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*The Art of Involvement*

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master  
of Philosophy in Development Studies at Massey University

Claire Bryant

1998

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## Abstract

Levy (1996, 367) says,

*The art of involvement discovers the current of music. How do we make a symphony rise from the murmur of a multiple? How do we transfer the sound of a crowd into a chorus, without a musical score? The collective intellect continually brings the social contract into play, it keeps the group in a state of renewal.*

This thesis focuses on the role of the relations of production in building human capital, recognising this as a component of economic development, along with mobilising financial capital and utilising the natural resource base. Although relations of production sometimes destroy human capital, this thesis discusses examples where marginalised groups have used creolisation strategies to resist globalisation and build their human capital - first, Maori seeking to improve their position of equity within the economy and, secondly, women seeking to use the Net on their own terms. The privatising of the economy, and of the Net, symbolises the continued exclusion of marginalised groups from control, or even much influence, within the post-industrial economy of text and image flows now dominating global economics and culture-making. The risk for Maori and women is that the hunger of a global digital entertainment industry (which today includes marketing, movies, games, politics, chat lines and the news) for different and especially new information, even in the midst of what is, for the individual, infinitely abundant information, is that their stories will be absorbed but leave them with no means of exchange.

The telling of different, but equally persuasive stories, is characteristic of the use of creolisation strategies that resist global cultural colonisation. In both large and small ways, the Maori and women in the case studies are using involvement in interactive performances to deny the power of the one-way monologue transmitted by elites seeking passivity, isolation and un-resisting consumption. Although we may live in a 'sea of stories' and sometimes the tide seems to bring only other people's stories it is useful to remember the power of the undercurrent to subvert surface intentions.

I use hermeneutic methodology to discuss historic examples of interactive performance and, by comparing these with present day case studies, I develop the argument that such performances have always been used to build human capital. As a relation of production, interactive performance is based on mutuality and negotiation and, when people have the opportunity to practise these skills, they also increase their choices to adopt them in their daily life. By providing 'safe' environments, like flags on the beach within the marae and on the Net, interactive performances create a collective playspace that encourages people to practice and explore self determination skills, and remember the presence of the undercurrent.

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## CHAPTER ONE: THE UNKNOWN GUEST

*"Icarius welcomed the Unknown Guest, the Stranger, by keeping a place in his mind empty and ready for his guest"* (Roberto Calasso 1993, 39).

### 1.1 Introduction

Resisting the colonising framework of cultural globalisation means being able to tell a different but equally persuasive story at the same time as the industry of story-telling as a commodity is both expanding and becoming increasingly privatised. This thesis investigates the implementation of resistance stories by two groups experiencing economic marginalisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand today, Maori and women, and argues that the opportunity to participate in interactive performances is an important component in building the creolisation capacity of a group or an individual - that is, their capacity to adapt, resist or transform the powerful narrative of cultural globalisation. For people to resist they must have the 'soft' skills Kaplan (1996) talks about - confidence, self-esteem, awareness, reflection, and negotiation capacity. These are the skills that enable realisation of the potential of human capital and 'performance as play', which is a safe way to practice change, is a subset of a range of creolisation strategies marginalised people may wish to adopt.

This is because interactive performances, with characteristics very similar to Lippman's (in Stone 1997, 11) definition of interaction, in which "interactivity implies two conscious agencies in conversation, playfully and spontaneously developing a mutual discourse, taking cues and suggestions from each other as they proceed", enable people to practice, to be creative, to play, to explore; to pretend and to act; to persuade and to use rhetoric; to place a copy of real life under the spotlight of reflection; to bring to the fore the ordinary and invisible background that we use to make the decisions that drive our actions; to ask why; and they enable disadvantaged groups to employ creolisation strategies in their struggle for self determination and economic development.

Kaplan (1996, 106-107) says development work,

*Implies finding the delicate and sensitive balance between intervening in people's lives - for any development activity is necessarily an intervention - in such a way that the intervention frees rather than imposes...The art of facilitation lies in being able to combine polarities in interventions which increase freedom.*

There are similarities between this description of the art of development and the processes of play that help a child learn to feel like she 'understands', 'fits' and 'belongs' in the world and which go toward creating a sense of self and of place, of confidence, and of self esteem. The environment in which play occurs is important, as Meares (1992, 33) explains "Symbolic play takes place in a curious atmosphere,

in which magic mingles with reality...It cannot go on, however, if the child feels he or she is alone". The relationship between the caregiver and the child is complex and subtle. The caregiver needs to be present, attentive and responsive but not obtrusive, he/she needs to 'fit in' with the child's experience (Meares 1992, 35). If the caregiver takes too big a role, such as continually smoothing things over, or not allowing the child to explore and take some risks then the child never learns independence - if the caregiver ignores the play or surrounds the child in chaotic surroundings in which there is not enough surety, calm or safety for play then the child never learns the sense of self and place that comes from interaction with their environment (Meares 1992, 38). In play there is no adaptation to reality as the child is taking pieces of the external world and using them in play to represent, and so bring into being, a personal reality. The scene of play has a feeling-tone of great pleasure that gives value to the experience. Play is a totally absorbing, inner, immersive experience but it is, from time to time, interrupted by external events which stop play and direct the child's attention to external 'reality'.

This inwards/outwards experience is a normal process which helps to generate the 'social me' and if the child has experienced a nurturing environment he/she is able to shift rapidly between the two (Meares 1992, 41). When adults develop, then produce a performance, they are more aware of the ongoing presence of an external reality and the requirement to negotiate interactive play. Providing the opportunity for adults to perform in a pleasurable, safe environment with a certain element of tension can be a valuable learning tool. By making this comparison I am implying that play, and performance as a subset of that, has an important and vital place in individual and collective development. Performance as a form of adult play can be a technique for matching the economic development process defined by Kaplan (1996) with the human developmental characteristics of play outlined in Meares (1992) that are both so closely related to soft skills like confidence and self-esteem.

I do not intend, in this thesis, to develop any particular connections between the west and Maori world views. However, while both these world views are based on concepts and practice, both past and present, which reflect their own, separate world view I found that participation in performance was common in both case studies. It is just done differently and, possibly, for different reasons. From a Maori perspective the connection between performance and economic development may be better described by the Reverend Maori Marsden (1992, 136) who said,

*For the reality we experience subjectively is incapable of rational synthesis...Abstract rational thought and empirical methods cannot grasp the concrete act of existing which is fragmentary, paradoxical and incomplete. The only way lies through a passionate, inward subjective approach.*

The western perspective used in this thesis is in the spirit of Heidegger, who is quoted in Mugerauer (1995, xxxi) as saying:

*The environment and things, texts and language, are not primarily epistemological phenomena, as the modern age would have it, but ontological. He argues that we preconceptually are immersed in a life-world, that texts, political acts, and built things are the catalysts for the disclosure of the world.*

In other words, they are both about participating and acting in the world, about getting your hands dirty, and about being "the occasion wherein new meaning is experienced" in the same way as performance is about doing (Mugerauer 1995, xxxi). I also claim that the radical exclusion of specific groups from participation in production, distribution and/or consumption of meaning generates resistance. Habermas (1979, 68) says that we can interpret our environment using (at least) either objectivating criteria (which sees everything, including the 'other', as inanimate objects over which we extend our control) or conformative criteria (which aims to achieve negotiated, and therefore legitimate, relationships with any 'other'). Using this criteria produces at least two different and conflicting experiences, that I define here as globalisation and creolisation:

**Table 1 Comparison between globalisation and creolisation**

Globalisation / Objectivating	Creolisation / Conformative
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• consumerism</li> <li>• globalisation</li> <li>• passive engagement</li> <li>• mass production of culture</li> <li>• homogenisation of knowledge bases</li> <li>• mass copies of identities in electronic communication</li> <li>• copyright preserves the basic unit of value</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• networked interdependency</li> <li>• local dialogues with global</li> <li>• reciprocal engagement</li> <li>• specific exchanges of culture</li> <li>• creolisation of identities and knowledge bases</li> <li>• active engagement in cultural production</li> <li>• performance (a kind of metaphoric <i>ahi kaa</i>) preserves basic unit of value</li> </ul>

This thesis uses myth and waiata (songs), with a special emphasis on those mythological figures responsible for the generation of the shared meaning and situated knowledge that produce culture; the 'alluring arts of pleasure' for Maori and the Greek 'mistresses of words'. The main theories and theorists used in this thesis include globalisation (Hall, 1991; Howe, 1996; Lockhard, 1997); the role of consumption (Lash and Urry, 1994; McCracken, 1990); and the connection between language, culture and economics (Baudrillard, 1981; Haraway, 1997; Habermas, 1979; Parker, 1992). The remainder of chapter one identifies some symptoms of the problem for the groups (Maori and women) represented in the thesis case studies; briefly discusses globalisation and creolisation; and the growth of the culture industry and economic exchange of narrative in New Zealand. Chapter two discusses the research methodology I followed which is basically hermeneutic interpretation in a narrative style similar to Haraway (1996), who used paintings as examples in her discussion. Chapter three briefly discusses the role of waiata and performance in Maori culture while chapter five does the same thing for the Greek culture, a continuing major influence on Pakeha thought today. The apparent paradox of our ability to enjoy the ambiguous,

unlimited nature of direct relationships is explored through the case study in chapter four while our equal enjoyment of the clearly-defined, limited boundaries inherent in electronic dialogue is discussed in chapter six with conclusions reached in chapter seven.

## 1.2 *The Margins*

With the increase of entertainment, pleasure, and imagination being seen as private products to consume rather than mutual acts of collective participation and exchange, there are many times when the collective narratives (the symbols) of one culture encourage it to attempt to rewrite, or overwrite, other people's stories (a very material operation). Cultures and groups resisting colonisation are resisting the powerful mythological figures that inspire the dominating culture. For those who resist, it is crucial to have a different story to tell - one that values different identities and uses different rules for creating characters and scripts.

For many people the contemporary economy has been highly rewarding. Haraway's (1997, 50) statement that it is "best not to forget that 'they' might be 'we'" is referring to the attraction of that seductive narrative that promises more material things and the compelling desire to benefit individually from it. But increasingly in New Zealand, as in many other parts of the developed world, paid work and a chance to feel like they belong, is no longer offered to nor is possible for economically marginalised groups. Alongside those who have benefited have been people who have paid the price. Among these groups are many Maori and women. For a long time these people have been told what they need, what will fix their problems, what they should do and how they should think. This is what it means to be colonised in body, mind and spirit.

Today's accumulation and exchange strategies have resulted in significant disparities between Maori and Pakeha employment and economic development outcomes. Since December 1994 the registered unemployment rate for Maori has ranged between 14% - 19% while the European/Pakeha rate has been between 4.4% - 5.5% (Te Puni Kokiri 1996,141). In 1991, the mean equivalent income for Maori households was estimated to be \$6,208 lower than that for non-Maori households (Te Puni Kokiri 1996,139). Contributing to this disparity includes:

- Lower levels of formal academic qualifications amongst Maori when the labour market is automating many industrial jobs and increasing the service/ knowledge base. In 1990 3.4% (409 people) of all university graduates were Maori and by 1994 this had risen to 6.6% (1337 people). This must be balanced against the discouragement to obtain a degree by an unemployment rate for Maori with a

tertiary qualification of almost 19%, more than twice the national average of unemployed university graduates (Te Puni Kokiri 1996,107).

- Concentrations of Maori in occupations in which high levels of restructuring and change are occurring. The concentration occurred as a result of the 1950's and 1960's Maori migration to take up expanding job opportunities in urban industrial production. Subsequent changes in the pattern of labour demand in response to rapid technological change followed by the economic reforms of the 1980s impacted heavily on Maori who have not diversified as quickly into the service or knowledge industries (The Independent 2/97, 22). There were 20,000 less manufacturing jobs and 13,000 less transport/storage/communication jobs in 1995 than there had been in 1974 (see Table 2 below).
- The lower numbers of Maori employers, because Maori were primarily recruited into lower-skilled, industrial, manufacturing and transport jobs, mean there are very few Maori using their personal networks to identify staff for vacancies (The Independent 2/97, 22).
- The necessity of making trade-offs with non-commercial objectives such as the strong preference by Maori for remaining close to important land and/or whanau networks rather than the high mobility required to participate successfully in the contemporary labour force; and whanau economics which operates as a dispersal mechanism rather than as a mechanism of capital accumulation (Taiapa 1994,9).
- The historical loss of resources to the rapidly expanding settler population which grew from 2000 in 1840 to 1,214,000 in 1921. This resulted in the alienation of over 90% of Aotearoa into European ownership through both moral and immoral purchase as well as by illegal confiscation. Over the same period the Maori population fell from around 150,000 when Captain Cook first arrived to 56,000 in 1921 to eventually climb to 511,000 (15%) people of Maori descent in the 1991 census (Challenger 1996, 2).
- Even for those with significant assets including land resources there are barriers created by limited access to financial capital and a lack of information about contemporary technology, processes, and markets needed to develop an economic base from those assets (The Independent 2/97, 22).

The recent story of western women's economic participation results in the same level of poverty although it follows a somewhat different path. Since the 1970's there have been a series of external changes in the labour market, reflected in the following table, which shows a shift from industrial production to services (manufacturing consistently lost between 4% - 5% of it's jobs each decade while the finance and community sectors grew the most).

**Table 2 Numbers of people employed in selected industries**

YEAR	Manuf. (000's)	Trans/Stor/ Communic	Utilities	Building	Wholesale Retail	Community/ Social services	Finance
1974	306	107	14	107	214	234	75
1984	302	103	15	88	221	302	99
1995	286	94	10.5	95	333	428	163

(Williams 1988, 132: Labour Market Statistics 1995, 97)

The demographic and social impacts over the same time period show a population increase of people of working age (those between 15 and 65 years old) and an increase in the numbers of women seeking work. Many of these women have found work in the expanding finance and community sectors.

**Table 3 Selected Labour Market Characteristics**

YEAR	Total working age population	% in labour force	% unemployed	YEAR	Male Participation Rates (%)	Female Participation Rates(%)
1974	1,843,000	60.8	0.1	1971	91.5	38
1984	2,110,000	64.8	5.7	1981	86	45
1995	2,656,500	64.2	7.5	1995	74	55

(Williams 1988, 144: Labour Market Statistics 1995, 22)

As Francis (1996, 151) points out recent government economic policy has produced mixed results for women. Some took advantage of the Equal Employment Opportunity and positive action programmes to get work in well-paid, stable government positions and many have gone into self employment but on the whole, women are paid less per hour, work longer hours and are concentrated in a smaller range of occupations than men. In February 1995 Labour Market Statistics (1995, 151) indicated that the average hourly income of women in New Zealand was \$13.54 compared to \$16.69 for men (for every hour women spend in paid employment they receive almost \$3 less than men do). They continue to find it harder to convince the bank manager to fund their business ventures and are seldom in the position of being able to put up the family home for security. In an article focused on women's input into business decision-making *The Independent* (2/97, 17) could only find ten women directors of public companies in New Zealand. The goods and services tax impacted heavily on people on low incomes (many women) and, while the Employment Contracts Act may have increased the number of part-time jobs (leading to the increase in women's participation rates), it also lowered wages and reduced the bargaining power of the many women who work in small, unprotected work places (Francis 1996, 151).

Recent economic policy continues the material colonisation of women.

*Espousing individual responsibility in the work force did not, however, carry over into social or family policy where individuals are expected to act in the collective interests of family members and to look after those not catered for by the market. For most families this means a continued reliance on women for care giving (Francis 1996, 152).*

And survey after survey confirms that women are working longer hours and that homework is not being collectively shared (Francis 1996, 152). The accumulation of profit into private pockets by the 'free-market' narrative also exploits the 'free' labour of women within the family.

### 1.3 Globalisation

According to Lash and Urry (1994, 4) there is a tendency in the global economy towards increasing flows of people, capital, technology, ideas and images and a shift towards the increasing production, not of material objects, but of immaterial signs which are either information goods with a high knowledge component (expert systems, financial modelling) or goods and services with a high design content (music, movies, news, advertising). With an economy based on diversity, variety, recreational pleasure seeking and change it becomes a duty to consume cultural images and information. A sense of belonging and social cohesion is generated less through:

*the discipline of Foucault and more the 'seduction' of the marketplace through the mix of feeling and emotion generated by seeing, holding, hearing, testing, smelling and moving through the extraordinary and diverse range of consumer choice (Lash and Urry 1994, 296).*

Money and information are like language, they all have to be exchanged to realise their value. If finance capital is to produce anything of value at all, given its extreme mobility and speed of circulation, it must be those things that are easy to move around - ideas, money, images and, especially, information. Electronic communications networks assist exchange and globalisation. The continued and increasing demand for Net access by multi-national business, as well as small business and middle and upper income earners, is spreading and facilitating the extension and capacity of the network of immaterial flows that typify post-industrial economies: access to which, according to Tabbi (Porter et al. 1997, 236), is not "universal and can hardly be expected ever to achieve greater currency than the telephone, which is unavailable to 75 percent of humanity, including a significant percentage of households in industrialised countries." This thesis is focused on the impacts that accompany the flows that Lash and Urry (1994, 56-57) say affect the organisation of work which include:

- A declining importance of physical labour processes alongside a growing importance of design processes in increasingly symbolically coded material goods, creating an on-going demand for new and different cultural messages - the growth of the culture industries.
- For the one-third 'under-class' - the marginalised - the increasing gaps in income due to a lack of work opportunities have shifted interest from jobs to consumption. Access to a traditional source of identity,

a person's productive work, is removed and instead personality is invested in lifestyles determined by the consumption of clothing, sport, dance, music, and drugs.

If you accept, as Stratton (1997, 263) does, that the contemporary public sphere of politics is represented to the public through the various commercialised media of communication and entertainment such as newspapers, magazines, TV, radio, video games, movies, newsgroups, lists and chat lines it's not hard to understand why interactive access to this technology is important. According to Stratton if the economic growth associated with the speed and mobility of the flows is to continue a helpful working environment, such as the Global Information Infrastructure (GII) being supported by the United States, is needed. The GII has 5 principles: private investment, market-driven competition, flexible regulatory systems, non-discriminatory access, and universal access. The first three promote the privatisation ideology while the last two are about audience penetration, a faculty of the GII which, according to Stratton (Porter et al. 1997, 261), "provides the basis for a global interactive commodity-delivery system for vastly expanded media companies."

The research discussed in this thesis focuses on groups and individuals using creolisation strategies but there are plenty of examples of 'performance as play' that fits within the global homogenisation paradigm. For example, the cyber pet is an electronic toy that sold 350,000 the month it was introduced in Japan and, just before it's release in New Zealand, had a waiting list of 700 people wanting to purchase their own virtual pet (Sunday Star Times, 22/6/97). Cyber pet owners must work out the electronically programmed balance between abuse and care because the more attention and love the pet gets, the better virtual personality it develops. These cyber pets have a challengingly short life span. However, a new pet can be hatched once you've got over the death of the last one and the intriguingly complex game of emotional commitment to an idea, rather than a reality, of a pet can continue. The commercial success of the toy (based on a retail price between NZ\$15 and \$29 means it earned between NZ\$5 - \$10 million the first month on the Japanese market) is based on the production, distribution and consumption of a complex and sometimes conflicting range of powerful cultural narratives. Some of the stories embedded within the cyber-pet such as virtual identity, learning from game playing, and the role of entertainment are discussed further in other chapters.

The reason I place it within the globalisation paradigm revolve around the players ability to influence the outcome and the one-way direction of the interaction. The interesting questions here are who programmed it, what do they think is an appropriate level of love, and what counts as a 'better' personality? Passivity? Activity? Questioning? Conformity? The list is endless and the game player determines none of it. While the pet owners might see the whole process as the newest version (or possibly the female version) of the old hand held electronic game, the toy maintains a monopoly on how to produce a virtual identity and privileges someone else's definition of responsibility and personality at the

same time as it entertains. The rules of this game have been written into the software and the boundaries are clearly marked by an 'unseen hand.' The story captured in the technology belongs to an organisation motivated by the philosophy of the market - efficiency, productivity and profitability. As Haraway (1997, 165) says "The 'multinational' material organisation of the production and reproduction of daily life and the symbolic organisation of the production and reproduction of culture and imagination seem equally implicated."

But the cyber pet is a popular toy and this demand is based on what has been a very attractive and highly successful message of material well being. As Hall (in King 1991, 58) has pointed out "people are not cultural dopes... if they engage in another project it is because it has hailed them and established some point of identification with them." McCracken (1990, 76) explains we are attracted to material plenty because of the cultural process in which meaning flows from the world around us into material goods and we, as individual consumers, then extract cultural meaning from the good. Meaning is produced within a culture when we use language to name the categories of the world around us as time, space, place and people. For safekeeping we displace our ideals into these categories because ideals cannot survive harsh reality and then, in order to regain partial access, we associate goods with the cultural principles of the category. For example, the cyber-pet carries access to the cultural principles of unconditional love, companionship, and care giving we have invested in the concept of 'pet'. Access must always be partial though or the ideal is fully available in reality and is no longer safe. Using a language metaphor, the toy is a synecdoche, a little piece of the whole allowing us to continue believing that somewhere in time or space there really is perfect unconditional love and companionship.

#### 1.4 Creolisation

But when goods cross borders the culture they were made in and whose values they reflect are no longer the culture in which they circulate. Different people in different cultures interpret the imported product through their own frameworks and in ways that support their own interests. Although there is a tendency for material and immaterial colonisation to mutually interact and reinforce dominant narratives many people appropriate technology for the purpose of telling their own stories so that,

*There is always a dialectical tension between technology and tradition in which both are transformed. The appropriation and cultural replacement and more properly cultural transformation of media contents involves strategies of seizing, displacing and reworking dominant codes in...an active transformation of novel images and ideas in relation to prior norms and values (Bredin 1996, 166).*

This leads to a contrasting paradigm to global homogenisation, known as 'creolisation'.

**Table 4 Contrasting Paradigms**

Globalisation	Creolisation
1. Focuses on the flow of goods and values from the West to the rest of the world	1. Emphasises the in-flow, reception and domestication of goods and values
1. Focuses on the intention to expand by the producer	1. Emphasises the creativity of the consumer

(Howe 1996, 5)

Creolisation means globalisation works both ways. Not only is there 'Westernisation' but also 'Japanisation' (the cyberpet is an example); 'Mexicanisation' (I think we all know what a burrito is now); and 'Maorinisation' (the Spice Girls doing a hip-hop haka). Creolisation resists the colonising framework of globalisation and happens because people need to both produce and consume. Production involves you in creating the material goods that carry some of the code generated by language and you must be able to consume or you are excluded from the cultural principles held in the code. "One of the ways individuals satisfy the freedom and responsibility of self-definition is through the systematic appropriation of the meaningful properties of goods" (McCracken 1990, 88). From this point of view both collective and individual participation in production and consumption is very important or there is alienation from one of the sources in which the consumer society stores meaning. For many Maori and women, and their families, this alienation is their daily experience.

Partial access is, of course, terribly important in a consumer society. The entire ideal must remain just out of reach as this is what drives us on to the next purchase because it gets us that little bit closer to fulfillment. Under these conditions, McCracken does not see subversive use of material goods as a possible forerunner to radical change. However, while McCracken (1990, 134) denies the potential for marginal groups to subvert the code inscribed in material goods, he does allow the code to expand to assimilate difference. There are, however, two opportunities for resistance contained within the closed code. The first occurs on a small scale with inclusion into the system of some sort of difference. The second occurs if you accept that different communities produce different cultural meanings and will interpret possible uses of material goods in ways that suit that community.

### *1.5 The culture industry*

In this thesis, I also use the term 'virtual reality' to refer to the industry of electronic bits and bytes that enables cultural meaning embedded in images, sound, text and figures to flow in an endless circle around our globe. In this context, virtual reality is just the most recent version of a long trend in human affairs to

interpret, mediate, transform and understand our environment. The specific example I use of virtual reality is one of its components - computer mediated communication - which I call electronic communication or e-mail. The Netiquette protocol and values that define the boundaries of acceptable behaviour on the Internet inevitably reflects the producers - systems designers, hardware manufacturers, software authors - as well as the users.

Over the past forty-five years there has been a rapid expansion of all businesses producing and distributing the immaterial 'alluring arts of pleasure' that are also called 'culture and imagination' made possible, in many case, by the new technologies associated with electronic communication. After movies, the television set aided by the geostationary satellites that made live broadcasts possible, was adopted quickly into the sitting rooms of the Western world and followed slowly but surely by the rest of the world. TV was rumored to discourage household members from communicating, from getting together to make their own entertainment, and as being used as a baby-sitting service or as a teacher of socialising skills to children which were really the responsibility of parents. Mass media technology such as the TV were described by Debord (1990, 6) as producing and distributing monologic communication around the world - to spectators who seemed to want to be passively entertained rather than actively producing and participating in entertainment. This globalisation of the media creates a market for universally recognised faces and stories preferably, and ironically given the simulated nature of virtual reality, also rare and unique faces (Economist September 6th 1997). More recently the Internet is rumored to provide a different form of entertainment, a more active form of participatory dialogue using the electronic communication of e-mail. In 1996 in New Zealand there are 105,000 Internet accounts; 32,500 of these were business and 72,500 were personal subscribers (PC World May 1997, 55).

The business of culture contributes to the New Zealand economy and the production of narrative continues to be important for New Zealanders, with 81 percent of a Statistics New Zealand (1995, 29) survey indicating they were interested in culture and cultural activities. New Zealand Cultural Statistics (1996, 113) indicate that many households in New Zealand have the electronic appliances associated with the culture industries which enable the transmission and diffusion of cultural narratives. At least 96 percent of all households in New Zealand have a television, while (Household Economic Survey: 1997) 80 percent owned a video, 16 percent have a subscriber TV decoder, 25 percent have a computer, and 18 percent have a cell phone. Production of cultural narrative meant that in 1991 4% of the work force were in paid employment in culture, a 6.3 percent increase from 1986 to 1991 while, over the same period, the number of people employed in New Zealand fell by 6.6 percent. The value of consumption (\$1.9 billion) in March 1996 was 9.1 percent higher than the previous year when, over the same period, the Consumers Price Index rose by only 2.2 percent. Big ticket items were publications (\$432 million) and the purchase of television sets (\$138 million) while we spent \$99 million on the broadcasting fee and \$65 million on cinema tickets (Household Spending on Culture 1996, 9).

**Table 5 1991 Key Cultural Employment Indicators**

	CULTURAL	TOTAL NZ
People employed	54,636	1,400,400
Change from 1986 (percent)	+6.3	-6.6
Women as % of workforce	54	43
Ethnic groups as % of workforce		
New Zealand European	81	80
Other	10	9
Maori	7	8
Pacific Island	2	3
Percentage of workforce engaged part-time	25	18
Median income (\$ pa)	21,821	22,763
Percent receiving less than \$10,000 pa	21	16
Percent receiving over \$50,000 pa	8.5	8
Percent post-secondary qualified	54	46

(Statistics New Zealand 1995, 25)

Although cultural businesses are small, with 87.6 percent employing fewer than five people in 1994, their numbers are growing compared to the total number of New Zealand businesses. The number has grown steadily to reach 11,835 outlets in 1994, an increase of 31 percent since 1989 and almost double the growth experienced by all businesses over the same period. In 1993/94 New Zealanders spent \$1,570 million, or an average of \$26.60 a week per adult, on cultural goods and services. Expenditure varied with people on incomes between \$34,100 and \$44,700 spending 2.5 times more per week than those with incomes between \$11,900 and \$13,600. At the extreme lower end of the income range people earning less than \$5,100 spent more than people did earning between \$5,100 and \$21,600. Expenditure also increases if you have a university education, if you aren't a solo parent or single, and if you are aged between 30 and 49 (New Zealand Cultural Statistics 1995, 28-30).

The main production process of the cultural industries is the copying and selling of a copyright in an intellectual property. Copyright in the culture industries is the equivalent of the research and development process that adds value in material production. What creates the added value is the ability to hermeneutically sense, or intuit, the semantic needs of the public and to then use the author's semiotic skills and abilities as well as imagery (Lash and Urry 1994, 137) to persuade the viewer/ listener/ reader of the value of your product. When the author has a number of successful productions a new 'star' is born and the emphasis shifts from the object of production and onto the artist who produced it, resulting in

the selling of the artist as a brand. Lash and Urry (1994, 11) have suggested that aesthetic design-intensity is embedded in the,

*Expressive component of goods and services, from the goods of the culture industries to the 'managed heart' of flight attendants. Such increasingly uncontrolled economies of signs and space are inconceivable without extraordinary complex and ever-developing forms of information, knowledge and aesthetic judgment.*

## 1.6 Conclusion

To some extent these statistics on the growth of the imagination industry and the growth of subscribers to the Internet reflect the increasing colonisation of narrative with the dominant economic paradigm of commodity and privatisation and the principles of profitability and efficiency. Access to cultural products is, like other privatised goods and services, limited mainly to people of middle and high incomes which excludes most women and Maori who don't earn enough to be able to afford consumption and many who are excluded from production also. It is the same story with Internet access: cyberspace is expensive space. As Lockhard (1997, 221) puts it,

*Cyberspace may be ethereal, but it will never be as cheap as air. When trickle-down technology ideologues assert that cheap-as-rice chips and computer assemblies will eventually ensure universal cyberspace availability, they choose to ignore the gateway stratification and maldistribution of access incorporated in the current regime.*

Unless you have a middle-class income and can afford to purchase the hardware and pay the user fee for access or you have access available at work then the 'virtual' world is not your world. The stories told there are not yours. And the gateway owners are using the myth of the on-line 'community' to facilitate micro marketing and the myth of 'you have to connect or be left behind' to gain market expansion (Lockhard 1997, 230). What previous experience is there to suggest that, with a privatised system being used increasingly as a salesperson for reaching into the studies, rather than sitting rooms, and pockets of the world's middle and upper income earners, that any of it (hardware, software or the access toll) will become universally available? Basically it is a restricted access service aimed at extracting all the value possible from the top and middle-income earners. An example of a privatised restricted-access service like the Internet is the television channel, Sky, with a subscriber profile of a Pakeha male householder aged between 25-29 or 40-59 and an income over \$39,300 (New Zealand Cultural Statistics 1996, 114). So future participation in cultural production and consumption is closely tied to the ongoing complexities of economics, politics and technology.

When the dominant myth promises increased material well-being but doesn't deliver the promise in a material way then it seems logical to question it's use and relevance. Resistance is born between the cracks of utter confusion as colonised and marginalised people find that the seductive promise of greater material well-being ignores who they are and that what matters to them (which is what generates their

energetic commitment to persevere, their confidence, self esteem and self awareness) has no value, or cannot be translated into value, in the consumer society. This thesis investigates the role of performance in helping to generate these 'soft' skills in one project in which Maori transform the dominant culture's planning processes, using Young's (1996, per comm.) moemoea model, and how some women are controlling their experience of electronic communication by adapting Habermas' communication model. The Habermas model is discussed briefly in chapter two and five and in more detail in chapter seven while the Young model is discussed briefly in chapter two and in detail in chapter four and seven.

To build an argument for my claim I look first at cases where these two cultures (Maori and the west) delivered performances in the past and then at the production, distribution and consumption of performances today and, in particular, at the extent to which strategies of resistance such as creolisation are employed. The discussion looks for similarities in present day case studies in which narratives of resistance are exchanged, both *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face-to-face) in real life and in the virtual reality of electronic communication. In the next chapter I discuss the research methodology used in this thesis, which is primarily hermeneutic, and includes observation, interviews, and text analysis. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967, 35) hermeneutic interpretative research is a design involving a progressive building up from data, through substantive to grounded formal theory and this is the process I attempt to follow in this thesis.

## CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH DESIGN

*"We exist in a sea of powerful stories; there is no way out of stories" (Haraway 1997, 45).*

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the research approach I have followed. This includes Young's (1996 per comm.) moemoea model of participatory development and Habermas' model of interactive communication as two important frameworks for analysing the research data; a focused literature review; hui observation; interviews and Parker's (1992) 'discursive niche' hypothesis to identify codes for analysing the texts - which include myth, waiata (songs) and hui (meetings). The general research approach has been particularly informed by Argyris et al. (1988); Baudrillard (1981); Glaser and Strauss (1967); Habermas (1979); Haraway (1997); Parker (1992) and Bishop (1996). The research methodology intends to develop a mix of both substantive and formal theory with an emphasis on formal (conceptual) theory. It is primarily a hermeneutic interpretative study of the capacity of performances to generate specific practices of resistance.

I have tried to maintain the sensation of the intersection and interpolation between the oral tradition and the written tradition which, while obviously not the same processes, are both still active participants in a strong tidal wash, in which they continually and variably attract and rebuff each other. This interaction can be seen in the case studies - chapter four focuses on the oral tradition but texts are also commonly used and chapter six focuses on communication using literate strategies but contains many characteristics of the oral tradition. This thesis is not a cross-cultural study although I tried to follow culturally appropriate research practice for the face-to-face research contacts such as hui (meetings) and interviews. I give an English translation each time I use a new Maori word but don't italicise the Maori because it is an official New Zealand language and because many of these are very commonly heard words, used and understood in both languages.

In the literature review I followed the genealogical approach, in that I started with a concern in a general area. It seemed to me that the persistence of resistance was based on the pleasures of presence and identity - and started requesting and reading books in the discipline areas of the oral tradition and the role of myth and meaning in our lives. This approach led to the two chapters that explore the two main traditions of cultural transmission in Aotearoa/New Zealand, by talking about the mythological figures respectively allocated responsibility for this function. It also led to readings on power and knowledge; the global/local paradigms; electronic culture; and research methodologies. This is the process identified by Habermas (1979) and Young (1996 per comm.) as the practice of starting with the big picture and then following the leads provided either in the readings and their bibliographies or from practice.

The research methodology in this thesis came from my readings of Glaser and Strauss (1967) on grounded theory which lead to code development and defining elements of theory; Argyris et al (1988) on action science that lead to code development and the interviews; Bishop (1996), Young (1996 per comm.) and Binney (1995) lead to the hui observation and participation; Foucault (1972) and Parker (1992) helped inform the text observation/analysis. I discuss the process and the reasons for using each one and conclude the chapter by developing a series of general codes for observing the texts under study. These codes identify examples of effective resistance tactics defined by the 'fit' between the text data and Parker's (1992) definition of a discursive niche and the extent to which they indicate use of a creolisation paradigm.

## 2.2 Literature Review: *Living in a sea of stories*

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967, 35) hermeneutic interpretative research is a design involving a progressive building up from data, through substantive to grounded formal theory. Interpreting anything (text, event, talk, look) requires you to approach it first from a big picture viewpoint, to try and grasp the general direction of the whole and then use details to check your assumptions. Habermas (1979, 191) identifies the following as the differences between hermeneutic inquiry and empirical analysis:

**Table 6** Contrasting hermeneutic and empirical research

HERMENEUTIC	EMPIRICAL
aims to clarify practical effective knowledge	aims to produce technically effective knowledge
in order to achieve action-orienting mutual understanding	in order to achieve technical control over objectified nature
results, under specified conditions, are always local and situated in a specific context	results, under specified conditions, are always universally possible to reproduce
real is what can be experienced according to the interpretation of the prevailing symbolic system	real is always outside, the 'other', it can be observed and manipulated but it is not 'us'

The big picture is what I have attempted to provide in chapter's three and five which discuss some of the mythological figures that impacted on Western and Maori culture. While my judgment is inevitably influenced by my original, rather vague and general opinion of the whole, the idea is to develop details that can be used to correct and influence the whole in return. It is a spiral concept implying ongoing participation and evaluation in which the original, vague whole has the status of a hypothesis seeking corroboration (Habermas 1979, 173). This very specific process of application that both decodes the

material and tests the code on the material at the same time shows the entanglement between practice and language, which is a collective activity.

Hermeneutics focuses on the mutually dependent relationship between the individual and the collective as individual survival is linked to the existence of a reliable collective consensus. Haraway (1997, 45) said "We exist in a sea of powerful stories; there is no way out of stories...not for our species, anyway." If what can be experienced as real depends on the prevailing symbolic system then the basic conditions of life have an interest structure. Deciphering the interests is a task for a hermeneutic science. As Judith Binney (1995, 510) says, "All the Maori narratives are part of the extensive tradition of great wealth... Yet each narrative is local." While every narrative in this context evolves from the collective systems of knowledge in the Maori world they also all stand for a local claim to mana (integrity, prestige) by the tellers. "The names given to the meeting house, the paintings and carvings which shelter within them, and the songs and the oral stories, while the statements may be condensed and mnemonic, all convey a multiplicity of reference and of possible interpretations" (Binney 1995, 522). The content is, therefore, always contestable and open to challenge by other whanau (kin) and hapu (sub-tribe) who may wish to use the information to defend or stake their own claim. In Maori society women were important transmitters of family history and its values as they composed the oriori (lullabies) written for children to teach them the history of their whanau and hapu. In both western and Maori history, and in both written and oral history, content is constantly being reworked as different interest groups use the information differently to address current concerns and, in particular, to legitimate their particular claims to mana, power and knowledge.

Binney (1995, 21) also points out that the hermeneutic "systems of explanation which are embedded in the narrative traditions create the mental world which the people inhabit. Their decisions and actions - their 'history' - are all influenced by their systems of belief." As this research is clearly attempting to identify those systems of explanation, in both western myth and Maori waiata (song), the theoretical framework for this paper is hermeneutic. Habermas (1979,175) defines a problem as the result of "disturbances of consensus... whether with nature or with other persons" and "hermeneutics as trying to eliminate doubt and re-establish unproblematic modes of behaviour." Hermeneutics tries to reach a new agreement of the reciprocal expectations between at least two people by helping them to interpret what they have not understood and what is stopping them from agreeing on a new consensus. It works to prevent communication breakdown both between the individual and the collective tradition to which one belongs, and between the traditions of different individuals, groups and cultures. Hermeneutics is a very practical (and very ambitious) activity that tries to maintain mutual understanding and minimise the risk of misunderstanding and intolerance (Habermas 1979, 176).

For this reason I use myth, narrative and waiata to reach an understanding about difference and resistance (situated knowledge's); to gather the data for the 'big picture' and to discuss some of the relevant literature. The traditional waiata and song I use are The Theogony by Hesiod about the Muses, those 'mistresses of words', of ancient Greece and an oriori by Enoka Te Pakaru of Te Aitanga-aa-Maahaki which refers to many of the mythological and cosmological figures of Aotearoa, in particular 'the alluring arts of pleasure'. The main authors informing this part of the literature review are Barthe (1988); Beattie (1994); Calasso (1993); Combs and Holland (1994); Kerenyi (1966); Jung (1959); Lash and Urry (1994); Lattimore's (1959) translation of Hesiod's Theogony; and McLean and Orbell's (1975) translation of Enoka Te Pakaru's oriori.

The powerful stories Haraway refers to, the reality of the intersection, the interpolation between virtual reality and real life is made possible with language. Language links us in many ways. From an individual speaker/listener's point of view language links our own separated and 'unknowable' unconscious to our 'knowable' conscious; we use language to name and thereby 'know' our natural environment; and as a collective practice it is the means by which each of us make ourselves 'known' to others and 'know' ourselves in society. It is only through participation in the collective that the speaker/listener can reach an understanding of context and of meanings, so that the art of interpretation that links people is both a physical experience and a mental analysis of language and non-verbal expression at the same time (Habermas 1979,162). The closer the link between language and concrete experience the easier it is to maintain or create mutual understanding because "interpretation would be impossible if the expressions of life were totally alien. It would be unnecessary if there was nothing alien in them" (Habermas 1979,164).

Concrete experience including non-verbal action and expression, such as the intense gaze, mimicking, blushing, turning pale, tenseness, nervous glances, relaxation, laughing, and crying indicate attention and are part of the process of interpretation. Expressive form of indirect communication, like these, can "legitimate and emphasise, deny and disavow, make ironic twists clear, unmask dissimulation's or signalise deceptions as such" (Habermas 1979, 167). Depending on the balance of power in the interaction and the degree of freedom of speech allowed there are times when this is the only way to tell what is really being meant and sometimes it is the only way the individual can signal resistance. Chapter four discusses a case study that combines culture, language, non-verbal actions and expression to support the individual and the collective to resist colonisation.

Parker (1992) and Foucault (1972) are of the similar opinion that each person works with, as they exercise power (and resistance), a world of real opportunities and real constraints on action. Like Foucault (1972, 209), who wants to,

*Show that to speak is to do something - to show that to add a statement to a pre-existing series of statements is to perform a complicated and costly gesture, ... to show that a change in the order of discourse is a transformation in a practice, perhaps also in neighbouring practices, and in their common articulation,*

Parker (1992, 89) sees people moving through discursive niches "embedded in language." People implement an interrogative practice that mediates the material world of 'nature' with the virtual world of 'culture' identifying the degree of power they have and their capacity for resistance in the process. Foucault and Parker are describing the role of an individual within the collective practice of language and the Western tradition. In this tradition individual identity has long been defined by what you are not, by identifying the 'other' which is 'not you'. This is a process of splitting that forgets that that which is 'you' is dependent on the existence of boundaries that define 'not you'. But the boundaries of the exclusive codes of class, gender, ethnicity, and race that people used to use to identify themselves as individuals located within a collective have been infiltrated by other myths about relation and position and about time and space. Today individual identities are recognised as always socially constructed and are never complete, or finished, or closed finally. As Hall (in King 1991, 49) says "we have the notion of identity as contradictory, as composed of more than one discourse, as composed always across the silences of the other, as written in and through ambivalence and desire." But from whatever position people identify themselves they still need to speak and Baudrillard (1981, 18) identified a similar relationship between the signified and the signifier as Marx had identified for labour and capital,

*If we think of words as the unity of sounds and concepts...as signs made up of a particular signifier and coordinated internally with a particular signified - then it is obvious that it is the signifier, the form of the sign, whether phonic or graphic, that makes the circulation of language possible.*

Baudrillard was pointing out that this dominating/dominated relationship of non-reciprocal exchange was the same pattern as that found in the production-consumption cycle of the material world.

McCracken (1990) on the other hand, describes a much more mutual relationship when he uses the metaphor of language to talk about globalisation and the consumer society. McCracken sees language as being comprised of two principles - selection and combination. He talks about thinking of these two principles as wheels; selection is a vertical wheel and combination is a horizontal one. The speaker selects any one of millions of units off the vertical wheel all of which are different from the others but capable of being used in their place. The speaker then combines these units with others off the horizontal wheel according to common rules to produce a sentence of unique meaning. At this level of speech production there is no freedom for the speaker because they must use the commonly agreed code of their community or the listener will not understand what was said. But by the time the speaker is combining sentences she has complete freedom to create unique meaning and "It is this dual character of language

that allows it to stand both as a collective and systematic means of communication and as an instrument of endlessly various expressive potential" (McCracken 1990, 64).

The ability to combine is what gives language the freedom to generate unique meaning from what starts off as a constraining code. However, McCracken is cautious about using the language metaphor to explore the material culture of consumer society because, in his opinion, while language has the freedom to generate new meaning, material goods represent a closed and constant code. Also, goods are very discreet message carriers, we hardly recognise they carry any message at all and tend to accept them for what they seem. "Particularly when the message is a political one and encodes status difference, material culture can speak *sotto voce*" (McCracken 1990, 68). All the same McCracken describes a relationship between language and the material world of consumer goods. While it is language that produces unique meaning, part of the code is then invested in material goods that hold and carry meaning in the material world. This is the process of displaced meaning discussed in the section on cyber pets in the global/local section of chapter one. In a consumer society goods represent one of the channels of distribution for the meaning that language produces. So, where Baudrillard sees a hegemonic pattern of power institutionalised in language and McCracken uses the language metaphor to show how material goods conserve existing power relationships by adjusting to demands for change, Habermas assumes it is possible to use language in a reflective way that enables us to grasp instances of power and oppression.

The argument in this thesis is based on Parker's (1992) theory that assumes the technology of language transmits collective cultural knowledge and can be used to understand power but that this understanding only resists oppressive use of power when it is allied with practical action. The collective culture can be both the source of the power of the status quo and of the accumulation of experience of progressive ideas. But if resistance discourse is to be effective in practice it must change real conditions outside texts to enable different discourses to be heard. Examples of real conditions outside texts include:

- The physical safety to develop new discourses. The family, for instance, can be a site of such physical coercion that many women are simply not allowed to speak there and certainly are not heard.
- The material organisation of space, where language can be practiced and elaborated, sometimes encourages and sometimes discourages alternative ways of talking. For example, while the *marae atea* (meeting place) is organised specifically to enable talk to occur, libraries are public spaces that specifically discourage talk. The people who know the rules for each place are the most effective users of the space.
- An understanding of how people get used to a particular way of doing, and thinking, and what kind of significant reason may introduce new ways, new rules, and new repertoires.
- A use of language that develops a sense of the possibility of change within the discourse which allows people to be able to take on new roles (Parker 1992, 39).

### 2.3 *Hui Observation: Embedded in the narrative tradition*

Following Bishop's (1996) research metaphor of 'whanaungatanga' (relations, kin) I chose not to interview individuals in the Maori case study because (a) I had heard Maori complaining of being the most researched group in history and still nothing changes and (b) I thought the collective opinion generated from the hui situation was more likely to be 'valid' in this context than an individual opinion. It is claimed (Salmond 1975, 31) that marae are one of the last places in Aotearoa under Maori control so I chose to study marae hui texts in this thesis because it is the 44% of Maori that have attended marae hui in the past 6 months (New Zealand Cultural Statistics 1995, 34) who are participating in a resistance practice against the dominant non-Maori cultural frameworks. It is the inter-connection between practice and culture that is emphasised by Binney (1995, 21) when she says that "the systems of explanation which are embedded in the narrative traditions create the mental world which the people inhabit. Their decisions and actions - their 'history' - are all influenced by their systems of belief." For Maori there continue to be a number of highly valued and proven principles determining action that include

*"Tapu [sacred], mana, wairua [spirit], manaaki [hospitality], mauri [life principle] and noa [free from tapu]. How each principle is addressed in particular circumstances varies from tribe to tribe and hapu to hapu. Tikanga [custom] are an ongoing fertile ground for debate, but all participants know that if the kawa [protocol] is not observed, then the event is 'invalid'. It does not have authority"* (Bishop 1996, 229).

In order to try and use Maori research methodology that is located within Maori frames of reference, and therefore 'valid' I have repeated the pattern of Young's (1996 per comm.) moemoea (dreams, aspirations) theory throughout the Maori case study. Moemoea theory is very similar to both participatory theory and Habermas' hermeneutic process but has developed independently within cultural contexts controlled by Maori people and protocol and appears to be a normative process of decision-making in a Maori setting.

Although the moemoea theory was articulated through a number of hui over the last three months of 1996 and had input from a lot of people it owes a great deal to a respected kaumatua (elder), Steve Young. The theory was developed through korero (discussion) about the problem of many Maori being obliged to graft their own cultural processes onto Pakeha processes in order for their actions to gain approval and validity in the Pakeha world. The problem is that this has gone to such extremes that sometimes the Maori process is not followed at all because the Pakeha methods have been so widely and persuasively disseminated as the only way that is recognised. The idea behind the moemoea theory, which resists an alien framework, is that the effort that turns Maori hopes and dreams into action follows a spiralling trial and error process in which learners must participate if they are to learn to get better over time. It values experiential learning, participatory effort and commitment and is a completely open-ended process, as time, in the sense of a final achievement, does not enter the equation. First, the Pakeha planning process was sketched in as an "identify mission - develop strategy - implement - feedback" loop.

Secondly, the Maori loop of “new idea - research - trial/ participate - evaluate” was identified as the relevant activity stages that Maori use. Eventually, it was decided that the Maori loop took the form of an ascending spiral in which practice improved over time and people got better at what they did including better at getting new ideas. In all the times I heard this theory being articulated the first loop was left in to model the Pakeha process which Maori sometimes had to, or choose to follow, while the second loop was stated as being the Maori process. Just discussing this theory as a valid alternative represented an act of resistance to, or at least questioning of, the dominant framework of Pakeha planning.

Chapter three focuses on a waiata, the equivalent of Habermas’ ‘big picture’ and moemoea theory’s ‘research’, as waiata are used as the primary texts in the Maori case study. Having decided not to interview individuals but to try and gather data produced by the collective I was given permission by the government department facilitating the project to observe the booklets that were produced after each hui held by the Whitiwhitikorero project, in which I was involved during late 1996 and 1997. The Whitiwhitikorero project focused primarily on a re-valuation of Maori practices of planning and doing and the booklets served as a written and pictorial record for those who were there and contained copies of the feedback sessions as at least part of these were always written down by the small groups as they worked. In particular, waiata were often a summary form of the important points people wanted to make and feedback often took this form.

I think the waiata are important because their writing happens within a group setting. And the actual singing event is never just for one person it is for the group. Beaglehole (in McLean and Orbell 1945, 115) said

*“As the group works together and sorrows together, its members have impressed upon them once more the security that comes of being members of a tribal group that stretches back into the past by the bridge of tradition, song, and chant and so links them to an ever-changing present”*

And Best (1925, 202) has pointed out, although there may be a few people who are better than the others everyone can write and everyone can sing. Commonly the process used certain images, expressions and ideas over and over again and proverbs and passages from other waiata were adapted for use in the new composition. There is no problem with using older passages as they brought with them a wealth of meaning inherited from their previous use in particular circumstances by other people. It seems waiata are not static, but are amenable to being reinterpreted and given new significance, another example of an economy of generalised reciprocity which saw goods and services exchanged and shared over time with whanaunga (extended family). Waiata, like the creation of all social meaning in a network can not be accumulated or concentrated in the hands of a few. The whole point is to keep the meaning circulating.

## 2.4 Interviews: *Talk as data*

I chose to interview the women practicing resistance within the virtual world of computer mediated communication because (a) talking to someone face to face over a cup of coffee is a common and comfortable practice among western women and (b) these are all very busy, very committed people and an interview can gather a lot of data in a short time. I identified the women through a variety of channels, but mostly I knew the women from our common involvement in a community economic development project or I was referred to them through a work contact. I wanted to talk to women using computer telecommunication technology who were also involved in a resistance practice of some kind which these women clearly are through the nature of the work they do. Their activities ranged from work within community-based organisations addressing issues like access for women to technology; training women in technology use; women's health; elder women's access to the workforce; to women working in a government organisation charged with providing expertise and funding to these community organisations. I was aware of two projects underway through work, which focused on women and technology so I first interviewed women from these projects and asked them for references to other women they knew about. I also talked to a number of my colleagues who use the Internet and who certainly assist other women in their resistance practices. It is possible to argue that all women using the Internet are participating in resistance practice, because there are so few of them using the technology, but keeping it simple meant talking to women consciously practising or supporting resistance activities.

I didn't ask exactly the same questions in every interview but focused on open ended questions that always included something like "why do you do it?", "what are the benefits and costs for you?", "where do you think its going?" and "how would you feel about loosing your on-line connection?" I was searching for their responses in the general areas of identity, pleasure (and anxiety) and presence. Other than questions like this I often followed their lead along the paths that seemed important to them in the hope that this would reveal new categories. I taped the conversations and then analysed the resulting text using the codes I had developed. Treating talk as data enabled me to follow up on any hypotheses that were being developed and to run preliminary tests to try and reach an understanding of what the woman was meaning. Part of this re-visiting the interviewees previous statements was also to clarify what, if any, attribution's were being made of self, others or the situation. At all times I endeavored to be mindful of their emotional reactions and to withdraw from a line of questioning if I thought it was alienating my respondent. I followed as far as I understood their comfort level to be and many of the women were very frank in their discussion of their Internet usage.

### 2.5 *Text Observation (interviews and hui booklets)*

I looked for the following general codes in the data:

1. enough personal (physical and emotional) safety for dialogue to occur
2. the material organisation of space that encourages dialogue
3. the organisation of symbolic space that encourages dialogue
4. possibilities of alternatives acknowledged within the discourse
5. introduction of significant reason to acquire new rules and repertoires (frame-breaking dialogue)
6. use of accumulative or of distributive strategies
7. where there is playful, spontaneous dialogue in which cues and suggestions are shared
8. discourse that encourages free and informed choice
9. signals of shifts between stable identities and flickering identities

### 2.6 *The research elements: Between tool and myth*

Grounded theory, as defined by Glaser and Strauss (1967, 3), must “fit the situation being researched and work when put into use.” By ‘fit’ Glaser and Strauss mean that the categories that are developed as part of the coding process should flow from, and be applicable to, the data under study and by ‘work’ they are saying they want categories that are meaningful, relevant, and able to explain the behavior under study. What they really want grounded theory to do is to generate theory and since accurate evidence is not so crucial for generating theory, the kind of evidence, as well as the number of cases, is also not so crucial. “A single case can indicate a general conceptual category or property; a few more can confirm the indication. The job is to generate a theory that accounts for much of the relevant behavior “ (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 30).

Theory may be either substantive, which is applied to very specific behavior such as teaching enterprise skills or developing a resistance network, or it can be formal. Formal theory applies to conceptual areas of inquiry such as power and authority. Neither substantive nor formal theory stops at simple descriptions of everyday life but neither go as far as developing a meta-narrative of explanation. (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 32) This kind of approach to research allows substantive concepts and hypotheses to emerge first, on their own. Identifying whether there is an existing formal theory that would apply in this case can follow although this is a second step in the research process. The point is to make sure that the researcher is being faithful to her data rather than forcing the data to fit an already existing theoretical framework. The substantive theory that results from this process may help to “generate new grounded formal theories and to reformulate previously established ones. Thus it becomes a strategic link in the formulation of formal theory based on data” (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 34).

The elements of grounded theory are categories, properties of categories and the hypotheses that arise from these. Integrating this concept of theory into this thesis gives the following table (format from Glaser and Strauss 1967, 42):

**Table 7 Components of Theory**

ELEMENTS OF THEORY	TYPE OF THEORY			
	1. Substantive		2. Formal	
Category	1.a discursive niche	2.a identity	2.b presence	2.c pleasure
Property of categories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• enough physical safety for resistance</li> <li>• symbolic space organised so stories of resistance can emerge</li> <li>• recognition of alternative points of view</li> <li>• possibility of change present</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• flickering</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• collective</li> <li>• privatised</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• participating</li> <li>• game playing</li> <li>• spectating</li> </ul>
Hypotheses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The possibility of resistance is dependent on a complex interaction of material and symbolic conditions.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• different stories generate different identities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• conflicts with, and responds to, dominating narratives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• stories must be able to be shared to (re)present a 'stronger magic'</li> </ul>

The data in this thesis generates a mix of substantive and formal theory. For example, specific instances of the impact of the new telecommunications technologies on stories of resistance contains both substantive (*specific instances*) and formal theory (*stories of resistance*). I was mostly interested in formal theory so I gathered data from groups that seemed non-comparable on the substantive level (Maori/the West and real life/virtual reality), but that on the formal level are conceptually comparable (practicing resistance). The first consequence of maximising the differences in the sample groups was the identification of a substantive category (discursive niche) with similar properties for both sample groups. This, however, quickly lead to the recognition of the formal categories of identity, presence and pleasure which were producing continuums of very diverse properties between the groups (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 58). There is extensive discussion of the data as it relates to categories and their properties in chapters three through six.

## 2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research process I followed. It combines a range of different techniques because each one seemed most appropriate for the task at hand. Through work experience of the projects they refer to, I identified texts that seemed most likely to be able to provide some detailed data on the categories I am interested in. The case study of material resistance refers to a project that I was extensively involved with, both as participant and assistant, while the interviews that I undertook to gather data on resistance in the virtual world were based on personal acquaintances generated through work or as contacts of theirs to whom I was introduced. Data was gathered from one group through participant/observer and hui texts and for the other group through transcribed interview notes.

I analysed both the hui texts and the interview texts for cases of dialogue supporting the category and properties of discursive niches and for variations on the categories of identity, presence and pleasure. In the interviews I asked the interviewees open questions about why they got involved and what the benefits and costs were for them. The validity of the texts was checked with the interviewees and the other team members organising the hui and where necessary I rewrote in response to their comments. The process of looking for where the text 'fitted' the codes also affected and redefined the categories, properties, and hypotheses - for example, the prevalence and role of game playing in the resistance strategies lead me to develop the 'pleasure' category.

I included the Theogony and the waiata because the cultural processes embedded in them (each one representing a cultural tradition) are part of what the thesis is discussing as both are about the battle to legitimate and validate a specific interpretation of the environment. The hui (texts) and the interviews were an attempt to implement appropriate data gathering exercises and the research design elements are aiming to reflect the important role of performance in generating the 'soft' skills of economic development. In the next chapter I discuss the oriori, providing a summary overview of some important messages and messengers which have influenced Maori culture.

## CHAPTER THREE: KA KAWEA TATOU E TE REHIA

*"Ka kawea tatou e te rehia We are allured by the arts of pleasure" Whakatauki*

### 3.1 Introduction

Singing songs and telling stories involves a performance that transfers a cultural knowledge-power base that has, in the Maori past, always been inextricably linked to the exchange of meaning. Establishing the common understanding in which a performance can be legitimated as a valid dialogue requires people to engage with others, making a personal investment in the relationship. This investment, including the use of metaphors, allegory, imagery, and allusions must be on terms mutually understandable and controllable by both parties, so that the investment is reciprocated and there needs to be, at some level, commonly understood and agreed cultural and language codes. While there are many forms of narrative including pakiwaitara (story), kauwhau (an exhortation or moralistic tale), and whitiwhiti korero (reciprocal dialogue) in this chapter, waiata (song) are used to look at the 'big picture' concerned with the distribution of information and the acquisition of knowledge-power (Bishop 1996, 232).

The waiata oriori discussed in this chapter is an example of the distribution of a cultural knowledge-power base across generations in which the genealogical pattern provides order and systems through naming and identifying relationships. It is the powerful names within the oriori that connect the boy to his past which is his present and his future all at the same time. The names connect the boy through whakapapa and determine mana and economic rights to a land base. But there are many different versions of the same story and they all fulfill a similar function for many others besides the boy in the poem. The different stories and the many different possible interpretations of this oriori are examples of situated knowledge, of the exercise of transmitting knowledge/ power so that it meets the local interests of local people. This response can be likened to the creolisation strategy, which adopts different versions of claims to power and re-works them to meet local needs. However, the extended relationships created by the decentralised network, that is the combination of whakapapa and manaaki, emphasises collective consensus rather than monopolistic power.

An excellent performer was more likely to persuade others about the legitimacy of their own preferred line of action than a poor performer. It was common for proverbs and passages from other waiata to be adapted for use in a new composition as this added to the status of the new composition as the older passages brought with them a wealth of meaning inherited from their previous use in particular circumstances by other people. Orators would sing songs or passages from songs in the course of their speeches, much as they would use proverbs to prove their point. Best (1934, 90) said, "A marked feature of the social life of the people was that of public discussion of all proposals and activities." The

importance of consensus emphasised the political role of persuasive rhetoric within the social environment. This placed performance as an integral part of the decision making process within whanau, within hapu, and within iwi because Maori would only follow an order from a chief so long as they approved of the order. Even influential chiefs “did not arbitrarily order the people to adopt any course of action; the people would have objected...A chief could suggest a course of action and it would be discussed and if people agree they would do it, and if they objected they would not” (Best 1934, 90).

Another example is the place within Maori society of the warband. Even though it was ready to march at an hours notice the members comprised a voluntary military group who “if it did not approve of a proposed campaign it simply declined to march” (Best 1934, 91). An example of the importance of also being a talented performer, able to inspire and motivate others with rhetoric, are some of the myths associated with the haka in which excellent performers were able to distract their captors long enough to escape or wove a magic spell that caused people to fall in love with them. This is what Kahureremoa (Karetu 1993, 18) did when the beauty and power of her “performance has hypnotised the chief, Takakopiri, and he becomes strongly attracted to her as a consequence.” These myths include the story told by Timoti Karetu (1993, 16) of Whakaturia who,

*Begins to haka and it is soon apparent that he is, indeed, an excellent performer. The captors are mesmerised by his performance and after moving around the house Whakaturia asks them if they might not agree to having the front door open to allow him to cool after his exertions. Once the door is open Whakaturia resumes his performance. Eventually he makes his way towards the entrance and slips out.*

### 3.2 Tradition of Relatedness

It is said that in the beginning Papatuanuku and Ranganui were together always and that their love meant so much to them there was no room for anything else. They had many children but it was their son, Tane, who decided he wanted more than love. He was tired of living crushed between Papa and Rangi. Maybe some of the other children also complained but it was Tane who put his back against Papa and his feet against Rangi and pushed them apart. Papa became the earth and the first women and Rangi became the sky and the first man. In this story gender and nature are inseparable from each other. There is no difference between the real life natural world represented by Papa (Earth) and Rangi (Sky) and the cultural world, represented by Papa (mother) and Rangi (father) (Orbell 1996, 146). When Tane separated his parents he created the world of space as Te Kohuora of Rongoroa (in Salmond 1995, 25) recorded in this cosmological chant in 1854:

<i>...Ka puta ke waha ko te poo</i>	<i>...And darkness emerged</i>
<i>Ko te poo I tuturi, te poo I pepeke</i>	<i>The dark for kneeling, the dark for leaping</i>
<i>Te poo uriuri, te poo tangotango</i>	<i>The intense dark, to be felt</i>

*Te poo wawa, te poo te kitea*

*The dark to be untouched, unseen*

*Te poo I oti ki te mate...*

*The dark that ends in death...*

The contradiction, or you could see it as the relationship between life and death, is contained within Papa who both supports and sustains her human children, providing food and the other conditions necessary for life, while, at the same time “her children enter her body when they die. The sky, on the other hand, is the house of life, because the persons who light it live forever” (Orbell 1996, 133). Te Kohuora’s (in Salmond 1995, 25) chant goes on to reveal the balance built into the beginning of the Maori cosmos:

*...Ka puta ki waho ko te raa*

*...And the sun emerged*

*Kokiritia ana ki runga*

*Flashing up*

*Hei pukanohi mo te rangi*

*To light the atmosphere*

*Te ata rapa, te ata ka mahina*

*The early dawn, the early day, the midday*

*Ka mahina te ata I hikurangi!!...*

*The blaze of day from the sky...*

Among Maori, the cosmos is acknowledged as having a history in which meaning is embedded in the lives and social actions of the gods and other ancestors. The culture reflects that acknowledgment by both ‘naming’ and ‘pointing to relatedness’ - by describing the world as a related whole, in which things including people, have particular relations (Watson and Chambers 1989, 15). Relationship, such as the relations of power between light and dark described in Te Kohuora’s chant was built into the very beginning of the world and composing and performing the waiata that records this world follows a similar pattern. While there may be one main poet credited, the credit (or copyright) comes from the use and frequency of performance in much the same way as ahi kaa (presence, occupation) kept the land warm. And the actual singing event is never just for one person it is for the group. Although there are people who are better than the others everyone can write and everyone can sing.

This is a culture with a predominantly genealogical pattern providing ordered ways of naming and making relationships according to ancestral or familial linkages - it is whakapapa (genealogy) that enables knowledge-power and carries the productive processes of the social order. There are lots of different kinds of patterning other than whakapapa found as systems of organisation in all human societies (Watson and Chambers 1989, 31). For example, if Westerners lied about their genealogy, their world would not collapse - the metaphors that create social meaning for them are different. Whakapapa inevitably displays social ideologies of hierarchy and equivalence creating very real differences in access to goods and services as well as status and the right to define what matters. However, the connected relationship between individuals and places tends towards a decentralised network that emphasizes collective co-operation rather than individual competition and minimises the gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘havenots’. This co-operative balance is based on the concept of what you owe others in the

network, a generalised reciprocity, and its function is to maintain an image of continuity and permanence both across space and time, through the passage of generations.

### 3.3 *Waiata oriori*

Orioi, being poetry, are not meant to be understood as literal statements and a lot of the mythical and cosmological references in the orioi discussed below may not only be impossible to interpret today but may not have been available to every listener/singer at the time. Although the poet's real-time audience almost certainly understood much of what he meant it is no longer possible today to accurately interpret or reflect all, or even most, of what the composer intended. *Waiata orioi* were composed for young children of chiefly or warrior lineage by their parents or grandparents to educate the child in matters concerning their descent which they would need to know when they were older. Orioi are typically composed as dense, complex poems with reference to important mythological figures as well as to real *tipuna* and places named and connected by *whakapapa* to the child.

It is names, and the performances of knowledge about those names, that are among the most precious possessions of a *whanau/hapu/iwi* as the names connect you through *whakapapa* and define social and economic rights such as *mana* and access to a resource (land/sea) base (Best 1925, 209). Because *waiata* like this orioi generate social meaning and identify who has the right to define knowledge-power, in different parts of the country or amongst different groups, different stories will be told. The different stories are examples of situated knowledge, of the exercise of transmitting knowledge/power to meet local interests, to achieve local purposes, and work for local people. Within the group orioi enculturate a local claim to power but can combine with other cultural practices (e.g. *powhiri*, *hui*, political marriages) to support a more generalised reciprocity and collectivity indicative of a network of mutual consensual dialogue when people want them to (Orbell and McLean 1990, 25).

This famous orioi is from Enoka Te Pakaru of Te Aitanga-aa-Maahaki tribe, Turanga (the Gisborne district), although it has been attributed to other people also. The connection between myth and the immediate human situation is expressed directly at the beginning and end of the song. First we hear of the crying of a hungry child that motivates the father to voyage to *Hawaiki* and return with the *kumara*. The rest of the song tells how this will come about. The last lines of the song celebrate the arrival of the harvest time, and a time of the year in which food is plentiful and there are no hungry children (Orbell and McLean 1990, 70).

### 3.3.a Oriori: First Verse

*Poopoo! E tangi ana Tama ki te kai maana!*

*Waiho me tiki ake ki te Pouahaokai,*

*Hei aa mai te pakake ki uta raa*

*Hei waiuu moo Tama!*

*Kia mauria mai e too tipuna, e Uenuku!*

*Whakarongo! Ko te kuumara ko Parinuitera.*

*Ka hiki-mata te tapuae o Tangaroa,*

*Ka whai-mata te tapuae o Tangaroa.*

*Tangaroa! Ka haruru!*

*Hush, Hush! The boy is crying for food!*

*Let it be fetched from the Poua-hao-kai,*

*And the whale be driven ashore*

*As milk for the boy!*

*Let it be bought by your ancestor, Uenuku!*

*Listen! The kumara is Parinuitera.*

*The footsteps spell of Tangaroa is begun,*

*The footsteps spell of Tangaroa is performed.*

*Tangaroa! They resound!*

(Orbell/McLean 1990, 71)

The Poua-hao-kai are huge mythic birds sometimes associated with whales - and whales are closely associated with the beginning of song writing and performing. Songs, music, dancing and games were known as 'Nga mahi a te rehia, a te harakoa' (the arts of pleasure and of joyfulness), or, 'Ka kawea tataua e te rehia' (we are allured by the arts of pleasure). They were introduced to the world, in connection with the mistreatment of a whale, by Raukata-uri and her sister Raukata-mea who were associated with Rongo-marae-roa, the god of peace. This may be because they can only be enjoyed during times of peace or possibly because it is only after harvest and the crops are gathered and stored that there is enough free time to really indulge in pleasure (Best 1925, 11-12). In the story of Tinirau and Kae, Kae visits Tinirau on his island and is kindly treated, then returns home on the back of Tinirau's pet whale. But Kae kills and eats the whale, and Tinirau plans revenge. His sisters, Raukata-uri and Raukata-mea, travel through the wide world in search of Kae and at village after village, they teach the people the arts of Raukata-uri, such as singing and singing, dart throwing, top-spinning and string-games. The sisters hope to allure people with the arts of pleasure and make people smile because they know they will recognise Kae by his crooked teeth. They finally allure Kae into revealing himself and carry him back to Tinirau's island by magical means, where Tinirau takes his revenge (Orbell 1996, 152).

### 3.3.b Oriori: Second Verse

*Ka noho Uru ka noho I a Ngangana;*

*Putā mai ki waho raa ko Te Aotuu, ko Te*

*Ao-hore,*

*Ko Hinetuahooanga,*

*Te Whatu o Poutini ei!*

*Uru lived - he lived with Ngangana,*

*And there were born Te Ao-tuu, Te*

*Ao-hore,*

*Hine-tua-hooanga,*

*And the Stone of Poutini ei!*

(Orbell/McLean 1990, 71)

In Maori cosmology there are between ten and twelve (it varies, sometimes there are more) separate and distinct heavens, termed 'nga rangi tuhaha' (the bespaced heavens). The lowest, or nearest, is the Sky parent, Ranginui, upon whom Te Whanau Marama (the children of light) move as arranged (Beattie 1994, 397). Having separated his mother and father, thereby creating space, Tane sought light and found it in the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars and with them he also created time. Uru is said to be the origin of day and night, the alternation of light and darkness whose first child was Tama-nui-te-ra (the sun); then came Marama-i-whanake (the moon), and then the stars who are considered the younger members of the family (Best 1922, 7). Another version endows Uru-te-ngangana (the Gleaming One, or Sky Stander) with two wives, Hine-te-ahuru and Hine-turama, the former being the mother of the sun and moon and the latter the origin of stars. In this version, Uru-te-ngangana was one of the seventy children of the first parents Papa and Rangi and he lived first with Whiro (darkness) and then with Tane (light) (Best 1922, 8).

Te Ao-tuu and Te Ao-hore are cloud names while the Stone of Poutini is pounamu (greenstone) and Hine-tua-hoanga is the personification of a stone (sandstone) used to work pounamu and therefore considered Poutini's enemy. The story of pounamu, according to one of Beattie's (1994, 285) informants is as follows:

*Greenstone had a human origin - all the kinds you find were originally a people, or a number of persons, turned into stone. The pounemu was originally a race of people and being frightened that the mata would cut it and the hoaka grind it, it cleared out (from Hawaikii presumably) in the Tairea canoe and came to this South Island and the mata and hoanga came after it on the Araiteuru and later canoes.*

Apparently the Tairea waka found its way successfully to the shores of Arahura, thanks to the guidance and care of the rainbow god, Kahukura, but after the crew arrived their karakia went wrong and they were turned into pounamu and fell prey to their old enemies, Mata and Hoaka (Beattie 1994, 286).

In some stories Poutini is also a star (possibly near or associated with Matariki) whose people left him to live on earth while he remained in the sky (Orbell 1996, 142). In other stories, the pounamu is a pet fish belonging to Ngahue. Hine-tua-hoanga's pet fish, Waiapu, had a back of obsidian and a belly of flint and she wanted to have the only fish in the sea so she frightened the other fish, Poutini, all the way to Arahura on the West Coast of the South Island. Although Ngahue pursued, and finally found his pet, Poutini, his beautiful fish chose to remain in the waters of the Arahura River. When Ngahue returned home to Hawaiki he took a part of the fish with him and told others there of the new land he had discovered (Orbell 1996, 125). So, just like the treasure that is the whale and the kumara, the treasure of Te Whatu o Poutini and of Hine-tua-hoanga was formed in Hawaiki where all things of value have their origin.

## 3.3.c Oriori: Third Verse

*Kei te kukunetanga mai o Hawaiki*

*Ko te aahua ia.*

*Ko Maauriwharekino*

*Ka noho I a Pani,*

*Ka kawa ki te wai o Monaariki...*

*It was formed in Hawaiki,*

*Where things have their origin. Maauri-whare-kino*

*Lived with Pani,*

*And were taken to the waters of Monaariki...*

(Orbell/McLean 1990, 71)

Although the details vary the main theme in this version of the myth of the arrival of kumara on earth is that a women, Pani, gave birth to kumara. In this oriori Pani's husband is Maui-whare-kino and the preliminary story is about Rongo-marae-roa who hides in Pani's belly after losing a battle with his brother, the warrior Tu (Orbell 1996, 157). Whenever Pani needs kumara, she goes to Moana-ariki to produce the kumara and rinse them in the water in preparation for cooking (Orbell 1996, 131). Other versions of the story talk about a man called Rongo-maui who climbed to the sky to ask his older brother, Whanui (the star Vega) for his children, the kumara. Whanui wouldn't part with his children so Rongo-maui stole them, bought the seed back to earth, and his wife Pani-tiniku gave birth to the kumara at the Wai o Mona-ariki. In this story it is Whanui who sends three kinds of caterpillars to earth every year to eat the kumara to take his revenge (Orbell 1996, 131).

## 3.3.d Oriori: Fourth Verse (1)

*...Ka kiia Paikea Ruatapu I te tama meamea,*

*Ka tahuri I Te Huripureiata,*

*Ka whakakau Tama I a ia.*

*Whakarere iho ana te kakau o te hoe:*

*Ko Maninikura, ko Maniniaro!*

*Ka tangi te kura, ka tangi wiwini!*

*Ko tangi te kura, ka tangi wawana!!...*

*...When Ruatapu was called a bastard by Paikea*

*He overturned Te Huri-pureiata,*

*And Paikea recited a spell to make himself swim.*

*The handles of the paddles are thrust down:*

*They are Manini-kura and Manini-aro!*

*The treasure cries - its cry is terrible!*

*The treasure cries - its cry is dreadful!...*

(Orbell/McLean 1990, 72)

Ruatapu, a son of Uenuku, was insulted and upset the canoe - the occasion known as Te Huri-pureiata. Kai Tahu explain the reference to Ruatapu in this verse somewhat differently. The southern version, from Beattie (1994, 433), is as follows: Ruatapu, a son of Uenuku, made Uenuku angry enough to say he was 'moenga rau kawakawa' (a common child from a common bed). Ruatapu was so angry that when he went out on the waka Tutepawharangi, with a crew of one hundred and forty sons of chiefs on board, he hid tokotoko spears under the deck and used them to kill everyone except Paikea. Ruatapu then sank the waka and Paikea, the sole survivor swam back to shore. Ruatapu called out to him tell the people he

will send a flood to drown all save those who take refuge on the hills. Only a few people, including Paikea's sons Whatiua te Ramarama and Tahupotiki, climbed the hills and were saved from Ruatapu's flood. The reason why this is patently a Kai Tahu version is that it makes their founding ancestor, Tahupotiki, the elder with the accompanying mana of primogeniture, than the founding ancestor of Ngati Porou, Porourangi - in this version Porourangi is the nephew not the elder brother. Manini-kura and Manini-aro may be names of paddles on board the Takitimu or implements used for digging kumara or they could be the two spades kindly donated towards the kumara cultivation by Tane (Orbell and McLean 1990, 76).

### 3.3.e Oriori: Fourth Verse (2)

*...Waiho me tiki ake ki te kumara I a Rangī!*

*Ko Pekehaawani ka noho I a Rehua,*

*Ko Ruuhiiterangi ka tau kei raro:*

*Te ngahuru tikotiko-iere, Ko Poutuuterangi!*

*Te maatahi o te tau, te putunga o te hinu, e tama e!*

*...Let it be fetched from the kumara of Rangī!*

*Pekehaawani will live with Rehua,*

*And Ruuhi-te-rangi come down below*

*The autumn, time of heavy crops and singing, Potuu-te-rangi!*

*The eleventh month of the year, the abundance of rich food, my boy!*

(Orbell/McLean 1990, 72)

Since the appearance of certain stars signaled the arrival of the harvest time it was believed that these stars actually bought the harvest. Rangī is the sky father, and the sky is the home of Te Whanau Marama (the children of light) just as it is also the home of the kumara. There is a reference in the oriori to Rehua whose task it is to ripen all fruits (Best 1922, 46). One elder (in Best 1922, 46) used the name of Rehua to include the curved line of stars that form what the West calls the constellation of Scorpio, and the several stars below it that form part of the broken wing,

*Rehua is a star, a bird with two wings; one wing is broken, the other whole. Under the unbroken wing is the Waka o Tama-rereti. When Rehua mates with Pekehawani he begets Ruhi and Whakapae-waka. At such time the ocean is motionless and windless, hence the saying, 'te paki o Ruhi' (the fine weather of Ruhi).*

Another version in Best (1922, 46) explains that the star named Rehua, the summer star, has two wives whom he lives with in turn. When he goes to his first wife, Pekehawani, it is the ninth month of the Maori year and harvest time approaches. When their child, Ruhi-te-rangi, places her feet upon the earth, it is nearly harvest time and all that was waited for then was the appearance of the star, Poutu-te-rangi, which marked the arrival of the tenth month and the time to dig the kumara crop. Yet another version states that Rehua has two wives called Pekehawani (also Ruhi which means weak, languid) and Whakaonge-kai (she who makes food scarce). When Rehua is living with Pekehawani her feet touch the earth and all the

fruits are formed. Later, Rehua lives with Whakaonge-kai. She is a greedy person, which explains why food supplies run short during the hot summer.

### 3.4 Conclusion

The 'hinu' of the last line of this oriori is literally 'oil, fat', that was used to preserve the birds and rats caught in the autumn months. It is probably referring to all of the abundant, rich food of autumn, especially the kumara. So, at the beginning and at the end of the oriori there is a reference to the wonderful plenty represented by the whale and by the kumara harvest in the autumn - enough to reassure any crying boy of a full belly in the very near future and especially the social and economic right of any boy related or connected to the people who crowd into this poem (Orbell and McLean 1990, 77).

Although this oriori contains many more cases of slightly different versions of a similar story, I think this brief account describes the competing claims for legitimacy and the use local people have always made of performance and creolisation strategies of resistance to a dominant claim to power. While the information in the oriori confers social and economic rights on anyone who can connect to the people in the story it must be performed in order to realise the value of the information. The importance of performance in determining mana and staking a claim continue to be seen today as Timoti Karetu (1993, 84-85) points out,

*Only the best karanga women invite the guests onto the marae and only the best karanga women among the guests acknowledge that call of invitation... This is also true of orators - only the most articulate, the most eloquent and the most learned rise to speak... The response from the guests is in a similar vein because the reputation of both host and guest depend to such a high degree on the quality of performance of all the participants.*

There are a range of creolisation strategies evidently in use in this chapter and these are summarised below.

**Table 8 Summary of Creolisation strategies**

Characteristics of Creolisation Paradigm	Characteristics of the Oriori
• networked interdependency	• shared, common use of meaning
• local dialogues with global	• groups from different areas proclaim different versions
• reciprocal engagement	• performances are shared exchanges
• specific exchanges of culture	• limits and boundaries to knowledge exchange (use of coded language where appropriate)
• creolisation of identities and knowledge bases	• other versions are used where there is a clear advantage to do so
• active engagement in cultural production	• everyone is a performer
• performance (a kind of metaphoric ahi kaa) preserves basic unit of value	• excellence bestows a legitimate and validated advantage

In the following chapter I look at the Whitiwhitikorero project, and at some present day waiata, as these continue to be composed and performed to express emotion, convey a message and transmit generally accepted cultural practice and values as oriori always have done. In these modern waiata the collective motif continues to be seen over and over again - the circle of material support for each other; the circle of talk at hui; the process of spiral discourse, bringing on board all those needed to complete the task; the circle of time (whakapapa); and the ascending spiral of trial and error that is used to identify new and better practices which then become a pattern for future action. This is most clearly seen in Young's (1996 per comm.) moemoea model that is used as a frame for the case study, the Whitiwhitikorero project, discussed in the next chapter. The similarity between the moemoea model and creolisation strategies in the project, and in the waiata composed as part of the project, will also be discussed.

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE WHITIWHITIKORERO PROJECT

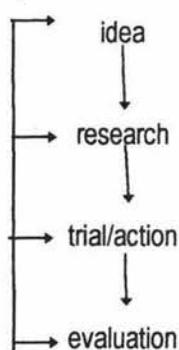
*"Ki te kore hoki he aha te aha?/ Should they be absent from the performance, then what is the point"*  
(Timoti Karetu 1993, 85).

### 4.1 Introduction

The information in this chapter comes from a mix of text and direct experience of the Whitiwhitikorero project derived from personal observation of hui and the written records of the hui. The project developed within a government department mandated to nurture and support the practice of collective/team work and has been managed and facilitated by a team of departmental workers since 1993. My first contact with it was in 1994 with more concentrated contact after November 1996. So far, there have been twenty-one (with more requested) Whitiwhitikorero hui held around the country, that is, marae-based hui usually attended by local hapu/whanau members and the departmental facilitating team. I have not reproduced in full any of the waiata from the written hui records as the complete version remains the property of the group that collaborated to produce the original as part of the hui feedback. In this chapter I seek to describe the Whitiwhitikorero hui, including the role and importance of performance, in establishing a discursive niche that enables resistance to be expressed. Briefly, the purpose of the Whitiwhitikorero project is to hold hui that raise consciousness and self esteem in a manner that enables local people to generate their own economic development (self determination). For example, this waiata (Tunohopu Marae:1996, 23) is a mixture of political consciousness and self-affirmation,

*When I'm up you want to pull me down.  
Is it cause the colour of my skin is brown.  
Please leave me alone because I'm alright.  
Can't you see my eyes are still filled with light.  
Of a vision that is still...  
OH SO BRIGHT!!!*

The project is low tech but highly dependent on quality, skilled contributions, and is an example of Young's (1996 per comm.) 'moemoea' model of participation in which people trial or practice or copy a segment of real life as part of the overall implementation strategy.



The component within the Whitiwhitikorero project that allows Young's model to be implemented is the emphasis on performance - using the limits of a short time frame and immediate resources. The relationships encouraged by using the moemoea model were primarily those of mutual dialogue creating an opportunity for both the facilitating team and the local people to use performance techniques. These include waiata, the production of plays, the use of overhead transparencies, relevant statistical information, site visits, discussion and review of personal life stories, and discussion and review of specific cultural characteristics all in a hui setting. Woven into the whole package is a subtle pattern of self-determination that spirals around three main anchors:

- use your own resources;
- take collective action (although start small if necessary); and
- resolve conflict.

#### 4.2 *Using your own resources*

Workshops that focus on using your own resources include panel discussions, the age game, site visits, and individual modeling. The panel discussions are made up of local people, are usually an age and gender mix and, while each person talks about the chosen topic, others present get to hear and understand the skill and talent this person offers the group as this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 20) explains,

*Even though hard to admit  
The second fault sits at our feet  
Loose the feeling of being dumb  
There's knowledge there - go get some.*

The age game identifies the competitive edge that this particular group has which may be experience, energy, or a mix of both. Site visits get people up and moving and focuses them on what assets are available to them, such as their land base or their network of whanau contacts or their location near a tourist site. Modeling is used a lot to tell an individual story that has general application. One person will stand up and talk about their experience and present a spoken case study of personal history from which everyone can learn. The sort of dependence expressed in this waiata (Tunohopu Marae:1996, 20) was always discouraged as the focus was on using your own resources,

*All the olds have disappeared  
None of us agree  
B.E.C. may come to the party  
To help to set us free.*

In fact, people were more likely to say they didn't get enough long term or ongoing support from the Whitiwhitikorero project. This was the deliberate policy of the facilitating team intended to reduce local dependence on outside assistance or influence and build internal capacity. Gaining independence

requires marginalised people to adopt creolisation strategies that resist the dominant material-semiotic frameworks produced by 'experts' like bureaucrats, scientists and academics who, influenced and educated by the Western tradition, advocate the repair and healing of what they consider the shortcomings of learning from experience. Kaplan (1996, 20) says that during earlier stages of resistance to a dominant paradigm it is necessary to learn to ask questions of others (but not of yourself) especially the so-called 'experts'; to be strong, hard, sure, right, quick, to offer no compromise; and to come up with fast solutions that ignore the problems they raise. This is part of the process of developing alternatives to the prevailing status quo although it is never the end of the story - after this you need a different kind of power in which you relearn humility, and understand that there are no easy answers, there is only ambiguity and compromise that crosses boundary lines. Eventually you need faith in your own resources and a willingness to interact with the external world that implies strength of purpose and acceptance of the give and take of mutuality. Stone (1995, 11) has quoted Lippman as defining the mutuality within personal interaction as:

- mutual interruptibility, which means that participants must be able to interrupt the other, mutually and simultaneously - this implies conversation, a complex back-and-forth exchange, the goal of which may change as the conversation unfolds;
- graceful degradation, which means that unanswerable questions must be handled in a way that doesn't halt the conversation: for example, "I'll come back to that in a minute;"
- limited look-ahead, which means that the conversation must not have a preplanned path; it must develop fully in the interaction in response to the specific context;
- in immersive environments the participants should feel like any boundaries have been set by mutual agreement so that interactivity feels like a conversation, in which the participants can playfully and spontaneously develop a mutual discourse, taking cues and suggestions from each other as they proceed.

Many of the characteristics of interdependency, specific and reciprocal cultural exchanges, and active engagement are present within the korero and the waiata produced at these hui although the end result of the hui depends a lot on the characteristics of the speakers, and the quality and complexity of their verbal tools. This waiata (Tunohopu Marae:1996, 20) recognises the interaction and relationship that exists between speaker and listener. The nature of the relationship is mutual, they need each other to even be defined as either speaker or listener, and in this case the topic is treated with humour (humour is a very common response),

*Pirangi mahi e, te moni hoki,  
No reira re (B.E.C.)  
HONE  
Aroha mai ano...*

*We really want work, and also money  
Therefore, B.E.C, especially  
JOHN  
Show us your loving kindness, again...*

Other common techniques include repetition and a gradual building on to make a point, as well as including forms such as proverbs and riddles that carry social meaning such as this reference (Rawhiti Marae: 1996, 9) to benefit pay day,

*I wish I had some money to go on the Tigger Lilly  
But I'm sorry its not Thursday  
So that's it for me.*

#### 4.3 Team work

Taking action and working collectively is emphasised during the hui through the process of developing plans in small group workshops and the requirement to report back on the plan using waiata, skits or poems. For the small group to be able to pull a relevant, credible, entertaining performance together quickly they have to be able to take action collectively. Another common feature of practicing teamwork is the predominant use of korero (talk) combined with some physical activity, in the effort to communicate effectively. One group put it like this in their feedback waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 12),

*Get off your kumu and have a go  
Let's start today!! And not tomorrow  
Having tikanga and kaupapa  
Our vision of Rangatiratanga  
Our dreams and visions we'd like to share  
That's why we're here  
CAUSE WE ALL CARE!!!*

This is not to say that written communication, literacy, is not used or is not important as there is a continuum of use across a range of oral and literate strategies but it is not always the most commonly used. For example, the complex, sophisticated, highly literate technology of tape recorders, film, 'powerpoint' presentations, overhead transparencies and video is used alongside talk to get the message across. In the hui when groups report back on their workshops they use a mix of written and verbal words - some things are written down but the waiata are always sung or the poems spoken.

A whole lot of group dynamics is occurring during this process of teamwork such as identifying what people are good at and what they care about. This practice is intended to make the point that the spirit in which this happens during hui is also available later when the group wants to take action on an economic project. The groups are encouraged to identify what matters to them and to build their plans around this and their resources. Sometimes this can mean clearing the gorse off the hill behind the marae, getting a

league team together, or starting a tourist venture. It doesn't matter how small the start is so long as the group is practicing action as this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 25) explains,

*We can Hui, we can Hui  
Till the cows come home  
The game of life has started  
The whistles been blown.*

This part of the project relates to strategy development and consists of a variety of specific planning processes. These can be either action based or word based and are designed by groups as part of a workshop. For example, a word based plan might consist of a number of groups being asked to complete the poem, "I wish I was a Maori in sunny [then the name of where the hui was]...." Here is an example of two plans (Rawhiti Marae: 1996, 12) developed following this process,

*I wish I were a Maori in sunny (place)  
To have my own fishing boat to go out on the sea  
To have a bit of land, To build a house upon  
So I know myself, where I am from.*

*I wish I were a Maori in sunny (place)  
I'd gather all the people and have a hakari  
We'll eat kina, kutai, paua,  
and heaps of pipi from the sea  
Now I wonder who will get all this for me.*

Another technique for encouraging plan development is to create a number of situations and allocate one to each group. The groups then have to develop an action play or presentation that reports back their solution to the whole hui. This is a very action based plan and fulfills two extremely important functions - one is the traditional role of evening entertainment (these performances are often both very funny and very clever, they are always theatrical and dramatic and participants throw their heart and soul into the show); the other is the very powerful experience of getting up and physically acting out a plan which tends to generate commitment. Not only must the 'actors' know the answer in their bodies they also experience the click of a group working well together under pressure, with few resources except what they bring with them all the time - their own mind, body, and spirit. There is no other record of these skits except whatever is held in the memories of the people who were there. This part of the process is completely within the oral tradition and is very like playtime for adults (although kids play too, of course) in the feeling it generates of unlimited boundaries.

The Whitiwhitikorero project encourages whanau work groups. The collective approach of whanau work groups is of particular importance for Maori whose culture influences their way of looking at the world as a matrix of collective responsibilities, obligations and benefits. The social relations of collective work are already present in Maori whanau and in their waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 16),

*Kia tu "Tangata"  
tu Rangatira  
Ko te Oranga iwi e  
Ko nga tohu a nga Matua  
Ka tutuki nga Moemoea A*

*Stand up everyone  
Stand up Chief  
For the well being of the tribe  
The signs of parenthood  
Will let us complete the vision.*

For example, the Maori culture inherits in part, a dynamic created by the collective base of the extended whanau social form and a built form at the centre - this could be a marae, a grandparents home, a sports club, cultural group or church. While the activities of daily life occur within the whanau, the central gathering place plays a regenerative (emotional/ social/ intellectual) role for the extended whanau associated with that place (Metge 1995, 302).

#### 4.4 *Resolve Conflict*

Working collectively inevitably means conflict is part and parcel of the whole experience and in whanau work groups this also means conflict with a whanau member. Conflict cannot be avoided and sometimes it can be very bitter and difficult to deal with, in some cases people (like aunties, sisters or brothers) don't speak to each other for years as this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 20) describes,

*Try as you might no one supports  
Even our own come up short  
if they look like getting ahead  
Claw them down - make like dead.*

Treading over this territory can be very dangerous for the unskilled as the value of any intervention depends on it's relevance and appropriateness for the particular place or time. A large part of the art of facilitating this process lies in the raising of the right question, and the participation in dialogue, by the Kaiwhakahaere (facilitator). The Kaiwhakahaere, a member of the facilitating team, has to be able to observe, to 'read' the context and be versatile enough to respond as needed, to pay attention and pick up every nuance of a situation, its internal dynamics as well as its context, the forces that provide opportunity and forces that threaten. The Kaiwhakahaere must practice the art of listening which requires skill, a tremendous amount of energy and competent observation that is "simultaneously focused and diffuse, precise and general, detailed and encompassing, specific and ambient" (Kaplan 1996, 113). For example, you have to know what you are doing when faced with waiata (Tunohopu Marae:1996,21) like this,

*All economic that we aspire to  
Somehow doesn't fit  
Shoot your brother for the dollar  
Sell tradition for it.*

Or this....

*Unemployed no job  
No place to stay.  
No food in cupboards  
Living Day to Day.*

Knowing what to do in ambiguous, unpredictable circumstances and using the dialogue as it unfolds to generate further developmental opportunities can be nerve-wracking. Kaplan (1996, 113) says “It requires suppleness, balance, and an innovative bent” because sometimes the Kaiwhakahaere must confront and challenge which carries the risk of hardening resistance in defense, and at other times be supportive and nurturing, to draw out and ask questions. The ability to ask the right question at the right time; which will elicit further self-reflection and growing awareness, is a profound skill (Kaplan 1996, 114).

In the Whitiwhitikorero hui people are encouraged to talk about their past experiences of conflict and how they overcame it either during a panel discussion or during an individual presentation. The focus is, as it is during all of the hui, on valuing and re-telling direct experience and getting everyone on board the waka. The experience of dependency is significantly reduced when people experience a sense of ownership over their activities. The experience of ownership encourages people to use all their personal contacts and networks on behalf of their collective, in the interests of achieving collective goals; and provides those involved with an identity and sense of belonging that encourages the commitment of energy and loyalty to the corporate group as expressed in this waiata (Tunohopu Marae:1996, 10),

*Waiata, kapahaka  
Manaaki te tangata  
Kiapono kia tika  
Kei memeha noa*

*Song, dance  
Caring for each other  
Truly and properly  
These are for everyone.*

The focus of the Whitiwhitikorero project is on two cultural frameworks - the Pakeha and the Maori. Of primary importance was to support people to recognise and value Maori culture and identity which has, during the colonisation process, often adapted and adopted Pakeha concepts. Participants are challenged to recognise the extent of their use of Pakeha cultural frameworks and, at the same time, to use those (Pakeha) things that are relevant without losing those things that are valued by Maori. The process of achieving a balanced synthesis (from the subject's point of view) is ongoing. The Whitiwhitikorero project delicately juxtaposes the apparent contradiction of resistance to the dominant (Pakeha) paradigm within a traditional (Maori) cultural framework of powhiri, korero, and waiata. The capacity to work for change sits on the paepae alongside the maintenance of the traditional. This can be read as contradiction or as a dynamic balancing act and I am reminded of the story of the creation of the world and of Papatuanuku, Ranginui and Tane that was discussed in chapter three. Change that seeks balance and reciprocity is apparent everywhere in these stories - “Too poo uriuri, te poo tangotango” (The intense dark, to be felt) balances “Ka mahina te ata i hikurangi!!” (The blaze of day from the sky!!). Papa produces life and contains death. Her love rises in the dawn as mist while Rangi weeps rain tears in return. Tane was an original agent of change who wanted more than love in the world and, through his resistance to ‘the one’, he created space, time and culture from which we derive our capacity to understand our world.

#### 4.5 *The 'moemoea' theory*

The Whitiwhitikorero project follows a similar pattern to the 'moemoea' theory discussed in chapter two. The participants develop a vision for their future, and ideas about what is important to them and what they want to do as this waiata (Te Tai Poutini Marae: 1996, 5) describes,

*Kei te pirangi matou  
He mahi, He moni  
I a Ra*

*We really desire  
Work and money  
Every day.*

Then they are encouraged to research their vision/idea "there's knowledge there - go get some" and follow this with a trial "get off you kumu and have a go, Lets start today!! And not tomorrow". And at all times participation is encouraged as expressed in this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 16),

*Me te whakaaro kotahi  
Ka taea nga mea katoa  
E piki ana e kake ana  
Kia kokiri nga mahi e  
"Moemoea"*

*One of our thoughts  
Is to complete all the things  
Climbing! Climbing!  
To carry forward the work  
Of our dream.*

Finally, evaluation is a very thorough process in a world in which people are aware of their whakapapa and how it connects them to others. The processes of collective participation are still practiced in many whanau and this means that there isn't much people do that others don't know about given today's high mobility (a lot of people have to move around the country for tangi if for no other reason) and the rapid dissemination of word of mouth communication. Evaluation can be really stern as in this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 24),

*Your dream and aspirations are reality.  
Maori are our own worst enemies,  
they want the putea  
what's in it for me!*

Or really supportive as in this waiata (Tuahiwi Marae: 1996, 9),

*Whakarongo ki te kaupapa  
Ko te rapu matauranga  
Tautokotia awhinatia  
Mo nga iwi katoa*

*Take heed of our mission  
Gather knowledge and understanding  
Take care of each other  
And all the people.*

#### 4.6 *A Discursive Niche*

Having provided an outline of the practice of the Whitiwhitikorero project in the section above I now discuss the extent to which the hui create or enable discursive niches which recognise the moemoea strategy and self determination for Maori. Parker (1992, 39) has defined a discursive niche as a mix of

the material and symbolic conditions that signify an opportunity for mutual interaction and reciprocity exists and include:

- the physical safety to develop alternative discourses;
- the organisation of space which allows discourse to be practiced;
- the extent to which it is acknowledged that cultural frameworks determine your point of view and ways of interpreting your world; and
- the extent to which people are able to adapt, rework and revitalise their cultural frameworks.

In summary, I would define the Whitiwhitikorero project as creating a discursive niche for those who attended. In many ways, the project is a significant partner in the contemporary renaissance of Maturanga Maori in that it also produces persuasive reasons to question some of the dominant paradigms of our contemporary world including the role of flexible accumulation strategies and consumerism. And, of course, keeping to the theme of balance, the Whitiwhitikorero project is not just about performance and rhetoric but also reinforces the requirement to act in the world. If you want a different world than the one you have then you must act to change the world (like Tane did) and, for very good reason, unemployed Maori in today's world are seeking change.

#### 4.6.a Material Space

The whole protocol of powhiri generates enough personal (physical and emotional) safety for dialogue to occur. As Salmond (1995, 24) explains, powhiri have well known standards of behavior for the purpose of allowing two or more different groups to meet and exchange dialogue,

*Tangata whenua and manuhiri sit apart, facing each other across an open space in which the exchange of speeches and songs proceed. The groups then come together to hongī (press noses), exchanging the breath of life, and the visitors are taken to the dining hall and fed.*

Powhiri are designed to recognise that the meeting of strangers is an opportunity to define both group differences and social unities and uses protocol to reduce the risk of the encounter. Like all people in a social environment that is designed to meet their physical/ emotional/spiritual/ intellectual preferences Maori felt comfortable within this setting. This comfort was expressed over and over again in words and in the intensity of the participation "get off your kumu and have a go, let's start today!! and not tomorrow" (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 12).

This project always happened on marae and hui on marae are materially organised to encourage participation of all kinds - active, passive, intermittent, adult, child, and both genders. This is done materially by the whareniui being the same place as the talking is done and people having the option of contributing at whatever level of participation they are comfortable, or able, to make as described in this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 9),

*Show us enlightenment  
We're tired and want to go to bed  
We've struggled through this  
little exercise and it's gone  
right past our head  
Amen.*

#### 4.6.b Symbolic Space

The symbolic space that encourages dialogue was provided first by adopting the usual hui framework as described above, and secondly, by an ongoing process of breaking the whole group into smaller groups to complete intensive workshop sessions and then bringing these groups back together to report on their small group findings. The small groups were responding to an earlier question put to them by the Kaiwhakahaere, which produces a delayed dialogue between the kaiwhakahaere and the group. At the point in time where the small groups feedback to the whole group, dialogue was not interactive in the Lippmann sense of mutual interruptibility as, under group feedback circumstances, this would be considered rude and inappropriate. There was fairly minimal response between small groups concerning the content of their feedback, I think because the dialogue was considered as being between the Kaiwhakahaere and each group rather than between groups.

The possibility of alternative social/economic/cultural worldviews was frequently acknowledged within the discourse during the hui as you would expect from a group of people disadvantaged by the dominant world view. An example is the use of people from the hui itself as panel members or as individuals talking about their life experiences and valuing that as something others can learn from as this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 19) explains,

*Seize the opportunities that we have,  
Don't whawhai but talk amongst ourselves  
Lack of support and management sources  
Need not be our downfall we must use our resources  
More action less talk  
Now lets restore our identity.*

Encouraging people to believe in their own life experiences as a mechanism for acquiring knowledge, learning and growth is connected to the general principle of distribution rather than to the principle of accumulation – 'experts' are perceived as those who accumulate knowledge, making little bits available to others but hardly enough to seriously threaten the powerful social and economic position of the expert. This does not mean experts have nothing to offer, just that there are all kinds of knowledge and who is to say what takes priority in what context.

#### 4.6.c Point of View

A distributive strategy will acknowledge and encourage participation and contribution from ordinary people in matters that affect them - the opportunity to learn from life is available to everyone (and everyone does it) and when something matters to you then why not listen to what you know. Contemporary whanau economics seems to indicate a pattern of dispersal of assets/cash throughout the whanau network rather than strictly following the typical Western pattern of accumulation of assets and money in concentrated pockets (Taiapa 1994, 9).

Cases of dialogue that developed from the interaction without being pre-planned happened all the time as the Kaiwhakahaere adapted the program to meet changing circumstances. Also, this happened within the small groups as they responded to their tasks by using the resources they had to hand. The process of putting this together a performance of some kind - waiata, poem, drawing, skit, or personal history - encouraged the contribution and exchange of spontaneous cues and suggestions from group members. Many of the characteristics of play were present such as creative, open-ended, intensely committed participation. Many of these performances included humorous or sharp comments on contemporary events especially events in both local Maori politics and parliamentary politics retold from the group's point of view as this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 25) does,

*Government Policies  
Regulations  
Maori issues.....HARD BIN*

*Having hands on the pulse  
Only Maori will know what is good for them!!*

There are many other examples of alternative points of view being acknowledged within the discourse. A common one was the validation of Maturanga Maori and Maori tikanga. Many of the people attending these hui do not experience the validation of Maori values in the wider general culture of New Zealand which continues to be predominantly western but in which Maori go to school, to work, to the Social Welfare office, to find a flat, or experience the mass media of TV, movies, computer games and newspapers just like everyone else. Of course, those people who did not like the content/format of the project, which was clearly "I'm glad and proud to be Maori", would not be in a discursive niche. Possibly, this was avoided because word of mouth had clearly indicated the thrust of the Whitiwhitikorero project and people who strongly disagreed stayed away.

#### 4.6.d Revitalising cultural frameworks

A range of 'thinking for yourself' skills were modeled during the project. These include the collecting of directly observable data from the panel, individual speakers and from other small group members.

They did not access libraries, reference books, notice boards or experts who weren't present. The two other major thinking skills used were the use of models or prototypes and the setting of puzzles. In *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) Kuhn indicated that using prototypes helps people to, firstly, absorb cultural patterns of interaction and secondly, to recognise those patterns of interaction. In the Whitiwhitikorero project prototypes could be taught in a variety of ways such as role models in panels or individual speeches (such as a talk from a sporting hero); by using famous ancestors and discussing their situation and the strategies they used; and by analyzing case studies. By showing, discussing and understanding many different situations people are learning to recognise similarities amongst diversity and starting to recognise when something from one context can be used in another.

This is a function of the collective tradition passed on through language and is what Haraway (1997, 45) meant when she said, "there is no way out except through stories... not for our species anyway." It also ties in with the concepts of stable and flickering identities. For people relearning to value previous cultural frameworks the experience of a flickering identity, as the individual establishes a new balance, can cause some anxiety and resistance. This is entirely understandable as the process of learning (assimilating) new points of view is difficult and confusing as there are times you use older beliefs and times you see newer concepts being more relevant as the transition continues. The strength to resist the beliefs embedded in the highly developed persuasive systems of Pakeha mass media such as television, movies, videos, and computer games requires an equally strong belief system which is indicated in this waiata (Rawhiti Marae: 1996, 6),

*United we stand  
Divided we fall  
And if our backs should ever be against the wall  
We'll be together  
Together you and I with aroha.*

#### *4.7 Conclusion*

To act in the real world, to do something, anything, especially something different means that first you have to believe you can do it. If you think you can't then you really can't. You have to believe in and value the change enough to have the commitment and perseverance to practice change or nothing changes. This is crucial to focusing commitment to enterprise and employment development. The characteristics of this project that fosters this belief in self are:

- the collective presence and the sense of being together in spontaneous, common activities;
- a place for everyone to contribute their diverse knowledge;
- the practice of Maori cultural traditions including performance;

- action and participation that valued the 'here and now';
- the transformative seed of resistance and decolonisation.

The Whitiwhitikorero project uses collective presence and *kanohi ki te kanohi* in its delivery. The techniques are based on performance methods Maori have always used such as *waiata*, role playing, and *korero* and considers issues that matter to Maori such as *whanau*, *whakapapa*, *nga te reo* and *mana*. Meaning within the project generated flickering identities as those who participated (re)learnt new(old) ways of interpreting their world, new ways of interacting with others and the world, and new ways to place themselves in more powerful positions. While this process is underway, and maybe never stops, identity is not stable. As these new concepts are implemented people live with the experience of flickering identities. The high component of performance helped the participants to access the creativity, energy and commitment they need to use the freedom of discursive niches like the Whitiwhitikorero project to experiment, trial, discuss, resist, evaluate, enjoy, and play with new possibilities. This describes a situation similar to the Reverend Marsden's (1992, 134) description of the place of Te Korekore in the Maori world view as,

*The realm between being and non-being: that is, the realm of potential being. This is the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all things proceed.*

Economic development should not mean reducing different values and ethics to invisibility and silence. An example is Battery City Park on the banks of New York's Hudson River which features sculptures, promenades, leafy lawns and was designed in good faith to create a green oasis for inner city residents in the middle of one of the biggest cities in the world. But the only access to the publicly owned park is by walking through, and up the banks of escalators providing entry to the glittering, privately owned, World Trade Centre. If you are not one of the global elite and look different from those who work in the World Trade Centre then you will not feel comfortable about using this token public space and you may not even know the park exists (Challenger 1996, 5). Spaces such as Battery City Park have been called "interdictory space" - space that is accessible in theory but not in practice. In a similar manner the economy is, in theory, a public open space freely accessible to all, although unemployment statistics and the real experiences of Maori indicates that it is an "interdictory space" for Maori.

In this chapter I discussed the Whitiwhitikorero project which is a contemporary version of the 'big picture' practices outlined in chapter three - persuasion, rhetoric and performance. Being able to live with the disorder, ambiguity, confusion and disruption created by flickering identities is a great skill; to be able to work it with skill and grace is an art form. In the following chapter I discuss the Theogony by Hesiod which provides some useful clues about the place of performance in Western development and outlines the 'big picture' for the second case study in this thesis.

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE GENEALOGY OF MESSENGERS

*"This risk is fine indeed, and what we must somehow do with these things is enchant ourselves" Socrates (in Calasso 1993, 278).*

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I tell stories about mythological women from within the framework of a historical source of the western tradition, Hesiod's poem *The Theogony*. The ancient Greek culture had a major influence on the development of western culture so by discussing these stories I am attempting to provide a background, a 'big' picture, for the next chapter. I use excerpts from *The Theogony* to discuss the messages contained in the poem by personalising the message contents as mythological characters. The stories, like the waiata in the previous two chapters, are claims to power in the sense they claim to tell a legitimate story about their world and many of these myths can still be seen today in the advertisements promoting access to the new cultural industry of electronic communication. This indicates that these myths have been around a long time, and continue to form part of the invisible context that influences the meaning and use of electronic communication today. It would be useful for women using electronic communication, who chose to resist colonisation in whatever way they can, to have an awareness of the background of the common myths infusing the technology so they can identify effective creolisation strategies.

In the following table I identify the characters, their role and the main message being validated and legitimated within their stories:

**Table 9 Myths, Roles and Messages**

CHARACTER	ROLE	MESSAGE
the Sirens	metamorphosis, flickering identities	the seductive promise of unlimited information
Iris	truth, lies, promises - the power of a given word	culturally approved behaviour, judgement, status quo
Pandora	creation of objects, invention, control of nature	curiosity and the relation between cause and effect
the Muses	persuasion, rhetoric	temporary consensus, co-production of self
the Delphic Oracles	amnesia, forgetting	monologic entertainment

There is a relationship between this table and the one below in which Habermas indicates his version of reality and its connection to communication, validity claims and functions of speech. Pandora could represent 'the' world of external nature and an objectivating attitude; Iris and the Oracles represent 'our'

world of society and a conformative attitude; the Sirens are 'my' world of internal nature and have an expressive attitude while the Muses provide the means by which all this circulates and is understood - through language. Habermas (1979, 68) considers the raising, recognising, and redeeming of validity claims believed to be justified are an important determinant of successful communication.

**Table 10 Habermas' components of successful communication**

Domains of reality	Modes of communication	Validity claims	General functions of speech
'The' world of external nature	<u>Cognitive:</u> objectivating attitude	truth	representation of facts
'Our' world of society	<u>Interactive:</u> conformative attitude	rightness	establishing legitimate interpersonal relations
'My' world of internal nature	<u>Expressive:</u> expressive attitude	truthfulness	disclosure of speaker's subjectivity
Language		comprehensibility	

According to Habermas (1979, 67), external nature refers to that objectivated segment of reality that the West call inanimate nature; 'our' world is the one we learn to believe is correct through collective interaction with others; 'my' world is all the wishes, feelings, intentions, and emotions that I, and only I, can express because they are unique to me; while language operates as the medium that interrelates the above three worlds; embedded in universal validity claims. This seems very like the communication framework operating in Olympus, the home of the gods, and transmitted to the Greek world through performances that reflected the might and favour of the heavenly Muses. In *The Theogony*, Hesiod told a story about the Muses and production, distribution, and consumption of ancient Greek culture. In the oral culture where Hesiod lived, poets learnt their lines by memory and the transmission of meaning was a very direct face-to-face performance in which the poet and the audience were immediately and inextricably linked than most contemporary exchanges. The first story in this chapter is about the Sirens and moves on from there to talk about Iris, Pandora, the Muses, and the Delphic Oracles. I conclude the chapter with a summary that reworks their roles and narratives to tell a contemporary story.

## 5.2 *The Theogony and the Sirens (Verse One)*

*Let us begin our singing  
from the Helikonian Muses  
who possess the great and holy mountain  
of Helikon  
and dance there on soft feet  
by the blue water  
of the spring...*

The poem, *The Theogony*, (Hesiod in Lattimore 1959, 123) begins with many references to the embodied nature of the Muses and their relationship with special places such as the sacred mountain of Helikon and the waters of Permessos. Another related group of embodied goddesses were the Sirens whose father, Acheloos, was a silver-swirling, most revered river god. When the hero, Herakles, broke off one of Acheloos' horns four sisters were born from the blood that dripped from the wound. Their names are Thexiope 'the enchantress'; Aglaophonos, 'she of the glorious voice'; Pesinoe which may mean 'the seductive'; and Himeropa, 'she whose voice awakens desire' (Kerenyi 1951, 57). These sisters, called the Sirens, were born with the lower body of a bird and a womanly upper body, and used their good looks and wonderful voices to seduce sailors to their deaths on faraway shores (Kerenyi 1951, 56).

They are most well known for the part that they play in Homer's *Odyssey* when they try to lure Odysseus and his ship away from the path home. Like the Muses they have a remarkable talent for music and, like the Muses, the added attraction of the songs of the Sirens is the promise to reveal everything that is happening on the earth and everything that has ever happened (Thornton 1970, 34). This was the song (Lattimore 1967, 190) of abundance that Odysseus heard tied to the mast as his ship sailed past their dangerous island,

*for no one else has ever sailed past this place in his black ship  
until he has listened to the honey-sweet voice that issues  
from our lips; then goes on, well pleased, knowing more than ever  
he did; for we know everything that the Argives and Trojans  
did and suffered in wide Troy through the gods' despite.  
Over all the generous earth we know everything that happens.*

The Sirens were part of a culture that exchanged all information personally and verbally, in stories, poetry and oratory. New, or detailed, information would be hard-won and highly valued, as access would depend on coming into personal contact with a messenger. It seems there was so much attraction in the possibility of an increase in their information base that the meadows around the Sirens was deep in the bleached bones of travelers who had forgot all else to listen to the message, seduced by the promise of unlimited information. Kerenyi (1951, 58) describes the Sirens as being the companions of Persephone, the Queen of the Underworld; and that Persephone sent them into this world to sweeten the moments before death with music and song. Persephone herself is associated with a combination of death and love as she lives in the underworld during the winter but returns to Olympus every spring to bring the life of the new season with her - like the earth, she and the Sirens are part of the long cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth. So the Sirens served death, but were also associated with love because "They carried men - or, at any rate, men's desires - on golden wings to Heaven" (Kerenyi 1951, 60). The Sirens, who combined the physical appearances of women and birds and the processes of death and love, are an example of ancient flickering identity as they still had the ability to change shapes, to combine identities, and to experience metamorphosis.

Many early mythological figures freely and frequently altered their appearance in response to an environmental demand. They were not committed to always appearing the same as they contained the potential to change themselves and often combined characteristics from two or more different identities. For example, Zeus, as part of a devious plot to create a powerful child, pursued Nemesis through many, many metamorphoses and eventually caught her in her disguise as a cuttlefish. But neither of them were obliged to remain as cuttlefish and reappeared in their divine form as god and goddess when they wanted to (Calasso 1993,117). Although, in later generations, shape-changing and identity combinations became much less common as individuals began to maintain distinct appearances, defining their separateness and the limits of their identity, the research discussed in chapter six reveals that flickering identities continue to be commonly understood and commonly used by women today.

### 5.3 *The Theogony and Iris (Verse Two)*

*... 'You shepherds of the wilderness, poor fools,  
nothing but bellies,  
we know how to say many false things  
that seem like true sayings,  
when we wish to'.  
So they spoke, these mistresses of words,  
daughters of great Zeus...*

The Muses claim (Hesiod in Lattimore 1959, 124) to have the power to 'say many false things that seem like true sayings when we wish to' was both a great skill and very risky practice for Olympian goddesses, at least amongst their own. Iris, a goddess whose name meant 'Rainbow', was the granddaughter of Pontus, the sea, and Gaia, the earth (Kerenyi 1961, 60). Because she was fleet-footed and had great wings, Iris held the office of Messenger of Heaven. Her role on Olympus was to guarantee that the gods and goddesses would be held accountable for lies, misrepresentation and dishonest speech. Hesiod (in Kerenyi 1961, 61) tells the story of Iris travelling across the wide plains of the sea to visit the great goddess Styx, daughter of Night, who lives in a palace at the edge of the earth where the sky is supported by silver pillars. Whenever there is an argument over whose word bestows legitimation, who will be listened to, and who has the power to define truth amongst the immortals Iris goes to fetch the mighty Oath of the gods from Styx. The Oath, carried back in a golden goblet, is cold water that pours "beneath the earth, in deep night, from the horn of Okeanos" (Kerenyi 1961, 61). If one of the gods breaks an oath sworn by this water, they are at once struck down and cannot breathe, eat or drink for a year and for a further nine years they are prevented from taking any active part in the social or political life of the immortals.

The punishment for breaking the Oath was to become an outlaw, an alienated refugee facing complete ostracism from any participation in the heavenly culture. Habermas (1979, 68), considers the raising,

recognising, and redeeming of validity claims believed to be justified are an important determinant of successful communication. Validity claims are claims to power and depend to some extent on mutuality, and on the understanding and trust that arises from negotiated agreement on meaning. The immortals did not think highly of non-valid relationships which is why the strongest Oath and severest punishment was used to punish immortals who failed to maintain mutual understanding or trust. The purpose of the Oath was to legitimate behavior backed by a sworn oath and invalidate other behaviors such as breaking a sworn oath. In uttering a promise, an assertion, or a warning, the speaker executes an action - "I try to *make* a promise, to *put forward* an assertion, to *issue* a warning" (Habermas 1979, 34) - that is, by speaking, the speaker creates a particular and very specific relationship between herself and the listener. This relationship may, or may not be mutual. Indeed, Dahlberg (1996, 47) has pointed out that Habermas' model privileges rational, public, consensus seeking communication while excluding,

*Other forms of human interaction such as those which involve domestic concerns, tradition, religious commitment, aesthetic appeal, desire and emotive language... These exclusions tend to marginalise the voices of women and minority groups.*

So, myth and mythological figures can be read in as many different ways as there are readers, and it is possible to read the stories in this chapter using interpretative frameworks developed by either Habermas (1979), or Lash and Urry (1994) or McCracken (1990) as I discuss in the next section on Pandora.

#### 5.4 *The Theogony and Pandora (Verse Three)*

*...they bring forgetfulness of sorrows,  
and rest from anxieties.*

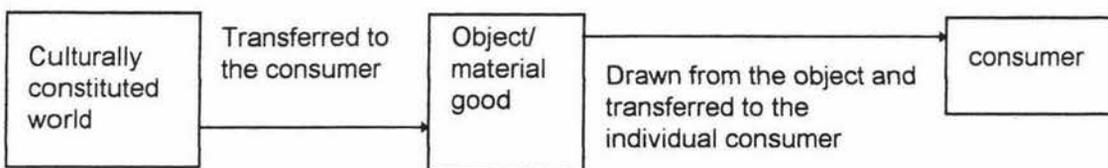
*She bore them a little way off  
from the highest snowy summit  
of Olympus; there are their shining  
dancing places, their handsome  
houses, and the Graces and Desire live there...*

(Hesiod in Lattimore 1959, 126)

Kerenyi (1951) tells the story of Zeus ordering his craftsman nephew Hephaestus to make a beautiful young girl, an artifact, from the materials of the earth and when she was complete he demanded the other gods and goddesses gift her some of their birthright. Hermes invested his wit, Aphrodite gave her beauty, Athena donated womanly skills such as weaving, and Zeus sent her to earth with a box and a warning not to open it. But Pandora was very young and, being full of the curiosity of the young, could not resist opening her box. Immediately out flew all the sorrows and anxieties that for ever after have bedeviled the human race and to which the verse above refers. However, Pandora was fast enough to keep hope within the box and so, thankfully, to balance cares and woe we have the Muses, their shining dancing places, and the Graces and Desire.

Pandora was a cyborg built by Zeus to complete his revenge on the human race for daring to steal fire. In western culture, meaning and communication may be produced and transferred not only through language but also through an investment in the medium of material goods represented by the artifact, Pandora. To the extent that a major part of the Western project is the making of the self, often achieved through the “systematic appropriation of the meaningful properties of goods” (McCracken 1990, 88), we are all cyborgs. Material goods embody cultural meaning and this “meaning is constantly flowing to and from its several locations in the social world, aided by the collective and individual efforts of designers, producers, advertiser’s and consumers” (McCracken 1990, 71) as represented in the figure below.

**Figure 1 McCracken's Flow of Meaning**



So, for McCracken (1990, 72), there are three locations of meaning: the culturally constituted world, the object, and the individual consumer as well as two moments of transfer; world-to-good and good-to-consumer. And wherever there is a concentration of meaning arising from diverse sources there will also be the culture industry and its artisans, artists, designers and distributors who help to spread that meaning in the world often by embedding it in goods. Pandora represents the object into which meaning is breathed by the gods and the individual consumer accesses that meaning through the purchase and consumption of the material good. Iris represents the world of cultural truth and meaning and the Sirens represent the seductive promise of consumerism - unlimited material wellbeing (in their case, information) and general abundance. In the sections below I will discuss the role of the Muses as the diffusion mechanism and how the Oracles translate meaning for us mere mortals. According to McCracken's analysis, when access is reduced to the site of the production and/or consumption of meaning people experience alienation from, and a non-reciprocal exchange relation with, their world. Perhaps then, under these circumstances, the best thing people can do is resist.

### 5.5 *The Theogony and the Muses ( Verse Four )*

*... And when on one of these kingly nobles,  
 at the time of his birth,  
 the daughters of great Zeus cast their eyes  
 and bestow their favors,  
 upon his speech they make a distillation of sweetness,  
 and from his mouth the words run blandishing...*  
 (Hesiod in Lattimore 1959, 127-128)

Zeus walked a tightrope of power by using alliances, love affairs, rapes, and marriages with powerful goddesses. Their children inherited characteristics and powers from both parents and Zeus had great influence through his kinship networks. One of Zeus' partners was Mnemosyne, which means memory, who through her daughter's, the Muses, gave us the opposite to memory - the forgetfulness of sorrows and cessation of cares. For nine nights Zeus and Mnemosyne lay together and Mnemosyne bore nine daughters, all addicted to song and concerned with little else (Kerenyi 1951,103). When they sang, everything stood still: sky, stars, sea and rivers.

Hesiod (in Lattimore 1959, 129) invoked the Muses at the beginning of his poem *The Theogony* and claimed that what he said was a repetition of what the Muses had told him. The Muses brought men many gifts and among their powers is the choice about whether to speak false or true things as well as the ability to make falsehood appear to be true; the power to sing the story of things of the future and things past; the ability to breathe that gift to other poets, like Hesiod; to bring forgetfulness of sorrows and rest from anxieties; and to bestow the gift of making a persuasive argument that can end an impending quarrel and earn great respect. What the Muses did through poets like Hesiod was transmit the genealogy, laws, customs, and culture of the Olympian gods through the images, plays, stories, statues and poetry produced by the great artists, orators and writers of the Greek world. But access to the power provided by language was not available to everyone - Greek education was a long and expensive initiation and anyone who did not follow this process were considered as not knowing how to speak and therefore not worthwhile listening to. The format of legitimate speech was rhetoric, a 'program' designed to produce persuasive discourse (Barthe 1988,14).

Rhetoric developed in response to legal actions concerning property - the result of social conflict and material aspirations. Around 485 BC, two Sicilian tyrants, Gelon and Heiron, encouraged people to migrate to Syracuse and then imposed heavy taxes on the new population to pay for their mercenaries to keep order. Eventually they were deposed by a democratic uprising and an attempt was made to return to the situation as it had been in the past. But property rights had been obscured and people sought the return of their previous conditions by arguing their rights in a partly democratic and partly judiciary forum. Success in retaining or gaining back your land and property depended on your persuasive use of rhetoric, as no other formal proofs were available to be used (Barthe 1988,16).

To Aristotle rhetoric was "the art of extracting from every subject the proper degree of persuasion it allows" (Barthe 1988, 21). While the orator discusses the logical proofs, she must also convince her listeners of her good sense, her strong moral position, and attract the listeners into wanting her to do well. Good rhetoric required a good performance. For Aristotle, the emotional impact of oratory is its ability to create commonly held understandings and meanings, "anger is what everyone thinks about anger, passion is never anything but what people say it is" (Barthe 1988, 75). The ancient Greeks described

metaphors as the colours, lights, and flowers of language, sometimes "revealing a taboo topic like the blush which reddens a face" (Barthe 1988, 84).

The Roman empire of the second to fourth centuries, willingly incorporated the Greek intellectual practice of dialectical discourse, and was a time of peace, of commerce, and of exchanges favorable to leisure societies. Over this period of Roman colonialism rhetoric absorbs other kinds of speech including poetry and is adopted by the general European culture under the influence of Rome (Barthe 1988, 28). With the absorption of the aesthetics of poetry, rhetoric becomes the means by which to detach the discussed action (which may be reprehensible) from the art which is used to discuss it (often admirably) (Barthe 1988, 27). After the eighth century there was increasing competition as an expanding merchant class extended their sphere of influence and a game culture developed in which aggression was coded and legitimate education (i.e. that which is considered proper) focused on lessons which trained athletes of speech to deliver dialectical duels that forced an opponent to contradict herself. The role of speech was once again the subject of a certain glamour and of a regulated power although very antagonistic (Barthe 1988, 30).

However, by the end of the Middle Ages people were learning to have respect for a new value - evidence. This could be personal evidence as in the Protestant faith or sensory evidence as in empiricism and the rules and regulations of scientific reporting of the results of repeatable experiments. The performance of good rhetoric, such as the persuasive skill of the Muses, lost much of its power to persuade that had created civilisations in the past to a new persuasive art - science (Barthe 1988, 43). However, in the late twentieth century, rhetoric (the art of a persuasion performance) has once again carved out a place for itself and continues to play a major role in society and economics especially through political campaigns, the marketing of consumer products, and the culture and entertainment industries.

#### 5.6 *The Theogony and the Delphic Oracles (Verse Five)*

...So it is from the Muses, and from Apollo  
of the far cast,  
that there are men on earth who are poets,  
and players on the lyre...  
...he no longer remembers  
sorrow, for the gifts of the goddesses  
soon turn his thoughts elsewhere.

In the verse above Hesiod (in Lattimore 1959, 128-129) refers directly to Apollo of the far cast, a play on the capacity of his unique weapon, the bow and arrow, to having a far cast and a metaphoric comment on his role in divining the future, another far cast. The Oracles, who operated from Delphi and were all Apollo's, produced state of the art divinations and were the first to reveal to people how perfect speech could be. Apollo had gifted the hexameter to Phemonoe, a mountain nymph who was his daughter and

the first Oracle. This gift meant that not only was the future told in poetry but it was told at a high level of formal excellence although usually the answers given were ambiguous and many people did not understand the meaning until much later (Calasso 1993, 144). Divination grew into a major industry at Delphi and divining was an honored and revered occupation with an accompanying ideology and power structure. The ultimate goal for the Delphic Oracles was not mindless devotion but knowledge. For them access to, and performance of, the correct ritual and an understanding of the correct way of doing things was of the utmost importance. "The greatest crime lay not so much in having done certain things but in having done them without realising what one was doing" (Calasso 1993, 165). The extent of their power was determined by their specialised knowledge of the rules of legitimate, valid performances.

The case of the Delphic Oracles appears to be similar to the contemporary Western experience of mass communication and entertainment ideology that is based on the TRANSMITTER - MESSAGE - RECEIVER sequence. Because the content of the message is affected by the technology used to produce it, and by the context in which it is used, this ideology reflects a particular social relationship which privileges the person with access to the production technology (Baudrillard 1981, 178). When we think of words as signs that stand for something else then it seems apparent that, in language, the forms of the sign - image or verbal - are privileged over what they signify (Baudrillard 1981, 18). Dahlberg (1996, 46), in the statement, "the technological form must not be separated from its social context: the form is social," is also arguing that production is a reflection of the desires and expectations of the people holding social power. In the case of contemporary mass communications technology this excludes ambivalence and reciprocity from the exchange leaving only information, rather than knowledge, to circulate in the production of value (Baudrillard 1981, 179). For example, electronic games such as the virtual pet prevent communication of a mutual nature, in which meaning is exchanged and the people at both ends of the message are mutually influenced by the exchange (Baudrillard 1981, 169).

In the context of communication if only one side has the power to speak, a monopoly has been created. Yet communication; and through communication the construction of meaning and culture, is a social process which is likely to be enhanced as more people participate and contribute alternative views,

*Speech must be able to be exchanged, give and repay itself as is occasionally the case with looks and smiles. It cannot simply be interrupted, congealed, stockpiled, and redistributed in some corner of the social process (Baudrillard 1981, 170).*

This is not the case wherever a monopolistic takeover of the opportunity to speak privileges the sender of the message (Baudrillard 1981, 171) and predetermines the parameters of possible responses. Baudrillard (1981, 183) advocates a symbolic exchange relation in which there is no transmitter or receiver but a simultaneous response that restores ambivalence to meaning. For him, breaching the univocality of the message would restore the symbolic and destroy any monopoly over codes and the colonising social relations explicit in that monopoly.

## 5.7 Conclusion

Lash and Urry (1994, 3) disagree with McCracken's (1990, 72) idea of a loci of meaning within material objects and prefer to re-focus on the role of flows of transmission. Lash and Urry argue that material consumer goods have only a temporary potential to store and exchange meaning and communicate because, although material objects do exist in space, they exist for shorter and shorter periods of time as our attention is dispersed and our forgetfulness enhanced. They (Lash and Urry 1994, 4) mean products like customer databases, 'expert' management information systems, music CD's, movies, Disneyworld, magazines, and videos when they say,

*There are changes in the nature of the subjects but also the objects involved in mobility. They are progressively emptied of material content. What is increasingly produced are not material objects but signs that are of two types: post-industrial, information goods with a cognitive content or they have primarily an aesthetic content.*

What they seem to imply is that while material products are still being produced it isn't materiality that adds value anymore but the cognitive or aesthetic component of goods, and their ability to reflect meaning in the midst of flow. They connect our increasing desire for meaningful product to the simultaneous emptying out of goods and services caused by the processes of increased turnover time, speed of circulation and the disposability of subjects and objects. They see these changes leading to loss of meaning, abstraction, homogenisation, alienation and the destruction of the subject. In their (Lash and Urry 1994, 6) opinion the basis for the contemporary individual is increasingly the spread of information and communication networks through which flow thoughts and opinions as well as the images and expressive symbols of aesthetic reflexivity. It is the networks that take priority for Lash and Urry because these enable the mobile flow of capital, money, commodities, labour, information and images across time and space.

At the same time as they see transmissions and flows replacing presence the materiality of bodies remain important to Lash and Urry. They (Lash and Urry 1994, 32) disagree with both Habermas and McCracken on the extent to which their concept of the self is embodied as a being-in-the-world. In their opinion Habermas and McCracken structure the self as mainly mind and ego and as a subject that wants to reflexively control it's body instead of seeing the self as something which itself is bodily. Lash and Urry (1994, 47) consider that society reproduces itself and its relations of power by informing the collective environment in general and individual bodies in particular. People learn with, and express what they have learnt through their bodies by interacting with their world, making copies, practising, and through performance.

Where Habermas may define the Sirens as representing 'my' world, Iris and the Oracles as 'our' world, Pandora as 'the' world and the Muses as 'language'; in the flows of Lash and Urry, the Sirens represent

the aesthetic while the Muses are the knowledge-intensive cognitive component of the being-in-the-world they identify as the positive side of contemporary capitalism. On the negative side, representing the dark forces of consumerism, Lash and Urry might place Pandora and her emptied box, along with the Delphic Oracles as the mass media, assisting the transmission of values appropriate to consumerism. Just like the others the position of Iris, the ultimate judge, and her 'legitimate interpersonal relations,' will almost certainly differ depending on your point of view. Of course, the creative value of myth is that it is always open to interpretation by those who want to tell a different story and many of the themes represented by the mythological figures discussed in this chapter continue to be seen today. For example, the series of advertisements that ran in *The Press* during September 1997 promoting computer purchases could also be interpreted using the characters in this chapter.

**Table 11 Comparing myths from today and the past**

Advertisement Text	Comparable Myth
Into Entertainment - For the newest release at the cinema. The latest CD from your favorite band. Or the gossip on your favorite TV show ( <i>The Press</i> 16/9/97, 5).	The Muses
Into computers - To keep pace with the digital revolution, you need the most up to the minute information at your fingertips ( <i>The Press</i> 23/9/97, 15 ).	The Delphic Oracles
Into News - If it's in the world news, it's on the Net ( <i>The Press</i> 30/9/97, 3 ).	The Sirens

In the contemporary world, transmission of meaning probably happens most commonly through consumer marketing and the global entertainment industry which introduces star characters to millions of people through television, movies, magazines, fashion clothing, sports events, music videos and computer games. As such, the stories in this chapter also explain the continuing importance of performance in contemporary lives as well as indicating what the impact of privatisation of entertainment and information, which is discussed in the next chapter, might have on contemporary lives. Given contemporary hunger for cultural difference and the economic opportunities deriving from meaning I question whether any disadvantaged group can afford to allow themselves to be alienated from their own stories. It may be more important now than it has ever been to own and control narrative and image with its different points of view and own claims to validity.

In the next chapter I discuss a series of interviews held with women who are resisting the contemporary emphasis on passive engagement in a global infrastructure by participating, where they can, in performances requiring active engagement. Hesiod (in Lattimore 1959, 129) says, at the end of the *Theogony*,

*Hail, then, children of Zeus:  
grant me lovely singing.*

## CHAPTER SIX: CHIMAERA ENCHANTED

*"I could go into my profile and say I'm a 30 year old, 6 foot, blond male...In their mind they are now in a conversation with a 30 year old blond male" (Thaleia 1997, 7).*

### 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed how the sharing and creating of reality and culture is interwoven with production and consumption and through these to the distribution of social and economic power. Many of the themes from the old myths are present in the story of electronic communication told in this chapter including seduction by the promise of unlimited information; a place for truth, lies and promises; the containment of hope in the material goods of consumerism; our search for community through collective consensus; and the chance to 'turn off' and 'forget' the world around us. In virtual reality as in real life, hierarchies and elites bid and compete for power, while others resist their dominance.

Having discussed the 'big picture' in the previous chapter which looked at some of the west's mythology about performance and cultural transmission, in this chapter I discuss the emerging common themes which are informing our cultural understanding of electronic communications. The common themes contradict each other and these contradictions are reflected in the practice of the women interviewed and, quite often, in ambiguous relations of production between the women, the technology, and other users. The information in this chapter comes from a series of face-to-face interviews held over 1996 and 1997 with women practicing community level resistance to social and economic marginalisation. The data indicated a number of relevant themes including community, game playing and identity and, for each of these, I discuss an argument both for and against the use of electronic communication to transmit information and create culture. I then go on to discuss the extent to which the technology is being used as a discursive niche to transform and take ownership of the technology, opening passageways to the virtual world and improving real life access to the Net.

Briefly, the data indicated a form of creolisation was being used that included a large element of fantasy play, or interactive performance, which can be seen in the participant's flexibility toward stable identity and truthfulness. There is a joke that goes: 'how do you know your kids are talking too long on chat lines or e-mail? When they tilt their heads sideways to smile' (New Zealand PC World 1997, 152). It's funny because the reference to the sideways smiley symbol ":)" is based on the recognition of the interrogation resonating between virtual reality and real life.

## 6.2 Arguments for and against electronic communication

**Table 12 Summary of arguments for and against electronic communication**

(A) FOR	(B) AGAINST
1. The technology is democratic and communal. It grows a sense of belonging - like people can talk to other like people.	1. The Net is in the hands of private business with nothing to do with democracy while any sense of belonging is engineered by marketing hype.
2. It eliminates the old barriers against communication associated with different status that people interpret from others appearance - race, gender, age.	2. The old barriers associated with presence - age, gender, race - have been replaced with new barriers associated with access - cost, Net culture.
3. It is fun, you can forget time and the problems of real life while you're immersed in virtual reality playing and learning with your simulated identity.	3. It's schizophrenic play and we have no idea what the impact will be of gaining experiential information based on virtuality not reality.

### 1.A Networking; Democracy; Community

*"We have a technology that is an economic force, a liberating force, a source of pleasure, a source of communication..." (Polymnia 1997, per comm).*

Computer mediated communication technology works to transmit a democratic culture. Foster's (1997, 23) concept of the technology as "a real example of a broadband, wide-area computer network that allows each individual user an equal voice, or at least an equal opportunity to speak" is upheld by Kleio (1996, per comm.) when she says "The big thing in this country is the control of the media and that's what I think the Internet can undermine and give people some control back of the information." Ourania (1997, per comm.) expressed a similar understanding about the democratic nature of the technology when she said "It is a potential balance to the multinationals - if they're using global ways of avoiding their responsibilities then that can be balanced by sharing information about them." Foster (1997, 25) quoted Mead as saying "A person is a personality because he belongs to a community" claiming that both identity and community depend on communication. During virtual communication the individual has to internalise both the concepts of 'identity' and 'community' because neither can be, as they are in the material world, externalised as a specific, objective product. All the same, a sense of participating in a community is frequently observed by users of chat lines, newsgroups, and MUDs as Ourania (1997, per comm.) noted in her comment about a network of people separated by a busy city space, "they're too busy to develop their relationship if they have to get together physically. With e-mail you do it at your convenience ...everyone has some time, just not all at the same time". Melpomene (1997, per comm.) also commented,

*We need to communicate, to get our ideas out there. Which is why I think women's groups work well because that is what we do most of the time. Its how you come up with our ideas and agreements. Just talk, talk, talk, talk. Talk it all out until you can't talk about it any more. So communication is really the key.*

Kleio (1996, per comm.) was referring to the sense of belonging created by a unique culture developing through interaction with its environment when she mentioned Net culture - "netiquette its called but there's nobody enforcing it. Its just using good manners...I guess its just respect for other people's work like you expect someone to treat you." We become more sensitive to the situation of the 'other' and find ourselves drawn into the similarity of situations all round the world or to feeling sympathy for others. Once you have recognised the 'other' it is more difficult to marginalise them. Thaleia (1997, per comm) confirmed this experience when she said "its really nice to go somewhere and chat to maybe 20 other people who are also soap opera addicts".

#### 1.B Profit, Democracy and Community are not the same things

*"It was just a survival decision - having to continually reinvent" (Terpischore 1997, per comm.).*

Neither the technology itself nor the network is democratic because development and ownership of the Internet is in the hands of private business which is driven by the desire for profit not democracy or the development of the collective. As Dahlberg (1996, 53-54) puts it,

*A commercial Net means that profitable types of information and communication become privileged over others. And corporate ownership ties any supposedly non-commercial spaces available for citizenry interaction on the Net into the market.*

Polymnia (1997, per comm.) who said, "According to 1991 statistics 70% of teleworkers are women and they're on \$3.50/hr... yes, there is an increase in profitability and efficiency but at a cost to women " noticed the negative impact of teleworking. Terpischore (1997, per comm.) observed another of the downsides of working at home in her comment,

*So rather than me wandering around in my old dungeree clothes on the weekend, if there's a client coming I think hell I'd better make sure the house is tidy and I've got some decent clothes on so I can do the hostess thing, bring in coffee. So I'm still working it out but the business has to go on. The world is a 24-hour place.*

And both the privatisation of the Net and the increasing marketing content was a concern for some of the interviewees:

SOURCE	COMMENT
Kleio 1996, per comm	We've already got IBM talking about buying a separate gateway out of the country... Now we have Telecom owning all the lines so we've got the big boys, we've got the big corporations who are sort've controlling it so it could get to a point where they didn't like what we were doing.

Thaleia 1997, per comm.	There are adverts everywhere...The few times I've actually clicked on an advert...has been because it was so well done. It was either flashing or flying or great colours or a great picture on it of somebody who was moving. Its so clever...if its something that's done by mail by god, you could just rake in the money.
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Another major component of Net communication for all the interviewees was the minimised extent to which they felt obliged to participate in the long process of negotiated consensual reality. In many ways the technology and the culture of the Net means never having to say you're sorry. As Thaleia (1997, per comm.) comments,

*If you say something stupid in that room you can just go out of that room and go into another one...I just hit exit and it'll say 'Thaleia just left the room.' I then go hit profile, change my name to something else and go back in. They don't know its Thaleia come back in. It's a completely new person.*

Most of the women were glad to be able to avoid having to negotiate and it is noticeable that most didn't mind not knowing whom they were talking to. When I asked her if she wanted to meet her Net friends in person, Terpischore (1997, 5) said "Hell, no. I'm quite happy for them to stay virtual." Over time you can learn the jargon and culture of Net communication but no-one expects it to reflect any kind of truth nor that other speakers are who they say they are. It works because although you know this person may, or may not be or think, who they say they are or think everyone behaves as if it were true. This is an accepted social norm on the Net. Thaleia's (1997,7) comments refer to this,

*I could go into my profile and say I'm a 30-year-old, 6-foot, blond male. So a woman, or whoever, can click on my nickname and come up with my profile. They don't know if that's true or not but in their mind they are now in a conversation with a 30 year old blond male... at that time that is who you're having a conversation with.*

The potential impact of electronic surveillance has been carefully observed by Thaleia (1997, 6) who said, "I suppose its just a risk you take - with technology...We're still careful what we say. You have to be...I'm worried there's someone watching and checking who's saying what." The big databases at the heart of the information economy are based on individual data, and this virtual identity can matter more in terms of accessing credit than the actuality of the person living in the real world. The news and data streaming endlessly from computerised databases is a big business in its own right. The Economist (June 1997, 89) in an article entitled *Arming for the data wars* noted that during 1996 the top four database companies earned \$4.4 billion of sales for providing the kind of information that helps the decision-making of today's highly mobile and risk averse capital markets. As for news, Reuter's alone produces the equivalent of 27,000 pages of data every second.

Our ability to learn from doing, through direct sensory input, means that the practice of working with flows of immaterial electronic data, and using electronic communication, which are not based on a physical experience of the external world of nature (i.e. Habermas' [Foster 1997, 34] communication model) will

result in a different kind of understanding of our world. According to N. Katherine Hayles (1996, 261) under these circumstances pattern and randomness have more impact than presence and absence. She says,

*Given the long tradition of dominance that presence and absence have enjoyed in the western tradition, the surprise is not that formations based on them continue to exist but that they are being displaced so rapidly across such a wide range of cultural sites.*

This is what Haraway (1997, 45) meant when she said "We exist in a sea of powerful stories; there is no way out of stories...Not for our species, anyway". This is why it would be useful for women choosing to resist colonisation to have an idea of the myths embedded in technology so they can consciously rework them to tell their own stories, as creolisation strategies do.

## 2.A Eliminates the barriers of race, gender, age

*"She was having a hell of a time in the bank just cos she had her hair spiked and stuff" (Kleio 1996, per comm.).*

There are good and bad forms of both openness and closure. Good forms of openness lead to expressive, well-informed individuals and the cross-fertilisation of knowledge while bad forms result in babble. A bad form of closure is refusing to consider new information while a good form includes the learned ability of those logged onto the Net to exert self-control, and to be discriminating and selective in the face of so much information (Foster 1997, 27). Based on Lippman's (in Stone 1995, 11) definition we can see many of the characteristics of both open and closed personal interaction in Thaleia's electronic communication:

- Mutual interruptibility, for example - "Sometimes I'll be chatting to someone and after 4 - 5 comments back and forwards I'll sometimes think "Oh, this person is a bit of a weirdo"; (Thaleia 1997, per comm.)
- Graceful degradation so that unanswerable questions don't halt the conversation: for example, "Now I've picked up some of the jargon I just go for it" (Thaleia 1997, per comm.);
- Limited look-ahead. Thaleia (1997, per comm) says, "I chat for hours. Sometimes its midnight before I turn it off";
- The participants can playfully and spontaneously develop a mutual discourse as Thaleia (1997, per comm.) does when she talks with others in the yarn room "for a couple of hours making up these different stories and things".

Many of the women expressed appreciation for the opportunity to explore the good forms of openness created specifically by this technology. Ourania (1997, per comm.) said, "no one on the Net is physically bigger. So long as you have access no one can shut you up. They can refuse to listen but you don't need to stop speaking - and what you say is still out there. They can delete it but others will hear." Melpomene (1997, per comm.) observed that she thought "people can be more honest really than in face to face. This is what I've found with women on the phone. They'll ring up and they'll say all sorts of things because you don't even know who they are" while Thaleia (1997, per comm.) clearly perceived the lack of presence as an advantage,

*I'd rather talk to people through chat rooms than face-to-face because who cares what you look like. No-one can see you. Whereas I can sit on my computer and chat to anybody no matter what condition I'm in...When I'm talking to people face to face I'll tend to be more reserved...When I'm on the chat room its all gone.*

## 2.B Old barriers are replaced with new barriers

*"Another issue is how literate people are" ( Melpomene 1997, per comm.).*

The technology is not neutral in terms of who is able to benefit. Haraway (1991, 168) has described the technology of electronic games as "crucial to production of modern forms of 'private life'. The culture of video games is heavily orientated to individual competition and extraterrestrial warfare. High tech, gendered imagination's are produced here". Polymnia (1997, per comm.) did not think that less gendered imagination's or more equitable participation was likely to happen in the future when she looked at the people getting training (the symbol manipulator's and managers) to manage the Net,

*But look at Computer Science at Victoria - two women, there's two women in that class. The rest are men, so of course they're getting the highly paid jobs and they're the ones designing the games, designing the programmes, designing the software. That's why you will get wargames and cyberpets.*

There was a range of other barriers recognised by the women interviewed as preventing equitable participation which included computer literacy, typing skills to keep up your side of the conversation, familiarity with the (english) language used, the cost of the technology including running costs, understanding the jargon, knowing the correct behaviour, articulateness with the written word, and access to communication as well as word processing software. Comments included:

SOURCE	COMMENT
Kleio 1996, per comm.	To actually participate in a newsgroup, like to have a dialogue you have to be reasonably confident about what you're saying.
Melpomene 1997, per comm.	There's heaps of people with low literacy. Its more than what you hear. And if you can't type fast you can't keep up with the conversation.
Thaleia 1997, per comm.	I'm really amazed at the amount of money I'm actually spending. It's not too bad but it's a lot more than I thought it would be
Kleio 1996, per comm.	There's this international network out there... We should get connected...No, we haven't got the resources. No, we haven't got the money.

### 3.A Fun; Creative; Game-playing culture

*"How many people get to explore that side of themselves?" ( Melpomene 1997, per comm.)*

There are many opportunities in electronic communication to forget the problems of real time and find yourself immersed in another world in which you can have many different identities and lots of control once you learn the rules. Melpomene (1997, per comm.) says, "Some people's lives are so miserable. I wouldn't want to judge that. They might want to try it and see if it works" while Stone (1996, 19) has described the virtual mode of relation as primarily a concentration of individual energy on the nourishment of the self accompanied by a withdrawal from active engagement in communal politics. She (Stone 1996, 120) says:

*Self would be better described as a process in continual flux. The trends towards interiority and textuality (print) continue and are abetted by concomitant developments in communication technology... - radio, tv, computers - accompany the discourse networks and social formations now coming into being.*

This concept of the self is supported by Polymnia's (1997, per comm.) comment that "You adopt different persona's all the time. There's nothing unusual or dangerous in doing that. Its stimulating and even if you are only casting in a cyberspace play you still have to think and be able to respond to unpredictable situations" as well as Melpomeme's (1997, per comm.) understanding that "for the women we see, this is different from their everyday drudgery, an escape from reality...its a great way to explore their dramatic side. Get into all sorts of things, create this whole different side of themselves, and they can be that person for the time."

It seems that this technology keeps people indoors engaged in a particular form of community with many of the features of a game in which the players participate, spectate, and certainly experience a great deal of control over. The players in this game make conscious decisions, act intentionally and get pleasure from this temporary, anonymous community. Terpischore (1997, per comm.) said "That's my way of turning the phone off and having a bit of fun with it. So you use the technology to have a bit of fun with a gender neutral name" and Thaleia (1997, per comm.) said "It was just a really humorous time... we talked for a couple of hours making up these different stories and things. I don't know who I was talking to."

### 3.B Fun; Creative; Risk-taking culture

*"Hey, you only have to read the newspapers to see the type of weirdo's out there" (Terpischore 1997, per comm.).*

It may be very dangerous fun for some of us. Every now and then you hear of a group pressuring government to censor or control information on the Net like children's access to pornography, gambling,

privacy, risks associated with net commerce, and the ease of intellectual property infringement in a digital world. At this stage the net still seems to resist political control and geographical boundaries and many people, especially young people, are learning to base their concepts and worldviews on what is happening in virtual reality. Thaleia (1997, per comm.) thinks "there's lots of 10 year olds on there pretending they're 30" and (1997, per comm.) that it is "really scary that kids have access to some of the stuff that I've seen". Ourania (1997, per comm.) also noted that her daughter "tried chat and thought it was wonderful - I've since realised there are some reasons to have concerns with public access and kids" while Melpomene (1997, per comm.) was very specific about the boundaries between virtual and real life when she said she will "chase the people I want to have in my life. I'm not taking them into my home, they're not meeting my son, or being introduced to my other friends. Its private, away from all that".

The addictive nature of the medium was noticed by Thaleia (1997, per comm.) who said "I thought because of the novelty of it that in the first month I used it more because it was new. I thought that it would wear off, and it hasn't. I want to be on it all the time" and the temptation to disappear from reality was noted by Terpischore (1997, per comm.) who said "It's so invisible on the Net. You can be anyone, you can create what you want to be, you can enter the total realm of fantasy" and (1997, per comm.) "You can exclude your family and immediate surroundings if you get locked into it...suddenly it's like "oops! I haven't even said hello to my partner yet".

### 6.3 *A Discursive Niche*

Having briefly described the general themes which emerged from the interviews I now use this data to investigate the extent to which these women were participating in a discursive niche that allowed them to adopt creolisation strategies towards the dominant claims of the global communications infrastructure. A discursive niche is defined by Parker (1992, 39) as a mix of the material and symbolic conditions that signify an opportunity for resistance exists and includes the following conditions:

- the personal safety to develop alternative discourses.
- the organisation of space which allows mutual discourse to be practiced.
- the extent to which it is acknowledged that cultural frameworks influence your point of view and ways of interpreting your world.
- the extent to which the language acknowledges the possibility of alternatives (cultural frameworks, world views, social roles) and change.

The extent to which the women interviewed for this chapter felt they were transforming and taking ownership of the technology varied from person to person and depended on the situation.

### 6.3.a Personal Safety

It seems that women and children must remain in strictly guarded areas if they want protection from sexual harassment and emotional damage - they do not have much more free and unrestricted movement in the virtual world than in the real world. Terpischore (1997, per comm.) noticed that there is a "whole section on the Internet and safe sites for women so again that's about not only keeping safe in this world that we live in but keeping safe in that virtual world too". For some people this adaptation to a unpleasant and undesirable situation for women, that works to maintain a passive and obedient group within Western culture, can signal resistance because they are refusing to abandon their use of the technology and have worked out a way around the problem. On the other hand, Polymnia (1997, per comm.) did not think there was enough personal (emotional and physical) safety for women when she said that on the Net "You get young testosterone flying around. And that's scary...We don't want women to feel compartmentalised on the Net as they are in daily living".

In other situations, such as in a political or commercial context the network format of the system means you cannot be stopped from speaking and communicating even if others don't like what you say. Ourania (1997, per comm.) noticed that her "Polish students were fixed to the CIA public information screen on Poland - they said they learned more that way than growing up in Poland" and Kleio (1996, per comm.) commented that,

*The Internet provides people with quite a safe means of communication. It's written, as in on the screen...None of those visual barriers are there, like with an accent sometimes you can get people noticing difference. So with a piece of e-mail it's just a piece of text.*

### 6.3.b The organisation of space

In Dahlberg's (1996, 53-54) opinion the space created by the Internet is not organised to allow stories of resistance to emerge because the net has been privatised and commercialised and,

*Corporate ownership ties any supposedly non-commercial spaces available for citizenry interaction on the Net into the market. The trouble is unless they can interact with the loci of decision making any public opinion they form are largely redundant.*

While the material space of virtual reality is organised as a distributive network, access to the network is both expensive and in private ownership. On the other hand, once you get on it seems that people experience a great deal of freedom from censorship or constraint as far as symbolic exchange goes. Thaleia (1997, per comm.) said "when I'm on the World Wide Web there's probably hundreds and thousands of people watching what I'm saying but I don't care...I write everything in these e-mails and don't even think twice about who's seeing this". In Ourania's (1997, per comm.) opinion even though the space is capitalist stories are being told there of people helping each other to resist exploitation,

*There was a student led revolt and a paper published their views against the government. The paper was closed down by the government so they went on-line where they can't be controlled. The government could not censor their views and they got information to their own people and to the rest of the world.*

And there is Terpischore's (1997, per comm.) experience of political resistance within the family as women help each other to walk away from violent, dangerous relationships and to start a new life. She said "You can bring those feelings together so they're quite close, quite whanau-like. And the woman who's in crisis, who's been beaten up is the same as the woman in New York who's just walked away from a beating."

### 6.3.c Point of View

The capacity to avoid the conflict and dynamics of alternative points of view seems to indicate that the technology is used primarily as a form of entertainment rather than as a medium for active political engagement. As Dahlberg (1996,57) states "people are choosing gambling, cybersex, cyberdating, shopping. And with the multimedia home entertainment packages being developed cyberspace entertainment promises to be even more seductive than it is now". If this retreat inwards is a strategic resistance response to so much of the external world, including politics, being managed as forms of commodity entertainment, the effectiveness of silence and absence as a political weapon is still being tested (Dahlberg 1996, 58). Choosing not to silently withdraw from the effort of working through alternative points of view seems to have paid off for Ourania (1997, per comm.) who said,

*I thought I just had to download solutions - and found they had the same problems and issues we had. It's a dream that solutions exist. When I realised that, my opinion became more important and I re-valued the things that happened here. Experts are no more expert than I am.*

In the end, as Kleio (1996, per comm.) points out, you can't count on people continuing to use the equipment for the reasons it was designed - "initially the computer companies are going to like increased use and computer literacy in the community because they'll make sales but it depends on the type of information and what's transpiring" and identity play or immersion in the project of personal development can lead to reflection on the interaction between cultural frameworks and your point of view. Polymnia (1997, per comm.) observed that "I don't have a problem with scattered identities - its real. And the other thing is that women will argue and argue and debate and we will change our mind if convinced otherwise. Even if we hold a strong viewpoint we will change our mind".

### 6.4.d Alternative Cultural Frameworks

The possibility of change as an inherent character of the conversations on the Net are primarily to do with individual identity, which can frequently be a political statement in it's own right. Obviously, given the type

of communication that's happening on the Net some political barriers are minimised while others have grown to take their place. Some people will benefit from that and others will lose so there is a shift rather than a change. The main shift seems to be towards the dollar having more impact than gender, race, attractiveness, age, etc. - if you can afford access you can say whatever you like although if you can use English quickly and articulately with grace and style then people will probably also listen and talk back to you.

Given the inevitably conservative nature of people with money it seems unrealistic to expect major political changes as a result of increased use of this technology but within this framework there is still considerable resistance to the exploitation and colonisation of women being expressed by the women interviewed for this thesis. The blunt reality is that resistance isn't easy when it has to be fitted around the daily imperative of family and work responsibilities but listen to the high level of resistance implicit in Polymnia's (1997, per comm.) statement,

*If you're absolutely wacked and exhausted, been working all day, and you come home and blob in front of TV, you can be braindead and accept without defiance whatever you may be watching. But sooner or later you will react and start talking back to the TV, especially the ads.*

Certainly the technology creates particularly unique opportunities and constraints so that the nature of dialogue itself will be different because the technology encourages less emphasis on the external world of nature and truth by placing more emphasis on internalisation of legitimated social norms developed through interaction. Melpomene (1997, per comm.) expresses a common social norm on the Net when she says, "You can tell any story you want because no one will know. Because they're probably doing exactly the same thing back to you".

## 6.5 Conclusion

Not surprisingly, the extent of resistance exhibited in the virtual world of electronic communication is as ambivalent and ambiguous as the archaic, mythical figures discussed in the previous chapter who contain within themselves both the 'for' and 'against' arguments. Pandora represents both the hope and hell of consumerism and the love of the object; the Muses continue to support our desire to recognise and be recognised by a community of like-minded people; Iris's capacity to treat everyone the same with her Oath is seen in our interest in reducing barriers of difference at the same time as enforcing sameness with legitimated social norms; the Oracles are still promising us both the loss and the opportunity of minimal dependence on the uncontrollable real world; while the desirable Sirens with their seductive promise of abundant information and their capacity to manage flickering identities are making a real come-back in popularity.

In this chapter I have indicated that hunger for information and the need to perform are the two main reasons why people use the technology. I have also shown a relationship between past and present mythology and indicated that these women are weaving an integrated pattern from their use of electronic communication technology, fully conscious of the costs and benefits, by accessing and implementing the particular skills, language, and cultural norms specific to this new tool. There is nothing new in that. Yes, people communicating on the Net seem as ethereal as chimaera, enchanted by the capacity of the technology to promise, and deliver, an endless supply of information. And yes, the trend towards global entertainment and the growth of the culture industries of the imagination and design can be seen in how the women use this technology. However, as Hall (in King 1991, 58) has pointed out "people are not cultural dopes... if they engage in another project it is because it has hailed them and established some point of identification with them". Sometimes the women pay attention and sometimes they allow themselves to be distracted. They surf the Net for fun and games, escape and avoidance and they also consciously undertake serious networking, resist exploitation, share information and build consensus. Performance is used extensively in the fantasy play with identity as an opportunity to experiment, trial, discuss, resist, evaluate, enjoy and play with new possibilities. This freedom is a vital part of building the soft skills of confidence, esteem, awareness, negotiation capacity and evaluation that increases resilience and realises human capital. People playing with identity in this way are (re) learning new(old) ways of interpreting their world, new ways of interacting with others and the world, and new ways to place themselves in more powerful positions.

In the next chapter I discuss the three formal categories of theory - identity, presence and pleasure - identified in the research design chapter, within the framework of the globalisation/creolisation paradigm and the ambivalent impact of consumerism (of products and information) on individuals and groups excluded from the marketplace. Within the category of pleasure, I discuss further the leading role of performance in assisting groups to design and experiment with their own piece of virtual reality. It is performance that is especially useful as an opportunity to practice and develop human capital skills that are a vital component to self-determination and economic development.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

*"There I live in my second personality and see life in the round, as something forever coming into being and passing on" (Jung in Mugerauer 1995, 26).*

### 7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I briefly summarise the main themes of globalisation and creolisation (Hall, 1991; Howe, 1996; Lash and Urry, 1994; Lockhard, 1997; McCracken, 1990) before then going on to discuss a number of hypotheses from the point of view that they are resistance strategies (defined as a discursive niche) used by the groups to attain cultural and economic self-determination. I conclude that it is the pleasure people get from performing that stands out most dramatically. Creolisation theory says that as we respond to the specific opportunities and constraints of a particular technological, cultural and economic environment, we are influenced by, and influence back, their development. However, this is most true for people from the dominant culture, as groups with less power are frequently excluded from participating in influential decision-making processes.

My argument in this thesis is that the possibility of real life resistance is dependent on a complex interaction of material and symbolic conditions. These conditions are affected by the practice of soft skills like personal confidence, self-esteem, awareness, recognition of strengths, and negotiation capacity as these enable people to make choices about what and how they will adopt, transform or resist stories with no meaning for them. Soft skills have difficulty growing within a colonising framework, as this cannot encourage self-reliance and self-determination or there would be no one to colonise. We live in a fairly complex society in which contradictions like colonisation:decolonisation and abuse:resistance to power can continue at the same time, often in the same place, amongst the same people. The capacity to negotiate change in material and symbolic conditions is related to people recognising and using creolisation strategies that encourage self-reliance and self-determination but, given contemporary conditions may often be partial and occasional. Of course, the actual form of the expression of soft skills varies from group to group and between cultures but are experienced from the subject's position as self-determination and a sense of equitable participation.

More than ever, social, political and economic control now means the ability to exert power over and through the relations of communication themselves and, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the ancient myths of Raukata-uri and the Muses along with their archaic colleagues in culture making continue to represent a powerful political and economic force. However, the ongoing privatisation of the cultural industry means the owners will seek profitability and efficiency and as Haraway (1991, 166) says,

*The success of the attack on relatively privileged, mostly white, men's unionised jobs is tied to the power of the new communications technology to integrate and control labour despite extensive dispersion and decentralisation.*

Under these conditions access to any cultural products is, like other privatised goods and services, available only to people with a good job and a middle-class income and without these, which is exactly the position of many Maori and women, neither the 'virtual' nor the 'real' world is your world. Although you may be listening you are not contributing to the stories being told there.

## 7.2 Globalisation and Creolisation Themes

According to Lash and Urry (1994, 4) there is a tendency in the global economy towards increasing flows of people, capital, technology, ideas and images. Of course, global flows are not a new trend as Harmon (1996, 5) points out "The search for markets as far across the world as possible and the movement of funds across state boundaries has been a characteristic of capitalism from its origins in the middle ages". All the same the organisation of production (how it's done) is changing as well as the content (what is being made). But the local continues to resist being totally represented by others, they resist completely adopting the point of view of the producers, and they deny the one-way gaze of the dominant narrative. The data collected for this thesis, and discussed in chapters four and six, supports the claim made by the creolisation paradigm that culture is constructed through consumption as well as production. In both cases (Maori and women) the people seemed to be concerned to get access, but on their own terms and to pursue their own goals, into a system which is excluding them - economic development or Net technology. Creolisation accepts that people do not need to be seeking radical change but may only be resisting certain aspects of consumerism or privatisation. As Howe (1996, 13) says, resistance will often take the form of :

- Accommodating an identity negotiated with the producers while at the same time exploiting it. For example, Polymnia (1997, 7) said about women teleworking that even though the money was bad "they do have a better lifestyle because they're able to manage their lifestyle more effectively";
- Restricting appropriation and representation by using the west's own system's to remove or protect their culture from the marketplace. Melpomene (1997, 5) controlled the interface between 'their' world and 'her' world by restricting access, "I'm not taking them into my home, they're not meeting my son, or being introduced to my other friends";
- Using modern media of communication to tell their own story. For example, Kleio (1996, 6) thought the "Internet can undermine and give people some control back of the information" and a group at a marae (1:1996, 24) sang "So much confusion for Maori today, We must stand up and have our say".

The merging of the global consumer society with local cultural traditions is not always beneficial. Potential benefits depend on the extent to which the growth of the culture industry reflects the increasing

colonisation of narrative, symbols and imagination with the expanding economic paradigm of consumerism and privatisation or whether this is balanced by local interpretation for local benefit.

### 7.3 Hypotheses

In chapter two I identified three formal categories - presence, identity and pleasure - as useful frames for analysing the research data. The hypotheses I set out to investigate in this thesis resulted from identifying three categories of formal theory, common to both groups and set out in the table below - flickering identities between collective and privatised identity; a flickering presence connected to time and space; and pleasure which came from both participating and spectating.

**Table 13 Hypotheses**

IDENTITY	PRESENCE	PLEASURE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flickering identity is used as a creolisation strategy by people in the case studies to generate resistance to the dominant narratives and to develop different stories</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>People flickering between presence and pattern have the most opportunity for both conflict with, and creative responses to, dominating narratives</li> <li>Through presence people learn the new skills and cultural knowledge they need to transform and rework their situation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participation in setting the frameworks of the stories to be told gives more pleasure than spectating</li> <li>The stories must be able to be shared and effective</li> <li>resistance stories must be persuasive and (re)present a 'stronger magic'</li> </ul>

However, it is the pleasure and delight people got from the opportunity to perform, to play, to practice real life, to act out a plan, to pretend, to trial and to test, that seems to me to add most value to creolisation strategies. The pleasure people got from participating in a performance could be because it is a reaction to an entertainment culture that increasingly seeks to engage people on a passive level, that is, a response to the flows Lash and Urry (1994, 4) talk about. On the other hand it could indicate that people want a slice of the action, they want to emulate the stars, to be recognised like all those public figures we see so much of in contemporary media that we sometimes know more about them than members of our own families.

### 7.3.1 Identity

This thesis has attempted to understand what privatising virtual space might mean for many people emerging from the margins of a dominant and colonising culture. The West, having pulled back from colonising real space with occupation armies to colonising it with armies of products, is now also starting to colonise, commoditise and privatise virtual space. Lash and Urry (1994, 4) describe the contemporary economy as a series of flows which have transformed the ways we acquire identity. The flows have also transformed time and space so that "the speed with which we can attach meaning to image has increased. Narratives remain central but we can follow more of them simultaneously" (Lash and Urry 1994, 55). The increasing capacity to follow many, simultaneous narratives describes the process of people practising a variety of identities, evaluating their cultural frameworks and developing a new balance, a process that can cause some anxiety and resistance as you mix the use of older beliefs with newer concepts.

There was a lot of game-playing and 'me/not me' flickering identity going on in both sets of research data - within the Whitiwhitikorero project people were both themselves as well as the role they had adopted for the performance while almost all the women using electronic communications sometimes described themselves accurately and sometimes misled others (and were misled themselves). The capacity to resist the beliefs embedded in the highly developed persuasive systems of western mass media such as television, movies, videos, and computer games requires an equally compelling, alternative, belief system. This characteristic could be seen in both cases of resistance, most frequently presented as viable alternatives to the dominant paradigm. There were many references to the strength people inherited from a collective identity as this waiata (Tunohopu Marae:1996,17) says, "So, Whanau Unite, Tautoko the call. Then as a nation, STAND TALL! STAND TALL!" There were also a number of references to the value people got from a sense of community in the Net communications. For example:

SOURCE	COMMENT
Thaleia 1997, 7	There's probably around 30 people who are connected every night and know each other now really well.
Ourania 1997, 6	Instead of groups by nations it has potential for groups by interest...power can go right down to an individual bank teller with the right information.

This waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 23) is a mix of political consciousness and self-affirmation, "When I'm up you want to pull me down, Is it cause the colour of my skin is brown?" And Kleio (1996, 1) said,

*Because we've had this consumer culture imposed people are just expecting that that's the norm and the few defending little voices in the community think 'Oh, am I the only one who thinks like this. But when you connect it, when they see that 'Hey! There's lots of other people who don't like that happening'.*

Examples of flickering identity are apparent in comments like: "I'm really amazed at the amount of money I'm actually spending. It's not too bad but it's a lot more than I thought it would be" (Thaleia 1997, 6); Polymnia's (1997, 16) comment that "You have to talk about more than a social agenda. We're becoming more individualistic, it's become legislated for" and "In the first month I used it more because it was new. I thought it would wear off, and it hasn't. I want to be on it all the time" (Thaleia 1997, 10). These comments, like the waiata (1: 1996, 24) below, are indicative of a system that contains its share of greedy and addictive components:

*Your dreams and aspirations are reality,  
Maori are our own worst enemies,  
They want the putea  
What's in it for me!*

### 7.3.2 Presence

How does a culture remember in the midst of continual flow or is the amnesia promised by the Muses an inevitable part of contemporary everyday life? Time and matter have been inextricably entwined within bodies as people experience life, as they work at producing a shared memory through collective remembering using tools like symbols, signs, and allegories to assist the senses of sight, touch, hearing, and smell (Lash and Urry 1994, 240). But we construct our memories around the objects we make and the services we provide and these processes of production, distribution and consumption are currently undergoing a transformation that emphasises not bodies which are singular and stationary in space but flows. Irigaray, quoted in Lash and Urry (1994, 241) says: "Your body is not the same today as it was yesterday. Your body remembers." Flickering between embodied presence and pattern flow is one of the skills people use to adapt to expanding virtual reality.

Although the detail was different in both case studies, the people were learning many new skills and building new cultural knowledge. Tabbi (1997, 248) said "So long as a system is invisible, it will remain in the service of the reigning ideology - and all the more so in a consumer culture, whose primary goal is the free, uninhibited circulation of machinic desire." In the Whitiwhitikorero case there was explicit critique of the reigning ideology and recognition given to possible alternatives. On the whole, the Whitiwhitikorero project attempted to shift Maori away from any over-reliance they may have on Pakeha paradigms and towards Mātauranga Maori. It did this by asking people to re-read the meanings of prototypes (especially by introducing Maori prototypes as the models) and to re-evaluate the lessons they have learned about similarities. To persuade others means providing the tools and systems that allow them to translate a new theory and its consequences into their own language. But it is only when the new theory is internalized to the extent that people use it to interpret and act in their world that assimilation (or decolonisation, in this case) is complete. The process of internalization was helped by setting people learning puzzles and

letting them produce the answer for themselves using their own resources. That sort of learning is not acquired by exclusively verbal means. It comes when people can place words together with concrete examples of how they function in use: action and words are learned together. By physically acting out exercises, by performing, by copying the real world in a trial practice those involved got to feel the information in their bodies - their muscles as well as their minds responded to the knowledge and this helped to internalize it.

In the Net case Terpischore (1997, 3) explicitly recognised that "It's so invisible on the Net" but for her, and most of the other's interviewed, a conscious and reflective effort was necessary to reveal the influence and extension of the technology they were involved with as the comments below indicate.

SOURCE	TOPIC	COMMENT
Thaleia 1997, 6	electronic surveillance	I suppose it's just a risk you take - with technology...we're still careful what we say.
Thaleia 1997, 8	uses for jargon	After 4 -5 comments back and forwards I'll sometimes think, 'Oh, this person is a bit of a weirdo'.
Ourania 1997, 2	information abundance	It gets to be such a long list it can be overwhelming...I finally felt able to do something about it.
Kleio 1996, 4	immateriality	After a while you get sort've tired of just cruising around the Net.

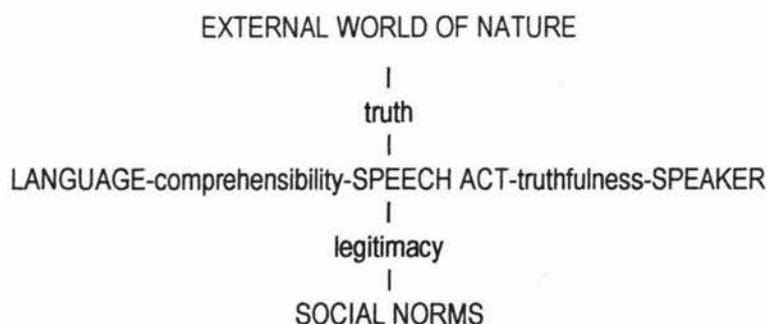
All of the women recognised that it can be a struggle to remember to critique the "invisible" culture especially the dominating one that is being extended around the world through the Net. Computer interfaces use a desktop metaphor that privileges white-collar, knowledge workers; clip art and spell checks are based on white, middle-class images and language; and levels of privileged access to work intranets reinforce the institutional power hierarchies of real time (Tabbi 1996, 242).

But in terms of e-mail, which can be written quickly, read quickly and quickly deleted, there is an opportunity to challenge specific production styles. E-mail combines convenience for the reader/listener who can read their mail when they have the time or the desire with the speedy delivery of the telephone for the writer/speaker. And, instead of the "draft-revise" style of production, e-mail lends itself to "improve-elaborate" because the original text can be stockpiled and reworked at a later date then returned, or sent on anywhere, for further "improve-elaborate" as well as being mailed to lots of people at the same time. The opportunity exists for a more collaborative, cooperative workstyle in which the audience/performer and speaker/listener roles are interchangeable. This makes e-mail like, but different from, other interactions like telephones or face-to-face conversations which cannot be stockpiled, and combines the characteristics of flexible accumulation and a dispersive network. In the Whitiwhitikorero case the production and performance style of "improve-elaborate" was obvious in the waiata and plays which used a long tradition of composition based on this process.

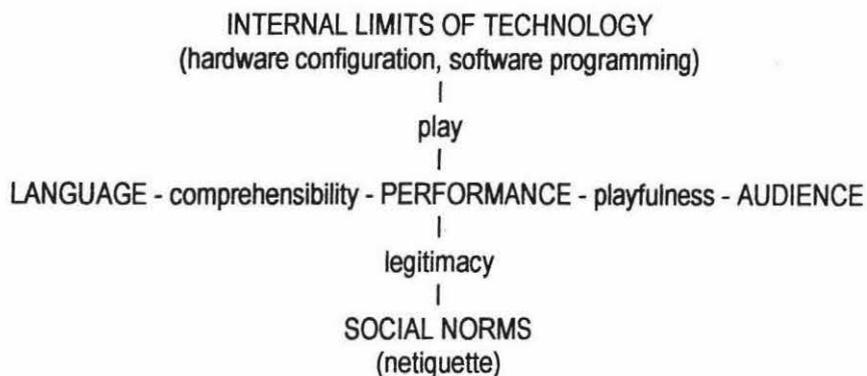
### 7.3.3 Pleasure

In both the Maori and women case studies people experienced a great deal of pleasure from interaction with other people and from the style of interaction that was used. Turkle (1996, 356-361), describing role playing, said that engagement in fantasy performances facilitates the chance for adults to work and rework unresolved personal issues and more generally, to think through specific political and economic situations. The process enables people to explore a social context as well as to reflect on their own nature and power; "acting out" in a safe environment provides the context that can stimulate people to recognise and "work through" issues; and the chance to be "me" and "not me" at the same time offers many insights into relationships with the world. In this quote Turkle (1996, 364) is talking about virtual reality but the statement "By being betwixt and between, it becomes a play space for thinking about the real world" could apply equally to performances.

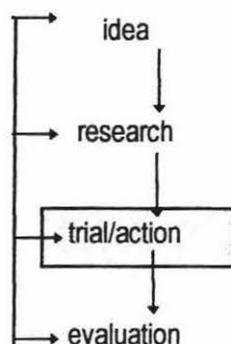
People used the invisibility provided by the Net to "use the technology to have a bit of fun with a gender neutral name" (Terpischore 1997, 5); to talk "for a couple of hours making up these different stories and things" (Thaleia 1997, 8); to "escape from reality...it's a great way to explore their dramatic side" (Polymnia 1997, 13) and to "be more honest really than in face to face" (Melpomene 1997, 4). What was apparent with all the women I interviewed was that they really enjoy this form of participation and that they made conscious choices in full awareness of the fantasy of the event. A different look at Habermas' (Foster 1997, 34) model of communication that was used to discuss the roles of the mythical goddesses in chapter five gives us an idea of how a virtual community may be grounded within the act of communication (the speech act). However, because it cannot be grounded in the external world of nature and nor can truthfulness be guaranteed or even expected, Habermas' model below:



...is, given the important role of performance indicated by the interview data, more likely to look like this within the Net:



Involvement in participation was also a feature of Young's moemoea model, which clearly indicated a role for trial/action as this diagram shows:



These particular performances are, however, mutual ones. They require both performer and spectator, in the traditional sense, but these roles are necessarily interchangeable and, in both cases researched here, the performance is an interaction in the Lippman (Stone 1995, 11). sense of:

- interruptibility,
- rules that allow a graceful way out,
- limited look-ahead
- and spontaneous, playful cues and suggestions.

One of the characteristics of electronic communication is the possibility of being both at once as something you wrote yesterday is read and responded to by someone else today as you respond to what they said yesterday. The pleasure people got from participation in the Whitiwhitikorero case came from the personal interaction and the focus on recognising things of value to Maori as this waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 16) expresses:

*Me te whakaaro kotahi  
Ka taea nga mea katoa  
E piki ana e kake ana  
Kia kokiri nga mahi e  
"Moemoea"*

*One of our thoughts  
Is to complete all the things  
Climbing! Climbing!  
To carry forward the work  
Of our dream.*

In an effective interactive performance the stories must be able to be shared, that is speakers and listeners are present and interchangeable, while effective resistance stories must be persuasive and

(re)present a 'stronger magic'. On the whole this hypothesis was confirmed from both sets of research data. This waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 12) is addressed to both speakers and listeners, "Get off your kumu and have a go, Let's start today!! And not tomorrow...Our dreams and visions we'd like to share" and these comments reflect a recognition of the mutual exchange that exists between speaker and listener while presenting a persuasive argument for sharing:

SOURCE	COMMENT
Terpischore 1997:4, 6	If we are using it as a mentoring process and to exchange information and activate people and inform people...Through the words, through conversations, through activating people throughout the world... They share that knowledge with their friends and then the linkages start going out.
Melpomene 1997,6	Its how you come up with our ideas and agreements. Just talk, talk, talk, talk. Talk it all out until you can't talk about it any more. So communication is really the key.

The use of persuasive resistance stories that contain a 'stronger magic' (i.e. the concept of a heritage available to everyone) than the dominant narrative can be seen in the following waiata (Tunohopu Marae: 1996, 10). Their strength seems to come from their cultural meaning, which the group values and uses to interpret their world.

*Waiata, kapahaka  
Manaaki te tangata  
Kiapono kia tika  
Kei memeha noa*

*Song, dance  
Caring for each other  
Truly and properly  
These are for everyone.*

While Ourania and Terpischore both told stories about people helping each other to resist exploitation:

SOURCE	COMMENT
Ourania 1997, 6	There was a student led revolt and a paper published their views against the government. The paper was closed down by the government so they went on-line where they can't be controlled. The government could not censor their views and they got information to their own people and to the rest of the world.
Terpischore 1997, 4	You can bring those feelings together so they're quite close, quite whanau-like. And the woman who's in crisis, who's been beaten up is the same as the woman in New York who's just walked away from a beating.

The challenge for groups attempting creolisation strategies is to remember to recognise and value their everyday knowledge, an ability that supports the soft skills of confidence, self-esteem, awareness, and negotiation capacity. When specialists such as scientists and academics consistently deny the value of knowledge learnt from practice and experience it is hard to remember that this is actually the base source of all our understandings, definitions, concepts and narratives. Moving between these two worlds takes considerable taken-for-granted skill and both the Maori and women researched for this thesis used performances - a creative source of diversity, innovation, participation, energy and commitment - to

practice the transition between worlds. The creative faculty of performance is what Meares (1992, 152) is talking about when he says,

*Self is made up of highly charged experience, which has a dynamic form, resembling playing or dreaming. It is often wordless, made up of images and feelings...Seen in this way, self goes on in a space, which is not real but "virtual" and which is the area found by the mental activity underlying the symbolic play of the child and the "fantasia" of the adult.*

#### 7.4 Final Remarks

The implication of this research is that effective resistance strategies need to be persuasive; use language, skills and technologies that make sense to the people involved; and enable a creative, interactive performance of some kind in which different bodies, minds, and emotions work together harmoniously. The common elements of an interactive performance I saw in this research include:

- the desire to entertain and be entertained
- a sense of humour
- spontaneity (which may be acquired through familiarity with the 'game rules')
- relevance - the use of topical characters and events
- expressive communication skills (verbal, image and body language)
- a willingness to reach consensus on a common theme or accepted roles
- a desire to explore
- a sense of safety

Levy (1996, 367) says,

*The art of involvement discovers the current of music. How do we make a symphony rise from the murmur of a multiple? How do we transform the sound of a crowd into a chorus, without a musical score?*

His answer (1996, 367), supported by the previous chapters, has been that interactive participation "continually brings the social contract into play, it keeps the group in a state of renewal." In both cases much of the pleasure people experienced was derived from participation in interactive performances. In the Net case people experience a fantasy performance with other people using flickering identities using diverse identities themselves in which personal safety from embarrassment or long term commitment was guaranteed by the anonymity allowed by the technology. These people were literally writing their own life stories maintaining the validity of the communication through mutual engagement in play. Polymnia's (1997, 13) comment that adopting different identities is "stimulating and even if you are only casting in a cyberspace play you still have to think and be able to respond to unpredictable situations" is an example. This kind of performance is oriented toward a 'making of self' project of individual development and the

accumulation and maintenance of familiarity with relations of flows. In the Whitiwhitikorero project, which was oriented more toward group development, you performed as part of a group. This guaranteed personal safety partly because accountability was dispersed throughout the group; partly because you were probably related to, and had worked with, at least some of the other members before; and partly because you were using familiar techniques of “elaborate-improve”. This kind of performance is oriented toward group development and the accumulation and maintenance of familiarity with relations of networks. Given the increasing economic importance of both flow and networks I assume that familiarity with these skills of relations will be useful.

The role of performance in the cases studied here may reflect resistance to the increasing flows of immaterial aesthetic signs and an economy based on “the seduction of the marketplace” (Lash and Urry 1994,4). However, given our long familiarity, as seen by the myths discussed in chapters three and five, with the compelling performance it seems unlikely that its use by Maori or women is new in any way. It may be useful at this point to explore some of the connections between the words ‘performance’ as I have used it in this thesis and ‘virtual’. The word ‘virtual’ in everyday speech usually refers to the set of complex relations between reality and appearance, to confusion between ‘what appears to be real’ and ‘what is real’. If reality can be defined as the original, unique, authentic and material world then virtual reality, like performance, refers to our many and diverse interpretations of the real in the form of the copies we make of it. The confusion comes in because sometimes it doesn’t really seem to matter if something is real or virtual when the effects are the same in the end (Wilbur 1997, 9). A copy is not necessarily less useful than real life - in fact, it can help to reveal meanings or generate new meanings by articulating the ordinary, taken-for-granted backdrop of our usual decision-making. The performance of a particular interpretation represents claims to power - the accepted, legitimated interpretation is the one we base our actions on.

The second definition of the virtual refers to the realm of appearances and those optical technologies - reflection, refraction, magnification, remote viewing or simulation - that bring into view things we can’t see by ourselves but which we call real. The stories we are telling ourselves using the indirect technologies of television, microscopes, satellite telescopes, movies, computer games, and chat lines are so powerful that Paul Virilio has suggested (Wilson 1997, 10) that the “technologies of the virtual are destined to not only simulate the real but to replace it”. Stone (1996, 6) says that the more we use optical technologies and call ‘that which becomes known’ by the name ‘reality,’ the further we distance ourselves from it. She is concerned that our understanding of the world and of ‘nature’ is becoming increasingly secondhand, like a story. While the reach of the virtual is undoubtedly expanding we have always made second-hand interpretations of our real world - we have always sung songs, drawn maps, written poetry to the infinite and indescribable, and proven the theory of gravity by watching apples fall off trees to the ground. Regardless of whether it is against the “background of a hard, obdurate, understandable real

world that we fight the wars over who gets to tell the stories about that world" (Stone 1996, 6) or against the background of virtual reality the real action continues in the battles to persuade others of the validity of your interpretation.

Neither does the role of performance seem to be connected to the contemporary desire for recognition of self - everyone wanting to be a star - because in both the cases discussed in this thesis there is more of an interchangeable, interactive, mutual exchange occurring between audience and performer. Instead I consider the enduring nature of interactive performance reflects its powerful, life-giving, dynamic capacity. A capacity that marginalised groups can usefully adopt as they seek self-determination. While it is beyond the brief of this thesis, and certainly beyond me, to fully define either the value or the art of performance, the research indicates that it lies somewhere in the remarkable capacity to work creatively with paradox: enabling abundance and absence and chaos and order while balancing spontaneity with discipline and consciousness with the unconscious. Described like this, performance seems to be related in some way to Marsden's (1992, 135) description of the growth process as a,

*Fountain through which the primal energy of potential being proceeds from the infinite realms of Te Korekore through the realms of Te Po into the world of light (Te Ao Marama) to replenish the stuff of the universe as well as to create what is new. Thus it is a process of continuous creation and recreation.*

This thesis has shown that performance was used in the past by both Maori and western culture to stake out rights to social and economic benefits and make claims to power and that this process continues today in the expanding culture industries. I have tried to show, in two specific cases, how marginalised groups use creolisation strategies including performance, to effectively transform or resist the strong globalisation push of the culture industries. In particular, I have discussed the way people, in much the same way they always have done, continue to get pleasure from participating in performances. These can be valuable learning opportunities especially because they provide the opportunity to practice the 'soft' skills Kaplan (1996, 8) defines as integral to economic development. In the few lines quoted below Levy (1996, 367) says, beautifully, what I have attempted to show in this thesis,

*In comparison to the watch or the calendar, the temporality of the collective imagination may seem delayed, interrupted, splintered. Yet it is all played out in the dark, invisible recesses of the collective: the melody, the emotional tonality, the secret pulse, the connections, and continuity that it binds together at the very heart of the individuals of which it is composed.*

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