.”¹⁶ Contained also within the qualitative method is an idea of understanding as being hermeneutic. Where “...achieving a meaningful interpretation requires back and forth movement between parts and whole. Understanding cannot be pursued in the absence of context and interpretive framework.”¹⁷ Eliminating context would be to place each processional event in a hermetic box sealing it off from a full investigation. This is why I have found it necessary to include a significant amount of historical background information about Norway and New Zealand, and the processions’ historical placement. Hans Georg Gadamer,

¹⁴ Michael Bloor and Fiona Wood, *Keywords in qualitative methods: a vocabulary of research concepts*, (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 133.

¹⁵ Robert L. Miller and John D. Brewer, ed., *The A-Z of social research: a dictionary of social science research concepts*, (London: Sage publications, 2003), 193.

¹⁶ Bloor and Wood, *Keywords in qualitative methods*, 129.

¹⁷ Richard Colwell ed., *MENC handbook of research methodologies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 274.

as described by Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldbberg, built upon an already existing hermeneutic model and sought to include the reader within the hermeneutic circle as well as the historical/social context. He meant that it was a fundamental for humans to attempt to understand the historical and social world, and the cultures and traditions that influence them. In this way the interpreter's own preconceptions and prejudices of the text or event influence any attempt to locate an understanding of meaning. Moreover, Gadamer meant that this preconception about the wholeness of a text or event was necessary to all understanding. Only once it is discovered that the preconception is wrong, can the work to find out what it really means begin.¹⁸ Alvesson and Sköldbberg point out some of the difficulties of this approach, referring to Eric. D. Hirsch. An addiction to pinpointing a homogenous meaning of a text excluded interpretation in terms of dissonance and ambiguity. It eliminates the possibility that a text, or event can mean more than just one thing. In line with this, it is not the aim of this thesis to find a complete and immanent meaning for each procession, but rather by alternating between the events and the theory, new meanings and understandings will open up – not only for the events but also for the performance theory applied to the processions. There is a strong degree of perspectivism here, since in the end the conclusions reached will emerge from within a performance framework. Performance theory allows for a quite dynamic method of investigation seeing as it involves looking at the ways in which elements in the performance space interact and interrelate: Each new meeting or constellation creates new meanings as the emphasis shifts. This is a kind of mix between the object and relative hermeneutic approaches, as in the process of discussing the objects of research I will step in and out of the material, alternately discussing my own meetings with the processions and framing them through theory and thus taking a more objective standpoint. It entails a sort of evolution of understanding and meaning throughout the process of writing the thesis.

A comparative approach is a given supplied by the material itself – four processions from two nations – which also arises from the fact that I am a New Zealander living in Norway, will also hopefully yield significant conclusions when considering the way processions are performances of identity and ideology. In this way, two modes of reasoning within the comparative analysis – the deductive and inductive modes – become suitable labels as this study finds itself at a point somewhere between these two:

¹⁸ Mats Alvesson and Kaj Sköldbberg, *Tolkning och reflektion: Vetenskapsfilosofi och kvalitativ metod*, (Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1994), 157.

Deductive comparative studies tend to seek patterns of convergence between nation states to support the validity of the general theory that is applied to understand and explain the social process under study. Inductive comparative studies tend to focus on patterns of variance to support the contention that social life is historically specific and culturally bound.¹⁹

The nation is considered to iron out differences, giving individuals living within nations a superimposed ideological structure to frame all aspects of social life. At the same time, it is still seen to be made up of social realities that *are* historically specific and *are* culturally bound: New Zealand and Norway might be very similar as they are both creations of the nation-state machine, but they are also different. Consideration of these similarities and differences will partly inform the discussion of the processions.

1.4. Materials

1.4.a. Primary Materials.

Primary materials in this investigation include my own observations, then recorded pictorially via still photos and video filming of the “Barnetog” and the “Russetog”. Not being able to be everywhere at once, I focussed my attention upon the so-called “goal” of the “Barnetog”. For the “Barnetog” this is the Palace together with the Royal Family, and for the “Russetog” this is the start of the procession, as it has no physical goal.

1.4.b. Secondary materials.

Further material for the “Barnetog” included live footage from the Norwegian state television channel (NRK) on the day. Anja Breien’s film “17.mai en film om ritualer”, has been useful in terms of giving me an insight into the “then” and “now” aspect of the “Barnetog” and “Russetog” as it was released in 1969.

For observations of the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” I have solely referred to a DVD produced by Television New Zealand (TVNZ) that contains four hours of the live footage that was broadcast on TVNZ on the 11th of November 2004.

The “Māori Land March” was documented by Geoff Stevens in his film “Te matakite o Aotearoa²⁰/The Māori Land March”, (Seehear Films, 1975). I was able to view this at the New Zealand Film Archive in Wellington at the end of 2007. Still images taken at the time of the march have also informed my description, these being viewed at the Alexander Turnbull

¹⁹ Miller and Brewer, *The A-Z of social research*, 33.

²⁰ Te matakite o Aotearoa: The prophecy of Aotearoa.

Library (a part of the New Zealand National Library) in Wellington and on their website <http://timeframes.natlib.govt.nz>.

1.4.c. Background material.

Being part of conversation that crosses a number of disciplines means that there is a body of work already out there to which I will either directly refer, or at the very least be aware of. Much research has already been carried out on Norwegian national identity and about 17.mai itself. From 1993 – 1998 the National Identity Project, organised through the KULT programme²¹ at the University of Oslo, led to the publishing of a book called *Jakten på det norske: perspektiver på utviklingen av en norsk nasjonal identitet på 1800-tallet*²² edited by Øystein Sørensen. It presents a thorough history, pictorially presented, of the building of a Norwegian national identity in the 1800s.

The thesis “17.mai i det flerkulturelle Norge: Et multi-etnisk perspektiv på den norske nasjonaldagen”²³ by Anne Schanche Kristoffersen was written in conjunction with the 1998-2001 study led by the Research Programme in the North and Europe carried out a study called “Nasjonaldagsfeiring i fleirkulturelle demokrati.”²⁴ Kristoffersen made a detailed study of how non-western immigrants meet 17.mai, concluding, for example, that they feel very much a part of the celebration as they enter into it through their children’s participation.

Allan Sande, writing his doctorate in 2000/2001 applied, among others, Victor Turner’s theory of the rite of passage to the month long celebration Russ embark on prior to their exams. This has informed my thoughts surrounding the “Russetog” and, for example, its function.

Conversations about New Zealand identity have been carried out nearly as long as the first non-Māori settler took his first step ashore. In the *Great New Zealand Argument: Ideas about ourselves* Russell Brown eloquently makes this point when he writes that it is “...no myth that we have been asking visitors the dreaded question ‘What do you think of New Zealand?’ for longer than we have been a sovereign nation.”²⁵ Brown’s book gathers essays and speeches spanning a period of time from 1938 to 2004. All of the contributions address in

²¹ Kultur- og tradisjonsformidlende forskning: Investigation of culture and tradition.

²² The hunt for the Norwegian: perspectives of the development of a Norwegian national identity in the 1800s.

²³ The 17th of May in a multi-cultural Norway: A multi-ethnic perspective of the Norwegian National Day.

²⁴ National Day Celebrations in multi-cultural democracies.

²⁵ Russell Brown, ed., *Great New Zealand Argument: Ideas about ourselves*, (Auckland: Activity Press, 2005), 8.

some way or another the essence of what it means to be a New Zealander, how the country as a nation has changed during its relatively short life span, and what sort of country it could imagine becoming.

Claudia Bell's book *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday myths of Pakeha identity*, aims to dispel the clichés of Pakeha identity. Bell has composed a detailed analysis of those symbols and ideals which frame and construct our (Pakeha) identity on a daily basis, and the processes by which this is achieved.

In 1985 the renowned theatre periodical "The drama review" (TDR) devoted an entire volume to the procession. The volume, which was named "Processional performance",²⁶ gathered short articles written about processions that had an emphasis on, as the title indicates, the performance-like quality of the procession. The content of the contributions to the volume span a wide range of cultures and periods, and have been most useful to this work in defining key elements and commonalities of the procession.

²⁶ This title has inspired the title of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Performative approaches.

2.1. Presentation of theories.

There are four main theorists upon whose writing I have drawn for an understanding of the performative nature of the procession: Richard Schechner, Victor Turner, Eric Rothenbuhler and Elizabeth Burns. The selection of theories presented in this chapter will later be actively applied to the research material in Chapter six, followed by a drawing together of the different threads of the discussion in Chapter seven. Both Schechner and Burns have sought to apply ideas of performance or theatricality to social/cultural events. Their perspectives represent two sides of an ongoing argument about how the performance gaze can be cast upon society, and this is something I will discuss briefly in section 2.2.2. Turner and Rothenbuhler have anthropological backgrounds and can give insight into the ritual aspect of social processes. Rothenbuhler's particular emphasis on media seeks to explain that large ceremonial events, once captured by the media, have the potential to become mediated rituals.

2.1.a. Purposeful behaviour: Some key Schechnerian concepts.

Theatre practitioner and theorist Richard Schechner has developed an expanded theory of theatre.²⁷ His theoretical work is based on his own work as an active practitioner of theatre and as an observer of different societies and cultures. Furthermore much of his more recent writing has sought to gather together of the writings and ideas of a vast number of scholars and theorists, from a diverse but decided selection of disciplines, all of which has culminated in a so-called broad-spectrum approach to the study of performance. This kind of performance theory has made it possible for students of theatre to extend their gaze beyond the walls of the theatre building and out into the realm of the everyday life where performance meets the social sciences. Schechner encourages us to consider that many aspects of human activity, for example rites and ceremonies, sport and play, that is, all kinds of cultural situations are interlinked as in a kind of web. Being a man of charts and diagrams Schechner has systematically mapped areas of performance commonality between play, games, sports, theatre and ritual, and so on. In each of these phenomena performance elements are, to a

²⁷ Anita Hammer, "Når det førmoderne møter det postmoderne: en introduksjon til Richard Schechners performanceteori" in *Norsk Shakespeare og Teatertidsskrift*: nr. 2, (2007), 19 - 20. Expanded theatre theory: "utvidede teaterbegrep". Anita Hammer's clarifying term for Schechner's performance theory.

greater or lesser degree, present. Framing events in this way makes it possible to see how these many different types of human activity can be seen to be linked by performance elements, or a series of performance-like commonalities. In particular, these activities may have a special ordering of time; they may be allotted a special time of the day and last for a decided or significant amount of time. They may occur only once, cyclically, or monthly etc. As Schechner himself says: “When people “go to the theatre” they are acknowledging that the theatre takes place at special times in special places.”²⁸ These spaces can be sacred, secular, found, transformed, indoor or outdoor etc. A special value attached to objects, and rules may be involved, it may have appeal to others, require an audience, or have a symbolic reality.²⁹ A performance is, then, something occurring in the here and now, entailing something being performed for someone else. This may be an impersonation of someone either real or fictional, or it may be the playing out of a social role such as Mother, Friend or Doctor.³⁰ This “something” also has consequence and meaning, and uses space consciously. It does not have to involve a display of *skill*, as in staged theatre, but can involve the performance of *coded behaviour*, or of spontaneous everyday behaviour, that is, restored behaviour. As summed up by Schechner:

To treat any object, work, or product “as” performance – a painting, a novel, a shoe, or anything at all – means to investigate what the object does, how it interacts with other objects or beings, and how it relates to other objects or beings. Performances exist only as actions, interactions, and relationships.³¹

These are the terms by which it is possible to understand the performance framework.

Restored behaviour.

According to Schechner all kinds of actions are instances of restored behaviour. Schechner says that both art and everyday life involve training and practice. Of “...learning appropriate culturally specific bits of behaviour, of adjusting and performing one’s life roles in relation to social and personal circumstances.” All actions are made of restored behaviours, and even seemingly new actions once broken down into their essential elements reveal themselves as restored behaviours. However, that is not to say that all performances and all actions are the same, because the compilation of different actions and behaviours differ from instance to instance. Furthermore, “...the context of every reception makes each instance different.” This

²⁸ Richard Schechner, *Performance theory*, (New York: Routledge Classics, 2003), 189.

²⁹ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 16, 292-293.

³⁰ Richard Schechner, *Performance studies: an introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 191, 171.

³¹ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 30.

is the basic premise for looking at non-theatre activities from a performance perspective. As one way of viewing the term, and most pertinent to the purposes of this thesis, Schechner says, "...[r]estored behaviour is "out there," separate from "me." To put it in personal terms, restored behaviour is "me" behaving as if I were someone else," or "as I am told to do," or as I have learned."³² This is not to say that all people are in a way false or are manipulating their behaviour, but rather that certain situations dictate certain kinds of behaviour, and this behaviour has been socially constructed and learned over time. Furthermore, as restored behaviour is most often culturally specific, "...[i]ts meanings need to be decoded by those in the know."³³

Play and performance.

"Play" is a large field to which many scholars have contributed creating an immense repertoire of different perspectives and ideas about what exactly "play" is, and how it affects the social life. Schechner has sourced his understanding of "play" from a great many subject areas and theorists. In light of this I have chosen to explain those elements of "play," as understood from Schechner's perspective, that seem most relevant for the purposes of this thesis.

Schechner maintains that playing and ritual are "...at the heart of performance." And that "...performance may be defined as ritualized behaviour conditioned/permeated by play." Play is flexible and linked to restored behaviour – which Schechner considers to be playful and changeable. Playing is the opposite of work, it is permissive, not serious and is ambiguous; the non-serious can be mistaken for the serious or "real." It functions most successfully when everyone involved agrees to play. Moreover, "...it embodies the "as if," the make believe."³⁴ Play can occur whenever, wherever, and with an unlimited number of participants where the rules can either be fixed or in flux. Playing consists of play acts which can "...often serve multiple, contradictory purposes simultaneously."³⁵ Playing may, for example, involve fooling someone, as with a scam or con-job. Play acts are then, not always fun for everyone, and neither are the processes from which play acts emerge necessarily playful; training and preparation are often repetitious, boring and tedious.

³² Schechner, *Performance studies*, 34.

³³ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 34, 35.

³⁴ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 89, 90, 92 and 121.

³⁵ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 96.

How do people know when it's time to play? To answer this question Schechner draws upon the ideas of Gregory Bateson who refers to a signal of intent, a metacommunication that says, "I am playing;" also being a "...signal that frames other signals contained within or after it." Schechner relates this idea to performance in this way: He says it is straightforward to see how comedy is playful, but asks the question how might tragedy be viewed as being playful? This is the make believe, or "as if" part of playing. Tragedy is an art that refers to "...that which, if real, would be painful."³⁶ Inside the theatrical frame, all sorts of emotions can be endured, and all sorts of incidences can occur without the spectator feeling obliged to do something.

Ritual and performance.

Ritual, like play, has been vastly researched and theorised upon, both in historical contexts and present day manifestations. Schechner enters this enduring discussion with a strong link to anthropologist Victor Turner. As with play, Schechner has drawn upon the ideas and writings of a vast number of theorists from a number of different fields in order to support his understanding of ritual as it relates to performance.

Schechner builds upon an idea from the French social scientist Émile Durkheim when he proposes that rituals are performances. "Rituals don't so much express ideas as embody them. Rituals are thought in/as action."³⁷ This is a complex idea: They are the physical manifestation of ideas or beliefs. They are ideas placed into three-dimensional space. This particular characteristic of ritual, of moving through space, of physically enacting something and making a display of beliefs or ideas makes objects and actions symbolic. Power becomes manifest when actions and objects are given a significance or meaning that goes beyond their actual value.

It has often been proposed that theatre emerged out of ritual. Schechner holds this standpoint to be misguided and suggests instead that it is more useful to look at ritual and theatre as having a binary relationship, preferring to describe certain kinds of human social behaviour according to their efficacy versus their entertainment function/value: As indicated by the diagram below.

³⁶ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 103.

³⁷ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 57.

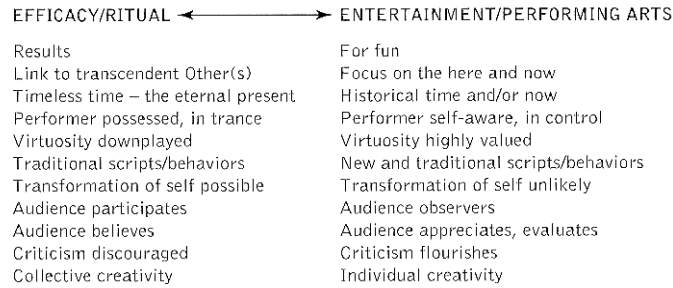


Figure 1. *The efficacy-entertainment dyad.*

The dyad represents a continuum, as marked by the double ended arrow between the titles Efficacy/Ritual and Entertainment/Performing arts: Performative events are likely to fall somewhere between these to lists of opposites. For example, a performance may achieve results, and yet also be a lot of fun; or it may only partially involve spectator participation. The continuum also points to the different levels upon which efficacy or entertainment function, as mention is made of the involvement of the individual, the spectator, and the collective (society). People may be effected or entertained directly through slogans and catch phrases, or symbolically, through the representational power of symbols. The efficacy-entertainment dyad instrumentally emphasises and illustrates the idea that performance is present in all kinds of human behaviour.

2.1.b. Ritual/performance intersection: some key Turnian theories.

Victor Turner was of considerable inspiration to Richard Schechner and vice versa. Turner has developed an in depth theory of ritual after many years in the field observing and taking part in tribal society life. The following is a brief presentation of the Turnian concepts upon which I will draw in my investigation into the processional genre.

Social dramas.

From his time in the field, living for nearly three years in African villages, Turner began to notice that "...[s]omething like "drama" was constantly emerging, even erupting, from the otherwise fairly even surfaces of social life." He also observed how powerful symbols are in human communication:³⁸ Including the way in which individuals from different cultures wielded their words, how they gestured, and danced, which objects they cherished, and so forth. Developing this idea Turner used the structure of the rite of passage (more about this

³⁸ Victor Turner, *From ritual to theatre: the human seriousness of play*, (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982), 9.

later), as it was understood by Arnold van Gennep as a model for the social drama; characterised in this way: From *breach* to *crisis*, to *redressive* action and *reconciliation* or *schism*.³⁹ This means that the peaceful or normal tempo of a society or group is suddenly disrupted due to some breach of rule controlling one of its dominant relationships. This can then quickly escalate into a crisis where, for example, a communications breakdown can cause different groups or factions to take sides, thus splitting the community. To prevent a total breakdown, redressive action is initiated by those who are perceived to hold legitimate power in the community. This may be in the form of legal, religious, or military intervention. A reconciliation between antagonistic parties may then be attained, or at the very least an “agree to disagree” situation.⁴⁰ It is this third phase of the social drama to which “...the theatre owes its specific genesis...” that is of interest. It is here that Richard Schechner has described the theatre’s job as “restoring the past.”⁴¹ The theatre does not re-enact historical events, but rather places them in a contemporary context to be re-explored. In further support of Turner’s social drama theory, Schechner maintains that the “...basic performance structure of gathering/performing/dispersing underlies and literally contains, the dramatic structure[.]”⁴² He sees conflict only as being possible in the theatre, and maybe society as well, if it occurs inside a “nest” where people have agreed “...to gather at a specific time and place to perform – to do something agreed on – and to disperse once the performance is over.”⁴³

Liminality.

As mentioned above, the social drama is modelled against the structural stages of the rite of passage. As theorised by van Gennep, Turner says, distinguished “...three phases in a rite of passage: *separation*, *transition*, and *incorporation*.” The transitional phase was termed by van Gennep as “margin” or “limen” meaning “threshold,” where participants in a rite pass through a period of uncertainty before emerging on the other side in their new state. From this Turner coined the term “liminal.” The liminal phase is a period of separation or seclusion during a rite or ritual involving a transformation of profane or secular space and time into the sacred.⁴⁴ It is a phase is where anything can happen and new possibilities can emerge. It often also

³⁹ Turner, *From ritual to theatre*, 69.

⁴⁰ Turner, *From ritual to theatre*, 92.

⁴¹ Turner, *From ritual to theatre*, 12.

⁴² Schechner, *Performance theory*, 189.

⁴³ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 189.

⁴⁴ Turner, *From ritual to theatre*, 24.

involves a separation, that is, a shift in space, where, for example, initiates are taken away from normal everyday life and into seclusion for a period. Looking at it from a performance point of view Schechner says that "...[a]n empty theatre space is liminal, open to all kinds of possibilities: a space that by means of performing could become anywhere." Schechner applies the idea of the lintel that bridges the liminal space metaphorically to the performance space: Functioning as a reinforcing agent over the empty space of the corridor, "...[c]onceptually, what happens within a liminal time-space is "reinforced," emphasized."⁴⁵

However, "liminality" is the term applied to post-industrial societies, where concepts relating to the liminal take on a different quality. Essentially, "...[w]hen used of processes, phenomena, and persons in large-scale complex societies, its use must be in the main metaphorical." In post-industrial societies many of the functions that ritual had in primitive or tribal societies can be seen to have been taken over in modern societies, where there is a division between work and leisure, by recreational activities. This "liminality" refers to "... "anti-structure" (meaning by this the dissolution of normative social structure, with its role-sets, statuses, jural rights and duties, etc.)"⁴⁶ and refers to a potential for change when the normative system allows for this possibility.

2.1.c. Ritual understanding: key concepts from Eric Rothenbuhler.

Eric Rothenbuhler's concept of ritual is based on a critical review of the way in which various disciplines have defined ritual, approaching the conversation from communication theory point of view. He has laid out a vigorous account of the various classifications of this term, and the consequent problematics of such classification. It is a comprehensive work, and as with the other theorists I shall only make an account of those concepts that pertain most readily to the content of this thesis. In his book *Ritual communication: From everyday conversation to mediated ceremony*, Eric Rothenbuhler attempts to dispel some of the misconceptions which have emerged out of theorising around this overused term "ritual." For the work of this thesis Rothenbuhler's theories have also provided a checklist against falling into assumptive reasoning.

Ritual misconceptions.

To perceive ritual as "insincere public performance" is, according to Rothenbuhler, inadequate. Conversely, insincere public performance should neither be labelled as ritual

⁴⁵ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 67.

⁴⁶ Turner, *From ritual to theatre*, 28.

behaviour. It undermines the importance of ritual in human society and allows for the possibility of relegating it as “...unworthy of respect or attention.”⁴⁷ Closely related to this are conceptions pertaining to empty conventions. This also downgrades the ritual experience.

Rothenbuhler puts it in this way:

Like insincere public performances, these activities [empty conventions] are not strongly motivated by their apparent meaning. The participants do not really care about the events as much as their participation appears to indicate, but unlike insincere public performances, an empty convention is just empty, we usually do not suspect its participants of bad intent.⁴⁸

Empty conventions are a form of ritual, however, Rothenbuhler means that they need to be addressed by their own set of theoretical tools: They are not the norm and should not be treated as such.

Ritual oversimplified.

Rothenbuhler describes the Durkheimian idea that one of the most important functions of ritual is maintaining social order as being a partly adequate conception of ritual. “By periodically requiring a time-out, assembling disparate social members, and engaging in a celebration of the affective bonds and moral principles they share, ritual functions to reinvigorate the social order.” For Rothenbuhler this is, however, too simple. The workings of ritual in society are complex and an explanation of them should not rely so heavily on sentiment and ideas of solidarity. This is because ritual also functions, according to Rothenbuhler, on an intellectual level in its contribution to social processes. For example, that rituals always maintain the status quo of social order need not always be the case as rituals also provide a platform or opportunity for individuals to challenge the dominant social order.⁴⁹

Media effects.

Rothenbuhler describes the way in which mediated rituals are considered to function. In order to qualify as a mediated ritual, as opposed to a media event, certain characteristics have been categorised. Rothenbuhler has summarised the work of D. Dayan and E. Katz: Mediated ritual *must* be “...*interruptions* of normal broadcasting routines, presented *live, organised outside*

⁴⁷ Eric Rothenbuhler, *Ritual communication: from everyday conversation to mediated ceremony*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc., 1998), 30.

⁴⁸ Rothenbuhler, *Ritual communication*, 31.

⁴⁹ Rothenbuhler, *Ritual communication*, 41, 43, 44.

the media, and preplanned.” Furthermore, they must be “...presented with *reverence and ceremony*, they aim at *reconciliation*, and are declared *historic*.” Lastly, media events should “...excite large audiences, are characterised by a *norm of viewing*, give viewers reason to *celebrate, integrate* societies, and *renew loyalties*.”⁵⁰ If one of these characteristics were not present, it would according to Rothenbuhler call “...into question the success of the event.” Therefore, there is cause to have reservations about these ideas.⁵¹ What happens when these events are framed by the camera? I will return to this in section 6.1.e.

2.1.d. Elizabeth Burns: Theatricality in the social life.

Elizabeth Burns, writing in 1972, made a seminal contribution to a nascent theory of what exactly theatre is, and how it might be studied. In her book *Theatricality: A study of convention in the theatre and in social life*, Burns provides an historically based comparison of the ways in which theatricality might be seen to be present in the theatre as it appears on stage and in the social, or ordinary life. She writes: “Reality invades the theatre as theatricality invades the real world.”⁵² Her perspective is based on the western theatre tradition and culture and comes from a semiotic/linguistic theoretical framework, with a good measure of sociology. She identifies the different conventions that condition behaviour both inside and outside the theatre by looking at all aspects of the theatre, both its verbal and non-verbal forms of communication, rather than examining only the dramatic text: Theatre thus seen as only as one part of all human action. Being that my interest lies in human action outside of the theatre building, I will focus on that part of her writing.

All the world’s a stage.

Burns’ views theatre as having developed out of religious rituals, a development she then traces through Elizabethan and Victorian England. In fact, she starts by referring to the Shakespearian idea of “all the world’s a stage”, which is then linked to the field of sociology, that has since the 1950s borrowed theatre terminology to explain social processes; particularly the work of Erving Goffman. This is a metaphor she refines in this way: “The theatrical metaphor: the world as a stage, and the theatre as paradigm.”⁵³ For Burns this means that:

⁵⁰ Rothenbuhler, *Ritual Communication*, 80. Rothenbuhler’s italics.

⁵¹ Rothenbuhler, *Ritual Communication*, 81.

⁵² Elizabeth Burns, *Theatricality: A study of convention in the theatre and in social life*, (London: The Longman group ltd., 1972), 88.

⁵³ Burns, *Theatricality*, 8.

Behaviour can be described as ‘theatrical’ only by those who know what drama is, even if their knowledge is limited to the theatre in their own country period...Behaviour is not therefore theatrical because it is of a certain kind but because the observer recognises certain patterns and sequences which are analogous to those he is familiar in the theatre.⁵⁴

Being able to perceive action in the social world as theatrical is one particular perspective within the field of performance studies. The theatre and social life are, according to Burns, comprised of sequences of action that are contrived and composed. “‘Theatricality’ in the ordinary life consists in the resort to this special grammar of composed behaviour; it is when we suspect that behaviour is being composed according to this grammar of rhetorical and authenticating conventions that we regard it as theatrical.”⁵⁵ These processes are, according to Burns, more visible in the theatre than the outside world. Burns defines a convention simply, as being a shared comprehension or consensus about what a particular action, gesture or speech means, and this may occur either consciously or unconsciously. “The line drawn between the two kinds of behaviour, theatrical and untheatrical, depends on the selectivity of moral vision which is conditioned by the process of socialisation in a particular social milieu, at a particular time.”⁵⁶

Burns says that the “...word drama means ‘action’ but denotes imitative action which is primarily symbolic, that it, it refers to something which already has or could have taken place.” In the world outside of the theatre “...[b]ehaviour’, indeed, becomes ‘action’ when it is recognised as expressing intention.” Intention is what gives action meaning. Burns maintains that the illusionary function of the theatre – its ‘as if’ quality is also at work in the social life. She constructs a reality divided into three levels: “...the ‘pretend’ reality of games, sports, parties, ceremonies, the ‘alternative’ reality of occupational worlds and ritual, or the ‘overriding’ reality concerned with the deliberate efforts to change or defend definitions of the situation, the ‘rules of the game’.”⁵⁷ Burns thus seems to describe instances of theatre in the real world as being theatrical; not necessarily with the intention of labelling them as artificial or exaggerated but rather to maintain that the conventions that are to be found in the theatre – codified actions, role playing, the manipulation of settings and frames and so on, are also to be found in ordinary life.

⁵⁴ Burns, *Theatricality*, 12.

⁵⁵ Burns, *Theatricality*, 33.

⁵⁶ Burns, *Theatricality*, 20.

⁵⁷ Burns, *Theatricality*, 16 – 17.

From ritual to theatre.

As mentioned above, Burns traces the roots of theatre back to religious ritual. As with Schechner, she picks up on the Durkheimian concept that ritual, whether it is sacred or secular, is a form of performance. Another fundamental idea here is the shift from participant to spectator within ritual being a key different between performance and ritual. Burns seems to hold a rather dim view of audience participation in theatre: Audience participation confuses people, as it is not pure spectatorship, or the offering of a full theatrical role. They must straddle the seam between the theatrical and the real life situation.⁵⁸

Setting the scene.

Space, setting and time are of consequence both in the theatre and the daily life. “There is a fluctuating line separating public and private places of the social world.” Burns means that outdoor, communal public spaces have begun to hold less significance, as for her writing in the 1970s, much of people’s lives are carried out “...in rooms, in buildings, and premises reserved for special use by specified individuals.” She calls it a “...shift in threshold between public and private.” This idea relates to the setting for a social action as having as much significance as one chosen for a scene in the theatre. Settings in the real world and in theatre can work in harmony or against action, but whatever the case, action and setting are intricately linked. “In ordinary life experience of environment (of what becomes setting in the theatre) is closely related to experience of other people.”⁵⁹

Role playing.

Burns notes that role theory has become a well-used theoretical tool for sociologists. Using theatre as a metaphor, the idea emerged that people play out roles in their everyday lives just as actors do on stage. “[W]e take parts and fit into situations and scenes that are a part of a larger scheme of action.” Burns further makes the point that although we must all play different roles at different times, we are somehow still ourselves: Distinctive “social selves.”⁶⁰ It is not necessary within the context of this thesis to go too deeply into theories about how personalities are constructed etc., what is of most significance here is the idea that the different roles people play represent different aspects of themselves.

⁵⁸ Burns, *Theatricality*, 31.

⁵⁹ Burns, *Theatricality*, 71, 88.

⁶⁰ Burns, *Theatricality*, 125, 126, 129.

Between the theatre and the real life is ceremony.

In the last chapter of her book, Burns turns more specifically to events outside of the theatre, namely ceremonies, which she has located somewhere between the theatre and ordinary life. Burns maintains that:

[S]tylised forms of the language of movement or gesture, such as bowing, presenting arms...may be used in conjunction with symbolic objects, flags...traditional costumes, etc. Some of these may have little significance in themselves, or their significance may have been forgotten, but in combination they form the significant language of ceremony which is close to the expressive language of theatre.⁶¹

Burns makes the distinction between sacred and secular ceremonies, suggesting that sacred ceremonies are still reliant on rank and status, and that secular ones, organised by the state, have become “historical re-enactment[s]”⁶² She backs this up by saying that much of the instrumental power of ceremonies today has been lost, leaving behind only the symbolic aspects, “...and this means, as we have seen, that it has moved nearer to the theatrical show.”⁶³

2.2. Performativity/performance and theatricality.

What follows here is a brief word on performativity/performance and theatricality. This is relevant to the discussion as Richard Schechner’s theory of performance is closely related to concepts of performativity, whereas Elizabeth Burns is clearly coming from a theatrical perspective. Theatre scholar Josette Féral wrote a seminal article on the subject in 1980, and some of her ideas will be drawn upon here.

What is a performance? This is a central, yet difficult to answer question within theatre studies. Richard Schechner says that there are limits to what “is” performance. What “is” performance will be dictated by cultural circumstances, moreover “[w]hat ‘is’ or ‘is not’ a performance does not depend on the event itself but on how that event is received and placed.”⁶⁴ Considering this, the idea that all human behaviour can be studied “as” performance is central to Schechner’s concept of performance:

⁶¹ Burns, *Theatricality*, 208.

⁶² Burns, *Theatricality*, 209, 210.

⁶³ Burns, *Theatricality*, 210.

⁶⁴ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 38.

Using “as” performance as a tool, one can look into things otherwise closed off to inquiry. One asks performance questions of events: How is an event deployed in space and disclosed in time? What special clothes and objects are put to use? What roles are played and how are these different, if at all, from who the performers usually are? How are the events controlled, distributed, received, and evaluated?⁶⁵

Both the performative and theatrical approaches are concerned with investigating the construction of the social world. For Burns, theatricality points towards a set of conventions used to persuade an audience that what they are seeing is ‘real’ when placed on the stage. By contrast theatricality in the ordinary life uses the same conventions as the theatre where behaviour, roles, and settings are all composed to make the viewer see what the ‘composer’ wishes them to see. In this way theatricality can be seen to be convention bound, it is in service to the classical understanding of the drama and so is “...devoted to representation, narrativity, closure, and the construction of subjects in physical and psychological space, the realm of codified structures...”⁶⁶ It is predominantly characterised by the spectator’s ability to locate and project theatricality onto a situation;

People inhabit many social worlds, each of which is a construct, arising from a common perspective held by members of that world. The behaviour that takes place in any of these worlds can appear theatrical to those observers who are not participants or to those newcomers who are just learning the rules.⁶⁷

Theatricality examines human action in terms of roles as understood through the vernacular of the 18th century drama, and therefore the Aristotelian drama/tragedy that involves a doubling, of the actor and the character. Outside of the theatre, Burns says that “...[f]ew people like to believe they are acting all the time.” But in the modern world people are required to play a number of roles, and to play them in accordance with the perceived expectations of others. These expectations are instrumental in freezing behaviour into stereotypes. “Living through a variety of such experiences, the ‘self’ develops in terms of a generalised social entity to which he has learned to respond in a ‘typical’ - i.e. personally identifiable way.”⁶⁸

Performativity, as understood from within a performance perspective, is seen as being present in all aspects and levels of human behaviour and interaction. Unlike theatricality it does not focus on binary opposites as prescribed by the use of terms such as *inside* and *outside* the theatre. Rather it seeks to examine the seams or margins of action, where

⁶⁵ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 49.

⁶⁶ Marvin Carlson, *Performance: a critical introduction*, 2nd ed., (New York: Routledge, 2004), 151.

⁶⁷ Burns, *Theatricality*, 13.

⁶⁸ Burns, *Theatricality*, 20, 132 – 133.

performativity is thought to exist in all levels of human behaviour. Having its roots in postmodernism, which is characterised by the breaking down of “master narratives” such as the nation-state, patriarchal authority, beginning-middle-and-end stories and so forth, it is based in a method of perception that encourages scholars and artists to explore and dismantle power structures and to ask questions about the perceived division between “real life” over “art” where the real life holds supremacy/legitimacy.⁶⁹

The poststructuralist foundation of performativity is key to an understanding of this. There is, however, not room to fully discuss this topic here, and it will have to suffice to say that the following are but some of the seeds that inseminate the performance grasp of performativity. Schechner describes the work of the poststructuralists or deconstructivists as the “...work of subverting the established order of things.”⁷⁰ Born of “structural linguistics” this conversation begins in a discourse of language, or semiology, the study of signs. It points to an interest in examining or even blowing apart the constrictive limitations of language structures as inadequate tools for communicating about the past, present or future. “To poststructuralists, every act, every utterance, every idea, is a performative.”⁷¹ Everything is in flux; meaning cannot be pinned down and therefore is always being performed.⁷² Here even the “...real is as imagined as the imaginary.”⁷³

Through Schechner’s long academic career he shifted from maintaining that everything “is” performance to considering that everything can be studied “as” performance. In the 1980s with the advent of postmodernism Schechner’s concept of performance began to be deeply influenced by the deconstructivists and their development of the concept of performativity. This is reflected in his “Seven magnitudes of performance,” which is another way of explaining the way in which performativity permeates all levels of human behaviour: From the brain event (neurological processes) and microbit (visible with only slow motion cameras), to the bit (smallest unit of consciously controllable repeatable behaviour), sign (composed of one or more bits and readable as emotion) and scene (sequence of one or more signs making up a unit of interaction), and onto the drama (complex, multiplex system of scenes) and macrodrama (large-scale social actions).⁷⁴ Performativity is present at each magnitude. Schechner has proposed that theatricality enters into these magnitudes at the level

⁶⁹ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 131.

⁷⁰ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 141.

⁷¹ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 142.

⁷² Schechner, *Performance studies*, 143.

⁷³ Herbert Blau, “Ideology and performance,” in *Theatre journal*, Vol. 35, No. 4, Ideology and theatre, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, Dec., 1983), 454.

⁷⁴ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 325-326.

of the bit, bearing most weight in the sign and the scene. Theatricality is, in this way, seen as a subset of the performative, being slightly, according to Schechner, more limited than performativity/performance. Where performativity is found in all human behaviour, theatrical behaviour is contrasted with ordinary or untheatrical behaviour. Where the

...line drawn between the two kinds of behaviour, theatrical and untheatrical, depends on the selectivity of a moral vision which is conditioned by the process of socialisation in a particular social milieu, at a particular time.⁷⁵

This also speaks to degrees of theatricality, which may be pronounced and highly visibly staged, such as with a procession celebrating the nation, or unpronounced and apparently authentic such as with Reality TV.⁷⁶

Theatricality seeks meaning, and also imposes narrativity on events that are essentially non-fictional. Performativity is interested in, in the words of theatre scholar Josette Féral, "...the absence of meaning." But this is not to say that performance is meaningless. It "...makes meaning insofar as it works in those extremely blurred junctures out of which the subject eventually emerges."⁷⁷ In performance the body is central as performance rejects illusion and the doubling required to manifest illusion; the body is manipulated and made conspicuous. To "perform" encompasses a wide spectrum of behaviour and represents "...varying degrees of self consciousness and consciousness of the others with whom and for whom people play [...] the more one constructs behavior for those watching and/or listening, the more such behavior is "performing".⁷⁸

Setting is a convention of theatrical viewpoint that can, according to Burns be representational, semiologic or symbolic, or a mixture of all three. Setting as it appears in the ordinary life can lend symbolic weight to an event – but it will only ever function as a backdrop. It informs events but it is not truly part of the performance. Space, from the performative point of view is an integral part of performance. The performer or artist manipulates it, as if it were an object property.⁷⁹ Performativity involves a holistic approach to performance then, where the spectator too is a part of the event – simultaneously becoming

⁷⁵ Burns, *Theatricality*, 20.

⁷⁶ Anne-Britt Gran, *Vår teatrala tid: om iscenesatte identiteter, ekte merkevarer og varige mén*, (Lysaker: Dinamo Forlag, 2004), 15.

⁷⁷ Josette Féral, "Performance and theatricality: the subject demystified," in *Mimesis, masochism and mime: the politics of theatricality in contemporary French thought*, ed., Timothy Murray, 4th ed., translated by Terese Lyons, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan press, 2000), 292.

⁷⁸ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 171.

⁷⁹ Féral, "Performance and theatricality," 291-292.

a part of the action and remaining outside.

The shift in Schechner's work from maintaining an event "is" performance to looking at events "as" performance has produced some discrepancies or inconsistencies between his earlier and his later writing. One that is of concern in this context is the shift from believing an event is reliant on how it is received and placed to the performativity of an event being present at all levels of human behaviour, with or without this rule of reception. How this may or may not impact upon the object of research remains to be seen. Be that as it may, a brief hypotheses can be formed in this way: Where theatricality can be seen as being something which is imposed upon social reality by the spectator, performativity is studied as if it is inherently present at all levels of human behaviour. As Féral says; "Theatricality cannot *be*, it must be *for* someone. In other words, it is *for the Other*."⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Féral, "Performance and Theatricality," 297.

Chapter 3: Theory and practice.

3.1. Processions: performance in motion through space.

The term procession encompasses a wide spectrum of social behaviour, stretching from pilgrimage to almost carnival-like activities. The appearance/presence of an audience is one of the elements that dictate the form of the procession. The pilgrimage is, for the most part, a solitary journey that becomes, as the special location of destination nears, a communal and processional experience. At the other end of the spectrum we find carnival-like processions where there is "...a constant interchange between performers and spectators, which makes all of them equally "players" in the event."⁸¹ Along the continuum lie all manner of processional behaviours from highly organised military parades, processions associated with the religious, processions containing pageantry, celebratory processions, marches, protests and strike parades. All of which describes this social phenomenon that is "...performance in motion through space."⁸² The following is a brief overview of the different characteristics and functions of the procession.

3.1.a. Processional origins.

Processional behaviour among humans is fundamental and exists on all plans and at all stages of development throughout the ages: From the movement of the Mbuti tribes in central Africa, to the processional forms of Shia Muslims, the stations of the cross processions in Europe and strike parades in America,⁸³ and everything in between. Considering the performance perspective, Western theatre itself arose out of an association with the rites to the fertility god Dionysus which involved a processional element. "The rural Dionysia, which took place in December, were village festivals. A large phallus was carried in procession, a numerous crowd accompanying it with songs."⁸⁴ Processions have traditionally been associated with the religious especially since the Middle Ages. Although secular or non-liturgical processions have been around since classical antiquity and have also been an important method of ceremonially communicating a particular message to a large group of people. But where religious processions reached out to an unseen deity, in civic processions

⁸¹ NeNamara and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Processional performance," 3.

⁸² NeNamara and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Processional performance," 3.

⁸³ NeNamara and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Processional performance," 3-5.

⁸⁴ Mircea Eliade, *A history of religious ideas: From the Stoneage to the Eleusian Mysteries*, Vol. I., translated by Willard R. Trask, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 361.

the state takes on this role. Where ever, and however the procession appears it plays an important role for both spectators and participants.

3.1.b. Characteristics: manifestations and functions.

Richard Schechner writes that:

In a procession - which is a kind of pilgrimage – the event moves along a prescribed path, spectators gather along the route, and at appointed places the procession halts and performances are played. Parades, funeral corteges, [and] political marches [...] are processions.⁸⁵

It is apparent that although processions appear in many forms, they are in possession of some universal characteristics. The 1985 autumn volume of *The Drama Review* was devoted to what was called “Processional performance.” Key characteristics of the procession were proposed which I shall now paraphrase:

1. The procession involves a movement through space that is ceremonially and symbolically loaded. They will generally move towards a goal, and be well planned, rehearsed, and ritualised.⁸⁶
2. Because of ceremonial and symbolic significance, a procession is employs special movements, costumes, music, and iconographic symbols to delineate it from the every day. Symbols are usually simple and easy to decipher for those involved. Simplicity aids the procession in staking its visibility in an environment that was not designed specifically for its purpose. “The procession, however, is designed to compete with the existing environment around it, becoming for a time the dominant element.”⁸⁷
Elizabeth Burns maintains that spectators are more likely to “...perceive *themes* rather than isolated acts. A theme is a sequence of acts, interpretations and responses reinterpreted as a whole, by the spectator.”⁸⁸ This is in part what gives the procession its power. (They’re not subtle.)
3. “Through its symbols, the procession formalizes and dramatizes some event of importance to the community.”⁸⁹ Events may be religious or secular and linked to a historical event or story, the narratives of which may be implicit or explicit. It may be

⁸⁵ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 177 – 178.

⁸⁶ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 178.

⁸⁷ NeNamara and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Processional performance,” 2

⁸⁸ Burns, *Theatricality*, 218.

⁸⁹ NeNamara and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Processional performance,” 2

functional – as with a funeral or wedding procession or referential – serving as a memorial to some past victory or sacrifice.

4. The procession may appear as a rigidly structured event, characterised by uniformity of clothing and movement or it may appear disorganised, being characterised by a diversity of attire and free or ludic movement. It may involve stops or stations en route to the main goal.
5. Spectators are free to stop and watch different parts of the procession,⁹⁰ and most often there is seldom room for everyone at the goal of the procession. As Schechner says "...[t]he audience is not an either/or stagnant lump."⁹¹ Their attitude and behaviour can change during a procession and from procession to procession. The unpredictability of crowd behaviour is why many processions have a police presence. Schechner also characterises audiences as being either integral or accidental. An integral audience attends because they are required to, or need to, whereas an accidental audience, as implied, attends by chance: As perhaps often happens with a protest procession. Both of these audiences may be present at any given processional performance. Schechner has discovered that on the whole "...*the accidental audience pays closer attention than does an integral audience.*"⁹² Linked to this idea, is the concept of "selective inattention." The audience's attention may be focussed throughout an event, or more likely with a procession waver in and out in the co-creation of the event with the participants.

Thus, a procession is specifically public by nature as it is performed out of doors, most often using the street as its stage. It can be comprised of a small group of people, or a vast community. They are communicative, often using symbols and icons to convey their message(s). They have something of the spectacular about them, as large, simple images are preferred for visibility and ease of perception. Processions are built both upon conventions and traditions, and are used to advertise ideology – either to maintain the status quo or to protest against it. Richard Schechner describes the procession as a kind of "natural" theatre: "The pattern of gathering, performing and dispersing is a specifically theatrical pattern."⁹³

⁹⁰ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 178.

⁹¹ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 219.

⁹² Schechner, *Performance theory*, 220, 222. Schechner's italics.

⁹³ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 176.

Chapter 4: New Zealand and Norway: a brief historical résumé.

In the introduction I mentioned that in each its own way, all of the examples of parades I have chosen are linked to the founding document of the country in which they take place. These documents in turn point back to key historical events that contributed to the establishment of the modern nations of Norway and New Zealand. For this reason I have found it necessary to include a background of the historical events surrounding the creation of the founding documents of New Zealand and Norway. Further, I have included a description of New Zealand's National Celebration as when viewing Norway's National Celebration it provided a natural frame of reference.

4.1. Founding documents for new nations.

It often seems as if the Treaty of Waitangi⁹⁴ is at the base of almost everything that happens in New Zealand. The Treaty was mainly intended as a means for Britain to regain control of her fledgling colony. It was also an attempt by Britain "...to achieve better racial relations [in New Zealand] than had hitherto existed in the non-European world that Europe was busily invading."⁹⁵ The creation of the Treaty of Waitangi was the beginning of a policy of bi-culturalism in New Zealand. One country: Two peoples, Pakeha and Māori. The promises of the Treaty to the Māori people were not initially kept until the 1970s when Māori began a series of protests directed at addressing Treaty transgressions. Neither did Norway's Constitution⁹⁶ fulfil its true function as the founding document of the independent state of Norway until 1905 when the union with Sweden was finally dissolved. Both documents emerged as a response to a desire to create something by which a new nation might be governed, and have, for better or worse, guided the nations of Norway and New Zealand through the last two centuries since they were written and signed.

⁹⁴ In 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal published what is finally considered to be the official, original and correct version of the treaty. This can be viewed at this website <http://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/treaty/english.asp>, 2008 Waitangi tribunal, visited 08.04.2008.

⁹⁵ Keith Sinclair, "The historian as prophet: Equality, Inequality and Civilisation" in *Great New Zealand argument*, (Auckland: Activity Press, 2005), 103.

⁹⁶ For the official version of the Norwegian Constitution from 1814 this site may be visited: Stortinget, http://www.stortinget.no/om_stortinget/lover_regler/grunnlov_1814.ht, (Visited 08.04.08). For information in English: <http://www.stortinget.no/english/history.html> (Visited 08.04.08).

4.1.a. A web of words: the document that binds.

The following is an attempt to describe the events surrounding the devising and signing of the Treaty of Waitangi within the framework of Victor Turner's social drama. Although in many ways what follows is an oversimplification of the events surrounding the creation and signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, within the context of this thesis it does assist in turning a very complicated sequence of historical events into manageable parts, and gives the reader sufficient contextual information.

Breach.

The colonisation of New Zealand had begun in earnest in the years after the British Captain James Cook had "discovered" New Zealand in 1769 on an expedition to the southern seas. There were two private schemes working contra to Britain's colonisation of the islands. One was French in origin; Overwhelming numbers of French had poured into the South Island thus threatening its annexation by France.⁹⁷ The second scheme was the New Zealand Company settlement of Wellington. The creators of this scheme sought to provide a balance between capital and labour, where land would be sold beyond the means of the labourers, yet whose labour could add value to the properties that capitalists had invested in. They also wished to "...implement a plan for the formal colonisation of the country and set up some form of government on its own."⁹⁸ It was especially this last part that troubled the British authorities.

Crisis.

Britain was in danger of losing its newest colony and Māori were in danger of losing their territories without any recourse to a higher authority. The New Zealand Company scheme was dependent upon getting hold of as much land as possible.

Redressive process: a ritual of encounter.

William Hobson arrived by ship from London with instructions from the British Crown to "...take the constitutional steps necessary to establish a British colony."⁹⁹ His orders required him to take control of Māori sovereignty in the name of the British Crown in a manner that

⁹⁷ Michael King tells us that had the Treaty not come into existence when it did, French settlers might well have taken over part, if not the whole, of the South Island. (See page 170 of King's history of New Zealand.)

⁹⁸ Michael King, *The Penguin history of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003), 171, 156.

⁹⁹ King, *The penguin history of New Zealand*, 156.

would internationally validate Britain's annexation of the country. Hobson used the first months he was in the country to draft a treaty with the assistance of his secretary J.S. Freeman and "Official British Resident" James Busby. Unfortunately, Hobson realised the night before the meeting between officials of the British government and Māori chiefs that the treaty had to be translated into the Māori language so they might have a fair chance of understanding the contents of the document.¹⁰⁰ So Hobson had the treaty translated quickly the night before. The signing of the document was arranged as a sort of ritual of encounter, with discussions being held on the 5th of February 1840, so that the document might be signed the day after on the 6th: On 5th of February about 40 Māori Chiefs arrived at Waitangi, dressed in a mix of European clothing and traditional ceremonial feathered cloaks. Their tattooed faces, a sign of their mana,¹⁰¹ were in stark contrast to their Pakeha counterparts. Possessing a strong oral tradition, the chiefs engaged in a heated debate about the treaty and what it might do for them, until Chief Tamati Waka Nene dramatically turned opinion in favour of the treaty. The following day those few forty or so Chiefs who were present signed the document in front of a line of representatives for the British Crown, who were dressed in Uniforms or their Sunday best. Strung across the ceiling of the marquee that had been erected outside of what came to be known as the Waitangi House¹⁰² were colourful signal flags usually used to decorate ships. Copies of the treaty had then been sent off around the country, and in the end about 500 Chiefs signed it, with varying degrees of acquiescence.

Reintegration: Britain's control of the colony is ensured.

The signing of the Treaty seems to have been purely symbolic by nature, but it at least assigned Britain with the official power of sovereignty¹⁰³ over New Zealand, and saved her fledgling colony from being colonised by someone else. For it would unfortunately be "...a fraudulent land deal which lay behind the first armed clash between Māori and Pakeha after the Signing of the "Treaty of Waitangi."¹⁰⁴ There also followed the systematic and lawful

¹⁰⁰ King, *The penguin history of New Zealand*, 156.

¹⁰¹ Mana: prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, and charisma.

¹⁰² Governor-General Lord Bledisloe's house and grounds at Waitangi. (Gifted to the country in 1832). This was a villa in a classical colonial style – weatherboard with a large, covered veranda in front. Surrounded by a considerable garden and grounds, a marquee was set up outside where those attending sat and viewed the proceedings.

¹⁰³ The Māori version of the treaty differed significantly from the English version on this point. The chiefs signed the document believing they only consented to granting the Queen of England only the *government* of their land, while in the English version, she is promised the *sovereignty* over their land. The Māori chiefs had made their mark believing they still held "...the unqualified chieftainship over their lands, villages, and all their treasures." See: Claudia Orange, *The story of a treaty*. (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1989), 30.

¹⁰⁴ King, *The Penguin history of New Zealand*, 182.

separation of Māori from their lands, as the British Government which was now established in New Zealand had a greater power over Māori land than the Chiefs of the various tribes had had been led to believe they would. The Treaty, as a binding document, had entitled the government to, for example, seize land by way of a fine for transgressions of law; laws that an illiterate Māori are often scarcely aware of.

4.1.b. Performing New Zealand.

New Zealand's National Celebration provides a comparative point of cultural reference within the context of this thesis for what a national celebration might look like: Throughout the years Waitangi day celebrations have often provided New Zealand with a gauge for measuring where things stood between the two dominant races in the country, Māori and Pakeha. At times it has presented itself as a day of contention, where the focus has been on the differing recollections Māori and Pakeha of the events surrounding the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.¹⁰⁵ The 1970s were a period of enlightenment for Māori issues, and at this time, Waitangi Day became a natural platform for staging Māori grievances; here they could perform their grievances in front of the nation. In this era of enlightenment, which involved much protesting, marches and sit-ins by determined groups within the Māori community, the government began to pay attention and, for example, significant areas of land were gifted back to various tribes. However, for a majority of New Zealanders mixed feelings prevailed - from indignation to shame, and through to denial. In this way it became much easier not to celebrate, to not attempt to perform an idea of identity because an identity as white oppressor was not appealing.

The last few years have ushered in an era of peace for Waitangi Day. Māori protests have been present but not destructive, and Pakeha seem to be more capable in focussing on the positive aspects of the day than before. Waitangi day in 2008 was not only celebrated at Waitangi and in the capital Wellington, but in other towns and areas across the country as well. It was characterised by a family festival atmosphere with an interweaving of mainstream New Zealand culture and Māori culture, as indicated by the images below. Moreover, elements of a multicultural New Zealand are beginning to find a place as well. Waitangi day is characterised by a low-key atmosphere and celebrations are often held outside of town centres.

¹⁰⁵ Pakeha: New Zealander of European descent.



Figure 2: *Okains Bay - Wheelbarrow race*



Figure 3: *Māori Waka (canoes) approaching*

4.1.b. **Vying for independence: a symbolic document.**

The following is an attempt to describe the events surrounding the devising and signing of the Norwegian Constitution within the framework of Victor Turner's social drama.

Breach.

In 1794 Denmark-Norway joined the war against Napoleon. In the economically hard years from 1807 to 1814, the Norwegian National consciousness intensified and rebirthed a careful desire for national independence. Napoleon's defeat at the battle of Leipzig in 1813, signaled a new phase in the drama that surrounded Norway's bid for independence: The conquering powers, by the Treaty of Kiel, forced Denmark to give up Norway to Sweden.

Crisis.

In a period of political uncertainty, the reordering of the power relationships in Europe allowed for a window of possibility. Denmark had been in the process of losing her northern province, and the outfall of the end of the Napoleonic Wars had been unknown. The Danish Crown Prince Christian Fredrik, Governor of Norway sat in swing a campaign of agitation for Norwegian independence, with the higher and ulterior motive of planting himself as King of Norway.¹⁰⁶ The King of Sweden, Carl Johan, was otherwise occupied with commanding the bulk of the Swedish troops in the final confrontation against Napoleon, so nothing had stood in his way.

¹⁰⁶ Knut Mykland, "Den 17. Mai 1814," in *17.mai*, edited by Finn Jor, (Oslo, J.W. Cappelens Forlag A.S., 1980), 18.

Redressive process: a deliberative congress.

The 112 representatives of the National Assembly had gathered at the villa at Eidsvoll¹⁰⁷ early in April of 1814. On the second day of the Assembly, fifteen members were chosen to make up the Constitution Committee. They gathered in a great hall in the house at Eidsvoll, which had been hurriedly prepared: Simple benches lined the walls that had been covered with chalked planks and decorated with garlands of spruce branches. The men were dressed up in their Sunday best which was comprised of stiff white shirts, tailcoats and black riding boots. A rough stage was erected at one end of the long room, from which speeches and presentations were held. The task of writing the Constitution was enormous, but during an amazingly short five-week period the Assembly composed a Constitution for Norway and voted on the 17th of May for an independent Norwegian state with the Danish Viceroy, Prince Christian Fredrik, as King.

Reintegration: a union with Sweden is born.

From the point of view of the Powers in Europe the signing of the Norwegian Constitution represented a schism because an independent Norway was not in line with their plans. Thus the day after the Assembly voted, Christian Fredrik had received word that Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria planned to send a commissary to Denmark and Norway in order to force through a Swedish-Norwegian union.¹⁰⁸

A reconciliation of sorts occurred five months later when Christian Fredrik was forced to relinquish the throne and Norway reluctantly entered into a 91-year union with Sweden. Not all was lost for Norway as she retained possession of her (altered) Constitution, and her own government. A period of nation building then began where key figures searched for the authentically Norwegian such as the poets Henrik Wergeland and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson who were instrumental in creating speeches and song texts to stir national fervour. Or, for example, Ivar Aasen, who went in search of a more authentic, less “Danishified” Norwegian language and formulated landsmål – today known as nynorsk.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Carsten Anker’s villa at Eidsvoll was, and is, an impressive, symmetrically formed manor inspired by French and Danish architecture. With two stories, and an imposing entrance, it houses spacious rooms, including a hall originally designed as a ball room, which became the room in which the men of Norway discussed what were to be the contents of the country’s Constitution.

¹⁰⁸ Dyrvik, *Året 1814*, 92.

¹⁰⁹ Nynorsk: New Norwegian; a way of writing and speaking Norwegian which has gathered all the dialects and formalised them into one.

4.1.d. Performing Norway.

The celebration of Norway, which began tentatively in 1826 in Trondheim, has at times been held in secret: In the late 1820s when the Swedish – Norwegian King Carl Johan, who was attempting to exert his position in Norway, had regarded the celebration as Swedish hostile, and during WWII when the Germans had occupied the country. It has most often been celebrated with vibrant good humour out in the streets, as for example after the Germans capitulated in 1945, or after the first vote that resulted in Norway choosing not to join the European Union in 1972. The children's parade began in 1869, but only boys were permitted to march until 1889 when the Girls were finally allowed to join in. Time and time again Norwegian history books, Internet sites and documentaries point out that the Norwegian celebration of their National Day is unique:

No military parades, no reviewing stands full of officers and statesmen. Quite the contrary, in fact; in Norway there is a children's parade that stretches across the whole country – even across most of the world, really. It is only for practical reasons that it also ends in other places than in front of the Royal Place in Oslo, where His Majesty, King Olav [sic], has stood every year, except for the war years 1940-1944, ever since 1906 and received the cheers of children.¹¹⁰

The long drama that was played out by Norwegians in their fight to gain and keep independence is imagined anew with every new “Barnetog”.

4.2. New Zealand and Norway are poles apart.

Comparing New Zealand and Norway in any comprehensive manner would turn this thesis into a social studies report. What follows is a very brief treatise on the key differences and similarities between the national symbols of the two countries as I, an immigrant from New Zealand living in Norway, see them and as they are relevant to this thesis. A concept of nationhood is derived from Benedict Anderson's theorising on the subject, as follows.

Benedict Anderson, in his book, *Imagined Communities*, proposes “...the following for the definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”¹¹¹ What this effectively means is that the nation is reliant upon its inhabitants, despite never meeting or knowing of their fellow countrymen, being able to hold in their minds “...the image of their communion.” Nations are imagined as communities because such fraternity allows “...for so many millions of people, not so much

¹¹⁰ Jor, 17. mai, 204.

¹¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*, revised edition, (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

to kill, as willingly die for such limited imaginings.” Furthermore “...[c]ommunities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.”¹¹² It is the state which constructs the style of this imagining. Through the avid use of symbols and the iconising of national ideals, objects or figures, a notion of a nation’s identity may be performed. Anderson also states that “...[n]ation, nationality, nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone to analyse” and that “...in the modern world everyone can, should, will ‘have’ a nationality, as he or she ‘has’ a gender.”¹¹³ Just as individuals show their gender through culturally specific sets of behaviours and accoutrements, individuals will, in the same way, perform an idea of, for example, their “Norwegianess.”

4.2.a. Symbols of nationhood.

The farmer is a national symbol for both countries. His way of life is stereotypically considered to be a more authentic way of life, as his work physically hard, connected with the sustenance of the people, and therefore more valuable. He is associated with the simple, down to earth, commonsensical and unpretentious. He can be seen to be an indicator that generally people feel most at home when things are “low-key” or casual. In New Zealand the farmer is symbolised by a black singlet, a pair of gumboots and number 8 fencing wire. Ingenuity is a highly praised quality as it is meant that a real “kiwi bloke” or “chick” should be able to fix just about anything with a length of Number 8 fencing wire. Just as in Norway, being able to “klare deg selv”¹¹⁴ is also a valued personal quality. The Norwegian farmer idealised and romanticised in the 1800s still echoes in Norwegian cultural nationalism. It is here that inspiration for the Norwegian National costume, the bunad, was collected. Despite Norway not having enough arable land for self-sufficiency, the idea of eking an exiguous living out of this wild land is still part of the nature mythology.¹¹⁵

The flag is the most recognisable symbol of nation, and Norwegians are a flag waving people. They fly their national flag proudly because as a symbol of their independence and sovereignty, it was hard won. The desire for national independence might very well be ingrained into the Norwegian psyche and could explain why, despite changing trends,

¹¹² Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7, 6.

¹¹³ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 5.

¹¹⁴ Klare deg selv: Take care of yourself.

¹¹⁵ Claudia Bell, *Inventing New Zealand: Everyday myths of Pakeha identity*, (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), 39.

Norwegians still cling to the image of themselves as “fresh air loving, eat your Kvikklunsj¹¹⁶ on top of a mountain far from anyone” identity. New Zealanders, by contrast, are not a flag waving people. The flag, with its Union Jack emblem in the upper left corner serves to remind us of our colonial beginnings. Each year the flag debate resurfaces in Parliament, but no solution has yet been reached as a suitable replacement cannot be agreed upon. The historic strength of symbols cannot be so easily erased. The Union Jack reminds New Zealand of her ties with Britain (for better or worse), and the Southern Cross, also depicted on the flag, is a constellation of stars that can only be constantly seen from New Zealand. It is the flag New Zealand has flown through two World Wars, countless Olympic games and international protests. However, because of the ambiguity of emotion attached to the New Zealand flag, substitutes are often used. Such as the Silver fern; a stylised silver fern on a black background, or the red poppy;¹¹⁷ a stylised poppy with a black stem which symbolises specifically the loss of young New Zealanders in World War I, and generally all those soldiers of the British commonwealth who lost their lives there.

4.2.b. Identity through language.

Language, through compositions of poetry, and anthems, stories and speeches, is an important part of the establishment of national identity.¹¹⁸ Both Norwegians and New Zealanders define who they are by the language they use. Specifically in relation to the nation, the education of a national language is one of the strategies employed to unify and bind people together – without a common language communication immediately becomes difficult. Both Norway and New Zealand have two official languages, and in both instances the minority languages (Nynorsk and Māori against Bokmål and English) represent an attempt to find and/or re-establish a central tool of cultural identity. Where much effort goes into the maintenance of the Norwegian language, keeping it as distinct as possible from the other Scandinavian languages, and protected against ‘Englishfication,’ New Zealanders define themselves by the idioms and colloquialisms that they use as these mark the language as specifically New Zealand-English as opposed to Australian-English, or American-English and so on.

¹¹⁶ Kvikklunsj: Quick Lunch, a chocolate and wafer snack.

¹¹⁷ The poppy is a symbol used also of the ANZACs, the Australian – New Zealand Army Corps, the first of these two countries men who were sent to WWI and landed at Gallipoli, Turkey. Gallipoli was a botched campaign and many a young man lost his life, not only to the enemy’s bullet but also to dehydration and dysentery.

¹¹⁸ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 141.

4.2.c. Sing out loud, sing out strong.

Music is important to both countries and is usually present during performances of cultural nationalism. For New Zealanders this has involved a question of whose cultural heritage, as for nearly every official event or welcome a Māori kapa haka group¹¹⁹ sings Māori action songs and/or performs a haka.¹²⁰ Norway has a long tradition of folk music, and singing songs of patriotism are a core element of their National Celebration. Although the song “Sønner av Norge”¹²¹ is the official National anthem, Norwegians quickly took up “Ja, vi elsker dette landet”¹²² as their national anthem after Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson’s text was set to music in around 1863. The general opinion of New Zealand’s national anthem, “God defend New Zealand” is that it, like the flag, needs exchanging for something more contemporarily appropriate. Attempts were made in the 1980s to make it more bi-culturally relevant by requiring that the song be sung in Māori first, and then English. But even when I was a child in the 1980s, we were still singing “God Save the Queen” (the British monarch Queen Elisabeth II) before our own anthem at school assemblies. The emancipation from a colonial power – Britain for New Zealand and Denmark for Norway – is an on going struggle.

4.2.c. Two peas in a pod?

Upon beginning this thesis I was determined to reveal that New Zealand and Norway were significantly different. What I have discovered is that this, as with anything else, is relative. What actually is incredible is that these two countries, despite being geographically located half a world apart and having such different historical beginnings, could be so similar. I was also of the opinion, from my very earliest days in Norway, that Norway has a far more settled and uncomplicated relationship to national identity than does New Zealand. This has proven to be a misguided opinion. Clearly, evident by the vast numbers of studies that have been carried out in attempts to define “særnorsk” phenomena, Norway’s national identity is as tricky to pin down as New Zealand’s is. Questions about who gets to belong are equally relevant for both countries. How each nation informs itself of who gets to belong and who does not, is manifested in different ways. It seems that if everyone must have a nationality, as they have a gender, so must that identity be identifiable. This requires a general rounding off of edges, with the aim that as many individuals can find themselves within the designation

¹¹⁹ Kapahaka: Māori cultural/performing group.

¹²⁰ Haka: Energetic dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words, performed most often by men.

¹²¹ Sønner av Norge: Sons of Norway.

¹²² Ja, vi elsker dette landet: Yes, we love this country.

Norwegian, or New Zealander as possible. How it might be possible for a procession, which is in service to the nation, to be able to perform an image of the nation as it truly is – that is, as a multiethnic community instead of a homogenous community - is a question that has been at the back of my mind throughout this investigation.

Chapter 5: Describing the various processions (as experienced).

5.1. “Barnetog” 17th of May 2007, Oslo.

The historical events surrounding the emergence of Norway’s National Celebration have already been outlined in Chapter four. The Norwegian National Celebration occurs annually and has as its primary function the honouring of the Norwegian Constitution, written during five weeks preceding the signing of the document on the 17th of May 1814. It is one of oldest documents of its nature to come out of the Enlightenment; it is also one of the few that is still being implemented today.¹²³

5.1.a. The “Barnetog”, a personal account.

On the 17th of May 2007, I had borrowed two video cameras. My husband and I took one each, hoping to gain as much footage as possible. At a quarter to ten we made our way up to



Figure 4: “Barnetog” route.

the Palace: an impressive mansion in a pale yellow colour, with five tall pillars spanning its front which also supported a wide balcony two stories up. I had applied for tickets to the “standing area” located on the Place Square out in front of the Palace as soon as they were announced, and had received two by mail only a day later. Despite having access to this area (the seated area being reserved for the elderly, infirm, and domestic and foreign dignitaries) we didn’t really feel as close to the action as I had hoped. The King, Queen, Crown Prince and his wife and youngest child were tiny

figures way up on the balcony. The “Barnetog” itself covers quite a large area as it moves past Parliament, and up Oslo’s main street, Karl Johan, which leads up to the Palace before ending outside City Hall down by the waterfront. The procession (figure 4) had several starting points for logistical purposes. It seemed to take an eternity, from rushing to gain access to the standing area “no later than 10 o’clock” and the start of the procession. Terje used his time trying to get an image of the Norwegian flag flying over the palace. I looked around, taking in the kinds of people who were standing and milling around: A black man in a brown caftan,

¹²³ Mentz Schulerud, “Syttende mai for sønner av Norge,” in *17.mai*, edited by Finn or, (Oslo: J.W.Cappelens Forlag A.S., 1980), 39.

German tourists, kids and men and women of all ages – some dressed in the National costume, others in casual or best clothes. Teenagers graduating their final year at High School were sitting on each others shoulders, or running about with flowers and flags in their hands. Perched on a balustrade, Terje and I started to feel the heat. It was a perfect spring day with blue skies and only the odd puffy white cloud. In the middle of the small mound comprising part of the Palace Square out in front of the Palace, a huge scaffolding tower had been erected from which NRK¹²⁴ was filming the whole event. Another camera was paced high up on the left side of the Palace roof. Noticing this was a reminder that Norwegians throughout Norway and, in fact, all over the world were being given the opportunity to watch the “Barnetog” in Oslo. People were packed in along the parade’s route. With the narrowness of the footpath in some places, it was extremely difficult to move along. Kids were sitting up on fathers’ shoulders and little ones stood by their parents legs right at the edge of the parade route – looking through the bars of the temporary fences that had been erected to define the viewing area from the marching area. Behind the rows of spectators, men of non-western ethnicity



Figure 5: Folk dancers and wagon

were moving up and down selling helium filled silver balloons with images such as “Pokemon”, “The Little Mermaid” and “Winnie the Pooh” on them. As we waited, vintage planes flew overhead for reasons unknown. Finally, after what had begun to feel like a hot-baked eternity, the parade came into view. Emerging out of the columns of spectators, a wooden cart decorated with the branches of a tree and drawn by two honey- coloured horses came into vision. (Figure

5.) There were four people on it, the women dressed in black, embroidered bunad¹²⁵ and the men also in different variations of the National costume. This was followed by five lines of adults, with the odd child in between all dressed in a folkloric version of the bunad, with hats and scarves holding their hands up in the manner of folk dancing. Those on the end of each line were holding a Norwegian flag. In the distance we heard shouts of “Hipp Hipp Hoorah!” and fiddle music accompaniment. The spectators continued to chat amongst themselves, some with stationary positions behind the fences, while others were still trying to find a good spot. And that was it for the moment; at least from our vantage point. People around us who had

¹²⁴ NRK: Norwegian state television network.

¹²⁵ Bunad: National Costume.

changed their posture, getting ready to view the parade sunk back, turned around with their backs to the parade route again as this was far more comfortable and began to chat amongst themselves, with increased volume.

A spectacle in itself.

After a little while, in the distance we could hear drumming, so people got back into their viewing positions, and the atmosphere changed back into one of anticipation. Appearing out of the seam of people at the bend in the road came the Kings Guard, depicted marching up Karl Johan below. Leading this group of young men and (fairly androgynous appearing) women, was a man of Asian descent. (Figure 6.) Dressed in the black uniform as the others, instead of a green sash he had a red one, and he carried a long staff with a silver orb atop. Young guards with deep snare drums of white and silver slung across their shoulders followed him. Their drumsticks moved in unison - horizontal, regimented patterns that must have required hours of rehearsal. The officer in front raised his baton and the rest of the band



Figure 6: The Kings Guard on Karl Johan.

started up a marching/military tune unknown to me. Although amazing to watch, the spectators still continued to chat, the volume increasing in order to be heard over the drums and music.

Then another pause in the parade followed and we sat observing the action around us: Two policemen rode up on bicycles and chatted to another policewoman. Quite a few spectators took the opportunity to move closer to the palace, their bodies curved, they quickly and

furtively snuck across the procession's route. An inebriated teenager was escorted away by the female police officer.

Here come the kids!

Finally, around the bend in the road came four mounted policemen, in their best police uniforms. Marching behind them were about five rows of police officers. (Figure 7.) The sun glinted off any pieces of polished metal. It seemed as if everyone was smiling, the parade

route marked by thousands of fluttering of hand-held flags. The little kid sitting next to me says to her Dad “Da tror jeg skolene kommer!”¹²⁶



Figure 7: *The mounted constabulary*



Figure 8: *Manglerud School Banner.*

And she was right. The first group strolled along behind the police holding flags. One child was holding the school banner – a large blue square of fabric on a pole, with gold tassels and an embroidered scene. (Figure 8.)



Figure 9: *“Barnetog” passing the Palace*



Figure 10: *Marching Band.*

The occasional cheer went up, and the chatting amongst the spectators had really started to get loud. School after school passed by us. Many pupils were dressed in the different variations of the National costume, if they didn’t have a School Marching Band Uniform on. Simple flag formations were carried out, and children/teenagers strolled, sometimes marched in loosely structured patterns. (Figure 9.) The Royal Family waved from the Balcony, and practically every child that wasn’t playing a musical instrument, waved some size of Norwegian flag. Marching ballads and drums pumped along throughout the entire event. (Figure 10.)

¹²⁶Da tror jeg skolene kommer: Then I think the schools are coming.

Images from the Parade route.

Having seen a bit of the children's parade as it passed in front of the palace, Terje and I decided to get a look at other parts of it. We had to wait at the crossing point - the only "legal" place to cross the parade route - as people were let across in groups. Stepping out into the route was to step out into the open, and yes, onto the stage. We squeezed through the throngs of people and made it into the lines of trees that ran down from the palace roadway, but there were people everywhere. As the crowds were bottlenecked in strategic places the only thing to do was hold close together and struggle through. Down by the entrance to the subway station people sat at a café with outdoors seating and drank beer. Flags were lying limply on the tables and helium balloons were tied to the arms of the aluminium chairs. Making our way past a hot dog stand Terje felt compelled to buy one. The guy selling them didn't understand Norwegian so there was a mix-up and Terje ended up with both a bread roll and a potato pancake to put round his Frankfurter (a favourite with some, but not him).



Figure 11: Karl Johan

Karl Johan, Oslo's main street running up to the Palace, was a cacophony of colour and sound. (Figure 11.) Pennants fluttered from flagpoles that lined a street that was choked with flags, school banners, people and helium balloons. The Norwegian flag was the most prolific element and there was just enough wind that day to give them a bit of lift so that the blue and white cross on the red background was sometimes visible. Here the parade was backing up, and sometimes the groups had to march on the spot - in which case those holding the giant flags turned them horizontally, with a semblance of unison, only raising them once when the march went on. Along the parade route a similar sight could be seen although the further away from the Palace one got, the more haphazard and casual the appearance of the parade became. The feeling was certainly that where the area in front of the Palace had been "on stage" in front of the King and the NRK cameras, several blocks away the "Barnetog" had an

atmosphere of being “back stage,” or “off camera.” My husband is a music teacher at a school and it was down there, far away from the Palace that some of his students saw him, and called out repeatedly hoping he would see them. It was here that individuals seemed more visible, as I noticed a boy in a wheelchair, and many brown faces among the crowds of people.

5.2. “Russetog” 17th of May 2007, Oslo.

The word Russ makes up the last part of the Latin term Cornua Depositurus. In English this translates to “bound to put aside one’s horns.” The addition of the extra ‘s’ for the Norwegian Russ is in order to adhere to Norwegian rules of grammar, where short vowels are always followed by double consonants even at the end of a word. The tradition for Russ celebrations comes from rituals connected with matriculation to the University of Copenhagen. Norway did not obtain permission to build her own university until 1811, therefore anyone wishing, or able to attend university had to travel abroad. At Copenhagen’s university it was decreed that new students were to take a University qualifying examination. Part of the initiation ritual into the academic community, during matriculation, meant that the novices were required to dress as a stag, with a horn stuck to their foreheads. The older students then ridiculed them until at the last the horn was torn off. This tradition was brought back to Norway when the University of Oslo was established, and eventually the ridiculing part of the ceremony was phased out. In the end of the 1820s, Henrik Wergeland is said to have expressed a wish to start a new Russ tradition in connection with the 17th of May celebrations.¹²⁷ Students in Norway, and especially Christiania,¹²⁸ had been strong contenders against the Swedish King Carl Johan’s wish to limit celebrations of Norway’s Constitution day. Placing a Russ celebration on this day would function as a symbolic rebellion against the Swedish King. Prior to 1904, when some German students visited the capital wearing red caps, students participating in the Russ initiation ritual had worn black caps. From 1905 red caps began to be worn and this shift occurred coincidentally in conjunction with the dissolution of Norway’s Union with Sweden the same year. The Russfeiring¹²⁹ now gained a new focus – instead of ridiculing each other “...i den nylaga tradisjonen “russefeiring” elevene selv gjennom festlige spøker ydmyker alle

¹²⁷ Jan Johannessen, *Lenge leve russen*, (Oslo: Jan Johannessen, 1982), 12.

¹²⁸ Oslo was renamed Christiania in 1624 by the Danish-Norwegian King Christian IV. In 1924, the people voted to take the old name of Oslo back again, which came into effect in 1925.

¹²⁹ Russefeiring: a month-long period of festivities: parties, tomfoolery, and fun.

former for guruer og samfunnsautoriteter.”¹³⁰ With new educational reforms in the beginning of the 1900s, the University entrance exams were held at local High Schools, and the Russ celebration came to mark the end of students’ years at High School rather than their start at University.

I løpet av dette århundret har tradisjonen med russefeiring spredt seg til alle videregående skoler i landet og til alle samfunnslag. Nesten all ungdom tar på seg russelue og russeuniform, og deltar i flere ukers offentlige festligheter i mai. I russetiden kan alle samfunnsnormer brytes gjennom russespøker.¹³¹

Where once only a small sector of society managed to attend and graduate High School, let alone make it to University, now this, and the month-long Russefeiring are considered the right of everyone.

5.2.a. “Russetog”, a personal account.

By the time the clock was approaching 15:00 on the 17th of May 2007, Terje and I walked over to where the programme had advertised the start of the “Red Russetog” – this meaning those students who studied general subjects, and thus had red as their assigned colour for their overalls. Walking up Cort Adellers Gate, the noise level increased to an uncomfortable level. Russ and non-Russ mingled in the streets, or were passing through on their way to somewhere else. It appeared as if an impromptu street party were under way. In a corner by the porta-loos young men and women loitered, smoking and yelling at each other over the loud music. Two enormous busses were parked on Solli Place. Each was painted with an elaborate logo and equipped with over-sized sound systems. Terje and I found a seat on some steps from which to observe the action while we waited for the parade to start. The weather had started to deteriorate, as the clouds gathered, and the temperature began to drop.

The bus to our left was called “The Lodge.” It was painted with a kind of baroque-like blue sky and white puffy clouds motif with its name in bronze roman script. The music emanating from this machine was pop of the day and set to a decibel level surely designed to loosen screws and cause long term kidney damage. A group of boys hung around in front

¹³⁰ Allan Sande, *RUSsefeiring: Om mening med rusmiddelbruk sett gjennom russefeiringen som et ritual*, (Bodø: Høyskolen I Bodø, 2001), 105. In the newly made Russ celebration tradition, through comical jokes the students could humiliate all kinds of gurus and authorities of society.

¹³¹ Sande, *RUSsefeiring*, 106. During the last 100 years, the tradition of the Russ celebration has spread to all of Norway’s High Schools, and all classes of society. Almost all youths wear a Russ cap and a Russ uniform, and participate in several weeks of public and festive entertainments in May. During these weeks, jokes and japes can break all of society’s norms.

clothed in a kind of uniform comprised of russebukser,¹³² a brown hooded sweatshirt and a brown bubble jacket, also embossed with the Lodge's logo. They stood around drinking beer, chatting to other red and blue Russ, and bunad clad individuals. A policeman on a motorcycle, dressed in leathers and a helmet, turned up and upon entering the bus required that the music be turned off. But they turned it back up again as soon as he had left. The other bus was operating as an outdoors disco with the roof as the dance floor. Young men sat around on enormous speakers, their hoods up, and baggy overalls tied around their waists. Young women danced in a somewhat provocative manner. Everyone looked to be having a really good (and most definitely intoxicated) time.

Ready – set – go?

The parade started about 20 minutes late, so it was with a certain amount of relief that we saw four mounted constabulary approaching, (Figure 12) with Kampen Janitsjar bringing up the rear.



Figure 12: *The mounted constabulary.*



Figure 13: *Some Russ join the parade.*

The Kampen Janitsjar, played with considerable pomp and circumstance, and were joined by about thirty Russ as they marched by. (Figure 13.) The atmosphere was of a large street party where the whole neighbourhood had been invited. As some Russ wandered off down the street, many turned to look at one another to see if their friends were joining in. More than half of the Russ that had been hanging out around Solli Place remained behind, drinking, shouting, and running from one group of friends to the other. Others remained dancing on top

¹³² Russebukser: The overalls that all Russ wear as a sort of uniform.

of their enormous Russebuss.¹³³ Some ten minutes later, about thirty more Russ staggered off down the road, supposedly with the intention of catching up with their peers. (Figure 14.)



Figure 14: *More Russ join the Parade.*



Figure 15: *Russ on Karl Johan.*

Down on Karl Johan Street things began to look better as Russ fell in behind each other, as seen above, (figure 15) but the whole event was decidedly low-key. The parade follows a designated route but has no particular goal except to start, and to finish.

5.3. “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” 11th of November 2004, Wellington.

The story behind this parade began in 1920, when New Zealand Prime Minister William Massey attended the British ceremony for their Unknown Soldier. A wish for New Zealand to hold a similar ceremony was expressed but never realised due to a number of reasons: A post-war New Zealand could not afford the cost of such an event, and the feeling was that as a colony of Britain, and a member of the British Commonwealth, the ceremony at Westminster in London also represented all those New Zealanders who never returned home from WWI. The desire for this kind of event was again expressed at the end of World War II by the RSA (Returned Servicemen’s Association), but was not to be fulfilled until 2004. The time, it seems, was ripe for New Zealand to recognise formally this aspect of her past, and to acknowledge the sacrifice that her sons and daughters had made throughout the years, fighting in other countries. The present Labour government’s active pursuit of a politic of supporting and developing New Zealand’s identity helped bring the project to fruition.

The ceremonies surrounding the return of New Zealand’s Unknown Warrior began in a physical way with the blessing of the gravesite early on the morning of the 13th of May

¹³³ More common in Oslo than the rest of the country, youths join together to buy and makeover a large buss complete with lush interior, and generator to power a considerable sound system.

2003. Kaumatua¹³⁴ Sam Jackson spoke/chanted a Karakia,¹³⁵ where one of the concrete tiles outside the National War Memorial in Wellington had been removed to reveal a square of earth into which the soldier would eventually be interred. (Figure 16).



Figure 16: A Karakia



Figure 17: A Christian Blessing.

Then the Armed Force's Principle Chaplain also blessed the site. (Figure 17.) An incantation was spoken and holy water sprinkled across the ground. From this chilly autumn morning to another chilly autumn morning we are transported through time and space, to another part of the Unknown Warrior's story: This time in November of 2004 in France where the Warrior had been buried not too far from the Somme, one of the most bloody battle fields of the First World War. The ceremonies carried out in France served to thank the French for having taken care of this son of New Zealand, and to prepare him for his final journey home. At each point of transition, the casket was borne by six men from the Tri-Service guard - two from each of the Army, Navy and Air Force. Upon landing at Wellington the Unknown Warrior was transported to parliament where he laid in state over night so that the people of Wellington could come to pay their last respects. Hundreds of people, old and young came to place a poppy or an old keepsake by the casket, and to sign their names together with a comment in a book provided for the purpose.

The events surrounding the interment of the Unknown Warrior are comprised of ceremonies linked by military parades. The first part of the parade started at 10 o'clock so that the church service for the Unknown Warrior might find place at the same moment as the signing of the Armistice between Germany and the allies had occurred in 1918.

¹³⁴ Kaumatua: Māori elder.

¹³⁵ Karakia: prayer.

5.3.a. The 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month.



From Parliament to St. Paul's Cathedral.

The parade for the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” spanned the length of Wellington’s central business district, starting at Parliament House in the North, to finish at The National War Memorial, approximately three kilometres to the south. (Figure 18.) The chain of streets leading from start to finish were closed to regular traffic for the day, and shopfronts lining these made a mutual agreement to keep music turned off as a sign of respect. So it was an unusually silent Wellington that welcomed the Unknown Warrior home.

Figure 18: *The parade route.*

At 10 o’clock on the 11th of November 2004, the Tri-Service guard lifted the Unknown Warrior’s casket upon their shoulders once again and set off out of Parliament to the steady beat of a single, muted drum.



Figure 19: Leaving Parliament House.



Figure 20: Dignitaries on all sides.

They were dressed ceremonial dress uniforms: Black for the Navy, Green for the Army and Blue for the Air Force. Their marching step, accentuated by a small pointed kick, caused the mass of lined troops to sway from side to side as they moved along. Armed Forces Principle Chaplain, followed by the president of the Funeral Directors Association of New Zealand (FDANZ), John Duncan, headed the procession. (Figure 19.)

Outside, six officers from the Tri-Services saluted the casket, and joined the procession, flanking the casket three to a side. (Figure 20.) The weather was overcast and



Figure 21: *St. Paul's Cathedral.*

there is a slight chill in the air. Dignitaries that would follow the Unknown Warrior all the way to his tomb were lined up and down the stairs, covered by a red carpet. The characteristic call of the Māori Karanga¹³⁶ was heard in the distance. Across the forecourt hundreds of people had lined up to watch as the casket was carried over to St. Paul's Cathedral. (Figure 21.) Beneath the steady beat of the muted drum, the muffled sounds of the city and a few chirping birds were audible.

Approaching the Cathedral steps the Unknown Warrior was saluted by members of the RSA; older men dressed in grey suits adorned with various medals. Inside the Cathedral a public of around 1200 people were seated awaiting his arrival.



Figure 22: *Placing the casket on the bier.*



Figure 23: *Removing the medals.*

The Cathedral itself is a rather unassuming building with plain white and peach coloured walls shooting up to a high flat ceiling. Aesthetic relief comes in the form of large stained glass windows, of a modern style, and a massive mosaic of Christ over the altar. (Figure 24.) A big band struck up a ceremonial tune as with military precision, the casket was placed upon

¹³⁶ Karanga: Ceremonial call of welcome.

a bier. (Figure 22.) For each part of the event, the Unknown Warrior's medals – awarded him the previous night - were removed and replaced, one by one, by a Naval Officer. (Figure 23.)

The service at St. Paul's.

Two minutes of silence were observed precisely at 11 o'clock, and so tolled the bell eleven times.



Figure 24: Cathedral interior.



Figure 25: The Choir.

The choir, seated on either side of the casket, together with other members of the clergy and dignitaries, commenced with a solemnly beautiful hymn with organ accompaniment. They were all dressed in white robes, with black satin hoods and maroon collars, as seen in the images above.

Thus followed a tight programme, printed in a special folder that everybody seemed to have a copy of. The Dean of Wellington made a welcome speech followed by the same hymn that was sung eighty-four years previously at the burial of Britain's Unknown Soldier. Mounted on a platform above the congregation, who are made up of mainly middle-aged and elderly Pakeha, and some different ethnicities, a white TVNZ camera was visible. Though the speeches and words are extremely moving, no tears were shed; the atmosphere was of reverent respect. Thus followed an alternation from choral music to speaker and back again: A list of important people who all assumed a similar, unsmiling position as they brought their words of how the Unknown Warrior was representative of all those who did not return home to New Zealand; how he was a son of all mothers, and a father to all children. And how important it was to New Zealand, as a country with its own identity, that such an event could now be carried out.

Having reached the last part of the church service, representatives of diverse faiths stood across the stage-like part of the church known as the Chancel, to bring their blessing to the returned Unknown Warrior. Having completed this section, further up in the Altar area, different representatives for the various denominations operating in New Zealand: Presbyterian, Salvation Army, Methodist, Congregational Union of New Zealand, Baptist, Roman Catholic, Anglican, and the Māori church, also recited a blessing each.

With the Church Service finally completed, the Tri-Service Guard re-entered, raised the casket once more upon their shoulders and slowly marched out of the Cathedral as the choir sang. Directly outside of the Cathedral, the casket passed down onto the road accompanied by the lone wailing of a bagpipe. Here between the Cathedral and Parliament, the Tri-Service Guard lifted the Unknown Warrior onto a shiny dark-green gun carriage that would conduct him to his final destination.

The last journey; from Parliament to the tomb.

A Tri-Service extended escort led the Parade around the Parliament grounds and through onto Lambton Quay. (Figure 26.) The soldiers were lined up three abreast, followed by the New Zealand Army Brass Band, also three abreast, with bright red jackets and red stripes down the sides of their black trousers. The Big Bass drum player had a leopard's skin across his shoulders. Behind them again came the Principle Armed Forces Chaplain, and the funeral director.



Figure 26: *Marching on Lambton Quay.*



Figure 27: *A unified form.*

Officers from the Tri Service and the Pallbearers flanked three sides of the Gun Carriage. Another Māori call/karakia could be heard in the distance. As the cavalcade set off, the lone beating of the muted drum began anew, as St. Paul's bells rang out a final salutation.

Rounding the corner, as they passed the ANZAC Memorial, canon fire was heard from far off. The participants of the parade assumed facial masks: neutral, almost deadpan faces that barely changed during the many hours that the whole event lasted. Together this body of men and women swayed from side to side with a strange pointed march, creating a unified form. (Figure 27.) Their spatial positions were fixed, disturbed only by the periodical shifting of Arms from one side to the other: A three-step movement carried out in unison at the shout of an Officer. The Spectators lined the streets, three people deep in some places: they talked amongst themselves, but mostly viewed the procession with composure. Their hands clasped in front; their faces also mask-like in solemnity. The muted drum beat time throughout the entire parade, now with the drums of the Army band which also marked time between music pieces. Dotted alongside the convoy, police walked with Walkie-talkies and fluorescent jackets (just visible in the above image); a precautionary measure. Along the streets, banners with the image of the Flanders Poppy; scarlet red against a black background, hung from each lamppost. And as the parade turned the corner into Willis Street, the sunshine peeked momentarily through. The Parade continued in the same manner all the way to the National War memorial. Although many children had come to pay their respects the night before, at the parade there were very few children, perhaps because the 11th of November 2004 was a school day. By the time the convoy reached the National War Memorial, the clouds had once again gathered, the air having turned chill. In front of the whole parade, there were two police cars fore and aft of a van with a TV camera strapped on its roof.



Figure 28. *Flanders' field.*

The War Memorial is comprised of two parts, and it was the front, tower construction from the 1930s that provided the scene for the last ceremony. It is a tall art deco tower constructed in concrete with a copper roof, long since turned green. Across the road a set of bleachers had been erected for invited guests, with a large video screen so that the spectators were able get a close up experience. The Tri-service battalion stood

to attention on a grassy bank to the right of the tower. The tower is also a carillon, and Rangimarie, the great peace bell, rang out through the chill air. The RSA choir sang “Flanders Field”. (Figure 28.) The Chairman of the National War Memorial then gave a eulogy followed by a speech from the Governor General. She began with a poem, of which every second line

was spoken in halted Māori. She reminded the public again of the everyman status of the Unknown Warrior.

New Zealand soil: the interment ceremony.

At a forty-five degree angle from the tomb were two rectangles of red carpet upon which stood various dignitaries: between them, another speaking stand. The New Zealand flag that had covered the casket throughout its journey was now ceremoniously removed. Kaumatua Sam Jackson came forward, followed by the Principle Chaplain and both recited one last prayer accordingly. The Pallbearers then lowered the casket slowly into the tomb, a solid stone oblique made out of black marble inscribed with copper Xs – these being representative of the Southern Cross. An Army vigil marched into place, one soldier on each corner of the tomb. The Band played intermittently - one phrase of music as the Tri-Services battalion executed a triple rifle salute. There was a call to present arms and trumpet players from each of the Tri-Services played “The last call”. (Figure 29.) The New Zealand flag was raised to half-mast and held there while more speeches were made. As the trumpets completed the call, the flag was raised full-mast. A representative from France was called forth to throw the first handful of soil into the tomb - this time the Caterpillar Valley Cemetery where the soldier had lain for some ninety years. (Figure 30.)



Figure 29: The Last Call.



Figure 30: Soil from France

Accordingly, RSA regional presidents come forward one at a time to place soil from all over New Zealand. The contents of each box were read up for the benefit of the public. When at last soil from all over New Zealand had been sprinkled into the tomb, a huge crane was manoeuvred into the space and a heavy bronze top lowered into place.

5.4. “The Māori Land March” spring 1975, North Island.

The Māori Land March took place over one month, ending up outside parliament on the 13th of October 1975. Led by Whina Cooper, “Te Roopu o te Matakite”¹³⁷ marched from Te Hapua in the far north of the North island of New Zealand to Wellington, a journey of about 1000 km. In 1975 Whina Cooper was an 80-year old Māori elder. She had been awarded an MBE, as already mentioned, and held the unofficial title as the “Mother of the Nation.”¹³⁸ This was a unified bid from motivated Māori to the government to recognise the promises made to them as a people in the Treaty of Waitangi to protect both their land and their sovereignty over that land. Their epithet was “Not one more acre”¹³⁹ as they wished to make a call “...for the return of lands unjustly taken and a halt to any further loss of land.”¹⁴⁰ The Māori people have a very strong connection to the land. This is partly due to their myth of creation and their tradition of burying the placenta in the land where the child is born. Papatūānuku, the earth mother, is a central figure in Māori mythology. The fact that Māori had joined together was a feat in itself as conflicts between different tribes were long and enduring. Te Matakite “...was a synergy of old and new ideologies and methods, which unified a range of groups and interests: kuia, kaumatua and rangatahi, young urban activists and older conservative traditionalists.”¹⁴¹ During the same month the Waitangi Tribunal was established, which is a “...permanent commission of inquiry charged with making recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi.”¹⁴² It is still addressing Treaty transgressions today.

For reasons of expediency it is necessary to focus the description on the more historically significant or iconographic images from the “Land March”. For example, the crossing of Auckland harbour bridge and the actual arrival at Parliament where thousands of supporters gathered to issue “the challenge” - the presentation of the “Memorial of Right” to the Acting Parliamentary Speaker¹⁴³ - the Hon Jonathan Hunt and the Prime Minister. This was accompanied by a formal speech¹⁴⁴ outlining the objective of Te Roopu o te Matakite. As

¹³⁷ Te Roopu o te Matakite: The association of the prophecy/prophet, later known as Te Roopu o te Aotearoa - the association of Aotearoa – the commonly accepted Māori name for New Zealand.

¹³⁸ Michael King, *The penguin history of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Penguin Group, 2003), 514.

¹³⁹ Aroha Harris, *Hikoī: Forty years of Māori protest*, (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2004), 68.

¹⁴⁰ Harris, *Hikoī*, 70.

¹⁴¹ Harris, *Hikoī*, 70. Kuia, kaumatua and rangatahi: Elderly women, elders, youth.

¹⁴² Waitangi Tribunal, <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/>, Waitangi Tribunal 2007. (Visited 21.10.2007.)

¹⁴³ Acting Parliamentary Speaker: the presiding officer of a deliberative assembly.

¹⁴⁴ Transcript from the film “Te matakite o Aotearoa/The Māori Land March.” Mr. Speaker, through you to the honourable Prime Minister, I wish you to receive this Memorial of Right, signed by the various tribal elders of

already mentioned, I viewed the documentary “Te matakite o Aotearoa/The Māori Land March” in Wellington at the Film Archive in December of 2007. The documentary was made during the “Land March” as the filmmakers followed the march across the country – recording images and interviewing participants.

5.4.a. From Northland to the Capital.

The march began in the very far North of the North Island of New Zealand, on a beach. A core of five participants attended a blessing for the success of their journey and their mandate.



Figure 31: *Whina Cooper and Irene*

Thus it was on a dirt road that the first iconic image of the march was clicked into immortality: The image of the 80-year old Whina Cooper and her granddaughter has since made its way in the newspapers and history books of New Zealand. (Figure 31.)

The choice of Te Hapua as a starting point was simple – it is the location of New Zealand’s northern most Pā.¹⁴⁵ It was decided that a core group of fifty participants would march at all times, the rest following in utility vehicles and busses. At all times their flag was carried out in front by one of the participants. The pouwhenua¹⁴⁶ from which it flew was decorated with traditional Māori carvings that shall have symbolised the tears of the Māori people, and their genealogy, “...it’s bearers were to ensure that it never touched the ground to symbolise the vast area of Māori land lost.”¹⁴⁷ Upon the flag, depicted very faintly, was a rendering of New Zealand’s coat of arms: primarily a symbol of New Zealand’s government. Here the traditional image had been pared down, showing only the European woman dressed in white, and the Māori chief, dressed in a feathered cloak and holding a taiaha.¹⁴⁸ Instead of standing underneath the Queen of England’s crown and either side of an elaborate coat of arms, they were simply placed

New Zealand. Greetings to you in whose assembly is vested all the powers to amend and adjust all laws which inflict injustice and hardship upon the Māori people, and in whom is vested the power to confirm all promises which were made to give relief to the indigenous people of New Zealand under Her Majesty’s Magna Carta.

Long Live the Queen.

¹⁴⁵ Pā: Māori village.

¹⁴⁶ Pouwhenua: symbolic pole or post.

¹⁴⁷ Harris, *Hikoī*, 72.

¹⁴⁸ Taiaha: a long weapon of hard wood with one end carved and often decorated with dogs' hair.

either side of a year figured in this way: 19 | 75. Along the way marchers shared glucose sweets, occasionally chatting, but appearing for the most part to walk in contemplative silence.

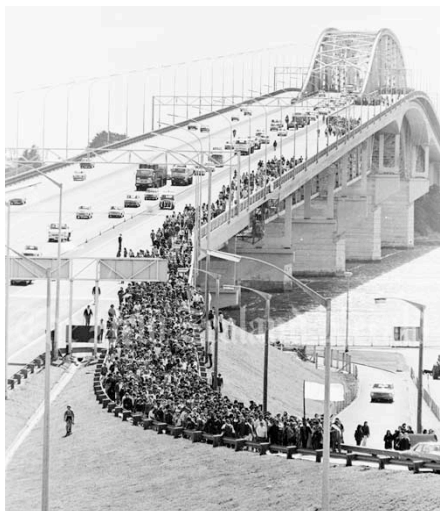


Figure 32: *The Auckland Harbour Bridge.*

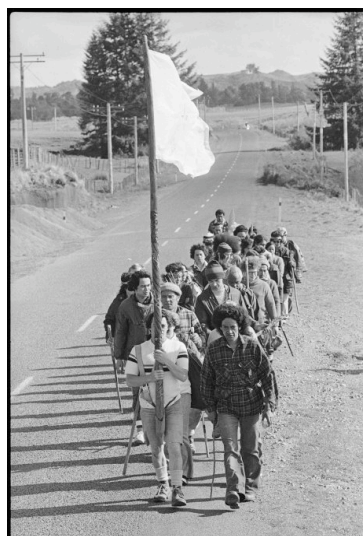


Figure 33: *773km marched*

The march received some media attention, but this was mainly when they passed through larger towns or past iconic landmarks – such as when they crossed the Auckland Harbour Bridge – a busy thoroughfare linking North and South Auckland.¹⁴⁹ (Figure 32.)

Each night the marchers stayed at a Māori Pā, receiving sustenance and nursing their blistered feet. They held nightly meetings about the organisation of the march – for example discussing how to pay for transportation and how to feed the growing numbers of participants. Speeches were also held by Māori elders, most often in the Māori language, where they discussed the exact nature of their plight. The March followed New Zealand's State Highway 1 which, especially back in 1975, was little more than a country road. (Figure 33.) When the marchers reached the larger centres of New Zealand the core fifty participants were often joined by the additional forces as local supporters walked a bit of the way. (Figure 34.) Both young and old participated in the march and the odd Pakeha face was also to be seen amongst the crowd. Where they had to march along New Zealand's motorways, the Traffic Police provided an escort. A megaphone was also used to spur the marchers on, and to keep them unified.

¹⁴⁹ Auckland is New Zealand's largest city.



Figure 34: *Local supporters join in at Awapuni.* **Figure 36.** *The crowd outside Parliament.*

The weekend before the group marched on Parliament, they stayed at Porirua Pā, about twenty kilometres from Wellington. As they made their way towards Parliament thousands joined their ranks, so that it was a considerable gathering that came to see the presentation of the “Memorial of Right.” This was a long scroll, upon which they had gathered signatures of around 60,000 Māori along the way. As they approached they held hands and sang in harmony together. It was a rainy spring day, as indicated by the number of umbrellas dotted throughout the crowd, (figure 35) but many participants had dressed up in ceremonial cloaks of feathers for the occasion. As the marchers made their approach according to Māori tikanga¹⁵⁰ a pohiri¹⁵¹ was carried out involving chanting/song and a traditional spear challenge. (Figure 36.) The “Memorial of Right” along with a feathered cloak was then presented to the government’s representatives, including Prime Minister Bill Rowling on the steps outside of parliament. All in all it was estimated that during the entire month about 30,000 to 40,000 people participated, with about 5,000 showing up on the 13th of October.¹⁵² (See figure 35.) After the presentation Whina Cooper “...told the group to disperse and await an outcome.”¹⁵³ About sixty or so of the group set up camp, which they called the Māori Embassy, until they were evicted two months later.

¹⁵⁰ Tikanga: Protocol.

¹⁵¹ Pohiri: Ritual of encounter.

¹⁵² Harris, *Hikoi*, 74.

¹⁵³ Harris, *Hikoi*, 76.



Figure 36: *Traditional spear challenge.*

5.5. Tools for the processional performance.

Throughout my description of each procession I naturally found myself using performance terminology. There is a feeling of being “on stage” and “off stage” as demarcated by the dividing lines between participant and spectator. Processional behaviour was in some way marked as more stylised or theatrical than daily behaviour. In all cases special clothes were taken on for the occasion in the same manner costumes are – to delineate the body from the daily and help to communicate a particular concept or idea. Flags and banners were properties used in each procession to help dress the streets and make them different than their daily appearance. This also communicated a particular message; symbolically loaded these items said more than their physical form alone would suggest and therefore provide a sort of subtext to the performance. Each Procession had a specific length of time starting and ending at a decided point in space and time. By this particular terminology it is possible to look at an event as it unfolds in space and time, and what the implications are for this investigation into the interactive, fluid and interrelated nature of social behaviour within and across national boundaries.

Chapter 6: Processional performances: a comparative discourse.

In this chapter I will examine the procession “as” performance, applying the selected theories of Richard Schechner, Victor Turner and Eric Rothenbuhler to the various processions described in Chapter five. Following this, I will apply the selected theories from Elizabeth Burns, that is, the theatrical perspective, to aspects of the four processions. Later in Chapter seven, based on the following discussion, I will attempt to rationalise the effects of these two different perspectives.

6.1. Looking at the four processions “as” performances.

In Chapter two I explained that Schechner applies the characteristics of performance to all aspects of human behaviour. All of these elements, time, space, costuming, the lighting and movement are ideologically determined,¹⁵⁴ and are thus ideologically communicative. This is linked to the fundamental idea that these processional performances are ideas in action, and that their primary objective is to place the ideology of the nation in to physical space, and time, that people can see and/or participate in.

6.1.a. The basic qualities of performance.

Time

Time is an important aspect of performance and Schechner has categorised the concept of time in relation to performance as event time, set time and symbolic time. Event time and symbolic time are predominantly present in the four processions. Set time is not strictly adhered to as each procession has a “give or take” relationship to when exactly the procession should finish, although the “Unknown Warrior” was dependent upon starting at a symbolically significant time. The “Barnetog”, “Russetog”, and “Land March” are contained by event time because although there was an aim to get the processions finished within a set time, they are not dependent on finishing exactly at a specific time, so they allow for some license in this area: “Give or take half an hour.” By contrast, the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” was timed down to the minute. However, had certain sequences of the event not been completed within the time allocated, an extension would have been made, although the rehearsal prior to the event must have functioned to minimise the possibility of a delay in so

¹⁵⁴ Herbert Blau, “Ideology and performance,” in *Theatre journal*, Vol. 35, no. 4, Ideology and theatre, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, Dec., 1983), 447.

far as humanly possible: The content of the action in each procession thus being more important than the timeframe.

Schechner says that symbolic time is in fact difficult to get rid of,¹⁵⁵ and no less so here. Although these processions happen in the here and now, they also point to symbolic time, as their existence is dependent on an historical event. In the case of the “Barnetog”, “Russetog” and “Unknown Warrior” these historical events have even determined which day they occur on. For the “Barnetog” and “Russetog” this is the signing of Norway’s Constitution on the 17th of May 1814. Why the “Land March” occurred when it did was most probably a case of the time being ripe, as Māori agitation over loss of land and culture had been brewing for a number of years. In that case it is interesting to note that all four of the processions occur(red) in the spring - being of course that spring comes in the month of May in the Northern hemisphere and in September, lasting through to the end of November, in the Southern hemisphere. Spring is traditionally a time of fertility and action, relating right back to pagan practices where rites and ceremonies were held to ensure good fertility for the populace and the land. This also underlines a symbolic, and therefore re-creative, relationship to time: people gathered to collectively imagine the success of their community and ensuring this by performing rites. According to religion theorist and historian Mircea Eliade this is the difference between sacred time and profane (non-sacred) time.¹⁵⁶ “Every religious festival, any liturgical time, represents the reactualization of a sacred event that took place in a mythical past, “in the beginning”.” Essentially, time gains a renewal of its original sanctity.¹⁵⁷ For what Eliade calls modern, unreligious man this can be translated into “festival time.” Although time may not be linked to a divine presence, *historic* time (as opposed to the *mythical* time of religious rites) has fixed the temporal positioning of these processional performances, drawing a straight line, in the moment of the event, back to the significant social dramas that are, as I will argue in section 6.1.c, their *raison d’être*. There is a fundamental difference between the Norwegian processions which occur cyclically and the New Zealand processions which occurred only once. Cyclical time, according to Eliade, when desacralised “...becomes terrifying; it is seen as a circle forever turning in on itself, repeating itself to infinity.”¹⁵⁸ Eliade’s perspective is in itself rather terrifying, and it is my contention that over time, the historic signing and creation of the Norwegian constitution becomes

¹⁵⁵ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 10.

¹⁵⁶ Mircea Eliade, *The sacred and the profane: the nature of religion*, translated by Willard R. Trask, (San Diego, London New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987), 68.

¹⁵⁷ Eliade, *The sacred and the profane*, 68 – 69, 75.

¹⁵⁸ Eliade, *The sacred and the profane*, 107.

“*sacred history*”,¹⁵⁹ as its creation is sacred, that is, that it is highly valued and important to the creation of the sovereign Norwegian state. Where the “Russetog” is concerned, one might consider Eliade’s theorising to be apt as “...[d]efinitively desacralized, time presents itself as a precarious and evanescent duration, leading irremediably to death.” Without the invigorating effect of, at the least, sacred history, which seemed to be entirely missing from the 2007 “Russetog” in Oslo, the procession’s future might well have been jeopardised but for the fact that long standing traditions are not easily erased.

Objects and costumes.

Objects are “...decisive in creating the symbolic reality.” Properties in the theatre are valued, and given an importance which often far exceeds their actual value.¹⁶⁰ Such items, which are intrinsically valuable to the identity and ideology of the nation, are present in the processions.

The flag is an interesting example. Firstly, there is what this oblong piece of cloth, woven with a particular pattern of colours and shapes means to people. Secondly, there is the way in which it is used. Flags feature in all four of the processions and this is hardly surprising as the flag is a symbol that, perhaps, all cultures make use of and is therefore a universally recognisable and universally powerful symbol. A particular flag can, however, signify different things to different people. In the case of the “Barnetog”, “Russetog” and the “Unknown Warrior” it represents a victorious and independent nation. Or does it? In the case of New Zealand, with the presence of the Union Jack in its upper left hand corner, it remains forever a telling about New Zealand’s links with Great Britain and so over time, as explained in Chapter four, New Zealanders have developed an ambiguous relationship to it. This perhaps explains why the parade route was lined with banners depicting poppies rather than New Zealand flags. Then again, it is also likely that this choice of Poppy banners was a technique of staging the event because simplicity aids the procession in staking its visibility in an environment that was not designed specifically for its purpose. Where in the “Barnetog” a mass of flags adds to the occasion, in the “Unknown Warrior” a mass of flags would have negotiated the importance of the *one* flag, for which this soldier died - something which is symbolised in the cloaking of his coffin with it. The Poppy is a symbol and an icon, and as an icon it resembles one of the poppies that grew on the battlefields of the Somme in WWI. The poppy, which was immortalised in a song called “Flander’s Field”, might lack the ambiguity of the New Zealand flag, as it is uncomplicated and held to represent bravery and loss. It is,

¹⁵⁹ Eliade, *The sacred and the profane*, 112. Eliade’s italics.

¹⁶⁰ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 11.

however, also a common symbol of the Commonwealth – having the same significance for Australians, Brits, Canadians, and so forth - and so points positively towards the international cooperation that the Great War necessitated. At the same time, the poppy further underlines New Zealand’s relationship with Great Britain. Although I have not mentioned this in my description of the procession, the DVD from TVNZ included a commentary. The two commentators, a man and a woman, often referred to the British ceremony held in 1920, comparing the New Zealand one to it alluding to the a careful idea that New Zealand might well have done it better, thus emphasising again and again this relationship described in term of duty and loyalty that New Zealand has had towards Britain. Seen in light of all this, the one single New Zealand flag also had enormous power despite its singularity. Though there are some practical considerations here: The “Barnetog” is a celebration and the waving of flags accompanies cheering and chanting whereas the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” is a funeral procession. It is by nature a solemn occasion, so because of societal norms concerned with behaviour at funerals, or one might say, pertaining to the rules which govern the event, cheering and flag waving would have been frowned upon. Moreover, in military and state funerals it is customary to lay the flag of the nation for which the soldier died, or the statesperson served, on his or her coffin. This may be associated with “play:” The flag in physical reality is a paltry item, yet it has the power of symbolism for which people will lay down their lives. It is the “metaphor that is meant.”¹⁶¹

The ubiquity of the Norwegian flag can be seen to symbolise homogeneity¹⁶² in the “Barnetog”. This is emphasised by the existence of rules forbidding foreign nationals to fly their own country’s flag on the 17th of May. This is a tricky matter, but in the context of this discussion the implementation of such a rule only serves to underscore the idea that this procession is indeed a performance of *Norwegian* ideology and *Norwegian* identity. It also emphasises the symbolic power of the flag; the flags of other nations are threatening and are not allowed place. By contrast, there is no nation’s flag visible in the “Māori Land March”. How could there be? Again, with the Union Jack in the corner, the New Zealand flag is a symbol, and a reminder, of the annexation of New Zealand by the British – exactly what the participants of the “Land March” were protesting against.¹⁶³ It did not suit their purpose. So

¹⁶¹ Gregory Bateson, “A theory of play and fantasy,” in *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 183.

¹⁶² Anne Schanche Kristoffersen, *17.mai i det flerkulturelle Norge: et multi-etnisk perspektiv på den norske nasjonaldagen*, (MA thesis: Universitetet i Oslo, 2000), 69

¹⁶³ In 1990 the first specifically Māori flag was designed, and others have followed. These featured in the 2004 foreshore and seabed hikoi.

they made their own flag, the appearance of which I have described in section 5.4.a. It was kind of an anti- flag –which was given as much respect and symbolic importance as the flag of any nation. Māori make use of the constructs of the oppressor because through a process of colonisation these come to be shared cultural references. The “Land March” flag was designed in black and white, perhaps symbolic of the ongoing struggle between Pakeha and Māori.

The presence of the Norwegian flag in the “Russetog”, suggests an arbitrary relationship to the symbol. Henrik Wergeland, wished that a celebration for Russ could be held on the 17th of May to make a statement:¹⁶⁴ Their jokes and banners, slogans and chants all designed to make fun of the authorities, they represented a clowning counterweight to the serious ceremonies of the day. Today the presence of these small handheld flags is part of the paraphernalia of the “Barnetog” and the National Day itself. Their presence within the context of the “Russetog” in 2007 could be described as being an empty convention. To follow Rothenbuhler’s line of thought, it is not that Russ are suspected of insincerity when they carry these small copies of the Norwegian flag, it’s just that within the context of the “Russetog” as it appeared in 2007, their presence does not say more than we are Norwegians, or this is Norway.

Weapons are also present in all four of the processions. Rightly enough, the weapons present in the “Russetog” were water pistols, and do not really have symbolic strength as they do in the other three processions. The water pistols are part of the Russ’s paraphernalia of fun. The guns held by the Tri-services escort in the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” were all fully functioning automatic rifles. Here they figure as part of the accessories to the costume of the soldiers, yet they represent simultaneously a symbolic and a real threat. Weapons are symbols of power, and are the tools by which the nation protects and defends her ideals, her borders, and her people.

One aspect, in particular, of the “Barnetog” is the use of the child as a symbol. The child represents hope for the future of the nation, and a highly visible and promoted aspect of the Norway’s National Day procession. A generalising statement would be that Norwegians are proud of the overwhelming presence of children on this day rather than of tanks and troops. One particularly odd aspect of this was the presence of a doll attached to the top of a long stick. These dolls were about fifty centimetres high, and dressed in little marching band

¹⁶⁴ Johannessen, *Lenge leve russen*, 12.

uniforms. The first time I noticed these was when I was watching Breien's film from 1968. I was eager to see if they would still be present in the 2007 procession, which they were, although there were not as many of them. Here, the child which is already symbolic, is also iconised which augments this sense of devotion to the child. Viewing these dolls for the first time and lacking in the accumulated cultural knowledge of the native, I experienced a gruesome association: I had unfortunately associated it with the kind of jubilation of the middle ages where people ran round with the decapitated heads of conquered enemies mounted on long spears. Clearly this is not the point, and rather speaks to the ways in which the symbolic can be misread.

Child symbolism was also employed in the "Land March" with the strategically captured image of Whina Cooper, a very old and sagacious kuia walking with her grandchild, Irene. The message is clear for those in the know: Simply it is a message that this concerns all Māori, young and old. More specifically though, it points to the strong connection Māori have to their genealogy; what was done to their ancestors, was done to those living today as well. The effect of the Treaty and Waitangi is felt all the way up and down the chain of genealogy.

In the "Unknown Warrior" children do not figure at all in any official or planned way. The TVNZ footage of the night before the procession shows that many children did come to pay their last respects, however the procession did not occur on a public holiday, and it was a normal school day. Towards the end of the parade route students from a nearby College are visible, standing on tiptoes to get a glimpse of the casket. The Prime Minister in her speech to the congregation at Saint Paul's said that; "We are the generation for which he died." So why were not all generations included in the procession? I suspect bureaucratic red tape was part of the problem. Education is important in New Zealand. The government cannot simply declare a "no school day" just because it wishes to. Furthermore, adhering to symbolic time by adhering to the time and date of the signing of the Armistice between Germany and the Allies was more important than arranging the procession on a Saturday or Sunday.

Schechner has said that theatre takes place at special times and special places, and costumes and special clothes are also instrumental in separating the event out from the daily life. But in what ways do the costumes or clothes used in the processions support my hypotheses that these processions are performances of ideology and national identity?

Considering the presence of military uniforms in the "Tomb of the Unknown Warrior" and the "Barnetog" (His Majesty the King's Guard), this is clear and direct. They underline the ideology of the power of the nation, as they are physical and visible signs of people in

service to the nation's defence. The clothes they wear when on duty help us to recognise their status as such. Uniforms are social constructs, and have evolved over time as materials, practicalities of the changing face of warfare, and social norms have dictated. The dress uniforms emphasise the uniform's function of separating the soldier or officer out from "normal" people. With extra accessories and highly polished shoes, the soldier in the processions is not a civilian and is also not an ordinary soldier on a workday; the dress uniform is a doubling of the standard uniform and by this becomes performative of formality and ceremony. These uniforms tell us immediately that the event is a heightened social occasion, because we have learned to recognise them as such. Uniforms serve national identity in times of war, "our troops" whom are recognisable from other troops because of the physical differences between uniforms. The only reason it is known that the Unknown Warrior is from New Zealand is because he died with a New Zealand uniform on. Uniforms erase individual identity as they discipline and indoctrinate the minds and bodies that inhabit them. They are emotionally loaded, especially in the context of the "Tomb of the Unknown Warrior", because like the flag they are associated with death. The life inside the uniform belongs to the nation. The tangibility of this is crucial: Here was a man who believed in the ideology of the nation so much that he was willing to give his life for it.

The uniforms of the marching bands in the "Barnetog" look like the uniforms of the military, as such marching bands evolved out of military practices where prior to modern day warfare troops were directed on the battlefield with music. However, they serve nothing of the same purpose. The most fundamental difference being that a member of a school marching band won't ever be asked to lay down their life in service to the nation. Although Norwegians like to point to the non-military nature of the "Barnetog", remnants of the military tradition are still present. What is interesting to mention here, is the fact that such uniforms were far less prevalent in the 2007 parade than the 1968 parade. Perhaps what we see here, developing over time is an incremental move towards the carnival, and the embodiment of the ideas of the Constitution: Norway for the people, shown in an event that celebrates the people rather than the country's military power or its government.

In comparison to the highly structured and codified uniforms of the Armed Forces, the Kings Guard and so on, are civilian clothes. These too are a costume of sorts, as there exists a distinction between best clothes and ordinary clothes. Marking the body by taking on more formal attire communicates respect and a willingness to celebrate. More and more Norwegians are dressing casually, this is not a sign of disrespect, but rather an indication of the changing values of society. Before moving on it is worth commenting that in the '68 and

the '07 processions the King of Norway wears a top hat and tails rather than his formal Military uniform, again pointing to the focus of the day being upon the people and the children. Whina Cooper as seen in figure 33, *technically* has dressed herself in ordinary clothing, as this might have been her everyday attire. However, thinking in terms of the language of the theatre, the outfit conjures up associations of “peasant woman,” or “old crone.” The image would have been entirely different had she been dressed in, say, the leisure suits characteristically favoured by elderly Americans. Here, it would seem, she is playing on her unofficial title as “Mother of the Nation.”

The use of the bunad by Norwegians has neither been completely uncontested. At the end of the 1800s use of the bunad was hotly debated with the main argument focussed on whether “...bunadsbruken var en *nødvendig* del av det å vise nasjonalt sinnelag, eller var bunadsbruken en privat sak?”¹⁶⁵ At times it has almost been possible to regard it as a fashion statement. In the 1968 procession there were very few bunads visible. This could be attributed to the cost of them, and that in 1968 Norway had only just discovered oil in the North Sea and so was, in terms of European standards, still quite a poor country. Whether or not Norwegians take on the costume for themselves or the nation they are a symbol of identity and belonging to a particular community – both nationally and locally as the costumes from the different counties have particularities. They are part of the inheritance of culture nationalism and are central symbols of the Norwegian national consciousness.

An interesting doubling occurs both in the “Barnetog” and the “Māori Land March”. In the “Land March” many Māori dressed themselves in a mixture of European clothes and traditional feathered cloaks. This combination is, on the one hand, an ethnographical performance of their colonisation that was formalised by the signing of the Treaty, and on the other hand, an instance of colonial mimicry; the “imperfect simulation”¹⁶⁶ of the colonising culture. In the “Barnetog” immigrants join the celebration often by mixing their own country’s traditional clothing with elements of Norwegian symbols – most often the flag or the colours of the flag. This kind of doubling creates a space for their entry in to this most central of Norwegian events.

For Māori, the use of their tradition clothing functions in a similar way. Identity, and pride in identity, is encouraged through the cultivation of traditional culture forms. For

¹⁶⁵ Astrid Oxaal, “Bunaden – stagnasjon eller nyskapning?” in *17. mai*, Edited by Finn Jor, (Oslo: J.W.Cappelens Forlag A.S., 1980), 144. ...the use of the bunad was a necessary part of showing a national disposition, or was the use of the bunad a private affair?

¹⁶⁶ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 284.

Pakeha questions surrounding identity have often pointed to a lack of cultural signifiers that could visually mark people as New Zealanders of European decent. The black singlet and gumboots of the farmer hardly fits the bill. This points to a reverse effect of colonisation: The desire to promote a clear New Zealand identity lead to the recognition of the value of this distinctive Māori culture, which has an interminable presence at all official events. This statement is cynical, yet not entirely misplaced. The Norwegian bunad, which is colourful, and formal compared to the way Norwegians usually dress is worn by both spectators and participants, and contributes to the way in which audience members are co-creators in the event, upon which I will elaborate later. Because of the symbolic importance of the bunad there has been a question mark over whether immigrants, or people of non-Norwegian ethnicities, should be able to use them. The ideology of the homogenous Norwegian nation has in previous years not allowed for this. As Anne Sanche Kristoffersen stated in her thesis: “Det forventes at innvanderne skal feire, men ikke at de skal bli for stuevarme i forhold til de norske symbolene.”¹⁶⁷ I believe this sort of attitude is starting to shift, as the idea that Norway is a multicultural nation finally gains a foothold.

The red caps and overalls of the Russ is also a uniform, in that it is of a distinctive design and serves as a means of identification of belonging to a particular group. But where the Russ started out looking like the northern proletariat, today they have taken to a ghettoised image with red baggy pants, and in 2007, navy hooded sweatshirts. The Russ uniform serves to, according to Allan Sande, “...fjerner tidligere kjennetegn på identitet og gir den indre personlighet frihet til å skape et nytt visualisert ytre tegn på en ny identitet.”¹⁶⁸ This idea of the creation of a new identity in connection to the clothes Russ wear is contrary to the institutionalising effect of most uniforms, and is only possible because of all the small individualising adjustments that Russ make to the foundation garment. The use of symbols in the “Russetog” which Sande describes as being water, beer, spirits, dirt, and the red cap are a means of creating disorder so that they may come out the other side, newly formed and ready to reintegrate into society. This moment of re-entry is, in formal terms, at the end of their procession. However, in vein with Russ traditions of overstepping boundaries, this too is negotiable.

¹⁶⁷ Kristoffersen, *17. mai i det flerkulturelle Norge*, 66. It is expected that immigrants will celebrate, but they shouldn't get too comfortable in relationship to the Norwegian symbols.

¹⁶⁸ Sande, “Rus og Russekultur som overgangsrituale i livet,” *Religion og livssyn*, No. 2, 2001, <http://www.religion.no/tidsskrift/bladart/as201.html>

Music.

The marching band music from the “Barnetog” and “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” are very similar, and are indicative of the type of event that they are as marching bands are often, but not exclusively, associated with parades and processions. The steady drumbeat keeps the marchers in step. Music is also instrumental in creating atmosphere, solemn melodies pervaded the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” and the “Land March” whereas more upbeat tunes are favoured for the Norwegian processions. In the “Russetog” the marching band music was initially all but drowned out by the music blaring from the parked up busses, suggesting that Americanised popular music is what Russ would, given the chance, play along the parade route.¹⁶⁹ Music also makes a statement about national identity as leaders use them to “...to create bonds, motivate patriotic action, honor the efforts of citizens, and legitimate formal authority.”¹⁷⁰ Military music and anthems have a limited range of musical motion and composers choose simple and direct melodies that provide a sense of strength and uniformity in the music.

For the purposes of this project I have thought a lot about words, words carried through song. I have noticed a trend. Part of this observation has to do with the fact that the Norwegian processions are annual events, whereas the New Zealand processions occurred only once. The New Zealand processions were filled with words born by song. Compared to this, where once the songs and chants were central elements in the Norwegian processions, this now seems to be on the wane. The songs I am referring to Norway’s national anthem, “Ja Vi elsker dette landet”, “Kongesangen”, “Norge i rødt, hvitt og blått”, and “Vi ere en nasjon vi med”.¹⁷¹ These songs all respectively sing about; Norway’s long history, the men and women who have fought for the country, God’s protection of Norway, and honour and loyalty to the King. Further, Norway’s national colours are seen to be reflected in the country’s beautiful nature and landscape, with Russ being portrayed in a cheerful manner, and a reminder of Norway’s regaining of her independence post WWII. In Henrik Wergeland’s song, “Vi ere en nasjon vi med”, a love of all aspects of the country is expressed along with a special wish that the Norwegian National Celebration should also be a day for the children. All these words and

¹⁶⁹ Interestingly enough, my thought has already become fact: Surfing the net today (15.04.08) that is exactly what Russ have planned for the procession in Stavanger in 2008. There is hope that a rock band will be mounted on the roof of a bus and join the parade. See: NRK, <http://www1.nrk.no/nett-tv/indeks/125597>, NRK 2008, (visited 15.04.08).

¹⁷⁰ Karen A., Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System: national anthems and flags.” *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 8, No. 2, (Jun., 1993), pp. 244. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/684637>

¹⁷¹ “Yes, we love this country”, “The King’s song”, “Norway in the red, white and blue”, and “We are a nation as well.”

sentiments have been echoed up and down the “Barnetog” year after year cementing national fervour and a communal feeling. That Norwegians are forgetting the words to the Nationalist songs that have traditionally accompanied the “Barnetog” can be summed up by one title - found on the NRK “17. Mai” website: “Sliter du med 17. mai-sangene?”¹⁷² Words are disappearing from the “Barnetog” as the singing diminishes. This loss of words seems contrary to general trends in Norwegian society where nearly every dinner party ends with a discussion of dialects and/or bokmål¹⁷³ versus nynorsk.¹⁷⁴ In the time since Norway finally became an independent state much effort has gone into formalising and solidifying a *Norwegian* language. This process of formalising one official language for official use is, according to Anderson, common and necessary to the birth of all nations.¹⁷⁵ The linguistic diversity of nationals is still an adversary of the nation, something which was reflected by the addition of a second official language; nynorsk in Norway and Māori in New Zealand. This can be seen as an act of inclusivity through legitimating and fostering culture, but also it is a way of bringing, at least some, of the linguistic diversity of the nation under the control of the state. Thus, the performing of official language texts in performances of national identity and ideology are important to lifting up and making visible one of the power mechanisms of the nation.

What, though, could be the effect of losing these song texts from the processional performance? Russ also has a long tradition with clever limericks and wordings that they chanted during the procession. Songs and chants are being slowly replaced with pure noise in both the “Russetog” and the “Barnetog”. Figure 11 clearly shows Russ walking through Oslo’s main street talking amongst themselves. Perhaps the words just don’t mean as much to people anymore? Perhaps this is indicative of a society that once having been more interested in the collective, is now characterised by a worship of the individual and his or her right to behave as he or she wants?

Considering the New Zealand processions, the presence of words in New Zealand ceremonies and events is always dominated by the pervasive use of both Māori and English. No less so than in the “Tomb of the Unknown warrior.” The insistent ideology of New Zealand as a bi-cultural nation repeatedly comes under fire. New Zealand society is

¹⁷² NRK, http://www.nrk.no/magasin/17_mai/1.2303666, NRK 2008, (visited 20.04.08). “Are you struggling with the 17th of May songs?” Ideas surrounding the way in which the songs are disappearing from the “Barnetog” are also built upon an observation of this trend made by my supervisor Anita Hammer.

¹⁷³ Bokmål: One of the two official languages in Norway; developed out of Danish and Danish – Norwegian.

¹⁷⁴ And as far as I am concerned, also a discussion of Norwegian versus English.

¹⁷⁵ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 41 – 42.

multicultural, and there is a feeling in at least some sectors of society that the rituals and ceremonies that perform national identity should begin to reflect this.

Space.

The spaces used by the four processions are liminal: Roadways are, by their very nature, thresholds between there and somewhere else. The processional route is space that has been separated out from daily life spatially and temporally through the transformation of its busy thoroughfares into performance space, and by the engagement in non-ordinary activities that take the place of daily activities. As the processional route is marked out it becomes demarcated space, ordinary space that has been transformed into a stage where spaces for the participants and for the spectators are carved out of nothing: This side of a fence or an invisible line for the actors, the other side for the spectators. In this way, the action occurring within the spatial/temporal room created for the event is reinforced and emphasised, and celebratory and ceremonial feelings are fostered.¹⁷⁶ Space acts as a vessel, it holds the event, it is part of the event and is historically significant. They are therefore not spaces that can become anywhere as they add symbolic significance to the processional performance. Their ideological significance lies in the fact that all of the processions take place in the streets of the capitals of New Zealand and Norway.

Of the four processional examples the “Russetog” stands out as being significantly different because the reason for the procession’s location and placement has, I believe, been lost. Another key quality of this procession is that its goal is metaphorical. Space in the other three processions was carved out by the need to get to a physical and symbolic goal: The Unknown Warrior’s tomb, the King/Royal family in the “Barnetog”, and the Prime Minister in the “Land March”. The “Russetog’s” completion is its goal as its end signals the end of the Russ celebration, and re-entry for Russ into the “real world.”

How participants engage with the space will also be influenced by the weather, as the quality of the weather can impact upon atmosphere through how many people turn up, and how they engage with the event. Outdoor events such as the four processions featured in this discussion, are dependent on natural lighting sources. This aspect, which is highly manipulated in the theatre, is out of anyone’s control in this context. A sunny “Barnetog” means an increased turn out, and a more festive atmosphere. As the “Barnetog” is a cyclical event, there is the possibility that some people might think, in the case of bad weather, “Ah

¹⁷⁶ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 14.

well I'll go next year.” Sometimes the weather can co-conspire. It may have seemed quite appropriate in terms of the solemnity of the occasion that it rained the day the group reached Parliament House.

Movement

Here I would like to discuss the main element of movement in the procession: How the participants got themselves from A to B. These are all variations on walking. In the four processions it is possible to identify both restored behaviour and everyday behaviour, but as usual, in varying degrees. Starting with the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior”, it is most dominated by highly codified walking which has been composed into a special pointed-toe march, which clearly requires much rehearsal. The soldiers seem frozen, their faces in masks, and not a single movement during the long procession was without choreography. Even the Chaplain and the funeral director walked in a steady controlled pace with their faces neutral. This highly codified way of moving the body through space is an example of what Schechner has called restored behaviour, as recognisable actions are heightened by the framing of the event. In the “Barnetog” we see a mix of marching and walking combined with waving and calling out to friends and family. Even though the behaviour in the “Barnetog” resembled everyday behaviour it is in fact restored behaviour: Waving and calling out to a familiar face is everyday behaviour, yet in the “Barnetog” both participants and spectators engage in this behaviour which is separate from the “me” performing it as it is “me behaving as I have learned.”¹⁷⁷ Waving and cheering is expected behaviour in this context. This can easily be illustrated by imagining the effect of swapping the audience from the “Unknown Warrior”, who stood solemnly along the parade route, with the audience of the “Barnetog”. This imagining creates an entirely different, and estranged event.

The “Land March” presents us with another variation on what it means to walk in a procession. The images I have seen of the procession are characterised predominantly by two contrasting images. One is of the core group of fifty out of the road walking with their heads down or quietly chatting amongst themselves, the other is of an extended group of marchers passing through a town, here with their heads raised and their pace quickened. It's equivalent to being “on stage” and “off stage,” and this is something I noticed during the “Barnetog” as well. The closer the participants got to Karl Johan and the Palace, the more composed the style of their walking became. Uniformity and conformity of movement also communicates

¹⁷⁷ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 34.

participants' willingness to subscribe to the ideals of the event. There is no less unity and conformity of movement present in the "Russetog" than the others. In this way, far from being a source of rebellion, they become a more and more homogeneous group. Earlier, the variety of actions within the "Russetog" was far greater. Some ran around carrying banners, and others sat on cars - looking at Breien's film some Russ were dressed as a bear and two guerrilla soldiers and so behaved accordingly. Furthermore, from this perspective their movement resembles a walk of solidarity, and as such could relate to this their last walk as youths before they must sit their exams and symbolically enter the national community as adults. The use of alcohol by Russ has over time become part of the procession. Their level of intoxication may also explain why Russ exhibited, in the 2007 procession, no interest in making something out of their chance to walk on the nation's stage. Opiates breed apathy.

6.1.b. Playful sequences.

There are many elements of "play" present in the four processions, and not enough room here to discuss them all. One aspect of conceptualising round the term "play" that has interested me greatly is the idea that "play" is the opposite of work. So how might this fit in with the premise that 17th of May is a "day off" and with the way in which certain sequences of behaviour or action might be considered to be playful?

The 17th of May is a public holiday for Norwegians. This means that they are free from work, but not necessarily free to engage in activities of their own choosing. Any choice of involvement, or not non-involvement in the "Barnetog" or the "Russetog" necessitates a relationship to the event. This is an example of Schechner's theory of selective inattention, as described in Chapter three. Even when spectators' attention wanders, or they do not attend at all, they are still in some way co-creators in the performance. Not attending could signal indifference to and/or rejection of the event, but not necessarily. Norwegians choosing to celebrate the day in their own way are still participating and therefore helping to create the event, albeit on the periphery. Those Norwegians I saw sitting and drinking beer while the "Barnetog" was going on are participating in their own way and help to expand the performance centre to include other aspects than just the procession. These days even going off to buy a hotdog seems to be as an important a part of the processional performance as the actual procession itself. Also, in relation to audience roles, which I will discuss further in

section 6.1.d., this could also be an instance of audience members showing off that they are familiar with the event, so familiar that they don't even need to look at it.¹⁷⁸

Voluntary participation in such performances as these, which are in service to ideology, is a kind of work. People take the day off from occupational activities and duties, to engage in effective work – in the case of the “Barnetog” and the “Unknown Warrior” they affirm the social order and re-energise national identity, and in the case of the “Russetog” and the “Māori Land March”, they challenge the social order and intentionally or unintentionally reveal hidden structures to be held up for examination. The “Russetog” takes place on Norway’s National Day as one in a string of ceremonies and events, and it was perhaps possible to view it as an example of approved anti-structure to the normative structure of the “Barnetog”. However, in 2007 if the “Russetog” were truly to display anti-structural tendencies these youths would have to engage in celibacy and teetotalism. What Russ do in the Russefeiring and the “Russetog” is but an extension and exaggeration of what teenagers do every weekend.¹⁷⁹

When I consider the “Barnetog” within the concept of “play” I recall the first children’s parade I ever attended in Norway. I spent the whole day feeling as if I was waiting for a punch line. Nothing about the day and the way the Norwegians were behaving was in accordance with the image I had built up of them in the months that I had been in the country. It was as if they were performing not who they were, but as they wished themselves to be. This concept is hard to pin down without sounding bigoted, but to say it like this; Norwegians engaged in the 17th of May celebrations are generally less reserved, and more outgoing and more relaxed than usual. At one point during the festivities an acquaintance asked me if I felt integrated? When I asked him what he meant, he said that he had read somewhere that immigrants feel more integrated on Norway’s National Day than they do the rest of the year. This may point to a general feeling of “communitas”¹⁸⁰ experienced by people during the events of the day. People of non-Norwegian ethnicities visibly seen to be celebrating Norway and her ideologies “like Norwegians do,” are welcomed into the fold for a day. It’s an interesting effect because for at least one day the distance between the other and Norwegians is, if not erased then, greatly diminished.

¹⁷⁸ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 221.

¹⁷⁹ This idea is credited to Anita Hammer, from a discussion with her on the 17th of April 2008.

¹⁸⁰ From: Turner, *From ritual to theatre*, 47. “Communitas” is, put very simply, a feeling of oneness or sameness, which is communicative, that is, it can be seen and felt by others and where individuality is ultimately subordinated

The punch line I had been waiting for did come in the end though, on the following day everything returned to normal as if nothing had occurred. On this day Norwegians are carrying out what have become culturally appropriate behaviours for this kind of event, where for at least one day, the positive aspects of the nation are emphasised, and if anyone is being fooled, it is everyone. If, however, Norwegians portray themselves differently on the 17th of May, does that mean that a visiting foreigner viewing the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” procession would could have felt equally tricked because he had not known New Zealanders had the capacity to show such solemnity? Seen within this context it almost makes me embarrassed to think I had reacted in the way that I did. This sort of misunderstanding lies in the framing of the event. That frame is built of cultural references and those not possessing the tools with which to decipher the message will not understand it. The scepticism I felt towards the Norwegian National Day post experiencing it is certainly an example of this. By contrast, I experienced the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” as moving – even watching it on a DVD three years after the fact. I might even have allowed myself to have shed a tear, but I was aware that although this was an important performance for New Zealand identity, the passage of time between the death and burial had removed the immediacy of the funeral. It was not someone I knew who had just died, but an unknown man, here, representing a mixed symbol of senseless loss and valour. I could, if I wished, feel the sorrow elicited by death without having it destroy me. Just as Norwegians can, on one day out of the year, behave as if “Norway is the best” without fear of repercussion. A visiting foreigner, watching the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” funeral procession and not knowing it was a symbolic funeral, might be forgiven for thinking that some beloved and contemporary person of state had just passed away. This is one of the hallmarks of “play:” The procession did not denote what it seemed to denote.¹⁸¹

One sequence of behaviour that might be considered to be “play” is the Māori spear challenge made upon their arrival at parliament in 1975. Spears are the kinds of weapons Māori were using when Europeans first came to Aotearoa, and are symbolically powerful. The spear challenge is traditionally part of the pohiri or ceremony of welcome, where the spear is thrown at the visiting group to see if they come in peace or war. It seems a little strange that this visiting group to Parliament House should then perform a ceremony of welcome. Was the performance of the spear challenge designed to send a message that Pakeha are still visitors in this land? Being visitors then, and in accordance with the customs

¹⁸¹ Bateson, “A theory of play and fantasy,” 183.

of the pohiri, the government dignitaries were required to show te tangata whenua,¹⁸² the people of the land, whether they meant peace or war. This is serious, deadly serious, and the group must have been anxious to see if the Prime Minister would accept the petition, the “Memorial of Right”, at all. The challenge, though, is metaphorically serious. The act of thrusting a spear towards another person is a “play act”. The Honourable Speaker Jonathan Hunt (visible in figure 38) might well have experienced a trembling of fear as the Māori warrior, dressed in pre-European clothing, challenged him. Certainly in the photograph we have of him his posture is defensive. However, because of how the challenge is framed, he knows it is a form of protocol, and that although the spear is real and is being used in a threatening manner it will not pierce him.

Thus, to make a brief summing up so far; what I have been talking about up to this point, are the various staging techniques of the processional performance, as seen through a performance framework. The way in time and space are used, and the objects that are given significance within the performance, all emphasise and communicate the purpose of the processional performance.

6.1.c. Emerging out of the Drama: Founding documents in action.

In the introduction to this thesis I proposed that each procession is linked to the founding documents of its nation. In this section I will deal with the idea that the four processions are either direct, or indirect examples of founding documents in action. The events surrounding the composition and signing of each country’s founding document have been described according to Victor Turner’s theory of the Social Drama in Chapter four. For the sake of clarity I will now state the ways in which I consider each procession to be linked to their respective documents:

1. The Norwegian “Barnetog” points *directly* back primarily to the events surrounding Norway’s bid for independence and the writing of the country’s constitution in 1814. Since it is a celebration of the Constitution, its relationship to this document is most clear. It is also a celebration of the times that the Constitution has been threatened – in the negotiations surrounding entry into the Union with Sweden in 1814, and again during the World War II during the German occupation (1940 – 1945).

¹⁸² Te tangata whenua: the people of the land. A term referring to all the Māori tribes.

2. The original, and *indirect* connection that the “Russetog” had to the founding document can be described in this way: During the period from 1807 to 1814, history saw an intensifying of a Norwegian national consciousness: In the autumn of 1809 the “Selskabet for Norges Vel”¹⁸³ was established across Norway, and was victorious in winning permission to build Norway’s own University in 1811, a symbol of status which had been desired for many years.¹⁸⁴ The establishment of Norway’s own institutions are results of a longing for independence, which was crystallised by the Constitution. Henrik Wergeland’s wish to create a Russ celebration on Norway’s Constitution day¹⁸⁵ is in alignment with a desire to celebrate the future of the country that rested on the shoulders of this new intellectual elite who were educated in, and ultimately for, Norway.
3. The 2004 parade for the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” points *indirectly* to the Treaty of Waitangi in this way: Having ensured the annexation of New Zealand by Britain as I have already stated, the Treaty irrevocably bound New Zealand to the skirts of the mother country. New Zealand’s involvement in the First World War – the War in which the Unknown Warrior died, is a direct result of her strong identity as a colony of the United Kingdom, and a member of the commonwealth. At the time of the First World War, a predominance of New Zealanders still thought of themselves being British.
4. The “Māori Land March” of 1975 points *directly* to the Treaty. Rather than protesting it, they wished to remind the Government of its promises, for example, “...to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order.”¹⁸⁶ And moreover, that they might retain possession of their lands, estates, forests, and fisheries as long as it was their desire.

Richard Schechner says that “...[a]ny conflict can be analyzed “as” social drama.”¹⁸⁷ All it requires is the arbitrary framing of a sequence of historical or social events within the form of the western drama. It gives events starting and finishing points and makes them manageable. However, Schechner warns that the model is not ideal for all situations as it has a tendency to

¹⁸³ Selskabet for Norges Vel: The Norwegian society for development.

¹⁸⁴ Jor, 17. mai, 23.

¹⁸⁵ Johannessen, *Lenge leve russen*, 12.

¹⁸⁶ Orange, *A story of a Treaty*, 31.

¹⁸⁷ Schechner, *Performance Studies*, 76.

compress events, reducing the effect of their distinctiveness and subtle differences.¹⁸⁸ It is however an effective method of dealing with phenomena as they occur or change over a period of time. I believe in terms of the historical events laid out in Chapter four, this model is appropriate to the situation as shall be revealed.

The composition of the two founding documents, one by the Assembly at Eidsvoll, and the other by William Hobson, are essentially political processes and are, as such, one of the methods specified by Turner as instrumental during the redressive process in the social drama. However, when viewed within a performance framework it is possible to examine the physical act, the actual doing of signing the documents as a ritualised and performative process. Firstly, the process of gathering, performing and dispersing is present here. Secondly the act of signing a document has a real effect out there in the real world: the signing of the documents does something (even if only temporarily).¹⁸⁹ This act also effected a set of rules or ideologies, essentially the fundamental guidelines for what the nation and its inhabitants, would aspire to be. Schechner says that Turner believed that art helped to solve social conflicts but he was not clear about how it was able to do this.¹⁹⁰ I believe, by gathering in this way to carry out the performative act of signing a powerful document in front of others, it provided a moment of closure for that aspect of the conflict: Closure that would not have been achieved to the same degree if, for example, each document had been sent round as memo to be signed and returned. The physical act of gathering, doing and dispersing gave this political process ritual significance.

The four processions are then symbolic of these original performances associated with the founding documents. They do not re-enact the events but rather they restore the past.¹⁹¹ The events of the past are placed in a contemporary context to be re-explored. The founding documents are brought to life again by the processional performance and are consciously or unconsciously brought into action as their importance to the national consciousness is either directly, as with the “Land March” and the “Barnetog”, or indirectly referred to. Each time a procession is performed the chain of historical events or social drama is restored through the collective memory of the community or group who is participating in the parade. The social drama feeds into the procession, and provides it with a kind of historical *raison d'être*. This is borne by the repeated structure of gathering, performing and dispersing. The dispersing is in

¹⁸⁸ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 76.

¹⁸⁹ This idea refers to the philosopher and linguist J. L. Austin's theory of the performative as described in *How to do things with words* from 1962.

¹⁹⁰ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 76.

¹⁹¹ Turner, *From ritual to theatre*, 12.

fact as important as the gathering and performing, as can be illustrated by the “Land March”. After the presentation of the “Memorial of Right” Whina Cooper “...told the group to disperse and await an outcome.”¹⁹² About sixty or so of the group set up camp, which they called the Māori Embassy, until they were evicted two months later. This occupancy tampered with the bold statement the march had made, as in performance terms it broke the performance structure - being akin to the actor who refuses to leave the stage even after the applause has ceased.

The historical events of WWI could also be described in terms of Turner’s social drama. In this way, the “Unknown Warrior” procession might be viewed as a closure, an event which enables a community to reconcile itself with an uncomfortable aspect of its past. In contrast to this, the Māori cultural renaissance of the 1970s could also be framed as a social drama, as this sort of framing can encompass massive global actions and tiny sequences of action that are over in a minute. In terms of the Māori renaissance, the “Māori Land March” opened for the possibility of the working through of Māori grievances which would in the long run be of great benefit to New Zealand as a whole. When Māori are allowed the opportunity to take responsibility for their own destiny, it works for the good of everyone in the nation.

Schechner’s idea is that not only does the social drama feed into what he terms “aesthetic drama (or other kinds of performance)”,¹⁹³ but the aesthetic drama also feeds back into the social drama. These processions are not ineffective, they have purposes that impinge on the way governments govern and the way people live their lives. Schechner writes that “...[a]nother way of putting this relationship is to say that every performance – aesthetic or social – is both efficacious and entertaining.”¹⁹⁴

6.1.d. Efficacious and entertaining.

All four of the parades are to one degree or another efficacious and entertaining. Up until now I have made a description of the some of different performance elements which go into the manifestation of these processions – these are also instrumental in shaping function and purpose. Firstly I wish to discuss the ways in which the four processions fit, or do not fit, into Schechner’s dyad. Secondly I hope to point to, where possible, how these positions are conditional and can change over time.

¹⁹² Harris, *Hikoi*, 76.

¹⁹³ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 76.

¹⁹⁴ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 76.

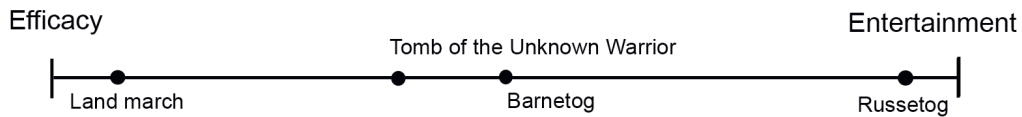


Figure 37: *Efficacious and Entertaining*

Although I have placed the processions as nodes on the continuum, a closer analysis of Schechner's categories informs us that a static or fixed position is impossible. This explains the table formation of figure 1, which allows for horizontal movement back and forth between the two forms of behavioural expression. Be that as it may, figure 37 functions within the context of the following discussion. Thus, in this way it is possible to see that the "Barnetog" is both efficacious and entertaining: It may well be a lot of fun, but it also achieves results; it builds solidarity and unity for Norwegians where their values and ideals are upheld and celebrated publicly on a large scale. Their sense of national identity is, if not strengthened, at least maintained with each year's procession. It is important to point out that the degree to which this function of the procession succeeds changes over time. The "Barnetog" on the 17th of May 1945 and again in 1973 after a public referendum held in 1972 ensured non-membership to the European Union might well have been just as much fun, but the urgency of celebrating "Norwegianess" and Norway as a separate, free and independent state was increased. Looking at periods where this urgency is lacking – as in the processions for 2007 and 1968, social context plays an important role. Behaving in an orderly and proper manner in public was important in 1968. An incident that came out of the film that Anja Breien made that year is a good example. As she was filming the public who were attending one of the ceremonies held on Norway's National Day, a small boy stuck the stick end of his Norwegian flag into his ear. Before a public screening of the film could take place the authorities asked Breien to edit the shot out. Such behaviour was disrespectful of the Norwegian flag, and needed to be censored. Today Breien's film is shown without censorship, and the image of this boy sticking his flag into his ear only elicits an indulgent smile. In 2007 we can, as already mentioned, see a looser, more relaxed attitude from participants and spectators alike, as social norms have opened up and created room for such behaviour in almost all public activities. The formal structures of the processional route were most clearly demarcated in the streets leading up to the Palace. At the various ends of the procession, far away from the King and Palace, one could see a trend towards an intermingling and interchange between

performers and spectators, making them all "...players in the event."¹⁹⁵ This makes the "Barnetog" the perfect performance in this context, as its position on the Efficacy-Entertainment dyad is right in the middle.

The advent of television and the Internet has also negotiated the idea that the procession is "only for those here." Now Norwegians are able to tune into hours and hours of excerpts of 17th of May processions all over Norway (though the footage is predominantly from Oslo) from anywhere in Norway, and from anywhere in the world where there's Internet access. This truly is a fantastic tool for championing one aspect of Anderson's theory of the nation. Even though all four and a half or so million Norwegians will never meet, and even though they cannot really know what each one of up to, they have "... complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity."¹⁹⁶ NRK has a website¹⁹⁷ where people can upload their own images taken on Norway's National Day, test themselves on their 17th of May general knowledge, put different bunads on a digital "paper doll," and keep updated on the latest news. It also reinforces the idea that those celebrating the Norwegian National Day in their own way are also co-creating the event. Here they are provided with a platform where they join in and say; "This is how we did it."

"Russetog", which at one time provided a vital possibility to publicly protest or ridicule society's authorities, has for all intents and purposes become a rabble without a cause. But is this really how it is? The fact that the procession almost didn't occur at all, as teenagers deliberated momentarily over whether they should follow Kampen Janitsjar or not, is testimony to the idea that the form of the procession can no longer hold the content of their desire. Here we see a sliding of not only substance, but also form. I would like to take a moment and question those who wish to label the "Russetog" as an event evacuated of meaning – or in the words of Eric Rothenbuhler, as an empty convention. Previously the "Russetog" has been the more ceremonial climax to a month of partying and playing up. What is being lost with every passing year is the adherence to the conventions built up over time. Schechner says that performative events create "special worlds" and that within these worlds people can "make the rules." But he also says that rituals, games or sports people "...must conform to the rules which separate these activities from the "real life"." These two statements seem to be contradictory. When seen through a performance framework the procession is associated with art which in turn is associated with "play." Russ continue, as

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter three.

¹⁹⁶ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 24, 26.

¹⁹⁷ NRK, http://www.nrk.no/magasinet/17_mai/1.5330400, NRK 2008, (Last visited 15.04.08)

they always have done, playing not only with *what* they communicate, but now *how* they communicate it. What is the value of adhering to the rules of an event if they no longer serve the individuals that enact it? What do we lose when that happens? Everything has its season: Either a new incarnation of the “Russetog” will be accepted, or society will in the end decide whether or not the “Russetog” as it appears now is valuable to its ideals.

The “Māori Land March” finds a spot at the other end of the continuum. It is most efficacious because this march of so many kilometres ensured sufficient media attention,¹⁹⁸ and gained enough support so that with the act of handing over the “Memorial of Right”, the Government could not afford to ignore the message it contained. The march was highly efficacious because it went around bureaucracy and rigmarole, and demanded immediate consequence and change. The Prime Minister was forced to clear his schedule, and deal with the force before him. Oversimplifying it, with the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal the same month, it effected the gifting back of significant areas of land to the Māori people in the years that followed.

I have placed the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” slightly further away from the Entertainment end of the continuum than the “Barnetog”. How might this procession, even if only slightly, be more efficacious than the “Barnetog”? What was created, insofar as we can predict the future, was an eternal monument and a physical location that New Zealanders can visit to pay their respects to those who lost their lives in the line of duty. In terms of the procession, talking with people in New Zealand they usually replied laconically “Oh yeah, I remember that.” The procession has provided a communal memory/memorial for the nation as it was broadcast nationwide, and so was in a sense accessible to every one and not “only for those here.” The whole nation was joined in this procession of New Zealand identity. But it will never be repeated. For the event’s symbolic significance to retain such power, there can be only one. In comparison, the “Barnetog” is a cyclical event and so with every year the social order and a particular imagining of the Norwegian people is revitalized. But this is not, as Rothenbuhler says, only about sentiment and solidarity. There is an intellectual side to the “Barnetog”. It provides a platform, in the media circus surrounding the event, for the social order to be questioned. Every year, for example, the question of immigrant participation and visibility in the procession is placed upon the table for discussion. The transformation of a Norwegian society, rightly or wrongly perceived as a homogenous society, into a

¹⁹⁸ It should be noted that the “Land March” emerged out of period growing awareness about the impact of colonisation on Māori. Early in the 1970s the group Ngā Tamatoa (the young warriors) had already begun making protests on Waitangi day.

multicultural society is slowly effected by the procession with each passing year. Measuring the effect of what is effected by these processions is not an easy task, but I think that because the “Barnetog” is a yearly event, it has the possibility to change and so reflect the needs and desires of the community as it appears at that moment. The “Unknown Warrior” has already become history. Thinking of it in these terms, it would appear that the “Unknown Warrior” is neither more efficacious nor more entertaining than the “Barnetog”.

Audience.

A good way of understanding the relationship between the two poles of the dyad is by looking at the roles the audience plays. Most often the rules of event are either formally or informally communicated to audience members letting them know what is expected of them. In the four processions figured in these discussions people for the most part, though movement and costuming, as discussed above, have signalled their willingness to participate in positive performances of national ideology and/or identity. What of those who do not obey the rules? In the “Barnetog” the only sequence of non-conforming behaviour I witnessed was right at the start of the procession, up by the Palace when a drunken Russ wandered out into the processional route. He was so out of it he didn’t really look like he was on the same temporal/spatial plane as the rest of us. He gave little resistance, anyway, when a policewoman led him away, and his behaviour in no way disrupted the events. This incident can be compared with the far end of the procession where spectators wandered across the route willy-nilly, and without police interference.

Schechner has separated the audience into two groups: integral and accidental. Those who might qualify as accidental audiences in the “Barnetog” are those entrepreneurs manning hotdog stands and selling balloons. Though I have, in fact, begun to see no distinction between those in the procession as opposed to those watching, or even, working. The “Barnetog” is an event which is dependent upon its spectators’ eager participation, and as I have already said, they are all co-creators in the event. According to the theory, this suddenly places the “Barnetog” as being more ritualistic than performative, and perhaps explains why Schechner has said that “...performance may be defined as ritualized behaviour conditioned/permeated by “play”.”¹⁹⁹ According to the dyad, the more an audience participates, the more ritualised the performance becomes. In the middle of the dyad there is a

¹⁹⁹ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 89.

constant oscillation between the different characteristics of ritual/efficacy and performance/entertainment.

In the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” spectators stood, almost uniformly, along the edges of the route with their hands clasped in front. Behind these viewers, especially along Lambton Quay, which is usually choked with Business people and shoppers at that time of the day, there was a constant stream of people. I assume that most of these people were just getting on with their lives. Schechner says that the accidental audience pays closer attention than the integral audience. I would add that this is only for a short time. They watch it as long as the break in the flow of their own activities allows. This procession had a mix of accidental and integral audiences. With integral audiences I am thinking of those VIPs who were invited to the church service and the burial. The government of New Zealand has officially termed the “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior” as a “ceremonial event” rather than an official state funeral. This points to an idea that these VIPs really were invited to a spectacle of sorts where, televised live on TV, they became participants in a mediated ritual, as shall be discussed below.

6.1.e. Frozen by the camera: media implications.

I have so far only briefly pointed to this aspect of the discussion by mentioning the interactive “17. mai” website run by NRK for the Norwegian processions. Before moving on to the conclusion of the thesis I will attempt to use the terminology of media anthropology (see Rothenbuhler in section 2.1) to explore an idea expressed by Josette Féral about how performances always end with the video camera. As described by Féral:

From descriptions of stagings taking place elsewhere or existing no longer, to the fragmentary, critical discourse of scholars, the theatrical experience is bound always to escape any attempt to give an accurate account of it. Faced with this problem, which is fundamental to all spectacles, performance has given itself its own memory. With the help of the video camera with which every performance ends, it has provided itself with a past.²⁰⁰

Geoff Stevens made a film documentary of the “Māori Land March”. He and his cameraman tracked the march from start to finish, and in the editing suit a collage of interviews, roadway shots, speeches, people tending to their blistered feet, and the meeting with the Prime Minister at Parliament was pieced together. The story of the march is a telling from a particular point of view and my description of it is yet another filtering, another retelling of the same event.

²⁰⁰ Féral, “Performance and theatricality,” 294.

This fleeting performance which flowed across the North Island one spring 33 years ago was a significant event and as such is given a memory by one or two lines in history books and history websites. The film Geoff Stevens and his collaborators made expanded this memory into moving and audible dimensions, and was invaluable to the writing of this thesis. However, despite the positive resonations of creating a past and a memory, this transformation into celluloid has simultaneously a negative effect. Being frozen by the *film* camera results also in death. There exist only film *archives*, where once in a while a film reel is dusted off and presented to the especially interested, or exhumed by scholars, journalists and historians. A true film *museum* would be an enormous facility, though it need not be three-dimensional. In room after room (or web link after web link) the films of performances long since over could be played 24 hours a day and accessible to everyone – thus even momentarily escaping inadequate descriptions and a slow death into oblivion or decay.

According to my understanding of Rothenbuhler’s explanation of the categories of mediated rituals (described in section 2.1), the “Barnetog” and the “Unknown Warrior” are the most successful mediated rituals out of the four processions. That they are mediated rituals and not media events can be primarily described by the fact that they are “...presented *live, organised outside the media, and preplanned.*”²⁰¹ But even they are not “perfect” examples of mediated rituals. The “Unknown Warrior” is not strictly a celebrative event, and the “Barnetog” (in 2007) is not specifically made historic; as a cyclical, repetitive event it is my belief that only those years that the procession is marked as being somehow different that become historicized. The rest, in general terms, remain part of the ongoing, yearly phenomenon that is Norway’s National Day celebration.

My aim here is not to suddenly turn this thesis into a discussion of media anthropology, but rather to utilise some of the terminology to ruminate on the effect of such mediatisation on the remaining three processions, as I already have done with the “Māori Land March”. I said it was a discussion of forms, and being frozen by the *digital* camera (or even the video camera) does not necessarily necessitate the same death as that of the *film* camera. It is as simple as this: As forms of representation become easier, and cheaper to reproduce, they become more accessible. This occurs in two phases, starting with the live broadcasting of the event on TV, and following with the release of the footage on DVD or the Internet. Firstly in terms of the live broadcasting of these processions on television, the

²⁰¹ Rothenbuhler, *Ritual communication*, 80. Rothenbuhler’s italics.

audience of the procession in the local is expanded to the national, "...the viewers being transformed into eyewitnesses of history, which is played and written before their eyes."²⁰² This becomes pictorially/audibly tangible in their memories, and makes them a part of the community that is actually present at the event. The commentators eulogise the performance in smooth reverent tones, filling up the action with an endless stream of background information whilst reinforcing the importance, historical and contemporary, of the event. The viewers' bodily absence is made up for their extended knowledge of the event supplied to them by the commentators. The "...ritual media *monumentalize* the event by constructing the official image of it that the collective memory will keep..."²⁰³ The tomb in which the Unknown Warrior was laid to rest is a traditional monument carved out of stone and supposedly meant to last forever; an "architectural petrification."²⁰⁴ The DVD released afterwards, by a media understanding, is also a monument; a digital freeze. But is not this digital version of the procession doomed to same death as the Geoff Steven's film? It too sits on a shelf in New Zealand Film Archive gathering dust. Though it has one up on the "Land March" film, as it was released for public purchase.

The "Barnetog" is broadcast live on the day, and it has all the interactive augmentation associated with the mediated event: It testifies to the legitimacy of the event creating a national and, through the Internet, an international community of viewers.²⁰⁵ It provides Norwegians with a sense of belonging as they celebrate their ideals and their identity collectively, inspiring loyalty, and reintegrating the disparate counties that constitute the Kingdom of Norway under a banner of "This is whom we wish ourselves to be." However, the easily reproduced digital form is also easy to delete. The footage of the "Barnetog" is deleted from the NRK Internet site after no more than a month, because the digital room must be prepared for the next year's event. No DVD has been released and anyone wishing to view footage from the procession must pay NRK 500 NOK per half hour. The "Barnetog" and for that matter the "Russetog" do not need to be monumentalised in the same manner as the "Unknown Warrior" and the "Māori Land March", as they die each year to live again: They are living performances, and each procession makes way for the reincarnation of the processional performance the following year.

²⁰² Pascal Lardellier, "Ritual media: historical perspectives and social functions," in *Media Anthropology*, Edited by Eric W. Rothenbuhler and Mihai Coman, (Thousand Oaks: Sage publications, 2005), 73. Lardellier's italics.

²⁰³ Lardellier, "Ritual media," 75.

²⁰⁴ Lardellier, "Ritual media," 75.

²⁰⁵ Lardellier, "Ritual media," 75.

6.2. Looking at the processions as theatrical events.

I shall now apply a theatrical gaze upon the four processions, using the terminology of Elizabeth Burns, which I have already introduced in Chapter two.

6.2.a. Rhetorical conventions: Costumes, setting, and time.

Costumes are non-verbal communicative conventions of the theatre, and are only effective, according to Burns, so long as there is an underlying consensus that the clothes taken on in an event mean something specific within the context of the event. The presence of the uniformed soldiers of the Tri-services, in the “Unknown Warrior” could denote a battalion going off to war as back in 1913 a similar body of uniformed men marched that same route on their way down to the ships that would take them to the Western Front. That these uniforms are *dress* uniforms communicates to the audience that this is not the “real thing” but a ceremony – as does their movement, which I will go into below. Dressing up or down for an occasion is much like the way an actor takes on a costume in order to create the illusion of a particular character. The bunad, which is already described as being a *National costume*, in this context tells a story about the cultivation of an old national culture inheritance, connected to the symbolism of the farmer. (See section 4.2.a.) A Norwegian friend who had studied in London had once seen a group of Norwegians on the London Underground on the 17th of May. He’d told me that the experience had been quite uncomfortable because in that context they had looked like little dolls. Placed so far out of context they lost their specific meaning. The incorporation of Norwegian colours into the clothes that non-Norwegians wear also signals an understanding and acceptance of shared conventions.

All the different kinds of clothing or costuming present in the four processions are designed to assist in laying down a definition of the situation. Flouting conventions – which are morally constructed - “...can therefore denote, at the one end of the scale, ‘deviance’, at the other approved unconventionality or less approved eccentricity.”²⁰⁶ The uniforms of the Russ may be a good example of Burns’ concept of approved eccentricity. They are baggy and rough, and by the end of the Russ celebration period they are usually extremely dirty. The usual conventions of western society suggest that participants in a procession should mark their bodies by taking on a costume or uniform of sorts, and most usually that costume will be formal, and sharp. The uniforms of the Russ are accepted within the context of the Russ celebration and the “Russetog”, but to wear the Russ uniform after the completion of the

²⁰⁶ Burns, *Theatricality*, 28-29.

celebration is frowned upon by Russ and non-Russ. The cap and overalls only have symbolic relevance within the period of celebration.

The mixing of European clothes with traditional Māori clothing started as an example of approved, or at least accepted, eccentricity, associated with identity. Burns makes the point though, that the language of conventions is not static and she states "...as people find themselves in new situations, supplied with new information, new agreements are automatically made."²⁰⁷ This doubling of European dress and traditional Māori clothing is a specific way of dressing up for Māori, and is a style which is popularly accepted today for occasions of ceremony or protest. Māori dressed in full traditional clothing and performing haka,²⁰⁸ is a common and expected sight, it has become one of the shared conventions of social performance in New Zealand.

Rhetorical conventions, according to Burns, are also instrumental in setting the mode of interaction between stage and audience. When a large group of people gather in the streets the shared understanding of what this relationship will be, could change at any moment, and perhaps explains why at least secular processions almost always include a police presence. Burns places the genesis of the theatre in the separation between participants and spectators. By this understanding the "Barnetog" is well on its way to becoming a ritual as participants and spectators together "make" the event. This is one way of looking at it, but strictly speaking a division between spectators and participants was present in all four of the processions. The spectators' presence is important because it is their gaze that imposes theatricality upon an event. Theatre theory has traditionally focussed on this idea that in order for a performance to take place at all, somebody needs to be watching some else: Here simply expressed by Eric Bentley; "A impersonates B while C looks on."²⁰⁹ As Josette Féral states: "Theatricality cannot *be*, it must be *for* someone. In other words, it is *for the Other*."²¹⁰ This is an interesting idea, for it is only in the "Russetog" and the "Māori Land March" that the spectators can truly be perceived as other, or separate from the participants. Concerning the "Unknown Warrior" and the "Barnetog", the spectators can be perceived as "us." This is what

²⁰⁷ Burns, *Theatricality*, 29.

²⁰⁸ Haka: vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances.

²⁰⁹ Quoted in: Willmar Sauter, *Eventness*, Preliminary edition, (Stockholm: Stiftelsen för utgivning av teatervitenskapiga studier, 2006), 46.

²¹⁰ Féral, "Performance and Theatricality," 297.

I mean when I say that the participants and the spectators make the event together. There is no us and them: It is *our* communal performance, a performance of *our* identity.

Furthermore, the significance of setting in the social performance is also dependent upon "...forms of address, to spacing and positioning of persons, and to costume, manner, gestures, and timing of speech."²¹¹ How the action in the setting unfolds, and the tools it uses to communicate its purpose also communicates the significance of the scene. Burns means that setting outside the theatre most often has a symbolic function. By decorating the lampposts and walls of buildings with flags and banners space is transmuted into a scene for a specific occasion. Even "...marches derive a symbolic power from the setting of long roads and city streets through which they pass." The march across country was all about performing the essential relationship Māori have with the land. But more than that, it is the common experience of those involved in the social situation that maintain this definition, as "...[i]n ordinary life experience of environment (of what becomes setting in the theatre) is closely related to experience of other people."²¹² In this way the setting informs the event but is not truly part of the event, being more of a "backdrop" to the action "on stage."

Writing in the 1970s, Burns also noticed a shift from the public to the private. These days the private has re-entered the public, and explains why, for example, the boy who stuck the stick end of his flag into his ear is no longer under censorship. In this context, this is about shifting norms of behaviour as related to a more relaxed attitude to what kinds of behaviour are allowable in the public arena. However, even today drunken or disruptive behaviour is not an accepted deviance from convention, and as with Stick Boy in 1968, the Russ that drunkenly wandered across the "Barnetog" route was removed. The performance was not for him, as he was not playing by the rules. Even, the increasingly drunken behaviour of Russ in the "Russetog" is generally frowned upon by Norwegian society.

Burns approaches a more metaphorical understanding of space when she speaks of different worlds as being "...the 'pretend' reality of games, sports, parties, ceremonies, the 'alternative' reality of occupational worlds and ritual, or the 'overriding' reality concerned with the deliberate efforts to change or defend definitions of the situation, the 'rules of the game'."²¹³ Burns maintains that the level of reality in any given situation will be sustained by the attitude of those involved in the performance towards the content of the roles of performance and to the audience. The illusionary capacity of the pretend reality, the "as if"

²¹¹ Burns, *Theatricality*, 46.

²¹² Burns, *Theatricality*, 71, 88.

²¹³ Burns, *Theatricality*, 13 - 14, 7.

function, is innately present in all social relations. This points to the fundamental function of the theatrical gaze, it frames events according to certain conventions, something which has been stated enough times already.

These are almost arbitrary categories. If we consider the “Land March” for a moment, we can conceive that all three of Burn’s realities are at one time or another present: The pretend world of the presentation of the “Memorial of Right” to the Prime Minister, the document which is just a piece of paper but is treated “as if” it were a sacred treasure being carried through the entire procession in a specially designed leather bound box. The month long alternative reality of the long pilgrimage; the ordinary life is put on hold. The overriding reality of attempting to instigate change; to set into action the motto “Not one more acre!” What is perhaps most interesting is the idea that the pretend reality, most commonly associated with the bourgeois theatre, is also at work in the real world. The “Russetog” has also this pretend aspect as illustrated by “...the ‘as if’ of the importance of the occasion.”²¹⁴ What was essentially a street party was, for example, given importance by the focus it was provided with by its placement on Norway’s National Day. In 2007, Russ walked the procession from one end to the other. There were no protests, slogans or banners. No cars and no costumes. So although the “Russetog” has previously belonged to the overriding reality where through jokes and parody they attempted to, if not incite change, then at least challenge the status quo, in 2007 this element was, I hazard to say once again, entirely lacking. This begs the question: Should the “Russetog” continue to take place on Norway’s National Day?²¹⁵

From the theatrical perspective, the “...[c]onventions of time are of course inseparable from conventions of space[.]”²¹⁶ An audience most often, as in the case of the processions, knows how long a performance is going to last. Time is from this perspective a concrete, chronological element as the processions exist and unfold in real time. ‘Timing’ may be of more interest. In the theatre timing is used to emphasise the significance of important sequences of the drama.²¹⁷ This sort of rhetorical convention is at least at work in the “Unknown warrior”, as the timing of the start of the parade was significant to the hour, day

²¹⁴ Burns, *Theatricality*, 16 - 17.

²¹⁵ Searching the net I came across a news report about how Russ in Stavanger this year are determined to reinject some culture and parody into the parade. NRK, <http://www.nrk.no/nyheter/distrikt/rogaland/stavanger2008/1.5341253>, NRK 2008, (visited 15.04.08).

²¹⁶ Burns, *Theatricality*, 94.

²¹⁷ Burns, *Theatricality*, 97.

and month of the signing of the armistice at the end of the Great War. Or in the case of the “Barnetog”, the 17th of May is, of course, Constitution Day. That Constitution Day occurred on the 17th of May is tied into that complicated sequence of events which I have briefly outlined within the structure of Turner’s social drama in Chapter four. The placement of Norway’s National Day on the 17th of May is arbitrarily historic.

6.2.b. Authenticating conventions: Objects, actions and roles.

The assembling of objects in the theatrical room is informed by the definitions established by the rhetorical conventions. According to Burns’ take on the theatrical perspective the objects are not so much symbolic in themselves, but rather by their manipulation through action they *become* symbolic. How they are used will be indicative of whether the event is perceived as ritual or theatre. With the example of the national flags of New Zealand and Norway this insistence on action bringing symbolic significance to objects deployed in the theatrical room holds. In terms of Burn’s line of thought it might be possible to consider that the national flag is the exception to the rule. Could it be that the national flag is symbolic at all times because the way people treat it and behave towards it has significance at all times? In this way it might be possible to state that a nation’s flag is always theatrical; because Burns means that it is *how* an object is treated that imbues it with symbolic meaning, the flag, which has specific rules for how it is handled *at all times*, theoretically can be seen to be constantly theatrical.

Whether a nation’s flag is flying over the King’s palace, lying on a shelf in the hall cupboard or being trampled into the mud, the national flag is subject to the rules of convention: When it is raised on a flagpole it must not touch the ground, and it must be lowered before a specific time. When in storage it must be folded in a particular way. Being trampled into the ground signals a deviant relationship to its conventions of use; but the rejection of convention is also the affirmation of convention. By comparison, the flag that was used in the “Māori Land March”, only had symbolic importance during the time that it was carried (without ever touching the land) all the way from Te Hapua to Wellington. Its symbolic importance was over when the procession was over, or at least its symbolic importance becomes historicized. The ubiquity of the Norwegian flag in the “Barnetog” signals that there can be no doubt as to who and what is being celebrated. The rules that disallow the flying of other flags are, in this case, a security device to prevent the disruption of shared conventions: The flying of the Pakistani flag might create confusion in the theatrical room about whose ideology and whose identity is being celebrated.

The weapons in the “Unknown Warrior” and the “Barnetog” can only be held in ways appropriate to the ceremonial use of weapons. Shots fired are performed with a special codified stance – with the legs locked and wide apart - so that spectators and participants know that even though these weapons are being fired, they are only “for show.” The spear in the “Māori Land March” is demonstrative of a challenge to the government. It is a gesture that is threatening, but the threat is symbolic as the actual physical threat represented by the gesture, and the spear, is empty.²¹⁸

Once the definition of the situation has been established by the setting and costumes, a set of behavioural patterns are instigated, that are, according to Burns, limited. Furthermore “...‘[t]heatricality’ in the ordinary life consists in the resort to this special grammar of composed behaviour;”²¹⁹ and this composition of behaviour applies for those in the performance, and for those watching the performance. The composition of sequences of behaviour can be unconscious or conscious. The highly conscious, pointed-step marching of the soldiers in the “Unknown Warrior”, or the unified drumstick movements of the Kings Guard may have the appearance of being more theatrically pronounced than the less conscious cheering and waving of the spectators in the “Barnetog”, but they are still all examples of theatrical behaviour. They are all composed according to the shared conventions built up by social norms that tell us that this sort of behaviour is communicatively appropriate to this situation. Determining the difference between theatrical and untheatrical behaviour depends how people have been conditioned by the process of socialisation in a particular social milieu, at a particular time. Seen from this perspective the behaviour in the “Russetog” is a good example of the capacity for change, for new agreements concerning conventions to arise as needed. The style of participation in the “Russetog” was theatrically unpronounced than it previously (referring to the 1968 procession) has been because the purpose of the procession, and the shared conventions Russ have concerning this, have changed. The procession may appear less meaningful for spectators who do not share the same understanding of the conventions that are at work.

In social performances all these conventions are, as in the theatre, more visible than in the ordinary life. “On all social occasions conventions are detectable in behaviour but become explicit and even obtrusive on occasions regarded as to some extent theatrical...” such as processions. Such events exhibit an expressiveness and persuasiveness of behaviour. “There

²¹⁸ Burns, *Theatricality*, 92.

²¹⁹ Burns, *Theatricality*, 30, 33.

is a fictive prepared style for an actual non-fictional content.’’²²⁰ This speaks to theatricality’s tendency towards narrativity. Even when there is no narrative, there is a desire to impose one upon the performance. This perhaps explains why Burns means that secular ceremonies have become “historical re-enactment[s].’’²²¹ Only the symbolic aspects are left: Celebrating the Constitution does not win for Norway her independence once again, but neither is it a re-enactment of the historical signing of the Constitution. But there are narrative-like sequences. In the early part of the parade, a horse drawn cart was followed by folk dancers, which tells in a way the same story about farmer symbolism as the bunad does in general. The planes that flew over the start of the procession were English and American planes used before and during the war as training planes.²²² They also tell a story – of the trials and hardships of the Norwegian people during WWII and their jubilation when Germany finally fell. Neither is the “Unknown Warrior” strictly an historical re-enactment, but nonetheless, narrativity perseveres. Officially the procession was designated a “ceremonial event” and not an official state funeral. Be that as it may, someone did die, and he is supposed represent over 9000 servicemen whose bodies were never returned to New Zealand. No conventions are necessary to make the fact that someone died, but seeing as nobody knows who he is, a set of stories are needed to really make the New Zealand people care. This was wholly successful, if judged by the number of people who came to pay him their respects the night before, and the numbers that turned up on the day. A story was built up around this person of unknown origins: His everyman status was repeatedly referred to throughout the event as an attempt to make him significant to one and all. He was “one of us” and the only thing we know about him is that he died on the Western Front wearing a New Zealand uniform. We are, the Prime Minister told the congregation, the future generation that he died for. He did his duty and played his part in events that were beyond his control. The Governor General imagined what he could have been like: She asked was he a teacher, did he close the gates of a milking shed for the last time, or did he park his truck and give the keys to his mate? Did he walk away from friends and family? Getting a lift to the local station to catch a last glimpse of loved ones out of the carriage window? Did he cross the plains where he had spent all his life and was farewelled

²²⁰ Burns, *Theatricality*, 30, 31.

²²¹ Burns, *Theatricality*, 210.

²²² I learned what significance these planes had when watching the procession on NRK later that day. There was a live commentary throughout NRK’s broadcast.

by the singing on his marae?²²³ All of these words, which really were quite emotive, point to the theatrical gaze and its necessity to impose narrativity upon events. The event must *mean* something and these archetypal images of the New Zealand way of living conjured up by the words of the Prime Minister and the Governor General are recognisable to all New Zealanders: The ideology of the nation lives in the stories that are told.

The theatrical concept of behaviour is linked to a concept that "...in the ordinary life, as on the stage, we take parts and fit into situations and scenes that are part of a larger scheme of action."²²⁴ It is interesting to note that while the role of King in the "Barnetog" seems relatively unchanged when comparing the 1968 procession with the 2007 procession. The expectation from Norwegian society that the King, as the symbolic sign of an independent Norway exhibit a more constrained or even historical relationship to the social norms of behaviour. Harald is father to Håkon, husband to Sonja, and grandfather to Ingrid Alexandra. During the "Barnetog" he plays all these roles, but most visibly he plays the role of King of Norway, which takes precedence on this occasion. The role of King is a specifically prescribed role, and so quite easy to recognise because of where he is placed (usually separated from "regular" folks) and what he wears. This is not to say however, that a King acts his role in the same way as an actor in the theatre acts the part of a King. The role of King is an occupational role and demands the "...knowledge as well as the performing ability before he can exercise the rights and fulfil the obligations that the role entails." The performance of such a role is both affective and effective²²⁵ because the King's presence is ornamental and symbolically powerful, but he is not interchangeable. It will never be possible for him to hire a stand-in to play his role in the "Barnetog". As Norway's own King he is fundamentally symbolic of the independence of the nation. Being a Prime Minister or a Governor General is also a role that required a careful balance of solemnity and gravity. To have broken down into tears unable to continue, would have been inappropriate to the situation and the dictates of their role. Playing the role correctly is a serious matter, and according to Burns, criticism of the role one plays can be more destructive than a criticism of personality. For there is as much value in a decent performance of a public role as there is in the convincing portrayal of a character in the theatre.

²²³ TVNZ production, "Tomb of the Unknown Warrior: Te Toma o te toa Matangaro," presented by Ian Johnstone and Alison Parr, DVD, (Auckland: Distributed by Roadshow Entertainment, 2005), Chapters 10 and 18.

²²⁴ Burns, *Theatricality*, 126.

²²⁵ Burns, *Theatricality*, 133.

The role of “leader” is more generic. Whina Cooper was the official leader of the “Māori Land March”. The march itself was organised by a group of people who decided that having Whina Cooper as leader would send the right message to the Government. This is not to say that she was merely a figurehead, just she had a reputation for achieving change without necessarily being radical. The success of the march depended upon making a statement, not aggravating the authorities. As the procession went on Cooper held many speeches where she encouraged the people of the Pā where the procession group was staying to understand and support what they were trying to do with this march across country. Cooper took on the role of leader and over time, the leadership role imposed itself on her. She must have had to present herself as an unwavering and undoubting participant in the procession at all times. As the media took up the image of Cooper and Irene, her role as grandmother came into play. The urgency of the cause underlined by the fact that such an *old* woman would walk this long way.

I have, in this section on theatricality, covered many of the same examples used in the performance perspective analysis, but through the writing I discovered that the theatrical gaze uncovered different aspects, and highlighted different examples from the four processions. In the following chapter I will attempt to draw all the threads of my discussion together.

Chapter 7: Concluding thoughts.

In this thesis I have placed four processions inside a performance framework in order to discuss the ways in which said processions might be seen to be performances of national identity and ideology. That is, they can be seen to be performances of the doctrines, opinions, and ways of thinking of the nations of New Zealand and Norway. As a part of this I have looked at the ways in which the founding documents of each country either directly, or indirectly inform each processional performance. Further, I have reflected upon an idea that the function of communal unity might also be considered to be in service to this overriding function of performing identity and ideology. Lastly, I have framed the processions within two different perspectives within theatre studies in order to make a discussion about the differences or similarities of the two perspectives, a summary of which will follow in section 7.2. Leading up to the description of the four processions in Chapter five, I laid down a solid body of contextually relevant foundational and background information. This entailed explaining the conversations out of which this thesis indirectly emerges from. I also made a detailed introduction of the different theories I would be applying to the research material in order to aid the discussion in Chapter six, so that the reader would be well prepared with a common understanding of the terms to be used. This also applies to Chapter three which described key elements and characteristics of the procession. A brief comparison of differences and similarities between New Zealand and Norway, relevant to the context of this discussion, also aimed at providing a frame of reference for the reader.

7.1. Performing identity and ideology.

Reflections around concepts of national identity and ideology within the context of this work have been located within Anderson's definition of the nation. As already stated, Anderson means that the nation essentially "...is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." This meaning that the nation is reliant upon its inhabitants, despite never meeting or knowing of their fellow countrymen, being able to hold in their minds "...the image of their communion."²²⁶ One of the many ways that the state keeps this image of communion in the hearts and heads of its people is through the arrangement of such events as processions that in some way display and honour some aspect of the nation and its ideology. As Anderson says, "...[c]ommunities are to be

²²⁶ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 6, 7.

distinguished...by the style in which they are imagined.”²²⁷ In secular processions it is often the state that constructs the style of this imagining, as the state is involved in a massive production of icons and symbols by which individuals may identify and locate themselves as members of a particular group of people – New Zealanders or Norwegians. In order to achieve a performance of a specific ideology and/or identity, certain values and ideals are given precedence in the performance room. There, those values and ideals are, as I have already discussed at considerable length in Chapter six, communicated by the objects and costumes, music and movements, deployed in time and space. Nothing is arbitrarily placed. Moreover, what also can be telling about the importance of such objects is what is *not* there: no foreign flags in the “Barnetog,” no New Zealand flag in the “Māori Land March”.

How successful are these processional performances? Do they/have they fulfil(ed) their purposeful potential? It may be put forward that the most successful processional performances are those that find a balance between being affective and effective. Or, to use Richard Schechner’s terminology, they work best when they are as equally efficacious as they are entertaining. Given the examples of this thesis, in these terms and as depicted in figure 37, the “Barnetog” and the “Unknown Warrior” are therefore the most successful of the processions. The “Māori Land March” was, I believe, an effective performance of national identity and ideology: It presented a coherent image of identity; of Māori, New Zealand citizens, who exercised their right to call those officials who represent them to accountability by instigating a process whereby the founding document of New Zealand was brought out of the shadows and into the light, and given an effectivity like it had never had. On the other end of the scale, the “Russetog” was less effective as the impetus for, and content of the procession has become confused over time. Figuring Schechner’s dyad as a continuum at this moment doesn’t seem to work. If the “Russetog” is not efficacious, it must be entertaining. But entertaining for whom? If the “Russetog” cannot be characterised by efficacy or entertainment, is it still a performance?

Richard Schechner has defined the procession as “natural theatre”,²²⁸ identifying the gathering, performing, and dispersing characteristic of the theatre as being present in the procession. This specifically theatrical trait of bodies meeting in space enables the fostering of feelings of sentiment and solidarity, which is in turn emphasised by the special language of communally recognisable and decipherable signs and images. The messages borne by these signs and images need to be clear, and large, and uncomplicated, as the procession finds place

²²⁷ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 6.

²²⁸ Schechner, *Performance theory*, 177.

in space that is not specifically designed for it. Flags and banners, uniforms and national colours are all designed to effectively communicate a version of identity. But because of this need for boldness and clarity, any nuances in the picture become blurred or wiped out. So why make use of the processional genre to express or embody ideological ideals and identities? Surely, because the people who live within the arbitrary boundaries of the nation are less homogenous than the processional performances would suggest, a procession is not really the best vehicle for communicating a statement about who and what the nation is? This brings to the fore a question surrounding form and content. If we consider it in this way: the content informs the form, and the form informs the content. The message of “this is who we think we are” becomes a statement of homogeneity in the processional performance room because of this need for simplicity and clarity, and the nation’s need to build and maintain a sense of community, or fraternity. The feelings of sentiment and solidarity, that which I have also called communal union, is not the primary agent at work here. As Rothenbuhler has proposed, there is an intellectual side to these processional performances as well: The nation is, according to Anderson, imagined as inherently limited and sovereign: meaning it has borders and these borders need defending in order to protect and maintain the nation’s sovereignty. In order to inspire individuals to defend them, nations are imagined as communities because such fraternity allows “...for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly die for such limited imaginings.”²²⁹ Disparity and diversity do not a community make – well not all that easily anyway. Thus the homogenising form of the procession, at least when viewing the “Barnetog” and the “Unknown Warrior”, suits the nation just so.

It is interesting to note that the “Māori Land March” also had a homogenising effect, even though it was not arranged by the state, it was designed to communicate something to the state. Although it was a performance of and by a specific group, it also necessitated a degree of homogenisation. In a bid to get the government to remember the promises of the treaty Māori had to band together and present themselves one people, and not as the individual tribes. This concept of the nation that emerged out of the 17th and 18th centuries, is not, it would seem, capable of coping with a hugely diverse range of people. This does not bode well for Norway or New Zealand’s multi-ethnic future. As Anderson says, “...the ‘end of the era of nationalism,’ so long prophesied, is not remotely in sight.”²³⁰ Rather than dying out, the nation is renewed. People must have a nationality, and even more so in the face of

²²⁹ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7.

²³⁰ Anderson. *Imagined communities*, 3.

globalisation. The need to be able to say; “I am a part of this, not this,” is part of the human condition, and can “...inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love. The cultural products of nationalism...show this love very clearly in thousands of different forms and styles.”²³¹ The procession is also about expressing love of the nation, and that, too, is one of the nation’s ideologies.

7.1.a. When the performance becomes confused.

I started Chapter one with a brief telling of my encounter with the “Russetog” in Oslo in 2007, which naturally lead to a question of what happens to these processional performances when the form begins to unravel and appear askew? I have also proposed that the “Barnetog” and the “Unknown Warrior” are the most successful processions within the context of this thesis. But are they really? For New Zealand and Norway, as countries that have been subject to hundreds of years of colonisation, the question of identity is key. In general terms, it could be said that for New Zealand this meant constructing a New Zealand identity separate to British identity, and for Norway it meant finding a way back to a sort of seminal “Norwegiansness.” Two hundred or so years on, the identities and ideologies of the nation are being renegotiated by phenomena associated with Transnationalism. Globalisation and global migration start to confuse the clear-cut images of identity that had been set by the machine of the nation-state through their constant use and referral. The dominant cultures in New Zealand and Norway – ethnic Norwegians and Pakeha – have spent a lot of energy in establishing a picture of their own identity, and often at the expense of minorities. The symbols of these identities are still to be seen in processions such as the “Barnetog” and the “Unknown Warrior”. It’s not that minorities are not present in these processions, or that they simply are not allowed to participate – rather the message is that they can participate but only if it is in the same manner as the majority. I pointed to this idea when I spoke of the ways in which, for example, non-Norwegians enter the “Barnetog” through the incorporation of Norwegian colours and flags into their clothes – signalling an acceptance of shared conventions. Any statement of identity when presented in such a homogenised manner as is necessitated by the processional genre inevitably becomes a statement of who gets to belong, whether that is the intention or not.

The “Russetog” as it appeared in Oslo in 2007 is, as I have already discussed, a good example of what happens when the processional performance is confused. The deterioration

²³¹ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 141.

of the procession may also be a product of globalisation. This Americanised youth wishes to use the products of a globalised music industry to express who they are, rather than the chants and marching band music that are traditionally associated with the procession. As I have already mentioned, the form of the procession can no longer hold the content of their desire. The “Russetog”, like the “Barnetog” may well be on its way towards a more carnival – like expression in order to cater for this shift in content. Or perhaps we might see a complete shift of genre over to the festival, as has occurred in the New Zealand National Celebration and may be starting to happen on the Norwegian one too: As part of the many events held of the 17th of May, at the end of the day there is a family and multi-ethnic orientated festival in Kuba Park. In the end though, with Russefeiring being an especially Norwegian phenomenon, and with the fact that it does take place on the country’s National Day I think it is possible to say that this is an expression of an aspect of Norwegian identity and culture. Furthermore, that it does say something about the ideology of the nation. As I proposed earlier, the “Russetog” is still a celebration of the intellectual future of Norway however blurred or warped that performance may be. If Norway has cause to be worried about the level of this intellectual future or not, is another thesis entirely.

7.2. Founding documents in action.

Linking these processional performances to the structure of the social drama attempted to show one of the ways in which the processions might be seen to be effective. I have proposed that each of the processions have either directly or indirectly emerged out of a seminal performative process describing the creation and signing of each country’s founding document. The performance structure of gathering, performing and dispersing, as explained by Schechner, is fundamental to the effectivity of these documents. Gathering in this way to carry out the performative act of signing a document in front of others, gave the document its power. This performance structure is repeated each time a procession is performed where in the chain of historical events or social drama is restored through the collective memory of the community or group who is participating in the parade. These processions are not ineffective, they have purposes that impinge on the way governments govern and the way people live their lives. The seminal performative processes of signing and thereby imbuing the founding documents with effective power equalled one step closer to realising the nation’s interminable dream of being free.²³² Being linked to these founding documents in this way, by restoring

²³² Anderson, *Imagined communities*, 7.

sacred historic events to be re-explored in a contemporary context, each procession re-imagines the nation. It is this performative process of gathering, of building a sense of communal unity and common purpose which is in service to these performances of identity and ideology: People must gather in order to perform.

7.3. Performance and theatricality.

Through the process of thinking through the topic of investigation, I have come to consider the theatrical perspective as being characterised by binary oppositions as expressed, for example, by the terms; *inside* versus *outside* the theatre, and *theatrical* versus *untheatrical* behaviour. By contrast, I see the performance perspective as being a more holistic approach where performance elements are identified everywhere, and at every level of human behaviour. In terms of the discussion surrounding the difference between the performance and theatrical perspectives I have, despite a tendency to place them as opposites, discovered that there are many similarities between the two perspectives as the two theorists, Richard Schechner and Elizabeth Burns, represent them. Part of this has to do with the fact that Schechner's earlier work seems to be somewhat in contradiction with his later work as it evolved through shifting theoretical trends and picked up on new theories concerning performativity. When comparing Burn's writing with Schechner's earlier work,²³³ both perspectives do, for example, require a fundament of shared cultural references in order for performances and the communicative devices of performances to be fully understood. Later though, taking concepts of performativity into account, emerges an idea that any and all behaviours in the performance room contribute in some way to the overall performance. The way in which disparate entities interrelate, and make performance through their interaction, is a key quality of the performance perspective.

Theatricality may be said to be obsessed with narrativity, with finding meaning through imposing a fictive style on a non-fictional content.²³⁴ But I believe that this aspect is at work within the performance perspective as well: Telling stories is a fundamental to performance and theatricality. Underscoring the processional performances with social dramas is a way of imbuing these events with stories that give relevance and meaning to essentially non-narrative events. I do not believe that the performance perspective consistently revels in the absence of meaning as suggested by Josette Féral. In any case, this aspect of the

²³³ I have already discussed this aspect of Schechner's work in Chapter 2, section 2.2.

²³⁴ Burns, *Theatricality*, 30, 31.

performance perspective is connected with performativity and has not been a primary method of observation in this thesis. As I have already suggested in Chapter six, the placement of these events within hiSTORY is important to the purpose of the performances as I perceive them: The ideology of the nation lives in the stories that are told.

I have already made a fairly elaborate comparison of performance and theatricality in section 2.2. which was then backed up with specific examples in Chapter six. Thus, what remains to be asked is this: Does applying a theatrical versus a performance perspective on the four processional performances have anything to say for the hypotheses I have formed about them? Part of the answer can be found in the idea that because the performance perspective can be considered to be more holistic, a more diverse range of objects and elements can find place in the performance space. By contrast it might be said that from a theatrical perspective anyone or thing that does share the same set of conventions established around the performance becomes an anomaly. In general terms, though, the method of perception doesn't seem to make a significant difference to the processional performances. The objects and costumes, behaviours and spaces are still all constructed within the performance or theatrical space with the intention of communicating an image of identity and ideology. At the very last, however, it is my opinion that the application of a performance perspective is more rewarding: The performance perspective encourages scholars and artists to explore and dismantle power structures and to ask questions about the perceived division between "real life" over "art."²³⁵ It is more synergetic and emerges out of human interaction rather than binding phenomena with conventions and framing them according to a defined level of reality.²³⁶

²³⁵ Schechner, *Performance studies*, 131.

²³⁶ Burns, *Theatricality*, 17.

Epilogue: Being “Kiwegian”.

I started this thesis by stating that it arose out of a wish to examine a central aspect of Norwegian culture, and by comparing it with a similar event from “back home” perhaps I would gain a better understanding of my adopted culture. Through the process of writing this thesis, and through the comparison of aspects of New Zealand Norway a certain level of similarities has been perceived. Those similarities have caused me to reflect that in terms of a discussion of difference, I am not “other” enough. This is probably true, as I have, through reading about and reflecting upon New Zealand and Norway realised that they are, in the end, very similar. In fact, if anyone were to have a chance of integrating, it should be me. To develop this thought a little further: That most annoying question, repeatedly posed – isn’t New Zealand just like Norway anyway – points to an overriding problem. When a Norwegian asks a New Zealander this question it places us in no mans land where we are neither “the other” nor “one of us.” In this way, the condition of standing between two cultures has gained another dimension. I doubt I will ever truly “get” the 17th of May celebration or become “one of us,” but I will participate in some way in this celebration of Norway and “Norwegianess” because in the end, I am here. And according to a Schechnerian take on performance, however I engage or do not engage in the performance, I am still part of it. Having said that, it would seem that my nationality truly does mark who I am as it has become as indoctrinated and as tangible as is my gender. Just like gender, nationality can be seen to exist along a continuum: I may no longer entirely be a New Zealander, but my nationality, as informed by a set of constructed cultural references, still defines very much who I am. The task becomes to make sense of who I was with whom I am now by making my own performances of identity as being “Kiwegian”.

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