Māori culture at the digital interface:
A study of the articulation of culture in the online environment.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Visual and Material Culture

at Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand

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2014

Abstract

Once lit, the digital ahikā have burnt brightly for Māori. With the increasingly multimodal internet arguably becomes the first port of call for students, academics, and the general public alike. How Māori culture is articulated has never had to be considered in the face of such a potential global audience. This thesis examines Māoridom in the digital space, its central question is: *How is the online environment being used to articulate Māori culture*?

Examining three contemporary case studies of Māori online presence on websites that are either created and run by Māori or had significant Māori input and/or content, this thesis questions whether the case studies dispositions toward the online environment manifest themselves within the digital space. And whether this effects their articulation of Māori culture through that medium. With particular attention given to the specificities of the digital environ, as to how it alters or determines the effectiveness of this articulation, this study highlights specific Maori practices and how utilising the digital space in accordance with its own unique attributes is producing certain representations of Māori culture.

Moreover, taonga as uniquely active agents in Māori conceptuality and a common thread that runs across the sites examined, receive special focus with respect to their digital embodiments. Incorporating a comparative approach, attempts are made to explicate the intricacies of particular examples.

This research contends that embracing the specificity of the digital space enables those within it to produce a more effectual articulation of Māori cultural identity. More so, a failure to do so produces a questionable representation of Māori culture.

The results reveal an increasingly dynamic utilisation of digital media within Māori culture. But perhaps most importantly it is a timely reminder that in the rush to digitise and open museum collections to an increasingly skilful and astute online audience, the cultural sector of Aotearoa New Zealand needs not to forgo their intention of being forums of change and substitute quality for quantity.

Acknowledgments

Firstly, this is dedicated to my partner Kirsten. Even in challenging times she made me smile and only wanted me to succeed. Many thanks to my supervisors Kura Puke and Dr Marcus Moore, who without their valued time, feedback and words of encouragement this thesis would not have been achievable. I would like to give special mention to all those that took time out of their days to meet with me in person or engage in conversation through electronic means, the openness in your discussions reveal the level of care and consideration you have for your work and the objects in your care.

Contents

List of figures

Glossary of Māori Words

Note: Translations are provided within the body of the thesis where Māori words appear for the first time.

Translations of Māori terms have either been taken directly from the source discussed or from *Te Aka Māori-English Dictionary*.

ahikā	burning fires of occupation
atua	gods
hapu	kinship group, sub-tribe
hau-ora	breath of the spirit
hei tiki	carved figure, a neck ornament
heke	rafters
ihi	spiritual power
iwi	kinship group, tribe
kaitaka	highly prized cloak
kaitiaki	trustee, custodian, guardian
Kaitiakitanga	trusteeship, custodianship, guardianship
kanohi ki te kanohi	face-to-face
karakia	recitation, incantation, highly ritualised prayer
kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology, incorporating knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society
kaupapa nui	main purpose
kawanga whare	dawn ceremony
kete	basket
korero	oratory, to speak knowledge, orally transmitted knowledge
koru	coil, spiral
kowhaiwhai	painted scroll ornamentation
mahi	work, practice
mana	authority; power, prestige, status
Māori	indigenous people of New Zealand
marae	ancestral house

Matariki	Pleisades, cluster of stars in the constellation of Taurus. First appearance in the north-eastern sky indicates the beginning of the Māori year
mātauranga	knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill
mauri	life essence, life force, power of creation from the gods
mauri-ora	life principle
mihi	greeting
mōteatea	lament, traditional chant
Ngā kete o Mātauranga	the baskets of knowledge
noa	free from extensions of tapu, ordinary, unrestricted, profane
Pākehā	non-Māori, foreigner, New Zealander of European decent
pare	door lintels
pepeha	personal proverb
pounamu	greenstone, jade
pōwhiri	welcome ceremony on a marae
rangatahi Māori	youth
raranga	weaving
tāhuhu	carved ridge pole
taiaha	long handheld wooden weapon, used for close-quarter combat
tangata tiriti	people in New Zealand by right of the Treaty of Waitangi
tangata whenua	local people, indigenous people of the land
tangihanga	funeral
taonga	treasure, anything prized
taonga tūturu	authentic taonga
taonga whakairo	carved work
tapu	protect, sacred, prohibited, set apart
Te Ao Māori	Māori world
Te Kete Aronui	the world apprehended by our senses
Te Kete Tua-ātea	the world beyond space and time
Te Kete Tuauri	beyond the world of darkness, the seedbed of creation
te reo	Māori language
tikanga	correct procedure, protocol
tūpuna	ancestors
utu	reciprocation

waiata	song
wairua	spirit, essence of being, soul
wana	authority, class, unquestioned competence
wehi	to strike fear, awe, to excite
whaikōrero	formal speeches
whakaahua	photograph
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	proverb
whānau	family, extended family
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection
whare tupuna	marae, ancestral house
wharekai	dining hall
wharenui	meeting house

Introduction

Māori uptake of the internet and associated digital technologies has been as swift as it has been diverse. From Facebook to specific *iwi* (kinships group, tribe) run websites, through to online roles of initiatives like *Kotahi Mano Kaika*, Māori continue to embrace the digital revolution.[1] A recent survey recorded 77% of the Māori population are using the internet, suggesting the online space is increasingly becoming part of day-to-day living for many.[2] Since the digital *ahikā* (burning fires of occupation) are now firmly alight this study seeks to examine how Māori culture is being articulated online. With the aid of Bourdieu's (1984, 1993) sociology of culture, the three case studies will be examined through a field of cultural production. Special attention will be paid to specificities of the digital environ and how this determines the effectiveness of the articulation of culture. *Taonga* (treasure, anything prized), are a thread that runs across the three case studies and are examined with respect to their digital embodiments.[3] However, prior to this it is important to provide a degree of contextual background from which the three case studies derive.

The rise and rapid expansion of the internet and related digital technologies has been nothing short of meteoric. Between the years 1993 and 2012, the World Bank recorded an impressive 1186% growth in internet users globally.[4] With the growing relevance of information technology (IT) internationally, the United Nations convened the first phase of its World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in 2003, with the intent of developing a foundation and an action plan for an information society for all. In

[1] South Island iwi, Ngāi Tahu has developed *Kotahi Mano Kaika* to aid their language revitalisation programme. Utilising the Internet and other digital media it aims to achieve the goal of 1000 Ngāi Tahu homes speaking Māori by 2025. http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/culture/kotahi-mano-kaika

[2] Statistics New Zealand. (2012). *Household use of information and communication technology, 2012*. Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/industry_sectors/information_technology_and_communications/HouseholdUseofICT_HOTP2012.aspx

[3] Simply defined as treasure or anything highly valued here. However a fuller exploration of various definitions will follow, see pp. 28-36.

[4] World Bank. http://data.worldbank.org/topic/infrastructure (accessed 26 August 2013) In 1993 there was an average or 0.3 people per 100 globally that used the Internet. In 2003 the average was 12.2 people per 100 and in 2012 that number had increased to 35.5 people per 100. According to the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) this number is predicted to increase to 40.4 people per 100 in 2014. See International Telecommunication Union. (2013). *Key ICT indicators for developed and developing countries and the world (totals and penetration rates).* Geneva: International Telecommunication Union. Retrieved from http://www.itu.int/en/Pages/default.aspx

Aotearoa New Zealand, this rising demand saw the Government release their *Digital Strategy* in 2005 and an updated version in 2008.[5] The first focused on creating New Zealand content and connecting New Zealand to itself and the rest of the world. The second release highlights the rapid evolution and uptake of Web 2.0 technologies by existing industries, as well as the development of a wide array of new digitally focused businesses and content producers.[6] The Government's vision is one where digital technologies are seen as keys elements in the country's future economic prosperity, environmental sustainability, and cultural vibrancy (New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development, 2008).

Such policies clearly indicate the increasing importance and value attributed to the internet and digital technologies. Within Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori proved eager and innovative in the uptake of the internet and associated technologies (Greenwood, Te Aika & Davis, 2011; Lemon, 2001). As the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori culture is unique and widely known across the globe. It stands to reason that with the importance attributed to the internet, how Māori culture is articulated online has never had the potential to effect such a global audience. To examine this more extensively attention needs to given to three fields, online culture, indigenous participation online, and cultural institutions in the digital space. While all intertwined, it is their individual attributes that are the foundation of this inquiry.

Online culture is built upon two facets; it first pertains to the social and cultural practices that are brought into the online space. Secondly, it relates to the culture of the internet, meaning the specific practices that have developed or been defined due to particular aspects of the online environment itself. These can be considered ithrough Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus* and *field* respectively as the *disposition* of those active and *position* to which they are located (1984). The specificity of which continue to evolve as the online space increasingly becomes more ubiquitous for many. For early internet theorist, Sherry Turkle and her seminal work *Life on the Screen* (1995), the internet was firmly indebted to William Gibson's influential cyberpunk novel

[5] New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development. (2005). *The digital strategy: Creating our digital future*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author. New Zealand Ministry of Economic Development. (2008). *The digital strategy 2.0*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

[6] Web 2.0 is a term popularised by Tim O'Reilly. General relates to a change from a general static state of the internet and webpages to a more dynamic entity which introduced greater functionality, multimodality as well as the proliferation of user-generated content.

Neuromancer (1984). Limited predominately to textual communication at the time, Turkle describes a world free from the defining characteristics of physicality. Offering unparalleled anonymity, it was argued the internet encouraged identity play, resulting in a place where gender, race, and culture had no relevance; you could be anyone (indeed anything) you desired because others could not see the real you (Poster, 1995, Stone, 1995, Turkle, 1995).[7] Perceived to be severed from real life (RL), this resulted in an image of the internet as a cultureless, multiple personality disorder inducing, gender bending, sexually promiscuous, fetishised playground (Bailey, 1996; Balsamo, 1996; Dibbell, 1999; Rheingold, 1993; Stone, 1995; Turkle, 1995 to name but a few). This, along with the relative homogeneity of the internet populace ensured that culture, and other markers of RL identity were largely devalued or simply ignored by most participants and researchers online in light of the online disembodied experiment (Bailey, 1996; Kendall, 1998; Nakamura, 1995; Todd, 1996).

Aside from the anonymity the internet offered and the limited amount of cultural expression and articulation outside of fantasy or role-play environments other digitally determined practices soon developed. Prescribed by the copiable, editable and distributable attributes of digital technology, these abilities and practices reinforced by the belief in open access lead to an assumption that anything and everything online is in the public domain. According to Goode (2010), the prevalence of this assumption has displaced traditional notions of authorship with postmodern practices of appropriation, pastiche, and parody along with creative distributivity (Deuze, 2006; Manovich, 2001). The idea of open access to information with little or no consideration of its original context, cultural meaning or value is of great concern to many Māori (Cullen, 2009; Smith, 1997; Smith & Sullivan, 1996). These practices have resulted in a number of cases where information and images deemed significant to Māori have been misused and misappropriated (Smith, 1997, Tahana, 2011).[8]

[7] This newfound anonymity expressed itself through the proliferation of Multi-User Dungeons (MUDs). These spaces encouraged participants to "create" identities that where seen as completely disconnected from their real world selves. Along with MUDs there were also MOOs (MUD, Object Oriented) MUSEs (Multi-User Simulated Environments) and MUSHes (Multi-User Shared Hallucinations), all based upon similar technology and online practices of freedom from one's real identity. However, some were closely linked to offline persona and were used to make and maintain offline connections (see Rheingold, 1993).

[8] The example of an American based tattoo website is a case in point. As Smith (1997) outlines, whereby displaying images of a preserved tattooed Māori heads hung upon meat hooks, the website was associating "a very sacred object, the human head, with objects associated with food, [this] was felt by Maori to be culturally offensive."

Despite this, the digerati including governments, businesses, academics, educationalists and health professionals continued to advocate the internet as panacea to local, national and international ills. Yet, as early as 1995 it was apparent that all was not equal in the information society. That year the United States' National Telecommunications and Information Administration (NTIA) released the *Falling through the net: A survey of the "have nots" in rural and urban America* (1995) report.[9] Widely credited as first acknowledging what would soon become known as the *digital divide*, the NTIA found that there was a marked disparity of access to information technology across cultural, social and economic groups within America. In 2000, the New Zealand Government released their *Closing the digital divide* papers, confirming the existence of a gap between the information "haves" and "have nots" in Aotearoa.[10] The Canadian and Australian Governments documented similar findings in 2002 and 2004 respectively.[11] All of these reports documented that minorities and indigenous populations consistently had one of the lowest IT access and participation rates.[12]

[9] U.S. Department of Commerce, National Telecommunications and Information Administration. (1995) *Falling through the net: A survey of the "have nots" in rural and urban America*. Retrieved from http://www.ntia.doc.gov/ntiahome/fallingthru.html

[10] Maharey, S. (2000). *Closing the Digital Divide*. Retrieved from http://www.beehive.govt.nz

[11] See Sciadas, G. (2002). *The Digital Divide in Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/56f0009x/56f0009x2002001-eng.pdf. And Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2004) *Australia Online: How Australians are using computers and the internet*. Canberra: Author. Retrieved from http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/2056.02001

[12] The New Zealand Government raised the fact that there was very little research on the subject from a New Zealand perspective at this time but assumed that access issues would correspond with data from other developed economies. See Maharey, S. (2000). *Closing the Digital Divide 2/15: What do we know about the digital divide in New Zealand?* Retrieved from http://www.beehive.govt.nz/feature/closing-digital-divide-215. This was later confirmed by the following reports. Te Puni Kōkiri. (2001b). *Māori access to information technology*, Wellington, New Zealand: Author. Te Puni Kōkiri. (2001b). *The Digital Divide and Māori*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author. Statistics New Zealand. (2004). *The Digital Divide*. Wellington, New Zealand: Author. However, understanding the digital divide as a simple dichotomous relationship between the "haves" and "have nots," that can easily be remedied by giving the 'have nots' access belies the complexity of the issue. As Cullen (2001), Selwyn (2004) and Warschauer (2000) have argued, the divide is much broader than first envisioned, with not only access but quality of access, skills, support, content and attitude all playing significant roles in creating a divide both between and within nation states. Moreover, while the above reports often found Māori on the "wrong" side of the divide, it was less clear on role ethnicity had in this. With the lowest rates recorded in rural and low socio-economic areas, which also had a relative high proportion of Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri. 2001b).

This meant Māori, and other indigenous populations were often underrepresented in the online environment.[13] Furthermore, limits in the *American Standard Code for Information Interchange* (ASCII) meant those who had access to the internet were unable to communicate using non-English letters or sounds.[14] According to Smith (1997), this was not an issue on a purely communicational level, but it was judged by some Māori as a considerable hindrance to the uptake of IT. This was not aided by low enrolment rates by Māori in advanced computer training courses, producing a subsequent underrepresentation in IT industries. Which in turn was understood to limit Māori economic potential and their ability to create Māori specific content, including that in *te reo* (Māori language) (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001b). The combination of these challenges made Māori participation and utilisation of the digital space difficult.

In spite of government aspirations of the potential benefits of the internet and digital technologies, lacking tangibility, objects in digital form are often perceived to lack importance or value (McCourt, 2005; Sterne, 2006). This and their inherent reproducibility ensured the digital object has the status of a second-class citizen or an under-class object, devalued and potentially dangerous to any physical counterparts (Cameron, 2007). In the heritage sector, online museums and collections have been viewed as potential threats to curatorial authority and precursors to the demise of the "brick and mortar" institution (Cameron, 2003; Keene, 2004; Witcomb, 2007).

The digital discourse has since grown, and so to has the understanding of the internet as an extension of human actions, exposing a number of early biases. The free disembodied and disconnectedly neutral internet culture observed by Turkle was heavily scrutinised, revealing a highly sexualised and gendered environment (Haraway, 1991; Hayles, 1996; Stone, 1995). Moreover, despite participants' convictions the internet was a race-free space, race, culture, and gender were evoked indirectly

[13] In New Zealand, data from the ACNielsen Netwatch surveys, conducted over 2000 and 2001, found that Māori had the lowest access rates, with computer ownership and Internet access of 34% and 27% respectively. Well below the 51% and 44% recorded by New Zealand Europeans at the same time (Parker, 2003). Data from the 2001 New Zealand Census recorded slightly lower Māori access rates at 25.3%. More recent figures show a substantial gain by Māori with Internet access rates rising to 46.7% in 2008 and 77% in 2012 (see Ministry of Social Development, 2008; Statistics New Zealand, 2012). However, with the exception of Pacific People, these figures are lower than all other groups measured.

[14] The ASCII is the code commonly used to represent letters and numbers in computer systems. Several advance have since been made to rectify this but it must be stated that the ability to produce macrons determined the fonts used throughout this study.

through participant's descriptions of their virtual selves (Merchant, 2001; Nakamura 2001). Further, acts of gender bending or "passing" online where found to reinforce stereotypes and maintain social boundaries and hierarchies present in offline interactions (Kendall, 1998; Nakamura, 1995; Bailey, 1996).

The development of social media, social networking sites (SNSs) and the increasing use of the internet in everyday life, has seen the boundaries that separated on and offline crumble (Boyd & Heer, 2006; Lumby, 2010; Merchant, 2001). Studies by Pempek, Yermolayeva, and Calvert (2009) and Back et al. (2010) reinforce this, finding Facebook users are more likely to use SNSs to maintain offline connections rather than establish new ones. More, SNSs' newsfeeds and blogs have gained currency as legitimate sources of information (Johnson, Kaye, Bichard & Wong, 2007; O'Carroll, 2013a). Blogs and online forums have been prophesised as spaces of civic engagement, opening up debate and inciting critical discussion (Kahn & Kellner, 2004). Further, the online space has become a location of participatory culture, where participants distribute their creative practices and find validation in specific communities (Jenkins; 2006, Kendall, 2008; Robinson, 2007).

The integration of the internet and digital technologies into people's day-to-day lives, has seen it transform from a place of disembodied escapism to a place of RL relationships and an extension of one's identity. However, by far and away, textual forms of communication have dominated debates. With the escalating use of multimodal web technologies, research by Boyd (2008), Pauwels (2005) and Robinson (2007), have alluded to the growing importance of non-textual digitally delimited forms of communication in portraying identity. Yet, studies of the digital specificities of cultural articulation are markedly lacking from the majority of academic discourse.

For Māori, in spite of the challenges of access and chance of cultural appropriation, it has been argued that practicing self-determination and guardianship online outweigh the possible risks (Kamira, 2001; Lemon, 2001; Smith & Sullivan, 1996). New Zealand Government led initiatives and e-government strategies have played an important part in acknowledging and attempting to addressing key issues, including the digital divide

and te reo online (Keegan, Cunningham & Benton, 2004).[15] Nonethless, Kamira (2003) declares, Māori must no longer be passive observers of the digital realm but must become users and creators. Away from government projects, an early pioneers of Māori online presence was Ross Himona. Realising there were no places online where Māori could express their own culture, Himona established *from Hawaiki to Hawaiki* in 1995, a website by Māori, to present a Māori world view.[16] Together with Kamera Raharaha, Himona formed the *New Zealand Māori Internet Society/Te Whānau Ipurangi* (NZMIS) in 1997. The intention was to lay claim to part of the internet for Māori and advocate Māori control of all things *tangata whenua* (local people, indigenous people of the land) (Himona, n.d.). This was aided by the creation of the world's first indigenous second level domain (2LD) .iwi.nz, in 1996, and a second, less restricted 2LD (.maori.nz) was successfully lobbied for in 2002 (Taiuru, 2002).

Like Himona, Nikolasa Biasiny-Tule, Potaua Biasiny-Tule and Dr Te Taka Keegan recognised a need for Māori to be able to search the internet in te reo. With help from numerous volunteers and internet goliath, Google they released a Māori language version of Google's search page in 2008. The following year, te reo was added to the *Google Translator Toolkit*, allowing users to translate it to over 300 languages and vice versa (National Business Review, October 16, 2009).[17]

By no means do these developments limit Māori online to specific domains, they do however, provide a distinct space for Māori within the global internet. Corresponding data from the 2001, 2006 New Zealand Censuses and the *Household Use of Information and Communication Technology: 2012* survey continues to capture an increasing uptake and broad utilisation of internet services by Māori.[18] Additionally, it has been

[15] *Te Kohanga Reo* was a Ministry of Education project to connect all licensed kohanga reo centres to the Internet and each other. The Ministry of Education's *Kaupapa ara Whakahiti Mātauranga* was a project to improve Māori educational outcomes with the aid of IT. *Cyberwaka* was a collaboration between Cisco Systems and East Coast iwi, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui to open up IT network engineering training facilities in rural areas. *Wairoa dot com* was the first of thirteen community computer hubs to open in the Tairawhiti East Coast region.

[16] Himona, R. (1995). *from Hawaiki to Hawaiki: the Maori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Retrieved from http://maaori.com/. This website is still up and running.

[17] See Galves, M. (2009). Google Translator Toolkit and minority languages [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://googleblog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/10/google-translator-toolkit-and-minority.html

[18] Internet access rates in Māori homes have grown from 25.3% in 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002) to 46.7% in 2006 (as cited in Ministry of Social Development, 2008) and 68% in 2012

noted that Māori have one of the highest percentages for mobile internet technologies, online gaming and social networking (Statistics New Zealand, 2006, 2013).[19] As these finding clearly demonstrate, Māori continue to increase their presence and participation online.

Ferguson (2008, 2010), Greenwood and Te Aika (2009) have documented the successful implementation of Māori pedagogical practices into the online environment.[20] Muhamad-Brandner (2009, 2010), O'Carroll (2013a, 2013c) and Taira (2006) posit that Māori increasingly see digital technologies and the internet as relevant avenues for cultural development, legitimisation and articulation.[21] Muhamad-Brandner (2009) has noted, Māori have and continue to embrace digital technologies and the web, and despite having lower access than most other groups in New Zealand, their influence online is substantial.[22] However, in light of embracing of digital culture, there has yet to be an examination of how Māori culture is being articulated through the specificities of the digital medium.

Further, the growing significance of digital technology, saw UNESCO's *Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage* (2003) adopted by member states, of which New Zealand is privy. In the acknowledgment of the rapid growth of digital material and recognition of its heritage value, the charter calls for swift and collective action for its protection and preservation. In Aotearoa the growing importance of digital heritage has seen the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa archiving websites deemed of significance to New Zealand since 1999 and *web harvesting* the entire .nz domain (e.g. .co.nz. .maori.nz, .ac.nz, .govt.nz etc) every few years since 2008.[23] For museums, although posing issues the internet is effectively

(Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Averaging an annual growth rate of 3.6%, higher than that recorded by European households who averaged of 3.3% p.a. over the same time period.

[19] 75% of respondents to the online questionnaire accessed the internet via mobile devices often or above. More 36% rated their general computer and internet skills average with 59% rating it above average or expert. This included a diverse knowledge of specific programmes and programming languages.

[20] Keegan, Keegan and Laws (2011) have preformed a recent survey of Māori resources online. While noting an increasing array, they observe a number of gaps and highlight areas for future focus.

[21] Although dealing with Pacific identity broadly, Franklin (2003) also makes similar observations.

[22] Lower, but the gap is narrowing. See footnote 18.

[23] Web harvesting is a term used to describe the selection, copying and archiving of websites found on the internet. The National Library of New Zealand's most recent domain harvest

being used to increase physical visitor numbers and deliver museums' intentions (Marty, 2007; Russo & Watkins, 2007; Styliani, Fotis, Kostas & Petros, 2009; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2012b). It has been argued that museum websites have the potential to evolve into discursive spaces, transforming future museological practice (McTavish, 2006).

Such practices are indicative markers that the online realm is a recognised and valued avenue for human learning, creativity and debate. However, in the wave of potential uses and benefits there remains a need to examine how individuals and institutions are utilising this digital space as extension of their specific practices in contrast to that defined through the medium itself.

occurred in early 2013 and gathered approximately 150 million urls resulting in nearly 13 terabytes of data (National Library of New Zealand, 2013). The Library has long-term access in mind and is undertaking initiatives to create copies in new readable formats when the original recedes into obsolesce (G. Lee, personal communication, October 31, 2013).

Literature Review

For many Māori, the integration of the internet and associated technologies into day-to-day life has been as far reaching as it has been swift. With the question of how Māori culture is being articulated online central to this study, this literature review will address three specific areas of research. In the first section studies pertaining to the culture of the internet as prescriptive influence will be examined. The second section will address research regarding indigenous practice online. The third will draw on the museums in the digital space, addressing their dispositions toward the digital object as copy. The research examined raises concerns with and within the internet, questioning the ability to articulate an effectual portrayal of culture, including Māori. But by opening up discussion they also identify alternative approaches and potential solutions. The final section discusses the work of Pierre Bourdieu as the theoretical framework through which this study seeks to explicate the actualities of the case studies visited.

Culture of the internet

Culture of the Internet connects the dynamics of appropriate social practices with the influence prescribed by the medium itself. The relative reflexive modality is aligned with Bourdieu's social theories of habitus and field, where the dispositions of those studied are examined in connection to that determined through the position of study itself. Firstly, Goode's (2010) exploration and critique of the social practices online will be examined, drawing attention to a contradiction between a prophesised freedom within internet and claims of authorship and protectionism. Secondly, Srinivasan (2013) critiques the underlying system the majority of the internet and computer programmes are constructed, questioning their effectiveness for the internet's increasingly diverse audience.

Challenging a number of the long-held assumptions of the internet, Goode juxtaposes the developing role of the internet as a space of cultural embodiment and articulation with cultural citizenship characterised by Miller as "the right to know and speak" (as cited in Goode, 2010). His aim is to move beyond the simplistic view that just having access implies equality and recognised authority for all.

Acknowledging the limited debate regarding citizenship online, he focuses upon two specific dimensions, attention economy and ethics in cyberspace. Contrasting these elements, Goode presents the online space as a dichotomy. One party is advocating free and open access to everything for all, with the other calling for consideration of personal and cultural contexts, recognising every one does not support a completely open system. Furthermore, Goode sheds light upon the fact that those in powerful positions offline, tend to have equally powerful influence online.[24] And by attempting to establish a charter of internet rights, there has been an assumed universalism to Western individuality and access to information.[25]

The world wide web has been advocated as a beneficial tool for marginalised groups and indigenous communities, aiding in cultural invigoration and self-determination (Niezen, 2005; Roy & Raitt, 2003). However, Goode contends that the conceits within the *APC Internet Rights Charter* (2006) have in effect told indigenous and marginalised groups to cast their identity and practices asunder in hope for a culturally equal space. Dissecting the presumptions in the charter, Goode argues it is an important starting point, but one from which a more critical approach must evolve, one that does not attempt to speak for all.

Ultimately, the article is as Goode proposes, a general observation of emerging practices of online cultural citizenship. He opens areas for future discussion, however there is an intentional avoidance of any tangible actualities. Remaining abstracted there are little notable instantiations of how best to implement this into practice or move forward. Nevertheless, the acknowledgment and implementation of diverse values and ideas of what is and is not appropriate online (or off) is a key theme through this research. In critically examining the way Māori culture is articulated both privately and institutionally online, there is the intention to bring to light underlying dispositions.

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[24] This is observed in organisation like the BBC or CNN who are highly regarded in real life. This belief has been transferred into their digital embodiments. Moreover these also tend to be those who assume the *default* position online as in the assumed legitimate culture, perspective or belief system. Generally Western, white, middle class, educated male (Haythornthwaite & Wellman, 2008). See Kendall (1998), Kolko (2000) and Nakamura (1995) for discussions of *default* identity in digital environments.

[25] APC (Association of Progressive Communications). (2006). *APC Internet Rights Charter*. Retrieved from http://www.apc.org/en/node/5677. Also see Butt (2008) for a criticism of John Perry Barlow's *A Declaration of the Independence of Cyberspace* (1996). https://projects.eff.org/~barlow/Declaration-Final.html

Srinivasan (2013) takes the examination of assumptions considerably further, positing there is an inherent bias in the systems to which the majority of the internet use and work within. Predicated upon Western intellectual and philosophical traditions of singular authority, lineal narratives, and hierarchical classification, these practices codifying access, distribution and dissemination of knowledge within Western norms (see Mudur, 2001; Todd, 1995). By failing to embody the multiplicity of human knowledges online, a founding ideology of the internet as a space for everyone to be exactly who they are is disavowed. The purpose of Srinivasan's investigation is to expose the underlying Western ontology active within the internet and institutional databases. Questioning their effectiveness for the increasingly diverse online populace, Srinivasan offers alternatives in the process. Intending to shift focus away from issues of access to authorship, Srinivasan explores the constructs and effects of technologies (Bijker & Law, 1992; McLuhan, Fiore & Agel, 2008).

Critiquing contemporary technological and media systems, Srinivasan challenges their precursory and replicational tendencies. Citing online acts of authorship and appropriation as important response to dominating institutions and discourses. However, he suggests they do not go far enough as they still operate within the system maintained and orchestrated along Western concepts. Instead, what is required are alternative ontologies to base systems upon.[26] Offering various exemplars of ontologies from digital indigenous projects, he concludes no single position can truly be achieved. Rather diverse ontologies should be central to future research and projects, exposing users to the true extent of human diversity.

This research is of particular pertinence to Māori online, where the fact remains that vast majority of websites and programmes Māori use are built upon Western paradigms. Therefore Srinivasan's research offers valid points of entry through which one can critically examine current systems. However, the article is essentially aimed at those communities or organisations who have sufficient knowledge, economic capital and desire to achieve these goals.[27] Nonetheless, excluding the possibility such

[26] See Srinivasan, Boast, Furner, & Becvar, (2009), Srinivasan, Boast, Becvar, & Furner, (2009), Srinivasan & Huang (2005), and Thomas (2010) for discussion of various iterations and issues regarding indigenous databases.

[27] Groups with the appropriate skills, capital and desire are attempting these types of projects. See Ngata, Ngata-Gibson and Salmond (2012) for an example of such a project by Te Aitanga a

projects/ontologies may subsume the preclusions of those they have displaced. This fails to acknowledge that most indigenous or marginalised groups are not in the position to build and launch a database constructed upon an alternative ontological schema. Thus, to dismiss working within the system as a means of change is also to ignore the non-agentive functions (or subversions) that occur within societal constructs, including technological objects like the internet or databases (Searle, 1995; Faulkner & Runde, 2009).

Indigenous practice online

The following two studies will look at indigenous participation online. Landzelius (2006) has posited, indigeneity may well have arisen out of colonial constructs regarding the other, but in more recent times it has been grasped to temporally and spatially localise groups within and against a globalising discourse. Therefore, whether working within social media or developing indigenous websites, for those indigenous populations who are online, as individuals or collectives, what indigeneity online encompasses is diverse and does not reveal a contradiction between traditional and contemporary practices.

Social networking sites (SNSs) have drawn considerable academic focus since their inception. Far from simple tools for keeping in touch with friends, studies by Boyd and Heer (2006), Gatson (2010) and Merchant (2001) revealed SNSs are carefully constructed negotiations of identity and relationships that connect to the offline world. However, as O'Carroll (2013a) makes amply clear, few have studied Māori usage. Her study of *rangatahi* Māori (youth) in Facebook seeks to address this shortfall, while also recognising specific Māori practices active in the social networking environment.

O'Carroll's analysis uncovers rangatahi have a sophisticated (yet at times contradictory) understanding of the dynamics and wider influences that interacting through SNSs can inhabit. Recognising the exhibitional element of the internet when putting comments and photographs online, the participants were extremely aware of how they and others were being represented. Individuals who portrayed "edited" versions of themselves were received critically, producing a conflicting opinions toward those

Hauiti in collaboration with Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge.

people. This was understood to have potential real-world consequences, particularly if perceived negatively by others, to which the several participants attempted to mitigate through self-regulation and "untagging" practices. This relationship management raised challenges for those who had accepted family members or employers as friends.

O'Carroll (2013a) also documented SNSs are assuming roles as legitimate sources information, indicating the increasing significance such sites are having for young Māori. More so, Facebook was identified as a well-utilised and important space to gain, maintain and strengthen *whānau* (family, extended family) ties for local connections and the increasingly international Māori population (also see O'Carroll, 2013c).

The study illustrates rangatahi have embraced SNSs as part of their day-to-day culture, displaying advance utilisation and understanding its intricacies. Studies of SNSs by Back et al. (2010), Brock (2009), Boyd and Heer (2006), Carlson (2013), Lumby (2010), Pempek et al. (2009) have recorded similar findings across a range of users, including indigenous populations. Nevertheless, O'Carroll's findings are evidence that particular digital environments are being used as part of the Māori paradigm, embodying specific Māori practices.

From a broader in focus, Ginsburg (2008) seeks to question the assumed universality to the digital age and lays the reality out for all to see. With only sixteen percent of the world having access to wired telephone infrastructure in 2005, the age is far from universal.[28] Further, she critiques the perception that those on the wrong or even unwired side of the digital divide are in a constant game of "catch up," implying that access to digital technologies (i.e. information economy) is all that is required to get out of their particular situation.

Exposing the complexity of the issue Ginsburg goes on to discuss a handful of indigenous communities who, with an err of caution have embraced the internet as a means to connect and reinvigorate cultural identities as well as expand their sphere of

[28] The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) cites a slightly higher figure of 19.1% in 2005. This has since dropped to an estimated 16.5% globally in 2013. The fall is primarily due to uptake of mobile phones, which require less infrastructure. Comparatively mobile phone subscriptions have grown from 33.9% in 2005 to an estimated 96.2% in 2013. See International Telecommunication Union. (2013). *Key ICT indicators for developed and developing countries and the world (totals and penetration rates).* Geneva: International Telecommunication Union. Retrieved from http://www.itu.int/en/Pages/default.aspx

influence. Citing examples from Australia and North America where communities are using the internet and digital technologies in innovative ways to tell indigenous stories, in indigenous terms. The results are twofold, firstly they maintain and strengthen values, and identities of the indigenous group. Secondly, these acts of "cultural activism" as Ginsburg terms them, offer alternative perspectives from the general Western hegemony at play in media (p. 302). Māori too, have seized the internet as a means to aid cultural reinvigoration and engage in political discourse of self-determination (Taira, 2006).[29]

Although the internet is no longer considered a global panacea to poverty, political sovereignty or *the* means to which the developing world can "catch up" with the developed (Goode, 2010, Niezen, 2005; Rekhari, 2009). These grassroots initiatives show that away from globalising rhetoric, the digital space is an effective tool for articulating cultural vibrancy and values. However, even if you are online, this does not guarantee there will be an audience willing to listen, let alone an audience at all (Goode, 2010; Lovink 2008). Therefore, it is necessary for institutions of high cultural capital, large and small to take part. By providing indigenous populations space to tell indigenous stories, there is the potential to reach a greater audience than indigenous initiatives alone. The examples discussed by Ginsburg are important, but as she states, they are exemplary and not the norm, so it is vital that there be action from a multitude of parties. Unfortunately, Ginsburg has not highlighted that media and cultural institutions as influential disseminators of knowledge, too have a part to play.

Museums in the digital space

Museums and galleries have long been considered authorities on culture. With an online presence deemed essential for most institutions, this belief has been extended into the online sphere. Deirdre Brown's (2008) exploration into augmented and virtual reality technologies within museums is a dual undertaking. Firstly, in examining these new technologies she is concerned with their viability in the preservation and promotion of Māori culture. Secondly, within the museum she examines how these

[29] An example of cultural reinvigoration is *Kotahi Mano Kaika* by South Island iwi, Ngāi Tahu who have developed an innovative language revitalisation programme utilising the Internet and other digital media to help achieve the goal of 1000 Ngāi Tahu homes speaking Māori by 2025. http://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/culture/kotahi-mano-kaika

new challenging types of objects are considered from a Māori perspective, implicating repercussions for their treatment.

Brown views the embracing of digital technology by Māori not an assimilation into the Western paradigm. Instead drawing parallels to the dark digital void and the Māori creation narrative, she evokes a compatibility between Māori culture and the digital realm. In contrasting Māori conceptuality with digital technology Brown inquires what Māori qualities can be transferred into the virtual analogon. Continuing to distinguish digital from real, she argues that there is no reason the digital object cannot be recognised to be imbued with Māori qualities bestowed upon painting and photography.

Recognising the difference from the real object, Brown nevertheless postulates that virtual taonga need to be treated in accordance with appropriate Māori protocols. This is meant to mitigate risk to and from an original and to acknowledge the digital object as product of *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) itself. Stressing the need for Māori consultation on case-by-case basis for each object, she calls for digital taonga to be incorporated in the practices physical taonga receive in museums across Aotearoa New Zealand.

Further, echoing Benjamin's (1999) discussion of photography, Brown highlights virtual and augmented reality' conservational and display capabilities, as the digital object is able to be in situations that may damage or be impossible for the physical object. With the intentions of preserving, promoting and expanding knowledge of Māori culture projects like the *Virtual Patu* cited by Brown are fascinating pursuits. However, such initiatives are costly and are far from commonplace. What is more prevalent however, is the uploading of thousands of digital images, including images of taonga into online platforms or web based exhibitions. Notwithstanding Brown's brief survey, there is little examination of this dominant practice in Māori terms.

As the digital space continues to be incorporated into cultural institutions, Brown's work points to the validity of these spaces and the objects within them, and the need not to perceive them as lacunal or secondary entities to the physical. Nevertheless, Brown's exploration acknowledges the digital space within *kaupapa Māori* (Māori

ideology, incorporating knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society). Harbouring traditional and non-traditional objects and practices there is a need to legitimise the digital space as cultural space. Although the specificities of each example need to be addressed individually, these practices are already underway in New Zealand cultural institutions when dealing with physical manifestation of mātauranga Māori.

Cameron (2007) raises concerns about being able to achieve this in an industry based upon notions of the authority married to unique physical objects, where discussions of the digital tend towards an original/copy dichotomy. In bringing this debate to the fore Cameron wishes to expose a fundamental bias within the heritage sector, and their role in defining and maintaining meaning through attributing value to distinctions such as originality, authenticity and authority. Further, she calls for digital technology to be seen as part of the broader heritage ideology and not a threat to the Benjaminian aura of the physical object.

The pre-eminence of the physical object in the heritage sector, according to Cameron is connected to a historical belief that the material is imbued with an objective truth, simply by being evidence of the fact. Whether a blood stained jacket or ethnographic display, the materiality to these things made them unquestionable proof of real events. Cameron argues such objects are cultural products and used to maintain political, social or cultural ends, embodying the knowledge and value systems that put them in place (also see Bennett, 1995; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1991; McCarthy, 2007). In this objects are interpreted as signs and symbols rather than absolutisms.

Specifically focusing on a digital copy of a heritage object, Cameron suggests that an object acknowledged as sign frees the digital object from its copy pigeonholing, opening it up to multiple readings. Including being acknowledged as an object in its own right (Ekbia, 2009). But more so, Cameron argues the digital surrogate does not diminish the ritualistic power of the original but enhances it. Through the process of producing reproductions, a value judgement is issued on what is to be known and what is to be forgotten. The power of the reproduction to enhance the original is corroborated by the work of Bourdieu and Darbel (1990), who recorded that reproductions played an important role in gaining knowledge of artworks. By drawing

attention to this enhancing role, she argues that digital surrogacy is but one of the digital object's possible incarnations, albeit the prevailing one.

Like Brown, Cameron focuses on large-scale projects revolving around 3D technology. Although, they prove to be compelling cases where digital objects are seen as more than mere copies of a real object, the institutional perspective does not take into account whether or not the online viewer shares these perceptions. Cameron does recognise the knowledge construction at play, but the role of the digital object is one of open interpretation, and thus the institutional intention must be contrasted with other agents active within the field of cultural production. Despite this, her argument sheds light on a problem that most cultural institutions have only just begun to recognise.

Together, these studies expose a number of fundamental issues with and within the internet and institutions. Primarily focused on exemplar projects as embodiments of indigenous practice and the potentialities of the technology, there has been an overlooking on the more general practice of online collections and what is actually being articulated in accordance to the specificities determined through the digital space.[30] However, they also emphatically demonstrate that indigenous people across the globe are seizing the internet and other digital technologies for a wide array of intents and purposes. This is particularly true of Māori, who are leading a number of digital developments.

[30] O'Carroll's study is not from an institutional perspective. But the nature of SNSs would arguably have limited her findings to those embodiments that align with social media, i.e. maintaining familial connections.

Bourdieu and the field of cultural production

The forthcoming case studies work within differing areas of expertise for varying intents, purposes and audiences. However, while they may not be perceived as equals, they are nevertheless all active agents within the field of Māori culture online. And thus can be considered as contemporaries in the production and articulation of Māori culture in digital form. Utilising the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu light will be shed on the interaction occurring both in relation to each other and the specificities of the online environment. Key to the work of Bourdieu are the three concepts of *field*, *habitus* and *capital*.

The *field* is defined as a position or place (of study) that is governed by its own rules and logic. In Bourdieu's words, "a field is a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of politics or the economy" (1993, p. 162). However, this is not an all-encompassing universal concept, rather everyday life is made up of a multiplicity of fields, relating to anything from academia to social outings. Regarding this research, the internet can be understood as a field, in that operating online brings with it particular social rules and logic. Additionally, within the internet particular sub-environments, such as Facebook, blogs or online exhibitions can also be defined as fields as they too function under their own regulations, whether prescribed or perceived. Moreover, fields are not necessarily confined unto themselves but can incorporate a degree of overlap, allowing for fluidity between fields (Lawley, 1994).

If the field can be understood as a specific position of study, then *habitus* is the dispositions of an agent within the field (Bourdieu, 1993). However, habitus is not consciously considered or imposed, rather it is intuitively learnt from a young age (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). This internal operationalised system implicates that how one acts or what one likes is in effect not an act of personal preference but is determined by social standing and experience. While this further implies that habitus operates as both a structured and structuring principle (Bourdieu, 1989). It is important to recognise that habitus not only enables the agent to decipher cultural products and situations but it is what regulates interaction between agents within a field (Lawley, 1994). The disparities of self-representation in Facebook observed by O'Carroll (2013a) can be understood in these terms. As a failure to follow the appropriate netiquette of

the social networking environment, they expose discordance between the habitus of the individuals and that perceived of the group as a whole.

What determines an agent's position and dispositions is their volume and composition of *capital* (Bourdieu, 1984, 1989). Capital is broken into four factions, *economic*, *social*, *symbolic* and *cultural*. *Economic capital* works in its commonly implied sense that one's economic capital is determined by wealth and income (Allen, 2011). *Social capital* refers to the social connections an agent may have within a particular field such as a school, place of employment or a SNS.

Symbolic capital, according to Bourdieu is disavowed from an economic basis but is still a highly valued and legitimate form of capital (1993, p. 75). Revolving around the perceived level of prestige, importance or celebrity within a specific field. This can have its advantages, as observed in an online study where despite obvious infringements of appropriate conduct, a participant was not discourage from continuing to openly abuse a fellow participant due to obtaining a high status within the online community (Kendall, 2008). It is this consensus amongst the social population in their acknowledgement of *symbolic capital* that gives it a "world-making" power (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 22).

Cultural capital on the other hand is largely based upon educational capital (qualifications) and social origin (Father's occupation) where cultural goods are instilled through an agent's upbringing (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 13). Though firmly rooted in Bourdieu's class critique, cultural capital implies a specific knowledge that enables an agent to decipher cultural relations and artefacts (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 7).

An agent's placement within a field is determined by an their various accumulation of capital.[31] But as Bourdieu (1993) suggests, an agent does not necessarily occupy a fixed space but has the ability to shift within the field. Recognising an audience is a means to achieve this and will in turn move the agent toward the heteronomous pole and thereby economic profits (capital) will increase. However, for an agent to maintain this position they must continue to produce cultural products that align with that desired

[31] This is of course predicated upon the construction of the field as the determiner and delimiter of the relationality within itself. Thereby an agent's position in accordance to capital is determined in relation to others and the field itself and not through intentionality.

by the perceived audience. Thus, as an agent assumes a dominant position within the field they tend to maintain the status quo and not challenge their form of cultural production as they have the most at stake, their dominant position (1993, p. 83). Bourdieu suggests those in dominant positions with a field tend to be those who dominate the class structure (1993, p. 45). Such a disposition is reflectived in Goode's (2010) observation that those in dominant position offline tend to assume equivalent status online. This point exemplifies the degree of fluidity within and across fields.

In contrast, those who are located further towards the autonomous pole are by definition less reliant on the audience and are thus inclined to produce more experimental forms of cultural production (1993, pp. 83-84). Often, in direct challenge to those dominant forms of cultural production and those that assume such positions. Alluding to Bourdieu's Marxist origins, such positioning indicated that a field is simultaneously as a place of competition and conflict (Pringle, 2008).

This not withstanding, Bourdieu's theories in part developed out of the examination and ultimately criticism of museums as divisional places of cultural production within class structures. Where only those with the sufficient levels of capital are able to apprehend art above and beyond being "a riot of colours" (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1990, p. 38). Although class distinctions based upon the appreciation of art has proved less durable (cultural capital), his social theories have been used to inform a range of studies examining contemporary museum practice exposing some of the systems at play, including in relation to Māori experiences (see Cameron, 2007; Fyfe, 2004; Hazan, 2007; McCarthy, 2013; Prior, 2011). Notably though, these have tended to focus on the museums' continued production of cultural capital rather than their reception (McCarthy, 2013).

What is not being questioned here is the role of museums as valid and important places of and for culture/s. And thanks to a rise in indigenous activism and a shift to the so-called *New Museology* museums have increasingly critiqued their own practices while engaging with objects' source communities (see Ross, 2004; Trinca & Wehner, 2006; Vergo, 1989).[32] However, if the field of cultural production is shifted away from

[32] While not the first documentation of this practice within museology, Vergo (1989) provides a good scope of the iterations that come under New Museology. Vergo, P. (Ed.). (1989). *The new museology*. London: Reaktion Books.

the traditional bricks and mortar to its reception in the online realm, the habitus evident has received little academic focus. This is not to suggest that Bourdieu's work does not align with the digital age. They have proved equally applicable in studies of online practices and interaction as they have in the real world (see Lawley, 1994, Meyen Pfaff-Rüdiger, Dudenhöffer, Kathrin, & Huss, 2010; Shefrin, 2004).

More so, in utilising Bourdieu and determining the field as the online portrayal of Māori culture, the juxtaposition of three agents dispersed across the online field will bring the underlying practices, dispositions and active audience relationships to light. In practice, this does not aim to draw attention to the 'battle' between various agents (as Bourdieu would see it), rather it intends to improve the representation of Māori culture in the increasingly important online realm.

Methodology

The rise and ubiquity of the internet and associated digital technologies in industrialised nations has been rapid. While with 40.4 percent of the globe surfing, it is by no means a universal uptake.[33] For those that do have access, the internet has become an important and vibrant place for commerce, culture and recreation. For indigenous communities, in particular the internet is being utilised as one of the possible avenues to aid cultural invigoration and self-determination (Niezen, 2005). However, the researcher must acknowledge his position within this study. As a *Pākehā* (foreign, non-indigenous, commonly New Zealander of European descent), I cannot attempt to encompass what it is to be Māori, whether online or offline. I have nevertheless attempted to work in accordance with the appropriate protocols and sought guidance whenever possible.

Nonetheless, since the early internet Māori have become increasingly active online and embraced digital technologies as means to communicate, create and express Māori culture. Despite this, exactly how Māori culture is being articulated in accordance to the digital environment has not been specifically addressed. It is this in mind the following research questions will be address in this research.

How is the online space being used to articulate Māori culture?
How do the specificities of the digital environ alter or determine the effectiveness of this articulation?
Can these findings and discussions be used to improve museum practices?

This qualitative study examined Maori culture online. Performing three case studies and undertaking semi-structured interviews with those directly associated with the case studies, museum and gallery curators, web administrators and exhibition developers. Additionally, an online questionnaire was produced to gather information on Māori expertise and experience online, querying the effectiveness of museum and gallery websites' ability to articulate specific Māori cultural practices and values.

[33] The International Telecommunications Union (ITU) predicted internet access to have increased to 40.4 people per 100 in 2014. Retrieved from http://www.itu.int/en/Pages/default.aspx

The case studies selected are focussed upon websites that are either created and run by Māori or had significant Māori input and content. Although the internet is a global medium, a range of perspectives along with the intended audience of each website was also a determining factor. This includes institutional and private approaches covering international and national/local audiences.

The first case study looks at the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa's selection of objects from the museum's collection placed on the Google Art Project. Along with other institutions from across the globe, this site is a collaborative database on art aimed at an international audience. The second study examines the blogsite Puehu, produced by an art collective. Although broad in scope, this site is used to disseminate knowledge of Māori art works and criticisms regarding the representation of Māori culture by others from private perspectives. The final case study Manatunga, an online exhibition is again from an institutional perspective but is delivered through the organisation's own website. With a specific audience in mind, it uses the internet's global reach to help achieve the exhibition's intents.

In order to come to terms with each case study a detailed reading of the respective sites will be undertaken, highlighting the specific practices of each with relation to their own dispositions and that determined by the digital environment itself. Utilising Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1993), this in turn will be cast over the field of Māori cultural production online. Further, through Kallinikos, Aaltonen and Marton's (2010) theory of digital objects there will be examination of the effectual cultural articulation in the digital realm. Throughout, specific consideration will be given to taonga and their translation into the online space. Acknowledging the researcher's position as Pākehā, there will be an attempt to explicate taonga through Deleuzean philosophy (1994).

Significance of Study

This study will produce a critical snapshot of Māori cultural articulation online, and act as a basis from which future studies can follow and expand upon. While also documenting how the digital space is being used to illustrate and delimit cultural paradigms.

It is hoped that through the questionnaire, interviews and the discussions in this research that individuals will become more aware of the role digital technology is having in cultural articulation. There is also the intention that engaging with the cultural sector of New Zealand will aid cultural representation online. The methods of inquiry are aimed to move beyond the specific items discussed and draw attention to the interconnectivity between online and offline spaces, objects and practices (Butt, 2008). In turn drawing parallels between Māori and Pākehā thinking.

Limitations

As Durie (1998) has stated, Māori are far from a homogenous group. Therefore, it must be acknowledged that this research makes no attempt to speak of all Māori or argue an "authentic" Māori presence online. Rather, every attempt has been made to ensure that findings are specific to particular moments in time performed by the individuals, groups or institutions with this study and are therefore not representative. Moreover the examples and discussion are not intended to advocate the internet over and above any decisions or wishes made by Māori. The choice to put content online and to what degree is the decision of those whom the information belongs and this is not the same for everyone.

Equally the site of research and means of information and data gathered for this thesis has a number of restrictions that need to be recognised. As mentioned, the online realm is not a universal one. Even for those that do have access there are several factors that determine levels of participation. This is seen in the distribution of the online questionnaire, where respondents required an active online presence, which the researcher or those that kindly offered assistance, were able to establish contact. Additionally, the sample of questionnaire respondents and those interviewed were heavily drawn from university, creative and cultural sectors, many of whom have vested interests in the subject.

Chapter overview

In chapter one a taxonomy of taonga is outlined. Initially locating taonga within legal perimeters determined through New Zealand law, it goes on to examine a key moment in their continuing importance and their place within cultural institutions. Lastly, taonga will be discussed in accordance to their traditional function principally in reference to the work of Tapsell (1998). The chapter will then undertake a discursive comparison between Māori and Western epistemology, via Deleuzean virtuality. To which it poses a model through which distinctly Māori concepts can be comparatively discussed. Finally, drawing parallels between Māori concepts and the digital environ through Kallinikos et al. (2010) it proposes that the digital space is uniquely well suited in articulating aspects of Māori conceptuality.

Within the second chapter the three case studies are discussed in detail. The first case study examines Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa's presence on the Google Art Project. Firstly providing a brief introduction to Te Papa, the Google Art Project and Te Papa's overall presence in the Google Art Project, it will then move on to examine the objects from the *Taonga Māori* collection selected to be part of the project. Paying particular attention to a handful of individual works, before contrasting all of the Māori objects to Te Papa's Google Art Project collection in general.

The second case study, Puehu, a blog site is first grounded within a brief history of the blogs and blogging, highlighting their use as places of civic engagement and creative endeavour. Blogs are further examined as spaces of Jenkins' (2006, 2009) performance culture, where they are used for expression but also as places to engage with and gain gratification from an audience. The chapter continues by examining a number of specific posts with Puehu pertaining to aspects of Māori culture. Discussing them in regards to practices of expression, performance of reappropriation and strategic traditionalism. Lastly, two specific posts related to taonga held by Auckland War Memorial Museum and particular Māori cultural practice are analysed.

Manatunga: Ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti – The treasures left behind in this realm, is the third and final case study. An online exhibition produced by Auckland Libraries Sir George Grey Special Collections team, it is first located within a

discourse of online exhibitions within the cultural sector. The discussion goes on to draw attention to the significance of the objects within this exhibition and the intentional evocation of *tikanga* (correct procedure, protocol) into the digital space. Throughout all of the case studies, specificities of taonga and the digital realm will be raised.

Chapter three posits the cases studies within Bourdieu's field of cultural production. With the aid of Goffman (1959), this will be explicated through their respective habitus, with each located within the field due to their specific embodiment of capital. Their particularities are deemed to have an effect on their acceptance and utilisation of the digital space. This in turn is argued to determined their respective abilities to articulate an effectual representation of Māori culture.

In relation to the case studies, chapter four briefly discusses Māori and Western conceptuality in connection to their specific manifestation within the digital realm. This is elucidated through Rev. Māori Mardsen (1992, 2003), Tapsell (1998) and Deleuzean virtuality, drawing attention to the correlation between an effectual articulation of Māori culture and digitality. The thesis concludes by posing considerations for future online practice and hoping that this study has provided a stepping-stone.

A Taxonomy of Taonga

This study focuses upon three unrelated iterations of Māori culture in the online realm. The purpose and intentions for each is distinct and draw upon their own specific practices and fields of material from professional and artistic perspectives. However, while there is discussion of a broad array of subjects in relation to digital presence and intents, there is a reoccurring theme that binds them, taonga. Therefore taonga will be broadly defined in the forthcoming chapter.

Over the past 30 years the term taonga has gained recognition and influence across Aotearoa's cultural sector and is now securely entrenched within its vocabulary (McCarthy, 2007, Mead, 1990). It is, however, a complex term and one that encompasses far more that its commonly parenthesised companion *treasure* (Hakiwai, 2006; Henare, 2007; Mead, 2003; Salmond, 1984). Therefore it is important that before any further progress is made that a taxonomy of taonga be outlined. While ostensibly the forthcoming examples can be discussing one and the same thing, it is how taonga function within specific legal, institutional and traditional settings that defines them here. As part of this, explorations into Benjamin's *aura*, Deleuze's *real* and distinctions between physical and digital objects will be analysed as means to elaborate and comparatively contextualise taonga and Māori conceptuality within a Western epistemology. Firstly, to outline definitions of taonga.

Taonga as Artefact

From a legal perspective taonga are defined through the Protected Objects Act, which came into effect on November 1, 2006.[34] Superseding the Antiquities Act 1975, the Act regulates the export, import, sale, trade and ownership of the nine following categories of protected objects.

1. Archaeological, ethnographic, and historical objects of non-New Zealand origin, relating to New Zealand.
2. Art objects including fine, decorative, and popular art.
3. Documentary heritage objects.
4. Ngā taonga tūturu.

[34] Protected Objects Act. (1975). Retrieved from http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0041/latest/whole.html - DLM432617

5. Natural science objects.
6. New Zealand archaeological objects.
7. Numismatic and philatelic objects.
8. Science, technology, industry, economy, and transport objects.
9. Social history objects

(Protected Objects Act 1975, p. 72-79)

Each category is provided with a list of definitional parameters and a number of possible examples. *Taonga tūturu* (authentic taonga) is defined as an object that;

a. relates to Māori culture, history, or society; and
b. was, or appears to have been;
    i. manufactured or modified in New Zealand by Māori; or
    ii. brought into New Zealand by Māori; or
    iii. used by Māori; and
c. is more than 50 years old

(ibid., p. 8)

Clearly, taonga tūturu are recognised as a broad field of possible items. This definition however, is designed to fit within New Zealand's legal system as a means to protect irreplaceable heritage. This is exemplified by the *Act* declaring that any taonga tūturu found in New Zealand or its waters deemed *prima facie* the property of the Crown until custody or ownership can be determined.[35] Further, placing an age limit on taonga may appear arbitrary particularly if compared to the other definitions of taonga presented forthwith.[36] But, this moving timeframe can be understood as an attempt to extend the protective rights of objects deemed important to Aotearoa New Zealand that are no longer covered under New Zealand copyright law.[37]

Although the extremely diverse Māori artefacts held in heritage institutions across Aotearoa New Zealand do predominantly align with this definition, with few classing newer or less "traditionally" styled Māori made works as taonga (Colmer, 2011). However, it is obvious that this definition is limited to physical manifestations and as

[35] *Prima facie* is Latin meaning "at first sight." In legal terms it is used to signify that on first examination, the matter appears self-evident from the facts i.e., found on New Zealand soil, therefore belongs to New Zealand (the Crown).
[36] At a recent Kaitiaki Hui, an attendee expressed concern about the age and scope of this definition, questioning if a *pounamu* (greenstone, jade) made for Hokitika's tourist industry found 50 years hence could be taonga, under this definition it would.
[37] New Zealand copyright law generally protects the creator's rights for 50 years. The start of the 50 years is dependent upon the form of the creation itself. There are a couple of exceptions. See Copyright Act 1994. Retrieved from http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1994/0143/latest/whole.html#DLM345634

such it is restricted through a materialist determinism and Western concepts of possession. In this it fails to recognise that taonga are not solely confined to the tangible but can assume intangible forms, as exemplified by *waiata* (song), *mōteatea* (lament, traditional chant) or *whakapapa* (genealogy). At its simplest this is taonga as artefact, taonga based on form, not function.

Taonga as Art

Nevertheless, it was in heritage institutions that taonga began to be seen as art more than artefact. The transition of Māori objects from curio to objects of beauty has been well documented by McCarthy (2004, 2007, 2011) and is reflective of the changing views, ideologies and political circumstances that defined them. It is therefore unnecessary to delve into such a discussion here. Rather, it is through this transition and a key moment in the reawakening of Māori cultural heritage that the word taonga became implanted into Aotearoa New Zealand's cultural climate and gained another classification.

This key moment was *Te Maori***,** an international exhibition comprised of traditional Māori objects from the collections of thirteen New Zealand museums. Taking nearly a decade for it to come to its full fruition, the exhibition opened with a *kawanga whare* or dawn ceremony at the Metropolitan Museum of New York on 10 September 1984 (Mead, 1984a). Touring the United States, the exhibition was held by the Saint Louis Art Museum, San Francisco's H.M. de Young Memorial Museum and Chicago's Field Museum, before returning to Aotearoa in 1986. Under the new title *Te Maori: Te hokinga mai*, (The Return Home), the exhibition toured New Zealand's four major centres. Opening at National Museum of New Zealand in Wellington on 16 August 1986, it then continued to Dunedin and Christchurch, eventually making its way to Auckland, where it closed on 11 September 1987 (Te Maori Management Committee, 1988).

Mead (1986) had modestly hoped for 300,000 visitors during its Aotearoa leg, but the total numbers were far in excess of his estimate, with approximately 920,000 people attending *Te Maori: Te hokianga mai* over its four New Zealand locations or over 1.5

million across both countries (Te Maori Management Committee, 1988).[38] The exhibition did receiving a degree of criticism for primitivist overtones and use of non-traditional forms of tikanga (Ames, 1992; Tapsell, 1998).[39] It is nevertheless recognised as an unparalleled success and key moment in the reinvigoration of Māori cultural heritage and its influence still lingers today (McCarthy, 2007, 2011; McManus, 1992; Mead, 1986, 1990).

Not only was the exhibition hugely empowering for Māori (and Pākehā alike) but it is credited for ushering in a new bicultural era in New Zealand's cultural sector, with practices developed as part of *Te Maori* soon widely adopted throughout the country (McManus, 1992).[40] It was during the consultation and planning stages with Māori and their use of the term, where taonga gained hold and begun to firmly establish itself into the New Zealand cultural vocabulary (McCarthy, 2007). In turn it is due to the successes of *Te Maori* and the subsequence changes in Aotearoa's cultural sector that taonga has assumed a near metonymous position when one talks of Māori works in general.

In the exhibition catalogue *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*, Mead (1984b) describes *taonga tuku iho* as something that has been transformed through the art-making process, the attachment of *korero* (oratory; to speak knowledge; speech; orally transmitted knowledge) and contact with people, which can be more

[38] The closing report of the Te Māori Management Committee (1988) recorded following visitor numbers. With the New Zealand leg equating to over a quarter of New Zealand's population at the time.

Metropolitan Museum of New York	207,000
Saint Louis Art Museum	52,000
H.M. de Young Memorial Museum	102,000
Chicago's Field Museum	260,000
Wellington	184,500
Dunedin	113,000
Christchurch	147,000
Auckland	473,000 (estimated)

[39] Although being "progressive or virtuous" Ames criticised the exhibition for still working within the traditional Western museum ideology, whereby Māori art was associated with ideas of "Romantic Primitivism" to the exclusion of contemporary practices or those perceived more as "craft" than "art" (1990, p. 34). Tapsell (1998) criticised the New Zealand exhibitions for their failure to acknowledge the *mana o te whenua* (customary authority associated with specific ancestral lands) status of the local tangata whenua where the exhibitions were held, with particular reference to the Auckland leg and disempowering of Ngāti Whātua O Ōrākei.

[40] There were pre *Te Maori* precedents for some of these practices. As exemplified by Selwyn Muru's opening for the exhibition *Parihaka* at the Dowse, Lower Hutt in 1979 where there was a marae-like atmosphere created (Brown, 2003; McCredie, 1999)

commonly defined as "a highly prized object that has been handed down from the ancestors" (1984b, p. 21). Further, there is a direct correlation or fusion between taonga and art. Mead himself perhaps best illustrates this with his well-cited comment regarding opening the exhibition at New York's Metropolitan Museum. He states,

> The Metropolitan is synonymous with international art. By taking our art to New York, we altered its status and changed overnight the perception of it by people at home and abroad. We brought Maori art out of the closet, out of the cupboard of primitive contextualisation. In fact, we rescued it and freed it from the limiting intellectual climate of New Zealand, releasing it so it could be seen by the world. (1986, p. 11)

As the argument posits, locating Māori works within the pantheon of art, they are forevermore inscribed as Art objects. While the contextualisation of Māori works as art works is undeniable, Mead (1984b) ensures they are not equivalencies. In this light it can be assumed that Mead's labelling of taonga as art is an attempt to draw correspondence between Māori and Western concepts. Whilst conceding that by placing taonga in such a context they are not the works they once were (Heidegger, 1993, p.166). It was noted during the exhibition some observers saw the categories of art and taonga operating simultaneously, where for others they were separate (McCarthy 2007). Nevertheless, considered in terms of their formal qualities, technical innovation and uniqueness, taonga have been aestheticised, allocated a place within the great canon of art and discussed in relation to their own lineage from seed to flowering to turning.[41] Not strictly deterministic, they constitute a continuation and attempt to disestablish limited Western thinking of pre and post European contact.

The concept of the art object in Western terms is based upon perceptions of authenticity and originality tightly bound to Walter Benjamin's (1999) notion of aura. To know an artwork, to experience its aura, is according to Benjamin, to know its place

[41] As a means to bring the discussion of the development of Māori art closer to those that produced Mead (1984b) posited an analogy based on growth. Broken into broad time periods the analogy locates Māori art in mythical beginnings and progresses to modern times.

Nga Kakano – The Seeds (900-1200)
Te Tipunga – The Growth (1200-1500)
Te Puawaitanga – The Flowering (1500-1800)
Te Huringa – The Turning (1800-Present)
This particular period has been developed further into three moments.
Te Huringa I (1800-1900)
Te Huringa II (1900-1960)
Te Huringa III (1960-Present)

in time and space, to be witness to its history. It is this recognition that determines aura is perceived not through physical closeness to the original but rather the contrary, through "the unique phenomenon of distance, however close it may be" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 216). Harking back to art's earliest possible instantiation engulfed in ritual and spiritualism, the authentic artwork is imbued with that same sense of ritual.

There are distinct parallels between the Western work of art and taonga but as Mead (1984b), Henare (2007), and Salmond (1984) state they encompass much more. Whether a means to ensure peace, establish and maintain relationships or part of *utu* (reciprocation), the role of taonga is dynamic and far from a fixed singular determinism, set in correlation to an overarching universal tradition (Mead, 2003). As important objects of mātauranga Māori taonga exude power and can evoke strong emotional or physical response from those that view them (Mead, 1984b, pp. 21-24). However, many of the taonga that lie within Aotearoa's museums have been separated from their iwi associations and histories. Whether through an early collector's lack of understanding, interest or through more questionable acquisition, they have been disconnected from their tribal affiliation and traditional importance and are thereby unable to perform one of their most important functions. Thanks to *Te Maori* they are treated with the respect appropriate to objects of their stature and unquestionably still exude *ihi* (spiritual power), *wehi* (to strike fear; awe; to excite), and *wana* (authority; class; unquestioned competence). Nevertheless, held in Aotearoa New Zealand's museums and galleries, these aestheticised and spiritually endowed taonga live between art and taonga, between form and function, having aspects of both but unable to function solely as either.

Taonga as object

This leads to the final category of taonga. As mentioned, taonga can be many things to different people but for the purposes of this research it is important to juxtapose the previous two types discussed with a third more traditional iteration. Writing in 1998, Paul Tapsell acknowledged the limited array of sources that manage to encompass an approximate understanding of what may or may not constitute a taonga. Citing Sir

Hugh Kawharu's (1989) explanatory footnote to *The Treaty of Waitangi*, Tapsell sets forth a traditional definition from the perspective of his iwi, Te Arawa.[42]

More than simple markers of ancestral lands, Tapsell attributes taonga with three essential elements, *Mana*, *Tapu*, and *Korero*. *Mana* (authority; power; prestige; status), being instilled by the ancestors as it is passed from one generation to another, the greater the ancestors associated with a taonga, the greater the mana (Tapsell, 1998, p. 13; Mead, 1990). In a complementary fashion, to maintain the mana of a taonga, it must be treated as *tapu* (protect; sacred; prohibited; set apart). This governs the appropriate actions when interacting with taonga, ensuring that its sanctity is undiminished. For Tapsell, *korero* is the most important of the three essential elements. It can include ancestral knowledge, rituals and historical stories and is a traditional means to confer lore and knowledge, tying a specific iwi to their ancestors and ancestral lands (Tapsell, 1998, pp. 14-17).

With their *mauri* (life essence; life force; power of creation from the gods) protected by an ancient *karakia* (recitation; incantation; highly ritualised prayer), taonga are harbourers of ancestors' *wairua* (spirit; essence of being; soul) and are often acknowledged as living entities (Tapsell, 1998). The presence of taonga during a life-crisis is central to their importance within iwi. Here, taonga are performed, breaking down the temporal barriers that separate an iwi from their *tūpuna* (ancestors), whereby ancestors and descendants are brought together into "a powerful, singular genealogical identity" (Tapsell, 1998, p. 15). The ability to dissolve temporal distance is what Salmond elegantly terms the "alchemy of taonga" (1984, p. 120).

There is one final definition of taonga that be must raised. A number of Waitangi Tribunal claimants have challenged what the term taonga actually encapsulated in the second article of *The Treaty of Waitangi*.[43] But perhaps none are as encompassing or as

[42] 'Treasures': 'taonga'. As submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal concerning the Maori language have made clear, 'taonga' refers to all dimensions of a tribal group's estate, material and non-material – heirlooms and wahi tapu, ancestral lore and whakapapa, etc.
See, Kawharu, I. H. (Ed.). (1989). *Waitangi: Māori and Pākehā perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi.* Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press, p. 320.

[43] See, New Zealand. Waitangi Tribunal. (1989a). Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Kaituna River claim (Wai 4) *Waitangi Tribunal reports* (2nd ed.). Wellington, New Zealand: Author. New Zealand. Waitangi Tribunal. (1989c). Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the te reo Maori claim (Wai 11) *Waitangi Tribunal report* (2nd ed.). Wellington, New Zealand: Author. And New

far reaching as the long awaited *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* (The Waitangi Tribunal, hereafter The Tribunal, 2011), commonly referred to as the Wai 262 report. Effectively arguing for a *sui generis* classification when dealing with anything mātauranga Māori, any products of mātauranga Māori, or contribution to mātauranga Māori, the report questions, "who (if anyone) owns or controls Māori culture and identity (The Tribunal, 2011, p. 17).[44] In examining this question, the Wai 262 report defines a number of taonga but in reference to this research it is their identification of a *taonga work* that is relevant,

> A taonga work is a work, whether or not it has been fixed, that is in its entirety an expression of mātauranga Māori; it will relate to or invoke ancestral connections [whakapapa], and contain or reflect traditional narratives or stories [korero]. A taonga work will possess mauri and have living kaitiaki in accordance with tikanga Māori.
>
> (The Tribunal, 2011, p. 54)

There has been some debate around the use of the specific terms mentioned (A. Hakiwai, personal communication, December 18, 2013). Nonetheless, it is the opinion of this researcher that this definition does not add anything further to the other examples presented, with mātauranga, whakapapa, and *kaitiaki* (trustee, custodian, guardian), inherent within Tapsell's traditional taonga, as is the validation of the both old and new embodiments.

Interestingly, within the cultural sector many museum curators and employees, Māori and Pākehā alike have assumed the kaitiaki role for the taonga within their stores. But as previously noted, many of those objects have been separated from their korero and are hence unable to function as traditional taonga and arguably would not be encapsulated within this definition. Nonetheless, the report also recognises another distinct form of object related to *taonga works*, which are categorised as *taonga-derived works.*

Zealand. Waitangi Tribunal. (1989b). Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Manukau claim (Wai-8) *Waitangi Tribunal report* (2nd ed.). Wellington, New Zealand: Author.

[44] *Sui generis* is Latin for "of its own kind." In legal terms it is used to describe a form of legal protection outside typical legal protection, indicating that it is something unique or different. For an earlier precedent see Working Group on Indigenous Populations. (1993). *Mataatua declaration on cultural and intellectual property rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Paper presented at the First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Whakatane, New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.wipo.int/tk/en/databases/creative_heritage/indigenous/link0002.html

> A taonga-derived work is a work that derives its inspiration from mātauranga Māori or a taonga work, but does not relate to or invoke ancestral connections, nor contain or reflect traditional narratives or stories, in any direct way. A taonga-derived work is identifiably Māori in nature, but has neither mauri nor living kaitiaki in accordance with tikanga Maori.
>
> (The Tribunal, 2011, p. 54)

This is not to suggest that these works are not important in their own right or are incapable of having their own stories or connections, rather that these objects reflect modern times and connections, not ancient ones. And in this, they are prescribed lesser recommendations for protective governance than *taonga works*.[45]

Alchemy, Aura and Virtuality

It may be possible to draw parallels between the alchemy of taonga and the notion of aura previously outlined. Both are enlivened through their connection to ritual within particular contexts, whether a *tangihanga* (funeral) or gallery. Their self-evidentness as testimony to history and tradition. However, if the work of art suitably endowed with aura is said to manifest distance, then taonga implies its collapse. Used as mnemonic devices the distances between the past and the present are dissipated. It is the ability of taonga to transcend time and space whereby fusing ancestors and descendants, that sees them operate conversely to that of the art object. Rather than being the singular source from which aura is emitted, it is the aura, as contained in the korero, mana, and tapu that embodies the taonga. While able to exude aura-like qualities without these essential elements, it is the ability of taonga to be the channel through which these elements flow that the alchemic function is achieved. Thus taonga are not the font from which aura is emanated but the result of it.

[45] It must be stated that currently there is very little legal protection for mātauranga Māori or taonga works that fall outside of copyright or trademark protection. The World Intellectual Property Office (WIPO) openly acknowledges the limited degree of protection for indigenous knowledge and intangible cultural heritage. See World Intellectual Property Organization. (n.d.). *Traditional knowledge*. Retrieved from http://www.wipo.int/tk/en/. Nevertheless, post Wai 262 several of Aotearoa New Zealand's cultural institutions and government departments are in discussion with *Creative Commons Aotearoa New Zealand*, regarding the establishment of a *notice* determining the appropriate use of mātauranga Māori and taonga works. Some have expressed concern at the *Creative Commons* approach but all those that are attending these discussions agree it a good first step, at least until the appropriate legal framework has come into place (Berry, 2005). See *Creative Commons Aotearoa New Zealand*, Indigenous Knowledge. http://creativecommons.org.nz/indigenous-knowledge/

This in turn raises another difference. As previously contended taonga can be intangible and tangible incarnates. Moreover, physical taonga are not necessarily restricted to their current material determinates. That said, it must be noted that ancient taonga are highly revered, for their extensive whakapapa necessarily corresponds with great mana in their closeness to *atua* (gods). Nevertheless, their age or physicality can matter very little. If a taonga becomes too fragile to perform its function, through the appropriate ceremony the wairua can be transferred to a new object, and the old commented to the earth from which it came (Tapsell, 1998, p. 16). Here, again the value of taonga is based in terms of the mana, tapu, and korero imbued within the object, for it is this that must be maintained if the taonga is to perform its alchemic function (ibid.). This traditional taonga is taonga as object, in that while an (Art)efact, its function is in no way limited by its form.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2012) contends that it is the ephemerality of the man made object that ensures the object's evanescence or embodied knowledge is maintained, transmitted and reproduced, it is a case of "use it or lose it" (p. 201). This stands in contrast to the object that Benjamin and indeed much of the cultural industry value so highly. For them the lure of the aura is something that can only be radiated from the most revered of objects, the original, the unique and the authentic. The aura cannot be transferred or replicated in the other half of this bifurcation, the copy, reproduction, or analogon. Through their disconnect of temporal authority replicants have long been declared substandard. Devoid to those attributes that ascribe meaning and value they are perceived to harm the work of art by withering its aura (Benjamin, 1999, p. 215).

Taonga too, can be affected by the replicant. Though this is not due to the analogon's existence but instead through inappropriate use where the tapu state may be breeched or disrespected. It is at this point that fundamental disparities between Western and Māori concepts come to the fore. From a Western perspective it is only very specific objects that are considered to harbour an aura or allude to something beyond itself. In *Te Ao Māori* (Māori world), everything is imbued with a life force (mauri) irrespective of being perceived as animated or not (Barlow, 1991; Mead, 2003; Tapsell, 1997).[46]

[46] While the Wai 262 report suggests that only *taonga works* have mauri. This can be considered in terms of Hakiwai's observation that there was debate around particular words used (A.

This is not to suggest that all things are equal, as living things are considered especially endowed (Marsden & Henare, 1992; Mead, 2003). But that each thing is regarded as it own entity. Thus, not only can the authority and the wairua of the original be bestowed upon another but the analogon is imbued with its own mauri which indelibly differentiates it from the original. Therefore, there is no distinction made between the authentic and the reproduction as both are accepted as objects in their own right. This works in a divergent yet complementary manner. For taonga directly associated with an ancestor, to which they are greeted as such, with the wairua instilled within the object there is no distinction between the tūpuna and the representation. Hence they are often embraced by their descendents and the utmost respect is offered to them. As Mead (1990) recognises, this behaviour towards taonga reveals a completely different attitude to that given to the art object (p. 166). Yet for objects that are reproductions as they are too permeated with their own mauri, they are also accepted as objects in their own right. This implicates that they must also be treated accordingly to maintain their own wellbeing. Thereby the reproduced image can be regarded as both containing its own life force as well as being able to effectively carry the wairua of whom it depicts (Brown, 2008).

It is in this light that the Māori world and taonga can be argued to be akin to Deleuze's *Real* as constituted by the *Actual* and the *Virtual*. In a broad sense the actual can be understood as something that is "actually possible" (Shields, 2006, p. 285). Meaning that within all (mathematical) probability something can be said to be within the realms of possible outcomes. In this, it dispels physicality as the predicate of existence, rather simply it is through the mere possibility of actualisation that something can be said to exist (Deleuze, 1994; Shields, 2006). Thus, taonga whether tangible like a *hei tiki* (carved figure, a neck ornament) or intangible like a moteatea are objects of mātauranga Māori and are therefore considered actual. However, this is only one side of any object.

The virtual on the other hand is not be confused with the connotation that evolved from the online space and its simulacral developments. During early cyber experiences the word virtual was often evoked to best explain these new spaces. However, it also

Hakiwai, personal communication, December 18, 2013). This is also in relation to variances between different iwi in their respective understandings of the word.

saw the negative attributes of fake, false or imaginary bestowed upon it (Evens, 2010; Linstead & Thanem, 2007; Manovich, 2001; Pauwels, 2005).[47] Rather, while the actual and the virtual are in contrast to each other, in the Deleuzean sense they are in fact sides of the same real coin. Evoking Marcel Proust, the virtual is "Real without being actual, ideal without being abstract," much in the same way one's personality or dreams are real without being concrete (as cited in Deleuze, 1994 p. 208). This does not suggest the virtual and the actual are captured within a duality or are reflections of one another; they are neither equal nor equivalents. For Deleuze's has warned, the virtual does not lie in the realm of the possible for this implies it is conceptually actual, it only lacks existence (Badiou, 2000, p. 48). Although Lévy (2001) would argue that the virtual is something that exists in potentiality (p. 29). For Deleuze the virtual is only known through its effects, its ontological acts of actualisation through the process of *differentiation/differenciation*. Further it is posited these acts limit knowledge of the virtual to specific instantiations, thus it cannot be known in its entirety (Shields, 2006, p. 285).

Far from negative cyber-affiliated connotations, the virtual is the reality from which the ontogenesis/creative moment is actualised. While not equal, the virtual and the actual do work in conjunction, it is the coming together of these two but un-alike halves that constitutes the real (Deleuze, 1994, p. 209). It is in this middle distance, as Brian Cantwell Smith (1996) would put it, that the power of the virtual that actualises the object could be said to be akin to the Salmond's "alchemy of taonga" (1984, p. 120). In that the virtuality imbued within taonga is recognised by experiencing its differentiated actualisation denoting the relationship to whom it portrays.

[47] This was largely due to a number of well-publicised cases where people participating in online communities would assume elaborate alternative virtual personae. Often to such an extent that they would take on a life of their own, as in the case of Sanford Lewin and Julie Graham. See Stone, Allucquère Rosanne. (1995). *The war of desire and technology at the close of the mechanical age*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp.65-82. This was heightened by an academic preoccupation during the 1990s that accentuated the Internet as the disembodied medium, a place to escape the limits of the flesh, which effectively prescribed identity play into the technology (Poster, 1995; Rheingold, 1993 and Turkle, 1996). By and large, the effects of this perception still stands today, with most individuals online only accepting *known* people as friends (Boyd and Heer, 2006; Pempek et al., 2009 and Rosen, Stefanone & Lackaff, 2010). *Knowing* can be through personal meeting, mutual connections or reference from another known party.

As a means to explicate this further Benjamin's aura will first be briefly revived. If Benjamin comprehends seeing a far away mountain range or a cast shadow as the embodiment of the aura as distance. Implying the space between the object and the viewer represents the tradition to which the object is to be understood. Then it is through the actualisation of Deleuze's virtual that the aura is then experienced. In the equally real virtual constituted the ability of differentiation to be differenciated through the process of actualisation. Meaning the set of conditions (made in virtuality or tradition's differentiation according to Benjamin) where able to come into being (actualised) through their exposure of being different from the object that it imbues. With a person being able to see the mountain range or the ground to which the shadow falls being there (i.e. tradition being acknowledged), the virtual has been actualised into existence.

Moreover, it is the process of differentiation/differenciation that actualises the virtual to the actual which constitutes time and space (Linstead & Thanem, 2007, p. 1492). Although being divisible demarcations, actualisations of the virtual are unable to be disconnected from the plane of the real, and therefore the actual cannot be considered in terms of absolutes (Deleuze & Parnet, 2002). This is predicated upon the virtual's principle of connectivity, in which everything has resulted from and yet contains virtual's potentiality and hence is interconnected. In discussion of Māori conceptuality Marsden and Henare (1992) also contend an integratedness to the Māori world view with the perceptible world unlikely to constitute the entirety of reality.

Further, this Deleuzean syllogism can be used comparatively to discuss aspects within Te Ao Māori. The fact all things (real, not necessarily tangible) have been brought in to being by atua and are connected, then they have been actualised through their differenciation of whakapapa that connects them back to creation. In discussing the role of taonga Salmond elaborates further on the Māori view of the world,

> The world was understood as a medium (wa) in which intervals could be marked out (taki) in social space by ritual, in groups by numbers, in physical space by boundaries, and in time by genealogy, but within this medium distance was not immutable. (1984, p. 120)

From this perspective it is possible to draw parallels between Deleuze and *Ngā kete o Mātauranga* (the baskets of knowledge). Marsden and Henare (1992) outline the three

realms as *Te Kete Aronui*, the world apprehended by our senses, *Te Kete Tuauri*, beyond the world of darkness, the seedbed of creation, and *Te Kete Tua-ātea*, the world beyond space and time (Marsden, 2003). As Ruwhiu and Cone (2010) posit, the three kete capture a sense of unity between the physical, spiritual and philosophical knowledge within Māori thought. With that said, if te kete Aronui is the knowledge that can be recognised through the senses, then it is parallel to the actual as something that exists through being known. Based upon the comprehension neither is contingent upon physicality. For Te kete Tuauri as the space of gestation, evolution and refinement where patterns of energy await manifestation into the world, it can be considered in regard to differentiation/differenciation. To which being the space/process between the virtual and the actual it is the orientation and conditions that await constitution through actualisation. Te kete Tua-ātea as beyond space and time it stands eternal. Similarly the virtual is that which from all things derive, never knowable it is the ideally real (Shields, 2006). With both articulating a non-lineal open system Māori epistemology and Deleuze can be seen to have distinctly corresponding attributes.

Māori, Deleuze, Digital

Rather contradictory to the common perception the digital is also empowered along similar lines. In an epoch that values originality and materiality, it has long been painted with the brush of mere mimesis. Often disregarded entirely or seen as an inferiority that may have detrimental effects upon the material, its (lack of) attributes has seen the digital devoid of any worth (Cameron, 2007; McCourt, 2005). However what the digital encompasses requires further examination. The digital has a history and scope beyond contemporary understandings (Bagnall, 2008). However at its simplest here, the digital can be defined as something that operates through the transmission of electronic signals that are interpreted by a device or devices as a series of discrete values, commonly zeros and ones (Allison, Currall, Moss & Stuart, 2005). When these zeros and ones are part of a bitstream, they can be taken together and encode information into a particular format and in doing so become they a *digital object* (ibid., p. 368).

Moreover, fundamental to understanding the digital is the notion of fixity, or more specifically the lack of it in the digital object. Unlike its physical counterpart the digital object is inherently malleable. In Kallinikos, Aaltonen and Marton's (2010) *A theory of digital objects* four defining features are posited. Away from the limits of fixity a digital object is *editable*, *interactive*, *open* and *distributed*, as well as being both *granular* and *modular* in compositional texture. These, with the binary nuclei at the heart of the digital object, have given it a distinct genesis and an ontological potentiality that mimics that imbued in the virtual. This is something echoed by Evens (2010), in his observation that the digital is something of a paradoxical entity in its limited yet limitless form. Reflecting the finite's possibility of infinite variations within the study of complex systems or a Spinozan syllogistic determination, the digital under these tenets represents a non-lineal, non-fixed space.[48]

Recognising that this pliable and transfigurable nature has the potential to produce a less accountable environment, Kallinikos et al. (2010) also argues that disconnecting the digital object from its inherent attributes and creating the *digital document* is a practice base less on capturing cultural artefacts than constructing them. This implicates two practices, firstly a denouncing of the predicate to which traditional objects are generally collected, based upon premises of authenticity, provenance, and integrity (Seadle & Greifeneder, 2008). Secondly, a new object is created that is delimited by its own catchable determinates. Therefore, what is captured as a digital document is often selected based upon it catchability rather than legitimacy as cultural artefact. This reflexivity dictates that what is caught is not a unique artefact but a transformed version that represents a closed, fixed or determinable understanding or representation of it.[49]

Nevertheless, utilising the digital objects conceptual framework it is possible to contrast the digital with that outlined of Deleuze and Ngā kete o Mātauranga. Although ostensibly limited to non-materiality the digital in its pure form (energy) is unknowable but through the process of coding (differentiation/differenciated) the potential begins

[48] See Faulkner and Runde (2011) for an alternative exploration of non-material (quasi) objects.
[49] This echoes the structured/structuring nature of Bourdieu's habitus and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1991) observation that exhibitions are manifestations of their creational context.

to assume form until it is actualised into existence.[50] Again this implies that the digital is a processual entity with its capture (in a digital document) never constituting the entirety of the digital environ.

Thus in drawing comparison between Maori epistemology and Deleuzean philosophy, it is intended to acknowledge that Māori and Western conceptuality are not irrevocably disconnected but can be understood along comparable lines of thought. By focusing upon taonga as a uniquely active agent, it acts as the filter to which these normally perceived divergent modalities can be articulated. More so, as a non-Māori, this researcher must recognise his own position that necessarily distances himself from any Māori experience. And thereby precludes any attempt to articulate a genuine Māori understanding. Thus, Deleuze will be acknowledged as the bridge from which the researcher's comprehension of interactions occurring shall be mediated through. In determining the digital space as field to which this research plays, this offers a third option to Srinivasan's contention of cultural the hegemony of the internet and digital systems in general. It is not to suggest that taonga are comparable to the digital, this is not the researcher's intention nor his right, rather the distinctly malleable qualities of the digital, the digitality, offer a space to which Brown (2008), Mills (2009), Greenwood, Te Aika and Davis (2011) have all recognised is uniquely well suited in articulating some of the complex facets of Māori culture.

[50] Energy is determined to be unknowable through its abstractedness that necessitates formulae are required to define it by its measureable effects without determining energy's actuality. As exemplified by the wave-particle duality of quantum physics, in which energy as matter (light) is able to exhibit properties of both particles and waves. It is through observing that determines the outcome. Constituting a quantum event. This is equally understandable through Deleuze's virtuality.

Case Studies – Māori culture in the digital environ

Within this chapter the three case studies are examined in detail. Each will be discussed in accordance to their specific origins and practices. Throughout all of which, special focus will be given to taonga and the digital realm, and how their particular aspects manifest themselves. However, as the case studies all hark from different areas of New Zealand's cultural production, there is no intention to seek a compare and contrast model. Rather as individuals and a collective there is hope to reinvigorate the continued validity of Robert Sullivan's questions posed over a decade ago.

> When digitizing cultural materials, the important questions are: How do we send a message that strengthens the holistic context of each cultural item and collection? How do we ensure that both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples receive the message? How do we digitize material taking into account its metaphysical as well as its digital life? (Sullivan, 2002)

Te Papa and the Google Art Project

In this case study the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa hereafter) presence on the Google Art Project will be examined. While firstly providing a brief introduction to Te Papa, the Google Art Project and Te Papa's overall presence in the Google Art Project. It will then move on to examine the objects from the *Taonga Māori* collection selected to be part of the project. Particular attention will be paid to a handful of individual taonga, before collectively discussing all of the Māori objects in contrast to Te Papa's Google Art Project collection in general.

Te Papa introduction

Amalgamating the National Museum of New Zealand (formally The Dominion Museum) and the National Art Gallery, Te Papa opened its doors on Wellington's waterfront with much fanfare on February 14, 1998. Developed out of the post *Te Maori* New Zealand cultural sector and the simultaneous shift to the *New Museology*, Te Papa was an institution that was to reflect a contemporaneous view of New Zealand culture and museological practice (McCarthy, 2007, p. 167).[51] Soon after the Museum of New

[51] According to McCarthy (2013), while Te Papa's practice early blurred traditional boundaries between Art and Artefact, in more recent times the strict division between art and artefact has

Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act (1992) was passed, establishing the museum itself the organisation released the museum's mission statement.[52]

> The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa provides a forum for the nation to present, explore and preserve the heritage of its cultures and knowledge of the natural environment in order to better understand and treasure the past, enrich the present and meet the challenges of the future.
>
> (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1993, p. 6)

This included acknowledging the relationship between *Tangata Whenua* (Māori) and the *Tangata Tiriti* (people in New Zealand by right of the *Treaty of Waitangi*) centralising the institution's bicultural premise. The development of Te Papa has received some discussion to which there is no need to examine here (Dibley; 1996; McCarthy, 2007). However, it is important to bring to light a foundational principle that is of particular relevance to this study. Arising out of the practices and processes that were developed during *Te Maori* exhibition, the *mana taonga* principle is one of Te Papa's core philosophies (McCarthy, 2007). Broad in scope, but at its simplest *mana taonga* acknowledges the relationship between Māori and taonga. More so, it acknowledges the validity of the Māori knowledge system. As the principle itself makes clear.

> Mana taonga recognises that taonga, which includes objects, narratives, languages, as well as all forms of cultural expression have mana; that taonga have whakapapa relationships with their source communities, as well as connections to the environment, people and places. Mana taonga recognises the authority derived from these relationships and the innate spiritual values associated with them. Respecting and expressing knowledge, worldviews and learning systems including matauranga Māori - the views, explanations and perspectives of the nature of the world, as known and informed by Māori, is an important dimension of mana taonga. The principle is an empowering one that enables Te Papa to acknowledge the richness of cultural diversity and to design and disseminate models of co-operation, collaboration and co-creation that shares authority and control with iwi and communities, whilst recognising, embracing and representing the changing demographics of Aotearoa New Zealand.
>
> (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2012b, p. 9)

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been reintroduced into Te Papa, effectively watering down its founding democratic vision and returning it to a more traditional museology.

[52] Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act (1992). Retrieved from http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1992/0019/latest/whole.html

Although receiving some criticism for its non-traditional application of the tangata whenua relationship (see Tapsell, 1998), the principle seeks to establish, maintain and strengthen the connection between the object and its source community. By providing those whom the taonga means the most say in the practices and procedures regarding their care and display, the museum acknowledges that it no longer has the right to determine how taonga should be managed (Brown, 2006; Hakiwai, 2006; Smith, 2006). Whilst in conjunction with the other philosophies, it operates as a constant reminder of the museum's obligation to extend museological practice and "act as a forum of change in Aotearoa New Zealand" (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2012b, p. 9).[53]

The internet is increasingly seen as an important avenue where this forum can also be practiced and achieved. Although early in Te Papa's development the internet was coupled with phone inquires, as the technology has evolved so to has the internet's relevance within the industry.[54] With it now playing a significant role in aiding the organisation's practice. As the museum itself recognises,

> Te Papa's online experience is an increasingly important way of facilitating public engagement with the museum collections, sharing information with a variety of communities, and fostering debate.
>
> (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2013a, p. 19)

The recent launches and successes of both *Ngā Toi Arts Te Pap*a, and *New Zealand Birds Online* as well as Te Papa's continuing desire to build digital capability in and out

[53] Museology and Learning are the two remaining philosophies.
Museology. Te Papa recognises the role of communities in enhancing the care and understanding of collections and taonga, which drives our approach to access and research. Collections are seen as part of living cultures that provide a gateway to understanding how other people live and uniquely view their world. Te Papa works in collaboration with communities and individuals to deliver exhibitions and experiences that are current, meaningful and relevant nationally and globally.
Learning. Te Papa encourages experimentation that allows us to try new ideas and generate new knowledge, upon which we reflect and adapt our beliefs and actions, change behaviours and enhance our performance. The development of a 'learning organisation' can provide benefits at three levels. First organisationally, the benefits are in relation to being equipped to adapt to an ever-changing environment. Secondly for staff, there are benefits in terms of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) and improved knowledge and skills. Finally, for the public, the 'learning organisation' should provide greater responsiveness to public needs and an improved ability to meet these needs. (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2012b, p. 9)

[54] In the 1997-1998 Annual Report, V*irtual Visitors* was a combination of online visits and phone inquires (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1997/1998).

of the museum is testament to the fact that the online space is perceived as an important area for continued development.[55] Furthermore, Te Papa's participation in the Google Art Project is acknowledged and embraced as part of this development and one of the ways that visitors are able to explore and learn about their collection (ibid., p. 20).

Google Art Project

Google Art Project (GAP) is an online platform that allows the public to access high-resolution digital images of some of the world's most well known works of art from some of the globe's most renowned museums and galleries. Arising out of Google's "20 percent time" policy, according to GAP founder and head Amit Sood, the project soon gained momentum.[56] The Google Art Project went live on the 1st of February 2011.[57]

Collaborating with seventeen museums in nine countries, the platform consisted of over 1000 high-resolution digital images, with each museum selecting one work to be photographed using Google's "super high resolution "gigapixel" photo-capturing technology" (Sood, 2011).[58] Proctor (2011) has suggested that this technology enables the user to experience a work of art at visual depths that had not been possible before, even within a physical gallery. Along with the high-resolution images, each object has a

[55] *Ngā Toi Arts Te Papa* is the online home of the arts at Te Papa and releases a quarterly online magazine. http://www.arts.tepapa.govt.nz/. *New Zealand Birds Online* is an online encyclopedia of New Zealand birds. http://nzbirdsonline.org.nz/

[56] Google's 20 percent time is where employees are encouraged to spend about one day per week on a project of their choice that is of benefit to Google. See Google. (2004). *2004 founders' IPO letter*. Retrieved from http://investor.google.com/corporate/2004/ipo-founders-letter.html. Recent reports indicate that this policy is all but debunked. See Mims, C. (2013, August 15). Google's "20% time," which brought you Gmail and AdSense, is now as good as dead [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://qz.com/115831/googles-20-time-which-brought-you-gmail-and-adsense-is-now-as-good-as-dead/

[57] For a video of the launch event at Tate Britain see Google. (2011, February 1). *Art Project V1 - Launch event at Tate Britain* [Video file]. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NsynsSWVvnM

[58] The seventeen participating museums are as follows. Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin, Germany. Capitoline Museums, Rome, Italy. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian, Washington DC, USA. Frick Collection, New York, USA. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, Germany. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA. Museo Reina Sofia, Madrid, Spain. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, Spain. Museum Kampa, Prague, Czech Republic. Museum of Modern Art, New York, USA. National Gallery, London, England. Palace of Versailles, Versailles, France. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, Russia. Tate Britain, London, England. Uffizi, Florence, Italy. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

details menu, which can include a variety of information.[59] Ranging from a general description of the work and artist, to legal rights, maps, audio and video material, links to the participating institutions own webpage of that item and beyond. Other features included Google's much discussed *Museum View*, an adaption of their *Street View* technology.[60] Users also have the ability to create their own personal online collections, which can have comments attached and be shared through social networks or email (Sood, 2011).

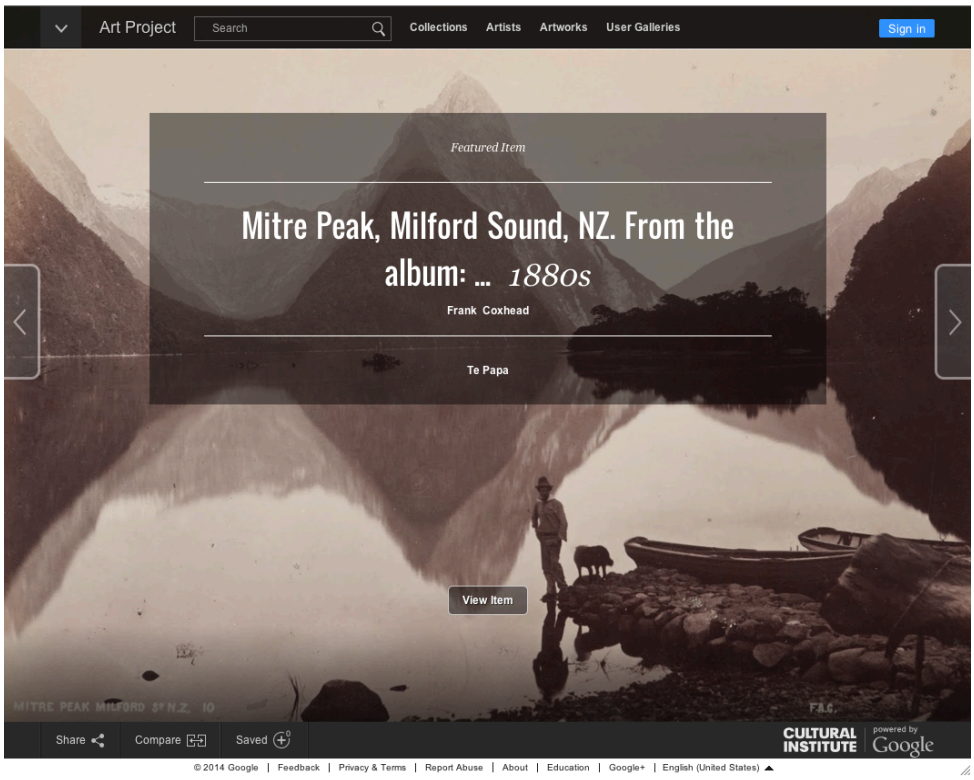

Figure 1. Google. (2011). *Art Project*. [Screen shot from website] Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/project/art-project.[61]

Tate Director Nicholas Serota (2011) saw this new collaboration as a shift in the perception of museums. Aligning with Google's ethos to make the world's information

[59] The details menu is closed by default and must be clicked to reveal information. Arguably this default indicates a primacy given to the visual object.

[60] This offers a 360-degree view of selected museums, galleries or specific galleries within a museum. In it one can digitally stroll about while also being able to click on artworks displayed. And if the work is on the GAP it will be linked through to that page. There has been a degree of frustration voiced over being able to see works that are not on the GAP as well as reproduction rights. This has resulted in several institutions having the blur-out certain images. See Hart (2011) and Proctor (2011).

[61] Coxhead, F. (1880s). *Mitre Peak, Milford Sound, NZ. From the album: 'Australasian'* [Black and white photograph, 14.3 x 19.4cm]. Wellington New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (O.033249)

universally accessible, he suggested that the GAP has moved museums "from being "keepers" to "sharers" of art online and in doing so provided a "taste of the digital future for museums" (Serota, 2011).[62] In spite of such a decree the project did received a fair amount of criticism, with numerous commentators declaring that art must be experienced in its true physicality (Perl, 2011; Smee, 2011; Sooke, 2011).[63] Further, a number questioned the potential repercussions on museum and gallery visitation (Proctor, 2011; Sooke, 2011).[64] Frustrations were voiced regarding collection selections and participating museums (Hart, 2011; Perl, 2011). More so, Jane Burton (as cited in Proctor, 2011) noted that a large portion of twentieth century works is and will continue to be excluded.[65] This, she posited, has the potential of producing a skewed image of art production. Criticisms aside, many within the industry received it positively. And while flawed it is arguably the closest embodiment of Schweibenz's (2004) *Virtual Museum* thus far.[66]

Art Project 2.0

In April 2012, Google relaunched the project at the Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Now part of the recently established Google Cultural Institute, the GAP boasted over 30000 images from 151 museums across 40 countries, including two from New Zealand, namely the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki and Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Sood, 2012).[67] The second phase encompassed a broader range of mediums including photography, sculpture and textile amongst other mediums and went someway in addressing the dominance of painted Western art within the original launch (Sood, 2012). Improvements to functionality and searching, and more museums with *Museum View* were also publicised.

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[62] "Google's mission is to organize the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful." See Google. *About Google*. Retrieved from http://www.google.co.nz/intl/en/about/

[63] One critic evoked Benjamin's (1999) aura exclaiming that the digital realm is simply incapable of conveying this (Smee, 2011).

[64] Early anecdotal evidence suggested otherwise, with visitation to institutional websites and physical spaces up post launch (Berwick, 2011; Pfanner, 2011).

[65] This she argued was due to rights restrictions and inhibitive reproduction costs.

[66] Schweibenz (2004) summarised a taxonomy of digital museums and placed the *Virtual Museum* at its zenith. Incorporating all the aspects of the others, the *brochure*, the *content* and the *learning* museums, the *Virtual Museum* escapes institutional limits with objects being drawn from a multitude of sources, and having no physical counterpart in the real world.

[67] Google Cultural Institute contains *Art Project*, *Historic Moments* and *World Wonders*. See Google. *Google Cultural Institute*. Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/home

Although Smith (2012) observed the persistent lack of twentieth century Modernist works Burton noted previously and the continued omission of several of the globe's most respected institutions.[68] She acknowledges it is very much a work in progress, but nevertheless sees it as a positive and at times mesmerising undertaking. The Google Art Project now contains nearly 60000 images by over 8000 artists from 312 institutions across the globe and is still growing.

Te Papa's Google Art Project

Te Papa's Google Art Project collection is the main focus of this section, however, a small number of references will be made to their own websites and Auckland Art Gallery's GAP collection for comparative purposes. Te Papa's participation in the project was tightly guarded secret right up until launch day, when it was proclaimed to the world through the most modern of declarations, a tweet.

Figure 2. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa [TePapa]. (2012, April 3). The Google Art Project has just launched in Paris. We are very excited to be invited to share our collection #gaptepapa http://ow.ly/a3Zhn [Tweet]. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/Te_Papa/status/187326099984883712

Interestingly, and unlike the Auckland Art Gallery (AAG), Te Papa issued no official media release regarding their participation in the project.[69] Nevertheless, the launch of

[68] The Louvre, the Prado and the British Museum to name but a few.

[65] There was a blog post by Puawai Cairns. Cairns, P. (2012, April 4). Making a big world smaller - Paris and Google Art [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2012/04/04/14632/. The project was also dedicated a paragraph in the 2011/12 Annual Report. See Te Papa. (2012a). *Annual report 2011/2012.* Wellington, New Zealand: Author. p. 21.

the second phase of the GAP was covered by a number of local newspapers and the Aotearoa art and technology blogosphere. All in all, the response was positive, if a little muted.

Of the near one million objects on Te Papa's database, 166 items by 64 artists (14 of which have more than one object) were selected.[70] Covering dates that range from circa 1100 A.D. to 1970, the collection contains 75 pieces from the *Art Collection*, 50 objects from the *Taonga Māori*, 21 photographs and 20 items from the *Pacific Cultures Collection*. The late Te Papa curator William McAloon commented that it was Te Papa's intention to select a diverse array of "visually really sumptuous" works (as cited in Speer, 2012). Embracing an expanded sense of art, the works were to represent the Museum of New Zealand with all the national, pacific and global affiliations that that entails (ibid.).

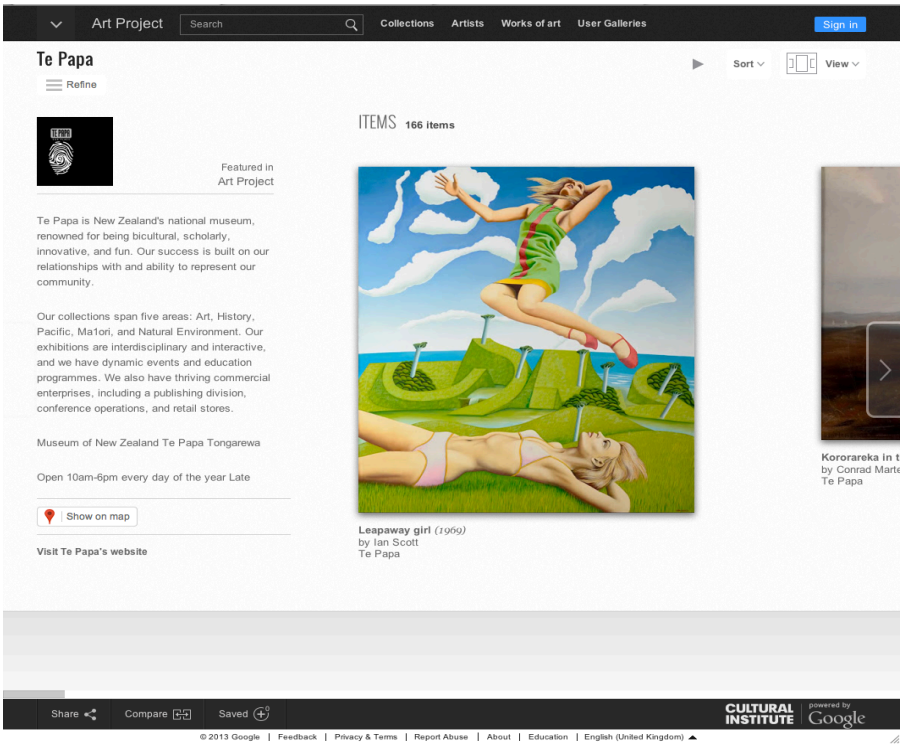

Figure 3. Google. (2014). *Te Papa* [Screen shot from website]. Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/collection/te-papa?projectId=art-project.[71] Default view. Note that in the description of the museum Māori is spelt Ma1ori.

[70] On 29 October 2013 Te Papa had 980245 objects within its collection database (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, personal communication, October 29, 2013). It has been stated that there are nearly 2 million objects housed by Te Papa, however, the figure of 980245 objects will be the basis of all Te Papa collection figures mentioned hereafter.

[71] Scott, I. (1969). *Leapaway girl* [Oil on canvas, 172.5 x 151.5cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (1971-0023-1)

The then Auckland Art Gallery director Chris Saines, enthusiastically echoed similar comments stating that "Extraordinary New Zealand works were represented better in Auckland" than anywhere else and this provided an opportunity for those not in New Zealand to gain "an intimate insight" of New Zealand art (as cited in Dickinson 2012a). Additionally, both alluded to the potential of gaining a little more traffic through their respective institutions' doors (Dickinson, 2012a; Speer, 2012). It is clear that both institutions saw the project as an exciting opportunity to show the world the depth of New Zealand institutional collections and the scope of talented artists and craftspeople that filled their buildings.

General observations of Te Papa's GAP

This section will briefly perform a general observation of Te Papa's GAP, paying reference to their utilisation of the space before moving on to examine the Māori collection specifically. Moreover, it will highlight a number of issues, questioning the level of institutional buy-in. This is of particular importance as website data reveals that the audience that visit Te Papa's GAP represent quite a different demographic to their own websites. Arguably this demographic has no intention of ever visiting the physical museum.[72] Thus, away from institutional websites and the additional context they contain, how and what information is attached to each object becomes particularly important as the sole means to promote a good understanding of an object's significance.

While the objects selected for the project provide a reasonable survey of Te Papa's stores, their decision to exclude any work produced after 1970 states it is far from representative. Nonetheless, the collection overall is unfortunately riddled with errors, inconsistencies and biases. The majority of the objects have an informative description of varying depths attached.[73] This ensures that the quarter that only have minimal

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[72] See Appendix two for detailed exploration of this point.

[73] A quarter of which have been adapted or "cut and paste" directly from *Art at Te Papa* (2009). Although this was necessarily consistent as there were a few in both in *Art at Te Papa* and GAP that did not have information conveyed from one to the other, see McCormack, T. A. (c1940). *Poppies* [Watercolour, 40.0 x 24.8cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (1959-0025-5). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/poppies/vgHLh_VjsUyMRg?projectId=art-project. McAloon, W. (Ed.). (2009). *Art at Te*

classificational information standout.[74] Furthermore, excluding the formatting and spelling errors, a more pro-active approach would have noted the inconsistent use of definitions when explaining Māori terms as well as the irregular use of diacritics (e.g. ā ä or not at all).[75] Overall there appears to have been little if any follow-up of Te Papa's presence in the GAP.[76]

The use of hyperlinks back to Te Papa's own webpages for each object were also not used to their full effect. Instead Te Papa has intentionally replicated the information from its own website to the GAP (A. Kingston, personal communication, January 17, 2014). The duplication of information whereby failing to offer anything further is a fault that a number of institutions in the GAP had succumbed to (Hart, 2011). It was also noted that women only represent approximately 25% of the collection, with none after 1930.[77]

That said, there is a degree of supplementary and sticky content within Te Papa's GAP.[78] This included multiple images and a small number have hyperlinks to other sources and videos attached, providing greater content and context for the user.

Papa. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press, p. 231. Smith, J. R., after West, B. (1773). *Mr Banks* [Mezzotint, 61.1 x 37.8cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (2005-0027-1). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/mr-banks/qwGdsm-J7isWoA?projectId=art-project. McAloon, W. (Ed.). (2009). *Art at Te Papa*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press, p. 60.

[74] Principally containing information such as medium, material, location, subject headings, etcetera. No additional or contextualising information. This minimal approach effects works by Gordon Walter and Gottfried Lindauer amongst other notables. Interestingly, as one views the collection as a slide show in the default sequence the information provided for each object becomes scarcer as you get into the last quarter of the collection. From this, one could speculate that the default sequence relates to the order to which items where placed into the project. If this is the case, it could be argued that Te Papa's enthusiasm begun to waver.

[75] Different Iwi do write te reo using various diacritic marks or double vowels to indicate appropriate pronunciation. But as all of the Māori objects have largely unknown histories it is difficult to attach them to a specific iwi and their preferred means of writing te reo.

[76] There are several basic formatting and spelling errors dotted throughout (see example in figure. 3.). According to Adrian Kingston, Te Papa Digital Collections Senior Analyst, the Te Papa project team were responsible for the uploading of their own images and inputting the metadata into predefined fields (personal communication, January 17, 2014). This capability has remained active since becoming part of the project.

[77] Over the net. (2012, April 10). Te Papa and Auckland Art Gallery go head to head on Google [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://overthenet.blogspot.co.nz/2012/04/te-papa-and-auckland-art-gallery-go.html

[78] Sticky refers to website content that holds a users attention or entices their return to the site and can include a range of services such as social media feeds, built in games and exclusive additional material. (Intergen, 2012; Kominers, 2009). This type of sticky content is not possible on the GAP (at least not yet) but the inclusion of supplementary images, as well as audio and video media is.

Nevertheless, taken as a collective, Te Papa's GAP lacks of over-arching vision as exemplified through its Incohesion, inconsistencies and errors.[79]

Māori on Te Papa's GAP

Of the objects chosen by Te Papa, items produced by Māori have the distinction of being the oldest and newest pieces in Te Papa's GAP and equate to a fraction over 30% their entire selection.[80] In comparison, of Auckland Art Gallery's 85 items in their GAP, five Māori artists are represented, equating to approximately 6% of their collection.[81] The decision to have such a high percentage of Māori objects available through this platform is in contrast to Te Papa's own Collections Online website, where *Taonga Māori* make up just 1.4% of the total items available through that portal.[82] This is less than the 2.9% of items online drawn from Te Papa's *Pacific Cultures* collection, which in terms of physical collection pieces is nigh on half of that of the *Taonga Māori*.[83]

[79] Both McAloon (as cited in Speer, 2012) and Puawai (2012) were curious at how Te Papa would fair in comparison to other institutions participating in the GAP. A small survey of the various national museums and galleries present reveals that they all had differing approaches to the project. The Hungarian National Museum (https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/collection/hungarian-national-museum?projectId=art-project) has only provided a simple description of each of its 45 items and like Te Papa all objects are out of copyright. The National Gallery of Australia (http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/collection/national-gallery-of-australia-canberra?projectId=art-project) similarly to Te Papa selected a large quantity of indigenous works, although many are still subject to Australian copyright law. They also had a number of inconsistencies across the information they provided. This particular aspect was observed across several of the museums viewed and included basic spelling errors. This may be indicative of the pressure to complete the GAP in a short period of time or a laissez-fare attitude to just another digitisation project. Nevertheless it appears that several of those in the project have done their part and left it at that, no quality control, no follow up, no assessment of the effectiveness of the new platform. This is far from professional and something Te Papa amongst several others is guilty of.

[80] The 50 out of 166 objects from Taonga Māori collection equates to 30.12% of Te Papa's GAP collection (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, personal communication, December 9, 2013)

[81] 5 out 85 objects equates to 5.88%. There are an additional four works that depict Māori, this in total equals 10.59% of AAGs collection (Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, personal communication, November 20, 2013).

[82] On October 29 2013, Te Papa had 527,901 records of objects online, of which, 7,396 where from the Taonga Māori collection. Of this, only 124,240 had images attached, with 5,364 from the Taonga Māori collection. This equates to 4.32% of the available items online with images attached (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, personal communication, October 29, 2013).

[83] On October 29 2013, Te Papa had 15,873 items in their Pacific Cultures collection (1.62% of entire collection) and 30,0079 items in the Taonga Māori Collection (3.07% of entire collection) (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, personal communication, October 29, 2013).

It is clear that Māori visual and material culture is a very important and unique aspect of Aotearoa's past, present and future cultural heritage. By having such a quantity of Māori objects it is obvious that this is something that Te Papa sought to highlight to the GAP's global audience. Google spokeswoman Kate Mason reinforced this point of view, stating that:

> The cool thing, particularly for the New Zealand collection, is there are many elements of New Zealand culture, and particularly Maori culture, that might not have got this global exposure had they not been in on the Google Art Project […]
>
> That's something really exciting, to look through and get what that country's people are actually like.
>
> (as cited in Dickinson, 2012a)

Taonga and the selection process

For Te Papa GAP team member and curator of contemporary Māori culture, Puawai Cairns, working in accordance with the *mana taonga* principle was fundamental when selecting taonga for the Google Art Project. Despite her enthusiasm for the undertaking she expressed her personal concerns and reservations about placing these objects into the public domain for fear of potential misuse and misappropriation (personal communication, October 25, 2013). But concluded that the benefits of providing the world with examples of taonga to which they can learn more about Māori culture was worth the risk. Such an expression of personal responsibility is indicative of the kaitiaki role many Māori curators have assumed. While raising the challenges faced in an industry increasingly focussed on digitising as much of their collections as possible. Brown (1996), Goode (2010), Kamira (2003) Smith and Sullivan (1996) amongst others have voiced similar concerns and likewise determined that the potential of informing others to be greater than the possible detriment.

Nevertheless, these concerns, along with rights management and the untested nature of the GAP platform led to the decision that all the taonga selected for the project had to come from Te Papa's unprovenanced percentage (Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2013). Being unprovenanced here means that the taonga have been separated from their specific ties to a particular iwi, *hapu* (kinship group, sub-tribe) or

whānau (family, extended family).[84] Whether through accident, ignorance or more nefarious actions these taonga have been disconnected from the korero that once surrounded and warmed them. This does not suggest that unprovenanced or *unnamed* taonga (as Cairns calls them) cannot be effected if treated inappropriately (as Cairns' comments above clearly harbours concerns of). But it is also a concession that taonga have the potential to cause considerable harm to those who mistreat or are malevolent towards them (Te Awekotuku, 1996). And as there is a degree of *noa* (free from extensions of tapu) associated with unprovenanced taonga, therefore, selecting *unnamed* pieces is first and fore most an act of safety and respect. Equally, by acknowledging the virtuality imbued in particular taonga could be differentiated through the online realm to differenciate itself into actualisation within unknown context, whereby being the channel through which the tapu and sacrosanct state could be breached or its potential power unleashed (Barlow, 1991). The *unnamed* taonga can be seen as an attempt to mitigate future potential instantiations of virtuality. Moreover, the acknowledgement of potential ramifications through a digital conduit required redress thereby implicating the instigation of tikanga into the digital realm.

Further, additionally to being *unnamed*, the objects had to fit within the following criteria (Cairns, 2012). They had to *image well* and be visually appealing. Be *fresh*, meaning that they had not appeared in other published formats.[85] And cover a *diverse* array of arts, representing male and female art forms and differing materials.[86] Still very much spiritually endowed, under these aestheticising determinates and unable to perform their traditional function and are thereby taonga as art.

True to the selection criteria, the range of works chosen illustrates the innovation and diversity of Māori practices. There is a small handful that particularly standout and these shall be discussed in more detail before a general overview is performed.

[84] Although unprovenanced, the objects' acquisition into the museum collection through various bequeathments, purchases or donations many be known.
[85] That said, three objects were part of *Te Maori* and documented in the catalogue *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections* (1984). And at least sixteen where included in *Toi ora: Ancestral Māori Treasures* (2008).
[86] With exception of being *unnamed*, these would have been equally valid criteria for selecting Te Papa's entire GAP.

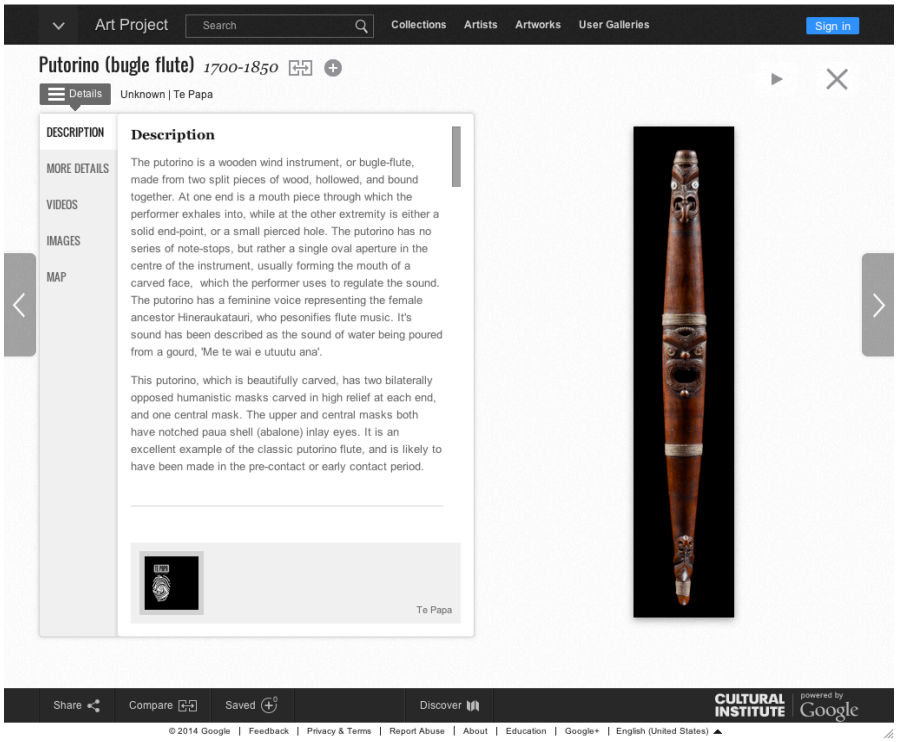

Figure 4. *Putorino (Bugle flute)*. (1700-1850). [Wood, paua shell, fibre, 55.75 x 5.47 x 6.1cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (OL001039). In Google. (2014). *Art Project* [Screen shot from website, with details view selected]. Retrieved from https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/putorino-bugle-flute/wQFdG8EV-XqW9g?projectId=art-project

The *Putorino* or bugle flute (1700-1850) and the *Poi awe* (1800), a percussive device, both include brief descriptions of their use, creation and importance, as well as additional supplementary images.[87] But what makes these two taonga standout is that they also include embedded videos about each respective object. These short videos were produced as part of the *Tales from Te Papa* (2011c) educational series and eight other objects in Te Papa's GAP have them attached.[88] Photographs of taonga, even

[87] *Putorino (Bugle flute)*. (1700-1850). [Wood, paua shell, fibre, 55.75 x 5.47 x 6.1cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (OL001039). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/putorino-bugle-flute/wQFdG8EV-XqW9g?projectId=art-project. *Poi awe (percussive device)*. (1800). [Muka, kiekie, raupo, dog hair, wool, pingao, 8.2 x 10.2cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (ME000150). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/poi-awe-percussive-device/HgF2IVyy_wVSPQ?projectId=art-project.

[88] The *Tales from Te Papa* series is collection of 120 mini-documentaries showcasing some of the unique pieces that Te Papa holds. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Producer). (2011c). *Tales from Te Papa* [Video file series]. Retrieved from http://talesresource.tepapa.govt.nz/. One video is duplicated across two related works. There is a third related work included in Te Papa's GAP, and is mentioned in the video but there is no corresponding information attached to ensure this connection is recognised. See the three works by Nicholas Chevalier. Chevalier, N. (1868). *Near Paekakariki, Cook Strait* [Watercolour,

ultra high-resolution photographs have long been criticised for failing to encapsulate the complex relationships and feelings taonga evoke (Brown, 2008). Through the use of digital videos a close up and personal experience can be expressed, providing greater insight into an object's cultural and historical context that would otherwise be difficult to obtain (Newell, 2009). And these educational videos were never intended for this particular purpose, they do offer a more comprehensive and dynamic understanding to the viewer (Styliani, Fotis, Kostas & Petros, 2009). If according to Hakiwai's (1999) statement that interpretation of taonga is more important than labels or plinths, then the collaboration of images, videos and written information goes some way to aid this interpretation.

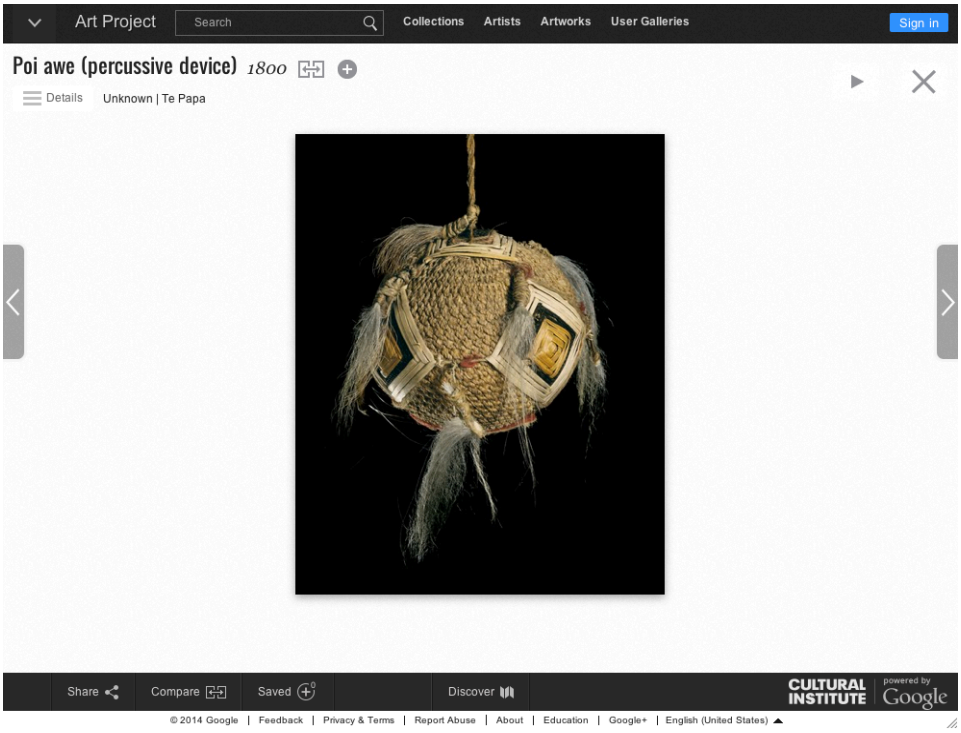

Figure 5. *Poi awe (percussive device)*. (1800). [Muka, kiekie, raupo, dog hair, wool, pingao, 8.2 x 10.2cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (ME000150). In Google. (2014). *Art Project* [Screen shot from website]. Retrieved from https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/poi-awe-percussive-device/HgF2IVyy_wVSPQ?projectId=art-project

25.0 x 36.8cm]. Wellington New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand. (1912-0044-265). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/near-paekakariki-cook-strait/OQHTmkS03b9z6g?projectId=art-project. Chevalier, N. (circa 1868). *Kapiti* [Watercolour, 19.7 x 36.7cm]. Wellington New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand. (1912-0044-290). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/kapiti/YgEYcq0Zy3JJnw?projectId=art-project. Chevalier, N. (circa 1884). *Cook Strait, New Zealand* [Oil on canvas, 91.2 x 183.2cm]. Wellington New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand. (2003-0034-1). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/cook-strait-new-zealand/qQHTiVpLfX3UGg?projectId=art-project.

Furthermore, and in stark contrast with the *Taonga Māori* collection in general, these videos both display and use contemporary examples of the objects discussed. Poi are seen in action and their rhythms heard.[89] The putorino's stirring sound is awoken from its long silence.[90] While museums often attempt to bring their objects to life, this tends to be predicated upon a reductionist view (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Thus freed from the ropes, cabinets and glass that often separate the object from the viewer, these videos show that Māori culture does not start and stop within the museum's walls but is something that is alive and well.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett states, "the life force of *taonga* depends not on techniques of animation but on living transmission of cultural knowledge and values" (1998, p. 166). Although such videos can be seen merely as animation. It is justifiable to note that the videos display the taonga with respect while conveying their importance to "whom the objects are *taonga*" (ibid.). Further, the new iterations are embraced and performed with a vitality that ensures knowledge transmission is continuing. Such exemplifications of mātauranga Māori are empowered not only by the obvious respect toward and continued care of these objects but the ihi and wana of the taonga is made evident by their inspiration of those that respond to them. As sources of mātauranga Māori these taonga may on the one hand represent loss regarding the acknowledgement of the limited amount knowledge about them, but as the videos make absolutely clear, their place and importance in Māori culture persists. This continued actualisation of the virtuality inherent in taonga ensures their influence remains.

By incorporating a broad utilisation of digital mediums, these invigorated taonga have challenged Alpers (1991) museum effect and produced a more enriching experience for those involved. By embracing the digital object's lack of fixity, they have also mimicked the presentness of it construction. This is done by exposing the minimal amount of substantiated knowledge surrounding these taonga, whereby acknowledging

[89] Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (2011b). Poi Awe – Tales from Te Papa episode 16 [Video file]. In *Tales from Te Papa*. Retrieved from http://talesresource.tepapa.govt.nz/resource/016.html

[90] Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (2011a). Music to Māori ears – Tales from Te Papa episode 119 [Video file]. In *Tales from Te Papa*. Retrieved from http://talesresource.tepapa.govt.nz/resource/119.html

temporality of their own understanding. This all hints towards the internet's long prophesised potential.

Figure 6. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (2011a). Music to Māori ears [Screen shot from video file]. In *Tales from Te Papa*. Retrieved from http://talesresource.tepapa.govt.nz/resource/119.html

Whether a beautifully detailed *taonga whakairo* (carved taonga) or intricate *raranga* (weaving) on a delicate *kaitaka* (highly prized cloak), all of the objects chosen from the *Taonga Māori* collection are three-dimensional and contain insightful descriptions that elucidated their creation and use. The contextualisation informs the viewer and locates the objects within time and space. Whereby any future iterations are intended to be moderated through virtuality's relative actualisation (Deleuze, 1994).

However, there is no discussion regarding the place and role of taonga in its tradition sense or contemporary relevance within Māori culture.[91] Furthermore, within the information provided there is a prevalence bestowed upon them as physical items rather than objects of mātauranga Māori. Contrary to the selection criteria's aestheticising intents, this gives the impression that they are to be understood more as artefacts than as art. This is compounded by the fact that all of the works produced by Europeans or Pākehā are produced in two-dimensional representational mediums

[91] With exception of the contemporary examples discussed in relation to the videos.

(photographs, paintings, sketches).[92] And their information tends to delve more into discussions of the artists and the contexts that surround the works rather than explaining construction or use.

This is not to say that Māori are missing from the echelons of fine art. There are two paintings by Māori artists within Te Papa's GAP, specifically Selwyn Muru's *Kohatu* (1965) and Ralph Hotere's *Black Painting XV* (1970).[93] Hotere's coincidently is the most recent of all of the pieces selected by Te Papa. Notably though, out of all of the Māori objects on Te Papa's GAP these are the only two works where the Māori creator is unquestionably known and the only two Māori made works from the modern era.[94] Muru's piece includes a description directly transferred from the book, *Art at Te Papa* (2009) outlining the importance of the piece, Muru's practice and acclaim.[95] Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for Hotere. Although he is also documented in Te Papa's book for a different piece, no further description other than basic cataloguing information is attached.[96] Without any description or context, his place and influence on New Zealand art is unknown. Nor is his Māori heritage.

Quite rightly, Muru's and Hotere's works cannot be described as taonga in its traditional embodiment. However, Muru's particularly would fit under the description of *taonga-derived work* in it is Māori in origin but harks to modernity. Hotere on the other hand, has been described as one of Aotearoa's most international artists, avoiding Māori interpretations (Mane-Wheoki, 2001; McAloon, 2009; McCarthy, 2013). Yet arguably as both are objects produced by Māori whether influenced by traditional or non-tradition avenues they are part of the ongoing continuum of Māori art (Janke,

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[92] Three-dimensional objects also dominate the Pacific Cultures selection although there are a number of tapa cloths represented. However, their descriptions reiterate the point made about Māori works, in that they focus on the physical aspects of the creation and use, implying they are artefacts more than art.

[93] Muru, S. (1965). *Kohatu* [Oil on hardboard, 79.5 x 120.3cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (1965-0020-1). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/kohatu/sgGIIxzm-OnB7w?projectId=art-project

Hotere, R. (1970). *Black painting XV, from 'Malady' a poem by Bill Manhire* [Acrylic on canvas, 177.7 x 91.5 cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (1971-0024-2). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/black-painting-xv-from-malady-a-poem-by-bill-manhire/wQFYSr1Q-d-b1Q?projectId=art-project

[94] Modern here implies 20th Century. However there are a couple that date 1900 or circa 1900.

[95] McAloon, W. (Ed.). (2009). *Art at Te Papa*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press, p. 259.

[96] See footnote 74 for a brief discussion of the minimal amount of information provided for some of the objects within Te Papa's GAP.

2006). However, with such a scant representation within modern times and the more traditional realms of what is perceived as "high art" it is difficult to draw such a conclusion let alone dissipate what appears to a distinctive boundary between Māori artefact and European art.[97]

Furthermore, due to information and metadata inconsistencies, if one was to search for the term 'Maori' within Te Papa's GAP, Hotere's work and the *Putorino* amongst several others do not appear within the search results. While the use of a term like Māori (or Pākehā) is not necessary to view an object, and Lahav (2011) has argued that labelling in a museum context can limit the didactic experience of the objects concerned, the intentionality of such an action appears less plausible than simple oversight.[98] More so, in light of Te Papa's *mana taonga* principle, the highlighting of the significance and the relationships inherent in taonga as objects of mātauranga Māori would arguably be priority. Particular with the museum's self-professed role is to act as a forum for change by providing people the opportunity to share and experience different perspectives (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2012, p. 9).

In this regard, within the GAP Te Papa has missed an opportunity to show the world a Māori perspective on the objects that Māori have created. Now exactly how this could be achieved is up for debate and will vary from iwi to iwi.[99] But if according to Cairns (as cited in Secretariat of the Pacific Community, 2013, p. 32), 95% of reproduction and research requests are granted by iwi, then the issue is not an inability to gain permission but rather a general perception that anything Māori is inherently challenging to deal with.[100] Thus, despite being "sumptuous" examples of Māori visual

[97] AAG also has a high degree of European artists. However Māori and Pasifika artists are represented in painting and sculpture in a more equitable manner. And Europeans are not precluded from three-dimensional productions.

[98] The GAP at its essence is nothing more than an online database of museum objects, albeit a database that is close to Schweibenz's (2004) vision of a *virtual museum*.

[99] This could incorporate videos from iwi or curators, sound files of waiata, links to iwi websites, marae or Māori Maps (www.maorimaps.com). Results from the online survey are telling. With 64% of respondents suggesting that the online space is capable of transmitting the significance of taonga "reasonably well". With another 7% stating, "Well." Although as Hera Ngata-Gibson of Te Aitanga a Hauiti makes clear, all do not desire such action and local decisions and tikanga need to be strictly observed (Radio New Zealand, 2013).

[100] Several of those interviewed acknowledged that dealing with objects of mātauranga Māori required greater time whether due to negotiations (that could be contested by another) or implementation of tikanga. There was a general perception that on a *scale of difficulty* objects went from those unprovenanced and out of copyright to those in copyright and finally to Māori objects.

and material culture, the choice to avoid copyright negotiations, not contextualising the objects in Māori terms or undertaking wider consultation with Māori has produced an archaic and dislocated view of Māori culture. This in effect has reduced the objects displayed to little more than pieces of ethnographic inquiry engulfed in the appropriate museological taxonomies.

This perspective is further compounded by the additional fifteen objects in Te Papa's GAP that depict Māori in some way. Again this reinforces the view that Māori represent an important and large proportion of Te Papa's presence in the GAP. Nonetheless, only one of the additional images illustrates a modern scene.[101] And only one depiction is of a known individual, *Mrs Rabone* (1871), but even her identity cannot be assured (McAloon, 2009).[102]

Now, in general Te Papa's self imposed restrictions have meant that the collection as a whole is far from representative. But whether posed in items of "Māoriness", blowing up a brig or standing amongst ruin echoing a Gérôme-like idleness, these additional (non-Māori made) depictions often characterise Māori in opposition to a more modern European.[103] Undeniably several of the objects on Te Papa's GAP are products of New Zealand's colonial past and hence reflect the ideologies of that time. There are a couple of the objects' descriptions that offer an account of this, but they are far and few in between. If this is examined by incorporating Barker's (1999) "culture of display" whereby exhibitions are capable of producing meaning through placing objects into context from which the audience then interprets them. Then what is being displayed

[101] Modern implying 20th century, although several have a suspected creation date which ranges to c1900.

[102] American Photographic Company. 1871. *Mrs Rabone* [Black and white photograph, 92 x 56mm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (O.000792). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/mrs-rabone/vwFiNxLenhyhGw?projectId=art-project. See McAloon, W. (Ed.). (2009). *Art at Te Papa*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press. p. 84.

[103] For a discussion of Māoriness see *Mrs Rabone* cited in footnote 102. For examples of blowing up a brig and idleness see the following two objects respectively. Steele, L. J. (1889). *The blowing up of the Boyd* [Oil on canvas, 109.4 x 181.7cm]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (1992-0019-2). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/the-blowing-up-of-the-boyd/7QH9VrDTiANvRw?projectId=art-project. Burton, A. (1885). *Village scene, Koriniti (Corinth), Wanganui River* [black and white gelatin glass negative]. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. (C.010208). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/asset-viewer/village-scene-koriniti-corinth-wanganui-sic-river/mAET3MmSt97__A?projectId=art-project.

here reads as a perpetuation of a West and temporally and spatially disconnected rest duality (Hall, 1992).[104]

More than the rife inconsistencies and errors, negligible follow-up (if any), and an incoherent over-arching vision, all of which could arguably be evidence of both a lack of institutional buy-in and leadership. The resulting selection has failed to illustrate the museum's philosophical underpinnings or bicultural premise. But more so, by Te Papa's self-imposed restrictions it has unknowingly regressed into a colonial discourse of the West and the other.

Writing in 1996, Dibley's examination of New Zealand exhibiting institutions and how national and cultural identities were constructed within them criticised the very development documentation that went to form Te Papa. Describing it as seeped in "primitivist 'pakeha ideology'" that in opposition to the modern urban Western settler, defined Māoriness as *spiritual* and *natural* and hence non-modern (p. 53). Nearly twenty years on it appears Te Papa's GAP has done little to improve on Dibley's critique. Far from fulfilling Kate Mason's earlier comment, that the GAP provides an opportunity for its users to get to know "what [a] country's people are actually like" (as cited in Dickinson, 2012a), instead what has been achieved is an outmoded form of representation that exposes more about the institution than the people it is said to represent.

This is not to suggest that what is being displayed has devolved into out-and-out declaration of Pākehā triumphant superiority over a dispossessed Māori population, reminiscent of early colonial exhibitions and museum displays (McCarthy, 2007). It cannot be stated strongly enough that there was the utmost consideration for the taonga selected, and the information supplied. Yet, if research by Butts (2002) and McCarthy (2007) suggests that Māori have perceived cultural appropriate practices and policies manifest in physical museums positively. Explorations by Brown (2007) and Mills (2009) argued that digital culture's cross-disciplined, multimodal possibilities are in the unique position of being able to facilitate and encapsulate complex notions within Māori conceptuality (Mills, 2009, p. 244). Then these acknowledgments are

[104] Rest is used because what has been said of Māori objects can be equally applied to the choice of Pacific objects.

evidence that it is just as possible to produces works and contexts that illustrate and work within Māori determinates online as it is offline.[105]

Even Te Papa's own official documentation recognises the importance of digital technologies as avenues to educate, create greater understanding and illustrate a variety of narratives through their dynamic utilisation. As this statement concedes, this is increasingly done to an online audience.

> Visitation to the Te Papa website now exceeds visits to the Museum, reflecting the increasing importance that technology has on sharing our collections and experiences with visitors in New Zealand and around the world.
>
> (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2013, p. 7)

Yet they have not seized the medium's potential. Of course time and money are considerations that tend to dictate rather than facilitate projects, with both commonly in short supply. Thus producing a modest number of well-considered and constructed works is a much more realistic possibility. To which the GAP could have been used. However, what Te Papa's approach and resulting image of Māori culture suggests is that there are a number of inherent difficulties in utilising the digital space.

Schweibenz (2004) postulates the *virtual museum* as the zenith of a museum's digital incarnate. Taking the expanded didactic experience of new museology beyond singular institutional limits by embracing the hyperlinked architecture of the web, it has no material counterpart. This he suggests embodies André Malraux's *Museum without walls* (1956). Under these tenets, the GAP appears as closer realisation that has yet evolved. However, despite being infused with technological idealism, it is a misreading of the intents Malraux's work, which is predicated less on bricks and mortar (whether escaping them or not), than on the institutionalisation of museums as neutral spaces that "invite" comparison and contemplation (Krauss, 1996).

More so, it also fails to acknowledge the specificities the digital itself brings. As a digital entity Te Papa's GAP certainly imbues facets of the digitality outlined by Kallinikos et al.

[105] Results within the online questionnaire are mixed. With *Te Ao Māori*, *Kaitiakitanga*, *Kaupapa Māori*, *Mātauranga Māori*, *Taonga*, *Tikanga* and *Whanaungatanga* averaged out to be articulated online *reasonably well* or above. *Mauri*, *Tapu*, and *Wairua* where reported generally to be articulated *not very well* or below. However, there was no absolute division in the results, with most receiving a relatively balanced number within the bell curve.

(2010). Yet, together with the museum's perceived authority on its objects, a singular understanding and fixity confine the collection. This is largely predicated upon the primacy of the physical object. And something that the platform itself emphasises through its innovations, which expose physical details normally unattainable by the naked eye (Proctor, 2011). Contrary to Benjamin's (1999) conceit Cameron (2007) has argued that these abilities increase the authority of the physical objects themselves. However, this positions the materiality of those objects over and above any other possible evanescence they may embody.

The fixation of the physical conditions an abstracted authority through singularity. Which is affirmed through denying the distributed construction of the digital object; there is no concurrence or cross-discourse amongst objects, negating any correlative or processes of understanding. This is reconfirmed and reinforced though their use of hyperlinks, where they did not expand knowledge by allowing the digital to continue its transmorphing trajectory. But instead were merely reflections of the same content. Again implicating a strict fixity to the objects. This is exacerbated by taonga that are temporally disconnected through little or no contemporary contextual relevance and a non-specific, non-territorial spatiality. Thereby supplanting them to an *other* space at an *other* time. In turn propagating the division between Māori artefacts and European art. In the end producing something very reminiscent of Fabian's denial of coevalness.

There are exceptions, but by far and away the collection, and particularly the taonga are restricted to a fixed determinism that dislocates them from the possibility of continuum. Irrespective of being provenanced or not, taonga embody mātauranga Māori and instil pride across Māoridom (Colmer, 2011; Hakiwai & Smith, 2008, Mead, 1986; Te Awekotuku, 1996). If it is not the vividness of the experience, but the vitality of the people to whom the objects belong that ensures the continuation of cultural knowledge and values (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Then, by not embracing digitality more effectively Te Papa's GAP has severed the people for whom the taonga means the most from its articulation. This undoubtedly constitutes the construction of the digital document and exposes a number of fundamental challenges for the museum when utilising the medium itself.

Puehu: Cultural Dust

The second case study, Puehu, a blog site is first grounded within a brief history of blogs and blogging, highlighting their use as places of civic engagement and creative endeavour. Blogs are further examined as spaces of Jenkins' (2006, 2009) participatory culture, where they are used for expression but also as places of activism, engagement and gratification with the audience. The chapter continues by examining a number of specific posts within Puehu that deal with aspects of Māori culture. Discussing them in regard to practices of expression, performance of reappropriation and strategic traditionalism. And lastly, a specific embodiment in regards to taonga held by Auckland War Memorial Museum is examined.

Blogging history

The Weblog or blog arose during the late 1990s. During this period blogs consisted of hyperlinks and a little commentary on other interesting sites discovered on the internet (Blood, 2000). Notably, at this time the internet was in a considerably less structured (and easily searchable) state than it currently assumes. Therefore they were then both a source and a means of transmitting information to those that would stumble upon them. They have since evolved to cover all spectrum of intentions. With the incorporation of a *comment* functionality in 2002, encouraging greater interaction between the blogger and the reader, the internet was declared open as a space of discussion and debate (Domingo & Heinonen, 2008; Garden, 2012). Under the rubric of citizen journalism, some have even gone as far as to say that the internet and blogs have the potential to usher in a new era of civic participation, reinvigorating the public sphere (Kahn & Kellner, 2004; Kerbel & Bloom, 2005; Poster, 2001). Further, it has been argued that they can encourage expertise sharing and facilitate cross-institutional collaboration (Huh et al., 2007). Whilst with their less formal structure, range of information covered and the diversity of authors that often take part, blogs are frequently perceived as and used to offer a more personal side of an organisation (Sprague, 2007). They have become so widely accepted that no self-respecting media outlet, corporation, cultural institution or political party would be caught without one (or more), as part of their social media arsenal.

Not all view blogs with such rose tinted glasses. Keen (2007) claims the unmoderated nature of the blogosphere (Web 2.0 in general) has the ability to undermine authority, potentially spreading unfounded and unsubstantiated rumours dressed in the guise of news and the truth. Galloway (2004) and Terranova (2000) posit blogging (amongst other user-generated content) as exploitive free labour, reinforcing neoliberal capitalism. Research by Herring, Scheidt, Wright and Bonus (2005) has suggested the level of interaction and social critique evident in blogs is often exaggerated. Lovink (2008) goes one step further pointing out audiences rarely, if ever engage in interaction because there may be no audience at all.

Technologists' visions aside, even though blogs primarily operate in much the same manner as more traditional media, the one-to-many model, their credibility as a trustworthy source of information has grown. Several studies have suggested they are amongst the most trusted online sources available (Johnson, Kaye, Bichard & Wong, 2007; Johnson & Kaye, 2009; Kaid & Postelnicu, 2007; Mack, Blose & Pan, 2008). Far from being irrelevant whispers from cyberspace, blogs are often referenced by traditional media sources and can have real life consequences (Lorenzo, Dziuban & Oblinger, 2007; Tremayne, 2007).[106] From the humble number of twenty-three recorded in 1999, the blogosphere has since exploded, with two popular platforms, *Tumblr* and *WordPress* are currently reporting over 250 million individual blogs, and posts that range into the billions between them (Blood, 2000).[107] Although dominated by personal journal-like examples, these numbers attest to the blogosphere's firm establishment as part of modern digital culture.

Like the rest of the wired world, Māori have taken to the blogosphere with enthusiasm. Used as a space for informing members of an iwi about recent or up-and-coming events, expressing individual or group opinions, thoughts and criticisms, Māori use of blogs is broad to say the least. In part, this diversity has made pigeonholing blogs a rather arduous task (Garden, 2012). Nonetheless, several have assumed the role of the citizen journalist, where not being part of a journalistic institution, they are practicing

[106] As exemplified by the blog *Whale Oil* (http://www.whaleoil.co.nz/), see http://www.stuff.co.nz/technology/digital-living/30013080/whaleoil-down-due-to-dos-attack.
[107] On 6 February 2014, *WordPress* reported 75,272,821 blogs, http://en.wordpress.com/stats/. *Tumblr* reported 170,000,000 blogs, https://www.tumblr.com/.

participatory journalism, which according to Bowman and Willis is defined as the following:

> The act of a citizen, or group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information. The intent of this participation is to provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires. (2003, p. 9)

Whether from a generalised, non-specialist basis, such as *Maui Street* or *Tu Mai Te Toki*, to those who work within specific areas of law and politics like *Ahi-kā-roa* and *Ka Tōnuitanga*.[108] These blogs are being used to analyse and critique information, while attempting to start a conversation on the issues covered. These actions are precisely why Castells (2008), Kerbel, (2005), Kahn and Kellner, (2004) saw blogging having the potential to re-empowering the public sphere.

However, this is one of the potential iterations a blog can assume, and one that has perhaps been over valorised (Butt, 2008). From music and politics to cooking and travel, blogs can be very specific in focus or a selection of unrelated thoughts, links and images. In analysing research around the various iterations a blog can assume, Garden (2012) has observed an inconsistent or at times non-existent definition of the term in academic research. She does not intend a hermetic term be developed, fore as she clearly illustrates, blogs are many things to many people. But rather when undertaking research into this field that an appropriate referential frame is in place, ensuring the clarity of what is actually being examined. Therefore, here a blog will be determined by the affordances of a reverse chronology, a commentary facility, and the ability for readers to *follow*, *reblog*, *like* (or *note* in some platforms*)* and of course *comment*. It can contain but is not limited to the *posting* of images, videos, and essays. There is a degree of overlap between the affordances of a blog site and a social networking page but they are not the same. It is important to reiterate that social networks predominantly work with pre-established social circles, maintaining connections in the real world (Boyd & Ellison, 2007; O'Carroll, 2013a). Blogs can and do operate in this manner but in general are focused expressions of personal interest aimed at a much broader audience where no pre-existing connection is required.

[108] *Maui Street*, http://mauistreet.blogspot.co.nz/, *Tu Mai Te Toki*, http://tumaitetoki.blogspot.co.nz/ *Ahi-kā-roa*, http://ahi-ka-roa.blogspot.co.nz/ and *Ka Tōnuitanga*, http://katonuitanga.com/

Participatory culture

Derived from studies on fan culture, Jenkins (2006) argues people who engage in participatory culture use the online realm as a space to create and share their work (2006). Where in return they receive mentorship, feelings of connectedness and value from the other members of the group (Jenkins, 1992).[109] This in turn necessitates there are low barriers between creative expression and civic engagement.

As places of creative expression and endeavour, with the aid of the comment function opening a dialogue, blogs operate under these tenets (Jenkins, 2009). With the comments facility is a key part of blogging, it has been suggested as one of a blog's essential definitional elements (Garden, 2012). While this particular point may be of some contention, it has been posed that those who post comments can be regarded as subaltern authors, as the final product includes both the post and comments taken as one (Quiggin, 2006, p. 483). This collaborative production represents a symbiotic relationship emblematic of digital objects distributed constitution and its role as an object of change capture (Kallinikos et al., 2010). Whilst also echoing Barker (1999) and Cameron's (2007) observations that meaning is gained through the entirety of the site, whether physical or digital.

Lovink (2008) has examined the effectiveness of blogs as the prophesied civic medium. Exposing the questionable nature of such a declaration made all the more dubious by the dominance of "0 Comments" permanently branded to the bottom of many blogs. However, this does not acknowledge the rise of "like" and re-posting culture within social media. Nor does it acknowledge the subscribers, followers or friends who, after a post has been made, receive notification in their inbox or newsfeed. Pulled from various avenues, this current of data can from a wealth of information that for some has become their equivalent of the morning newspaper (O'Carroll, 2013a).

[109] In *Textual Poachers* (1992) Jenkins argues that fans not mindless consumer but creative, collaborative and productive entities, with the potential to influence the objects of their fandom. This is exemplified by the story of Figwit and the Lord of the Rings trilogy (Jackson, 2001-2003). (F)rodo (i)s (g)reat… (w)ho (i)s (t)hat or Figwit,. Despite only having a fleeting non-speaking part in the first LOTR movie, he gained a substantial and active fan base, this is something that the film producers picked up on and continued the character into the last two movies. See http://www.figwitlives.net/ and Alley, S., Booth, N., & Clark, H. (Directors). (2004) *Frodo Is Great... Who Is That?!!*. New Zealand: Jumping Dog Pictures, Midnight Film Productions.

Reappropriation

The capability to send information around the planet in an instant is one of the digital object's inherent attributes. But this ability can also be concerning if the information is inappropriate or an offensive cultural portrayal. As Lash (2002) observes, the digital space is equally proficient at circulated *bads* as it is at *goods*. However, just as the internet can aid such practices, it can be used to counter them. Blogs have been harnessed as a tool in establishing and maintaining control over one's culture and as spaces to engage in criticising of social constructs (Kamira, 2003). To say this can only happen with digital media is a falsity and not one claimed here. But the speed to which occasions of appropriation can be brought to the attention of the effected people or community and then enacted upon is without parallel. More so, the attention economy prevalent on the internet can swiftly shift control away from the producer to the audience. Where an incident can be discovered and quickly disseminated through wider digital channels. Resulting in politely informing the producer of the inappropriateness of the action or unleashing a barrage of abuse, criticism and threats of legal action.[110] Thereby flipping social media's connective function back to a synchronous performance from its post posting asynchronous exhibition status (Hogan, 2010).[111] By informing others of the issues at hand exemplifies the role the internet can play in re-invigorating the public sphere (Castells, 2008; Kerbel, 2005; Poster, 2001). And can lead others to make more informed decisions.[112]

[110] This is something that Funkwerks brewery discovered. Funkwerks brewed a beer with New Zealand grown hops and in a misguided homage called it Maori King. See the following link for a summation of the speed and extent of the incident. Nasan, A. (2011, August 26). Māori people fuming over Funkwerks beer. Retrieved from http://beerpulse.com/2011/08/maori-people-fuming-over-funkwerks-beer/. Although covered by more traditional media, it was the unprecedented quantity of individual complaints across multiple social media outlets, (Facebook, Flickr, numerous blogs) that resulted in Funkwerks changing the name of their beverage.

[111] How much of a role social media plays in social change is of some debate. As is contested with the use of mobile technology and social networks during the so-called Arab Spring of 2011. But as Srinivasan (2013) suggests, such a use of these technologies may impact future practices by governments and the populace alike.

[112] The issues exposed during the Funkwerks episode led another brewery to alter its plans to perform a similar misinformed homage. Gorski, E. (2012, December 17). Crazy Mountain drops Maori term for red ale after Funkwerks controversy [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://blogs.denverpost.com/beer/2012/12/17/crazy-mountain-drops-maori-label-red-ale-funkwerks-controversy/7498/

But more specifically the posting in blogs and other social media, exposing the error of others actions are equally acts of repossession and reappropriation of one's own culture as they are acts of condemnation. To use the words of Sissons (2005),

> If colonization was and is dispossession, then the futures of first peoples will be built on repossession. (p. 140)

In a similar vain, Niezen (2005) suggests as the internet continues to become a place to express identity, it is also a place to defend it.[113] For Niezen, this is firmly entrenched in the rise of indigenous activism and use of the internet and nature of the digital to aid in goals of self-determination. But he also alludes to the internet's increasing dominance as information authority and its growing influence as definer of things, including culture. For those already at the margins, being unable to counter arguments online may push them further to the periphery.

It has been posited that there is a paradox in the use of new innovations and technology to help protect traditional ways of life (Ginsburg, 2008; Niezen, 2005). However, these acts of "strategic traditionalism" as Ginsburg (2008, p. 302) terms them help break the Western dichotomy that determines indigenous people must either remain in a "primitive" state or be engulfed into the cultural hegemony of Western practice (Bennett & Blundell, 1995). Instead, the use of technology by indigenous groups has created a third option that blends tradition and innovation to produce "distinctive contemporary indigenous cultures" (ibid., p. 5).

Therefore objects often perceived as tools that aid cultural reduction and appropriation are being subverted and employed into instruments of authorship. This action firmly locates those who produce content in time and place contrary to the dislocated globalising discourse that dominates (Ginsburg, 2008).

[113] Niezen additionally points out that as this practice continues those who have limited or no access to the internet will in turn experience their culture differently from those who have access. But more so, he asks if the internet, and all the skills and attributes that it brings, good and bad is becoming the place of lobbying and direct battle for and against issues, are those who do not have access markedly disadvantaged (2005, pp. 548-9)?

Puehu: Cultural Dust

Figure 7. Puehu (2011). *Puehu: Cultural dust* [Digital visualisation]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/

Puehu is as the blog's by-line states "a collaborative blog featuring original content on art and culture" (n.d.).[114] But to further clarify what is being studied, Puehu will be defined as working within the *cultural blog* genre. Notably Miller (1984) has recognised that genre are socially entrenched and are hence subject to change and obsolesce. However, for the purpose of this study it is important to acknowledge that Puehu is a conscious player in the field of cultural production. As the blog produces and comments upon general and specific aspects of culture, predominately from an artistic perspective which is not specifically connected to one individual person or ideology.[115]

Active since September 2010, the blog has steadily evolved, with posts produced by Puehu collective members, guest contributors and includes a number of unauthored works. Fluid in practice, participants hark from a diverse array of Pacific heritages and artistic disciplines. In general terms, the collective utilises the site to disseminate,

[114] *Puehu: Cultural dust* [Web log]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/
[115] While blogs can be divided into genres, like most attempts at classifications there are always those that do not fit within the predetermined genres. That said, one could call Puehu an art blog but the cross-disciplined approach and cultural critique evident pushes beyond that scope.

inform, and record their particular artistic endeavours. Along with the blog, Puehu has a Facebook page and Twitter account.[116] Plans are also underway for a website in the near future (R, Hollis, personal communication, October 29, 2013). These various avenues of communication all cross-reference each other while being used for their specific strengths, documenting, getting the message out, informing of new posts and events. This practice is prevalently employed across social media ecosystem as a means to capture and disseminate to as wider audience as possible. But as Hanna, Rohm and Crittenden (2011) have observed they are not always used in such an effective manner.

As stated, the blog is often directly connected to an artistic work or documenting an event, but it equally operates as its own entity, with a number of posts having no real-life equivalent. For Puehu contributor Rangituhia Hollis, the site is a place of collective empowerment. Or in his own words;

> The Puehu blog allows us to take control over how we are represented, while growing a collective voice. I see the Blog functioning as a means to focus and share the discourse that we as a collaborative grouping of artists/writers are engaging with - both in our own and our collective experiences.
>
> (R. Hollis, personal communication, 7 December 2013)

Now even though Puehu does not strictly focus on aspects of Māori art or culture, there are nevertheless several posts that explore and embody dynamic contemporary Māori culture, while additionally critiquing the representation of Māori by others. Therefore this case study will draw predominately on posts that do not have an apparent artistic intent or external intentionality other than evoking thought. It is within this space where the portrayal of Māori culture is contested, evoked, and embodied in manifest and latent forms.

The use of the blog to build a collective space allows for a dynamicism that may not be seen in blogs run by individuals. But with specific references to aspects of Māori culture or portrayal of Māori culture there are several different practices undertaken over multiple posts. The first of these revolves around new expressions of Māori culture. Even though drawing of specific artistic iterations, this point focus upon the blog and the wider internet as a space of and for disseminating practice with specific connection

[116] Puehu. (n.d.). *Puehu* [Facebook page]. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/puehu and Puehu [puehublog]. (n.d.). *Puehu* [twitter page]. Retrieved from https://twitter.com/puehublog.

to Māori artist, Shannon Te Ao. The second relates to acts of repossession and critique of the portrayal of Māori culture within the blog. There are posts that are considered constructions discussing the intricacies of the issues posited. Others are more simple but evocative in content, inviting critical discussion of their representation of Māori culture. Thirdly, there is the embodiment of specific Māori aspects by a post's author and the subaltern participants who make comments, with an unintentional evocation of the alchemic power of taonga in the digital realm

Expression

There are several motivations as to why people blog, with the need for self or artistic expression is one of the most often cited by bloggers themselves (Jones & Alony, 2008; Van House, 2004). However, as has been stated, it is also a place of discussion and engagement and it is for these reasons that Shannon Te Ao utilises the site.

As an artist, who with filmmaker Iain Frengley produces performance based location specific works, which explore often forgotten or neglected spaces and times within Māori history, there is an ephemeral element to the works.[117] Which is then captured and crystallised into video. But equally, the environment to which the works are shown is a highly considered undertaking that embraces and employs the facets of those spaces. In turn making them ephemeral experiences. Thus, while as Te Ao firmly recognises Puehu and the online realm in general are capable of producing valid context and meaning, it is both the determinable and indeterminable nature of the environment that sees it principally as a discursive space (S. Te Ao, personal communication, June 4, 2014). Unable to shape the space outside of which it is seen, the intentional specificity of the experience is reduced to one that provides open discussion and entices the viewer to seek more. This deliberate use of the fecundity of the digital space works to disseminate knowledge of the works without devaluing or disconnecting them entirely from their ephemeral exclusivity. Thus, in producing and maintaining a discursive space, the works themselves are empowered and enhanced (Cameron, 2007).

[117] See Te Ao, Shannon & Frengley, Iain. (2012). *Untitled [after Rākaihautū]*. [Single channel video]. In possession of artist. See Puehu post for discussion of this particular work. Puehu. (2012, August 20). Untitled (After Rakaihautu) [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/29816037192/untitled-after-rakaihautu-2012-shannon-te-ao-and

Repossession

In discussion of the huge amount of loss that occurred through colonialism Sisson states, "Indigenism is the taking back of these things, a reclaiming, not of past lives, but of the present conditions for future lives within post-settler states" (2005, p. 140). However, he acknowledges what is repossessed is not the same as what was lost but what is recovered is a return to indigenous agency (ibid., pp. 140-143). It is with this in mind that the following section shall examine a number of posts within Puehu. In the blog there are several instances where imagery from contemporary culture are reproduced in the blog and openly critiqued as colonial constructs or left to evoke their own commentary, to which only a couple are discussed here. Nevertheless, they range from advertising specifically aimed at Māori, to those that play on notions of primitivism and being close to nature. Most receive responses in a humoured tone. Others are subjected to debate and harsh criticism from Puehu and commenters. By capturing these representations in one place Puehu disestablishes them from their intentional consumption. This reinterpretation, in turn alters the objects' agentive functions (Searle, 1995). Instead of a piece of advertising or a toy Puehu dissects and reinterprets them into a discourse of representation, commodification and racial stereotyping.

An example of a considered criticism of Māori representation in contemporary culture is *Maori and Videogames* (2010, September 11).[118] Although, the examples discussed are not playable online, they are without doubt part of digital culture and do maintain presences online through official websites, game wikis, and discussion forums. Online presence aside, by surveying Māori place and roles within computer games and the gaming industry Puehu exposes a common conceit. Individually, these are merely characters within a game, but by bringing these representations together within the blog post, Puehu exposes a history of commodification of Māori culture within the computer game industry. This in turn opens up to grander questions of agency within the field. In that although organisations advocate research and consultation they often

[118] Puehu. (2010, September 11). Maori and videogames [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/1100175102/maori-and-videogames

resort to lowest common denominator practices of avoidance, ignorance or plain subversion (Engels-Schwarzpaul, 2005).[119]

The post reveals Māori culture to be commodified through Māori-esque or Māori-inspired characters as a means to differentiate the game from others within the market. Event though these Māori-inspired characters are often intentionally altered to disassociate a direct correlation to Māori culture, as recognisably Māori in origin many would be identified as *taonga-derived works* outlined in the Wai 262 report. Furthermore, the collective representation of Māori culture in these games reveals an inherent practice by the computer game industry to portray Māori and other indigenous cultures as primitive or savage, imbued with a so-called warrior gene.

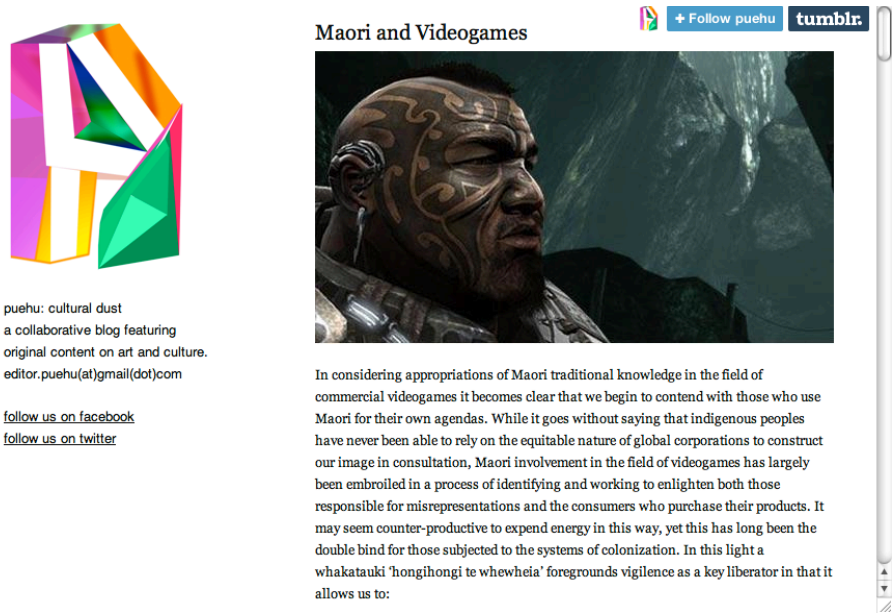

Figure 8. Puehu. (2010, September 11). Maori and videogames [Screen shot from web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/1100175102/maori-and-videogames

However, in this critique there is recognition that the construction of such characters is more than just the appropriation of Māori designs, weaponry and tattoos. As an extremely popular and influential medium they also have the ability to shape the perceptions of those that play them. Whereby traits assigned to characters may be perceived as a reflection of those to whom these game characters are inspired by. It

[119] See the interview with Jeff Merghart, *The Mark of Kri* game designer, regarding deliberate subversion of Māori cultural markers. *Interview with Jeff Merghart: The Mark of Kri's art designer talks about inspiration, hand-animation and more.* (2002, July 18). Retrieved from http://au.ign.com/articles/2002/07/18/interview-with-jeff-merghart.

has been well documented that neither media nor technology are ineffectual entities but can be used to manifest or alter public perception while progressively are able to influence social interaction itself (Goode, 2010; McLuhan, 1964). Something echoed by Kamira's (2003) concern that those who are in control of information (technology) have the potential to "validate, discard or modify knowledge" of Māori culture (2003, p. 467). For Kamira (2003) and Nakamura (2001), this clearly points to the West's historical construct of the "other" and the continuation of these constructions in computer games is nothing less than the colonial project in digital form. According to the post itself, this is the issue it is exposing in an attempt to limit its future manifestation.

Research by Engels-Schwarzpaul (2005) and Mahuta (2012) have also criticised the portrayal of Māori culture in computer games. But, by moving outside of academic circles and placing it within a more equitable internet populace, where gamers have the opportunity to stumble upon it, they are harnessing the hyperlinked architecture of the internet. Where simple key word searches are able to bring a wide audience as a means to connect and disseminate this critique across the web. This is aided by the general perception that bestows a reasonable degree of credibility to blogs as valid sources of information (Johnson et al., 2007; Johnson & Kaye, 2009; Kaid & Postelnicu, 2007; Mack et al., 2008).[120]

Again by removing these characters from their spaces of consumption they bring to light an engrained discourse at play. Moreover, Puehu is engaging in a form of resistance, rather than accepting such articulations as innocent attempts at market differentiation, they expose the conceit of such constructions. This constitutes Ginsburg's (2008) "strategic traditionalism" in Puehu's utilisation of the technological

[120] Ubisoft released *Far Cry 3* in late 2012, a first person shooter game that can be played online. It too, has distinctly Māori characters, incorporating te reo, New Zealand accent and tattoos. As of yet, this appropriation has seen very little public criticism outside of blogs and general website commentary banter. See Boyer, S. (2012, December 6). New video game has Maori characters. Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/8041698/New-video-game-has-Maori-characters, Plunkett, L. (2012, December 20). Far Cry 3 isn't racist. You just didn't get it. Retrieved from http://kotaku.com/5970016/far-cry-3-isnt-racist-you-just-didnt-get-it, Green, H. (2012, December 4). Far Cry 3. Retrieved from http://nzgamer.com/ps3/reviews/1800/far-cry-3.html, Lejacq, Y. (2012, December 12). "Why is the player on the side of killing?": A conversation with the writer of Far Cry 3. Retrieved from http://killscreendaily.com/articles/interviews/why-player-side-killing-conversation-writer-far-cry-3/.

innovation to reclaim and redefine how Māori are represented. In this Puehu is challenging the binary of what is perceived as traditional with an obvious competence in modern technology and digital culture.

Mills (2008) states, Māori have always embraced innovation to maintain cultural practices, thereby denying a traditional reductionism based on Pākehā or museological fixation (2008, p. 245). Moreover, according to Valaskakis (1993), traditionalism is not something that has been recently re-established or revitalised from a distant past but is a lived every-day experience. Perceptions of what is traditional and what is contemporary are in constant negotiation. Puehu therefore presents the fallacy within the games that portray Māori as primitive or imbued with warring tendencies. Where the sword, gun or *taiaha* (long handheld wooden weapon, used for close-quarter combat) are more likely to be used than diplomacy. This activism shows Māori culture has not been resigned to the history books but is very much alive. This is problematic for the producers of these games, to adapt Green's (1988) observation, for in order to play a Māori successfully requires real Māori to no longer be around.[121] Puehu's post makes it abundantly clear this is not the case.

While posting their own creations Puehu also embraces the hyperlinking network of the world wide web and draws attention to other portrayals of Māori culture whether found in real life or on the internet. The untitled post regarding a Māori Hello Kitty and Stormtrooper is case in point.[122]

[121] In a critique of American and European construct of American Indians, Green (1988) recognised that the game "Cowboys and Indians" relies on the "real Indians" to be dead. Thereby dislocated them temporally and disavowing the concept of modern Indian identity.
[122] Puehu. (2010, September 16). [Untitled] [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/1128088985/hello-kitty-designer-at-yodanz-hello-kitty-maori

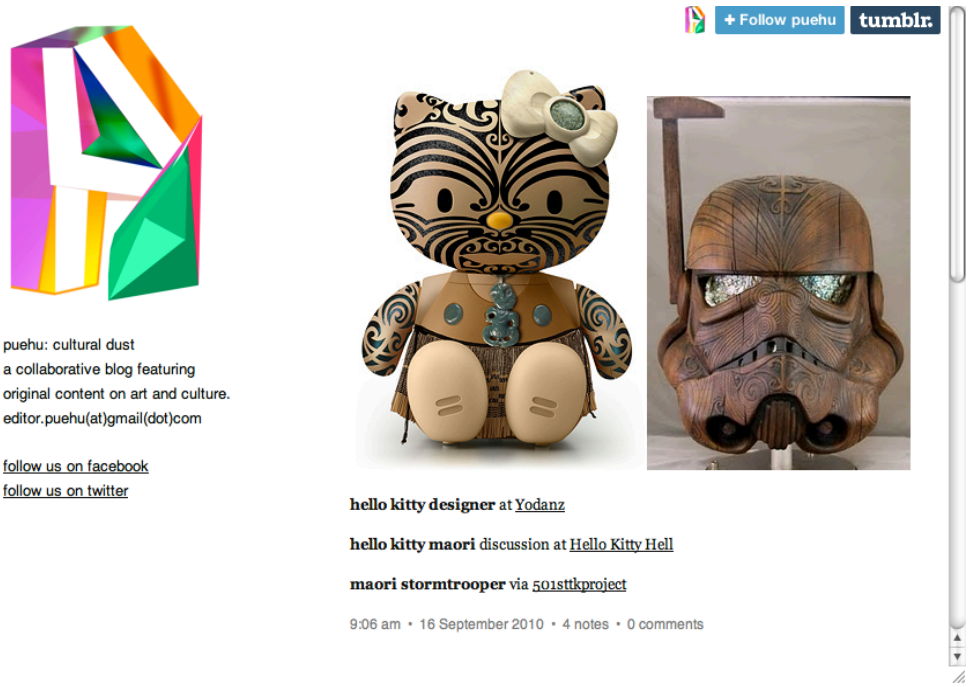

Figure 9. Puehu. (2010, September 16). [Untitled, Māori Hello Kitty and Stormtrooper] [Screen shot from web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/1128088985/hello-kitty-designer-at-yodanz-hello-kitty-maori

By bringing objects not of their own creation into the blog it can be argued that Puehu believe they will be of interest their audience or to others active within the field. This implies that Puehu is not only a place of participatory culture but is actively engaged in its manufacture (Jenkins, 2009). There are five other instances similar to the one above, where images that depict or appropriate Māori culture are posted.[123] Most are received humorously, however, by bringing these objects together, such posts seek to provoke commentary and engage in dialogue with the audience (Bowman & Willis, 2003). This is reflective of Goffman's (1959) performed self, as the posts have been presented to a perceived audience in light of an assumption they would be of relevance to them. Thereby checking if what is posted aligns with the values of the perceived audience.

[123] Puehu. (2010, September 26). [Untitled] [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/1189910791/an-example-of-maori-being-targeted-by-big-tobacco. Puehu. (2010, October 13). Haka reusable shopping bag [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/1300938439/haka-reusable-shopping-bag. Puehu. (2010, November 6). From Russia with love [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/1495048343/from-russia-with-love.
Puehu. (2012, April 21). [Untitled] [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/21454613443. Puehu. (2013, June 2). [Untitled] [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/51916927631.

Nevertheless, by providing negligible commentary Puehu's position becomes very much that of a node within the network, continuing to distribute knowledge of these objects to others (Castells, 2000). Further, by encouraging people to post comments, click on the links provided and continue their distribution there is an embodiment of the essential characteristics of the digital object determined by Kallinikos et al. (2010).

Fundamentally however, these are moments of repossession and reappropriation and are therefore examples of indigenous activism. Not content to stand aside and watch Māori culture be commercialised, reduced to images of primitivism, or defined by others. Like that discussed in *Māori and Videogames*, the simple act of taking images from other places, whether the internet, a magazine or tourist shop, and locating it within a culturally critical space re-contextualises their meaning to an alternative purpose. In effect shifting the agentive function intended, tourist trinket, selling products or fulfilling demand the "other," here the blog reinterprets them as objects of cultural appropriation and colonial constructs. This non-agentive function is always a possibility but is inherent within the virtuality of the digital object.

Interestingly, these same practices and possibilities are the concerns voiced by many Māori and they continue to be a major issue for many indigenous people. However, in order to alter these possibilities and to be able to practice stewardship over one's culture in these realms, there is a need to be in the realm (Kamira, 2003; Smith, 1997). There may be reservation in participating within this space, or even a dismissive perception that it is only related to things on the internet. But as is increasingly recognised, the internet is a place of knowledge formation and dissemination. Thus, not participating, even if it is against the tide, is to risk being pushed further to the margins of cultural survival (Niezen, 2005).

Manovich (2001) and Jenkins (2006) have suggested new technology favours distribution of creative content at the cost of traditional concepts of authorship (Goode, 2010). These examples may well attest to this, but equally the use of social media as a space of reappropriation and resistance additionally determines it as a space of re-authorship. These actions are multifarious in effect, in exposing the discourse, they reassert the authored, they show that those portrayed are not primitive or lost in cyberspace but active and skilled agents within it. In doing so they

establish a third space, not primitive, not subsumed in Western hegemony it resists definition by others (Bennett & Blundell, 1995). Or as Valaskakis notes in discussion of First People, "resistance is cultural persistence" (1993).

Embodiment

It is to be expected that acts of authorship and resistance are often careful and deliberate in their intent as *Māori and Videogames* exemplifies. Away from these considerations lies embodiment, where social or cultural aspects arise through no deliberate evocation. In light of this, two related posts on Puehu shall be examined, as a specific articulation of Māori cultural identity in regards to taonga. Both related to the work of expert East Coast carver and painter Riwai Pakerau. The first, *Riwai Pakerau's Carvings and Kowhaiwhai* (2011, June 10), briefly tells the story of Pakerau and documents, in images, several of his works that are on loan to the Auckland War Memorial Museum.[124] The second untitled post is a video made during the visit to the Auckland Museum, recording the journey through the storerooms and capturing Pakerau's *mahi* (work).[125] The first post provides a brief history of Pakerau and the text of which shall be cited in full.

> During the hauhau wars, Riwai Pakerau was wounded in battle, when Te Kooti fired point blank into his eyes. As Te Kooti knew Riwai personally, this was a personal vendetta for Riwai taking up arms against him. Riwai spent the rest of his life blinded by the wounds he had received. In this blinded state he was known as Riwai Kapo. He survived for over a hundred years and practiced the laying on of hands for the healing of the sick…Riwai was led from place to place as he was totally blind. His many great-grandchildren took turns to lead him around. He was painted in oil in this blind state.
>
> (Puehu, 2011, June 10)

Then, through an adaption of Auckland Museum's records, one black and white image and fourteen photographs the works of Pakerau are recorded *in situ* amongst other objects housed in Auckland Museum's Māori artefacts storage facility. Surrounded by concrete, the museum's infrastructure, tucked behind pillars, strapped to racking and

[124] Puehu. (2011, June 10). Riwai Pakerau's carvings and kowhaiwhai [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/6377904132/riwai-pakeraus-carvings-and-kowhaiwhai. A number are "said to be the work of Riwai Pakerau." This presumably cannot be substantiated through the museum's records.

[125] Puehu. (2011, August 15). [Untitled] [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/8928393956. The video is also available via YouTube. Hollis, R. (2011, August 13). *Maori artifacts storage, Auckland War Memorial Museum 2008* [Video file]. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ston7enscnY

on shelving, the *tāhuhu* (carved ridge pole), *pare* (door lintels) and *heke* (rafters) with *kowhaiwhai* (painted scroll ornamentation) and naturalistic trees painted on them are documented.

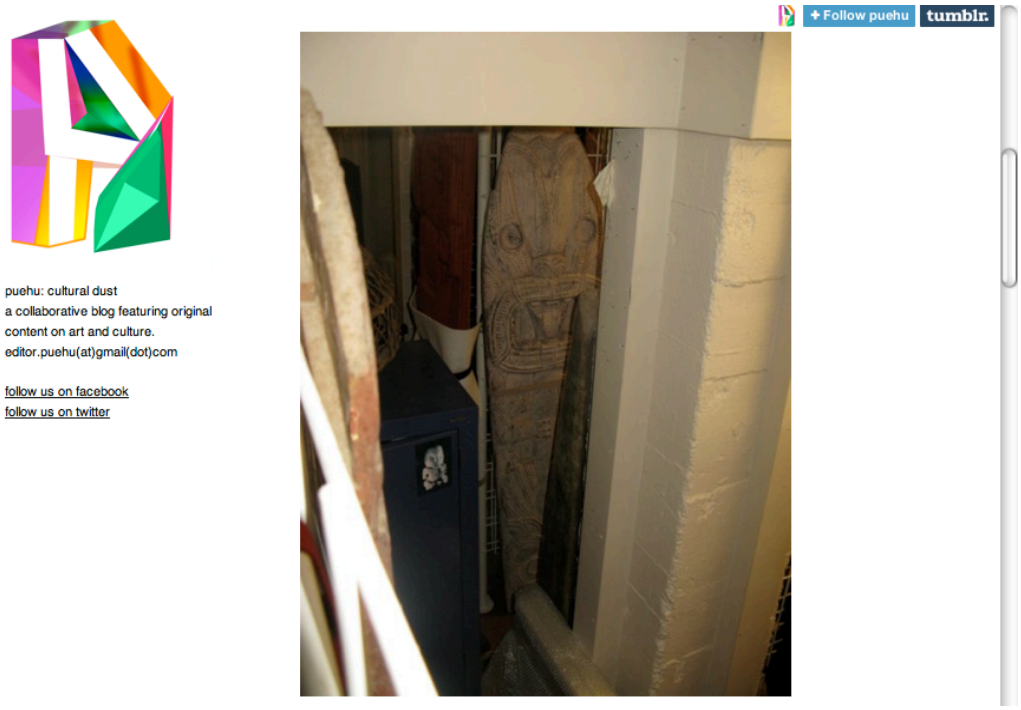

Figure 10. Puehu. (2011, June 10). Riwai Pakerau's carvings and kowhaiwhai [Screen shot from web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/6377904132/riwai-pakeraus-carvings-and-kowhaiwhai.[126]

Although brief museum-inspired records are present, identifying the objects, providing registration numbers and acquisition history, they are devoid of classification outside informing what they are and where they are from. There is no mentioning of how they were made, what they are made of or how they were used. Instead, the viewer is provided with minimal details and left to interpret the works as they see fit. It must be pointed out that none of Pakerau's material is available from Auckland Museum's *Te Kakano Taonga Database*, nor are their any records that mention Pakerau anywhere on their website.[127]

[126] Pakerau, R. (n.d.). *Ridgepole from Iritekura house* [Wood]. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. (46442)
[127] Auckland War Memorial Museum. *Te Kakano - Taonga database*. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://tekakano.aucklandmuseum.com/home_maori.asp?database=maori.
Auckland War Memorial Museum Tamaki Paenga Hira. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/

While the circumventing of museum processes and not seeking permission from effected parties is questionable, Puehu's posts have nevertheless, created an invaluable resource for those interested in the mahi of Pakerau but are unable to go to the physical museum. With particular attention to the heke, they stand out as beautiful and unique pieces of Māori art from Te Huringa (The Turning, 1800-present) period. Their combination of kowhaiwhai and naturalistic flora reveal a free and dynamic approach to Māori painting, escaped from the restrictiveness advocated by Dominion Museum Director Augustus Hamilton (Neich, 1990). But they also expose the stark reality of the museum's storage facilities. This is especially evident in the video where shelves and shelves of objects are observed broken into various classificational divisions of material or collection. Notably, with the heke amongst *pounamu* (greenstone, jade) in various states of transformation, it shows even these divisions are difficult to maintain when space is limited. On the other hand however, the video displays a considered and uncluttered layout and within the ordered chaos the viewer is not captured by percepts of museological narrative, instead the objects are left to speak for themselves. As Hakiwai (2006) has stated, it is not plinths and labels that are important for taonga, it is their interpretation which is of the utmost value.

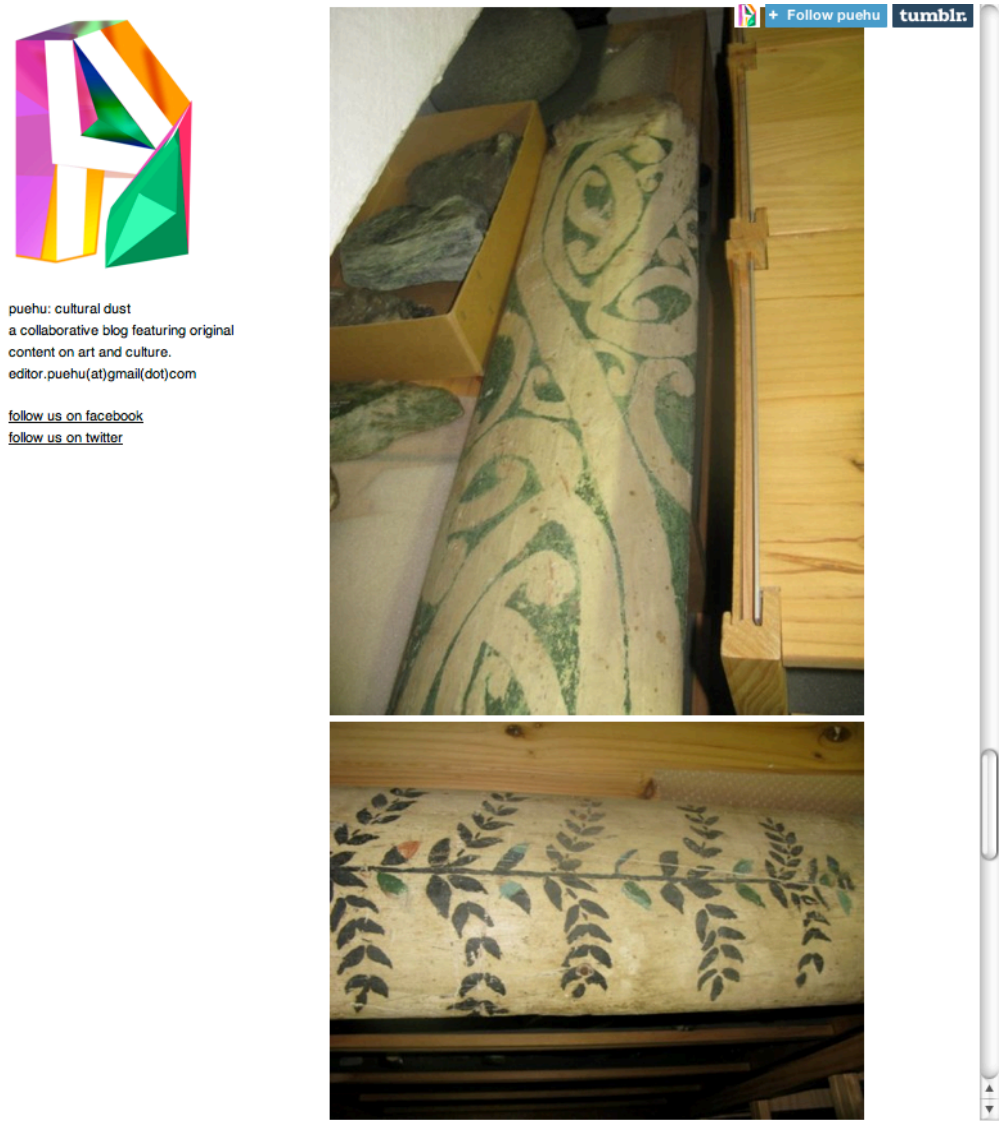

Figure 11. Puehu. (2011, June 10). Riwai Pakerau's carvings and kowhaiwhai [Screen shot from web log message]. Retrieved from http://puehu.tumblr.com/post/6377904132/riwai-pakeraus-carvings-and-kowhaiwhai.[128]

Further, when placing objects online, the entire page requires consideration (Cameron, 2007; Quiggin, 2006). In this regard the comments must be considered as part of the final product. *Riwai Pakerau's carvings and kowhaiwhai* received seven comments, by no means a grand number on the scale of things, they are nonetheless poignant in what it is they state. Within these comments there is an open discussion and reverence given to the works and the skill of Pakerau. There are two that add a little more and offer alternative or variant stories of how Pakerau lost his sight from that quoted above. They do not question the accuracy of Puehu's post but rather engage in a

[128] Pakerau, R. (n.d.). *Heke from the meeting house Mauitikitikiataranga* [Wood and paint]. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. (45995)

dialogue, stating that have heard another version, which they briefly recite. These in turn are openly valued and encouraged as these stories shed new light on the artist.

With the opening paragraph outlining Pakerau's story and the subsequent comments, the carvings and paintings displayed are engulfed in knowledge far outside the scope of typical materialist epistemologies. These words warm the objects and are undoubtedly can be understood as part of the korero that surrounds the taonga (Mead, 1990; Tapsell, 1998).

Furthermore, two individuals, establishing a direct connection between the commenter and Pakerau through reciting whakapapa, with another two commenters also declaring familial connections to Pakerau. These unprovoked evocations of whakapapa in the blog not only link the individual to the artist through direct lineage but in doing so distinct Māori paradigm is produced, and which states "I am Māori" (Mead, 2003, p. 42). Although a connection through whakapapa is not necessary to elicit a strong response to or respect towards a taonga, it is an underlying power that structures the Māori universe (Roberts & Willis, 1998). Used as mnemonic anchors the work of Pakerau has located those active within the blog in an instantiation of kaupapa Māori (Colmer, 2010). This distinct enactment, in culmination with the associated online discussion all hark to the alchemy of taonga as outlined by Tapsell (1998) and Salmond (1984).

As objects, Pakerau's works are imbued with mauri but more so as empowered objects of mātauranga Māori they also contain the wairua of the artist as manifest in the designs. Thus analogons, as direct correlations or differenciated actualisations of objects of mātauranga Māori they too have been acknowledged with an according respect. This discloses a relationship of reciprocation. Where the virtuality within taonga has actualised the analogon necessitating the relationship to the taonga is acknowledge through its differentiation. This alchemic power has then instantiated kaupapa Māori within the digital realm. This suggests the digital images and text within this blog are then not respected for depicting Pakerau's mahi but as a manifestation of the virtual made actual through differenciation.

There are comparative occurrences evident on the *Whakamīharo Lindauer Online* website presented by Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.[129] Nevertheless, it is the latent articulation of mātauranga and kaupapa Māori within a non-institutional or non-iwi setting that makes it stand out. Away from places where such manifestations are intentionally evoked this occurrence is evidence that the alchemy of taonga is transcendent even in digital terms.

Throughout the blog there has been an effective utilisation of the essential elements of the digital object. From Te Ao recognising the lack of fixity whereby employing the interactive distributed nature of the space to empower the site specificity of his works, to the editability inherent by bringing objects together exposing the underlying discourse and reinstating the authored. But foremost, in posting images of taonga the digitality within the blog aided in the manifestation of a unique alchemic entity. Not taonga, but a differenciated embodiment of it.

As stated, not every post in the blog relates to the articulation of Māori culture. And only a handful of those that do, have been examined here. But it is clear Puehu articulates Māori culture in diverse and enlivened ways. Whether drawing attention to new intentionally bold expressions, politically charged acts of resistance or much more subtle actualisations of distinct Māori knowledge. This multifacetedness is exactly why Garden (2012) argues blogs as a medium are difficult to compartmentalise. Nevertheless, Puehu operates as a place of cultural expression, experience and critique. In doing so, they occupy a third space, not reduced to a constrained traditionalism, nor subsumed into cultural hegemony but undeniably Māori.

[129] Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki. (2009). *Whakamīharo Lindauer Online*. Retrieved from http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/. This is a very good website dedicated to Gottfried Lindauer's portraits of Māori leaders.

Manatunga: The treasures left behind

Case study three will look at Manatunga, an online exhibition produced by Auckland Libraries Sir George Grey Special Collections team. It is first located within a discourse of online exhibitions within the cultural sector. The discussion goes on to draw attention to the significance of the objects within this exhibition and the intentional evocation of tikanga into the digital space.

Online exhibitions

Online exhibitions have been greeted with mixed enthusiasm. The digerati have praised them for their ability to open up unseen collections, incorporate supplementary information normally not displayed in physical exhibitions, as well as their innovative utilisation of various media formats (Bowen, 2000). They have been acknowledged for providing a safe alternative for fragile objects in high demand. Their ability to remain open long after the institution has closed its doors, reaching out beyond physical delimitations to those unable to visit the real space has seen them carry the same authority as their physical counterpart (Bowen, 2000; Bowen, Bennett & Johnson, 1998; Silver, 1997; Tsichritzis & Gibbs, 1991). Of course this is not to neglect the marketing possibilities and intentions of increasing physical visitor numbers (Bowen et al., 1998).

Praise and potentials aside, placing physical objects into digital spaces has been less than smooth sailing. Copyright issues, the potential reuse and misuse in differing contexts have and continue to be concerns for curators and affected parties alike. Some have even gone as far to question if the digital realm spells the end of the brick and mortar museum and the specialist authorial role of the curator (Graham & Cook, 2010; Schweibenz, 1998; 2004).

But possibly the greatest concern raised by those in the culture and heritage industry is firmly entrenched in Benjamin's concept of aura, as something that can only be experienced in physical proximity to the singular object. The reaction toward the Google Art Project by several industry insiders and commentators was painted in this light (see Perl, 2011; Smee, 2011; Sooke, 2011). Although praised for its technical innovations and making art more accessible, ultimately it is criticised for its failure to

create the sense of ritual reverence experienced in the solemn halls of galleries and museums across the globe. This is something Cairns (2012) herself states in her blog post regarding Te Papa's participation in the GAP.

For indigenous populations the online realm has been seized as a useful space of cultural empowerment and articulation, as well as a tool in the fight for self-determination (Niezen, 2005). Equally, online exhibitions have been explored in attempts to embody indigenous perspectives and knowledges. Although the cultural hegemony of the systems and spaces has been recognised (Mudur, 2001; Srinivasan, 2013; Todd, 1996). Whether in conjunction with a physical exhibition or purely electronically confined, the digital realm has proved a fruitful space for indigenous purposes and illustrating non-Western concepts (see Ginsburg, 2008; Hogsden & Poulter, 2012; Srinivasan & Huang, 2005; Todd, 1996).

In Aotearoa New Zealand Māori authority over objects of mātauranga Māori held in collections across the country, ensuring they are dealt with appropriately has also been extended to Māori objects placed online. With direct consultation undertaken and appropriate efficacy practiced with disclaimers and clauses connected to Māori objects.[130] However, there is a relative scarcity of objects of relevance or importance to Māori in the online space.[131] Further, few online exhibitions have attempted to illustrate the significance of taonga in Māori terms. Te Papa's *Kākahu: Māori Cloaks* exhibition and *Whakamīharo Lindauer Online* are two.[132] The first accompanied a very successful physical exhibition. The second draws on public and private collections from across New Zealand and abroad to bring together seventy paintings into one online exhibition space. Both incorporate a broad array of digital media, including video

[130] Brown and Nicholas (2012) have questioned the effectiveness of such disclaimers in conveying actual intentions. Nevertheless, most online exhibitions and databases have forgone this particular practice in attempts to ease and increase visitor access. Moreover as has been posited implementing and insuring appropriate practices has lead many institutions to assume an unprovenanced only policy, both for safety and ease.

[131] Māori objects do not assume the relative level of representation in the online realm. Many cultural institutions record considerably less Māori objects in digital form than any other group represented. This concern was raised at the *Creative Commons Aotearoa and Indigenous Knowledge* meeting, November 1, 2013. Equally several comments in the online questionnaire note a lack of reliable information online on Māori culture.

[132] *Kākahu: Māori Cloaks*. Wellington, New Zealand: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 8 June – 22 October 2012. Retrieved from http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/collectionsandresearch/taongamaori/maoricloaks/Pages/default.aspx. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki. (2009). *Whakamīharo Lindauer Online*. Retrieved from http://www.lindaueronline.co.nz/.

interviews and discussions, giving voice to those whom the objects belong and mean the most. Each provides a considerable level of contextual and supplementary information regarding both creation and significance beyond materiality. Only *Whakamīharo Lindauer Online* has provided a facility for viewers to add comments and engage in discussion. This is openly encouraged and has seen a great deal of use.

Auckland Libraries Sir George Grey Special Collections Exhibitions

Often topical in subject matter or of particular interest to a specific librarian, the Auckland Libraries Sir George Grey Special Collections exhibition programme produced four exhibitions per year. Used to encourage greater interaction and knowledge of the special collections material held at Auckland Libraries, they additionally enable staff to explore and get to know the collection in greater detail. As part of the Special Collections work plan, ideas for exhibitions are encourage and planning can begin two years before the opening.

The Auckland Libraries Sir George Grey Special Collections recognised the usefulness of an online presence that would work in conjunction with their physical exhibition programme. Their first online exhibition *Is it real gold? Medieval books 1150-1510*, was developed out of a "give it a go" attitude and as a means to increase visibility of the collection both nationally and internationally (K. de Courcy, personal communication, May 14, 2014).[133]

According to Sir George Grey Special Collections Manuscript Librarian, Kate de Courcy online exhibitions were not formally part of the exhibition programme from their first incarnation (personal communication, May 14, 2014). But with the development of an online archive, they were soon incorporated into work programmes and now accompany every physical exhibition.[134] Interestingly, the usual four exhibitions undertaken by the Sir George Grey Special Collections team per year has recently been reduced to three due to workload required to bring both the physical and digital exhibitions to fruition.

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[133] *Is it real gold? Medieval books 1150-1510*. Auckland, New Zealand: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 2 February – 30 April 2005. Retrieved from http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/Manuscripts/medieval/virt_exhib/ve.html.

[134] Online exhibitions did not become a regular accompaniment until mid 2007.

Far from a simple addition to increase visitors and knowledge of material, online exhibitions require specific and careful consideration of material selected, display perimeters and intentions. Often these can be equal to that of a physical display. As previously illustrated by Cairns (2012) regarding her selection of Te Papa's GAP material. Of course this is not to mention the specialist skills and expertise from information technology teams and other departments required to make the ideas come to life online.

Despite the valuing of these digital incarnations as a means to get the material "out there" online exhibitions are often more an after thought than something considered at the inception stage (K. de Courcy, personal communication, May 14, 2014). This is reflected by the fact the online exhibitions are not launched in conjunction with their physical embodiments. That is with the exception of the main focus of this case study, Manatunga.

Manatunga

> *Manatunga: Ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti*
> *The treasures left behind in this realm*

Manatunga was a bilingual exhibition showcasing taonga Māori from the Auckland Libraries, Sir George Grey Special Collections. Held at the Auckland Central City Library, it ran from 12 June – 20 October 2013, according to the accompanying catalogue, Manatunga was a tribute to those who had the foresight to produce and secured these objects for future generations (Auckland Libraries, 2013, p. 4).[135]

Containing rare te reo manuscripts, sketches and photographs amongst other objects, the exhibition drew from the full scope of the Sir George Grey Special Collections and required expertise from across the team. Coinciding with *Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori* (Māori language week), te reo was a central theme throughout the exhibition. Also aligning with *Matariki* (Māori new year) celebrations, this too was incorporated, while collectively the exhibition embodied the theme for Matariki for 2013, *He wā pūmaumaharatanga* or *A memorial of remembrance* (Auckland Libraries, 2013, p. 4).

[135] *Manatunga: Ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti / The treasures left behind in this realm.* Auckland, New Zealand: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 12 June – 20 October 2013.

According to exhibition curator and Pou Ārahi Taonga (Heritage Māori Librarian) Robert Eruera one of the main purposes of Manatunga was to shed light on the diversity of taonga housed in Auckland Libraries special collections (as cited in Haines, 2013). But the *kaupapa nui* (main purpose) was to connect people to the taonga and the taonga to the people. As part of this, portraits of unidentified Māori ancestors were selected, or as Eruera acknowledges came forth and were displayed with the intention of reuniting them with their tūpuna.

Undertaking an exhibition that dealt with portraits of tūpuna had the potential to prove problematic and indeed much debate and discussion was embarked upon. But risking professional, personal and spiritual repercussions Eruera felt that the time was right for the exhibition (personal communication, November 5, 2013). According to Eruera this aligns with the role of Pou Ārahi Taonga in that the position is not about being the authority and leading the taonga as the title implies but the reverse in that the taonga lead the Pou Ārahi Taonga (as cited in Haines, 2013).[136] Although recognising this will always be a difficult position as these objects can be connected to multiple people, it involves an understanding and sense of awareness often beyond the scope of traditional librarianship or institutional practice. Nevertheless, with the position intended to give voice to these objects, he recognised the taonga wanted and were ready to be reconnected with their ancestors and be warmed once more, albeit with a little convincing required for some (Haines, 2013; Lee-Harris, 2013).

Despite being a Sir George Grey Special Collections initiative the exhibition's significance began to grow well before its opening and it soon became a civic event involving dignitaries including the Governor-General The Right Honourable Sir Jerry Mateparae and the Mayor of Auckland, Len Brown. Not to mention the numerous representatives of iwi from across Aotearoa. While this meant that certain council based practices needed to be initiated and worked within, potentially deriding the exhibition's intent, the attention proved to be positive. After the culmination of several years work by Robert Eruera amongst numerous other individuals and untold discussions with fellow staff and Māori across Auckland and New Zealand, the exhibition was opened with a kawanga whare.

[136] Pou Ārahi refers to people who provide guidance or leadership.

With a number of the objects directly connected to Sir George Grey himself, there was some contention, inciting remembrances of breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi that occurred while he was Governor of New Zealand. But as Tākuta Patu Hohepa stated in an interview during the opening ceremony, he felt that the taonga had been left by the ancestors to help ease that pain (Amoroa, Harker, Huanui-Thompson, Rangi & Taumaunu, 2013). Crowding the exhibition room, it was for the ancestors that so many had made the journey to Auckland. During first stages of the exhibition three unidentified portraits were recognised and reunited with their descendents. This number has since grown to nineteen with half confirmed with additional images or multiple contacts corroborating the same identity.

With over 180 objects on display within what is a reasonably small space, the exhibition was intentionally full. Far from the traditional scarce peppering of material generally seen in exhibitions, the over-populating, particularly of the photographs on the walls was to imbue the space with a marae-like ambience and ensuring that the tūpuna were present and visible. (Auckland Libraries, 2013, p. 4).

Figure 12. Lee-Harris, A. (Producer). (2013, August 12). *Native Affairs* [Screen shot television broadcast]. Auckland, New Zealand: Māori Television. Retrieved from http://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/native-affairs-manatunga

Along with creating a marae-like atmosphere, careful deliberation of material layout both with aesthetic and iwi considerations in mind, use of appropriate spelling and diacritics for specific iwi and balancing of the wairua were just some of the aspects

regarding tikanga involved in the exhibition. From the earliest inception to the closing ceremony and beyond the physical exhibition was engulfed in kaupapa Māori. By working within kaupapa Māori, the exhibition predicates a strict intentionality that empowers the taonga and those connected with them in Māori terms. But also by undertaking copyright negotiations, iwi, hapu and whānau consultation in addition to deciding to display unseen portraits of Māori ancestors, it is evident the staff did not avoid objects due to perceived challenges.

Both Robert Eruera and Kate de Courcy concede Manatunga was one of the larger events to have happened at Auckland Libraries (personal communication, May 12, 2014). It required considerable input from numerous members of the Special Collections team, other library staff, Auckland Council and beyond, implicating it as one of the most complex exhibitions undertaken by the Library. While Robert Eruera freely admits it was a difficult undertaking and the project did take its toll, he was pleased with the exhibition and the responses it received (personal communication, November 5, 2013).[137]

Robert Eruera has suggested that the intention of identifying unidentified tūpuna allowed the exhibition to push the limits, but he also acknowledges the time was right for Manatunga. The term *kairos* is perhaps poignant at this moment. Meaning the fullness of time or the propitious moment for action had come. For Robert Eruera this had been a long process but he conceded the debate and the technology had developed to a place where both the taonga and people were perceived as ready.

The idea of propitious moment in this instant implies all of the elements had come to a particular point where a leap must be taken. While displaying unidentified portraits of tūpuna may be interpreted as one such leap, the utilisation of the digital space to help the kaupapa nui of the exhibition is another.

[137] Native Affairs interviewed Robert Eruera about the exhibition and produced a segment on it. Lee-Harris, A. (Producer). (2013, August 12). *Native Affairs* [Television broadcast]. Auckland, New Zealand: Māori Television. Retrieved from http://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/native-affairs-manatunga

In conjunction with the physical exhibition Manatunga has a digital incarnation which is permanently available on the Auckland Libraries' website.[138] Though the digital presence was not deliberated during the inception stage of the project, once the decision was made to put Manatunga online, it was an absolute necessity to work within the same considerations that determined the physical exhibition. The digital space does not work in the same manner as the physical, and institutional practice, economic and temporal restrictions all defined what was actually achievable. Nevertheless was seen as an important space for those who where unable to attend Manatunga in person and its persistent presence continues to aid in Manatunga's intention.

The visitation numbers to the site attest to its success. With previous online exhibitions by the Sir George Grey Special Collections team receiving between 50-150 sessions (visits), Manatunga is very popular by comparison receiving over 4500 to date (Auckland Libraries, personal communication, July 5, 2014).[139] The degree of promotion associated with Manatunga can be credited with a degree of its success. Nonetheless, with nearly ten percent of traffic linking straight to the unidentified portraits page rather than through the welcome page, this suggests there was a discussion and interaction occurring within the online populace.[140]

[138] Auckland Libraries. (2013). *Manatunga: Ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti / The treasures left behind in this realm* [Online exhibition]. Retrieved from http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/virt-exhib/Manatunga/index.htm

[139] From exhibition start date, June 12, 2013 to June 10, 2014 Manatunga received 4545 sessions (visits). With the majority occurring during exhibition dates (Auckland Libraries, personal communication, July 5, 2014).

[140] 444 direct links to the unidentified pages equates to 9.77% of total traffic (Auckland Libraries, personal communication, July 5, 2014).

Figure 13. Auckland Libraries. (2013). *Manatunga: Ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti / The treasures left behind in this realm* [Screen shot from online exhibition]. Retrieved from http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/virt-exhib/Manatunga/index.htm

Just as the physical exhibition was a complex and challenging undertaking that utilised the full expertise of the team, the same can be said of Manatunga's digital presence. There was considerable thought given to how best achieve what was expected and by pushing what had been attempted prior, the online exhibition leaves no doubt of its intention or the Māori world it conveys.

The significance of Manatunga and the attention it had drawn prior to opening necessitated the online counterpart was launched at the same time as the physical exhibition. This had not been done for previous online exhibitions and has not been replicated since.[141] The additional pressure of launching what were effectively two exhibitions did not see Manatunga have its online focus altered toward a simpler

[141] In preparation of the World War One centenary the Sir George Grey Special Collections team is planning an exhibition with its digital iteration currently earmarked to launch at the same time (R. Eruera & K. de Courcy, personal communication, May 12, 2014).

functionality. Instead the digital incarnation went significantly beyond what the team had attempted online up until then. Producing a marae-like ambiance in the online space is indeed a challenging prospect. As is conveying the significance of the taonga selected by Robert Eruera and the Special Collections team. Without the necessary time or economic capital to design a new online exhibition platform built upon mātauranga Māori, the online exhibition used the same platform that had been used for a number of the other online exhibitions. Detrimentally, Srinivasan (2013) would see this as a continuation of Western ideological precedents as embodied into the very platform. However, offering simple customisation the platform was effectively employed in the articulation of the importance of the objects displayed and Manatunga's intentions of reuniting taonga and people. To which the numbers quoted above attest.

Despite what appears to be a general simplicity to the structure of the online exhibition, there are a number of key aspects that reveal a hidden complexity to how and what the digital Manatunga communicates. Containing 240 digital images, with a number of objects having more than one image, enabling greater exploration of the objects for the viewer than was achievable in the physical exhibition.[142] Further, the overall palette is simple and far from ostentatious. The use of just a handful of colours ranging from red to black produces a clear but sombre tone. The white works to separate the objects from the background without disconnecting them entirely. Reminiscent of the tripartite colouring often associated with kowhaiwhai patterns, the colouration conveys a familiar feeling of a *whare tupuna* (marae, ancestral house). The only colours out of this range are part of the bottom-matter of corporate logos and links.

On the introduction webpage there is integrated audio and video files. These had not been attempted before and although a learning curve, their incorporation was vital (R. Eruera, personal communication, May 12, 2014). Working along side the visible text, when selected an audio track welcomes the audience by relaying the *mihi* (greeting) audibly and finishes with the well-known waiata *Ehara i te mea* written by Eru Timoko

[142] One portrait is duplicated. *Te Kūhanga Maihi Parāone Kawiti. Ngāti Hine*. (n.d.). [Photograph]. Auckland, New Zealand: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. (7-A1181). Retrieved from http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/virt-exhib/Manatunga/Identified.htm#sthash.ONpLViVC.dpuf

Ihaka.[143] The video works in a comparable manner. Exhibition curator and Pou Ārahi Taonga Robert Eruera performs a brief welcome, introduces himself, the online exhibition and thanks the ancestors for having the foresight to leave such taonga. He continues and highlights the significance of the works as some of the earliest works of Māori penmanship. Stating that they are an invaluable resource to feed the hearts, minds and souls of present and future generations and that they are online and in the library, waiting for those interested. He goes on to declare that a main tenet of the exhibition is to reconnect descendents to their taonga and openly invites this interaction. This is delivered bilingually in sections alternating from Māori to English.

In operating through a digital surrogate Robert Eruera has ensured the important *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face-to-face) interaction can still be initiated, at least in a one directional manner. Studies on Māori use of social networking site by O'Carroll (2013a, 2013b, 2013c) have suggested relationships that had been solely developed and maintained through face-to-face interaction are evolving and continuing to function in digital environments. Similarly, research by Ferguson (2010) and Greenwood et al. (2011) have documented effective translation of Māori practices into digital spaces. In this light, by engaging in this way the video aims to establish new and maintain existing relationships whilst preserving traditional constructs on how relationships are maintained in Māori terms.

The distributed and interactive nature of the digital space is collectively the used to outline the purpose and significance of the exhibition. But further, by not compromising and only using text to deliver the welcome the high level of audio and visual contextualisation prior to entering the exhibition proper can be likened to the *whaikōrero* (formal speeches) undertaken during a *pōwhiri* or welcome ceremony on a marae (Mead, 2003).

The quantity of audio and visual material submerges the audience directly into the Māori world and is reflective of the Māori oral tradition. In contrast there is a limited amount of written text in the digital exhibition. Nonetheless, it too operates to locate the viewer into the Māori realm. Like the physical incarnation, the digital Manatunga is bilingual throughout. Brief descriptions of the works are provided in te reo followed by

[143] Notably the audio track does not relay the mihi in English.

the English translation. Specific pages on particular iwi are introduced with a *pepeha* or *whakataukī* (proverb) appropriate to them, again in Māori then in English.

Figure 14. *Kīngitanga document* (1878, May 16). *A proclamation of principles from the King Movement.* (1878, May 16). Auckland, New Zealand: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. (GNMMS 21). In *Manatunga: Ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti / The treasures left behind in this realm* [Screen shot of Tainui page from online exhibition]. Retrieved from http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/virt-exhib/Manatunga/Tainui.htm

The use of macrons or double vowels in te reo is specific to each iwi, as is the spelling. Language is of immense significance to a culture, as Cleve Barlow declares,

> Language is the vehicle by which thoughts, customs, desires, hopes, frustrations, history, mythology, prayers, dreams and knowledge are communicated from one person to another. (1991, p. 114)

For Māori, te reo is central to Māori identity and for many, integral in establishing an authentic Māori presence online (Durie, 1998; Kamira, 2003; Lemon 2001; Mead, 2003; Smith, 1997; Waitangi Tribunal, 1989). Although specific item record details such as

title and medium are not produced in te reo, the use of the Māori language in Manatunga is a means to convey the Māoriness of the exhibition. More so, the mihi (written and oral), pepeha, and whatataukī, all placed at the top of the webpage implicating a precursive function, are embodiments articulating specific Māori cultural practices. With no explanation or contextualisation of their purpose or meanings within wider discussions of Māoriness they are left to stand for what they are. For those familiar with them this of course needs no explanation. As Robert Eruera stated, the exhibition is primarily for Māori, who generally are well acquainted with such practices (personal communication, November 5). But equally for those who are unfamiliar with these conventions by avoiding explanation an us and them dichotomy is negated. Instead the viewer has to experience the exhibition within kaupapa Māori.

Acknowledging Cameron (2007) and Quiggin's (2006) observation regarding the meaning gained by the collective space, then, while not a direct manifestation, the platform design, use of te reo, audio and video material have come together to culminate in a marae-like ambiance. In doing so producing an atmosphere appropriate for the objects displayed and the intentions of the exhibition. The subjects in the photographs too echo the atmosphere experienced upon a marae. From the laughs of playful children and the hum of work coming out of the *wharekai* (dining hall), to the confrontation and posturing during serious discussion.

Figure 15. *Kaikumea-taura – Puppeteer* (n.d.). [Photograph]. Auckland, New Zealand: Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. (589-232). In *Manatunga: Ko ngā taonga waihohanga atu ki te arawhiti / The treasures left behind in this realm* [Screen shot from online exhibition]. Retrieved from http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/dbtw-wpd/virt-exhib/Manatunga/Childrenphotographs.htm

However, more so portraits of descendents hold a special place in Māori culture. Just as carved works are valued for embodying the wairua of the ancestor depicted, the *whakaahua* or photograph has become a valued representation of a descendent. Brown states,

> Maori regard the world as an animated environment, with every element within it considered alive through a whakapapa that connects it to Creation. The rendered image is similarly regarded as a living presence as both an object and an agent of its subject matter. (2008, p. 63)

She continues,

> It was eventually realized that photography could effectively replicate the wairua of a person for the benefit of posterity, and from observing the way that photographs are regarded by Maori it becomes apparent that the image is regarded as having its own mauri separate to the life force of its subject. (ibid.)

It is a common sight within a whare tupuna to have framed photographs of family members long departed upon the wall, where they can be remembered and collectively mourned (Salmond, 1984). As virtual actualisations of the tūpuna, the identified digital images are framed in the same reverence as would be expected of a physical photograph. The unidentified portrait photographs are dealt with in a different but no less appropriate manner. In the same way as previously discussed, the language used locates the viewer with kaupapa Māori. It openly greets and expresses grief at the loss of the elders depicted and goes on to acknowledge their continuing importance and a desire to reunited them with their descendents

In declaring this, the portraits have avoided objectification and not been reduced to just old images but are ancestors waiting to be reunited to their tūpuna. No longer embodiments of a disconnected past but directly linked to the present by their ancestors, the temporality separating them is disavowed. Moreover, this contextualisation firmly places Māori culture within contemporary culture. Denying a historical transfiguration, suggested by age of the photographs, Māori are conscious and active agents in modern digital culture.

As active agents, the internet was acknowledged and seconded to help reconnect descendents to their ancestors. Along with this there is also the continuing intention to update the online exhibition at certain stages with the new details. This is not done for any other online exhibition and there is no time frame from its completion. This continued dedication enabled by the editable nature of the space defines it as a place of change capture (Kallinikos et al., 2010). While more so, it acknowledges that the Auckland Libraries is not the authority of such taonga.

But fundamentally what has been documented is despite being an online exhibition full of endlessly reproducible digital images, there was every intention to produce the digital Manatunga in accordance with mātauranga and kaupapa Māori. To achieve this Robert Eruera adapted practices and processes normally associated with tikanga and marae. There was no attempt to directly reproduce a marae in a digital guise, just as

there was none in the physical Manatunga. But working within the digital realm, recognising it differenciatedness, there were intents to imbue the space with an atmosphere fitting for the objects it housed. Thus, as portraits of tūpuna, there was the need to produce one of respect and reverence in accordance with appropriate practices. Therefore, through a relative reflexive modality, the space necessarily assumed a marae-like persona.

The digital manifestation can further be explicated through the taonga themselves. As taonga led the Pou Ārahi Taonga to the propitious moment enabling the exhibition, it can be posited they also allowed their presence to be digitised. Whereby bestowing the differenciated actualisation with an analogon of their wairua. This does not implicate that they are the same but as there is a direct connection between the taonga and its digital presence, this then requires they too are treated in accordance. Furthermore, by producing the digital Manatunga the way it was, determines that as actualisations occur in relativity future actualisation of the virtuality within taonga will also be treated with respect.[144]

By embracing the digital object and opening up to the fecundity of the digital space Manatunga brought about several pieces of information regarding the portraits of Māori, both known and unknown. Several communications have been received from a number of institutions across the country. Recognising an image or portrait from their own collections they provided details imparting new, valuable information to the Special Collections staff, aiding in the purpose of the exhibition. Conversely the digital Manatunga responded in kind by providing individuals, whānau and other institutions with information regarding their portraits, including information that goes beyond traditional descriptions of librarianship. Moreover, whether the name of the individual portrayed, the photographer or just a familiar face, the digital cross-fertilisation evident in this case sent librarians and curators into their collections and online searching for remembered information to help others.

The fertilisation can also go to places outside of the original scope, as Robert Eruera observed in Facebook. Images had be taken directly from Manatunga and were posted in the SNS with pride by several users who stated to their friends that the portraits

[144] This cannot be guaranteed, as actualisation of virtuality can never be predicted. But they will always be actualised in relation to the tenets of actuality that surrounds it.

where their tūpuna.[145] Further, a number of the unidentified portraits were being discussed and identified in Facebook.[146] It was always a possibility for these portraits to be actualised into spaces where they may not receive the appropriate respect. And this is one of the reasons that portraits of tūpuna or taonga are often not put online. As Brown and Nicholas (2012) contend, online spaces can cut across hierarchies, possibly undermining the decisions of elders or ancestors (pp. 316-317). Yet, in discovering that ancestors are maintaining online presences in social media and other sites, Brown and Nicholas note that there is already a level of regulation evident and this they postulate may continue to an eventual new culturally acknowledging digital etiquette. Arguably this regulation could be understood as a manifestation of the alchemy of taonga in digital realms.

However, it must be stated that not all in Māoridom desire or agree with such practices. But in producing Manatunga online, Robert Eruera has acknowledged two things. First, that Māori are increasingly active on the internet. Second, the digital realm is able to articulate Māori culture effectively, albeit through the creative interpretation of technology. Moreover by ensuring Manatunga was portrayed as appropriately as possible Robert Eruera is also acknowledging the digital space as a Māori space. He could have simply put the objects online in a typical materialist and catalogued based format. But in seizing the opportune moment he has made it clear that this is no longer acceptable. Nor can institutions avoid the online space as a means to articulate Māori culture for fear of inability, but by utilising the potentiality within the digital object the resources and taonga can continue to inspire future generations. While, it is obvious that Eruera and the Special Collections team went beyond their previous online exhibitions, it must be stated they worked within the limits of the platform and space itself.

Greenwood et al. (2011) recognised the importance of not seeing knowledge learnt as separate or disjointed but integrated within Māori experience and expectations (p. 65). This is the same intent that led Himona to launch f*rom Hawaiki to Hawaiki* in 1995. Manatunga too has attempted to bridge a gap between Māori experience and

[145] This example reflects the relative actualisation of virtuality in that although not strictly treated appropriately, nevertheless the images were discussed with pride and respect.
[146] Of the direct links to the unidentified portraits page, 77.85% came directly from Facebook (Auckland Libraries, personal communication, July 5, 2014).

knowledge in digital realms. Thus by articulating Māori culture digitally through te reo, and adapted practices Manatunga has ensured it has not been subsumed by the Western cultural hegemony of the web (Greenwood et al., 2011). For many this is very much an act of cultural resistance or a moment of strategic traditionalism (Kamira, 2001, Ginsburg, 2008; Greenwood et al., 2011; Valaskakis, 1993). But more than this it was only possible because the taonga led the way proclaiming they were ready to be found once more.

Bourdieu and the field of Māori culture online

The three case studies have all produced differing articulations of Māori culture, from ethnographic and critical contemporary to respectful and considered. Each has come from differing avenues of cultural production and utilise the online realm for their own intents and purposes. Utilising Bourdieu with the aid of Goffman, this section will contextualise each case study within the field of cultural production. Particular attention will be made to the manifestation habitus and the specificities of the digital space. In locating each within the field of cultural production it is not intended to contrast and compare the relative merits of each but rather to explicate what is expected of their position within the field.

Museum and the field

Museums have evolved from curiosity cabinets and places of civil improvement to institutions that are equally capable of academic prowess as they are of "edutainment" (Bennett, 1995). Quintessentially modern they capture time in duality, sedentary and frozen in cabinets and exhibitions, while also illustrating its great march forward (Prior, 2011). But they themselves sit outside such temporal anchorage, simultaneously real and mythic they embody Foucault's (1986) heterotopia. The museum has received a considerable quantity of academic focus, therefore there is no need to delve into their history and development within this study.[147] Instead through an application of Bourdieu's social theories its most basic forms of operation will be brought to the fore.

According to Bourdieu (1984), habitus is an innate knowledge that works both as a structured and structuring principle in that an agent will do things a certain way because this is the way certain things are done. This does not imply an agent will only do what they have learnt rather what an agent has learnt is validated through their ability to decipher specific cultural artefact or experiences. This reflective modality implies habitus is in effect self-replicating. If this notion is applied to the museum as an agent within the field, then it can be said a museum works a particular way because that is the particular way a museum works. Just as Bourdieu perceived this to maintain class distinctions, for a museum this can be understood to maintain its separation from

[147] For an exploration and analysis of museums see Bennett (1995), Hooper-Greenhill (1992) and Sandell (2002).

other entities related to cultural production such as a library or theatre (Bennett, 1995).

Bourdieu's theory necessarily implies a multiplicity of agents active within any given field. For Bourdieu this is indicative of the struggle between agents in opposing positions, nonetheless it is important to acknowledge the role an audiences plays in validating the habitus of the agent. It is at this point that a connection to Erving Goffman's (1959) concept of self proves pertinent. Less engrained through childhood and education (i.e. Bourdieu) Goffman's theory is much more acknowledging of the role the social environment has upon an agent. In it an agent portrays him or herself in an idealised manner that is perceived to fit within the accepted behaviours of those being portrayed to. Therefore, it maintains and perpetuates the "officially accredited values" of that audience (p. 35). The relationship between the subjective ideal self and the perceived objective values of an audience can be understood in terms of Bourdieu's habitus, in so far as the self portrayed is produced within the appropriate practices and representations of the conditions of possibility (Bourdieu, 1989). Even though habitus is self-replicating (something Goffman also contends), it necessarily seeks what is being performed or displayed is validated by those within the field.

Bourdieu would see the acknowledgement of the audience as a move towards heteronomous end of cultural production. In that a product's place within the field is accorded by its relative success within an audience. Thereby, in recognising the audience a real or supposed dependence is evoked (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 46). This necessarily dictates heteronomy. However, incorporating Goffman this would suggest the museum, as agent within the field of cultural production can be located at the heteronomous pole whilst continuing to perform under its own habitus, precisely because it believes and is believed to uphold and maintain the values of that field. Again this aligns with Bourdieu in that the accumulation of sufficient symbolic capital enables the holder constitutional power (Bourdieu, 1989).

Shifts in museology could be seen to contest this, exemplifying moments where the museum's values misalign with those perceived in others and hence required alteration to those newly perceived values. However, expanding Goffman (1959) further, with respect to his practice of impression management which breaks the performed self into

front and back stages. Where the front stage idealised performed self or *Me* is in constant negotiation with the back stage or *I* self, reading and judging responses to real or imagined performances (Mead, 1934). The reactions are noted, again real or imagined and the performances are adjusted accordingly.[148]

Therefore, alterations evident in new museology for instance, the greater focus on education, considered exhibitions with reference to audience and source community engagement can all be understood as alterations related to the front stage of the museum's performed self. By acknowledging the audience and adjusting the performance accordingly this is undertaking Goffman's impression management and maintaining the museum's valued position within the field. But these refocusings have revolved around the opening, reinterpretation and utilisation of what has continued to differentiated them from other locations of cultural production, their collection. Therefore, ultimately what is contended here is the modern museum's practice, its back stage has remained grounded in the Enlightenment's pre-occupation of the collection and classification of objects (Foucault, 1970, Hooper-Greenhill, 1992). Thus, the museum's habitus (of collections and classifications) and the practice of justifying them has remained constant in light of heteronomous factors. Consequently, this consistency has empowered the museum as a distinct authority on material things.

Library and the field

Libraries can be understood to function under similar terms. As Bennett (1995) recognises, the roles of modern public library and museum were seen in the same civilising light during their wide spread establishment in cities throughout the nineteenth century.

However, there are a number of ways to which a library differentiates itself from other places of cultural production. If the reflective modality of habitus necessarily implies a library works a particular way because that is the way a library works, then it differs

[148] This is predicated upon by Charles Horton Cooley's (1983) tripartite "looking-glass" self, where the self first "imagines how it appears to others. Second, the self then imagines the other's judgement. Finally, the self develops an emotional response to that judgement," thus determining how one proceeds (Robinson, 2007. p. 95). Mead (1934) who also influences Gofffman's theories, and is in turn influenced by Cooley, broke the reflective self-ing into the I and Me duality, where the I would project itself to the position of Me (as in that is me) to judge the I and then adjust the self according to the perceived acceptability of the Me.

from a museum's collection and classification of objects, by being drawn to the utility of knowledge. Although the systematic ordering of information is undoubtedly a constitution and maintenance of a particular form of knowledge tightly bound in the Western intellectual tradition. The systemisation has little bearing on what information is actually ordered.

With a museum, its authority lies in the collection of unique objects from which expertise is constructed. Because the objects a library holds are not singular, unquestionable artefacts but at their essence built upon reproducible words and images. A library's authority then lies not in its objects, which are often managed as depreciable assets, but in the library's ability to a harbour of knowledge without dictating specificity to its interpretation. This does not implicate that a library is impervious to being used as tools of cultural or ideological construction and maintenance. After all this was one of the arguments for the library's proliferation. However, as a library's collection is based upon the intangible (i.e. knowledge), it was arguably never an intention or even a possibility to produce a singular, indisputable reading. Hence while a library does have experts, their roles are less predicated on the interpretation of particular objects than the objects' preservation and continued use. This is contrary to the physical museological object that implies a singular understanding by its very materiality (Cameron, 2007). To which only an expert has the skills to decipher and relay. Thus, despite very much working with the collection and classification of information at its basis the library is a relayer of knowledge and rarely assumed to be an authority in cultural production itself.

Nevertheless as an active agent in the field of cultural production the library's perception as a place to gain knowledge necessarily dictates that it also lies at the heteronomous end of the field. Not being an authority unto itself, it is required to accommodate as many parties as possible, hence the library's collection is aimed to reflect the interest of the patrons that use it. As argued previously, Bourdieu (1984, 1993) would recognise this as being locked into cultural production determined by the ever changing mass. However integrating Goffman's (1959) idealised performed self allows the library to continue its habitus of knowledge accumulation and dissemination. Therefore a library's constant altering of its collection to reflect perceived interests of its audience continues whilst the library does what it has always

done. Under these explanations, the museum and the library can be understood to continue their civilising function. But it is the agentive function attributed to their respective objects that separates them. With the museum it is the singularity of the object through which its importance as exemplar of knowledge is determined and made manifest. A library works contrary, it is the manifest of knowledge that constitutes the object, implicating that the object matters little, single or otherwise, if it does not issue knowledge that is of particular relevance or import.

That said, objects placed in heritage or special collections, like Auckland Libraries Sir George Grey Special Collections where the material that formed Manatunga was drawn, occupy a different position within a library and the wider field of cultural production. Determined to be rare, have notable provenance, historical or cultural significance such determinants echo the criteria of museum collections. As is the fact that the majority of such collections are tucked away in boxes or on shelves and are rarely visible to the general public. In a library context this means specials collections often lack the same level of visibility of the circulation collection.

However, unlike a museum, a library's collections are ostensibly open for perusal, without being open it cannot maintain its place within the field. Although these collections may not be borrowable nonetheless the objects within them are for the patrons to use.[149] Hence attempts are constantly made to show the depth and breadth of these collections. This is evident in Kate de Courcy's statement that the Sir George Grey Special Collections first online exhibition was an attempt to get the material out to as broader audience as possible (personal communication, May 12, 2014). Something Robert Eruera echoes in his intentions for Manatunga. Without putting them out there, how is anyone to know they have them (R. Eruera, personal communication, May 12, 2014)?

The openness of the collection also draws attention to the correlations between the library's front and back stages of the performed self. If a museum's backstage is defined through the habitus of the collection and classification of objects, and the front based upon how the objects are used (exhibitions). The library's accumulation, sequencing and dissemination of knowledge that constitutes its habitus or backstage of

[149] While arguably this can be said of museums also, the actualities of this are far from such idealisations of "open" collections.

an idealised self is reflected closely in its front stage.[150] Under these tenets, the library as agent is defined through a habitus that ensures it collects and classifies knowledge without delimiting its interpretation.

Blog and the field

It may be questionable to compare the work undertaken by Auckland Libraries and Te Papa, two institutional based case studies to that done by Puehu, an art collective. After all the display of cultural significant objects held by museums or libraries come with institutional and legal obligations, responsibilities and restrictions, governing everything from formatting and information provided to the legalities of reproductions. In contrasting Puehu to the other case studies it is not intended to illustrate a battle over Māori imagery occurring. But being located within the field of cultural production specifically examining the articulation of Māori culture, the case studies may not necessarily be perceived as equals but they are all active agents who use their respective positions to articulate Māori culture. Therefore, it comes down to each agent's particular dispositions (habitus) and various accumulation of capital that leads them to operate in very different ways and contexts.

Nevertheless, if Bourdieu's habitus is once again evoked and applied to blogs, it suggests that blogs work as outlets of expression that present people with a diverse array of material because this is what blogs do.[151] It is perhaps important this be elaborated a touch further. A museum or library's epistemological construction dictates the way certain things are dealt with, this in no way preordains what things may actually be dealt with, just how they are dealt with. Another term for this would be habitus. Equally, this can be applied to a blog. Lacking any real-world equivalent (unlike museums and libraries), the blog's ontological basis rests with digital determinism of binary code and the hyperlinked nature of the internet (Blood, 2000). Therefore, a blog's habitus is immutably based upon its original use as a source and

[150] Close but not identical, there are decisions made about collection directions that are not necessarily in line with public perceptions (civilising). And there are specific objects that will not be placed on open access or advertised due to the perception of offending parties or an ability to incite questionable actions.

[151] It can be said that museums do this also, but as stated they are governed by numerous parties and need to work within museological conventions. A blog on the other hand, can be created by anyone for any purpose as long as they have an internet connection, and therefore is inherently open to a greater level of diversity.

disseminator of information as constituted from an individual or group perspective.[152] Specifically regarding Puehu, it is its ability to actually produce a diverse array of expressions, free from institutional determinates that differentiates it from other spaces of cultural production such as a library or museum. This perceived flexibility is exactly why institutions use and actively encourage staff to partake in avenues such as blogs or other social media (Sprague, 2007). However, being located toward heteronomous side of the field would suggest blogs written by Auckland Libraries or Te Papa are still obligated to fulfil institutional requirements and maintain an air of professionalism.

Puehu, on the other hand would be positioned towards the autonomous pole, where they produce for the sake of producing. While it can be argued that all art requires an audience, for Puehu the audience is less important than the works themselves. More so, it can be argued there is very little correlation between the blogsite and economic returns. By using the site to disseminate artistic works, events and social criticisms Puehu operates predominately in the attempt to accumulate symbolic capital. This is not to say that the other case studies do not accumulate symbolic capital. It is in fact their vast quantities of it that allows them to keep their positions within the field. However, for the other case studies there is a direct link between their websites as tool and maintaining economic capital.

As autonomous entity, Puehu is inclined to produce more experimental or challenging forms of cultural production than those located at the heteronomous end, whose audiences necessarily are perceived to have influence upon them (Bourdieu, 1993, pp. 83-84). This is clearly seen in Puehu's numerous challenges to others' appropriation or articulations of Māori culture and colonial critique.

However, because the field is one of relationality where cultural products and their producers are located within "a space of positions and position-takings" necessitating what is produced (through position-taking) is inseparable from the positions determined upon specific capital (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 30). This determines the relationships (the structure) of the field is objectively constructed, but it allows for subjective agency. Thus in relation to the field of Māori culture online, this would

[152] There are strong parallel between a blog's habitus and that of the library's. But as mentioned in previous footnote, libraries have conventions and limitations that do not apply to blogs.

determine that those within it are located in their respective positions not by intent but by their respective quantities of specific capital. Which influences and is influenced by the subjectively produced cultural products. Thereby, Puehu would necessarily produce cultural products that assume an oppositional stance to those on the other side of the field.[153]

Online as field

Although Puehu's position shall be examined more closely in the forth-coming paragraphs, a visualisation may prove helpful. Adapting Bourdieu's example, the following diagram outlines the field as the articulation of Māori culture online.[154] Constituted by the case studies, a few of websites previously mentioned, and a handful of Māori specific or generalised sites, which hold or portray a degree of Māori related content.

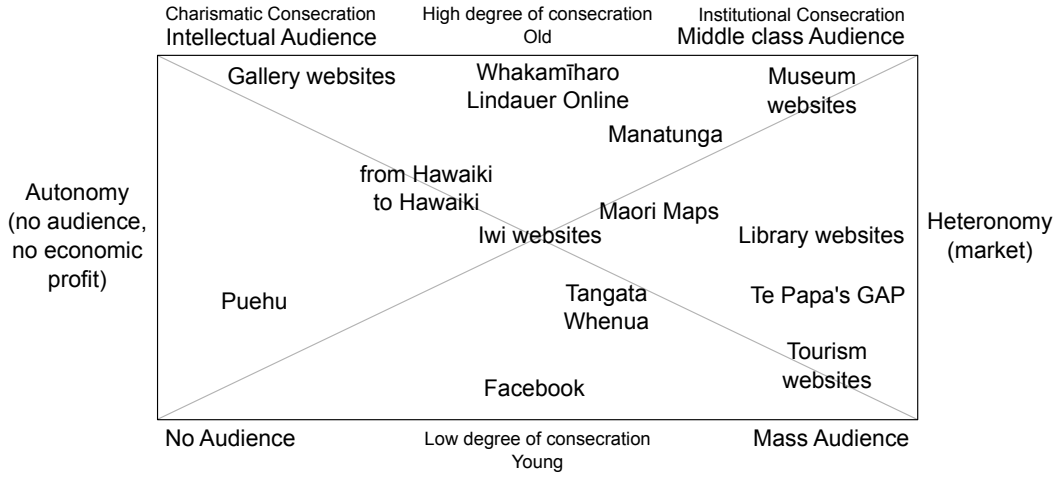

Figure 16. Field of Māori cultural production online

Iwi websites are neither autonomous nor determined by heteronomous factors and centre the field of Māori cultural production online. Principally used by iwi, whether as discursive space or introduction for associated activities, they are valued but are not the arena for discussing more serious matters. Thereby they received a moderate degree of consecration. *Whakamīharo Lindauer Online*, like iwi sites is centrally placed

[153] Oppositional as a relative implication as constituted by the field itself and not an intentionality.

[154] In an attempt to explain the field of cultural production Bourdieu examined and illustrated the French literary scene of the 19th century as example. See Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 49.

but it has received a high degree of consecration. The portraits the website displays are of considerable importance to their descendents and there has been the utmost attention paid to how best illustrate this within the conventions of the internet. Gallery and museum sites, are at opposing ends due to general audience legitimisation but also receive high consecration as by-product of their place within the larger field of cultural production. Tourist sites, as specialist are lent to what is expected by the general mass audience, predicated upon hallmark activities and stereotypic experiences. They rarely reflect the actualities of Māori culture outside of brochures and snapshots. Each are considered creative agents in what and how they portray or articulate Māori culture via the internet. It is their relationality within this study to which the field is constructed.

Furthermore, with each field automatically constituted by its own rules and logic, and allowing for a degree of overlap, as illustrated by the positions of museums and galleries, so the field of Māori cultural production online unavoidably differentiates itself from the field of Māori cultural production. Meaning the internet as field has brought with it its own practices and rules that must be abided by. Therefore, even though the increasing use and relevance of the internet in every-day life has effectively eroded the online/offline dichotomy that defined early cyber discourse, the digital space and associated technologies as field define and delimit specific interactions and behaviours (Bourdieu, 1984; McLuhan, 1964).[155]

Under this pretence it has been argued the connection between on and offline realms has led users to produce a more honest portrayal of themselves online and those who do not are viewed with suspicion and receive heavy criticism (Back et al., 2010; Lumby, 2010; O'Carroll, 2013a; Pempek et al., 2009). Furthermore, with a collapse in context which would normally separate an agent's various relationships, and the synchronous (performative)/asynchronous (exhibitional) modality of the internet, it has been postulated the portrayal is in actuality a moderated representation (Boyd and Heer, 2006; Hogan, 2010; O'Carroll, 2013a).[156]

[155] Most of this research derives from interactions occurring on social media and social networking sites (SNSs). It may be questionable whether these are transferable to practices and actions on websites run by a large organisation or institution. However, not only are institutions like Te Papa and Auckland Libraries active within SNSs but further their relationship with the audience and their heteronomous position dictates that they are required to work within determined means.

[156] Collapse of context refers to practices on social networking sites where people tend to accept friend requests from most know people, including parents, employers and teachers. Not

However, it has been argued because an agent is simply unable to consider all of the potential viewers when putting content online they need only account for two groups, those whom the information is intended and those who may find it problematic (Hogan, 2010). This extends to the known audience and the potential but unknown audience. This implies that when people put content online they often do so with the "lowest common denominator" in mind (ibid.).

This moderated construction strongly aligns with Goffman's performed self, with the denominator strictly dependent upon the specificity of the website (field) itself.[157] Therefore, although Puehu is working in relative autonomous opposition to Te Papa and Auckland Libraries, when posting material it would necessarily consider its perceived audience.[158] So, if it is conceded that a blog's habitus dictates it is a source and disseminator of a personal or collective expression, then Puehu's by-line of "art and culture" provides half of the story. On a more fundamental examination, the blog's content focuses primarily on critical explorations of contemporary Māori and Pacific identities.

The focus of critical identity exploration would be indicative of a moderated performed self (front stage). This is reinforced by the observation that posts which deal with identity directly, whether humorous, considered or contentious, are those that receive the majority of comments, reblogs and notes (likes). Conversely the specific Māori practices articulated in connection to the taonga of Pakerau are not critical explorations of identity but as latent manifestations, they would signify the dispositions (habitus or back stage) of those particular individuals. Nevertheless, facilitated through the digitality of the space, the dialogue reaffirms what was being produced aligned with the values of the audience, intended or otherwise (Goffman, 1959, p. 35).

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only does it bring those normally separate relationships together but they are also privy to the agent's general activities and social circle. And can be looked at as it happens or much later. See Boyd (2008), Boyd and Heer (2006).

[157] Goffman's theories have found a degree of favour in studies examining interaction in the digital space. See Brock (2009), Cover (2012), Gatson (2011), Kendall (1998), Hogan (2010), Robinson (2007).

[158] Arguably, if an agent were located at the autonomous end of the field, they would then be able to constitute both positions. However, online as exhibition space necessarily implies an audience, whether real or imagined.

Corresponding, the same disposition is evident in Te Papa's GAP, where its moderated self has opened up its collections, providing the perceived audience with what the museum thought the audience would want to look at, "art in an expanded sense" (McAloon as cited in Speer, 2012). This was exemplified by Te Papa's inclusion of a high number from the *Taonga Māori* collection both to fulfil a perceived desire for Māori visual and material culture globally, and to differentiate them from other cultural institutions. Google's spokesperson Kate Mason's previous comment indirectly confirms this.[159] By providing what was thought to be wanted and by avoiding contentious works within the selection there was consideration towards the denominator. This extends to selecting unprovenanced taonga as means to maintain safety and avoid offense.

However, in contextualising taonga as artefact suggests the denominator was considered in terms of an international rather than local audience. While there was recognition of taonga as objects of wider appreciation and respect across Māoridom, outside of unprovenanced taonga there was no interpretation of the works within mātauranga Māori, hence they did not perceive Māori as denominator (audience) within the GAP.

Furthermore, Te Papa's online presence reveals an inherent bias towards its physical space and the physical object. Although this is to be expected as it is in accordance with the museum's materialist Enlightenment premise (Newell, 2012; Srinivasan, 2013). Through the lack of an over-arching cohesion and classificational divisions evident (Māori, European, art, artefact etcetera), Te Papa revealed its habitus to the audience. Disjunctions between an organisation and its various online personae have been observed due to the practice of perceiving the online realm as something separate rather than part of an organisation's whole (Hanna, et al., 2011). Overall this was understood to undermine the effectiveness of the online embodiments. Based upon this pretence, it would implicate Te Papa does not understand the specificities of the digital environ. But more so, by not treating the GAP as an exhibition space and exposing their predilection for collecting and classifying implicates Te Papa does not perceive the online space as legitimate locale for conveying museological practice.

[159] "The cool thing, particularly for the New Zealand collection, is there are many elements of New Zealand culture, and particularly Maori culture, that might not have got this global exposure had they not been in on the Google Art Project," (as cited in Dickinson, 2012b).

Therefore, Te Papa has not embodied its desire to be a forum of change but rather unintentionally propagated a dislocated view of Māori culture.

This may be countered with claims of massive digitisation projects, digital access policies and an ongoing commitment to open up collections.[160] However, what museums often create is nothing more than their catalogues digitally rendered.[161] Fundamentally there is a failure to understand an audience expects more than images or catalogue details from a museum affiliated website. Rather, as has been documented, it is through considered reproductions that the populace is able to gain understanding of the importance of original works (Bourdieu & Darbel 1990; Cameron, 2007; Fyfe, 2004).

For Manatunga and by extension Auckland Libraries they too work within the preconditions of the internet as field and produced a moderated portrayal. Yet, what separates Manatunga from Te Papa's GAP was there is no discordance in whether the presence is digital or physical. While as stated, libraries generally do not dictate a contextual interpretation of their objects. However, when producing an exhibition it is brought together for a particular purpose to convey a particular aspect of the collection, therefore a contextual interpretation for Manatunga was required.

Furthermore, for Robert Eruera as Pou Ārahi Taonga, a moderated identity (or idealised in the Goffmanian sense), Manatunga needed to be produced in accordance to what he and the audience expected. As Māori were principally the audience and subject of the exhibition, it can be argued Māori would constitute both positions that required consideration; those whom the information was for and those who may find it problematic. Thus, based upon the moderated identity, there was no other way Manatunga could have been produced, except in the way it was; one that attempted to align with Māori practices and perceptions.

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[160] Indeed, with an update to Collections Online Te Papa has seized the opportunity to open its digital image collection further by allowing high-resolution downloads of material under Creative Commons licensing. See Kingston, A. (2014, June 3). Free, downloadable [Web log message]. Retrieved from http://blog.tepapa.govt.nz/2014/06/03/free-downloadable-images-from-te-papas-collections/

[161] This is particularly evident in online collections that utilise platforms that derive from collection management systems such as Vernon. From a practical sense these systems are of great benefit but from a non-industry perspective they produce a reductive perception based around classificational divisions. For example see Puke Ariki (n.d.) *Heritage collections*. Retrieved from http://www.pukeariki.com/Heritage/Heritage.

Through their respective products each case study has been located with the field of Māori cultural production online. Tied to their ontological origins each produced subjectivity constituted outcomes in accordance with their position within the field. This took into account the reflective nature of identity as discussed through Bourdieu's habitus and Goffman's self, which implicated an engagement with a perceived audience as a means to produce a moderated product. For Puehu and Manatunga there was little disconnection between the perceived audience expectations and the products produced. However, it has been argued that Te Papa's GAP did not consider the necessarily denominators and thereby articulated Māori culture ineffectively. This in turn is suggestive that Te Papa as museum does not consider the online environment as a legitimate museological space.

Taonga in the age of digitality

The three case studies of Māori culture online examined here all derive from different areas of cultural production. Each are not so much responding to each other as they producing what is in accordance with what is presumed from their respective positions. This objective determinism seemingly limits the actuality of production to that, which on its projection upon the field could be seen as expected or predictable.

This is not the case, as Bourdieu clearly states, "The meaning of a work […] changes automatically with each change in the field within which it is situated for the spectator or reader" (1993, pp. 30-31). Harking to the objective relationality inherent in the field, it recognises the ability of the subjectively (unpredictably) produced object to enter the field from which other objects are now in relation to. This is demonstrated in New Zealand's post *Te Maori* cultural scene, where with the breaking free of the limiting "primitive contextualisation" Māori art was then seen as part of the global art discourse, and therefore in relation to Western perceptions of art. This had a marked effect across Aotearoa's cultural production, delineating traditional from contemporary, taonga from taonga-derived, Māori from Pākehā. The statement of dualities is not to exemplify the division of New Zealand creative production, historical or otherwise. Rather, it is the introduction or acknowledgement of objects into the field where relationships are induced.[162]

Therefore, what is being proposed is that these three case studies have acknowledged the digital space in varying degrees of legitimacy predicated upon their habitus. Their relative acceptance of the online realm is reflected into their articulation of Māori culture through their acknowledgement of the specificities of the space via its digitality. Thus, as constitutional elements of the field of Māori cultural production online within this study Te Papa's GAP, Puehu and Manatunga's results will be explicated with the intention of informing the effectiveness of future articulations.

[162] Bourdieu sees these relationships delimited by agents that occupy opposing or negative positions within the field. Although admitting that this is often not an intentionality but merely a product of the field as field itself. The apparent necessary binarism of position predicated on post-structural tenets of difference appears a might to formulaic. Instead, it is pertinent to perceive these objects in terms of sameness (as presumed in the manifestation of the field). Thus it is through their sameness that relationships are formed. This is exactly what Jahnke (2006) posited in his continuum of Māori art at the dawn of the new millennium.

Firstly, in order to locate the discussion forthwith, it is important to acknowledge when elaborating upon the Māori world view and kaupapa Māori, it is done principally through the work of Māori scholar Rev. Māori Marsden (2003), Marsden and Henare (1992) and Tapsell (1997, 1998). Who, despite conveying the scope of what is discussed all recognise the tribal specificity and perspectives inherent in their own works. In recognition of this, it is valid to note that this research is not an attempt at according an objective abstraction of the precepts observed, as Marsden posits this is deemed to fail (2003, p. 2). Culture is a subjective experience, more so as an outsider, one can never encapsulate what was never experienced. Hence, in drawing parallels between Māori and Western discourse an attempt is being made at interpreting through correlation and not divergence. This in turn will be superimposed over the digital to decipher the instantiations.

In introducing the notion of a world view Marsden and Henare (1992) state,

> Cultures pattern perceptions of reality into conceptualisations of what they perceive reality to be: of what is to be regarded as actual, probable, possible or impossible. These conceptualisations form what is termed the *'world view'* of a culture. The World view is the central systematisation of conceptions of reality to which members of is culture assent and from which stems their value system. The world view lies at the very heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture. (p. 3)

As part of the Māori world view all things are acknowledged to harbour a life essence, irrespective of their manifestation or what it is they represent. This binding force, mauri, extends to the animate and inanimate alike (Tapsell, 1997; Marsden, 2003). While *mauri-ora* (life principle) and *hau-ora* (breath of the spirit) are those endowments that allow for animated life, all things are considered connected (Marsden & Henare, 1992). Moreover, this interconnectedness dictates experience is deemed through relative positioning within cosmological whakapapa. In this, it has been argued that Māori conceptuality does not align with an objective position suggested though the Cartesian dichotomy that separates the self and the outside world (Roberts & Wills, 1998). However, discarding the measureable objective rendering explicit in Descartes, Deleuze concedes the interconnectivity within the virtual is only experienced in its actualisation in accordance to "the virtue of actual or differenciated species and spaces" (1994, p. 210). Thereby acknowledging the

necessary relativity (subjectivity) of any experience.

Conceding the subjectiveness of experience, taonga nevertheless occupy a distinct position as uniquely active agents within Māori conceptuality. It is possible to perceive taonga as artefact or art, as has been documented, however, it is their traditional iteration and function that is being discussed here. Within each case study, the power of taonga has exposed itself, whether as part of the selection perimeters, implication of appropriate protocols or more latent embodiments, the alchemic energy has manifested itself in varying degrees. According to Tapsell (1997, 1998) it is during life-crisis events that the power of taonga comes to its full potential. Melding time and space into a translatable entity taonga dissipate traditional boundaries of distributed experience. In anchoring space through their actuality, taonga represent time in continuity and discontinuity. By their very actuality (not necessarily physicality) they mark the continuation of time from past to the present. But in doing so they bring history into the current moment whereby dissolving the temporality that distances them. This could be interpreted as is the alchemy of taonga as mentioned by Salmond (1984) but by the same token it can be understood in relation to that postulated by Deleuze.

The ability of taonga to contract time and space is the recognition of experience as the successively constituted present (Deleuze, 1994, p. 70). To which, through contraction, time is manifest. Thus, in the concession of the present, time is a mutable element. Therefore, the performance of taonga distinguished as event would then identify itself as both continuous and discontinuous in its actualisation of history that unavoidably alludes to the future, whereby locating those experienced within the present. (Linstead & Thanem, 2007, p. 1493).[163] Under this, performed taonga as event would then be virtuality actualised.

Moreover, actualisation of taonga as ancestor evokes the relationship between the object and the ancestor though the process of differentiation/differenciation. This

[163] Such an understanding of time as continuum is part of the Māori world view and engrained in te reo itself. With a lack of verbal tenses, time is considered in terms of processes and events through particles and prepositions that denote initiations, continuations, terminations and states relative to others rather than temporal specificity (Marsden, 2003, p. 22). This likewise aligns with Deleuze in that the acknowledgement of time is the recognition of the virtual being differenciated into actualisation that manifests the event.

implies the relationship is one of repetition or sameness, which is only made manifest by difference. Hence an image of an ancestor is not revered for being a carving or painting but as a manifestation of the virtual made actual through differenciation.

Nonetheless, this would also predicate a direct correlation between an object and its analogon. As both are real they are each unavoidably instilled with the virtual. And as the virtual is actualised in relativity, the actual replicant can effect the actual original through delimiting potentials. Conversely the same can also be said of taonga and reproduced images of them. Under this pretence the digital reproduction or analogon, as it is directly connected to the source from which its virtuality was bestowed, suggest that it too requires consideration within kaupapa Māori.

Digital object

Kallinikos et al. (2010) outlines the essential elements of the digital object as editable, interactive, open and distributed while being granular and modular in nature. Despite an absolute delimitation at its core, a mathematical couplet that captures and systemises its actuality into a necessary order to enable functionality, the digital object lacks fixity and is imbued with a potentiality denied to its physical counterparts (Evens, 2010). As a coalescence of the digital continuum the digital object is an instantiation that can only exist in the present. Through being constituted within the moment, actualised into existence, it transcends time in its lineal form. Like Māori conceptuality and the virtual, by dissolving the temporality that separates past, present and future, the digital object necessitates experience is determined through relative positioning, ultimately confining its existence as an ephemeral process of actualisation (Deleuze, 1994; Kallinikos, 2009).[164] Yet, the fluidity of its actuality as comprised within the moment identifies it as a vessel of change capture (Kallinikos et al. 2010). While this problematises their long-term presence, to disavow the digital object's inherent possibility by restricting its mutable nature is to create something else entirely, the digital document.[165]

[164] Experience of the digital object based on relativity goes someway to rectify it apparent contradiction of Leibniz's Law, *The Identity of Indiscernibles* (Allison, Curral, Moss & Stuart, 2005). Simply but Leibniz's Law states that no two distinct things can have the exact same properties otherwise they would necessarily be one and the same (Forrest, 2012).

[165] The issue of the long-term preservation of digital content is acknowledged by the United Nations *Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage* (2003) and through projects like the Internet Archive and their Wayback Machine. And is an issue that numerous institutions,

Severed from the flexible dynamism that embodies the digital object, the digital document is defined in terms of fixity and permanence. Unable to manifest itself within relative determinism of its essential elements, the digital document is a delimited construction predicated upon capturable facets (Kallinikos et al. 2010). What is more, the pertinence of the issue is arguably a contradiction to the hyperlinked architecture of the internet itself. Where the online space is only transversable through the process that determines its own form. It is the connective web of links that act as the structured principle to which the system works, while also structuring the interaction possible. Therefore, when capturing information (i.e. digital object) what is lost is not the fidelity of it but rather the process through which it was constructed.[166] This is virtuality truncated. Equally, parallels can be drawn to many taonga within museum collections, severed from their source community they cease to be dynamic entities and are determined through capturable elements of materiality.

Such a delimiting process is increasing occurring within the internet where finding information is increasingly determined less by specific search parameters than through the object's inherent searchability.[167] Nevertheless, this does not preclude the possibility of hyperlinked interaction as long as one is within the system. Thus through a series of serendipitous steps the user can find corners to which algorithms would (arguably) never lead. It is this potentiality, like that within the digital object that aligns with Deleuzean virtuality. If it is within the real (i.e. the network) then through the virtual's multiplicity that differenciate themselves into actualisations it is possible to

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including the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa are attempting to deal with (G. Lee, personal communication, October 31, 2013).
The Internet Archive is a non-profit organisation that was established and maintains permanent access to historical digital collections. Internet Archive. (n.d.). *Internet archive*. Retrieved from https://archive.org/. Their Wayback Machine enables the users to access past snap-shots of the internet websites, with a surprising level of functionality. Internet Archive. (n.d.). *Wayback machine*. Retrieved from https://archive.org/web/.

[166] The bifurcation of process and product is one echoed through Western intellectual history, with division of man and nature, subjective and objective, internal and external worlds to raise but a few. Re-establishing the connection between the two is the very premise of research.

[167] As search engines define results through algorithmic functions that account for words, popularity and personalisation, there is a process underway which delimits results through searchability. This can be easily "optimised" whereby increasing findability above and beyond the relevance of the content itself. Meaning that the results are not necessarily the most relevant. Critiques by Goode (2010) and Pariser (2011) have contended similar discordances to assumed neutral search results.

both locate oneself within and to transverse uncharted space.[168] The performance of taonga conveys comparable actualities, in their ability to anchor identity, locating it within Māori ontological whakapapa, from whence the unravelling *koru* (coil, spiral) persists (Roberts & Wills, 1998).

Moreover, within Māori thinking, digital technologies appear uniquely fecundous in their ability to articulate Māori conceptuality. Mills (2009) has argued digital technology can be a fruitful space to engage and express unique aspects of the Māori world. In discussion of augmented and virtual reality environments Brown (2008) postulates that the digital is capable of replicating distinctly Māori qualities. Jahnke (2006) arguably does not see it as uniquely capable of being imbued with Māori sensibilities, rather it is through its use that determines it as Māori. Whereby declaring it is not something that can be superimposed or cast upon anything but is a lived embodiment and in this light, it is yet part of the continuum. Nonetheless, it can be said, the attributes of the digital object, the digitality, whether a singular manifestation or en masse can be likened to aspects within Māori conceptuality. Furthermore, within each case study, their respective utilisations of this digitality, whether intentional or not, is argued to have enabled them to produce a more effectual articulation of Māori culture.

Te Papa

It has been argued that Te Papa's GAP has produced an archaic depiction of Māori culture. This was not the team's intention but rather the result of a latent dysfunction accorded through their perception of the online environment as illegitimate space for museological practice. The basis of this was predicated upon their value attributed toward physical objects as preeminent force from which knowledge it constructed (as dictated by their Enlightenment origins). This necessarily results in the devaluing or disavowing of reproductions, copies or analogons. Under these determinates, their portrayal of taonga, was never an attempt at articulating kaupapa Māori or Māori epistemological understandings. But rather a practice that sought to reaffirm the material authority of the objects portrayed which is only comprehendible in

[168] It is this very conceptual form of exploration that gave the early internet its unstructured wild other persona.

museological situ. Resultantly, the predilection saw taonga strictly defined through a discourse of historicism and materiality.

Moreover, the temporal and physical disconnectedness was emphasised by the lack of digitality within their GAP. While there were glimpses of it lightly peppered throughout, their denial of the relative presentness (actualisation) of the taonga, by severing them from their animational elements, people, has forcibly delimited them as museological artefacts/documents. Furthermore, as virtuality is produced in relativity through specific differenciation that actualises it, then how an object is located has the potentiality to influence future instantiations.[169] Therefore, if images of a disconnected (dead, see Green, 1988) culture are actualised, it stands to reason the virtuality it would induce would in all probability be based upon the same predicate.

Further, as real objects (in Deleuzean and Kallinikos et al. terms) the digital images derive their existence through the process of differentiation/differenciation that actualised them from the taonga they depict. Therefore they are empowered as objects of mātauranga Māori by the virtuality bestowed to them through the taonga. This relationship has been acknowledged by Te Papa's choice to display unprovenanced taonga in an attempt to mitigate risk to and from the original through its digital presence. But the analogon's own authority has been disallowed.

If Māori conceptuality dictates all things have mauri, and taonga as specific instantiation of mātauranga Māori, irrespective of their attachment of tapu, mana and korero, exude respect and appropriate treatment. Then, an analogon of it also requires respect and appropriate treatment as has been argued (Brown, 2007; Brown & Nicholas, 2012; The Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). Notably this is not a decree for the abolishing of considered museum practice as embodied in *mana taonga*, rather it is an admittance that taonga (provenanced or not) are indelibly objects of Māori culture which instil pride not only in their source communities but across Māoridom (Colmar, 2010; Hakiwai & Smith, 2008). Therefore, an according representation in the digital environ is as valid as it would be in the physical.

[169] This is a well-documented effect with regards to reproductions of art, where reproductions are objects through which people gain knowledge of the original (Benjamin, 1999; Bourdieu & Carbel, 1990; Fyfe, 2004; Krauss, 1996).

Puehu

As discussed, Puehu is a space of cultural empowerment, articulation and repossession. However, it is also a space where there is the latent manifestation of kaupapa Māori. It is this element more so than its non-institutional practice that differentiates it from the other two case studies. Arguably, it was the only case study where articulating Māori culture (subjectively) was in reality an inherent possibility. However, that said as an independent blogsite, it also had the least responsibility to do so.

Several posts document contemporary Māori art practice; these are often intentionally discursive instances that never attempted to replicate physical experience, but were focused upon utilising the space through its own actualities, which in turn establishes the authority of the original work. While more commonly the blog was used to expose and question the underlying discourse of other Māori-derived (appropriated) products. In these critiques Puehu alludes to the construction of objects as embodiments of knowledge and the construction of knowledge as embodied of objects. In drawing attention to this Puehu's posts are never able to implicate a fixed or singular understanding. The embraced digitality that manifested the comments was evidence of this.

More so, the blog as a digital object, which is the receptacle of further digital objects as posts, the precise instantiations of its various actualisations are demarcated with temporal specificity. Although constructed within the moment, each date stamp locates each post within the relativity of its position of creation. Such markers of time are not badges of authority or authenticity but acknowledgements of the constitutional determinants and processes of its manifestation. With each comment or reblog further recognising the locale of its temporality, whilst allowing it to continue beyond temporal restrictions.

This is in opposition to the taonga on Te Papa's GAP, where despite have approximate creation dates for the objects themselves, the digital object that engulfs them is atemporal. Disavowing its own epoch, Te Papa's GAP is heterotopiac in function. Assuming a timeless authority over the objects, it denies the constructedness of knowledge. This sought to disavow taonga from their alchemic function by imposing an

authoritative external understanding.[170] In Puehu however, the alchemic effect of taonga was evident in the digital realm through the comments and the self-regulated approach each individual undertook, mimicking that observed by Brown and Nicholas (2012). The space this occurred may not be acceptable for all, however through the digitality available, the taonga of Pakerau were able to ground those associated with them in kaupapa Māori, and as living objects of mātauranga Māori, Pakerau's works continue to inspire.

Manatunga

Manatunga as digital incarnate sought to inform others of the objects held within the library's physical collection. In this, it was no different to the other two case studies, as they too intended others to connect with their collections (in more or less direct ways). Similarly to Te Papa, Manatunga harks from Enlightenment origins, with a degree of vestigial colonialism engrained in a number of objects. Something Puehu took pains to critique in more contemporary examples. And like Te Papa's GAP and Puehu, it was not so much what was displayed online but how it displayed that is of pertinence here.

However, what separates Manatunga from Te Papa's GAP and Puehu was the specific intentionality of the online exhibition. Although initially reserved, once the decision was made there was a deliberate evocation of kaupapa Māori through the (creative) transference of practices associated with tikanga into the digital space. As stated, in doing this Manatunga acknowledges Māori are increasingly active on the internet and the digital realm is able to articulate Māori culture in a considered manner, thereby proclaiming that digital space as a Māori space.

Like Te Papa there was an atemporality throughout, yet by acknowledging the importance of the taonga in continuing terms and the on-going updating of the exhibition, whereby acknowledging Auckland Libraries was not the authority of such objects, the heterotopiac space could not establish itself. Moreover, by embracing the distributivity of the world wide web to aid in the exhibition's goal amongst other aspects of digitality engrained throughout, the articulation of Māori culture

[170] There are a few taonga whose information admits that not much is truly known about the objects due to lost information or more dubious colonial exploits. Such an acknowledgement dethrones museums as authority whilst alluding to knowledge construction.

represented was not one disconnected spatially or temporally but one very much located in the here and now.

It has been posited that the systems and platforms to which most museums and libraries operate online and offline are linked to the cultural hegemony associated with Western epistemology (Mudur, 2001; Srinivasan & Huang, 2005; Srinivasan, 2013; Todd, 1996). This is understood to propagate Western knowledge and value systems while discrediting any possible alternatives. Srinivasan (2013) has observed numerous iterations that sought to disestablish this cultural dominance. But however, suggested that although valid and important in their own right, fundamentally they are still working within a Western paradigm. To which he proposes building new systems, programmes and databases developed upon indigenous models and conceptuality.

Contrary to the two position posited by Srinivasan, Manatunga offers a third space. Not able to develop an indigenous platform, it used the (Western according to Srinivasan) system that was available to it. In spite of this concession Manatunga conveys Te Ao Māori view first and foremost.[171] This implicates that while systems and databases dictate what is achievable, principally it is less about the products used or the objects themselves than to how they are processed or conceptualised (Foucault, 1972). For Te Papa's GAP, they were framed as differentiating artefacts, Puehu as korero imbued works of art. And Manatunga, as important and relevant parts of contemporary Māori culture.

Moreover, as the digital objects within Manatunga all derive from mauri imbued taonga, they are but one step from the original image and can be considered as the "next sequence in a whakapapa of imagery" (Brown, 2008, p. 63). As actualisations that differenciated themselves from the virtuality embodied within the originals, just as photographs were acknowledged to effectively harbour the wairua of whom they depict, the virtuality made manifest in the digitally captured image could also be argued to hold it (ibid.). The same was evident within the other case studies and yet the direct translation of tikanga into the digital space goes one step further. By working within the online realm with all the rules and protocols the field demands, instigating

[171] The use of English in the exhibition could also be considered a concession. However, Māori was the principle language employed throughout the exhibition and the use of English accounts for those whose te reo is not very good or non existent, Māori and Pākehā alike.

these practices online has necessarily made it accountable to kaupapa Māori. This authenticates the digital space and the objects within it as Māori. Furthermore, with the images online all pointing back to that from which they came, this translation validates them as objects in their own right. With this concession they would not only be able to hold the wairua of whom they depict but are acknowledged to harbour their own mauri. This is something that Brown (2008) postulated was a possibility as digital technologies became more ubiquitous, and it appears that time is fast approaching.

Conclusion

This thesis sought to examine the articulation of Māori culture within the digital space, and how the specificities of that space itself determined the effectiveness of this articulation. It was hoped the discussion and the discoveries could be used to improve future museological practice. However, by selecting three diverse instantiations, the study makes no claim to a comprehensive survey of Māori presence online. Nor does it attempt to impose a universality to what was found or the resulting discussion. Neither is it an aggrandisement of the internet and digital technologies over the wishes of elders. What was intended was that the choices made reflect the variances possible through subtle differences in context, intent and acknowledgement of the digital space. This, it has been argued result in articulations of Māori culture as either disconnected temporally and spatial from the modern world or empowered and digitally confident.

Through the examination of the case studies, specific attention was paid to the digital spaces they respectively occupied, highlighting attributes that were used in dynamic or effective ways. All of the case studies made use of the digital object's unique elements in varying degrees. Moreover placing the studies within the field of Māori cultural production online their respective dispositions was deemed to have an influence upon their utilisation of the digital space. This in turn was argued to directly influence their articulation of Māori culture through the digital medium.

Moreover, utilising Bourdieu, the field of Māori cultural production online was revealed to be one of relationality. Highlighting what was produced by the various agents within the field, it also effectively displayed a connectedness between online and offline realms and audience expectations. But it additionally exposed a discordance between Te Papa's online presence and the museum's intentions. Thereby Bourdieu's theories have proved a fruitful means to expose the practices and products of each case study. The incorporation of this method into future online presences and studies will continue to uncover unseen relationship as well as disparities between practices, products and expectations. In this regard, although attention was paid to the objects within digital spaces, every attempt has been made to identify the processes occurring in such

spaces. In this there is hope that the methods employed made obvious connection to their relationships in and outside of the focus of this study.

As an entity that crossed all of the case studies, taonga was the thread to which this research was held together. As unique entities within Māori culture an attempt was made to explicate taonga through a comparative understanding of their alchemic function. The intention of such an action was not to assume a Māori position but to acknowledge the researcher's own place. By undertaking discussions with those involved with the case studies, the culture industry and those who responded to the online questionnaire, it was clear that the issues discussed within this study are on the minds of many Māori. As a Pākehā, it was of the utmost importance not to subsume what was expressed but in hearing their thoughts, ideas and concerns, it was attempted to elaborate on these issues through my own voice, while maintaining the integrity of the objects and those who took time to talk to me about an issue they all felt extremely passionate about.

It must also be recognised that the definitions and the examples of taonga discussed here in no way encompass the scope taonga can assume. Nor have they captured the breadth of their power. However, it is hoped that with the aid of Deleuze justice was done to those discussed. Furthermore by endeavouring to draw correlation between what are conceived as opposing modalities, it was intended to step away from both the artistic discourse and the materialist artefact understandings that tend to delimit non-Māori perceptions of taonga.

More specifically, this research has brought to light the power of taonga in digital spaces. By utilising the online space for what it is through its digitality, it was shown to enliven the realm but more so by using the digitality to make connections to whom the taonga is most important reveals taonga to be unique and significant entities in the Māori world. If this is done the digital taonga does not reduce the authority of the object but rather empowers both as objects of mātauranga Māori. This ensures the traditional role of taonga persists and continues to exude their power and importance to all those that come upon taonga in the digital space.

There was never an intention to document “success stories” of Māori presence online, but through the incorporation of a diverse array of theories a little light was shed on what may aid future cultural sector articulations of Māori culture (McNamara as cited in Butt, 2008, p. 34). Therefore what this research posits is a more considered approach to the massive digitisation projects built upon numerical targets of objects scanned and put online over financial outlays. Viewers want what they get inside the museum, that little bit of information they cannot find anywhere else, an insight into kaupapa and mātauranga Māori, contextualising taonga as important objects.

The findings of this research suggest the alchemy of taonga is able to manifest itself within the digital paradigm, however it is not a decree to open the stores of taonga held in museums up and down Aotearoa to the internet populace. Rather perhaps at a time when nearly all of the museums and galleries contacted have plans for major website or database overhauls with the intent of “opening up collections” to the increasingly recognised digital audience, it is a poignant reminder of many museums philosophical underpinnings of being forums of change.

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Appendix One. Interviews undertaken by the author

N. Borell, interview with author, November 6, 2013.

R. Brownson, interview with author, November 6, 2013.

P. Cairns, interview with author, October 25, 2013.

K. de Courcy, interview with author, May 12, 2014.

R. Eruera, interview with author, November 5, 2013.

R. Eruera, interview with author, May 12, 2014.

A. Hakiwai, interview with author, December 18, 2013.

R. Hendry, interview with author, October 31, 2013.

M. Hutchins, interview with author, November 11, 2013.

G. Lee, interview with author, October 31, 2013.

J. Love, interview with author, November 6, 2013.

N. Maw, interview with author, November 5, 2013.

S. Te Ao, interview with author, June 4, 2014.

G. de Walters, interview with author, November 6, 2013.

Appendix Two. Te Papa and GAP site traffic and users

According to Google spokeswoman Kate Mason, prior to the GAP's relaunch in April 2012 it had received over 20 million visitors (cited in Dickinson 2012a). This is nearly the same number of visitors that Te Papa has had walk through its front doors since it opened in 1998.[172] Or approximately fourteen times the traffic that Te Papa's own homepage received over a similar timeframe.[173] The numbers are impressive but they are not comparable. For a more balance examination this section will briefly analyse data from three sites, two from Te Papa's own website, its homepage and the its *Collections Online* site as well as Te Papa's GAP site.[174] For the purposes of this examination a period from 28 July 2013 to 28 October 2013 will be analysed.[175]

28 July 2013 - 28 October 2013			
	Te Papa's Homepage[2]	Te Papa's Collections Online[3]	Te Papa's Google Art Project[4]
Total unique visits	180,204	102,620	7,749
Total pageviews	754,663	319,937	73,336
Average visits per day	1,938	1,103	83
%* New Visitors	75%	78%	69%
%* New Zealand traffic [1]	79%	38%	3%
%* Non-New Zealand traffic [1]	21%	61%	97%
Average number of pages visited	3.04	3.12	9.53
Average visit duration	0:02:22	0:02:07	0:07:49
1	Percentages averaged from 28 October 2012-28 October 2013 and 28 September 2013-28 October 2013 due to discrepancy in Te Papa's data over selected period. Te Papa's GAP data is from 1 June 2013-30 November 2013.		
2	http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/		
3	http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/		
4	http://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/collection/te-papa?projectId=art-project&hl=en		
*	Percentages have been rounded and may not add up to 100%. Additionally "not set" and "not provided" data have been excluded.		

Although this table clearly illustrates the Te Papa's GAP presence receives considerably less than either of Te Papa's own websites. Nevertheless, the data reveals a number of

[172] See Te Papa. (2013). *Annual report 2012/2013.* Wellington, New Zealand: Author, p. 1.
[173] The GAP had been operating for fourteen months and received 20 million visits. Over the 12 month period of the 2011-2012 financial year the Te Papa homepage received 1,364,670 visits. See Te Papa. (2013). *Annual report 2012/2013.* Wellington, New Zealand: Author, p. 6.
[174] Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.* Retrieved from http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/.
Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. *Collections online.* Retrieved from http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/.
[175] Unfortunately, due to a change in Te Papa's website analytics tool some data has been deemed unreliable and hence a complete summary of their participation in the Google Art Project is not available.

divergences in audience and behaviour. The ratio of New Zealand to international traffic visiting Te Papa's homepage is heavily weighted in the local users favour. Corresponding data from specific pages visited reveal that the majority of this traffic is related to visiting the physical museum and hence a local bias is to be expected.[176] The Collections Online is more balanced ratio, however, those that visit Te Papa's GAP presence are far more likely to be doing so from outside of New Zealand. Auckland Art Gallery's data reflects similar trends, with New Zealand traffic accounting for approximately 73% of their homepage visits and only 4.5% that view their GAP presence.[177]

This data suggests that not only are different demographics are accessing these sites. But it can also be argued that those visiting GAP represent a direct link between the museum's online collection and a public that have no intention of entering the physical space, disestablishing the museum as intermediary (Stephen, 2003). Further, when incorporating data on the average time spent per visit and the average number of pages visited, figures from Te Papa's own two websites are considerably lower than those recorded by their GAP presence.[178] Again, data from the AAG reveal the same tendencies with the average time and pages for their GAP presence over double that spent on their own website.[179] Nonetheless the GAP audience is one that spends more time, looks at more objects and arguably has no intention of entering the physical museum.

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[176] 17 out of the top 25 webpages visited across all of Te Papa's websites where related to information about the museum, current and future exhibitions or general practical aspects regarding visiting the museum such as parking arrangements. Out of the 361,399 pageviews that the top 25 sites received over 28 July 2013 – 28 October 2013, 234,409. This is approximately 65% of the traffic or 17 of the 25 sites. With 7 of the 25 sites connected to the popular Giant Squid (http://squid.tepapa.govt.nz/) minisite and Collections Online being the 8th most visited site although only receiving 12,498 pageviews or 3.5% of the traffic (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, personal communication, December 9, 2013).

[177] Details. Reference NZ traffic is 72.94% and 4.35% (November 20, 2012 - November 19, 2013)

[178] Ruth Hendry, a Te Papa website administrator has pointed out that the average number of pages visited is a challenging statistic to analyse. This is primarily due to the actions of two different types of users. Where the first will look solely at the opening hours or current exhibitions and then exit the site. The second is a much less focused user and will explore all manner of pages within the site. This has the tendency to create wildly varying numbers that result in an average that can be misleading (R. Hendry, personal communication, January 13 2014).

[179] AAG homepage, average time, 0:02:15, average pages, 3.33, AAG GAP, average time, 0:04:54, average pages, 7.29 (Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, personal communication, November 20, 2013).

Appendix three. Works cited

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Pakerau, R. (n.d.). *Ridgepole from Iritekura house* [Wood]. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira. (46442)

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Ipurangi Māoritanga - Māori Culture Online Questionnaire

Ko Wild Duke te waka
Ko Ngongotaha te maunga
Ko Rotorua te roto
Ko Ngati Pakeha te iwi
Ko Tangatarua te marae ki Waiariki
Ko Brocklehurst toku whanau
Ko James raua ko Elizabeth oku mātua
Ko Nikolas ahau
He noho ana au ki Whanganui a Tara.
He tauira ki Te Kunenga ki Purehuroa Massey University.

Kia ki nga mahi toi
Hold steadfast to creativity
I am a 4th generation Pakeha New Zealander, born in Wellington and raised in Rotorua. From the ancestors that ventured inland, to the international tourist, people have always been drawn to Te Arawa. This attraction has created a space where there is a dynamic meeting of cultures. Spending my formative years in this environment has given me an enriched bicultural underpinning. I bring this to my Masters thesis based on the following investigation:
If creativity is the wellspring of a vibrant culture, at what point does something created become representative of that culture? By placing the point of creation in digital realms, how have Māori practices and values been influenced? This study asks the questions, how is Māori cultural identity being visually portrayed and articulated online? Has the Internet and digital technologies enabled Māori to express cultural identity differently? And if so, how?

In asking these questions I seek to capture innovative and dynamic aspects of digital culture that can be understood in Māori terms. And by taking part in this questionnaire you will be helping me achieve this and perhaps we will find something remarkable.
This is a completely anonymous questionnaire and all questions except those that have been used to determine page sequencing are optional. Additionally as part of my research, I would like to bring together a number of focus groups to discuss aspects of how culture is articulated online through visual means. If you would like to take part in one of these sessions please contact me on my email address below.
Mihi nui
Nikolas Brocklehurst

'This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.'
If you wish to seek further information about this research please contact myself at nikolas.brocklehurst@gmail.com or my supervisors Kura Puke K.A.Puke@massey.ac.nz (04 801 5799, 62196) and/or Dr. Marcus Moore m.t.moore@massey.ac.nz (04 801 5799, 62369).
If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 350 5249, email: humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

*Required

General Information

Which age group do you belong to? *Mark only one oval.*

- 10-19 years
- 20-29 years
- 30-39 years
- 40-49 years
- 50-59 years
- 60+ years

Which gender do you affiliate with? *Mark only one oval.*

Female
Male

Which ethnic group or groups do you affiliate with? Multiple choices can be selected. *Tick all that apply.*

Māori
Pākehā / New Zealand European
Pasifika
Asian
European / American
African
Other:

Which Iwi or Hapū do you affiliate with?

What is your current occupational status? Multiple choices can be selected. *Tick all that apply.*

Employed
Self-employed
Studying
Home maker
Unemployed
Other:

If you are studying, please state the institution or institutions you are studying with.

What is your current profession, area of study or general interest?

Internet Access and Experience

Approximately how old were you when you first remember using the Internet? *Mark only one oval.*

1-9 years
10-19 years
20-29 years
30-39 years
40-49 years
50-59 years
60+ years

How long have you been using the Internet? *Mark only one oval.*

1-2 years
3-5 years
6-10 years
10+ years

How would you rate your general computer and Internet skills? *Mark only one oval.*

Novice
Below average
Intermediate
Above average
Expert

How often would you use the Internet per week? *Mark only one oval.*

Less than a couple of times
A couple of times

Once every few days
Once a day
A couple of times per day
Multiple times per day

How do you generally access the Internet? Multiple choices can be selected. *Mark only one oval per row.*

	Always	Nearly always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Work or university computer						
Personal computer						
Public computer (eg public library)						
Laptop						
Tablet						
Mobile phone						

What do you use the Internet for? Multiple choices can be selected *Tick all that apply.*

Studying / Research
Work
Socialising
Connecting with family
Finding out more about someone
Entertainment
Passing the time
Other:

Computer Knowledge

Have you used or are familiar with any of these photo editing programmes? Multiple choices can be selected. *Tick all that apply.*

Adobe Photoshop
Corel Paintshop
iPhoto
Mircosoft Photo Gallery
Serif PhotoPlus
Xara Photo & Graphic Designer
Other:

Have you used or are familiar with any of these graphics programmes? Multiple choices can be selected. *Tick all that apply.*

Adobe Illustrator
Adobe Creative
Blender
CorelDraw
Cinema 4D
Inkscape
Sketch Up
Solidworks
Xara Designer
3DS Max
Other:

Have you used or are familiar with any of these video editing programmes? Multiple choices can be selected. *Tick all that apply.*

- Adobe Premiere
- AVS Video Editor
- Corel VideoStudio
- Cyberlink PowerDirector
- iMovie
- Magix Movie Edit
- Pinnacle Studio
- Sony Movie Studio
- Other:

Have you used or are familiar with any of these programming languages? Multiple choices can be selected. *Tick all that apply.*

- C
- Java
- C++
- PHP
- JavaScript
- C#
- SQL
- Python
- Other:

Do you have your own website or run one for a group? * *Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No *Skip to question 20.*

Website

Please discuss the main functions and purposes of the site.

Internet Usage

Please select any of the social media or blog sites you use? Multiple choices can be selected. *Tick all that apply.*

- Facebook
- Flickr
- Google+
- Reddit
- Twitter
- Tumblr
- Wordpress
- YouTube
- Other:

Do you belong to any New Zealand online groups of communites? *Mark only one oval.*

- Yes
- No

If yes, how many? *Mark only one oval.*

- 1-5
- 6-10
- 11-15
- 16+

If yes, what is the group or groups about? Multiple choices can be selected *Tick all that apply.*

- Arts or Creative Practices

Family or Genealogy
Music
Religion
School or University
Sports
Technology
Other:

Do you belong to any Māori online groups or communities? *Mark only one oval.*
Yes
No

If yes, what is the group or groups about? Multiple choices can be selected *Tick all that apply.*
Arts or Creative Practices
Iwi or Hapū
Kapa Haka
Marae
Music
Rangatahi
Religion
School or University
Sports
Technology
Whakapapa
Whānau
Other:

Have you posted images, videos, sound recordings, digital objects or links to any of these items that are specific to Māori culture on any of the sites you frequent? * *Mark only one oval.*
Yes
No *Skip to question 28.*

Posting Māori content

What are the reasons you would post something specifc to Māori? * Multiple choices can be selected *Tick all that apply.*
Wanting to participate within the group or community
Felt that the item posted was of interest or importance to the group
To back up or confirm a previous post or comment
To challenge or contradict a previous post or comment
Felt that the item posted was unique or novel in some way
Embodied a certain aspect of Māori culture
To show something that you have created
Other:

Māori Culture Online

Have you used the Internet to research any aspect of Māori culture? * *Mark only one oval.*
Yes
No *Skip to question 36.*

Māori Culture Online

What were you researching? Multiple choices can be selected *Tick all that apply.*
History
Mātauranga Māori
Te Reo
Toi Māori (Māori Art)

Treaty of Waitangi
Waitangi Tribunal
Whakapapa
Whānau
Other:

Was it easy to find the information you were after? *Mark only one oval.*
Yes
No

What, if any, issues or concerns did you encounter?

On the websites you visitied, were there images, videos, sound recordings, digital objects or aspects of the webpage design that aligned with your knowledge of Māori culture? * *Mark only one oval.*
Yes
No *Skip to question 35.*

Māori Culture Online

What were they? What specific aspects aligned with Māori culture? Please use examples and explain your reasoning where possible.

Were there any the images, videos, sound recordings, digital objects or aspects of the webpage design that did not align with your knowledge of Māori culture? * *Mark only one oval.*
Yes
No *Skip to question 36.*

Māori Culture Online

What were they? What specific aspects did not align with Māori culture? Please use examples and explain your reasoning where possible.

Museums and Galleries This section looks at museums and galleries' online presence and seeks to question how effective they are at transmitting culturally specific aspects to their online audience.

Please document any Gallery or Museum websites you have visited in the last 12 months.

Did you view any items of Māori, Māori artefacts or works by Māori artists on these websites? *Mark only one oval.*
Yes
No

Would you regard any of the items you viewed online as having a special significance? *Mark only one oval.*
Yes
No

Did any of the pages you visited include recommendations about viewing culturally sensitive items? *Mark only one oval.*
None
A few
Half
Most
All
Unsure, do not notice if they did.

How much would this type of information alter your understanding of the item? *Mark only one oval.*

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all						Completely

How effective are Gallery and Museum websites at transmitting the cultural values of an item? *Mark only one oval.*

Not at all
Not very effective
Reasonably effective
Very effective

Māori Culture Online This section questions how well the following Māori laws, practices and values can be transferred into or expressed through digital technologies?

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Te Ao Māori (The Māori world)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Kaitiakitanga (Guardianship)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Kaupapa Māori (Māori ideology)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Mauri (Life principle)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Taonga (Treasure)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Tapu (Sacred)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Tikanga (Correct, custom, lore)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Whanaungatanga (Relationship, kinship)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Mark only one oval per row.

	Well	Reasonably well	Not very well	Not at all
Wairua (Spirit)				

Where possible please explain your reasoning. e.g. If you selected 'Well' please state why and give any examples you think appropriate.

Are they any means that you are aware of that could help articulate Māori cultural concepts to an internet based audience?

Further participation

As part of my research, I would like to bring together a number of focus groups to discuss aspects of how culture is articulated online through visual means.

I would very much like to hear from you if you would like to take part in any of these sessions. Locations and dates to be advised.

Please contact me via my email.

nikolas.brocklehurst@gmail.com

Comments

Please write any comments regarding this questionnaire or the subject in general.

Thank you. Tēnā koe

Thank you for making the time to fill out this questionnaire. Your contribution is highly valued and well help me greatly.

Please feel free to contact me on my email below if you would like any more information on my study.
nikolas.brocklehurst@gmail.com

Tēnā rāwā atu koe.