

# **“E Pāpā” (“Oh Uncle”): *The remarkable cultural legacy of Herbs in Aotearoa New Zealand***

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# **“E Pāpā”: The remarkable cultural legacy of Herbs in Aotearoa New Zealand**

## **Abstract**

The band Herbs have been celebrated in Aotearoa New Zealand for their seminal fusion of Pacific musical traditions, the influences of Bob Marley and of roots reggae to produce the distinctive sound and messages of Pacific reggae. This article explores the cultural, political, and material legacy of Herbs’ musicians over the past 45 years. In doing so, it seeks to advance understandings of Herbs’ music as a significant repository of cultural memories and of the band’s continuing presence and legacy as part of the soundtrack of people’s lives in Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Keywords:** Herbs; legacy; Pacific reggae; Bob Marley; Aotearoa New Zealand

## **Introduction**

*There’s never been a band quite like Herbs. Starting off 40 years ago, Herbs reflected, and provided, a beautiful Pacific voice for all sorts of issues, national and personal, through a band of brothers who soared through the 1980s and ‘90s and who can still deliver their rich, moving sounds and words and rhythms for a new generation.*  
(Husband 2)

The contribution of Herbs’ Pacific reggae to the cultural and musical heritage of Aotearoa New Zealand and their unique role in shaping “the vibrant, multi-cultural music scene that we now enjoy” (Don McGlashan cited in New Zealand Music Commission) has been increasingly recognized over the past 12 years. Founded in Auckland by Toni Fonoti in 1979, the band has performed, toured, and recorded music over a period of more than 40 years with a changing line up involving over 30 musicians.

Herbs' history and the foundations of the group's legacy can be traced back to the latter half of the 1970s. A "loose knit collection of mates" (Dix *Stranded in Paradise: New Zealand Rock and Roll - 1955 to the Modern Era* 261) - three musicians with family roots in the Pacific Islands - formed a group called Backyard; and in 1979 Bob Marley and the Wailers played their first and only concert in Aotearoa New Zealand at Auckland's Western Springs as part of the Babylon by Bus tour. With a set list that increasingly included reggae covers, Backyard played gigs at back yard parties and social events around the suburb of Ponsonby in Auckland and in the back bar of the sometimes more-than-lively Trident Tavern in Onehunga. Toni Fonoti of Samoan heritage (on percussion and vocals), Samoan-Cook Island drummer Fred Faleauto and Tongan guitarist Spenser (Spenz) Fusimalohi were joined by bass player Dave Pou and, on an occasional basis, by respected Māori guitarist Dilworth Karaka. After changing their name briefly to Pacific Herbs, the band became known simply as Herbs.

When Fonoti left Herbs in 1982 to pursue his interest in Rastafari, Dilworth Karaka became the lynchpin of the band, which he has led for more than four decades with a changing line-up of predominantly Māori musicians. Herbs' musical legacy includes several hit singles that reached the top 20 charts in New Zealand in the 1980s, five albums and three compilation albums. And although the band has not released a new album since 1990, it continues to perform as a legacy act in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia and is one of New Zealand's best loved bands.

This discussion of the musical and cultural legacy of Herbs' musicians over the past 45 years is framed by acknowledgement of the trend to reposition and to recognise the significance of popular music as an aspect of our contemporary cultural heritage (Bennett and Rogers; Bennett and Janssen). In the case of Herbs' music this recognition has been demonstrated by the music and film industries in Aotearoa New Zealand that

have what Les Roberts and Sara Cohen (248) describe as the “authorising power” to ascribe legitimacy and mana (status) to particular popular music texts as “heritage icons”.

Official recognition of Herbs’ contribution and legacy by the local music industry includes the induction of the band into the New Zealand Music Hall of Fame in 2012 ([musichall.co.nz/portfolio/herbs/](http://musichall.co.nz/portfolio/herbs/)),<sup>i</sup> and the Classic Record award for their first EP album *What’s Be Happen?* (1981) from Independent Music New Zealand (IMNZ) in 2015 at the Taite Music Prize event. The cultural and musical importance of *What’s Be Happen?* and of their second album, *Light of the Pacific* (1982), was recognised in 2015 through the Lifetime Achievement Award at the Vodafone Pacific Music Awards in Auckland. Four years later the documentary film about the band, *Herbs: Songs of Freedom* (Kahi), premiered at the NZ International Film Festival, marking the band’s fortieth anniversary.

This article explores the cultural, political and material legacy created by this enduring band, its large company of musicians, and its supporters over the past 40 years. In doing so, the article draws on published secondary sources as well as interviews with two of Herbs’ songwriters, Toni Fonoti and Phil Toms, by the author. It seeks to advance understandings of Herbs’ music as a significant repository of cultural memories and as part of the ongoing soundtrack of people’s lives in Aotearoa New Zealand.

### **Herbs: “a multicultural, sociopolitical powerhouse” (Moffatt)**

In 1986 Herbs and singer songwriter Dave Dobbyn had a number one hit in the New Zealand and Australian charts. “Slice of Heaven” was widely popular and went directly to the top of the charts, where it stayed for eight weeks in New Zealand and four in Australia. It was named Song of the Year at the 1986 New Zealand Music Awards

(Perrott). The song has been described as New Zealand's unofficial national anthem and helped lead to the perception of the band as a group of "kindly uncles in nice knits" (Hayden 2). However, for the generation of audiences and their families that listened to Herbs' music in the 1980s, the musicians were far from being seen merely as kindly uncles. According to film director Tearepa Kahi, who was seven when Herbs' first album was released, all people needed at that time was "Herbs and Bob Marley ... You can do a lot with that. These are the true north of being young, Māori and growing up at that time" (Hayden 4). For audiences at that time, Herbs was a multi-ethnic band that used the rhythm of reggae to bear creative, popular witness to important social issues and conflicts.

Herbs' early work was rooted in activism and social commentary. The band's first EP *What's Be Happen?* forms an enduring tribute to the work and commitment of those who sought to bring an end to racism and strived to make Aotearoa New Zealand and the Pacific region a safe and equitable place to live. By the time Herbs were ready to start recording their first album in 1981 the line-up had changed. The band were performing their own songs and Toni Fonoti's vision for a multi-ethnic group connected by reggae music<sup>ii</sup> had been realised. Herbs was now under the management of Will 'Ilohahia, who was co-founder of the Polynesian Panthers, a social activist movement in Aotearoa New Zealand. John Berkley,<sup>iii</sup> who earlier replaced bass player Dave Pou had left the band; Toni Fonoti, Fred Faleauto, and Spencer Fusimalohi had been joined by Māori guitarist Dilworth Karaka on a permanent basis, and by Pākehā (European New Zealander) bass guitarist Phil Toms (See Figure 1). Hugh Lynn who owned the 16-track Mascot Recording Studio in Auckland's Eden Terrace was generous in allowing Herbs to create what essentially became a home base at the studio (Dix "Mascot"), where they rehearsed and recorded demos of their own original songs, and eventually their first

album. *What's Be Happen?* - a six-track Pacific reggae EP engineered by Phil Yule with Gerard Carr - was released on Hugh Lynn's new recording label Warrior Records in July 1981.

**Figure 1 here**

**Figure 1: Herbs in 1981, from the cover of *What's Be Happen?* From left: Dilworth Karaka, Spencer Fusimalohi, Fred Faleauto, Phil Toms and Toni Fonoti. <sup>1</sup>**

At a time when there was no real history of political bands in Aotearoa New Zealand, the songs on this first album spoke with righteous anger (Reid "Herbs, New Zealand's Politicised Reggae Revolution: Hard Tings an' Times") to a growing, politically-aware audience and to a new generation of young Māori and Pacific Island musicians and songwriters (McGlashan). Herbs fused Pacific sounds and roots reggae, and drawing on the influence of Bob Marley, created a Pacific reggae music that was unique and relevant to Aotearoa and the South Pacific.<sup>iv</sup> Much of the recognised historical and social significance of *What's Be Happen?* relates to its themes that refer broadly but clearly to the period in which it was recorded and released (Turner). The EP has become "an object of memory" (Bennett and Janssen 1) and a focus of interpretations of a time of social dissent, protest and conflict.

The 1970s and early 1980s was a period that affected and shaped people's sense of identity and led to unprecedented social change. Described as "a fulcrum of change in modern New Zealand history" (Belich 535), it was an era of protest campaigns and struggles over human rights, ethical principles and values. In effect, as historian Jock

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<sup>1</sup> Copy right permission to use this image and the image in Figure 2 has been kindly granted by Hugh Lynn.

Phillips has explained, it was a time of struggles over the kind of society people wanted to achieve in Aotearoa New Zealand (Hubbard).

Among these campaigns were ongoing disputes and protests over rugby tours of New Zealand by racially selected Springbok teams from apartheid South Africa. Another struggle took the form of a 17-month occupation of former Māori land at Bastion Point in Auckland. The long and peaceful protest was an attempt to prevent the sale of this significant area of land for an expensive housing development and to achieve its return to the iwi (tribe) Ngāti Whātua. Three years before the EP's release, on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1978, the occupation had been broken up by police with the support of the army, and with over 200 arrests. Further opposition and protests were a response to frightening and overtly racist dawn raids carried out between 1974 and 1976 on the homes of so-called overstayers in Auckland, when people who looked as though they were from the Pacific Islands were targeted for potentially staying on beyond the terms of their visas (See New Zealand History; Rowe).

Through its lyrics and album cover imagery, Herbs' social commentary and protest references a number of these domestic and international issues and injustices. These include conflict and protest over Māori land losses, represented in the image on the album cover (see Figure 2) and in the song "One Brotherhood" written by Phil Toms; protest against the racism of South African apartheid and racially selected international rugby teams from that country is voiced in "Azania (Soon Come)" written by Ross France, as well as being a theme of "One Brotherhood"; and finally, "Whistling in the Dark", written by Toni Fonoti, is a protest against random police checks and arrests of Pasifika youth and people suspected of being overstayers from the Pacific Islands.

**Figure 2 here**

## **Figure 2: Front cover of Herbs' *What's Be Happen?***

Toni Fonoti wrote four of the six songs on the EP. Dilworth Karaka describes the songwriter as simply having a special way with words (Husband). Fonoti had an “authoritative voice” (Reid "Herbs, New Zealand's Politicised Reggae Revolution: Hard Tings an' Times") and according to Tearepa Kahi, director of *Herbs: Songs of Freedom*, “is one of the greatest songwriters to ever come out of New Zealand” (Hayden 10). The title track “What’s Be Happen?” expresses the socio-economic oppression and sense of dislocation experienced by many from the Pacific Islands as a consequence of their migration. Fonoti’s lyrics speak of the loss of homeland and island roots in the search for opportunities and material well-being, and the miserable realities of urban life in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Overshadowing daily life in New Zealand and the Pacific was the menace of French atomic weapons testing, which centred on Moruroa Atoll some 1,125 km south-east of Tahiti in French Polynesia. Protests were organised in this period by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and by Greenpeace and there was formal protest and action by the New Zealand government and other governments to try to end the tests. Herbs’ first hit single “French Letter” (1982), which was written by Fonoti, constitutes a pointed attack on the French government that is “witty, aggressive and infectious” (Perrott). The song became part of the music soundtrack of nuclear protest in the 1980s and 1990s. It is regularly used today to signal the theme of mainstream radio broadcasts about New Zealand’s strong stance on banning nuclear weapons and nuclear-powered ships, and as an evocative sound-based symbol has come to represent this aspect of collective cultural memory and national cultural identity (see Bennett and Janssen on cultural memory and heritage).

Despite a ban on atmospheric (above-ground) and underwater tests agreed by Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States in 1963, the French government had carried out nuclear tests in the Pacific for some fifteen years by the time Herbs' single was released. Atmospheric nuclear tests were carried out from July 1966 to September 1974 in the skies above Moruroa and nearby Fangataufa atoll. There were continuing and widespread popular protests, and legal action by New Zealand, Australia, and Fiji; however, after a brief cessation, testing resumed in 1975 in the form of underground detonations of nuclear devices beneath the two atolls. <sup>.vi</sup> These continued until testing was suspended again in 1992. <sup>.vii</sup>

Although there was little mainstream airplay at the time, "French Letter" was in the charts for eleven weeks. As Alan Perrott observes, that chart success was great for Herbs' profile, but the band had already developed their own, different measure of success. It was a measure that "gave the band licence to make decisions that made no business sense as long as they delivered positive outcomes in other areas". Hugh Lynn refers to this measure as "social profit"; as a music industry businessman it took him a while to come round to the concept (Perrott). But he did.

Two further songs on *What's Be Happen?* – both written by Toni Fonoti – reflect the influence of Bob Marley and Rastafari on Herbs' music. "Dragons and Demons" speaks of the influence of Rastafari spirituality, spiritual reflection and of oppression, while "Reggae's Doing Fine" was included at the last-minute as an acoustic tribute to Marley, who died on May 11<sup>th</sup> 1981 just before the EP's release. The adoption of reggae music by Herbs and other musicians in Aotearoa New Zealand can be understood not only in terms of the rhythms of Marley's music, its "soul healing, pick me-upping" and its spiritual power (rights activist and musician Miriama Rauhihi-

Ness in Fala 106)<sup>viii</sup> but also in terms of its location within a framework of cultural resistance.

### **The influence of Bob Marley and roots reggae**

Bob Marley's unforgettable concert performance in Auckland in 1979 and his songs that sang of justice, resistance and liberation spoke especially to Māori and Pasifika people in the audience. While the music may have spoken on behalf of dispossessed sufferers in Jamaica, it was understood as equally relevant to "rural poverty, hardship, racism, and righteous struggle in Aotearoa" (Fala 64-65). Along with exposure to earlier recordings of Marley's music, the concert (where Toni Fonoti was in the audience) led to a developing reggae scene and increasing interest in Rastafari, and importantly here, to the positioning of Herbs at the forefront of Pacific reggae (Dix *Stranded in Paradise: New Zealand Rock and Roll - 1955 to the Modern Era*; Reid "Herbs: Whats' Be Happen (1981)").

Herbs musician Phil Toms describes the band's appropriation of roots reggae: "when you take your own cultural influences in your own place and you play reggae without being too rigid about how you play ... then you basically have your own brand of reggae... Pacific reggae". Toms explains that Herbs' music is less complex rhythmically than Jamaican reggae; apart from a cross-rhythm on the bass it is "a sort of Island beat, which is a much more straightforward rhythm". In the words of another Herbs musician Charlie Tumahai, it is "more of a rolling thing" (Cattermole 54) when compared with the snappier, staccato style of Jamaican roots reggae.

Herbs' music is also marked by Pacific-style choral harmonisation, which musician Dave Dobbyn has described as "the magic of Herbs", in which "the corporate

effect is fantastic” (Saw). As Toms points out, “strong Pacific sounding harmonies [were] part of the blueprint for Pacific reggae”, just as Jamaican harmony groups laid the foundations for multipart harmonisation in rocksteady from which reggae evolved (Shepherd and Horn).

The result of these influences is a creative, hybrid cultural form produced through the relationships in the mix of Jamaican reggae, Pacific musical traditions and a synthesis of Polynesian sounds, “the lighter guitar strum, the fine-patterned drumming, the choral harmonies - with a rocksteady back beat” (Eggleton).

When Bob Marley died in 1981 hundreds of Māori stayed at home to mourn his death (Dix, 2005). Dilworth Karaka describes Marley’s music as “an awakening...an uprising” (Fala 90); according to Karaka, “reggae... touched the soul of people, good people, hard-working people, sharing people, gifted people, talented people, because they don’t think of themselves first, they think of others – and that’s what Bob Marley generated” (Fala, 2008, p. 102). And as Matthew Bannister points out, Marley “continues to matter in New Zealand in many different ways - as a religious leader and prophet of Rastafari, as a political force, and as an inspiring musician-songwriter” (95).

### **Rolling through the ‘80s and beyond**

Herbs’ released further songs on the Warrior Records label that protested against French nuclear weapon testing in French Polynesia, including “Light of the Pacific” on their 1983 album of the same name (the ‘light’ being from the nuclear fireball of an atomic explosion); the single “Nuclear Waste” in 1985 from their album *Long Ago* (1984); and the single “No Nukes (The second Letter to France)” in 1988 from the band’s album *Sensitive to a Smile* released the previous year. On a different environmental theme, “Rust in Dust” (1987) highlighted the environmental and health dangers of the herbicide 2,4,5-T.

The band “rolled through the ’80s” (Husband 10), releasing a total of five award-winning albums and a series of other singles that included “Slice of Heaven” with Dave Dobbyn and “Parihaka” with singer songwriter Tim Finn. Herbs played at the Sweetwaters and Ragamuffin Festivals in Aotearoa, and in Tahiti, where “French Letter” had been banned, as in all French territories, but where British French Foreign legionnaires sang along to it when Herbs ignored the ban (Perrott). They opened for Stevie Wonder, toured the country with Black Slate and toured Australia with Katchafire. And they played at concerts and festivals with UB40, with Toots and the Maytals, Tina Turner, Neil Young, Split Enz and Dave Dobbyn and at the Hiroshima Peace Festival in Japan (Moffatt).

### **It’s just Herbs bro’<sup>ix</sup>**

The band gradually evolved after the 1980s into “into a chart-friendly outfit with a reputation for amazing live performances” (Perrott). Herbs had shifted from the original pan-Pacific line-up to one that was predominantly Māori (Perrott) and established themselves as the “masters of Pacific reggae” (Husband 11), helping to pave the way for other Māori and Pasifika musicians including the reggae bands Fat Freddy's Drop, Katchafire and Trinity Roots.

In the context of a veteran act such as Herbs, it is useful to recognise, as Andy Bennett (478) has observed, that ageing music audiences now consider particular music genres not only as something associated specifically with their youth, but also as a significant element in their “collective cultural awareness and a major contributor to their generational identity”. While young music audiences in Aotearoa may be more interested in rap than reggae, for older Māori and Pasifika audiences in particular, Herbs retain a significant place as part of the soundtrack of the lives of their generation.

Tearepa Kahi's memory of the accompaniment of Herbs' music at his grandfather's tangi (funeral ceremony) illustrates this sense of a generational soundtrack.

Herbs' place within the collective cultural memory of the local popular music audience (see Bennett & Janssen) and Herbs' legacy are made clear in tributes and comments of fellow musicians, film makers and music commentators. The highly regarded song writer, composer and musician Don McGlashan describes Herbs as having "fused Pacific and Reggae sounds into something unique and relevant to this part of the world". According to McGlashan, "the vibrant, multi-cultural music scene that we now enjoy owes much of its existence to this one band" (New Zealand Music Commission).

For Tearepa Kahi, the story narrated in his film *Herbs: Songs of Freedom* centers on the EP *What's Be Happen?!*: "I held that album in my hands and I thought "it's that date, it's this photo, it's these people, it's the land they're standing on and it's the album inside the sleeve" (Hayden 7). In the words of journalist, Alan Perrott, "Herbs, once, were warriors" (Perrott). Described as "deliberately" multicultural (Husband 10) and a voice for oppressed people (musician Tigilau Ness, New Zealand Music Commission), the original band came together, joined forces and "[stood] up to the man with guitars instead of throwing stones"; they were "heroes everywhere, from Vanuatu to Tahiti to Sāmoa" (Tearepa Kahi in Hayden 10).

## **Conclusion**

As recently as February 2023 Dilworth Karaka (guitar and vocals), Tama Lundon (guitar and vocals) and Mori Watene (saxophone), performing as Herbs Acoustic, were on the bill for the Summer Frequencies Music Festival in Gisborne (Aotearoa). And at the time of writing the band is billed for an acoustic performance as

Herbs (Unplugged) at The Others Way music festival in Auckland on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2023.

Meanwhile, at the end of August 2023 a limited-edition box set of Herbs' back catalogue of five studio albums was released on coloured vinyl, with liner notes and a fold out poster for the re-release designed by award-winning designer and graphic artist Barny Bewick.

In an illustration of the ways in which popular music texts are recognised as heritage icons, The New Zealand Music Commission describes the collection as providing “an immersive and cohesive whole for fans to enjoy, reflect upon and celebrate” ([nzmusic.org.nz/news/artist/celebrating-pioneers-of-new-zealand-music-herbs-an/](https://nzmusic.org.nz/news/artist/celebrating-pioneers-of-new-zealand-music-herbs-an/)).

The band has played at a lot of birthday parties in the last few years, a lot of weddings and a lot of twenty-first parties. A new generation is listening to Herbs, according to Dilworth Karaka, including his own mokopuna [grandchild] who learned Herbs' song “Sensitive to a Smile” in the school choir:

There's a message in the number of gigs we've been asked to play in recent years, including 21st birthdays, by kids being brought up by their grandparents who were Herbs fans, and who have shared Herbs' music with their own children and moko .... in churches they sing some of our songs (Husband 13).

Herbs may still be the uncles, but “the uncles have a special place in all our whānau [families]” (Tearepa Kahi in Hayden 8). And as for their music, as far as Dilworth Karaka is concerned, and as the recent re-release of the band's album collection illustrates, “... our music is recorded history. No matter what happens down the road, when our time is up, our music will still be there” (Hayden 13).

The band and their music have been a continuous presence in Aotearoa New Zealand since the end of the 1970s. Those years were an era of protest against injustice and struggles for a vision of the society that people hoped to build in the country. Herbs' music has borne popular witness in songs of social commentary and protest that highlight oppression and injustice. It has served as a symbol of a diverse and inclusive nation; as an accompaniment to battles over righteous causes; and as an icon of New Zealand's staunch opposition to nuclear weapons testing and nuclear-powered ships in the Pacific region and the country's own waters. The music continues also as a particular and special form of legacy in the band's ongoing performances at everyday events in Aotearoa New Zealand – at birthday parties, weddings and twenty-first parties. The band's distinctive, “infectiously upbeat” Pacific reggae continues to give many people great pleasure in a period that - as a result of those earlier struggles - is now closer to the vision of a diverse and inclusive society than it was forty-five years ago.

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<sup>i</sup> Seventeen Herbs band members were inducted into the New Zealand Music Hall of Fame / Te Whare Taonga Puoro o Aotearoa in September 2012: Toni Fonoti, Spencer Fusimalohi, the late Fred Faleauto, John Berkley, Dilworth Karaka, Phil Toms, the late Charles Tumahai, Morrie Watene, Tama Lundon, Jack Allen, Carl Perkins, Willie Hona, Thom Nepia, Tama Renata, Gordon Joll, Grant Pukeroa, and Kristen Hapi.

<sup>ii</sup> Fonoti, Toni. Interview. 6 Oct. 2012.

<sup>iii</sup> Although John Berkley's tenure in the band was short, he was also a graphic artist whose design of Herbs' distinctive logo has been an enduring contribution for over 40 years.

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- <sup>iv</sup> It was the English reggae band UB40 that coined the term Pacific reggae for Herbs' style of music. Herbs supported UB40's first tour to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1981 and met them again along with Toots and the Maytals at the Sweetwaters festival in 1983 (Husband; Moffatt)
- <sup>v</sup> Dilworth Karaka and other Herbs musicians were among the supporters of these protests.
- <sup>vi</sup> The first French atmospheric nuclear test in the Pacific took place on Moruroa Atoll in French Polynesia in July 1966, about 500 miles (1,125 km) south-east of Tahiti. By 15 September 1974 when above-ground tests ended, France had conducted a total of forty-four nuclear tests on Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls. Monitoring centres established by the New Zealand National Radiation Laboratory in the Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Samoa, and Tonga, in an area populated then by some 140,000 people, repeatedly recorded substantial radioactive fallout in the eight years of atmospheric testing (Danielsson). Increasing radiation levels were also frequently reported in New Zealand, 4,700 kilometres away after these tests (Field). Protests by the people and governments of New Zealand, the Pacific Islands and Australia helped bring an end to above-ground tests. However, underground testing began in 1975 at Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls and continued until it was suspended in 1992.
- <sup>vii</sup> After French President Jacques Chirac announced the resumption of nuclear weapons testing in the South Pacific France carried out a further 6 tests between 5 September 1995 and 27 February 1996 (Thakur), despite continuing widespread protest and objection from Pacific region governments and others beyond. Herbs re-recorded and re-released "French Letter" in 1995 as part of a campaign to prevent further nuclear testing at Moruroa.
- <sup>viii</sup> Tony Fala investigates reggae as a catalyst for spiritual, political and cultural change in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s and as a cultural resource. It was a "cultural means to articulate struggle" (85) that served as an accompaniment to protest and political activity
- <sup>ix</sup> Tearepa Kahi cites this comment from film director Taika Waititi about the influence of Herbs in the 1980s (cited in Hayden 5).