

Chapter Six: Theory as the Patu or Patu as a Theory

Patu as the prompt

The melding and dismantling of images, classification, categorisation; ways of connecting and disconnecting; people, concepts, time and objects are central to theory creation. One particular connection that remains upper most in my mind as I write this is an image of my grandmother, Hana Te Paea, whose name my daughter carries. It is a photograph that has long since commanded my attention. She is one tipuna nestled amongst many tupuna residing in our home. While many of them (males) were renowned exponents of taiaha and patu it is to her image that I am drawn. It is this representation that led me to question the extent of my understanding of Western frameworks in which classification and categorisation (imposed schema of individuality and collectivity) occurs and its impact on Maori women. I have come to see that it is framework that divests Maori women of connections to much that is considered significant within our own culture.

Photos of my great, great grandfather holding a patu pounamu (greenstone patu), a patu onewa (stone patu) and in still others a wooden patuki seemed complicit with popular Westernised representations of men as warriors and patu as lethal weaponry. Nevertheless holding to such imaging implies a contradiction in the photographing of my grandmother. Why did she clutch such an object with such determination? Why was it pulled to her breast in a protective pose - who was the protector and who was the protected? How could she be allowed to hold a taonga of such a tapu nature if she was simply noa? So many seeming contradictions, so many seeming incongruities even for one who has been fortunate enough to see women as strong, as capable and nothing less than equal. Were the stories wrong or the recording of detail were linear castings, ignoring the rich mosaic of life to which patu and women contribute?

Whose interests were being served in feeding back to us such images?

The near invisibility of Maori women in the early ethnographic recordings that have been heralded as extensive, provide little more than caricatures. These recordings highlight misshapen, exaggerated or totally ignored characteristics at the cost of the rich portraits that exist in Maori accounts. Patu and the contemporary conceptualisation of Maori women have thus provided the catalyst for this chapter's discussion and the following chapters' explorations of the women who participated in this thesis.

Explaining the title

The diametrically opposed positions encased within the title of this chapter indicate the two ways theory production has been perceived by many Maori. The first, alluded to in the opening quote, is about particular Western theoretical frameworks seen to be detrimental to cultural growth and development, which I refer to as 'theory as the patu'¹.

¹The literal translation of patu is to: hit, beat, subdue.

These are theoretical positions that subsume taonga² within a western classification schema, describing and rationalising Maori behaviour in terms of difference and distance from imposed colonial norms. In education such norms defined Maori as intellectually deficient and culturally deviant explaining the educational outcomes of Maori youth within the confines of deficit theories advanced by educational institutions desensitised to them as individuals and insensitive to their collective aspirations as Maori, discussed in chapter three. The second opposing position of 'Patu as the theory', considers two frames; narrative and metaphor (both only recently recognised in the research archive) through which the taonga patu³ provide the potential to theorise the experiences of eight Maori women. My use of patu as the theory is to describe the women's educational experiences by eliciting the support⁴ of patu korero as a metaphor to draw out and make clear the terms of reference used in engaging with the participants' narratives. This theory as description of phenomena posits that the participant's success in educational institutions is derived from their tenacity as Maori youth to resist pervasive discursive practice that would otherwise position them as deficit.

Engagement with theory from a Maori position⁵, like all theory is derived from the norms/standpoint of the theorist. Tuhiwai-Smith (1997) argues that, 'theories are only important if they are perceived to be useful ... in providing a language and a form of analysis which is enabling rather than alienating" (p. 29). Tuhiwai-Smith further maintains that the primary function of a theoretical framework is to make sense of the realities of the people who live within them. The realities of this group of women is that by self ascription they are Maori, by colonial influence they are confronted with contradiction and paradox, by attained educational outcomes they are successful (in

² Taonga is used inclusively to include people.

³ The reference here is to patu as a cultural metaphor, see for example Gannon (1994) and Panoho (1996). Tarsitani (1996) indicates the central role of metaphors in the development of theory in physics maintaining that they fulfil one of three roles: substitutive, interactive or constitutive.

⁴ This is not an in depth analysis of patu per se but rather a drawing out/on principles, processes and practices associated with patu.

⁵ I wish to point out that the use of 'a Maori position' is a conscious one, and is quite distinct from the use of 'the Maori position' recognising diversity within collectives. See for example Mead (1996) and Jackson (1997).

terms of credential provision in the compulsory sector of education) and by profession they are educators in the primary sector. Tuhiwai-Smith (1992) contends that

As women, we have been defined in terms of our differences to men. As Maori, we have been defined in terms of our differences to our colonisers. As both, we have been defined by our differences to Maori men, Pakeha men and Pakeha women. The socioeconomic class in which most Maori women are located makes the category of 'Other' an even more complex problematic (p. 33)

The theory offered here unfolds the women's 'deficiencies' as strength, their 'deviance' from the norm as the fortitude to negate internalising externally derived labels of 'deficit' and difference in institutional contexts as a detrimental legacy of a colonial construct that hierarchically ordered and differentiated the 'west from the rest' (Said 1989). The theory thus provides an explanation of the participants' experience as success, becomes successful resistance to pervasive hegemonic norms.

The focus of resistance comes from what Mead (H., 1997) argues is,

..the *power* society imposes(ing) such a mesh of controls upon the indigenous society that it virtually manipulates how the subject people are to think about themselves and most aspects of their culture. In fact, members of that society set out the rules, determine whether to give funds or not, and speak and write on behalf of the indigenous group (p. 181).

The representation of indigenous groups as anti-intellectual, based on the recognition of subjectivity⁶ as a central tenet of epistemology has been a fundamental constraining norm that continues even at a time when subjectivity is seen to be centrally located in scientific endeavour (Walker, M., 1998; Mutu 1998).

As indicated in the personal reflection that commences this chapter, understanding *patu* as *taonga* *tuku* *iho* rather than *patu* as an excavated western artefact is considered essential to this thesis. Hence the weaving of colonial interpretations around *taonga* in general and *patu* in particular, are unraveled in the following discussion.

⁶ For Harding (1983), the accepted tenets of impartiality, value neutrality, and objectivity are tools of social control that serve men in their project to make science a male preserve. She further argues that genuine objectivity arises not from embracing the 'patriarchal' idea of the 'unity of the scientific method' but out of a commitment to the 'participatory values' of antiracism, anticlassism and antisexism. Harding furthermore posits that not science but moral and political discussion provides a paradigm for rational inquiry. For discussion based on indigenous position see for example Tuhiwai-Smith (1997), Kawagley (1995; 1996) Churchill (1992).

Patu as a western excavated artefact: Indigenous groups as the object of discovery

Patu subsumed in a schema to fit Colonial classification criteria are categorised simplistically as weaponry (Simmons 1982, Doig 1989), or critiqued with regard to their individual artistic merit (McEwan 1966, Skinner 1924). When these facets of patu are privileged to the exclusion of more extensive readings, patu become divorced from the social matrix to which they contribute (Ngata 1958, Barrow 1969, 1984). This occurs through a complex hegemonic process in which colonised groups are divested of defining and naming authority (Jackson 1998). The layering of colonial discourse upon symbolic art form provides a veneer that obscures the metaphoric significance attached to taonga (Te Awekotuku 1996) and constrains thought and action in relation to them (Mead, S., 1997). That the wealth of images and symbolic significance attached to taonga was not decipherable to an external group has aided the loss of much prior knowledge. Hakiwai (1996) argues, in relation to the arts generally, that Maori have inherited a legacy of people who see 'the outward signs but are ignorant of the inward messages and of the symbols and meanings of the culture they represent' (p. 51).

The resultant legacy is more pervasive than art form alone. The selective emphasis on characteristics of patu can be seen to be replicated in the disabling forms of objectification experienced by Maori women through analyses that have focused on the superficially observable with little desire to explore or examine underlying intent. Furthermore, of equal relevance is that patu become a metaphoric exemplar of containment and control, subsumed within an archive outside the codes of knowledge in which they were shaped. This requires their pacification when supplicated to the classifying criteria of 'other'.

Figure 6.1 indicates some of the ways in which Maori and western classification schema diverge.

Figure 6.1 Western and Maori Classification Juxtaposed.

Western concept of classification applied to 'artefacts'.	Maori concept of classification applied to taonga.
<p>Categorised according to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * function - primarily weaponry (Simmons 1982, Doig 1989) * morphology - Form (Skinner 1933; McEwan 1966) * communal or individual activity (Burrows 1969) <p>Based on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * mono-functional end product utility * form morphological qualities including artistic stylisation validated through connection to other international art forms. 	<p>Categorised according to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * whakapapa based on genealogical links to the substances from which they were shaped (Te Awekotuku 1996; Mead, H., 1996; Hakiwai 1996) * attributes of original substance ie pounamu, onewa, bone, wood (Te Awekotuku 1996; Mead, H., 1996; Hakiwai 1996) * dedication to Atua, individually named as symbolic reference to person(s) or incident (mana) (Makareti 1986) * socio-political connective qualities ie. cementing treaties (Durie, M., 1990) * inclusion of whakapapa of whanau, hapu and/or iwi (Makareti 1986; Hakiwai 1996; Mead, H., 1997) * antiquity; no. of generations through which taonga passed and historical incidents to which they were attached (Grace 1959; Makareti 1986; Mead, H., 1996) <p>Based on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * placement in cosmological narratives * substance from which it is constructed * process of manufacture * purpose for which it was intended * status of person for whom it was intended * status of manufacturer

Where both codes presuppose specialised knowledge in the classification process, a Maori framework integrates patu into a unified web that links domains within Te Ao Marama, privileging the connective qualities of both people and taonga (Dansey 1992). This is predicated on understanding that all things have mauri (a life force) and are active; therefore eliciting their metaphoric support is considered an interactive process. In contrast, Western classification separates, disconnects and fragments by promoting

individual characteristics such as, morphology, artistic merit or mono-functional precepts, classifying each as though they constitute complete separate entities. In effect this reduces taonga to a *'formal pattern or type'* divorced from the socio-historical milieu converging in their creation (Said 1989).

The interpretations of patu inherent in Western classification juxtaposed with a Maori schema also mirrors the antithetic binaries of individualism and collectivism (Triandis 1995). The interplay between dominance and power however, is central to understanding how either an individualist or collectivist approach is centred or marginalised from processes and practices that structure multiethnic societies (Banks 1993). The immediate issue with these ideological binaries is that in Western schema, Maori art and life ways are *'tainted with primitivism'*. This belittles underlying principles and *'distorts the world view of indigenous culture'* even for those who are connected to it (Mead, S., 1997).

Patu within a Maori schema however, provides a rich tapestry of meanings. As such it provides for this thesis the foundation for a descriptive theory based on whakapapa. Whakapapa as an organisational schema in Te Ao Marama, commencing with Ranginui (sky) and Papatuanuku (earth), reveals a structure that situates humanity in a phenomenological matrix that encompasses how phenomena in general are conceptualised. Commencing with the progeny of Rangi and Papa, each begat a multitude of offspring; some human, others animal, plant, elemental and mineral, which filled each of the realms (Sinclair 1992, Barlow 1994). Interlocating atua simultaneously as parental phenomena and siblings derived from the union of Rangi and Papa suggests the origin of people, plants, animals, minerals and elements are constituent parts of a whole in which the privileging of solely human space⁷ diminishes (Simmons 1994; Te Awekotuku 1996; Barlow 1994). Situated within this frame a researcher is

⁷ Within this space there are divisions. I am not suggesting all were seen to be equal. For example although humanity was seen to be descended from the atua with ira atua (the life force of the gods) the addition of ira tangata (the life force of humanity) confines humanity in its physical form to te ao marama (the world of light) (Te Awekotuku 1996).

drawn 'out' to a wider picture rather than drawn 'in' to a smaller focus. Whakapapa is an organic analytic method. It is concerned with growth rather than deconstruction (Royal 1998:, p. 5).

Smith (L., 1992) argues that, "when Maori women control their own definitions, the fundamental unit of identity which can make sense of different realities is whakapapa. Whakapapa is both individual and group oriented" (p. 39). Pere (1989) locates the understanding of Maori women within such matrices while also drawing on metaphysical and spiritual dimensions. Thus, a whakapapa framework provides the foundation for analysis that seeks 'connections and relationships to other phenomena'⁸ (Royal 1998, p.4). Patu grounded in whakapapa serve in this sense an allegoric function, though the theoretical explanation for the women's experiences is more extensive than allegory alone. Whakapapa characterises 'growth and development' (Durie, M., 1990), predicated on developing a relational understanding of one phenomena to another (Royal 1998). It further provides the terms of reference upon which existing links are recognised and new connections are meaningfully engaged (Durie, M., 1990). That is, it also implies what is valued, what is considered worth holding on to and what is worth resisting.

As a result of power differentials (discussed in chapter four), classification within a Maori cultural schema is often construed as invalid while anthropological convenience is validated. For example, Skinner (1933), in analysing hei-matau (pendants, amulets) suggests convenience as an appropriate classification tool.

In the absence of Maori information on the point [*explanation of such taonga*] it is doubtful whether all these are to be considered as amulets, but they certainly belong to one morphological group and are therefore *conveniently* treated together (p. 318) (my emphasis).

While early explorers sketched diligently and earnestly traded for items of curiosity (King undated, cited in Burrow 1969) as a physical record of sights, people, places and artefacts for later embellishment, few recognised that they were translating one

Similarly each of the realms were seen to have qualities that distinguished them, recognising and working with these distinctions was away of achieving balance (Rangihau 1975).

⁸Royal (1998) uses the 'terms phenomena and phenomenon to refer to anything cognisable by human beings' (p. 4 footnote 7).

permanent record for another. Robley (1913) provides a case in point. Having arrived from Africa with other colonial troops, to 'quell' the 'Maori uprisings' in the 1860's, Robley returned to England, having resided in Aotearoa/New Zealand for three years. He sustained an interest in Maori art form, particularly moko (tattooing practices) and pounamu (Jade, greenstone) from which many highly prized patu were shaped. He is blatant in his claimed authoritative knowledge of Maori cultural practices and perceived Maori lack thereof;

The Maori who now pose as authorities are untrustworthy. They are at best theorists and less likely to theorise correctly than Europeans, because of their limited knowledge. For while the knowledge of the white man ranges over the whole race, that of the native New Zealander is confined to customs and practices of the particular family or tribe to which he belongs (p. 54).

The position from which authority is claimed over all Maori people is one based on the presumptuous notion that creating normative accounts of the 'native New Zealander' was superior to the accounts from people who did not presume to know all things for all iwi (tribal groups), but were resolute in their knowledge of themselves and their own. Rangihau (1975) expressing his concern about collectivising iwi maintains that the notion of Maoritanga⁹ is problematic.

.. because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity (p. 233).

Anthropological analyses of three dimensional idiomatic histories more often than not became a running record of miscues, advanced by a group used to decoding two dimensional symbols in order to provide 'grand theories' (Thomas 1997). These records ignored three dimensional chronicles that presented a different orthography¹⁰. That

⁹ Maoritanga was not a term used to group iwi post-European contact. It has become a way of identifying indigenous people in Aotearoa irrespective of tribal affiliation commonly used by Maori and non-Maori alike. In Rangihau's assertion for sustained tribal identity descent is reiterated as the primary means of identification, it does not negate notions of kinship where Maori were and are currently drawn together in socio-political and economic contexts but he doesn't see these contexts as the source from which identity is derived.

¹⁰ Orthography - the way in which words are conventionally written (The Oxford English Dictionary (sec ed) Volume X Clarendon Press: Oxford. 1989) (by extension) the way thoughts and views are recorded. Taylor (Rev.[undated] cited in Robley 1915) identifies how moko became known to Europeans "The Maori used a kind of hieroglyphic or symbolic way of communication. Thus a chief inviting another to join in war party sent a tattooed potato and ..." Taylor (1988) also recognises, carvings in particular serving as mnemonic devices.

Maori encoded records were worn, carried, lived in and walked upon provided a group of budding anthropologists an opportunity for self reification; disinterested in organisational frameworks existing within the culture from which the 'curios' were obtained (Dewes 1975).

Durie (M., 1990) accentuating the unifying characteristics of patu, identifies the diametrically opposed accounts of customary contexts,

European accounts of these times tend to emphasise war, defeat, victory, victors and the vanquished. They are often simplistic, Maori accounts place much greater emphasis on the redistribution of power, the acceptance of new neighbours and the creation of new pathways for joint future development (1990, pp. 3-4).

The essential difference being reiterated is that the first position advances a static view of warring primitives, while the latter indicates a dynamic culture actively engaged in their right to growth and development. Early anthropological studies of indigenous groups tended to place the cultural imperatives of a scientific discipline, derived from one groups socio-political history, at the centre and viewed others in terms of distance from those norms. The extent to which groups deviated from colonial norms became the primary tool for measurement of pathological behaviour.

Narrative and metaphor are commonly accepted mechanisms for the development of theory in both archives.

Patu as a narrative

Walker (1992), in discussing the significance of narratives writes,

... an analysis of Maori myths¹¹ will show that even today Maori will respond to the myth-messages and cultural imperatives embedded in their mythology. It is possible to follow a recurrence of themes in a continuum across mythological, traditional and historic times..... Myths reflect the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere them to legitimating charters. Sometimes a myth is the outward projection of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected. Alternatively a myth might provide a

¹¹As argued in the methodology chapter *Theoretical Issues Around the Development of Maori Research Approaches*, the use of the word myth is problematic not the meaning intended in Walker's discussion.

reflection of current social practice, in which case it has an instructional and validating function (pp. 170-171).

It is through narrative that theorising¹² has always been evident. It is, as Walker (1992) suggests, generalisable, within Maori contexts, because of the interrelatedness of Maori epistemic knowledge to know not purely for knowledge's sake, but to know in relation to and connected to oneself, whanau, hapu, iwi and the wider environment¹³. A notable exception however is the use of (mis or re)interpreted narratives, fed back particularly to Maori women, in order to rationalise their subordinate status as though it were decreed by Maori cultural imperative (Irwin 1991).

It is generally accepted that narratives in oral tradition contain principles of lore, but often they are detached from their ontological (assumptions about the nature of reality), epistemological (ways of knowing) and axiological (views of morality and truth)¹⁴ roots. When used in a decontextualised manner they become relegated to the position of myth; fossilised in time, disconnected from their explanatory power in relation to the present - divorced from the foundation upon which theory can be developed. Discourse about taonga in general is thus limited to historical interest rather than informing analytic frameworks within which contemporary issues can be understood. So when the narrative and symbolic multiple meanings attached to patu are ignored in favour of literal translation, their metaphorical significance and relevance to current contexts is stifled as an anachronism.

In contrast, it is only in the last two decades in human and social sciences that narrative has attained the status as a site in which cultural precepts are seen to come together

¹²The intention is to highlight the existence of theory across iwi groups not to suggest all theories were identical. Tribal variances evident in narrative attest to the level of control/autonomy in contextualising theory while simultaneously providing the foundation upon which general principles were understood.

¹³I wish to make it clear that I am not arguing a post modernist or post structuralist position. That argument requires a forum beyond the parameters of this thesis, nor do I perceive the position herein to be strictly essentialist. I wish to allude to the paradox of early criticisms directed at indigenous epistemology as subjective as a means of marginalising such positions and contemporary discourse that advance subjectivity without recognising any central fixed core.

¹⁴Ontological, epistemological and axiological positions are debated within philosophy of science dealing with 'the real, the true and the good' for a broader discussion on how such positions are mediated by culture see Scheurich and Young (1997).

(Said 1989). Jameson, Ricoeur and Tororov suggest that the formal characteristic of narrative in social and philosophical frameworks, reveals *at once the scale and the significance of narrative for social life*' (undated cited in Said 1989, p. 221). Viewed in this way narrative is transformed from a *formal pattern or type* to an activity in which *politics, tradition, history and interpretation converged* (Said 1989, p. 221). Rosenwald (1996) further acknowledges the *spread* of each action within narrative that simultaneously point forward and backward, engendering a *sense of its "pastness" and "futurity" ' (Rosenwald 1996, p. 271). That is, it reaches out toward and draws into itself related life-historical, cultural and socio-structural factors relevant to understanding a contextualist approach (Rosenwald 1996, p. 271). Mita (1988 cited in Paraha 1992), a Maori woman film maker, describes it thus.*

When you tell a story and your base is an oral one then you're talking about layers... That's what oral traditions are all about. As you pull back each layer and as you go further, you get an incredible amount of depth that you don't get with a purely technical or lineal construction (p. 19).

Looking at narratives attached to patu and how they are classified in a whakapapa frame is consistent with an epistemological position based on connection and interrelationships. Symbolically, the ways in which Patu (particularly those made of pounamu) were gifted provides an example of pragmatic practice and profound philosophy. All pounamu was considered a source of wealth and as such could be given in utu, as reparation for insult (principle of conciliation) gifted to establish or cement relations (principle of reciprocity), as a dowry, or as kopaki, to honour the dead as a tribute (Makareti 1986). When this happened outside of descent lines it was often the result of the conscious act to establish socio-political links in a way that recognised the mana of both parties. Being able to gift liberally to build up social obligations was mana enhancing, just as being considered a worthy recipient of such taonga also enhanced the mana of those who received (Durie, M., 1990).

Patu because they were worn, or hand held, were known to absorb mana from those who shaped and/or were guardians of them. Patu pounamu were seen as enduring¹⁵; they provided pathways to new arrangements between people through the establishment of tatau pounamu¹⁶, a symbolic greenstone door through which it was anticipated that valued treaties would be strong and enduring (Durie, M., 1990) like pounamu itself. Patu were used by the holder to parry, ward off affronts, and thrust, assert their counter position.

Mead (H., 1985), like previous writers, situates the place of taonga within a Maori framework thus,

We treat our artworks as people because many of them represent our ancestors who for us are real persons. Though they died generations ago they live in our memories and we live with them for they are an essential part of our identity as Maori individuals. They are anchor points in our genealogies and in our history. Without them we have no position in society and we have no social reality. We form with them the social universe of Maoridom. We are the past and the present and together we face the future. (p. 13)

The number of narratives and whakatauki discernible within many iwi attest to the status attributed greenstone and patu pounamu. Narratives connect the discovery of Aotearoa to pounamu¹⁷. Many personify the varieties of Pounamu as women¹⁸. The best

¹⁵ Andersen (1945) provides a synopsis of 20 patu of significance. The majority of patu cited are named with brief histories, attached to whanau, iwi and incident included. The value of these patu are noted in an array of areas indicating their significance in war, peace, whakapapa, utu, mana, manaakitanga, purposefully utilised to forge new links to other groups, including the Queen and many Crown representatives. The relationships established were based on taken for granted assumptions about reciprocity and obligation that the acceptance of such gifts implied in iwi contexts.

¹⁶ Durie (1990) cites patu pounamu serving this purpose. The green stone door was a figurative expression for the commencement of and forging of peace, which was often cemented in the exchange of valuable greenstone heirlooms. An example cited in Brougham and Reed (1987: 75) is the use of the term in a speech by the Ngati Kahungunu chief Nga Rangi-mata-ea, "Me tatau pounamu, kia kore ai e pakaru, ake, ake. - Let us conclude a permanent treaty of peace, that may never be broken for ever, for ever." Another whakatauki within the same reference links tatau pounamu and women "He whakahou rongo wahine, he tatau pounamu - peace bought about by women is an enduring one."

¹⁷ Within Taranaki and Ngai Tahu accounts pounamu's brother was known as Poutini, "the whole godly family being known as the iwi pounamu, the greenstone people" (Riley 1987:8). Riley (citing Chapman 1891 along with Hongi 1896 from Taranaki and Martin 1901 writing about Ngai Tahu) connect the discovery of Aotearoa to pounamu. The narrative begins in Hawaiki with a feud between two whanau; the whanau of Poutini and the whanau of Hine-tua-hoanga (the family of sand grinders, descended from Tane and Hine-taupari-maunga) causing Ngahue to flee with Poutini to Aotearoa. Ngahue is known to be a companion of Kupe (Hanna & Menefy 1995:3), an important relationship connecting pounamu with the construction of waka for later journeys to Aotearoa. Ngahue then returns to Hawaiki taking with him two pieces of Pounamu. From this Pounamu two adzes were made; Tutauru and Hauhau-te-rangi along with a Hei tiki (pendant) and an ear ornament (Chapman 1892 cited in Riley 1987). The two adzes were used in the construction of waka that were to later make the return journey to Aotearoa.

¹⁸ This narrative also of Taranaki origin (Hongi 1896) involves Poutini, Tama-ahua and his wives. Poutini abducts Tama-ahua's wives. Attempts to find them lead Tama-ahua to the Arahura river. Discovering them turned to greenstone the tears Tama-ahua sheds at his loss fall on one wife known thereafter as Hine (Ngai Tahu uses Hina) Tangiwai. Another is struck by the ashes of his fire is thereafter known as Hine Kawakawa, Hina Ahuka (noted by Martin 1901 in the Ngai Tahu version) was also known as Hine Kahurangi by Northern tribes, is one of the most highly prized forms of pounamu, for its clarity, often with tinges of blue providing a translucent sheen. Hine-aotea identifies a different type of pounamu again. Rarely is the prefix Hina or Hine now used in reference to the identification of pounamu.

known substances strong enough to shape pounamu were also female deities¹⁹. In whatever manufactured state - *toki pou tangata, hei tiki* - pounamu was highly valued²⁰ (Makareti 1991; Evison 1993; Barrow 1978, 1996; Archey 1977; Te Awekotuku 1996). The first cited patu is derived from Muri-ranga-whenua, who imparts of her jawbone to her mokopuna, Maui²¹. As noted in chapter one by Jenkins (1988) and Walker (1990), Muri-ranga-whenua enables Maui with the means to accomplish many historic feats. Patu is also situated as the nexus through which mana flows. Furthermore patu is the metaphysical coupler in which the origin of substance, *kaitiaki* (present bearer) preceding and proceeding generations converge through their ability to endure (Barrow 1984; Riley 1987; Makareti 1986; Hakiwai 1996; Te Awekotuku 1996).

The principles and dimensions of patu informing this schema are not new, nor is their application to contemporary contexts unfamiliar in the work of Maori writers²².

Patu as a Metaphor

Metaphor, historically a derivative of narrative, serves increasingly a variety of scientific functions²³. Miles and Huberman (1984) maintain that 'qualitative data should not only

¹⁹Hine tua hoanga, (Sand stone maid), Hine-one (Sand maid), Hine-tua-kirikiri (gravel maid) each represent different gradients of sandstone from course to fine, these were the known substances strong enough to shape pounamu, each was used at different stages of the manufacturing process. In the final polishing process three methods are also noted; but more often than not, it was women who rubbed, stroked and massaged these items with their own body oils from their thigh region. Donne (1927 cited in Riley 1987) records that, "...ladies of high degree, removed their waist mats and set to work vigorously rubbing the tikis on that portion of their bodies which obviously presented a convenient and suitable medium for polishing them." (p. 32) Another writer commented, "Some of the older women also sat in the sun, interminably rubbing upon their bare thighs a greenstone club or ornament which was ready for a final polish." (Wilson 1932, cited in Riley 1987, p. 33)

²⁰"To tie a knot in the suspension cord of an ornament was an intimation that it was never to be worn again but kept aside as an heirloom in memory of the last wearer. The lament for Te Heuheu of Ngati Tuwharetoa who died in a landslide in 1846 contains these lines: "the string of the prized eardrop (by which it once hung) is now firmly knotted; that ancient prized heirloom of greenstone; left behind among us, to become a beloved memento for ever of thee." (Colenso 1880 cited in Riley 1994, p. 36) The Patu 'Pahikauru' was also reclaimed from the same incident found in the hand of Nohopapa (Te Heuheu Tukino II's wife), clutched to her breast (Grace 1992, p. 246).

²¹Te Rangikaheke a chief of Te Arawa talking about Maui in approximately 1849, (edited with translation and commentary by Agethe Thornton 1992, p. 22) states, "... te kauae o tona tipuna, o Muri-ranga-whenua, koiraka tana patu." Translated, "... the jaw of his ancestor Muri-ranga-whenua, hence he had the patu".

²² See for example the work of Mason Durie (1990), an academic writer, who identifies three patu, particularly significant to Rangitane, to emphasise a number of attributes, principles and processes associated with the taonga as a means for indicating a path forward during the 1990 commemorations. Merata Mita, a film maker, in documenting the 1985 Springbok tour titled, "Patu" offers the audience an opportunity to analytically critique a politically charged issues. And included in Witi Ihimaera's (1977) collection of short stories is a narrative of patu that reiterates their connective qualities in contemporary settings and as symbols for future development. Preceding each of these are a number of references to patu in waiata and whakatauki that indicate wider significance than weaponry.

²³ See for example the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Miles and Huberman (1984) particularly p. 221 "Making Metaphors" and Tarsitani (1996).

write metaphorically, but also *think* metaphorically', arguing that metaphor opens up 'new theoretical possibilities' (p. 221). Metaphor as suggested by these writers, act as data reducing devices, pattern making devices, decentring devices and devices that connect findings to theory. Hakiwai (1996) draws out the metaphoric utility of taonga, not according to their end product utility, but rather, to cultural principles that coalesce at these sites.

Messages and *korero* or stories associated with taonga provide the meaning and significance that are central to Maori art. ... Maori art is a manifestation of a larger whole. The tribal traditions, the stories of ancestors, genealogical relationships, symbols and metaphors, the *taha wairua* or spiritual element that unifies our world are among the central elements of Maori art.

Gannon (1994) argues that '*cultural metaphors*' can be utilised to explain the '*cultural mindset of a nation that can be compared to those of other nations.*(p, 12).' He further defines the construction of a cultural metaphor as a framework that identifies,

some phenomenon or activity of a nation's culture that all or most of its members consider to be very important and with which they identify closely. The characteristics of the metaphor then become the basis for describing and understanding the essential features of the society (p. 12).

Gannon qualifies this position by emphasising that no one culture will exist within a nation, suggesting that metaphors should be used as a guide rather than as a cultural stereotype. A further qualification not explored however, is the difficulty of utilising cultural metaphors in cross-cultural situations.

The metaphoric utility of Patu is severely limited however, if the only analogy drawn upon is one of war and weaponry. Though the potential narrative derived from this metaphoric use of patu provides a defensible argument in its resemblance to schools as sites of ideological warfare, domination, those who are victors and of course the vanquished, it has the potential to explain much more than this.

While metaphors drawn from dominant groups tend to be understood by minority group members, few from dominant groups are able to engage with the metaphors of indigenous peoples. Hence the pragmatic, academic high ground remains a hegemonic

tool of the majority, in that one recognises the easier route, drawing on and privileging the cultural capital of dominant groups. In utilising this highway, however, one defeats the purpose of the journey. This problematic raises two issues:

- i) the utility of any metaphor being dependant, in the main, on the cultural knowledge that the dominant audience brings to the text; and
- ii) identifying the target audience particularly when the participants (in this research) see one benefit of the study as an opportunity for non-Maori colleagues to better understand their problematic.

A further significant outcome of power differentials in the colonisation process is the framing of indigenous discourse as static and inflexible. Implied in this position is that the disjunctive of colonisation not only presented the first opportunity for any 'real' change, but also, is equally advanced as holding the only 'real' answers to current questions.

To Sum Up: Patu as the theory

Eliciting patu within a Maori cosmology as the basis for theorising the women's accounts of their experiences has particular appeal.

1. First and foremost, patu exemplify, as do all taonga, an integrative way of knowing derived from the broad applicability of whakapapa as a fundamental organising structure in te ao Maori (Grace 1959; Rangihau 1975; Pere 1982; Karetu 1990; Papakura 1991; Mead, L., 1996; Royal 1998): whakapapa not only applying to the past but also informing the present and indicating pathways forward into the future (Mead, S., 1985; Durie, M., 1990; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1997; Smith, G., 1997; Durie, A., 1998; Royal 1998).
2. Contrary to popular belief outside their archive of origin, patu are significantly connected to women as already indicated in this chapter.

3. Holding patu was a way of combining forces and characteristics of patu and the bearer (build out characteristics). Patu are mauri, patu are mana, individual and collective. Patu are past, they are present and they are future as such their informative value exists for those who draw on its inherent frameworks.

4. Patu provide an apt metaphor (catalyst for theory development) because their narrow classification (outside the archive of their cultural origin) in western frameworks that treat them as excavated artefacts, reorienting them into the frameworks of other, typifies the issue of marginalisation central to the experiences of the participants.

Patu thus have the potential to be talked about in many layers, providing a variety of levels of relevance. They are culturally relevant bringing with them associated values, beliefs, practices, processes and behaviours. They are about social action and interaction. Patu have life derived from a spiritual life force and attached to them is the power of thought, word, principles/attributes and action. They possess a number of attributes from which practices and behaviours can be understood. The notions of parry and thrust as two actions associated with patu are also relevant. The ability of the bearer of patu to parry notions of deviance and deficiency in educational contexts, and thrust or assert own forms of social analyses. They can be used as an analytic device to advance Maori centred position.

For this thesis patu are considered relevant as a metaphor informing a theoretical explanation of the women's narratives they provide a cultural frame in which the women's narratives can be drawn together, condensed and made sense of. The ihi of patu or power/authority as an essential essence of the individual indicates each patu was unique as is each woman in this study. The wanawana or fearsome/awe-inspiring attributes of patu indicate their potential to resist as exhibited by each woman in this study. Finally in song and whakatauki patu are also associated with mana motuhake - having the power and control that embodies a customary link with autonomy and equally implies a measure of or the potential for defiance (Durie, M., 1998). The attributes displayed by the women in this study are able to be read through the lenses of patu.

Where theories relate failure as the only way to resist the women clearly show success is successful resistance. Successful resistance from acceptance of labels that position them as different where difference is seen to be synonymous with deficit, deviant, deficient.