

‘HE WHO PAYS THE PIPER CALLS THE TUNE:’
THE ROLE OF ORGANISATIONS IN CONSTRUCTING, DEVELOPING AND
MAINTAINING SCOTTISH HIGHLAND BAGPIPE CULTURE IN OTAGO,
NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT

The Scottish Highland bagpipe is a distinct and internationally-recognized symbol of Scottish cultural heritage and identity. This paper highlights the role of local and global organisations in establishing and maintaining the bagpipe’s enduring popularity in New Zealand overall, and in the Otago region more specifically. An historical study of such overarching organisations reveals that they hold a particularly important place in nurturing an underpinning social dimension of this aspect of Otago’s—and New Zealand’s—Scottish cultural heritage. A mixed methods approach employing historical and ethnographic research has uncovered how these organisations helped shape Scottish Highland piping within Otago. This article also identifies how some key organisations connected with piping have shaped the performance of the instrument and its associated culture. Otago has had a strong connection with Scottish settlement and piping since the mid-19th century, and thus the historical records of piping in Otago make it a particularly relevant historical case study. As piping is arguably a musical culture that relies on contextual performances within the community for survival, the role of such organisations also needs to be understood.

INTRODUCTION

The Scottish Highland bagpipe is a distinct and internationally-recognized symbol of Scottish cultural heritage and identity.¹ This paper highlights the role of local and global organisations in establishing and maintaining the bagpipe’s enduring popularity in New Zealand as a whole, and in the Otago region more specifically.² An historical study of such overarching organisations reveals that they hold a particularly important place in nurturing and

underpinning the social dimension of this aspect of Otago's and New Zealand's Scottish cultural heritage.

Deteriorating living conditions and social unrest in Scotland from the 17th to the 19th centuries drove many Scots to emigrate, forming scattered pockets of Scottish communities around the globe (Brander, 1982: 1–88; McCarthy, 2006). As part of this diasporic social flow, by 1900 approximately 14,000 Scots had arrived in New Zealand (Brooking, 1976; Brooking & Coleman, 2003: 49). The South Island regions of Canterbury, Otago and Southland became specific places in which Scots formed a significant part of the population (Wilson, 2011), and distinct communities with Scottish roots are well established in places such as Dunedin and Invercargill in the South Island, and Waipu and Turakina in the North Island. Such was the extent of Scottish migration to New Zealand that by 1871 roughly one third of Otago's population were Scots, and by 1936 over 50,000 Scots were living in New Zealand (Wilson, 2011).

The southern regions of the South Island have well documented Scottish histories that have now become a part of their local community identities (e.g., Brooking & Coleman, 2003; Coleman, 1996; McCarthy, 2006; Pearce, 1976; Wilson, 2011). Scots who arrived in Otago had a major impact, shaping the region and its communities. As a highly influential community, they helped make Otago and its main centre, Dunedin, flourish with its gold rush (1861–64), as well as developing businesses and contributing to labour movements, public education, medicine, missionary activities and women's suffrage campaigns (McKinnon, 2012). Moreover, Scottish cultural identity, heritage and history are still celebrated in Otago, particularly via community events involving, for example, dancing, music, literature and cuisine (McKinnon, 2012; cf. Breitenbach, 2009).

One of the most definitive symbols of Scottish identity is the Scottish Highland bagpipe and its associated culture, including clans, pipers, pipe bands, music, sound, symbols, dancing and traditional attire (Milosavljevic, 2010: 2). Highland bagpipers are known to have arrived in New Zealand from the mid-19th century, establishing or continuing piping lineages, and eventually forming pipe bands and creating a distinctive Scottish diaspora and transcultural sub-culture (Coleman, 1996). While only a minority of Scottish immigrants were from the Highlands, the contemporary romanticisation, nationalisation and popularisation of Highland culture (McNeil, 2007: 2–20) helped establish the Scottish Highland bagpipe as a symbol of Scottish national identity in New Zealand (Dickson, 2009: 1). Today, piping is found across Otago and is seen in an array of contexts, such as pipe band performances and competitions, and

as music for tourists and special occasions such as funerals, protest marches, parades, practice sessions and busking.

As a result of societal and military circumstances, by the mid-18th century, piping was seen as a part of Scottish culture in rapid decline (Cannon, 1988: 73; Collinson, 1975: 174–79). However, the current global presence of the bagpipe in many countries implies that some other factor has both protected, fostered and facilitated the expansion of this instrument's use from this time, and also spread it far beyond its original environment. That factor is the 'organisation' (Bueltmann, 2008; Cannon, 1988: 75). Some scholars have, indeed, placed organisations at the forefront of the rise of piping globally (e.g., Cannon, 1988: 119, 151; Cheape, 2008: 3–4, 131; Collinson, 1975: 179–83; Dickson, 2009: 194, 197, 200, 211–12; Donaldson, 2000: 63–81, 374–401; Gibson, 1998: 121–23, 136, 183). Two organisations in particular can be considered as initiating the most notable developments for the global spread of the bagpipe. One is the official incorporation of the bagpipe into the British military (Weir, 2002: 5): the resultant use of piping in formal military ceremonies, routines and procedures saw the bagpipe being used in such places as Canada, Pakistan and the Crimea (Canon, 1988: 122, 152). The other of these developments is the establishment of the Highland Society of London in 1778, whose aim to preserve Highland culture saw the rise of formalised performance standards, rules and teaching of piping across Scotland (Cannon, 1988: 74; Dickson, 2009: 194–97). Both of these developments meant that piping was promoted, accepted and maintained outside the Scottish Highlands. This ultimately led to its acceptance and performance within diasporic Scottish communities established during various waves of migration in the 19th century (Dickson, 2009: 47, 284, 222). While the British military and the Highland Society of London fostered bagpipe performance in the United Kingdom and significantly influenced its spread globally, it was the establishment of local, regional and national organisations that provided the means and infrastructure for bagpipe development in New Zealand (Weir, 2002: 6; cf. Ross, 1996).

The organisations discussed in this article have an open system and have been formed as a way of sustaining and promoting a sense of Scottish identity amongst New Zealanders (cf. Bueltmann, 2011), whatever their cultural background. From a theoretical perspective, 'organizations are (1) social entities that (2) are goal-directed, (3) are designed as deliberately structured and coordinated activity systems, and (4) are linked to the external environment' (Daft, Murphy & Willmott, 2010: 10). Rather than looking at arts management (cf. Chong, 2010) or analysing the internal structure of the organisations, however, the focus of this discussion is on their broader function within New Zealand

in terms of the historical and present-day influence they have had on Scottish bagpipe culture in Otago (cf. Jimenez, 2007; Wright, 1994). After all, 'people experience community through the process of creating and living with social networks that grow out of organizations and that tie them together across their formal boundaries' (Milofsky, 2008:3).

Given this context, this discussion identifies key and mainly non-profit community organisations connected with piping and determines how they have helped shape the performance of the instrument and its associated culture. Otago has had a strong connection with Scottish settlement and piping since the mid-19th century (Coleman, 1996:12–35), and the historical records of piping in Otago make it a particularly relevant historical case study. As piping is arguably a musical culture that relies on contextual performances within the community for it to survive, the role of organisations clearly needs to be understood. While the focus of our discussion is on piping in Otago, it is accepted that some of these organisations are also part of national and global networks, and these relationships will be explored where relevant. The existence of these organisations is not unique to Otago, although they have each played individual and unique roles in fostering bagpiping culture in the region.

A mixed methods approach employing historical and ethnographic research has uncovered how these organisations helped shape Scottish Highland piping within Otago. Insider experience, archival investigation of historical records, and personal communication were the predominant means of locating these organisations and their records of activity. This approach is consistent with other related research within the field of ethnomusicology (and historical ethnomusicology) and has allowed the researchers to triangulate findings using 'converging lines of enquiry' (Yin, 1994:92).

Within this discussion of the local/global dichotomy (Biddle & Knights, 2007:2), bagpiping organisations can be isolated as existing within local, national and international contexts. For the purpose of this article, which is divided into three main parts based on these spheres (the first part is necessary longer than the other two), local organisations are defined as those based in the Otago region that have had a significant impact on piping culture; national organisations are those that have influenced Scottish Highland bagpiping in both Otago as well as in other New Zealand regions (often physically and administratively based outside of Otago); and international organisations are those that also exist outside New Zealand yet have managed to influence piping in Otago.

LOCAL (OTAGO) ORGANISATIONS

Prior to 1860, mass Scottish settlement in Otago had been instigated by the Presbyterian Free Church, who hand-picked settlers to take part in establishing what they believed would be a utopian Scotland on the other side of the world (Coleman, 1996: 6, 16–18). These migrants mostly came from the Scottish Lowlands and either did not identify with or did not practice what is now considered traditional Scottish Highland culture (Coleman, 1996: 6). As Scottish piping was essentially a product of Scottish Highland culture, it is difficult to find any records of piping within Otago before the establishment of the first organisations supporting Scottish Highland culture (Coleman, 1996: 17). While some records suggest pipers may have existed within the Otago population before 1860 (e.g., *Otago Witness*, 1853: 2), performances appear to have been low key, private and infrequent due to a lack of recognition of their activities. Definitive records of the arrival of pipers have only been found from 1858 onwards (Coleman, 1996: 18). From this time, media evidence such as newspaper advertisements showed that the importers Begg, Christie and Co were selling bagpipes in their store in Dunedin from as early as 31 August 1861 (*Otago Witness*, 1861a: 6), indicating a demand for the instrument at least within Otago. Ship diaries from between 1858 and 1860 also indicate that four pipers are known to have arrived in Otago in that time (Coleman, 1996: 18). By 1860, the number of Presbyterian Free Church settlers had begun to decline, and with the discovery of gold in Central Otago came a greater diversity of Scottish migrants to the region, as well as a number of other ethnicities (e.g., Chinese). This drove a gradual relaxation of strict religious and cultural control within Dunedin previously enjoyed by the Presbyterian Free Church and its congregation (Coleman, 1996: 16), resulting in a broader distribution of Highland bag-piping within the community, as well as the assertion of aspects of Highland culture as representative of Scottish identity for Otago (Coleman, 1996: 17).

The first published records of major piping events in Otago coincide with the arrival of greater numbers of Highland Scots around 1860. This was two years before the first organisation promoting piping in Otago was established (the first national organisation was not established until 1908). In order to fortify their cultural, social and religious beliefs, the newly arrived Scottish migrants met regularly to discuss cultural issues (Weir, 2002: 10), and in 1861 the noted lack of community recreational events. The success of recently established Scottish societies in Victoria, Australia, encouraged them to establish the Caledonian Society of Otago in 1862 (Table 1) (*Otago Witness*, 1861b: 2; 1862: 5). This was the first Scottish cultural society to be formed in New Zealand (Caledonian Society of Otago, 2012; Sullivan, 2010). The following year, the first Dunedin

Caledonian Games were held on 1–2 January 1863. There are no records of piping being involved in this event (Coleman, 1996: 17), which does not necessarily mean it was not present, although later records do show piping as a distinctive feature of subsequent Caledonian Games (Coleman, 1996: 584). Records show, however, that the second Caledonian Games featured four bagpipers who played marches and dance tunes (*Otago Witness*, 1864: 8). The highland games movement quickly caught on and became a popular festival across the country (Pearce, 1976: 161), providing a means for the majority of the local community (Scottish or not) to get together and socialise. In Otago alone, from 1863 until 1928 at least ten different Otago communities established annual Caledonian or Highland Games (Coleman, 1996: 584–645), all instituted by local communities who wanted their own version of the festival and who quickly came to include piping within their events as well (Coleman, 1996: 584–645).

Table 1. *Major Local Organisations*

Name	Established	Location
Caledonian Society of Otago	1862	Dunedin
University of Otago	1869	Dunedin
Otago Polytechnic	1889	Dunedin
Gaelic Society of New Zealand	1881	Dunedin
Otago Rugby Football Union	1881	Dunedin
Dunedin Burns Club	1891	Dunedin
Dunedin Highland Pipe Band	1898	Dunedin
PDANZ Otago Centre*	1908	Dunedin
John McGlashan College	1919	Dunedin
RNZPBA Otago Centre**	1928	Dunedin
Otago Pipers Club	1952	Dunedin

* Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand

** Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association

As early as 1864, the Caledonian Society of Otago had included piping events at its annual Highland Games, not only providing a means for Scottish Highland bagpipe performance within the context of community festivals, but also—more importantly—allowing pipers to meet, socialise and develop a local piping culture. To this day, the Caledonian Society of Otago continues to be a major proponent of Scottish cultural festivals, and organises various events throughout the year, such as an annual Highland Games, a formal mid-winter

dinner and celebration evening, and Scottish Week Dunedin (Caledonian Society of Otago, 2012). While this promotes piping by providing an arena for piping performance in its various contexts, major piping events are currently conducted in accordance with the bylaws of the two leading national piping organisations: The Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, and the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association (Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, 2010; 2012a; 2012b; Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2010b). Exact dates for this adoption and recognition of administrative hierarchy are unknown, although the changes probably took place over time, with some festivals adopting them quickly, and others more slowly. The Caledonian Society of Otago remained the main promoter of piping within Otago until the establishment of the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand in 1908 (Nicholson, 1983: 8). However, had it not been for the Caledonian Games movement within Otago, alongside other New Zealand regions, there would have been no foundation for an organisation such as the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand to emerge.

An intention to establish an organisation for Gaelic-speaking peoples in Otago was made as early as January 1881 (*Otago Daily Times*, 1881a). This resulted in the formation of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand³ on 2 March 1881, based in Dunedin (*Otago Daily Times*, 1881c). The founding principles of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand included fostering and maintaining the Gaelic language, literature and music, and developing other such societies across New Zealand. It also sought to take an interest in anything of importance to Highlanders, and restricted admission to the society to Scottish Highlanders or their descendants who had 'an acquaintance with and a desire to improve their knowledge of the Gaelic language' (*Otago Daily Times*, 1881c). Admission to the society would have to be accepted by existing members of the society (*Otago Daily Times*, 1881c).

This intention to promote Scottish Gaelic and Highland culture in Otago saw the immediate inclusion of piping within the activities of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand. For example, an advertisement for the meeting of the society on 3 January 1882 indicates the inclusion of piping (in the form of pibroch [piobaireachd], a classical piping genre) within the proposed order of events (*Otago Daily Times*, 1882). Piping activities are, similarly, strongly featured in the book, *History of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand, 1881–1981* (Entwhistle, 1981). Examples are given noting societal meetings beginning with a performance of 'The New Zealand Gaelic Society March' by officially appointed pipers (Entwhistle, 1981: 22). The purposes and use of piping for the Gaelic Society of New Zealand was for musical entertainment in concert form, and to provide

accompanying music for Highland dancing (Entwhistle, 1981: 18, 35–37, 70–79, 85), mostly during social events as part of a selection of varied musical performances (Entwhistle, 1981: 154). Pipers were clearly not simply seen as merely musical performers for the society, however, as they also served on various committees (Entwhistle, 1981: 71–78).

The popularity of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand declined towards the end of the 20th century due to a lack of new membership, and as of May 2006 it was officially dissolved (Societies and Trusts Online, 2012b). While the Gaelic Society of New Zealand organised events that featured piping performances, they were not as widely attended or as popular as those organised by the Caledonian Society of Otago or by some other organisations. However, contextualisation of piping within the structure of an organisation whose aim was essentially to protect the traditional ideals of Gaelic and Scottish Highland culture in New Zealand (Entwhistle, 1981: 13) unarguably afforded performers a setting in which they could exclusively pursue traditional musical performance. For those involved, this provided a more authentic sense of pre-migration Scottish Highland culture (including piping) than they felt was currently being developed by Scottish cultural enthusiasts and administrators in other organisations around New Zealand (*Otago Daily Times*, 1881b). As many of the members of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand were also involved in other organisations associated with piping (Entwhistle, 1981: 70–78), the potential influence of the society on piping over the years could be far greater than previously noted.

The Dunedin Burns Club was established in 1891 (*Otago Daily Times*, 1891a; 1891b) as an organisation that not only celebrated the life and compositions of Scottish poet and lyricist Robert Burns (1759–96), but also provided opportunities for creative and educational development amongst all local Dunedin citizens who took an involvement in the club (*Otago Daily Times*, 1891b). Since its establishment it has actively employed the use of pipers, with official club pipers being awarded status in the club from as early as its inaugural year (Satterthwaite, 1991: 14). Piping has clearly been an integral part of the activities of the Dunedin Burns Club and regularly featured as a part of the selection of musical acts which frequently performed at festivities organised by the club throughout the 20th century (Satterthwaite, 1991: 21–22, 25–26, 33–34, 41–42). The Dunedin Burns Club also regularly provided sponsorship for prizes for the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand Otago Centre (Satterthwaite, 1991: 38), indicating a commitment by the club to developing piping outside its immediate context. The 1950s marked the heyday for the Dunedin Burns Club; subsequently the membership has declined annually, culminating in near dissolution in 2009, which was closely followed by a brief responsive

spike in membership (*Otago Daily Times*, 2009). The Dunedin Burns Club appears to have little involvement with piping in Otago today, although it can be seen that the community and club events that it used to organise provided an important historical setting for piping in Otago within a context of Scottish cultural celebration.

The pipe band movement in New Zealand began in 1896, with the formation of the Caledonian Pipe Band of Southland (Weir, 2002: 7). In Otago, local pipe bands began to emerge following the success of the Caledonian Pipe Band of Southland as a cultural phenomenon (Weir, 2002: 8). The Dunedin Highland Pipe Band was established in 1898, partly inspired by its Southland forerunners and partly by the 50th anniversary of the foundation of Otago (Weir, 2002: 8). Today, there are 10 pipe bands in Otago, each affiliated to the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2012a), although a number also operate on a more informal basis. The Otago-based bands listed on the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association website are Balclutha Pipe Band, Alexandra Pipe Band, John McGlashan College Pipe Band, Maniototo Highland Pipe Band, Pipes and Drums of Dunedin, City of Dunedin Pipe Band, Waitaki District Schools Pipe Band, City of Dunedin Scotia Pipe Band, Queenstown and Southern Lakes Highland Pipe Band, and City of Dunedin Mathieson Pipe Band (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2012a).⁴

Pipe bands do not necessarily operate purely as a musical ensemble. Rather, each can be considered as an individual cultural organisation. For example, most pipe bands do not simply perform in public, but regularly practise their musical repertoire, recruit, educate and develop performers, and fundraise, amongst other activities. Most of these activities are undertaken within a pipe band's immediate community, such as the suburb, urban or district area in which they exist (Milosavljevic, 2010: 135). Many pipe bands aim to be self-sustaining, realising that they need to recruit future performers from their local community in order to stay in operation. Many of these future performers are students from Otago secondary schools. Recruitment is usually followed by the provision of education and resources for that future piper by the band itself (Milosavljevic, 2010: 83–84). Effectively, a band will invest significant time, money and resources into developing future performers from its own community. The pipe band then becomes an organisation for the development of individual pipers and drummers as part of maintaining its membership. These pipe bands also usually have their own identities represented through performance, appearance and other cultural products (Milosavljevic, 2010: 133–45). Furthermore, the influence of key individuals within a pipe band affords those

individuals significant authority, and ultimately provides them with a mechanism for presenting themselves to the wider Otago community.

Pipe bands perform in various contexts. For example, they compete at regional and national contests; they organise concerts for fundraising purposes; they perform for parades; their members form performance combinations for smaller scale performances; and members may also perform as solo artists (Milosavljevic, 2010: 42–43). Some bands even organise social events amongst their members, and conduct band ‘bonding’ experiences such as weekend retreats in order to help develop a stronger sense of identity and cohesion amongst members. Many bands have their own pipe band hall, used primarily for practising as well as instrument and uniform storage (Milosavljevic, 2010: 83–84). However, these facilities also operate as meeting places for other cultural groups, and it is common to find meetings not necessarily associated with Scottish culture or heritage being held within such halls when the space is not required by their respective pipe bands (Milosavljevic, 2010: 83). This creates a strong connection between a pipe band and its local community, a connection reinforced by the performance function that a pipe band fulfils within its locale, often performing for events to the wider community, such as a market day, a veterans’ parade or a protest. Other local organisations such as Otago Polytechnic, the University of Otago and Otago Rugby Football Union sometimes employ the use of pipe bands to mark their events and provide performances of accepted cultural association for Otago. In this manner, a pipe band performance represents community: if a pipe band is performing down the main street of a community, this performance is normally a part of a community event (Milosavljevic, 2010: 135).

One of Dunedin’s larger schools, John McGlashan College was conceived in 1918 and opened in 1919 (Parry, 2007: 1–5). Initially a Presbyterian private school for boys, it established a collegiate pipe band in 1932 (Parry, 1993: 5). Funding towards the purchase of instruments and uniforms for six pipers and four drummers was raised from various Scottish societies in and around Dunedin (Parry, 1993: 37). While the pipers primarily performed for collegiate affairs (Parry, 2007: 36), they also performed for various community festivities and functions in Otago (Parry, 1993: 37), such as New Zealand pipe band contests, and they also travelled internationally (Parry, 2007: 62, 67). By 1984, the college’s involvement with piping had expanded significantly: at this time it had two pipe bands with some eighty pipers and drummers (Parry, 1993: 20). Initially, membership of the pipe band was limited to students of John McGlashan College, although in the 1980s there was a move to include other secondary students from the wider Otago community who were inter-

ested in piping and drumming (Parry, 2007: 85–86). This led to the positioning of John McGlashan College as a centre for piping within Otago during the 1980s and 1990s, and particularly for youth piping development. Furthermore, the involvement of key historical figures at the head of the college's piping programme allowed individuals to have influence over Otago's piping culture (Parry, 2007: 72). John McGlashan College has therefore had a major influence on piping within Otago and within New Zealand. International touring by the pipe band on several occasions not only promoted John McGlashan College as a school to those who attended their performances, but also promoted and represented piping in Otago to international audiences. John McGlashan College has thus been pivotal to the promotion and development of piping within Otago, offering entry to piping culture for the youth of the Otago community, as well as providing opportunities for education, scholarship, performance, competition and socialising in various piping contexts, such as pipe bands and solo piping.

Both Otago Polytechnic and the University of Otago are tertiary education institutions that use pipe bands to lead the parade of graduands through the streets of Dunedin, passing crowds of onlookers. These parades occur several times throughout the year and represent a major industry for Dunedin. The use of pipe bands allows people to associate piping with these institutions, and, by extension, the use of piping for these purposes partially represents Dunedin itself. The University of Otago also employs the use of solo pipers for various events, or for events that its subsidiary groups organise. For example, during graduation services, a solo piper will lead the various faculty members of the University into Dunedin Town Hall. Similarly, a piper will welcome foreign dignitaries and esteemed visitors as they arrive on official business at the University Clocktower, the most iconic University of Otago symbol and a visual emblem of the city and Otago. The University of Otago's College of Education, furthermore, serves as a venue for the regional solo piping championships held during Queen's Birthday Weekend each year (first Monday in June), and organised by the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand. The University of Otago's Department of Music also recently introduced a performance programme for Scottish Highland piping and drumming, with the goal of developing excellence in musical performance. This programme currently involves tuition for students from a leading solo piper and drummer, and also offers students a chance to gain a broader musical knowledge. Players at the University of Otago have attempted several times to establish a University Pipe Band, and in June 2010 a student-led University of Otago Pipe Band was finally founded. This band was to function as an official musical ensemble of the university, and would represent the University of Otago and promote education at

this institution, allowing those who participated in a pipe band performance to associate the University of Otago with the Scottish cultural heritage of the wider Otago community. As it stands, however, the band is currently not active. While the role that the two tertiary institutions play in the development of the piping community at a grass roots level is minimal, the highly visible and audible use of piping at academic events provides another performance context for piping in Otago.

The Otago Rugby Football Union uses local Dunedin pipe bands to mark and promote provincial rugby by employing them to perform during the build-up to rugby union matches hosted by the Union in Dunedin. The bands will normally play some tunes as the crowd enters the stadium before a match, and, if the Otago Highlanders are playing, will play the Highlanders' theme song. These performances have a clear significance for the association between piping, Scottish culture and Otago, both for audiences who are attending these matches and those who are watching televised coverage. Such band performances act as a symbol of Scottish heritage and cultural identity for the Otago Rugby Football Union, and especially for people of the Otago region. In this manner, these performances represent piping in Otago to a large audience via the mass media (locally, nationally and sometimes also internationally).

From 1903, piping and dancing competitions nationwide were administrated by the New Zealand Athletic Union through local event organisers such as Caledonian, Scottish and Highland societies. As the various Highland/Caledonian Games within New Zealand included athletic events as well as piping and dancing events, when the New Zealand Athletic Union was established to nationalise standards of athletic events, it also took control of piping and dancing events (Nicholson, 1983: 8). In 1907, the New Zealand Scottish Society held a Highland games in Christchurch without a permit from the New Zealand Athletic Union. Several pipe bands competed and were subsequently banned from competing at further New Zealand Athletic Union events (Nicholson, 1983: 8). As a result, the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand was established in 1908, seeking to better administer Scottish Highland bagpiping and Highland dancing events (Nicholson, 1983: 8–9). Between 1907 and 1921, the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand slowly gained control of Scottish Highland bagpiping and Highland dancing events from the New Zealand Athletic Union by organising its own events with local festivals, and by encouraging performers to boycott events run by the New Zealand Athletic Union (Nicholson, 1983: 9–15). Initially, it had limited success, but in 1918 moves to create an amalgamated national organisation comprising disparate regional bodies were made. The subsequent success of the Piping & Dancing

Association of New Zealand was cemented in 1921 when the first general meeting of this organisation was held, drawing delegates from across the country (Nicholson, 1983: 23).

Today, the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand consists of regional centres based in Northland, Auckland, South Auckland, Taranaki, Poverty Bay/East Coast, Hawkes Bay, Wellington, Marlborough/Nelson, Canterbury/West Coast, South Canterbury, Otago and Southland (Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, 2012a). These centres organise and administer piping (as well as Highland dancing and Highland dress competitions) in each of their regions, while operating within the guidelines of the executive council of the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand (Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, 2012b). As formal piping community performances are normally given in the context of musical competition, this means that the Otago centre of the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand has a large part to play in the organisation of competitions and the application of rules and regulations in Otago. The Otago Centre normally organises three solo piping competitions of its own, as well as assuming an administrative responsibility for another four solo piping competitions across Otago throughout the year (Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, 2010). The potential influence of an organisation such as this one is notable, especially given the level of interaction and administration it has over solo piping in Otago (as a subculture of piping more generally). While many pipers, particularly younger ones, choose to participate in these solo piping competitions, the majority of pipers in Otago do not, choosing to focus instead on participating in pipe band performances and as private recreation. However, this organisation plays a crucial role in enforcing performance etiquette as stipulated by the executive council, and in maintaining traditional solo competitive piping performance decorum.

The Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association was established in 1928 in response to widespread dissatisfaction with the administration of pipe band competitions by the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand (Weir, 2002: 23–25). Like the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association maintains several regional centres, including Auckland, Taranaki, Central North Island, Wellington/Hawkes Bay, Canterbury, South Canterbury, Otago and Southland centres (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2009). These centres report to a management board of some 20 individuals whose roles vary from financial management to education. As with the Otago Centre of the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association operates an Otago Centre, which has the administrative responsibility for pipe band contests

held within Otago. This includes two official Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association Otago contests, normally featuring bands from within Otago as well as some from the neighbouring centres of Southland, South Canterbury and Canterbury. Again, like the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association has a major responsibility in the organisation of these events, which operate as the key performance objectives for most pipe bands. The Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association also offers performers a graded certificate programme by which players can display their knowledge and performance abilities outside a competitive context (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2010b). These certificates are administered by a subsidiary group known as the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, College of Piping and Drumming (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2012b). These certificates provide a strong incentive for pipers to continue to develop their performance skills regardless of their results in solo or pipe band contexts and the College provides a syllabus with outcomes that students are expected to meet in order to attain a certain grade level (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2010b).

The Otago Pipers Club was founded in 1952, and has functioned since that time as a social organisation for pipers and piping enthusiasts within Otago and neighbouring regions. According to its constitution, the Otago Pipers Club aims to encourage piping in Otago; offer social events and concerts to pipers, piping enthusiasts and members of the public; organise competitions should they be demanded; create publications concerning piping; and undertake any other activity which may prove beneficial to piping (Otago Pipers Club, 2010). It primarily organises social evenings, usually with a focus on non-competitive, entertainment-based piping and associated instrumental performances (Otago Pipers Club, 2011). For example, a recent recital in 2011 of the Club coincided with the Club's annual general meeting, and featured performances from pipers who were receiving a Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, College of Piping and Drumming certificate. The range of performances included relative newcomers to piping culture, leading New Zealand pipers and senior members of the club, and included music from an array of genres, not only those associated with solo piping (as in Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand performances) or pipe bands (as in Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association performances), focussing instead on a relaxed and social gathering of the piping community.

Local organisations are crucial in enabling key cultural figures to rise to prominence and gain significant influence over piping. Without such organisations, individuals would not have the same ease of access to the piping community

and its networks that they currently enjoy. In many instances, influential figures within local piping organisations have progressed to fulfil important roles in national piping organisations. Historically, local organisations have acted as organisers of events and meetings that have not only provided an initial space for piping performances in arenas related to Scottish culture and community, but also provided the means for pipers to collectively develop their own local piping communities and piping cultures. Moreover, not only do many players often function within more than one of the organisations outlined above, but the organisations themselves sometimes operate through a process of collaboration. For example, the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, the Otago Pipers Club and some individual pipe bands have been instrumental in organising visits to Otago by piping experts as a way of providing both judging services at some competitions and also concert performances and workshops. Local organisations, therefore, provide the foundation for the establishment of national piping organisations in the form of culture, community and networks, and the influence of these local organisations on the establishment of national piping organisations should not be underestimated. Today, local organisations are fundamental in developing piping at a grassroots level in Otago, and as such are necessary for the maintenance and future development of the Otago piping community.

NATIONAL (NEW ZEALAND) ORGANISATIONS

Between 1908 and 1928, the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand provided a national organisation for solo piping, pipe bands and highland dancing. To this day, and following the split of pipe band culture in 1928 when the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association was formed, the Piping & Dancing Association continues to administer solo piping and highland dancing (Table 2). The Association has had a particularly strong presence in Otago since its establishment, with a strong following amongst both pipers and dancers. It collects fees from pipers, pipe bands and dancers, and uses this revenue to create a formalised administrative structure, constitution and a nationally standardised set of rules (Nicholson, 1983: 14). Its key function is the development of piping and the organisation of piping competitions, and since it was established its involvement in Otago has had a positive impact on the number of performers, the number of performances, and the standard of performances (Coleman, 1996: 584–645).

The structure of the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand allows local figures involved in, for example, the Association's Otago Centre committees

Table 2. *Major National Organisations with Influence in Otago*

Name	Established	Location
PDANZ	1908	Wellington
RNZPBA	1928	Wellington
Comunn Na Piobaireachd	1957	Wellington

to represent their centre at the annual general meeting, and also allows such figures to be elected to the council of the Association. This offers national representation to pipers in Otago through the local administrating organisation of solo piping in Otago. Nowadays, the focus of the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand is on the promotion of competitions for Scottish Highland solo bagpiping and Scottish Highland dancing. The essence of these piping competitions is tradition: events are offered in traditional styles of bagpipe music such as military marches, dance music, airs and pibroch. Furthermore, the bylaws of the association contain an extensive set of rules for appropriate Highland dress; the methods used for grading pipers; and any criteria that affects how performers compete in solo piping events (Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, 2012b). While the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand claims administrative jurisdiction of all Highland bagpipe competitions in New Zealand, those that involve non-traditional styles of music or performance are apparently not promoted within the organisation. A clear set of definitions of what constitutes Highland bagpiping and what does not, however, are yet to be made available by the Association.

Meanwhile, the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association has maintained a strong presence in Otago since its inception in 1928 (Weir, 2002: 23). Its aims include the development of pipe bands, the provision of performance and musicological training, and the administration of pipe band competitions nationwide (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2009). Like the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, by implementing administrative control over pipe bands at a local level through its Otago Centre, the Association also has considerable influence on piping in Otago. Again, its structure allows for national-level representation of pipers – or, more specifically in this case, of pipe bands – at the executive council meetings of the Association. Furthermore, leading figures from the piping community within Otago can be promoted onto the executive council. It can be argued that this influence is far greater than that of the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand – at least in terms of audience – as by far the majority of pipers perform within pipe bands, with only a minority of active pipers choosing to perform at solo

piping competitions. As with the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, the rules governing competitions for pipe bands are extensive and define such parameters as how bands must dress, what events they must compete in, and what criteria they will be judged on (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2010b). Significant planning is also invested in holding the annual Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association National Contest, given that the Association's contest committee assesses the suitability of a host community for the purposes of a national pipe band contest (Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2010b). As with the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, this organisation claims administrative jurisdiction of all pipe band competitions in New Zealand. However, the role played by the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association in pipe band competitions not based on the parameters defined in its contest rules is unknown, and it also lacks a clear set of rules defining what constitutes a 'pipe band' and what does not.

Comunn Na Piobaireachd is an organisation whose primary aims are to 'foster and encourage the study and playing of Piobaireachd in New Zealand' (Comunn Na Piobaireachd, 2012). The organisation was registered as an incorporated society in 1957 (Societies and Trusts Online, 2012a). While Comunn Na Piobaireachd does not have any formal administrative jurisdiction over piping in New Zealand, it constitutes an organisation that has particular political influence on the two previously mentioned national organisations, especially the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand. Membership of Comunn Na Piobaireachd generally represents the elite solo pipers within New Zealand (as recognised by competitive results), and, as such, the organisation has some influence regarding how the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand organises its events. Recognised elite pipers within New Zealand are therefore afforded a means by which to influence aspects of how the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand organises competitive traditional performance. In this context, Comunn Na Piobaireachd is an important organisation in that it plays a crucial role in supporting the development of pibroch (piobaireachd) amongst intermediate to advanced performers. Such development is important as it allows intermediate to advanced performers to further extend pibroch within their respective communities.

Today, both the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand and the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association control traditional competitive piping performance within New Zealand, maintaining this control with a strong infrastructure for event organisation and the development of performance standards. These two organisations remain the most significant ones for piping within New Zealand. They administer all traditional elements of competitive

piping performance and, in the process, indirectly influence areas in which they have no formal jurisdiction such as private, concert, busking and recreational performances—areas in turn influenced by these organisations through the flow-on effect that their control of piping competitions has. The influence of their policies and infrastructure on piping cultures is such that most New Zealand pipers perform within the limitations and acceptable styles of these organisations as governed by their constitutional documents and organisational rules (Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand 2012b; Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2010b). Both organisations hold a number of events in Otago (in 2011, for example, this included at least five solo piping competitions, and at least two pipe band competitions), which help create a strong local competitive performance culture (Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, 2010; Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands' Association, 2010a). While such national organisations influence and administer piping in New Zealand, they are in turn influenced by international organisations that predominantly operate within Australia, North America and the United Kingdom, such as those discussed below.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

Following the political formation of Great Britain as a result of the Acts of Union in 1707, military regiments began to police the highlands and later to serve as military units for the UK (Collinson, 1975:164–74). These units were initially comprised of men displaced as a result of the Highland clearances, and it became customary for these regiments to employ their own piper, or pipers, to perform for them as they fulfilled their duties and drills (Collinson, 1975:164–74). This proved a very popular means of employment for the pipers who had been displaced. Eventually, given the existing use of drumming in the military, regimental piping led to the development of pipe bands.

In 1871, Queen Victoria officially sanctioned the pipe band as the musical ensemble that would lead all military parades (Weir, 2002:5). The role of the independent companies of Highland men and the British military has consequently been critically important in the establishment and development of pipe bands as a cultural phenomenon. Furthermore, the role of pipe bands in the British military since the 18th century has seen them perform on a global scale, in arenas of celebration, mourning, battle and parade (Transit Police Celtic Society of New Jersey, 2012). Today, pipe bands are global symbols not only of Scottishness, through their use of tartan, bagpipes and Scottish tunes, but also of the military, through their use of military formations, weaponry and their historical deployment in warfare (Milosavljevic, 2010: 44–52). Fur-

thermore, they have been appropriated as a cultural phenomenon in many places not historically associated with significant Scottish settlement, influence or military presence (Milosavljevic, 2010: 40). Within New Zealand, and specifically in Otago, this association of pipe bands with ‘Scotland’ and ‘Britain’ no doubt played a major role in the initial spread of pipe bands as a cultural phenomenon, and ultimately led to massive growth of piping.

In an international context, very few non-New Zealand organisations have directly influenced piping culture in Otago. Indeed, no single piping organisation exists that holds overarching and transcultural authority *per se*; rather, national and regional organisations in New Zealand attempt to emulate standards of piping as practised within Scotland and amongst several influential parts of the Scottish diaspora (e.g., Canada and Australia). While some of these organisations – such as the Highland Society of London, Competing Pipers’ Association, and the Piobaireachd Society – have had a strong, yet indirect, impact on piping internationally, they have rarely promoted piping outside of their geographic areas (Table 3) (Piobaireachd Society, 2012a; 2012b). While such organisations have no formal jurisdiction in New Zealand, the strength and authority of the cultures they administer gives them influence in a less direct manner. This impact is created through a process of filtration, by which standards and styles of piping primarily stem from Scotland, the United Kingdom and North America, filter through to Australia and New Zealand, and eventually reach Otago. Although the influence of such piping organisations in New Zealand may appear minor to the outside observer, most insiders to New Zealand’s various piping cultures recognise their strong influence on contemporary piping performance.

Table 3. *Non-New Zealand Organisations Influencing Piping in Otago*

Name	Established	Location
British military	1707	Britain
Highland Society of London	1781	London
Piobaireachd Society	1903	Glasgow
RSPBA*	1930	Glasgow
College of Piping	1944	Glasgow
Competing Pipers’ Association	1976	Glasgow
National Piping Centre	1996	Glasgow

* Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association

Pipers in Otago participate in this filtration process by taking an active interest in international performances of merit. There are several ways in which such a process may be transmitted to Otago directly, including through the influence of international performers and authorities visiting Otago; through Otago pipers accessing internationally-based performances and authorities via media; and through telecommunications with such authorities using new media and technology. However, there is no way in which this can immediately influence all Otago-based piping community. Such an influence usually takes some time to take effect, relying on influential pipers within Otago to support it and pass it on. For the most part, the influence of non-New Zealand organisations appears to be mediated mainly through the activities of New Zealand-based performers and authorities, together with their roles in national and local organisations in New Zealand. Usually, these individuals have spent some time in international piping contexts and have considerable experience. For example, depending on perceptions of their performance successes, knowledge and abilities, upon return to New Zealand such individuals may find themselves elevated to a position of power and influence. From this position they may easily pass on the influence of international organisations with which they have participated. In this manner, influential individuals in New Zealand not only fulfil important roles in their local and national piping communities, but also pass on the influence of international organisations to those communities through their involvement. Another example includes the influence of international organisations through performance standards as perceived by leaders of a particular pipe band in Otago. These leaders may seek to improve their competitive results by aiming to replicate or mimic certain aspects of a leading international pipe band. They will usually look at aspects such as musical repertoire, instrumentation and performance parameters. In this manner they adopt not only the innovations of that particular international pipe band, but also that of the organisations that have influenced that non-New Zealand pipe band, usually their own local and national organisations.

One of the most influential of these international organisations is the Highland Society of London, at least in an historical sense. Founded in 1778 to preserve and maintain Highland cultural practices, in 1781 it established the first competitive solo piping event, providing the foundation for the development of solo piping as a subculture of piping (Collinson, 1975: 182). This offered pipers a 'traditional' performance context—as opposed to piping in regiments and pipe bands or in private for estate owners—and allowed pipers an opportunity to pursue excellence in individual performance through a competitive system for grading music. This is enormously important for the preservation of elements of traditional piping, especially pibroch. The establishment of these

events led to the widespread incorporation of solo piping events at festivals celebrating Scottish culture, such as Highland Games, which were at one point widespread across New Zealand. Despite the decline of Highland Games in New Zealand, solo piping has branched off and, through the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand, is now organised independently of Highland Games. The Highland Society of London itself no longer organises such competitions, although it has had a continued involvement in the promotion of piping in Scotland, most notably through its support and donations towards prizes at the two most prestigious traditional solo piping events in the world: the Northern Meeting, and the Argyllshire Gathering (Argyllshire Gathering, 2012; Northern Meeting, 2012).

A number of influential New Zealand pipers have also come from Otago, travelled to Scotland to receive tuition from piping education organisations, and subsequently competed successfully in international arenas. Their ability to perform at this international level under the auspices of other national and local piping administration organisations—such as the Competing Pipers’ Association and the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association—has provided a gateway and a precedent for aspiring pipers to follow. This is arguably accepted as an endorsement of the teaching of piping skills within the framework of New Zealand’s local and national organisations, such as the Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand and the Royal New Zealand Pipe Bands’ Association.

Another significant organisation, The Competing Pipers’ Association, was formed in Inverness in 1976 in response to largely disparate rules governing how pipers may compete in the various independently-run solo piping competitions held within Scotland (Competing Pipers’ Association, 2012). The organisation moved quickly to develop a more accurate and fair grading system for ranking pipers, and standardised the ways in which piping competitions were held within Scotland. The Competing Pipers’ Association is primarily a grading organisation for pipers run by the pipers themselves (Competing Pipers’ Association, 2012). While there is no fully standardised organisation for the running of solo piping competitions in Scotland, this organisation has, through its membership, achieved widespread recognition as advisor, grading and adjudication administrator, and representative body. It claims to represent pipers competing at all levels in Scotland (Competing Pipers’ Association, 2012). It produces an annual list of piping competitions, known as the ‘Guide to the Games’, and has also recently produced a ‘Guide to Running a Solo Piping Contest’, which attempts to more accurately standardise how solo piping events are run by competition organisers (Competing Pipers’ Association, 2012).

The Competing Pipers' Association is relevant in Otago as it is seen as the major organisation for administering piping competitions in Scotland. As it administers the grading system for solo pipers who compete in Scotland, registration and grading with that organisation has become a necessary starting point for New Zealand pipers who wish to compete there. Indeed, as a way of maintaining a cultural link with the home of Highland piping, every year a handful of New Zealand pipers apply to the Competing Pipers' Association for grading in order to compete at the various British solo piping events, and especially in the two largest and most prestigious events in solo piping in the world, held in Scotland under the auspices of the Competing Pipers' Association. As a result, the standards of performance as assessed by the Competing Pipers' Association become highly influential in pipers' aspirations during their careers. Most elite solo pipers in New Zealand will either have competed, or expect to compete, in Scotland at some point in their career in solo piping events through the grading system of the Competing Pipers' Association. As these pipers also tend to be some of the most influential characters within New Zealand national and local piping communities, the influence of the Competing Pipers' Association on piping in Otago is considerable. Furthermore, the process by which leading New Zealand-based pipers prepare themselves for grading and qualification under the Competing Pipers' Association each year in order to compete in Scotland leads those pipers to influence New Zealand solo piping culture, not least because they tend to be the pipers with the most authority in their respective communities.

Similarly, the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association was founded in 1930 to meet demand for a governing body to administer pipe bands, and to establish consistent standards for running pipe band competitions (Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 2012b; 2012c). From as early as 1905, pipe band competitions were run in the United Kingdom, although no formal system for uniformly organising these competitions existed (Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 2012c). The founding principles of the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association included the fostering of pipe band culture internationally; the provision of a college for pipe bandspeople; the administering of a set of formalised rules for pipe band competitions; and the organisation of various major United Kingdom pipe band championships (Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 2012a). Since that time, the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association has become the major international authority on pipe band competition standards. Moreover, in 1947, the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association organised the first World Pipe Band Championship and, in the same year, developed the Pipe Band College (Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, 2012c). New Zealand bands became involved with the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association as early as 1958, when

the City of Wellington Pipe Band qualified for, and competed at, the World Pipe Band Championships (City of Wellington Pipe Band, 2012). Since then, a number of New Zealand bands have travelled to compete in pipe band competitions in the United Kingdom under the auspices of the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association.

Housing the World Pipe Band Championships within Scotland and under the administration of the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association positions this association as the key pipe band organisation in the world. Standards of performance for pipe bands therefore filter down from the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association to leading national pipe bands internationally, who seek to compete at the world pipe band championships (Milosavljevic, 2010:138–42). These pipe bands are heavily influenced by the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association as a whole and also by the leading pipe bands that compete within the framework of the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association. Given that these leading national pipe bands also set the standards for performance in their own respective contexts, the flow-on influence of the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association can be seen to be highly significant. Furthermore, the majority of Scottish Highland bagpipers in New Zealand (if not the world) have an association with pipe bands, many of which are competing pipe bands. Many of the leading pipers who live in New Zealand also have opportunities to perform for pipe bands based internationally, and it is not uncommon to hear of New Zealand-based pipers travelling to Scotland in order to compete with a world-leading United Kingdom or North American pipe band. Therefore, we can see that the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association and the Competing Pipers' Association are both leading organisations for Scottish Highland bagpiping in Otago, even though they have no formal jurisdiction there.

At the same time, leading international pipe bands, solo performers and judges also make the occasional tour of New Zealand. For example, when Simon Fraser University Pipe Band toured New Zealand in 2001 (Thomson and Ogilvie, 2010:111) or when Alistair Gillies judged solo piping in Dunedin in 1997 (Thomson and Ogilvie, 2010:103), the influence of their presence and interaction with piping and pipers in Otago was significant. Many Otago based pipers and piping enthusiasts attended the one-off Simon Fraser University Pipe Band concert in Christchurch at the Town Hall in 2001, and many of these pipers also had access to recordings of Simon Fraser University Pipe Band. The opportunity to see one of the world's most successful pipe bands from the past decade or so live in concert created an interest in the music, structure and culture of Simon Fraser University Pipe Band. For example, many pipers bought recordings of the band as a result of their visit, and many New Zealand pipe

bands attempted to emulate standards of performance as depicted by Simon Fraser University Pipe Band. To give another example, solo pipers were judged by Alistair Gillies in 1997 at the annual Piping & Dancing Association of New Zealand Otago Centre solo piping competition. This meant that he provided performers with feedback on how he interpreted their performances. Alistair Gillies also adjudicated these performances, and in the process had an influence on the hierarchy of solo piping within Otago. He also performed during a recital evening held by the Otago Pipers Club following the competitions, offering local Otago pipers an opportunity to hear a world renowned performer. Such visiting performers occasionally hold instructional workshops or masterclasses with local pipers for a small fee and in association with local organisations in order to impart knowledge to which pipers would not normally be given access.

In terms of education, the National Piping Centre and the College of Piping are two facilities operating out of Glasgow, Scotland. The National Piping Centre offers a variety of options in bagpipe education, including classes for new beginners; pipe band workshops and instruction as part of a Bachelor of Arts (Scottish Music-Piping); and Masters and Postgraduate qualifications in bagpipe performance through the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland (National Piping Centre, 2012a). The College of Piping offers similar educational opportunities for pipers, although without an association with tertiary education (College of Piping, 2012a). As outlined above, of those New Zealand pipers who travel to Scotland, a number will also seek to spend an extended period of time there, often seeking employment and education. Some New Zealand pipers have been known to spend several years living and working in Scotland in order to better position themselves for competitive success and educational opportunities in piping. In this context, the National Piping Centre and the College of Piping become gateways for many of these pipers to access such educational opportunities, boasting what are widely considered some of the most revered tutors in piping available anywhere in the world (National Piping Centre, 2012b; College of Piping, 2012b).

While it may seem that the inward flow of standards of performance from Scotland and other parts of the Scottish cultural diaspora to Otago is overwhelming, a small reciprocating transfer of influence also exists via the eventual international performances from pipers who have come from Otago. Occasionally Otago features a leading world-class piper who performs internationally and not only represents Otago's piping culture, but also that of New Zealand. Otago has produced a number of former and current international leading pipers, although in recent times many of these have chosen to leave

Otago and have settled in other regions of New Zealand. As it stands, it is widely accepted that there is a distinct lack of experienced elite piping leadership within Otago at present, and this is perhaps one area where organisations could seek to develop and improve the situation for piping in Otago.

CONCLUSION

This article has shown that organisations can reveal unique information about the context of local bagpiping culture. While research evidence indicates that organisations are paramount in the global spread of the Scottish Highland bagpipe, few authors have actually explored the role of these organisations explicitly. Furthermore, there is a distinct lack of scholarship regarding the role of such organisations in their various contexts, as they operate between the local and the global (Biddle & Knights, 2007, 2) in relation to the construction, development and maintenance of community music, such as Scottish Highland bagpiping in Otago.

As local organisations were often established in the direct aftermath of immigrant settlement, they tend to predate national and international organisations. While national organisations were established later than local organisations, however, their authority has usually supplanted that of local organisations. This has united piping within New Zealand into a series of nationally homogeneous subcultural practices (such as pipe bands and solo piping) as opposed to distinct regional piping identities. Similarly, although no international organisations have jurisdiction in New Zealand, they are able to influence piping within Otago, often inadvertently through the dissemination of performance standards through the global environment and media. As yet, however, while some organisations such as the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association and the Competing Pipers' Association arguably provide authority for pipe bands and solo piping respectively, no formal international authority for piping actually exists, and thus it remains a series of subcultures that operate in various local and national contexts on a global scale. National organisations play an important part in homogenising such disparate piping communities across New Zealand, and standardising how bagpipe performance is given. Ultimately though, the most beneficial and influential organisations for piping in Otago today are those that operate on a local basis – recruiting, developing and supporting pipers from local communities; aiding in the further development of a local piping community; and providing context for bagpipe performance within Otago. Without the support of local organisations, piping in Otago at national and international standards would probably not exist.

Ultimately, this means that Scottish Highland bagpiping reflects and represents the communities in which it exists; communities that provide context for performance, and that within themselves help to define Scottish Highland bagpiping. Wider community participation differs depending on the context for performance: solo piping competitions, for instance, feature small insider audiences and thus contrast with pipe band performances at larger public events. Membership of audiences and organisations vary depending on the context within which they exist and how they are associated with local culture. In this context, organisations are key social institutions in not only influencing local cultures of Scottish Highland bagpiping, but also perpetuating 'authentic' piping traditions by reinforcing existing standards of performance, audience expectations, and associations of performance to community. In this instance, the organisations discussed in this paper operate as agents between the wider community on one hand, and culture(s) of Scottish Highland bagpiping on the other. Through context and expectation, wider community plays a necessary role in informing organisations on how to construct, maintain and promote Scottish Highland bagpiping within Otago, and, therefore, it is only through such organisations that wider community is offered access to the culture(s) they have helped create.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Within the context of this article, the Scottish Highland bagpipe is referred to as 'the bagpipe', Scottish Highland bagpiping is referred to as 'piping', and Scottish Highland bagpipers are referred to as 'pipers'.
- 2 On the history of the Otago region and its former administrative structures, see McKinnon (2012).
- 3 Sometimes referred to as the New Zealand Gaelic Society.
- 4 For a comprehensive list of current and former pipe bands in Otago, see Weir (2002:142).

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