Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?

An examination of Māori use of
social networking sites and the implications for
Māori culture and society

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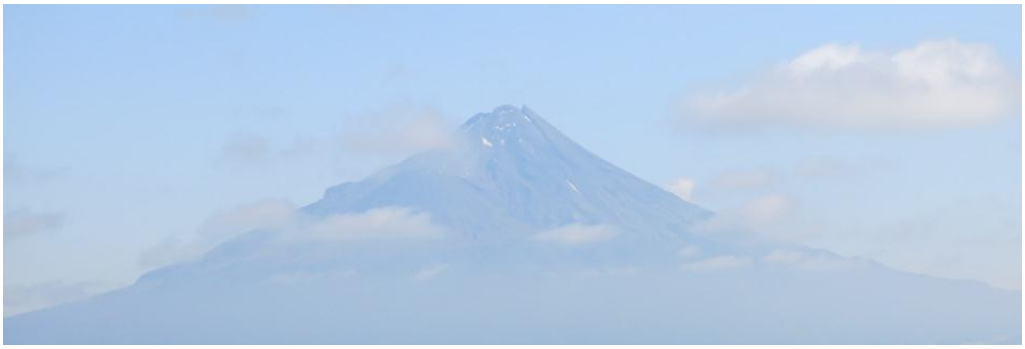
He karakia[1]

Kī Mai	*Kī mai nei ngā atua o te pō* *ka tuhi, ka rarapa, ka uira*
Katoa	*Katoa te māhuru* *ki okioki e, tōia te waka*
Haere	*Haere haere i te wīwī* *Haere haere i te wāwā* *Haere i te maru nui o Whiti*
Haere	*Haere i te maru o Tonga* *Pōuri, pōtango*
Whekere	*Whekere, whekere rā* *i mou ai te tieke* *hei te tieke, hei te tieke* *matara rawa*
Ka rere	*Ka rere kei runga kei te rangi* *kei te papa i whakakino* *i whakatoimaha* *i whakapūhoi* *i whakamāmā* *hikitia kei runga*
E ka koa	*E ka koa koa ngā tuawāhine* *ki tōna waka hei mania waka*
I tere	*I tere waka, i tere ki whea* *i tere ki uta, i tere ki tai* *i tere ki te tupuranga i tupu mai ai e – hai*

Tūturu o whiti whakamoua kia tīna! Tīna! Hui e! Tāiki e!

Hei huatakinga kōrero mō tēnei rangahau, ka tīmata ki tētehi karakia nō te kāinga e tohu ana rā i aku hononga-a-toto ki roto o Aotea rohe whānui. I tua atu i aku hononga ki Aotea, he whakapapa hoki nōku ki a Tokomaru rohe, arā ko Te Āti Awa tērā. He tohu anō i te haere roa o tēnei mahi me tōna otinga ake, arā, kua ū te waka ki uta.

[1] This karakia derives from the Aotea waka (canoe) which was captained by Turi Arikinui. During the voyage from Hawaiiki Nui to Aotearoa, this karakia was said to ensure the safe passage and arrival of the waka to the shores of Aotearoa.



Titiro! Titiro! Ki te maunga tītōhea

Runga o Parihaka Waitotoroa

Ngāti Moeahu, Ngāti Haupoto

Ko te tākiritanga i te kahu o Wikitōria

Kaitoa! Kaitoa!

Ko Tohu, ko Te Whiti ngā manu e rua

I patu te hoariri ki te rangimārie, kss aue, kss aue

Ahakoa i te pāhuatanga o Parihaka, hue, hue hue hā![2]

He mihi

E taku koroheke, te maunga tītōhea, te maunga mehameha, te maunga tūhirahira e torotika ki a Rangi, ka tūohu nei au ki a koe. Ka whakamihi atu ki aku tūpuna, nā rātou ahau i poipoi i runga i tēnei haerenga. E aku nui, e aku rahi, kei te raki, kei te tonga o te maunga, ka mihi ake rā ki a Te Āti Awa, ki a Ngāti Ruanui, ki a Ngaruahine Rangi tonu. Kei ngā waha kōrero o tēnei mahi, koutou i whai whakaaro ki ngā kaupapa nei, e kore e mutu ngā mihi ki a koutou. Nei rā te mokopuna o te kāinga e mihi kau ana ki a koutou. Tēnā koutou katoa.

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[2] A ngeri composed by Huirangi Waikerepuru (Taranaki) in reference to Parihaka and the prophets of passive resistance; Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. Image sourced from author.

HE WHAKARĀPOPOTO
ABSTRACT

Within Māori cultural tradition there is a strong orientation to the values-based idea that relationships among people flourish and rely on kanohi ki te kanohi interactions in both important and commonplace contexts. Historically, media and communications technologies have provided Māori with alternative tools and methods to practise culture, without necessarily having to be kanohi ki te kanohi.

Pressures of employment, education, financial and family contexts have become main drivers for Māori to leave their haukāinga. Responsibilities to return home to participate in cultural, social and political activities of the marae have meant that Māori living away seek alternative methods to contribute back to the haukāinga. Iwi, hapū and marae are faced with the challenge of shifting kanohi ki te kanohi practices and rituals to the virtual space to empower their people with the ability and access to participate and engage.

The Internet and social networking sites (SNS) are enabling Māori from all over the world to connect and engage in meaningful relationships with friends, family and communities as well as practise aspects of Māori culture. Interactions based on cultural practices have heralded a new era of the 'virtual marae' where language, customs and whanaungatanga are practised daily in SNS.

This thesis investigates the tensions that Māori face as they negotiate virtual spaces and navigate new territories of SNS, highlighting the pressures on kanohi ki te kanohi practice. The study develops a methodological framework of kaupapa Māori research praxis, iwi values and te reo me ōna tikanga to collect databases of individual and focus group interviews, two iwi case studies and an online survey. Through mainly qualitative exploration of these data, the domains of rangatahi usage, whanaungatanga, tuakiritanga and tikanga are traversed, to interrogate the contemporary ideas and trajectory of kanohi ki te kanohi values. It is evident through this research that SNS is changing the ways in which we communicate, articulate identity, socialise and practise culture.

Key findings bring to light a range of issues that Māoridom must grapple with to guide SNS usage in cultural contexts that considers kanohi ki te kanohi values and the future of marae. This thesis contributes new knowledge that marae, hapū, iwi, policy makers and educationalists can consider in order to optimise the potentials of SNS for Māori social and cultural advancement.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, he toa takitini

First and foremost, I acknowledge the participants involved in this study for your contribution, whakaaro, insights and experiences you shared with me. This research is literally nothing without all of you. Thank for your time, your energy and your trust in me. I hope this research can contribute positively to our communities. Aroha nui ki a koutou katoa.

I am indebted to my partner, family, friends, communities, marae, hapū, iwi, tūpuna, supervisors and colleagues for their constant support in this journey. I firstly would like to mihi to my dad. Who always *made* us go to school and said that education was the key to our future. Dad – thanks for teaching us these hard lessons as kids. Clearly it's paid off. We all miss you, and know that you'll be smiling down on us all and will be proud of our achievements. Tōku whāene, mum, who is the poutokomanawa of our whānau, constantly giving and supporting us to do what we want to do in life. You are the stronghold of our family and the inspiration for me to succeed! My brothers and sister who have supported me throughout, and have inspired me to be better every day. My nephew Whitiora, who gave me strength and courage in the final months to do my best and reach the heights of potential, for myself, and for him – our future generation. Thank you all. I couldn't have done this without all of your support. To my communities, marae, hapū and iwi of Taranaki who support me in all endeavours that I pursue; the mahi I do will always feed back

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E aku rangatira, ka rere te tai o mihi ki a koutou katoa

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E taku kuru pounamu, tupu ora mai
kia eke koe ki ngā ikeikenga,
ka puta ki te whai ao, ki te ao mārama

Introduction

In 2007, I worked as a board member for my hapū[3] and marae[4] in Ngaruahine Rangi iwi[5] (from South Taranaki, North Island of Aotearoa[6] New Zealand). I was elected to be a board trustee member for Kanihi-Umutahi hapū and Kanihi-Māwhitiwhiti marae, and was subsequently made an executive officer as secretary for both boards. In these roles I would have my first experiences of being exposed to hapū politics and activities, teaching me many things about my people and their needs.

During my time as a board member to these bodies, a relative contacted me through Facebook about the activities of the marae, as he was interested in learning more (and was living in Australia at the time). After sending him the latest minutes, I thought about the potential of having a space where other relations like him could learn about our marae. I then proposed to the marae and hapū boards to create a Facebook group page whereby descendants of our hapū could have the opportunity to virtually connect with their marae and learn about the activities and events of the marae.

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[3] hapū - sub-tribe. Hapū also refers to a pregnant woman or conceiving. The word is symbolic of life and in this context refers to smaller segments of a tribe. Hapū are usually made up of a number of whānau. Many hapū thus, make up iwi.
[4] marae - a place where my hapū gather for events, and to practise ceremonies and rituals
[5] iwi - tribe
[6] Aotearoa is the Māori name for New Zealand. Literally translated is 'land of the long white cloud'

The initial proposal was met with some criticism and scepticism from kaumātua[7] who were hesitant about the idea. Some of their concerns were around the releasing of hapū information unsuitable for the public domain (such as whakapapa[8] and esoteric knowledge) and they feared for the protection of our hapū knowledge. Their concerns were mainly with the reliability of the technology and how such important information would be kept private and safe. Additionally, many of the elders did not have a solid understanding about this new technology and thus felt uncertain of its capabilities.

After a number of efforts made to convince board members of its advantages, they agreed that there were positives attached to the strategy and gave me the permission to develop and manage the Facebook page for our marae. Once the page was established, the link was shared with existing networks from our hapū and the page slowly and progressively began to grow. Over a period of 3 – 6 months, the numbers of people who had 'liked'[9] the page grew to over 430 members from all over Taranaki, Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad (mainly Australia). The pages 'About' section declared that the page was for any and all uri[10] of the hapū to join and be part of the community,

> Ka rere te kotuku mai te ritorito o Papatūānuku piki ake ki ngā rangituhāhā hei oranga pai mō te hapū. Kia whakakotahi ai ngā uri o Kanihi-Umutahi Hapū, kia whakapāoho hoki ngā korero pānui e pā ana ki te hau kāinga (Kanihi-Umutahi Facebook Group page accessed 2013)[11].

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[7] kaumātua – elders (both male and female)
[8] whakapapa – ancestral genealogy of people and place
[9] 'Liking' is a function on Facebook that enables users to express their interest in something they like or enjoy by simply clicking a 'Like' button. This activity is then advertised to users' networks.
[10] uri - descendants
[11] This description is translated as paying homage to Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) and the heavens of which we descend. The intentions of the page are to unify descendants of Kanihi-Umutahi (the hapū) and to share information and stories regarding home.

The intention was that the page could be used to post pānui,[12] including invitations to upcoming wānanga,[13] hui[14] and other events. Other content such as information about the hapū, relevant photos of the marae and hapū members at wānanga, were generally intended to promote activities on the marae. As the administrator for the page, I was responsible for the upkeep of the page that included responding to queries and requests as well as relaying information from the marae, to the page.

This experience opened my eyes to the potential of social networking sites[15] (SNS) in that it presented itself as a powerful medium in which Māori communities (particularly rangatahi[16] Māori) were able to interact and engage with each other in meaningful ways and from a distance. It also revealed the fundamental and culturally critical concerns that are present within our communities about the use and rapid adoption of SNS technologies and the virtualising of culture and identity.

It was from this experience that I was motivated to explore these issues further and more deeply, to see what potential SNS had for Māori people and culture, but at the same time, I wanted to investigate its limitations and challenges for expressions and applications of Māori culture. The impetus of this research derives from these personal experiences and has raised many questions for me. Questions arise such as; who is using SNS? What are the drivers of rangatahi Māori use of SNS? What are they doing in that space? How does Māori culture and identity fit within the scope and structure of SNS? What are the reciprocal impacts on culture and identity? From the beginning of this research, the aims have been to further investigate these issues

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[12] pānui – notifications, information, newsletters etc
[13] wānanga - workshop, learning
[14] hui – meeting, gathering
[15] SNS include Facebook, Skype, Twitter, Bebo, MySpace, and Google Plus, amongst others.
[16] rangatahi – youth. Often referred to in this study as rangatahi Māori meaning Māori youth

and develop a wider and greater understanding of new technologies and its impacts on Māori as a people and culture.

This thesis will investigate and explore how Māori are engaging with SNS and in analysing its uses from within a cultural paradigm that incorporates distinct language, values and ways of knowing. The study develops a methodological framework of kaupapa Māori research praxis, iwi values and te reo me ōna tikanga to collect databases of individual and focus group interviews, two iwi case studies and an online survey. Through mainly qualitative exploration of these data, the domains of rangatahi usage, whanaungatanga, tuakiritanga and tikanga are traversed, to interrogate the contemporary ideas and trajectory of kanohi ki te kanohi[17] values. These insights will be used to articulate a detailed understanding of the implications, pitfalls and potentials for Māori individuals and communities and how SNS are impacting on and reshaping kanohi ki te kanohi communication, particularly in relation to marae.

Kanohi ki te kanohi

Kanohi ki te kanohi sits at the centre of Māori concepts and practices around communication. Translated, it literally means to be face-to-face, to be physically present. This type of engagement implies that some level of effort has been made to engage with a person face-to-face. Historically, during times of tangihanga[18], whānau,[19] hapū and iwi would sometimes travel (by walking) great distances to be in attendance, which could take days. The lengths that people would go to, to physically be present and be there were incredible and were an example of how important

[17] The term kanohi ki te kanohi is translated to 'face-to-face' which is the English translation. Both terms are used interchangeably throughout this thesis, and both mean the same thing.
[18] tangihanga - funerals
[19] whānau - family

kanohi ki te kanohi and kanohi kitea were for Māori. The hongi is also an example of kanohi ki te kanohi, where noses are pressed in greeting between two people. The hā[20] and mauri[21] are shared and according to Māori creation stories, this is symbolic of the first breath of life that was breathed into Hine Ahuone by Tane[22]. The hongi epitomises the significance of being kanohi ki te kanohi and in the physical presence of another person. Similarly, kanohi kitea, 'the seen face', is described by Mead as "a face seen, indicating that kin members need to be seen and the bonds of whanaungatanga kept strong" (Mead, 2003:28); such presence is integral to engagement and having a place of belonging within the Māori nucleus of whānau, hapū and iwi.

Kanohi ki te kanohi also gives mana[23] to one's kōrero[24]. It is a Māori way of communicating thoughts and perspectives, as you are expected to stand by to your words in order to maintain your integrity and credibility (Mead, 2003). Both kanohi ki te kanohi and kanohi kitea are physical forms of interaction, engagement and communication and are foundational principles for many tikanga Māori[25]. A central inquiry of this thesis will be how this important value and its associated practices translate, adapt to and influence Māori utilisation of SNS.

Ahikā is a value associated with kanohi kitea (Mead, 2003) and refers to the occupation of the tūrangawaewae[26] of a hapū or iwi, keeping the 'home fires burning'. Indeed those who remain at home to stoke the fires are known (along with

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[20] hā - breath
[21] mauri – life force, life principle. This concept is discussed in detail later in the thesis
[22] Hine Ahuone was said to be the first human created by the god; Tane. This creation story depicts the hongi as breath of life that was given to Hine Ahuone. The hongi is thus an integral part of Māori ceremony and greetings.
[23] mana – credibility. The word mana is inclusive of power, authority and status as well
[24] kōrero – words. Kōrero can also mean to 'talk' or 'discuss'
[25] tikanga Māori - Māori practices
[26] tūrangawaewae - place of belonging, a place to stand

other terms) as the ahikā[27]. This phrase is both literal and metaphoric; a testament to the importance of Māori remaining connected to home and whānau. Again a key interest will be how these practices are manifest and developed in virtual spaces.

Wairuatanga refers to the spiritual connection that is made between te ao kikokiko[28] and te ao wairua[29]. These two realms are often adjoined through karakia,[30] waiata,[31] karanga[32] and whaikōrero[33] to connect the living to those who have passed on. Wairuatanga also refers to spiritual connections between the world of the living, in people, places and spaces. Thus, wairuatanga is an important concept of Māoridom that is 'experienced and felt' through the physical being of the person.

However, achieving face-to-face communication is becoming increasingly difficult in the contemporary setting due to the pace and pressures of work commitments, financial situations and family contexts. Many Māori are challenged with the pressures to return home to participate in cultural, social and political activities of the marae. Prolonged absence from the papakāinga[34] and marae may have major implications on the individual and/or the wider whānau and community where connections and a sense of belonging become weak or lost. Similar sentiments are uttered here by Selwyn and Te Rito,

> The suburban lifestyle can have a propensity to erode any connection to hapū or sense of belonging to a marae. If people in cities lose their whakapapa links with their traditional papakāinga (village, homestead) they can be left in suspension in the urban situation. The concept of kanohi kitea (being seen) or

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[27] In this thesis, ahikā can refer to both occupation and/or the home people depending on the context.
[28] te ao kikokiko – the world the living
[29] te ao wairua - the world of the dead/spirits
[30] karakia - prayers, incantations
[31] waiata - songs
[32] karanga - formal call, observed in welcoming ceremonies
[33] whaikōrero – formal oratory
[34] papakāinga - homebase

> being in attendance at local marae or community gatherings) is as all-important now as ever it was (Selwyn and Rito, 2007, p.7).

Time, distance and cost have all impacted and continue to impact on whether or not kanohi ki te kanohi engagement is possible.

As suggested by my own experience and no doubt that of many other marae throughout the country, SNS and the Internet have played an integral role in marae communications. In the context of my marae and hapū, these tools have been used for a range of purposes including reconnecting people back to our marae. Thus, these technologies have potential for wide-reaching implications social relations, norms, identity, language and culture. Conversely, while Māori are using these technologies to increase their connections to Māori communities and cultural spaces, they (despite their efficiency and convenience) are threatening the existence and importance of kanohi ki te kanohi and kanohi kitea methods of interaction (Kujath, 2011; Muhamad-Brandner, 2010). Together these issues provide the substance of the central problematic that are to be explored in this thesis.

Māori and media

Māori have traditionally been early and rapid adopters of new technologies in many areas, particularly in the broad realm of communication when they have embraced possibilities of communication from the written word to the Internet. Here, I provide a short historic reflection of the literature that covers Māori in the media up to current day technologies; SNS. It is important to see the development of Māori and technologies to fully appreciate and understand the context and landscape of social networking sites and Māori.

Literacy

McRae describes the political environment for Māori in the early 1800s when they began to learn to read and write,

> Māori use of writing and print in the 19th century occurred in a time of profound, often aggressive change [...] very soon after the introduction of writing, Christianity and British government were exerting considerable force on their way of life (McRae, 1997, n.p).

Māori adopted literacy at a rapid pace, and later used these skills for letter writing, which were often formal, and in te reo Māori[35] (Spolsky, 2003). Māori were in fact more literate in te reo Māori than Pākehā[36] were literate in English (Derby, 2012). Written letters tended to follow the structure and format of a whaikōrero with mihimihi[37] and the words of waiata (Kāretu, 2002; McRae, 1997). The content included personal messages of expressed emotion, political statements, words to waiata and oral histories. Such historic letters are now used as material to investigate Māori literacy of the 1800s and offer unique insights into dialectal differences and orthography (McRae, 1997). While the intention for Māori literacy was motivated by colonial powers who sought to assimilate Māori through missionaries and the Holy Bible, Māori largely benefited from literacy.

Newspapers

With increasing literacy, Māori newspapers began printing commentaries and opinion pieces on politics and oral histories, formal whaikōrero and Māori activities, international news and accounts (McRae, 1997). Curnow (2002) reports 40 newspapers being published in te reo Māori and/or Pākehā. Curnow further comments that in the 20th Century, Māori newspapers began to decline, which she

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[35] te reo Māori – the Māori language
[36] Pākehā - New Zealand European
[37] mihimihi – speeches of greetings

postulates could have been due to the decline of native te reo Māori speakers. Kāretu (2002) notes that newspapers and letters to the editor provided Māori with a space to air views on tribal debates and discussions, which might ordinarily happen on the marae. This is an interesting point of reference where Māori utilise technology to practise customs, debate and discuss issues in new spaces (in this instance, in print media).

Radio

Wiremu Parker was one of the first Māori voices to hit radio frequencies during the 1940s; his reading of names of war dead developed into weekly te reo news segments on radio (Whanga, 1990). Radio New Zealand was, under its obligations as Treaty partners, obliged to allocate resources for television and radio frequencies for use by Māori, although this was achieved with much struggle and politics along the way. The WAI11 Waitangi Tribunal report supported the claim that the Māori language be recognised as a taonga under protection of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi[38], and broadcasting rights were deemed to be one of the pathways through which to revitalise the declining Māori language. 21 radio stations (frequencies and

[38] Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty of Waitangi are New Zealands founding documents and were signed on the 6 February, 1840. Both documents have three articles and outline principles that refer to the partnership between the British Crown and Māori tribes (Campbell & McCreanor, 2010; Orange, 2011). Tthe Treaty of Waitangi, is the English version which states that "Māori cede the sovereignty of New Zealand to Britain; Māori give the Crown an exclusive right to buy lands they wish to sell, and, in return, are guaranteed full rights of ownership of their lands, forests, fisheries and other possessions; and Māori are given the rights and privileges of British subjects" ("Ministry for Culture and Heritage," 2013). Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Māori version) was "deemed to convey the meaning of the English version, but there are important differences. Most significantly, the word 'sovereignty' was translated as 'kawanatanga' (governance). The Treaty in the English version guaranteed 'undisturbed possession' of all their 'properties', but the Māori version guaranteed 'tino rangatiratanga' (full authority) over 'taonga' (treasures, which may be intangible). Māori understanding was at odds with the understanding of those negotiating the Treaty for the Crown, and as Māori society valued the spoken word, explanations given at the time were probably as important as the wording of the document" ("Ministry for Culture and Heritage," 2013). Therefore, there are many versions of the Treaty and Māori generally align with Te Tiriti o Waitangi as that is the document that our ancestors fully understood and is privleged as such in international treaty law. In this thesis, Te Tiriti o Waitangi refers to the Māori version.

resources) were set aside and allocated for iwi-based promotion of the language with the first station, Te Ūpoko o te Ika FM 1161, being aired in 1988 (Matamua, 2006).

Television

The first substantial screening of Māori content on New Zealand television was a six-part documentary entitled 'Tangata Whenua' in 1974 and, as King (2004, p.126) describes: "It gave Māori an opportunity to speak for themselves about their lives". Later, Te Karere became a regular news segment in 1983 as a result of intensive negotiations and pressures on TVNZ. The news channel began as a leader in delivering Māori and Indigenous[39] specific news items as well as national and international news in te reo Māori. Similarly, Waka Huia was established in 1987 and developed as a "means to preserve the reo and mātauranga Māori of our tribal elders" (Stephens, 2004, p.109). During this time, te reo Māori had just been made an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand (in 1987), however there was much concern for te reo Māori me ōna tikanga[40] surviving the impacts of urbanisation and Māori moving away from their ancestral dwellings.

A further significant success for Māori media and broadcasting was the establishment of a Māori owned television service, which again was achieved despite huge resistance from the Crown, "Māori Television emerges from a long struggle to bring about Crown recognition and acceptance of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi" (J. Smith and Abel, 2004, p.1). However, Māori Television Service (MTS) was launched in 2004 with the aim to promote te reo and Māori culture ("Māori Television Services Act (Te Araratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act,"

[39] In this thesis, I have chosen to capitalise the word 'Indigenous' to recognise the mana of Indigenous nations

[40] te reo Māori me ōna tikanga - Māori language and values

2003). Representations of Māori people and culture through the MTS broadcasting advocated for positive and encouraging images and messages of Māori and were uniquely conveyed in both te reo Māori and English. The dual languages ensured that Māori Television's target audience was inclusive of non-te reo Māori speakers. Later in 2008, the Te Reo Māori channel was launched where programmes using only te reo Māori content were aired.

Māori and the Internet

The Internet became a rapidly adopted technology by Māori for multiple reasons. These reasons included; increased access to information and learning opportunities; the ability to create an authentic Māori voice; collaboration with other Indigenous communities; language revitalisation; and sharing of specialised knowledge within groups, "In its beginnings it [the Internet] was seen by many as a technology with great potential for empowerment and self-representation of marginalized groups" (Muhamad-Brandner, 2007, p.2). A. Smith and Sullivan (1996) discuss the positives of the Internet for both Māori and non-Māori whereby specific information could easily be accessed regarding Māori culture. Keegan (2000, p.1) also pointed out that the Internet provides a space of whanaungatanga[41] and aroha[42], where sharing and dissemination of information occurs, "I believe the single greatest factor in the explosion of the Internet was and is peoples' ability to share". Keegan notes that the Internet enables Māori to interact engage and socialise in another space, thus empowering Māori to maintain ties and relationships and therefore continuing to uphold kanohi ki te kanohi in virtual spaces

> Everything and every person (in theory) can be brought to you in the comfort and convenience of your home [via the Internet]. Thus is this aspect of culture

[41] whanaungatanga - relationships
[42] aroha – love, compassion and kindness

> lost in the new environment of the Internet? I believe it to be the contrary, and that the Internet makes this proverb [kanohi ki te kanohi] even more applicable (2001, p.1)

Pewhairangi (2002) commented on the ways in which the Internet has positively promoted Māori culture and values as well as various expressions of art forms being promoted through the Internet through early websites. Further and importantly she says that the Internet has empowered Māori to have a voice, which they might not have had in mainstream media (such as newspapers, television and radio), and participate in global Indigenous issues. Subsequent papers from Keegan focus on te reo Māori and its place in the Internet for e-learning and revitalisation (Keegan and Cunningham, 2003; Keegan et al., 2004). These same scholars also acknowledged the risks involved for Māori using the Internet. A. Smith and Sullivan (1996) pointed out that control over access to esoteric and tapu[43] knowledge was accessible and therefore publically available, meaning a lack of security was in place to protect the knowledge from those who it was not intended for. Their concerns were echoed by a number of other scholars in the field who similarly studied Māori in the Internet age (Keegan, 2000; Lemon, 2001; Muhamad-Brandner, 2010; Sheehan, 2011; A. Smith and Sullivan, 1996).

Social networking sites (SNS)

Within the broad scope of possibilities enabled by the development of the Internet, the emergence of SNS has been a key phenomenon in the 21st century. boyd and Ellison (2012, p.2) define the attributes of SNS as, "web sites that enable users to articulate a network of connections of people with whom they wish to share access to profile information, news, status updates, comments, photos, or other forms of

[43] tapu – sacred. This concept is discussed in greater detail later in the thesis

content". These sites include (but are, not limited to) Facebook, which is the largest SNS to date with 1.06 billion active users (C. Smith, 2013), Twitter, YouTube, Skype, Google+, MySpace and Bebo. boyd and Ellison (2007) name three components of SNS;

1) a user-constructed public or semi-public profile;
2) a set of connections to other users within the system; and
3) the ability to view one's own list of connections, as well the connections made by others in the system.

In the past ten or so years, a plethora of research in the area of SNS has emerged and is rapidly expanding. Areas of research include the use of SNS, changes in use, perceptions, perspectives, analyses of group organisation, personalities within SNS, social implications of SNS, privacy, digital empowerment, digital identity, identity construction and social capital. Social implications are largely the focus of research in this area (Boase, Horrigan, Wellman, & Rainie, 2006; boyd & Ellison, 2007; DiMaggio, Hargittai, Neuman, & Robinson, 2001; Ellison, Steinfeld, & Lampe, 2006; Joinson, 2008; H. Jones & Soltren, 2005; Lampe, Ellison, & Steinfield, 2008; Steinfield, Ellison, & Lampe, 2008; Tufekci, 2008; Wellman, Haase, Witte, & Hampton, 2001). Some of this literature is explored in more depth in the following chapters.

Māori and SNS

Kennedy (2010, p.1) published a paper around social network analysis amongst Māori and Indigenous networks and identifies the need for further research around how Māori are using SNS to "anticipate, understand and explain the relationship between social networks and whānau ora (wellbeing)". More significantly,

Muhamad-Brandner's (2010) PhD thesis looked at Māori identity in cyberspace and covered some discussion around SNS. Throughout her data collection, participants commented on the importance of SNS for them in their daily lives as well as for communities and groups they belonged to. She recommended further research to build on her PhD work around how Māori are using SNS and to contribute to this important area of inquiry. Māori have been sampled in studies that look at usage of SNS (Kukutai, 2012; P. Smith, Gibson, Crothers, Billot, & Bell, 2011), but in this burgeoning social field there is very little research around Māori and SNS.

Indigenous people and SNS

More recently, some research has been conducted around Indigenous use of SNS and the Internet (Arnold & Plymire, 2004; Boyle & Wallace, 2011; Kerri Gibson et al., 2012; Harris & Harris, 2011; Lumby, 2010; Patterson, 2010; San Nicolas-Rocca & Parrish, 2012) focusing on cultural implications of SNS and how Indigenous communities in Guam, Australia, Canada and the US are using the tools for cultural preservation: "it is evident that the use of social media can be used and is believed to be an effective method for preserving, capturing, disseminating, and to learn about the Chamorro culture" (SanNicolas-Rocca & Parrish, 2012, p.3386).

One study reported that community resilience of First Nations communities occurs when its members use the Internet and SNS as tools for identity expression and (re)construction; as well as cultural preservation through language learning, sharing narratives, media and events (Molyneaux, Donnell, Kakekaspan, Walmark, & Gibson, 2012): "social networking sites are a potential tool that can support communities who have endured centuries of colonial aggression to reconstruct their identities" (Molyneaux et al., 2012, p.10).

Nickerson and Kaufman (2005) identified some risks to SNS as a cultural preservation tool, specifically, how Indigenous knowledge and expressions are interpreted through the Internet, which may lack the cultural contexualising that might usually be present when experienced face-to-face. They go on to talk about the importance of Aboriginal groups discussing material and deciding on what is and is not appropriate for public posting, particularly within SNS, thus ensuring that Aboriginal groups maintain the autonomy over their material, and share in secure environments where intellectual property and cultural sensitivity is respected,

> If First Nations, Metis, and Inuit peoples integrate ICT into their communities on their own terms and at their own pace, they maintain ownership and control of its use. Non-Aboriginal technologies have often been introduced into Aboriginal communities supplanting traditional ways of cultural engagement. Technologies, if adapted and modified to mesh with Aboriginal cultures and needs, act as an enabler for the transmission of culture and language (Nickerson and Kaufman 2005, p.7).

Molyneaux et al. (2012) discussed the concern that SNS may increase isolation and decrease time spent within the community, which was evidenced when television and telephone technologies were introduced to one First Nations community in particular. However, virtual interactions between these communities can be maintained through SNS, allowing relations to bond within the same community as well as bridging relations with external communities, thereby contributing to empowerment for communities (Molyneaux et al., 2012).

An Australian study looked at the ways in which cyber space facilitated indigeneity for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and how identity construction was played out in SNS. The study found that,

> Facebook offers possibilities, and indeed, certain freedoms for creating identities. It also acts as a restraining force that regulates who can and who

> cannot "be" Indigenous, and indeed what it means to be Indigenous (Lumby, 2010, p.73).

The study revealed that Facebook as a platform provided Indigenous people with the tools in which they could use to form their "ideal Indigenous self" but at the same time, there were constraints that could be undermining of Indigeneity.

Evidently, SNS are being considered for their potential to improve Indigenous language use and normalisation and as a tool to preserve cultural aspects that might be at risk of being lost. The technology provides clear alternatives to face-to-face communication and interaction and brings people together from across distances, which is often the main obstacle for Indigenous groups to collectivise and practise their culture. However, and as has been outlined here for Māori cultural settings, there is the concern that physical and face-to-face contact may be diminishing and more concerningly, being replaced by SNS.

Māori have always adopted new technologies for their advantages and integrated these into their lifestyles with relative ease and interest particularly if a technology posed a direct benefit to empowering Māori with the ability to exercise, practise and promote their culture. Much of what has been kept from historic accounts of early Māori literacy has provided a plethora of rich material for iwi and hapū schools of knowledge (Derby, 2012; Kāretu, 2002; McRae, 1997). Similarly, the Māori newspapers provided Māori with an alternative way of communicating and debating issues of the time, which were often centred on politics and the state of society (Kāretu, 2002; McRae, 1997). Radio and television became viable options for Māori to revitalise and increase the normalisation of te reo Māori, which were achieved through fighting the Crown to honour the principles of te Tiriti o Waitangi. Māori

Televisions success as an Indigenous and Māori broadcaster was a huge step forward for Māori which came at the end of a lengthy and taxing battle against the Crown to recognise Treaty rights and the Māori language as a taonga to protect.

Māori are now transitioning to the virtual space and research shows that 86%[44] of Māori are using the Internet (P. Smith et al., 2011). With increased access to broadband connections in remote areas, Internet in the home is becoming almost commonplace and mobile (smart) phones continue to extend Internet use (P. Smith et al., 2011). Wifi hotspots across parts of major cities, cafes, eating spots, learning institutions and libraries all provide Māori with greater access to the Internet. The Internet has become a useful medium to promote Māori culture and identity and in some instances, provide spaces of Māori cultural preservation and learning. SNS have taken the Internet technology to a more interactive level where Māori communities have the ability to connect, engage and communicate in meaningful ways.

Throughout our history, new media and communications technologies have provided Māori with alternative tools and methods to practise and preserve culture, without necessarily having to be face-to-face. At our own pace and for our own purposes we have adopted, adapted and entrenched the use of these tools. The emergence of SNS have seen a similar rapid uptake by Māori. What is increasingly concerning is the extent to which our culture is practised in the virtual space, particularly in SNS with unknown implications for Māori communities and people. This thesis addresses and explores these tensions and aims to provide more awareness around the risks, pitfalls, and of course the potentials for Māori use.

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[44] An increase from 70% in 2007 to 86% in 2011

The research and aims

The idea of kanohi ki te kanohi is an important practice for Māori people and culture in that face-to-face engagement invokes physical and spiritual aspects of intimacy and connection. The title of this thesis is 'Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?' With the advent of SNS as a common and widely used form of communication and interaction, the thesis title poses a question which works to provoke discussion around the idea that this quintessentially Māori practice is in danger of falling into disuse, and what the implications of this change might be for the very fabric of Māori society. The fundamental question in this research is "How are SNS changing Māori practices of communication, socialising, identity, values and society?" Discourses, norms and practices around the use of SNS in relation to interactions amongst Māori, will be the central focus of the research that constitutes this thesis.

From this main question, four aims were designed to flesh out the impacts of SNS on kanohi ki te kanohi. These aims were established at the beginning of this research project in order to have some clear objectives and direction as to what would be explored. The aims were loosely defined and acknowledged that the data would inform, shape and mould them as the project progressed. The aims have largely remained the same throughout the project and have provided a stable foundation from which specific research questions and interview questions were designed and produced to draw out related data.

The aims of the research are to;

1. Explore and analyse how rangatahi Māori use SNS and for what purposes

2. Compare ideas of online and offline whakawhanaungatanga[45] and how social networking technologies are fostering or hindering the cultural concept of whakawhanaungatanga
3. Develop an understanding on the construction of rangatahi Māori self-image/individual identity and cultural identity within a Māori context and in relation to geographical locations of these rangatahi and their access to cultural knowledge
4. Explore the advantages and disadvantages of Māori cultural values being practised online and how that impacts on the physical space of practice and kanohi ki te kanohi

These aims provide the basis of the thesis and corresponding data chapters, cumulatively contributing to a discussion about the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi in the context of the marae, its function and its roles.

The Social Networking Project

This PhD study is part of a larger three-year Marsden-funded research project entitled, 'The Social Networking Project' (MAU 015). The larger project involves seven primary investigators (from Victoria University of Wellington, Massey University, the University of Bath, UK and the University of New Hampshire, USA). The team also consists of three PhD students (including myself, a Pākehā woman and a Samoan woman – each looking at their own ethnic groups) two Masters students, and an honours student. The central aim of the wider research project is to provide in-depth understandings of young adult New Zealanders' cultures of identity, celebrity and alcohol use and the roles that new media technologies play in these

[45] whakawhanaungatanga - to maintain and manage relationships

contexts. More specifically, the Social Networking Project investigates (Lyons, 2010):

- The ways in which young adults are actively creating and negotiating identities within a globalised culture of celebrity and self-branding.
- The interface of commercial and personal practices and the implications arising from the elision of these domains.
- How these identities are produced and performed through specific drinking (alcohol) practises, drinking cultures, and the public display of drinking experiences.
- The roles that new social networking technologies play in these processes.

As part of the wider research project, I was tasked with conducting interviews with a Māori ethnic sample of youth aged between 18 and 25 years, from across the country with a wide spread of residence and gender balance. As with the two other PhD projects in the programme, these data were collected in individual and focus group interviews that I conducted and were used for both the PhD and Marsden research aims. This contribution to the wider research project enabled primary investigators to have a good spread of youth perspectives from three main ethnic backgrounds that informed and enabled investigation of many of their aims around alcohol, youth and SNS. The primary investigators for the project are completing articles and presentations alongside PhD, Masters and Honours students and provide meaningful contributions to this area of inquiry (McCreanor et al., 2013; Tonks, 2012).

In addition to the materials for the joint Marsden and PhD interests, I gathered two databases designed to complement the interviews with rangatahi Māori. I carried out an online survey of SNS use by Māori who have lived outside Aotearoa for 12

months or more and also two case studies of the issues around Internet use from two iwi. These data have been used throughout the thesis to ensure a diversity of perspectives on Māori use of Internet technologies.

Thesis outline

This study was conducted as a thesis by publication, meaning that the five central thesis chapters have been published (or submitted for publication) in national and international peer-reviewed journals prior to submission of the actual thesis.

The thesis is made up of an introduction, a research approach chapter, five data chapters and a conclusion. Linking sections between each of the data chapters are provided to introduce and elaborate the context for following chapters. The linking sections are designed to ensure flow and cohesion among the data chapters as well as provide further literature as introductory segments to following chapters. The sixth linking section is different, as it provides a succint summary of key findings as a lead into the concluding chapter of this thesis. The references list follows, as well as appendices which include interview guidelines, interview information sheets and consent forms as well as published articles from the thesis. The following is an outline of the chapters in this thesis;

Introduction	
Chapter one	Research approach
	Linking section
Chapter two	An analysis of rangatahi Māori uses of social networking sites
	Linking section
Chapter three	Virtual whanaungatanga: Māori using social networking sites to attain and maintain relationships
	Linking section
Chapter four	Māori identity construction in SNS
	Linking section
Chapter five	Virtual tangihanga, virtual tikanga:

	Investigating the potential and pitfalls of virtualising Māori cultural practices and rituals
	Linking section
Chapter six	Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past? Examining the notion of 'virtual' ahikā and the implications for kanohi ki te kanohi
	Linking section
Conclusion	
References list	
Appendices	

Each chapter (excluding the research approach) presents a range of issues and ideas that are deconstructed and discussed with participants' responses providing new insights and interpretations around how Māori use of SNS can be understood.

Research approach

The research approach is made up of three strands that incorporate distinct Māori philosophies, lived experiences and values. These three strands are; kaupapa Māori[46]; my personal background as a Taranaki woman and; te reo Māori me ōna tikanga – all of which come under a framework entitled 'Titiro ki muri, haere whakamua'. This whakataukī[47] represents the importance of traditions and heritage as a guide to future pathways. The research approach is central to the entire thesis and has informed the ways in which the research has been conducted and the data analysed and interpreted.

An analysis of rangatahi Māori uses of social networking sites

This chapter will provide a descriptive analysis of how rangatahi are using SNS. SNS have changed the ways in which we communicate and connect with others, forming new ways of; communicating; building relationships; accessing information; and

[46] kaupapa Māori – philosophies and values. This concept is heavily discussed in the research approach chapter
[47] whakataukī – proverbial saying

being self-expressive. While much of the literature around SNS looks at social impacts, little research exists around Māori use of SNS. Rangatahi Māori are finding new ways of connecting and communicating through Facebook profile pages and are faced with new challenges of online/offline variations and protocols that become blurred - particularly in online spaces. This chapter will explore rangatahi Māori use of SNS in ways that enhance, adapt and challenge ways of self-expression, ways of communicating with whānau, maintenance of relationships and ways of accessing information. This chapter works as an introduction to the central themes and aims to raise the underlying issues of SNS use. Many of the issues raised in this chapter are subsequently explored in following chapters in more depth and breadth.

Virtual whanaungatanga: Māori using social networking sites to attain and maintain relationships

Whanaungatanga is identified as a common theme amongst rangatahi Māori use of SNS. This chapter explores how participants' negotiated and managed relationships online. Increased use of SNS by Māori is providing alternative methods for forging and maintaining relationships. This process of whanaungatanga becomes more accessible for kin (as well as those connected through common purpose) to engage and interact with each other. Whanaungatanga appears to be expanding in its sphere of application to include virtual spaces in ways that may influence the dynamics, relevance and impacts of its practice. This chapter firstly discusses the concept of whanaungatanga, drawing on a range of meanings from both customary and contemporary perspectives. Secondly, an analysis of virtual whanaungatanga in SNS focussing on how relationships are attained and maintained is presented and the implications explored.

Māori identity construction in SNS

Māori cultural identity is also a prominent theme in the datasets, providing insights on ways in which the constitutive processes operate online. Whakapapa, language and cultural knowledge were acquired within traditional spaces (such as the marae) and passed down visually and orally through generations. What is clear in the literature is that aspects of culture are no longer restricted to oral traditions or to the marae space and are increasingly becoming normalised in virtual spaces such as the Internet and SNS. Access to knowledge and information through the Internet and SNS now provides alternative methods to finding out, learning more and engaging with aspects of Māori cultural identity. This chapter builds on the first and second data chapters by delving deeper into notions of Māori cultural identity and the role SNS plays in constructing or forming such identities. The chapter addresses notions of Māori cultural identity using a set of cultural identity markers (M. H. Durie, 1995a) to guide data analysis and highlight ways in which Māori identity is formed and constructed using SNS.

Virtual tangihanga, virtual tikanga: Investigating the potential and pitfalls of virtualising Māori cultural practices and rituals

Moving into the area of the customs and protocols of Māori institutions, this chapter focuses on how Māori practices work in SNS. Tangihanga are being broadcast in SNS via photos, video and notices, expanding from their traditional space of practice, the marae. Accessing tangihanga through SNS provides those who are unable to return for the event, the opportunity to farewell their loved ones. Experiences of virtual tangihanga are discussed using the viewpoints of rangatahi, pahake[48] and kaumātua through an analysis of how tikanga is practised online to

[48] pahake - adults, older generations

highlight the implications for marae and the roles of the marae.

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past? Examining the notion of 'virtual' ahikā and the implications for kanohi ki te kanohi

Following on from the idea of virtual tikanga, this chapter focuses on virtual forms of ahikā and draws from a rich database of responses from Māori living abroad and their efforts to keep connected to their ahikā in new and innovative ways. The Māori concept of ahikā was once a necessary part of asserting one's mana whenua[49] over customary territories. If ahikā was not exercised over land, that land would be open for others to take and use. Physical presence and continued occupation was therefore required in order to exercise ahikā over land. The notion of ahikā has significantly changed as new ideas developed to encompass a steadily increasing national and international Māori diaspora with more Māori living away from their tribal boundaries, lands and waterways. This chapter investigates the tensions and challenges that Māori living away from home face in the maintenance of ahikā, illuminating the pressures on the deeply held values and practices of kanohi ki te kanohi. A key aim is to provide greater understanding around the significance of kanohi ki te kanohi and its place in modern Māori society particularly in the context of new technologies such as SNS. This chapter ties all of the previous chapters together through discussion of kanohi ki te kanohi and its importance and place in modern Māori society.

Conclusion

The concluding chapter provides an overview and synthesis of the research findings and discusses broader considerations in relation to SNS and Māori. It also explores

[49] mana whenua - rights to land

possible pathways for development around SNS, Māori and communities in light of the findings, issues and concerns. Suggestions are framed as recommendations and are targeted at specific audiences such as, researchers, rangatahi Māori, marae communities and haukāinga[50]. The chapter concludes with personal reflections of the research itself; the process, challenges and revelations experienced throughout the research journey.

Summary

In summary, Māori have enthusiastically adopted and adapted technologies to enhance and advance their cultural aims and aspirations. In the 21st Century and modern society, there is an increasing need to hold on to and preserve culture and language as many pressures force Māori further away from their cultural heritage and roots. SNS have been and will continue to play an integral role in Māori social life. This means that iwi, hapū and marae will be faced with the challenge of shifting values-based practices and rituals to the virtual space to empower their people with the ability and access to participate and engage. Undoubtedly this will come as a challenge, and will have implications for ways of being (kanohi ki te kanohi) and ways of knowing for generations to come.

[50] haukāinga - home, home people, local people of the marae. Haukāinga refer to both place and people. Haukāinga as a place is considered home, haukāinga as a people are considered those who look after home, inclusive of the marae, they are the core group who tend to the fires of home. The context of its use in this thesis varies between the two definitions expressed here.

Research Approach

Introduction

> Indigenous knowledge thus embodies a web of relationships within a specific ecological context; contains linguistic categories, rules, and relationships unique to each knowledge system; has localized content and meaning; has customs with respect to acquiring and sharing knowledge; and implies responsibilities for possessing various kinds of knowledge. No uniform or universal Indigenous perspective on Indigenous knowledge exists – many do. Its unifying concept lies in its diversity (Battiste, 2008, p.508).

While a great many theorists and theoretical frameworks exist in the general domain of social research, few of them can be unproblematically drawn upon to advance Indigenous knowledge and research. Euro-centric theories have been applied to Indigenous people and knowledge the world over, attempting to 'fit' Indigenous peoples' epistemology, values and praxis into Western theoretical frameworks and ways of thinking, serving the agendas of the researchers and dominant culture, rather than Indigenous groups. Indigenous views are discounted and marginalised by theorists who adhere to European and Western ways of thinking contributing to the assertion of power to validate and legitimate control, racism, and Euro-centrism over minority cultures. Such power and control has dictated how many Indigenous groups have been represented through a Western research lens.

The significance of using one's *own* knowledge systems, philosophies, pedagogies, epistemologies and languages is that it allows, particularly Indigenous people, to be

self-determining in how their views are thought about and represented. Indigenous people must have control over how they are represented, without the need for verification or qualification by Western ways.

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework that underpins this thesis. The first section of the chapter will outline a newly formed conceptual framework; Titiro ki muri, haere whakamua. The second section outlines the four data sets and how each data set will be used and the third section focuses on methods and analysis outlining how each tool has been applied.

Framework

Titiro ki muri, haere whakamua

Titiro means 'to look' and muri means 'behind, or before'. To look behind refers to the past and what has gone or been done before and acknowledges those ancestors who have passed but remain within you – 'I am my ancestors, and my ancestors are me'. Haere means 'to go' and whakamua means 'forward, or to be forward', essentially to advance. Thus the whakataukī refers to advancement and development as an individual, as a whānau, as a hapū, as an iwi moving forward into future with positive change and development.

To advance into the future, one must first acknowledge and learn from the past and the ancestors who have gone before us. Our ancestors' legacies, teachings and attributes exist within us, their descendants. To acknowledge their existence and the achievements of those ancestors is to honour them in carrying on their work, dreams and aspirations. The whakataukī encompasses the idea that, to navigate the future,

one must understand the past. It is said that Māori walk forward (approaching the future) by looking behind them (acknowledging the past and learning from it).

This whakataukī has been chosen to base my overall theoretical framework as it relates well to the themes and crux of this thesis. This whakataukī grounds the teachings of our tūpuna[51] and kaumātua that when we advance ourselves in the world, we can do so without forgetting or losing sight of who we are and where we come from. The whakataukī causes us to continually return to the source, the mauri, to receive guidance and knowledge in assisting our development in an ever-changing world. It also speaks about the marrying of the past, present and future, or customary (traditional) and contemporary values and practices in how Māori culture and society works and thrives.

The thesis title poses a provocative question around the notion of kanohi ki te kanohi and its possible demise and certain change. Many of the themes addressed in this thesis lead to, and investigate this notion in how we as Māori in modern society are nurturing this practice. The thesis interrogates SNS as an alternative mode of communication and how this implicates kanohi ki te kanohi. This section of the chapter will provide an overview of the three key components that make up the 'titiro ki muri, haere whakamua' framework and how they relate to the research, researcher and participants.

[51] tūpuna - ancestors

Framework visual

Figure 1: Titiro ki muri, haere whakamua – conceptual framework incorporating kaupapa Māori, Taranakitanga, Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga
Photo credit: Te Rūnanganui o Taranaki Whānui

To begin explaining the three components of this framework is to visually conceptualise them. The three albatross raukura[52] pictured above are symbolic of Parihaka; emanating peace and goodwill. They are representative of the teachings of two extraordinary prophets of Parihaka; Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi. Their teachings are expressed in the following whakataukī:

Kororia ki te atua, he maungārongo ki te whenua, he whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata

Glory to god, peace on earth, goodwill to all mankind

Parihaka is a small Taranaki coastal Māori settlement of immense historical, cultural and political importance that has had a profound impact on the people of Parihaka, wider Taranaki and Aotearoa New Zealand in general. The events that took place in Parihaka affected the political, cultural and spiritual dynamics of the entire country (Hohaia, O-Brien, & Strongman, 2001; Parihaka, n.d.; Scott, 1998). During the

[52] raukura – feather/feathers

1860s, many Māori flocked to Parihaka as a place of refuge, as a sign of support and solidarity and in the hope of starting a new life under Te Whiti and Tohu's teachings. Parihaka thus became one of the largest Māori settlements in the country during the 1870s. The two prophets led the people of Parihaka in a peaceful resistance movement against the Crown who attempted to destroy it, its prophets, people, values, lands, and stock:

> In 1879 European encroachment on Māori land threatened all Māori settlements. Te Whiti sent out his people to obstruct the surveys and to plough on confiscated land. When arrested the ploughmen offered no resistance but were often treated harshly (Parihaka, n.d.)

Hohou te rongo, maungārongo, rangimārie, hūmārie and pai mārire are all terms that could be used to describe the underpinning values of the peaceful resistance against the Crown. These values and the above whakataukī are symbolised by the three raukura of rangimārie. The above visual of the three raukura are used in this research approach to symbolise the three methodological components: the first component to this framework is kaupapa Māori theory; the second is Taranakitanga[53] and; the third is te reo me ōna tikanga. These components make up the framework of this research and are used in this study to theorise, analyse and make meaning of the data.

Framework component: Kaupapa Māori

Origins of kaupapa Māori

"Kaupapa Māori research critiques dominant, racist, and Westernized hegemonies, and advocates for Māori to become more self-determining" (S. Walker et al 2006, p.4). To begin discussions around kaupapa Māori is to discuss its origins and where kaupapa Māori has come from. Many scholars have claimed that Māori have been

[53] Taranakitanga – this refers to my upbringing as a descendant from three Taranaki iwi. It refers to the Taranaki-centric views, philosophies and teachings that I grew up with.

under the microscope and an inquiry of research since the arrival of Cook in the 18th century (Bishop, 1996; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999; S. Walker et al., 2006). An over-researched people, Māori have been the subjects of mystery and inquiry since first European contact, interpreted through a Western coloniser's lens that affirms the dominant discourse of society (S. Edwards, 2009; Moewaka Barnes, McCreanor, Edwards, & Borell, 2009; Pihama, 2001; Powick, 2002; L. T. Smith, 1999; Te Awekotuku, 1991), "Research produced by non-Māori researchers has often compared Māori to non-Māori using the supposedly 'universal' norms of Western society and disregarding the unique history, society and culture of Māori people" (Powick, 2002, p.2).

The academy seeks to privilege Western knowledge systems over other systems of knowing, including Māori (S. Edwards, 2009). As a result, research is often interpreted out of its cultural context, producing a collection of Māori research (that is, research *about* Māori), most of which fundamentally lacks positive outcomes for Māori. Much of this research perpetuates negative representations of Māori, contributing to negative attitudes towards research amongst Māori (Teariki and Spoonley, 1992). Powick, (2002, p.4) discusses the notion that Māori are "guinea pigs" of research, with researchers from institutions reaping the career rewards and benefits for conducting such research on minority groups. Cram (1992, p.1) further argues that there is usually very little reciprocation that occurs from the researcher (who gains success from their research) to the researched (minority groups).

There is considerable interpretation, packaging and retelling by researchers who 'look in from the outside' coming from a Westernised point of view. Māori (and Indigenous) knowledge is therefore reinterpreted by those who are in power

(predominantly Western society) and retold in ways that affirms the position of Western knowledge as being superior,

> Traditional research has misrepresented, that is, simplified/conglomerated and commodified, Māori knowledge for 'consumption' by experiences and voice. Such research has displaced Māori lived experiences with the ‘authorative’ voice of the ‘expert’ voiced in terms defined and determined by the ‘expert’ (Bishop, 1996, p.2).

Thus, it is no wonder that Māori communities (outside of typical research forums such as institutions) possess negative attitudes towards the concept of research, particularly research about themselves. There tends to be a level of suspicion amongst communities when research *about* Māori is involved. Cram (1992) also notes that this type of research and its ilk tend to be descriptive and veer away from providing any real form of analysis or discussions around solutions for positive change; furthermore, the research is merely telling Māori what they already know about themselves.

As Bishop states “kaupapa Māori emerged from within the wider ethnic revitalisation movement that developed in New Zealand following the rapid Māori urbanisation of the post-World War II period” (Bishop, 1996, p.11). S. Walker et al (2006) add that kaupapa Māori was also spawned out of a commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its principles. Moewaka Barnes (2000, p.2) argues that “kaupapa māori” has been developed and grown to accommodate the cultural philosophies needed to understand Māori themselves as Western knowledge systems and theoretical frameworks are unconventional and do not encompass a Māori way of thinking, nor do they privilege Māori worldviews. Thus, kaupapa Māori as a way of

thinking about research was pertinent during the 80s and 90s where tino rangatiratanga[54] began to grow amongst the communities.

Freire writes,

> The oppressors, who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both (2005, p.44).

These utterances align with the notion of tino rangatiratanga, which challenges the dominant discourse and Western ways of thinking and works toward emancipating ourselves from within, using our own knowledge frameworks, values systems and beliefs. Liberation out of our own knowledge, knowing and being self-determining is therefore pertinent to attaining and retaining tino rangatiratanga.

S. Walker et al. (2006, p.335) iterate that Indigenous research is underpinned by "self-determination, values, their world view, and ensures their own cultural practices are respected and maintained". To conduct research *with* Māori people would be to ensure that these principles are met in terms of the research process, before, during and after including theorising about the research, collecting data, making sense of data and finally distributing the findings. This, I believe, is what separates out kaupapa Māori theory or frameworks from other theories. Battiste sums this up nicely,

> Ethical research systems and practices should enable Indigenous nations, peoples and communities to exercise control over information relating to their knowledge and heritage and to themselves [...] above all, it is vital that Indigenous peoples have direct input into developing and defining research practices and projects related to them. To act otherwise is to repeat that familiar pattern of decisions being made for Indigenous people by those who presume to know what is best for them (2008, p.503).

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[54] tino rangatiratanga – self determination, independance

Walker et al. (2006, p.6) similarly provide a set of five basic principles, which make up kaupapa Māori research; “these five principles, tino rangatiratanga, social justice, Māori world view, te reo and whānau form a framework for kaupapa Māori research”. Tino rangatiratanga is about a people having the mana to decide what is right for them (Pihama, 2001, p.127). Tino rangatiratanga as an expression of solidarity and self-determination is seen more within society as Māori, both historically and in the contemporary setting, are constantly coming up against opposing forces such as the Government, justice systems, education systems, social services and politics (M. H. Durie, 1998). Tino rangatiratanga - having the control over making choices is fundamental to being human; Māori and Indigenous peoples the world over have been deprived of this. This challenge flows on to broad considerations of social justice, in how Māori are perceived in society. Negative stereotypes are often deriving from a part of society that is uninterested and often incapable of realising and understanding Indigenous ways of thinking. Tino rangatiratanga contributes to the framework of what kaupapa Māori research is, as it works to change those ways of thinking (Cram, 2001; Pihama, 2001; L. T. Smith, 1999).

Māori worldview

Māori worldviews, te reo and whānau are intrinsically part of who we are as a people (Kepa, 2007). Our worldview is inherent in our identity, the way we think about our physical environment, the land, the forest, the sea, the rivers, the mountains, are all living ancestors of ours (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). The ways in which we view spirituality are strongly connected to those who have passed on, but who remain a constant presence amongst us in the living world, guiding and nurturing us. Māori knowledge systems are housed in songs of old, prayers and creation stories passed

down by ancestors, all of which have hidden meanings and explanations of why things are a certain way and understanding our own behaviours from a cultural context, which resounds throughout the world for other Indigenous peoples and their epistemologies,

> Indigenous people's epistemology is derived from the immediate ecology; from peoples' experiences, perceptions, thoughts and memory [...] from the spiritual world discovered in dreams, visions, inspirations, and signs interpreted with the guidance of healers or elders (Battiste, 2008, p.499).

Whakapapa

There is a strong sense of place and belonging within Māori that relate to tuakiritanga[55] and whakapapa (S. Edwards, 2009; Roberts, 2013; Selwyn & Rito, 2007). Whakapapa is a key aspect of Māoridom and being Māori through connecting yourself to your ancestors (Nikora, 2007). Genealogical connections and ties refer not only to kinsfolk and iwi but also to land as well. Whakapapa literally means 'to be grounded', grounding in this context refers to the genealogical grounding and belonging of an individual to his or her ancestors, tribesmen (hapū and iwi), land, lakes, rivers and seas (Roberts, 2013). A connection between a person and land/water refers to the mutual relationship that their ancestors had with the land that nourished and nurtured them. Genealogical connections of people are just as important as genealogical connections to land and water and the two are interwoven. This refers back and connects to the underlying conceptual framework through connecting yourself to your ancestors and acknowledging them, their teachings and therefore who you are (your identity).

Māori philosophies identify geographies with people; 'Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au' – I am my river and my river is me (a whakataukī from the Whanganui tribes

[55] tuakiritanga (tuakiri) - identity

referring to the connection between descendants of those tribes and the Whanganui river which nourishes them) and personifying people with geographies; 'I hinga te tōtara haemata' - A great mighty tōtara tree has fallen (a whakataukī that acknowledges a notable person who has passed away and likens them to the tōtara tree that has been felled). Thus, the importance of being grounded and possessing and knowing whakapapa is an important aspect of Māori identity and sense of belonging (Mead, 2003) and is evident in the way that Māori connect themselves to the environment.

Kanohi ki te kanohi

Central to kaupapa Māori theoretical frameworks is the practice of kanohi ki te kanohi, as a method of conducting and doing research (Cram, 1992; Kepa, 2007; Pihama, 2001; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999; S. Walker et al., 2006). Aside from what has already been discussed in relation to kanohi ki te kanohi, it also refers to the credibility and accountability of researchers when engaging with Māori communities in community-based research. Within the research context, kanohi ki te kanohi ensures that researchers are accountable to the communities with whom they are researching with openness and honesty. Researchers seek to form relationships and trust to enable the communities to feel free to interrogate, challenge and face criticism from communities if they should feel the need (S. Edwards, Mcmanus, & McCreanor, 2005). This idea is closely connected to the overarching theme that kanohi ki te kanohi is a significant practice and value in Māori society. Its importance in maintaining culture and values speaks to its importance of how research should be appropriately conducted.

Titiro, whakarongo[56] and kōrero

In any research project, there is a process that the researcher adopts when he or she undertakes interviews with participants. Pipi et al. (2004, p.147) discusses this process as being "about the importance of looking and listening so that you develop understandings and find a place from which to speak". To listen carefully and attentively is a skill, as a researcher, we are challenged with having to not only listen to our participants, but to take it all in, and at a very basic level, try to understand what is being said. Further probing opportunities often arise, but only if the researcher is listening carefully.

Opportunities are sometimes missed by researchers during the interview to continue probing or further questioning as the researcher may be pre-occupied with other important dynamics of the interview such as the time, getting through all of the questions, covering the topics intended, keeping the participant on track and so on. Titiro is also important, as it allows the participant to identify that you are there, present, listening, involved in what they are sharing with you. Kōrero is of course timed, and comes after looking and listening to your participant. Knowing your place of when to speak is key to showing respect to the participant and what they are sharing.

Nohopuku

Nohopuku[57] is one of the most important concepts when engaging in research interviews. Translated, it means to be silent, though this concept in research is much more. It is about being silent and allowing the participant to have their say, though it is also about being humble and reserved. As a Māori researcher, working with Māori

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[56] whakarongo – to listen
[57] nohopuku - silent, reserved, observant

communities, it is important to be humble within yourself and your work. I have learnt this from growing up in the environment that I did, where I was exposed to many different aged relations, in conversation/dialogue settings; and my experience has taught me that being humble, and to some degree reserved, is important when engaging in talk with Māori communities. I feel that people open up more when they're genuinely given a chance to speak and be heard; of course this has to be read and felt by the interviewer.

Whakawhanaungatanga and the importance of connections

Kennedy and Cram (2010, p.1) discuss the nuances and differences of the concept of whānau and how whānau has different meanings in different contexts, "whakapapa whānau have shared ancestry; kaupapa whānau have shared interests and may or may not have shared ancestry". Tinirau (2008, p.296) states that whanaungatanga "emphasises the development and enhancement of relationships and making connections with people through whakapapa", which does not restrict whanaungatanga to only occuring amongst kin, but extending to people with a specific kaupapa,[58] or non-whakapapa connection (Tinirau, 2008). Bishop (1996, p.216) discusses whanaungatanga as "establishing and maintaining whānau relationships" within whānau members (both nucleus and extended) whom are linked by whakapapa or genealogy. Mead extends on this description of whanaungatanga by saying, "the whanaungatanga principle reached beyond actual whakapapa relationships and included relationships to non-kin persons who became like kin through shared experiences [...]" (Mead, 2003, p.28). Thus, whanaungatanga in the context of this research methodology not only includes whānau connections but

[58] kaupapa - purpose

reaches far beyond that to peers and networks of an individual for a specific kaupapa or purpose.

Within a research context, whanaungatanga is vital to establishing a connection to first and foremost, participants of your research as well as the target audience (S. Edwards et al., 2005; R. Jones, Crengle, & McCreanor, 2006; Mataira, n.d.). To have these relationships formed and in existence during (and following) the research process is to assure participants that the research process is an open-ended, two-way conversation between the researcher and participant. Transparency and inclusivity as a researcher is critical to participants of research, as it shows that the researcher intends respect and reciprocity (Tinirau, 2008). Further, these relationships will strengthen the research credibility, by gaining the support of participants and the target audience.

Thus, kaupapa Māori is both a way of thinking, as well as a tool to understand theories. It is a framework researchers can 'hang' research on, whilst attempting to make sense of ideas and theories from within that framework. It is a form of decolonising one's thinking and to not accept the dominant discourse of Western ideals that prescribe who Māori are. It goes against the grain of fundamental Western ways of knowing and challenges those norms with Māori ways of thinking. It is built 'within' Māori ways of thinking, incorporating Māori values, in turn, informing our ways of understanding and making meaning of our Māori worldview.

As a researcher, this framework of understanding kaupapa Māori is natural; it strongly links to my upbringing and how I was raised by my whānau and three main iwi. It is what I have learnt in relation to how we treat each other, how we conduct

ourselves on the marae, how we act amongst elders, how we think about our mātauranga [59] and how we understand the world around us. Hence, the methodological approach to the way I conduct research is at the core, intrinsically how I see and understand the world from a Māori point of view, but more specifically, from my own tribes' points of view.

Framework component: Taku Taranakitanga

Who I am

Being a Taranaki woman, who grew up there and whose ancestral connections and affiliations remain there, it is impossible not to consider the significant learnings that were imparted to me in my upbringing, which evidently inform and shape my perspectives and worldview. I was brought up in Te Hāwera, South Taranaki of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Uniquely, all of my tribal affiliations reside within the boundaries of Taranaki rohe[60]. My mother's tribal connections lie with Ngaruahine Rangi and Ngāti Ruanui (South Taranaki iwi) and my father's with Te Āti Awa (North Taranaki iwi).

Based on these strong Taranaki connections, I am compelled to return to my ancestors who forged the way for our iwi to endure and the teachings they left behind for us to learn from. To do so, is to also acknowledge the abhorrent history that my people suffered since British contact. Taranaki, in particular was widely and severely affected by military invasion, colonial settlement, discrimination, suppression and destruction (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). In the opening chapter of her PhD thesis,

[59] mātauranga – esoteric knowledge
[60] rohe - region

Pihama reflects on her upbringing in Taranaki and the effects of colonisation that continue to subjugate the people of Taranaki,

> The impact of colonialism, in particular the greed of settler immigrants and the settler governments' denial of the sovereign rights of Māori, has had major implications for whānau, hapū and iwi. Wars, disease, lies, theft, rape, imprisonment were all strategies utilised by the settler forces in the suppression of our people. In Taranaki, whānau hapū and iwi have continued to experience the devastating effects of those, and ongoing, acts of colonial violence. As the Waitangi Tribunal report states 'If peace is more than the absence of war', Taranaki has never been at peace (Pihama, 2001, p.7)

My ancestors endured immense loss of life and land, which has severely impacted our communities and societies in generations that followed the New Zealand landwars. Understanding our history enables me to stand stronger in who I am, and be proud of who I descend from, and from where. Again, this resonates with the whakataukī, to advance forward is to acknowledge what and who has gone before, including and most importantly, acknowledging the painful history that Taranaki iwi have suffered. The fact that I am here today is a legacy that my ancestors fought for me - for the future. From this understanding comes a deep-rooted responsibility to honour them in all that I do. Part of this process is to never forget where I come from and to always hold true to the teachings of my ancestors, kaumātua and pahake.

Returning to the guidance of my people, the first of these teachings (that is relevant to this framework) is rangimārie[61]. Growing up, I was taught to respect elders, always mihi[62] appropriately to anyone who is older, treat people with kindness and

[61] rangimārie - peace and tranquility
[62] mihi – greet, acknowledge

aroha and to have ngākau māhaki[63] at all times which I understand as encompassing rangimārie and hūmārie[64].

Rangimārie and hūmārie

Rangimārie could first be acknowledged during the great feud between ngā maunga whakahī (the lofty mountains). Tongariro became angry when he perceived his beloved Pīhanga as having feelings for his rival Taranaki. In a display of might and strength, Tongariro attempted to fight Taranaki, Taranaki withdrew in a peaceful manner, resisting the challenge set down by Tongariro. He then departed to the west coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand where he now resides, ever yearning for the love of Pīhanga (Waikerepuru, n.d.). Rangimārie and the raukura are strong symbols of Taranaki people today and are important to the ways in which many people conduct their lives.

Rangimārie is entrenched within us through the teachings of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi, which guides us to treat others in this way. These ideas are also reflected in the opening ngeri of this thesis (featured as a mihi) which refer to the peaceful resistance movement of Parihaka led by the two prophets. Respecting all people and the environment, and kindness towards all people is part of that teaching - in research, this lesson instructs me how to treat participants with respect and to always respect their kōrero and whakaaro,[65] even if it is contradictory to my own thoughts or opinions, or the position of my research. It also directs me to present the views of participants in the way that they (the participants) intended and nothing less.

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[63] ngākau māhaki - a pleasant and respectful nature
[64] hūmārie - humlity and goodwill
[65] whakaaro - thoughts, ideas

Further, a lesson that has been instilled in me by my people is humility. This virtue is a common characteristic for people from Taranaki, and in research for me, means that I must maintain humility, taking care not to overstate or overemphasise what the data is saying for the purposes of proving my own hypotheses. This would be considered as whakahīhī,[66] which is not what I was taught when I was growing up. Teachings of being humble are intrinsically a part of many people who derive from Taranaki iwi (and of course, other iwi) that extends into one's life and one's way of thinking. In a research context, these principles of how I have come to know, understand and be are naturally part of the research process, "our world views have profound effects on how we view and use methodologies and methods; they are the frameworks that fundamentally shape our relationships to knowledge and practice" (Moewaka Barnes, 2008, p.23-24).

While I acknowledge research that seeks to highlight concerning issues in Māori society is important and useful, it is imperative that research go beyond merely identifying deficits and further explore (alongside iwi, hapū, whānau) relative actions and solutions to counteracting problems and challenges. Research that empowers the people themselves to determine their own futures I believe is transformative/transformational research (Moewaka Barnes, 2000, 2008; Pihama, 2001; L. T. Smith, 1999) and as such, speaks to aspiring to rangimārie and hūmārie for our people within a research context.

This Taranaki centred view enables me to interpret and understand the research, from the underpinning ideologies of rangimārie and hūmārie. Thus, positive gains of research are strived for, overriding negative ways of viewing and interpreting

[66] whakahīhī - arrogant

research. Actioning a positive approach and outlook when engaging with research is to aim for better outcomes for the futures of whānau, hapū, iwi and beyond.

Framework component: Te reo me ōna tikanga

Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga - integral to research

Ko tōu reo, ko tōku reo, te tuakiri tangata. Tīhei uriuri, tīhei nakonako
Your voice and my voice are expressions of identity.
May our descendants live on and our hopes be fulfilled.

As a te reo Māori learner and speaker who grew up during the Te Kohanga Reo[67] movement in 1983 (R. Benton, 1986; Reedy, 2000), I was exposed to the language at just two months of age. I spoke te reo Māori during the daytime (while I was at Kohanga Reo) and English during the night time with my family, the majority of whom spoke English. As I grew up, my te reo Māori use became less and less as there was no further Māori language based institution that I could attend at that time, so had to attend a mainstream primary school, and proceeding that, mainstream intermediate and high schools.

Despite having te reo Māori proficiency at a young age, English was my main language by age 10 and te reo Māori was only being spoken and learnt at high school. This change would come to define a pathway of committing to learning te reo Māori to a high quality level, currently locating myself on that journey of reclaiming my native language. I have embarked on an ongoing comittment to revitalise my language of te reo Māori, and more specifically, te reo o Taranaki

[67] Kohanga reo - pre-school total immersion institution

(Taranaki language and dialect) which, are inseparable from who I am and my identity. This journey is inextricable to the way in which I do research and think about research. Pihama states (2001, p.116)

> It recognises the unbreakable bond that is language and culture, that is communication and action that is theory and practice. Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, Māori language and its/her/his cultural forms. They are bound together in relationship to each other and cannot be separated from each other's influence and creation.

This powerful statement emulates my personal efforts toward te reo reclamation and asserting these values as important is integral to my identity, and therefore, a value of this research framework.

The importance of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga within research has been discussed in depth by some Māori (and non-Māori) scholars (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Pihama, 2001; Powick, 2002; S. Walker et al., 2006). Te Reo Māori has an important role in Māori culture not only being the native language of its people, but being the method by which greater understanding of Māoritanga[68] in general can be obtained. The language is essentially the window into understanding Māori culture, knowledge and people. While te reo me ōna tikanga is incorporated into the framework of kaupapa Māori, my approach privileges te reo me ōna tikanga as its own theoretical framework. Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga are essential to wholly and fully understanding a Taranaki worldview and therefore a Māori worldview. In this way, te reo and tikanga are the third theoretical base to my framework.

Te reo Māori is inextricably tied to tikanga Māori. Mead states that, "tikanga is the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting

[68] Māoritanga – Māori culture

the affairs of a group or an individual" (2003, p.12). Tikanga Māori is therefore tied to mātauranga Māori "tikanga Māori cannot be understood without making use of mātaraunga Māori. All tikanga Māori are firmly embedded in mātauranga Māori which might be seen as Māori philosophy as well as Māori knowledge" (Mead, 2003, p.7). With this in mind, when we think about te reo Māori, we must first consider the beliefs and applications of where beliefs derive, which requires first consulting with mātauranga Māori that informs those beliefs. These three concepts; Mātauranga Māori, Tikanga Māori and Te Reo Māori are linked, connected and related and cannot exist without the other. When considering these three concepts within research, mātauranga Māori is at the very core of making meaning and making sense of research that is produced under the values of kaupapa Māori research. Tikanga Māori instructs the correct application of such knowledge. Te Reo Māori is the communicative tool to interpret it, understand it and think about it. Similarly, Salmond (1985) explains how a depth of understanding of Māori worldviews and in particular, language is essential if an accurate discourse of the culture from and of the culture is to be utilised.

In contrast, Borell (2005) writes that to assume te reo Māori is integral to conducting kaupapa Māori research would be to disregard variations of Māori identity and appropriate languages of participants (and potentially, researchers). She further suggests that to presume that Māori language be a language that is accessible in research by all Māori is to potentially re-colonise our research projects at operational levels. Further, S. Edwards (2009) explored the advantages and disadvantages of using te reo Māori as part of his PhD thesis, debating that te reo Māori expresses the holistic intent, while English does not give justice to expressing Māori concepts. However, he decided to present his research in English as a political move to reach a

far wider audience and not alienate any readership who might not have competence in te reo, and thus having a larger impact on a wider audience. Edwards' decision – including a realisation that there was a real risk that crucial content would be 'lost in translation' - to use English was not arrived at without rigorous debate!

Therefore, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga is discussed as both integral to kaupapa Māori research and potentially segregating to participants, researchers, or readership where te reo inclusion might disempower or alienate Māori (and non-Māori) who are not fluent in te reo Māori.

Framework summary

The whakataukī 'titiro ki muri, haere whakamua' encompasses the intentions of the research by acknowledging the past to seek pathways for the future. The whakataukī thus informs the framework which is made up of three key components outlined above, providing a strong theoretical basis for the research. The framework privileges a uniquely Taranaki *and* Māori way of making meaning, understanding research and conceptualising positive outcomes and pathways for our people.

To be objective in this research is to deny the very essence of who I am and where I come from. Māori and iwi identity are strong cultural markers in the virtual space of SNS, and so is an important part of SNS as a study. Ensuring my Taranaki identity as a guiding framework of how to view this research is without question - appropriate and in line with the overall framework. Weaving together both Taranaki principles with kaupapa Māori principles within this framework will enable me to appropriately and respectfully understand and make meaning from the data deriving from various whānau, hapū and iwi.

Flowing on from my identity is to acknowledge my native language and its standing within my personal life, in helping me articulate who I am. Within te reo lies a wealth of knowledge that is unobtainable to those who cannot speak or understand it, thus, urging researchers and others to learn the language to access this more intensive understanding of Māori philosophies. Strong notions of self-determination are applied through seeking the tools of our own culture in order to understand its complexities.

Western ways of knowing, thinking and understanding are not needed or required to understand our own philosophies and ways of thinking. It is our own knowledge system that allows understanding to be made, through our own language.

While varying views on te reo Māori as potentially alienating Māori themselves, and wider audiences might occur, it is therefore a conscious choice that any speaker, or writer in this instance must make in how he or she expresses ideas and articulates Māori concepts. Te reo Māori protects knowledge, by privileging those who speak and understand it, that which comes with much effort and challenge. Those without the knowledge of the language do not necessarily have access or depth of understanding. Therefore knowledge of the language provides the researcher with a broader and similarly, deeper view of te ao Māori (G. H. Smith, 1997).

In the beginning of my doctoral journey, it was my intention and I felt it was certainly my responsibility, to write part of my thesis in my native language. The idea was for the introduction and concluding chapters of this thesis to be written in te reo o Taranaki. Rationale for doing so was to firstly, privilege our language as being important, both to our culture, our knowledge and our identities and therefore to the

way that our worldview is presented. Secondly, to contribute a very small amount of academic research that is presented in te reo, advocating for more research to be presented in this way. As has been stated, research written in te reo ensures that the breadth of the kōrero is fully understood in its own context. This is an area where mātauranga Māori can flourish, as presented in its own context and the potential to take a step forward in academia and the institution to promoting te reo Māori as a language of scholarly oral and written expression which I could only hope would inspire other Māori and non-Māori researchers to learn the language so that a greater understanding of te ao Māori can be unlocked.

However, throughout the doctoral journey, I encountered a number of challenges that have caused me to rethink this position. The first of these challenges was coming to grips with the fact that many of the participants of my research did not speak te reo Māori, or had very little conversational language proficiency. It was a realisation that would impact my decisions on how I would convey the research findings to them, which would be inclusive, clear and concise and which would hopefully make some ounce of difference for them as they navigate and negotiate Māori culture and new technologies. I realised that by writing part or, the entire thesis in te reo Māori, I would be alienating the very participants whose perspectives have grounded, shaped and informed this research project.

While it is my responsibility to privilege my language in research and academia, I also have the responsibility to contribute to the wellbeing of my participants. Thus, I decided to keep the majority of the thesis in English to enable my participant's unequivocal access to the research. I also acknowledge that many of the participants from iwi case studies and potentially from the survey who might appreciate that this

research is contextualised in our own reo, and who would enjoy such a resource. Therefore, I am planning to translate part, or all of the thesis into te reo Māori after I complete my PhD doctorate so that my research can be available in both te reo Māori and English, thus fulfilling my personal responsibilities to my research participants and to my chiefly language. The process of translating the thesis will commence once it has been confirmed and submitted to the Doctoral office of Massey University and once funding has been secured to assist me in the translation process. Appropriately selected whakataukī and Māori terminologies have been used throughout the thesis and are translated (at first-citing) as footnotes. Translations are provided in footnotes to enable the flow of reading.

There are variations of whānau, hapū and iwi worldviews that will be represented in following chapters stemming from the data and consideration has been made around how their unique worldviews will be understood and interpreted. Firstly, my position on conducting research is to connect and locate myself within the research. Having a stake in the research provides a sense of contributing back to my people in positive ways. Who better is there to seek positive change and development of a people, than the people themselves? Secondly, it is impossible to be completely objective when conducting research as the relationships and connections between the researcher and the participants are intimate, active relationships that exist outside the research context.

Thus, it is my intention that with the use of kaupapa Māori as part of my overall framework, coupled with thematic analysis (which is discussed later) that identifies prominent themes from the data itself to inform the direction of the research, to

adequately and fairly represent differing iwi views that are embedded within this complex data set.

The framework encompasses the researchers Taranakitanga and the teachings of rangimārie and hūmārire in viewing and understanding the research. It employs kaupapa Māori and its guiding principles on what is important to consider when conducting research with Māori and is underpinned by te reo me ōna tikanga enabling me, as the researcher to have a greater understanding of the holistic Māori worldview and philosophies. This framework has been developed specifically for this research project.

Method theories

In the analysis of this study, two analytic tools were used to study the data; thematic and quantitative. The theories of each of these tools are discussed here, providing high-level theoretical thinking before focusing on the practice of these tools with the data of this study (discussed later in the 'methods and analysis' section).

Thematic analysis

Braun and Clarke (2012) point out that thematic analysis provides an opportunity for researchers to code and analyse data systematically and through that process, be able to link key themes, theories and concepts to the broader research questions and themes, allowing new themes that show an importance in the research to emerge from the data itself, during the data collection process. Thematic analysis as a method provides this flexibility.

Joffe and Yardley (2004) argue that thematic analysis is similar to content analysis as qualitative material is analysed in a similar way, but content analysis focuses on mass text materials such as articles, books, texts, manuscripts, transcripts and tend to analyse by frequency of keywords or texts. Thematic analysis focuses more on the detail of the qualitative material that is being analysed, allowing the qualitative richness and lived experiences of participants to emerge from the data.

There are various approaches within thematic analysis that the researcher can consider in how they would like to analyse their data. An inductive approach is specifically a bottom up approach where the themes emerge and are driven by what is in the data (Boyatzis, 1998). A deductive approach focuses on existing theories and conceptual frameworks regarding an issue and themes are sought based on those theories, thus inductive is organic and deductive is prescriptive. Variations of looking at the data can define how it is analysed, and should be considered before analysis begins, along with a set of other considerations such as the researcher's theoretical or conceptual framework, and lens. An inductive approach is more in line with the notion that the researcher seeks to give voice to the participants and allow their words and thoughts to guide and drive the direction of the research (Braun and Clarke 2012).

Boyatzis (1998, p.4-5) states that thematic analysis can be viewed as, "a way of seeing [and] a way of making sense out of seemingly unrelated material". Thematic analysis allows the researcher to systematically identify, organise and offer insight into themes within data allowing the researcher to make sense of collective and shared meanings (Braun and Clarke, 2012). Thematic analysis as a tool of analysis, offers the freedom to explore the data by way of understanding and making meaning.

It has been described by Braun and Clarke (2012) as a widely recognised, unique and valuable method in its own right alongside grounded theory, narrative analysis and discourse analysis and as a method of data analysis as opposed to a qualitative research approach. Crabtree and Miller (1999) have referred to thematic analysis as qualitative positivism referring to theories produced based on sensory experiences.

While grounded theory "provides systematic procedures for shaping and handling rich qualitative materials" (Charmaz, 1995, p.28), thematic analysis is much less prescriptive in the way that it must be applied to research, as it has been considered as a method of analysis rather than a theoretical framework (Braun and Clarke, 2012), giving much more freedom to the researcher to use the tool in analysis and not be restricted to following a detailed process of theoretical development. Grounded theory has been described by many scholars as a set of six principles (Charmaz, 1983, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1994; Strauss, 1987) that encompass the process and method from data collection to theory development. One of these principles states that simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis is required, providing clear direction of the research and control of the data.

Themes that are more prominent are further explored in the data collection as they emerge, "the hallmark of grounded theory studies consists of the researcher deriving his or her analytic categories directly from the data, not from preconceived concepts or hypotheses" (Charmaz, 1995, p.32). Thematic analysis is undertaken in this way, with the themes deriving directly from the data; this is most clearly observed in the coding phase of analysis.

Codes or themes derive from the data itself, as opposed to quantitative coding, which usually incorporate preconceived codes generated before data collection (Charmaz, 1995). Further, this principle instructs the researcher to take leads from the participants themselves in what might be interesting themes to pursue, thus, an organic process occurs in interviews where the researcher sits back and allows the dialogue to go places where perhaps the researcher did not initially intend, this is one of the most significant attributes of grounded theory, and which relates to thematic analysis as well. This organic process of data collection and interviewing is unique in that it allows the participants, whom are considered the experts in the field of inquiry, to inform the researcher about what is important.

Grounded theory also instructs that analysis should be done simultaneously with data collection so that unexpected themes that emerge can then be explored in following interviews. Importantly, simultaneous analysis is done to develop emerging theoretical categories (Charmaz, 1995; Strauss, 1987). As part of grounded theory, Charmaz writes that theory development should occur when the analysis phase is done in conjunction with another phase called memo-making.

Memo-making and theory development require the researcher to "collect further data that pinpoint key issues in your research by defining them explicitly and by identifying their properties and parameters" (Charmaz, 1995, p.46), as well as allowing the researcher to redefine his or her theory categories, or themes. This process is not so prescribed in thematic analysis, which instead, gives the researcher the flexibility to develop theories through the coding phase, or the analysis phase.

Thematic analysis is open-ended, giving the researcher the freedom to be more creative in their theory making and meaning-making phases of the process, while

still having the capability to develop well-thought out, robust themes that derive from the data. Thematic analysis provides a much less restrictive process for analysis themes within data, while not compromising or underestimating the richness and value of the detailed discourse of the qualitative material that is closely analysed within thematic analysis.

The 'titiro ki muri, haere whakamua' conceptual framework will be the guiding framework that underpins this research and how data will be approached. While grounded theory, content analysis and discourse analysis are qualitative tools of analysis, thematic analysis is employed as one of the primary tools for analysis as it aligns with the overall framework of enabling the participants of the research to have a meaningful say in how they are represented, by highlighting themes that are important to the participants.

Quantitative analysis

Quantitative data requires a robust method to efficiently count the number of times a respondent has selected an option in the survey which is then reported using descriptive analysis; essentially this entails summaries of the frequencies that occur in the data. Moewaka Barnes (2008) writes that quantitative data can highlight areas of concern for policy makers and funders indicating that action is needed, but seeking solutions as to how this action might be taken is beyond the functions of quantitative analytical tools such as descriptive analysis. Quantitative and qualitative analyses will be used to interpret data, and will incorporate a thematic analysis method so as to continue with the concept of data-driven themes.

Data design

Data collection

This research project features a diverse and wide-ranging data set that includes focus groups, interviews, case studies and an online survey. The purpose for including multiple data types was to gauge diverse opinions and perspectives from Māori both locally and globally. Focus groups and interviews are specifically focused on Māori youth while case studies focus on predominantly hapū, iwi and community groups (who include kaumātua). The survey was designed to reach the Māori diaspora who are living overseas. A key aim was to better understand how and why Māori use Internet technology by ensuring that both local and global intergenerational Māori voices are heard. The next section will detail this diverse data set and indicate how each set will be used in the research.

Recruitment

Participants for focus groups and individual interviews were recruited through word of mouth, email and text message. Contacts were sought from personal networks as well as networks of colleagues. Some contacts were complete strangers to me, however through initial discussions between my colleague and their contact, there was an opportunity to contact the participant personally and engage with the process of recruiting that participant. The process of recruiting was often arduous and lengthy, with emails to-ing and fro-ing a number of times to set up the interview – however this was to be expected for participants who had no knowledge of me, except through a mutual contact who initiated the relationship.

It was evident that email and text worked best, as many of the participants were high users of mobile phones and emails, therefore these were the most effective forms of

communication to organise the interviews. Having a colleague initiate the relationship between me the researcher and the participants helped immensely in terms of rapport – participants generally felt comfortable meeting with me for the interview, as it had been recommended and explained by our mutual contact. Without this initial engagement, participants unknown to the researcher would have been much more difficult to engage with and this could have been potentially uncomfortable for the participants.

Data sample

This data set is rich and diverse drawing on perspectives from 52 Māori youth, two iwi (Māori community) based case studies and an online survey completed by 139 participants who have been living abroad for a year or more. The data set is wide and extensive, and attempts to draw on the complex paradigms of each situated community within the research, as each is unique and distinct from each other. Data was collected in the following threads:

Dataset table

Dataset	***Participants***	***Iwi***	***Locations***	***Gender***
Focus group	55[69] youth aged 18-25 (12 focus groups)	Jamaican (1); Kahungunu; Kahungunu ki Wairarapa; Maniapoto; Muaupoko; Ngapuhi; Ngaruahine Rangi; Ngāti Apa; Ngāti Awa; Ngāti Hine; Ngāti Kahu; Ngāti Kuri; Ngāti Pakeha (1); Ngāti Porou; Ngāti Raukawa; Ngāti Raukawa te Au ki te Tonga; Ngāti Tipa; Ngāti Toa Rangatira; Ngāti Wai; Ngāti Whatua; Rongowhakaata; Tainui; Taranaki; Te Aitanga ā Hauiti; Te Aitangaha ā Māhaki; Te Arawa; Te Rarawa; Te Whānau ā Apanui; Toihau; Waikato; Wairoa; Ngāti; Kahungunu ki te Wairoa; Zimbabwe (1);	Wellington (2), Otaki (1), Palmerston North (2), New Plymouth(1), Hamilton(2), Auckland(1), Whangarei (2), Ahipara (1)	17 Male 36 Female
Individual	8 Youth aged 18-25	Waikato, Tainui, Rongowhakaata, Nga Puhi, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Pukenga	Wellington (3), Petone (1), Otaki (1), Hamilton(2), Whangarei (1)	3 Male 5 Female
Case study	2 Iwi case studies	Ngaruahine Rangi, Ngāti Rānana (UK based pan-tribal iwi)	Ngaruahine Rangi, Ngāti Rānana	NA
Online survey	139 responses	Kāti Mamoe; Kāti Mahaki ki Makaawhio; Maniapoto; Mataatua; Muaupoko; Nga Mahanga Taire; Nga Puhi; Nga Rauru; Ngā Ruahine; Ngai Tahu; Ngai Tai; Ngai Tamaterangi; Ngai Te Rangi; Ngai Tuhoe; Ngaiterangi; Ngaitupoto; Ngapuhi; Ngare Raumati; Ngaruahine Rangi; Ngāti Amaru; Ngāti Apa; Ngāti Apakura; Ngāti Haupoto; Ngāti Kahu; Ngāti Kahungunu; Ngāti Mahuta; Ngāti Maniapoto; Ngāti Maru; Ngāti	UK, USA, Australia, Korea, South America, Norway, Japan, Scotland, United Arab Emirates, Hawai'i, Switzerland, Canada	91 Female 48 Male

[69] This is the total number of focus group and individual participants; 53 male and female were involved in focus groups and 2 external male were brought in for individual interviews. These numbers have been added together.

		Mutunga; Ngāti Paoa; Ngāti Paoa; Ngāti pikiao; Ngāti Porou; Ngāti Rangi; Ngāti Ranginui; Ngāti Raukawa; Ngāti Raukawa ki Waikato; Ngāti Ruanui; Ngāti Tamatera; Ngāti Te Wehi; Ngāti Toarangatira; Ngāti Tuwharetoa; Ngāti Whaatua; Ngāti Whakatere; Ngāti Whakaue; Ngāti Whanaunga; Ngāti Whatua; Ngāti Whawhakia; Ngātihau; Ngātii Awa; Oakura; Otaraua; Rongomaiwahine; Rongowhakaata; Tainui; Tapuika; Taranaki; Te Aitanga A Mahaki; Te Arawa; Te Āti Awa; Te Atihaunui a Paparangi; Te Aupouri; Te Rarawa; Te Whānau A Apanui; Te Whānau a Puni; Tuwharetoa; Waikato; Wairewa; Waitaha; Whakatohea		

Focus groups

Focus group interviews were conducted with between three to seven mutual friends, aged 18 to 25 years old and who were predominantly of Māori descent. Despite briefing groups that participants should be Māori, there were three participants in total that did not have any whakapapa Māori, but were included in the study based on the recommendations of fellow Māori participants from within the group through friendships and relationships. In this thesis, their dialogue was not used in analyses and included only as part of a co-constructed dialogue with Māori participants to maintain the flow of talk and context of the conversation.

It was not imperative for participants to be high users of SNS, however, they did need to possess some general background knowledge of SNS in order to participate and contribute to the discussions. 12 focus groups were recruited and interviewed as part of this particular data sample thread.

What is unique about focus group discussions is the mutuality that exists between members: “focus groups are group discussions exploring a specific set of issues” (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999, p.4). The talk that is co-constructed amongst the group provides a rich discourse of discussion that essentially guides itself and shapes the interview structure and is far different from gauging current, real life perspectives from literature: “talk-in-interaction is quite different from talk in the grammar book or talk in the philosophy text: it is bound up with people's lives - their projects, their developing identities, their evaluations” (Puchta and Potter, 2004, p.2).

Essentially, these groups were mutual friends coming together for a discussion; this counteracted any awkward uncertainty that is sometimes present between strangers

who participate in such settings. Instead, it allowed the flow of the talk to be constructed in a collaborative way and created a continuous chorus of storytelling, narrating and discussing, “there is what we would like to call an interactional choreography at work” (Puchta and Potter 2004, p.1). Interactional choreography of talk and discussion is what provides this research with such rich and interesting data:

> Crucially, focus groups are distinguished from the broader category of group interviews by the explicit use of group interaction to generate data. Instead of asking questions of each person in turn, focus group researchers encourage participants to talk to one another: asking questions, exchanging anecdotes, and commenting on each others' experiences and points of view (Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999, p.4).

Individual interviews

It was envisioned that from the pool of focus group participants, individuals would be selected to participate in a one on one interview with the researcher to undergo a demonstration of their use of SNS on the Internet. Six participants from focus groups were individually contacted and agreed to participate in the next phase of data collection for the project. Two external participants were also approached to be part of the research to offer some diversity to this particular data set as they had not previously shared their experiences and perspectives of their social media use in focus groups. Thus, their position as a ‘fresh’ participant offered different viewpoints around the topics of discussion and exemplified how individual talk is constructed at the individual level – without peers to co-construct the talk with them. It was obvious that these two interviews were extensively longer than interviews with those from focus groups, and shared different levels of storytelling that potentially may not have been shared in a group of friend’s situation. Therefore, eight individual interviews were conducted in total.

The unique process that was employed in this set of data captured online navigation with screen capture software. Despite having a number of technical challenges, all interviews and demonstrations were recorded successfully as video files of the participants' online navigation. Interviews were video recorded to capture body language, gestures, actions and reactions to particular activities that corresponded with the online navigation. Audio records were also kept for transcribing purposes.

What is unique about the individual interview are the rich layers of transcription, the data set and the possibilities of meaning-making involved in the analysis phase. A three level transcript of video, online navigation video and audio transcript pose some exciting analytical opportunities, challenges and how meaning-making and interpretations could be made that can be systematically and robustly analysed and managed.

Analyses could attempt to integrate understandings of participants' engagements and meaning-making around the flows of information they access and contribute to, revealing insights into actual uses of new media technologies and how rangatahi Māori engage with them. Despite having this rich dataset, not all of the material captured from the online navigation was subsequently explored in this research; in part there were some limitations around information and data that could be shared in the thesis that would ensure privacy and confidentiality for participants. However transcibed verbal data from the participants as they navigated their online SNS, provided excellent accounts of what was happening on the screen and was thoroughly analysed for the thesis. The online navigation capture is an invaluable transcript which I hope to use in future research that will build on the current study.

Case studies

It was decided that an organisational perspective was needed to gauge how Māori groups were engaging with SNS and in considering its impact on Māori people and culture. To gauge such a unique picture of what was happening within community groups, a research method such as case studies was considered. As Hammersley & Gomm (2000, p.3) point out,

> The term 'case study' is also often taken to carry implications for the *kind* of data that are collected, and perhaps also for how these are analysed. Frequently, but not always, it implies the collection of unstructured data, and qualitative analysis of those data.

It was intended that these case studies would incorporate a range of discussants of different ages who were able to provide some insight into how the organisation thinks about and understands SNS, and in particular, discuss tikanga Māori being practised in online spaces and the implications. Tikanga Māori and the accessibility and practising of such tikanga were areas of inquiry for case studies. It was important to get a variation of participants across generations, therefore kaumātua were targeted as part of wider case studies to share their perspectives.

Case studies as a data sample were intended to gauge an in-depth and holistically conceptualised description of organised Māori groups and their involvement including their experiences with and perspectives on SNS in relation to Māori culture (and identity),

> Case study method enables a researcher to closely examine the data within a specific context. In most cases, a case study method selects a small geographical area or a very limited number of individuals as the subjects of study. Case studies, in their true essence, explore and investigate contemporary real-life phenomenon through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions, and their relationships (Zainal, 2007, p.1-2).

As Stake (1978, p.7) discusses, case study research is being used by anthropologists and other social scientists nowadays offering research "a method of exploration preliminary to theory development" it equally moves into experiential research and methods of theorising. Case studies as a method for collecting data is therefore appropriate to use in order to gauge the wide-ranging issues and ideas that exist within this under-researched area.

The objective was to have 4 – 6 iwi case studies, with a mix of both rural and urban Māori groups to offer some diversity in narratives around issues of accessibility to such technologies. However, I was restricted by time and financial constraints which made it difficult to conduct this number of case studies. It was therefore decided with my supervisory team that two iwi (one rural and one abroad) would suffice, and would at least provide some rich data on the issues that rural and urban Māori groups are facing with regards to SNS. Data was captured using an audio recorder and subsequently transcribed. In some instances, several interviews with available participants for one case study occurred separately. This was to ensure that the key members of the organisation, including its executive representatives and constituents (from across generations), were inluded and contributed to an holistic and in-depth record.

Online survey

> Empiricism states that the only source of knowledge is experience, especially of the senses. We understand the world through observation (data collecting), not just through speculative thinking or theories. At some point, to be scientific, we must encounter the reality that is out there and experience through observation whether the educated hunches or ideas we proposed in our theories are substantiated (Nardi, 2003, p.7).

Nardi explains that the process of observation is what informs us to reaching conclusions about human behaviour. These experiences through observation are important to understanding every day, mundane life skills; it is not enough to form conclusions and therefore, facts about particular people. To gain a clearer perspective of what is happening is to "go beyond the components of everyday thinking" (Nardi, 2003, p.6).

The survey approached some of the key research objectives in an exploratory and descriptive way, to get a sense of how the Māori diaspora use SNS. The survey aimed to describe what is happening for those respondents who were involved with the survey and was not intended to be representative of all Māori living overseas.

The online survey targeted Māori who were living outside of Aotearoa New Zealand for at least 12 months. Participants were 18 years or older and were users of SNS. The survey was designed to target this demographic of Māori diaspora in gauging a broader global context of how SNS and social media in general affected ex-pats and their connections home. The idea of conducting a survey with Māori living abroad was to give voice to those not physically part of Māori communities here in Aotearoa, but who evidently play major roles in their Māori communities at home. Living away from home is at times difficult and often, through physical absence, relatives and friends who live beyond Aotearoa's shores lack a voice in the day to day lives of their family and friends who live at home. Through this online survey, these distant voices were privileged and heard.

The survey consisted of 15 questions (with a series of second and third level probes) and comprised of a criteria pre-test, demographics section, a section on the use of

SNS, and finally a section around access to cultural knowledge and how SNS enhances or hinders connectedness to such knowledge. The survey gathered both quantitative and qualitative data using a combination of multi-choice and short answer formats. The survey ran for 2 days, and provided 139 completed questionnaires, which for a non-representative instrument gave a sample size sufficient to provide a broad range of perspectives of Māori who live abroad. The aim was to obtain a descriptive and indicative understanding of the experiences of Māori (representative of those who completed the survey) who, as part of the diaspora at the time of being surveyed, were outside of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Ethical issues

Ethical approval from the Human Ethics Committee at Massey University was necessary and was obtained. Ethical considerations such as signing consent forms were less important to my participants, as they had agreed to talk to me in the first place, thus it was a given that by participation in an interview, they agreed to being interviewed. Despite these puzzling processes, which meant very little to the participants, it was nevertheless, a process that was undertaken which works to enable any researcher of the institution to conduct data collection with 'subjects'. There were a number of ethical issues that were dealt with during the completion of my ethics approval application that required some consideration such as anonymity of participant's identity, verbal consent as an option and sharing of data with the wider Marsden research team.

Anonymity

Being anonymous provides a sense of security to speak critically of authority or divulge opinions without fear of social sanction. A Māori perspective might see

anonymity differently, as it masks the identity of the speaker. For many, identity is central to being Māori and to apply anonymity to participants of research could be seen as trampling the mana of that person.

In the early days of SNS, profiles were often created based on aliases, fake photos and pretences but these practices are now shunned by communities as a developmental step to more sophisticated SNS applications that allow the identity of the person in front of the computer to come to life in virtual space. This openness offers realism, honesty and trust (at levels) for users to participate in online communities as themselves. In similar ways for research, anonymity masks identity and personalities and presents a view from the unknown.

Ethically, there are concerns around the safety of participants. What they share in interviews could pose a concern for their safety and wellbeing, and for others who they may have discussed. This is also a concern of mine, and participant safety and wellbeing is my first priority. The implications of applying anonymity across the board for all participants were carefully considered. The Human Ethics Committee of Massey University required an explanation of how confidentiality of the participants' identities would be maintained in the treatment and use of the data. This issue was addressed by indicating that it was important to give participants the *choice* to opt for anonymity if they desired it and that it would not be an automatic or default option that would be applied.

Further, within a Māori worldview and way of thinking, there is mana attached to one's words which echo the ideals of kanohi ki te kanohi and the importance of fronting ones kōrero. To 'hear' their voices and to share their thoughts with no name

or no idea of the person behind those words without consulting with the speaker how he or she would prefer to be represented would be to takahi the mana of my participants. Thus, providing participants with the *choice* was very important for me to see through in this research. In the event, out of 55 rangatahi participants, 43 opted to keep their identities in this research.

Therefore, Massey University Human Ethics Committee agreed that anonymity would be assured for participants who entered into the research *and* who opted for anonymity. Participants who did not opt for anonymity were identified by their first name in the research and those who opted for anonymity were given a pseudonym for use in the transcript and research. Dialogue between participants which mention names of people and places, or that discusses issues that are highly sensitive and personal within the interview were anonymised to ensure participants' confidentiality and safety was maintained.

However, any data used in the wider Marsden project was anonymised regardless of whether participants opted for anonymity. The rationale for this was to protect participants' privacy and confidentiality, as the Marsden-related data would be heavily focused on drinking practices and stories, which could have been potentially damaging. Participants still had the *choice* to either agree, or disagree to this condition in their consent form. If they agreed, then any of their data used by the Marsden project would be anonymised. If they disagreed, then Marsden would not be able to use that participant's data. In this way, obligations of ensuring participant's safety as well as ensuring they get the choice of anonymity were upheld.

The online survey, however, was designed to be an anonymous survey to enable participants to respond honestly to the questions, since I had no way of directly contacting them to discuss ethical issues ahead of their participation. There was also the fear that potential participants may not have felt comfortable answering a survey that required personal information as many qualitative and quantitative surveys are of an anonymous nature. What was captured in the survey were the iwi affiliations of the respondents, and the city/country that they were residing in.

Verbal consent

During data collection for the case studies, it was abundantly clear that some standard research practices were not appropriate for the environments and communities that were being engaged. Firstly, information sheets were unwelcome at one particular case study interview and were scrunched up and tossed to the side. I covered the ethical issues by verbally explaining the research and other information to the group. Similarly, it was inappropriate to ask whānau, hapū, iwi and/or community members to sign a piece of paper that provided consent for talking with them. The fact that these participants willingly joined in the conversations, listened and engaged in discussion implied their consent was given and no paper work was needed to verify this. Therefore an approach was made to the Human Ethics Committee for a variation to the application to accept verbal consent from participants, which was agreed to and accepted by the committee.

Sharing data

Sharing data with the Marsden research team also proved to be difficult and at times challenging. Despite having indicated to the Ethics Committee that the named primary investigators would have access to the data and have permission to use the

data in papers external to this thesis, there were, at times, requests to share the data with external people and groups, posing ethical challenges that were resolved through explanation and understanding by all team members.

Working with the primary investigators, processes were developed for the research group to ensure that data management, handling and use was done as according to what the researchers deemed appropriate and on the understanding that the data not go beyond the team as a whole. Further processes were developed to ensure that any use of the data by the primary investigators would be done in consultation with the researcher (myself), and analyses would be done conjointly in accordance with contributions recognised through co-authorship on such papers. It is highly important for the researchers to ensure the participants' shared talk is interpreted and used with the same cultural and social contextualisations with which it was provided, and at all times to respect the participants and their whakaaro. It has been reassuring for the PhD researchers on this project, to know that the senior researchers felt a sense of responsibility to ensuring that participant's integrity was maintained in the writing up of papers and their whakaaro were respected. The intimate connection between the researcher and data extends beyond objectivity and considers the data as a taonga, or something that is precious, which we are the kaitiaki or guardian of.

Data management

Transcribing

Focus group interviews were video and audio recorded, and transcribed verbatim. Video recordings enabled the person transcribing to identify who was speaking as well as providing a visual of body language, animations and actions. Audio recordings were processed in a transcription programme; Express Scribe.

Transcriptions were produced verbatim and names were anonymised according to specifications from participants. This work was completed by myself and another researcher (external to the Marsden research group) who signed a confidentiality form agreeing not to disclose any of the information shared in the interviews.

After transcription, all focus group and interview records were emailed to participants. Focus group participants were not given the opportunity to edit their transcript (as agreed to by them in their consent form) a standard practice for such co-produced data. A small number of participants responded to my email expressing their gratitude for the opportunity to be involved in the research and commenting on how they enjoyed reading the discussions that took place during the interview. Individual participants were offered a window of two weeks (14 days) to review their transcripts and provide any feedback or suggested changes and additions, but no participants opted to edit their transcripts and were happy with what they had said in interviews.

Participants who opted for anonymity had their names anonymised during transcription; however, all other information that identified place names, other people, organisations, groups and any other apparent information that could link the participants to others remained unedited within both focus group and individual transcriptions at this raw data stage. This was done to maintain the context and integrity of the discussions that took place; without such information, some or the entire context might be lost during the analysis phase. Data used in the writing up of papers and thesis anonymised any identifiable information about participants as per the individual agreements. All information that participants shared about themselves and others remained confidential to the researcher (myself) and the Marsden team

(primary investigators) and were adapted to protect participants' privacy (according to their specifications) if used in the research.

Security and storage

All data collected was stored on hard drive backups including one central mobile hard drive held by the Marsden team leader. During the course of the PhD, two further backs up of all of the data were stored and kept at both the home and office in locked compartments. DropBox – a password protected, secure online backup storage system was also used as a secondary back up. The security of the data was and remains, of utmost importance and all participants were guaranteed safekeeping of their data.

Methods and analysis

The methods section speaks specifically to what was done during the process of recruitment and interviewing of participants including recruiting of participants using existing connections and contacts, mihimihi or introductions that were part of each data session, encouraging participants to steer and guide discussions, sharing of food during interviews and the gifting of koha[70]. For the three face-to-face data sets (focus groups, individual interviews and case studies) contact was maintained with all participants during transcription and write up phases of the PhD ensuring that they were updated (via email) with progress and any papers that were published.

Given that there is much diversity in these data sets different analytical approaches were required. Thematic analysis was employed to approach the focus group and

[70] koha – gift

case study data where key themes were identified and highlighted. A quantitative analysis approach was applied to the survey data to describe response frequencies and proportions, along with thematic analysis, which was used for qualitative responses within the survey. Each of these analysis approaches will be discussed following the methods section.

Methods

Mihimihi

The importance of introductions is a common practice in Māori settings where people are gathered together. Mihimihi are exchanged and shared with others as introductions and to learn more about where people come from, their whakapapa and what they do. As a researcher, this process was of utmost importance for me to introduce myself, in a Māori way, to my participants so that they could understand where I was coming from, and where I position myself (within te ao Māori and within my research). I delivered my introduction in te reo Māori wherever appropriate, and presented where I came from and my journey thus far. I then translated that to English in case any participant was not competent with te reo Māori.

For three of the data sets that were collected (focus groups, individual interviews and the case studies) the same structure of introduction was provided to participants (orally) to ensure that they knew who I was and where I come from, but also what my intentions were for the research. For the survey, I provided the same structure of introduction on the welcome website page, providing respondents with my background information, the study and contact details.

Equally important for participants in the focus group and case study settings was to know each other; mihimihi was an appropriate way to welcome and introduce participants for the group interviews. Each participant in focus groups and case studies took their turn to introduce themselves in whatever language or format they desired. In individual interviews a similar format was used. The process of mihimihi somewhat 'broke the ice' and put everyone at ease; this of course is whanaungatanga and ensured that existing or new relationships amongst the groups and with the researcher were comfortable and a point where a level of trust was established.

Recruitment through whanaungatanga

One facet of whanaungatanga in this research project is centred on personal relationships between the researcher and participant. If the researcher had a relationship with a participant, or was able to build a rapport with a participant, participants were more likely to open up in discussion. In this sense it was an advantage that the majority of participants were drawn from my personal connections or networks.

Focus groups and case study participants were recruited to fit the criteria what I was looking for. Thus, participants in both data sets had some form of connection to me either through direct association or association through a mutual friend/colleague. These relationships (whether solidly formed prior to the research or at the time of the interview) were critical to the nature of the interviews to ensure participants felt comfortable in sharing in honest discussion.

Anonymous recruitment

With regards to the survey, the link to the online survey form was sent via email to contacts of mine who lived in Aotearoa New Zealand, but who might have had contacts living abroad who fitted the criteria. They were asked to forward and share the link with people who they thought might be interested and who fit the criteria. The link was sent via email by myself, and was shared on my own personal Facebook profile page with my networks in the hope that others would share with people who they thought might be suitable. Fortunately, an online Māori news channel; TangataWhenua.com online news broadcaster reposted the link (and corresponding story) about the survey, which was posted on their website and their Facebook page (DigitalMāori, 2012). This snowballing effect took off fairly quickly and after two days, there were 139 responses.

Interview guidelines

To ensure that interviews were semi-structured, I produced a set of key domains to guide the interview process. These were submitted as part of my ethics application, and later used in the focus groups and individual interviews. The initial guidelines were high-level areas of inquiry, or domains that were relevant to my research questions.

These high-level domains were then developed as I progressed through the focus groups and interviews, with questions added, as new themes emerged from the previous focus groups. New themes that seemed interesting, or that I had not yet thought of, or had relevance to the general themes that I wanted to inquire into further, were redefined in my interview guide. This process of developing the interview guidelines throughout the interviewing process was key to understanding

and responding to the complex themes that were emerging from each progressive interview. Both broad and specific questions had acculmulated, producing an extensive guide, which helped to hone in on themes that participants saw as important. Both high-level and specific guidelines are provided in the appendices section of this thesis.

Whānau-driven talk

Kennedy and Cram (2010) discuss a set of principles that have been worked through by Māori community members as being important to them. The guidelines invoke notions of respect, humility, confidentiality, trust, honesty, tikanga Māori, whakapapa and accountability. These guidelines derive from whānau and therefore can provide an approach to how a researcher engages with Māori communities. Through the case study interviews I was required to engage with these communities both at an organisation and grass roots level, both of which I navigated appropriately using my understandings of tikanga. Being lead by members of the community served me best in my case study interviews and ultimately served my research better that I had initially thought.

During a case study interview with some of the iwi members of Ngaruahine Rangi iwi, I was faced with some methodological challenges, which at the time, were of some concern. This particular case study interview took place following a Treaty land claim meeting for the iwi. Many members of Ngaruahine Rangi were present and so this was therefore a prime opportunity for me to hold an interview with iwi members. Permission was sought from the board members to conduct the interview and a number of iwi members were asked to be involved with the interview.

At the conclusion of the land claim meeting, I was asked to speak about my research and I invited whānau to join me at the back of the wharekai[71] to conduct the interview. The scene where the interview took place was just outside the entrance to the kitchen. There was much disruption in terms of dishes being washed, pots clanking and hysterical laughs of the aunties and kuia[72] in the kitchen. However, these are the common sounds you hear when you're in the kitchen at a marae, these 'disruptions' are merely everyday life occurrences in marae lifestyle, and therefore it was highly appropriate to have such background noise in the interview, ensuring that those who participated in the interview felt right at home.

During the interview, one of the participants was called away to tend to an issue that arose in the kitchen. Another participant had to exit the interview to attend another meeting that was being held at the marae that same day. These two members shared their perspectives and then departed but were quickly replaced by two others who wanted to be involved. After a short while, another participant had to excuse himself as he was needed elsewhere and was replaced by yet another one of the whānau who was interested in what it was we were discussing.

The conversation was constantly evolving and grew from one participant to another. They each had their own views on the kaupapa but were able to seamlessly continue the discussions without any real interruption. After 55 or so minutes of what was termed as a 'musical chairs interview', everyone was content with being able to give his or her whakaaro on the kaupapa. This flexible approach to data collection was unplanned and frankly, was concerning me somewhat in relation to how I would

[71] wharekai – dining hall
[72] kuia – elderly woman

rationalise this approach, which happened rather organically and rather quickly! Reviewing the data later I realised that the stories and perspectives seemed to build upon each other. The concerns that were shared at the beginning about SNS and how the technology threatens the way that our culture is being practised and echoed throughout the group, despite three members of the group having joined in the discussions half way through the interview.

The conversation flowed from speaker to speaker, evolving and building as the interview progressed. This process was indeed in rhythm with the ebbs and flows of marae lifestyle, of people coming and going, scurrying away to complete tasks, to fulfill responsibilities and coming back again into the fold of sociality within the whānau, hapū and iwi. In reflection, this way of conducting the interview was a natural progression, not forced or scripted and it enabled the talk to flow and connect.

The second case study interviews were conducted with Ngāti Rānana over Skype. I held two separate interviews with whānau who were available at different times. I was initially reluctant to conduct the interview over Skype, but acknowledged that our respective locations would make it difficult, not to mention expensive, to conduct face-to-face interviews. The sessions went well and I was able to record both the audio between myself and the participants as well as capturing the screen monitor of the video call. The flow of talk was fairly seamless and was interrupted only when the software for screen capture crashed, but this was quickly resolved and the interview carried on.

The interviews began with mihimihi from myself and the participants, and each interview lasted between 45 – 60 minutes. I was not able to observe body language (as the screen was centred on the participants' faces), which made it difficult to pick up such cues but the discussions and issues covered were uncomplicated as participants were open and took the conversation in different tangents and places. Obviously, the sharing of food was not possible, though whanaungatanga was strongly established at the beginning of the interviews with mihimihi and informal discussions that occurred throughout the interview. Koha was also not exchanged with the Ngāti Rānana participants. This is something that I will be addressing in a forthcoming trip overseas, as I will be spending some time in London. There I hope to meet with the people of Ngāti Rānana and share some food, a presentation of my research and hope to gift these participants with something in acknowledgement of their time and thoughts they shared and contributed to this research.

Sharing of food

During the face-to-face interviews (focus groups, individual interviews and case studies) food was provided to share with the participants. The concept of sharing food is to bring people together; some focus groups started the interview by sharing food, others waited until after the interview. There were no guidelines around this process except that participants were made to feel comfortable.

Gifting of koha

Koha was given to acknowledge people's time and effort in participating in the study. Each participant from focus groups and individual interviews were provided with a $20 or $30 voucher (respectively) for a bookstore, clothes store or food store for their time and participation in the study. Case study participants were gifted a

relevant hard cover book for their organisation/community group, however survey participants did not receive any koha as respondents were anonymous.

Keeping in touch

Whanaungatanga is about maintaining connections during the research process. For all of my interviews, a thank you email was sent to each participant directly following the interview. Email communication with the participants was maintained, sending them transcripts to review and letting them know of the progress of the research project, including sending any publications arising out of the research. This flow of communication from the researcher was important in reassuring participants that their input and data were valued and properly acknowledged. As a researcher, I genuinely care about keeping in touch with these people, as it was their talk and experiences that provided the ‘flesh and bones’ of my project.

Privileging the voices of the community is integral to research. Having relationships with participants is crucial to achieving mutual respect between researcher, participant and the kaupapa in which is being researched. The divide between researcher and the community arises from the long history of the 'researched' being interpreted and analysed from under a microscope of a Western worldview and way of thinking. To engage in meaningful relationships with your participants is to work towards changing that view. Following the completion of this thesis, I will continue to communicate with participants providing updates and information around future presentations (on the research) to be held in various Māori communities.

Survey participants were not contacted directly as the survey was anonymous, however, were provided with a URL website address (at the time of submitting their

completed survey) to visit any time after January 2013 when results from the survey would be posted. The initial intention was to provide respondents of the survey the opportunity to see the survey results in January 2013, which were to be posted to our Marsden project website. In completing the article that featured survey data, it was decided to instead provide a copy of the published article that discusses survey results to the website as soon as it is published.

Analysis

The analysis of the qualitative data has primarily used thematic analysis. This method has enabled me to have flexibility around how to manipulate and interpret the data, while also providing a sound and robust tool to categorise the emerging themes. Some quantitative analysis was used for parts of the survey data.

Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis complements the overall framework ensuring that any themes that are discussed for analysis derive from the data and are acknowledged as important themes that were guided and informed by the participants. This method was selected because of its flexibility and relevance to the overall framework 'titiro ki muri, haere whakamua' and works to privileging the unique voices I have interviewed. Thematic analysis has been applied across all four data sets; focus group, individual interview, case study and survey datasets. However, the survey adopted a quantitative analysis approach in conjunction with thematic analysis. Firstly, I will discuss how thematic analysis has been applied across all four data sets and then discuss quantitative analysis.

Textual data from focus groups, individual interviews and case studies, and qualitative responses from the survey were inputted to QSR NVivo (a software programme for organising large amounts of data) for thematic coding. Boyatzis (1998) describes the coding phase of thematic analysis as "a pattern found in the information that at the minimum describes and organises possible observations, or at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998). Thus, thematic analysis provides plenty of room for the researcher to interpret the data at the coding phase and come up with a set of themes based on what the data is saying. However, to get to that stage first, it was decided that I would undertake an inductive approach to the data, which as previously mentioned, is a bottom up approach where themes are data-driven, and not preconceived or prescribed.

The research questions and interview guide are reflected in the data and to a considerable extent structure the themes emerging from my analyses. As Braun and Clarke (2012, p.3) discuss being objective is difficult in thematic analysis, and a researcher always brings their own experiences, opinions and ideas to the research table. However, to ensure that coding was done systematically I constantly referred to the research questions that are the overarching themes in this research. These questions guided what was important to code, and therefore highlight themes relevant to the study.

> It is impossible to be purely inductive, as we always bring something to the data when we analyse it, and we rarely completely ignore the data themselves when we code for a particular theoretical construct – at the very least, we have to know whether or not it's worth coding the data for that construct (Braun and Clarke, 2012, p.3).

Coding was conducted by firstly going through each transcript in NVivo and coding words, phrases or chunks of text that were interesting, stood out, relevant, irrelevant,

significant or not so significant – all emerging themes were captured in case they were to be used and further explored in analysis. Braun and Clarke (2012) argue that codes are succinct but emergent and are not expected to be fully-worked up explanations as these are developed later in the analysis phase.

Codes were created from the interpretation of the researcher and the descriptive narratives of the participant, producing a hybrid of both descriptive and interpretative coding (Braun and Clarke, 2012). The main priority was to ensure that the data was coded under as many themes that applied, so that nothing would be missed. This was later revisited when coding categories were reshuffled and rearranged in light of the coding schema as a whole and the overarching research questions.

Nodes initially began as shells or generalised themes, such as 'Attitudes about Facebook', 'Whanaungatanga', 'Use', 'Face-to-face' and so on. These expanded significantly as the data was much more specific and focused than what those initial outlines encompassed and so sub-nodes were created within these shells totalling 185 nodes (made up of 11 shells and 174 sub-nodes from 12 focus groups of data).

These nodes were then compacted so that overlapping materials could be encompassed and were categorised in terms of how theory was to be developed in the analysis phase. For example, any nodes that referred to how SNS were being used by young people, were gathered under the main node 'Use', which feeds directly to a following chapter on how rangatahi Māori are using SNS. From tentative definitions of related nodes, themes began to emerge. Referring to the example of the node "Use" again, this was the broader *category* and the various ways and purposes that rangatahi engaged with SNS became the prominent *themes* of that

broader topic/category. This process was applied to each of the broader nodes, from which stemmed a number of major themes from across the focus group data, which then leads into the analysis phase. This process was conducted for the individual interviews and case studies, which were organised into separate nodes as well.

For the coding, theming and analysis phases to work well and to ensure the rigour of the thematic analysis was being followed, I worked so that each phase overlapped and fed into the next. It was not a case of completing one phase, rather the processes overlapped and would often be conducted simultaneously, and sometimes have to revisit the previous phase for more refinement. This is the flexibility and freedom of thematic analysis. As part of thematic analysis, which is interwoven in the coding and theming phases of analysis, I frequently reviewed themes to ensure that coded data was relevant to the specified node (Braun and Clarke, 2012). This helped to further refine the themes, the data and their relevance to other data coded at those themes.

During the coding and theming phases of thematic analysis, some notes and initial thoughts were recorded within NVivo which included observations of the data, memos on ideas for themes, interesting and fascinating talk and dialogue that stood out, and any recurring patterns across the dataset. These notes contributed to the conceptual work at the beginnings of any paper selected for writing up and publication. Even as this phase began, theming and analysis processes were revisited to further develop and articulate themes, contributing to theorising from the data, strategies and recommendations.

Quantitative analysis

As discussed, a survey was conducted and used for analysis in this thesis. The survey consisted of mostly qualitative data (through individual, anonymised responses) but there were some quantitative sections around demographics statistics and SNS use. The entire survey database was extracted from the survey software into Microsoft Excel which enabled me to accurately use the statistical data in the research.

Statistical data that could be quantified were summed in the Excel spreadsheet and used in various parts of the study. Some quantitative data were then converted into percentages to best represent people's use of Facebook in comparison to other SNS for example. These proportions were supplemented with thematic analysis of what the statistical information was saying. Coupling quantitative analysis and thematic analysis provides indicative numbers as evidence to what the thematic analysis claims (the interpretation of the statistical information). These types of statements were useful in the research as they generally reinforced qualitative insights available from what participants of the study were making.

Conclusion

This chapter has laid down the foundations on which the proceeding chapters will be built upon. The framework; 'titiro ki muri, haere whakamua' is about acknowledging the past and ones identity to realising how one must advance forward seeking positive outcomes. Knowing myself, and where I come from provides a solid basis for me as the researcher to position myself securely as a Taranaki woman. However, it is important to understand the nuances of identity, and what identity means for different people. While there might be an expectation in Māori society to know ones identity (that is, knowing where you come from, your whakapapa and so on), this is

not necessarily the case for all Māori and identity may be something that is yet to be embraced, or accepted. What is intriguing here is how technology plays a role in fostering and facilitating identity formation. The framework is essentially a set of guiding tikanga as to how the research will be approached, understood and interpreted. These tikanga are essential to ensuring that a robust and appropriate approach or approaches are carried out to analyse the data in meaningful ways that can produce outcomes.

Lead into chapter 2:

An analysis of how rangatahi Māori use social networking sites

The following chapter of this thesis presents a descriptive study of how rangatahi are using SNS that enhance, adapt and challenge modes of self-expression, ways of communicating with whānau, maintenance of relationships and accessing information. This chapter was important to begin with as there is very little research on what rangatahi Māori do in SNS. It provides a foundation for the discussions around Māori and SNS in later chapters. There were many uses that rangatahi identified in the study, though only four are investigated in this chapter as they were the most prominent and, being restricted by word limits for journals, I could only cover all of the main uses that were identified by participants.

This chapter was submitted as a paper to the MAI Journal in October 2012 and underwent a number of reviewed iterations. The journal's blind peer-reviewers provided excellent comment and feedback around additional literature to consider. A revised version was submitted on 1 March 2013 and the paper was published on 3 April 2013[73]. I wish to acknowledge Dr. Chris Griffin who provided excellent

[73] O'Carroll, A. D. (2013). An analysis of how Rangatahi Māori use social networking sites. *MAI Journal, 2(1),* 46-59.

comment on the article prior to its submission to the journal. Ngā mihi manahau ki a koe.

This chapter was also presented at the NAISA (Native American and Indigenous Studies Association) Conference in June 2012 at Connecticuit, New York (USA). The presentation discussed the paper's findings and raised much discussion amongst the audience and other information technology and social media experts and researchers who had not come across similar research that looked specifically at impacts of SNS on culture. The conference presentation was intended to gauge an international audiences perspective on the findings and help inform and shape arguments of the paper.

As has been discussed in the introduction of this thesis, I will provide some additional and relevant literature within linking sections that lead and connect to the following chapters. In this chapter, I provide a short literary introduction around Internet use within an Aotearoa New Zealand context that relates to more specific areas of inquiry around SNS.

Introductory literature

Internet use

Internet use in Aotearoa New Zealand is signfiicantly high and continues to increase as broadband and now, fibre optic cabling are being made available in urban, but particularly rural and isolated areas of Aotearoa New Zealand. The Internet is the "electronic network of networks that links people and information through computers and other digital devices allowing person to person communication and information

retrieval" (DiMaggio et al., 2001, p.307). The World Wide Web emerged in 1992 to enable the sharing of data between people (Leiner et al., 1997)

According to P. Smith et al. (2011) 86% of all New Zealanders are users of the Internet and 64% are connected to SNS with Facebook being the leading site. The report indicates a steady increase of Internet use by Māori from 70% in 2007 to 86% in 2011. Māori have traditionally been rapid adopters of technology and this is evident with the Internet. The importance of the Internet to daily use for Māori has increased from 42% in 2007 to 57% in 2011. Indications are, that 18-25 year olds are the highest Internet users of SNS (P. Smith et al., 2011) which is not surprising, as this generation is considered digital natives, those that have been born into the Internet and computer technology age and are therefore fluent in the language and practice of these technologies (Prensky, 2001).

P. Smith et al. (2008) argue that Aotearoa New Zealand as a country has "among the highest proportion (78%) of citizens connected of any country in the world" (p.307). Comparisons of ethnic groups' show that Māori and Pasifika use of the Internet is significantly less than Pākehā or Asian (Crump and McIlroy, 2003). Of the 86% of New Zealanders that use the Internet, those under 30 years (87%) reported the highest access. In this study, 69% agreed that the Internet was an important information source, ranking higher than family and friends (as an information source), television, newspapers and radio.

Kennedy (2010) discusses how important the Internet and online SNS are for whānau to keep in contact, "Facebook has also been interesting in terms of a vehicle for facilitating and maintaining whānau connections; whānau are utilising Facebook to

connect with and maintain contact with whānau they already know" (p.16). Māori accessing such information are enabled to express views around political, social and cultural perspectives via SNS. This level of access to information is anecdotally leading to an increase in awareness around pertinent Māori issues relating to politics (seabed and foreshore, fracking, deep sea oil drilling, to name a few) and other areas of Māori interest. Such access is providing Māori with a personalised online community-centric view (as the information derives from contacts within one's virtual community) of the world around them.

SNS are being used by rangatahi Māori in increasing numbers as computer and Internet access becomes more widely available within the home, schools and public services. Facebook has reached its target of 1 billion users and continues to climb in numbers (Bryant & Marmo, 2012; Tong & Walther, 2011). This uptake in use by rangatahi Māori introduces new queries about how they are using the technology. SNS are also used to facilitate a range of social practices such as relationship dynamics, friendship formation and maintenance, and socialising. The following chapter includes these broad areas and provides context around SNS use as a basis for investigating the implications for Māori.

An analysis of how rangatahi Māori use social networking sites

Introduction

Over the last decade, a number of studies have been conducted on SNS focusing on their social impacts (Boase et al., 2006; boyd & Ellison, 2007; DiMaggio et al., 2001; N. H. Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Joinson, 2008; H. Jones & Soltren, 2005; P. Smith et al., 2008; Steinfield et al., 2008; Tufekci, 2008; Wellman et al., 2001). boyd & Ellison (2007) consider SNS as online spaces that allow individuals to present themselves, articulate their social networks, and establish or maintain connections with others.

There is some literature that exists around Māori use of the Internet as a new technology. These studies include Māori use of the Internet in cultural ways (such as for language learning and teaching) and discussing potential risks involved in negotiating identity, culture and language in virtual or cyber spaces (Ferguson & Werahiko, 2008; Keegan, Cunningham & Benton, 2004; Keegan & Cunningham, 2003; Lemon, 2001). One study examined Māori cyber-identity and how it can contribute to Māori offline-identity (Muhamad-Brandner, 2010) but did not discuss the implications of SNS use and engagement. Other literature includes social

network analysis online using a kaupapa Māori framework (Kennedy, 2010); and, the establishment of Māori specific web domain names such as .maori.nz; .māori.nz; and .iwi.nz (Goode, 2010). Māori have also been sampled in demographic studies of wider Internet use and access (P. Smith et al., 2008), showing heavy engagement but while SNS has provided scholars with an exciting field to research, there are very few studies on Māori use of SNS.

This paper will provide a descriptive analysis of rangatahi use of SNS and attempt to understand the complexities that are attached to using SNS and how rangatahi negotiate and navigate these complex issues. Three major uses were identified by participants as significant in their SNS engagement and experience. Specifically, these involve self-representation and perception; managing online and offline relationships (including whānau); and accessing people and information.

Representations and perceptions

Digital identity studies mainly focus on how online identity is constructed through social interaction within networks (DiMicco & Millen, 2007; Leonard, Mehra & Katerberg, 2008; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998). More recently, studies have emerged that highlight self-representation within SNS as a form of narcissism or self-absorption (see Buffardi & Campbell, 2008; Rosen, 2007). A study conducted by Mehdizadeh (2010) indicates that self-absorption exists in SNS, particularly Facebook, through the promotion of oneself in photos and status updates. However, another study found that most Facebook users tend to contribute more to these functions on *other* contacts' pages, rather than their own (Hampton & Goulet, 2012).

Larsen (2007) conducted a study on how young people maintain friendships and thereby continuously work to construct and co-construct their identity online with online networking acting as an extension of offline lives. Several studies indicate that what young people are doing online (socialising, organising, sharing information and so on) is very close to what they do offline thereby blurring and obscuring the line between online and offline behaviour (boyd, 2006; Hine, 2000).

Other research around self-representation in SNS suggests that there is a level of identity negotiation which occurs in varying online environments, situations and audiences (Cullen, 2009; Kendall, 1998; Stutzman, 2006) but there are a small number of studies that look at how cultural identity is constructed online (Diamandaki, 2003; Kennedy, 2010; Larsen, 2007; Niezen, 2005). Broadly, these studies look at the impacts of online identity construction and how identity (individual and cultural) is impacted through online environment and protocols. Diamandaki (2003, n.p) notes that cyberspace provides both individuals and large ethnic communities with the "stage" to construct identity online.

Research on Māori identity broadly covers the discourse around identity articulation (through spoken language, participation in community groups, hapū, iwi activities and performing arts) as well as issues that impact on identity (Broughton, 1993; M H Durie, 1998; Gibbons, Temara & White, 1994; Houkamau, 2010; Kāretu, 1990; McIntosh, 2005; Mead, 2003; Rangihau, 1977; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982; R. Walker, 1992, 2004). These studies look at cultural identity based on teachings of family, hapū and iwi through learning about genealogy, history, significant lands and waters, marae, language and protocols which are passed on from generation to generation.

Identity formation in these studies occur in face-to-face situations (such as on the marae) and do not look into virtual spaces where identity might be formed.

Managing offline and online relationships

Negotiating one's relationships with friends, relatives, parents, siblings, work colleagues, employers, sports coaches, and so on, are a juggling act for any one user to adequately manage the varying degrees of relationship within these networked communities. All the while, considering how relationship management online will affect the offline relationship (or vice versa). A number of studies have looked at how SNS helps individuals to maintain existing (and new) relationships (Bryant & Marmo, 2012; N. B. Ellison et al., 2007; Hampton & Goulet, 2011; Harrison & Thomas, 2009; Stern & Taylor, 2007). SNS facilitates an extension of people's real life networks and communities, bringing more demands on the user to maintain these relationships offline and online at varying degrees.

The blur between offline and online relationships can be difficult to manage and in a Māori context, could potentially raise conflicts amongst whānau members requesting friendship in SNS. If declined, this may cause some upset between those whānau members, which evidently may impact on their offline relationship. These situations are fairly new challenges for Māori, in that relationships have regularly been established face-to-face (such as on the marae), where obligation and responsibility to whānau might be felt a lot more in face-to-face contexts than virtual spaces. These sorts of potential conflicts can challenge Māori in how they manage their offline/online relationships and currently, no research has looked into this area of inquiry.

P. Smith et al. (2008) state that 65% of Internet users (within Aotearoa New Zealand) have increased contact with networks of people, particularly those who live overseas, "Most users say the Internet has increased their amount of contact overall with friends (64%) and family (60%)" (P. Smith et al., 2008, p.316). This indicates that a large proportion of the Aotearoa New Zealand population are utilising the Internet as a key tool to communicate with people (boyd, 2007) both locally and further afield. The Internet is now considered part of everyday life and is well-entrenched in many aspects of culture (Boase et al., 2006).

The ways in which Māori connect to each other and keep in touch, and whānau keep connected is evolving as the Māori diaspora continues to grow, with 18% of all Māori living overseas (outside of Aotearoa New Zealand) (Collins, 2011). Considering Māori diaspora, including Māori living away from their hometowns within Aotearoa New Zealand where their families remain, or moving away from tribal boundaries inevitably impacts on how connection amongst whānau is maintained. Kennedy (2010) discusses how important the Internet and online SNS are to whānau to keep in contact.

Donath and boyd (2004) hypothesise that SNS may not increase the number of strong ties a person has, but could greatly increase the weak ties one could form and maintain because the technology is well-suited to maintaining these ties cheaply and easily. Granovetter (1973) theorises the strength of weak ties and how network analysis (using a mathematical formula) can examine macro level structures and impacts on interpersonal ties. There are currently no studies that focus on how rangatahi utilise SNS to keep connected to whānau living overseas or vice versa, thus SNS and connecting to whānau will be explored in this paper with particular focus

on the wellbeing benefits and capability that whānau are being equipped with through the use of SNS.

Access to information and people

SNS platforms have become information highways for users, providing up to the minute/second information and data on a broad range of topics concerned with particular networked communities. Facebook for instance, provides a status update function where users update their profile with up to date information. Twitter offers the same function and both SNS platforms demonstrate how instant, current data can be transmitted to the users' networks in a second. Information or data can range from what the user is currently doing or thinking, to a notice of someone passing away, or the latest gossip. Hoadley, Xu, Lee, & Beth (2009) write that the introduction of the newsfeed of Facebook enabled users' greater access and easier access to finding out instant information. Thus, this type of data provides a rich dialogue where those receiving the data (in their newsfeed or as a tweet, for example) have an opportunity to rapidly access that information (Pempek et al., 2009), providing constant connectivity to social, political, cultural, topical issues that a users networked community might be interested in and therefore decide to share dialogue and information about it.

This flowing river of constructed information and data enables users to interact with their networks, in ways that were not previously possible. As described by one of the participants of this study, the Facebook newsfeed is his "morning newspaper" to the world of his networked communities offering him cutting edge, up to date information about a range of different topics, depicting a "glocalised" community

that is globally connected, yet locally involved (Wellman, 2001, p.236) feeding through relevant constructed information to layers of networks.

Peripheral theories

Female objectification research has broadly investigated how both women and girls have experienced objectification through social interactions where narrow, stereotypical forms of physical and sexual attractiveness are imposed and privileged through male practices and patriarchal systems (Calogero, 2004; de Vries & Peter, 2013). Such representations of women have been amplified through mass media and popular culture (Grabe, Ward, & Hyde, 2008) via oppressive normative depictions of sexuality, beauty and attractiveness through video, image, television, the Internet and now SNS (De Vries & Peter, 2013; Vandenbosch & Eggermont, 2012).

Such experiences of objectification have profound impacts on female identity, behavior and wellbeing,

> Women who self-objectify have internalized observers' perspectives on their bodies and chronically monitor themselves in anticipation of how others will judge their appearance, and subsequently treat them (Calogero, 2004, p16).

Feminist research has explored representations of women, in online photos and video, critiquing increasing obsession with physical appearance in male controlled virtual spaces (Huebner & Fredrickson, 1999).

While the theoretical lens for this study focuses on self-representation and identity negotiation, the study could also lean towards broader theoretical frameworks around social identity and social interactionism discussing intergroup behaviour and understanding why people behave and interact in particular ways. It is acknowledged

then that other theoretical lenses could be applied as they relate to issues of self-representation and identity negotiation as encountered in my data, but for this thesis I have determined and settled upon the framework encompassing kaupapa Māori, Taranakitanga and te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, as outlined above.

This study

The paper will contribute to a PhD thesis entitled *Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past? An examination of Māori use of social networking sites and the implications for Māori culture and society*. The thesis is also part of a wider, Marsden funded research project entitled *The Social Network project*, which broadly focuses on SNS and youth drinking cultures. The paper will provide a foundational analysis of rangatahi Māori use of SNS and serve as an introduction to further areas for research into Māori and SNS to be explored in subsequent chapters/articles from my doctoral research.

Method

This study uses a framework that has been specifically developed for my doctoral thesis. The framework firstly encompasses kaupapa Māori principles which provide a platform for Māori research to be conducted using distinct Māori cultural practices and a Māori worldview (see Bishop, 1996; Cram, 1992; Moewaka Barnes, 2008; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). Secondly, the framework is complimented by acknowledging the tribal upbringing of the researcher, namely three Taranaki iwi (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngaruahine Rangi) which uniquely contributes to the way the researcher interprets and makes meaning based on two fundamental teachings; rangimārie and hūmārie. Finally, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga is the third part of the

framework where Māori language use is elevated and used to holistically understand Māori concepts.

The study will draw from a rich empirical data set of 12 focus groups that were conducted and made up of mutual friends (55 rangatahi), aged 18 to 25 from both rural and urban areas of the North Island, Aotearoa New Zealand. They included 19 male and 36 female participants within both single and mixed gender groups. An interview schedule was designed to capture talk that generally pertained to five research questions of my doctoral thesis. Focus groups were utilised to capture co-constructed dialogue from participants regarding their experiences, attitudes and understanding of SNS. Thematic analysis has been employed in this study, which highlighted the three major themes that will be explored here. (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Representations of the self

SNS provides a number of different ways that users can share information about themselves. Facebook (the primary choice for most participants) for example, allows users to update their status (which is a task that users are currently doing or a thought that they wish to share with their network); share or tag (identification labels in images) photographs and videos of themselves (or of friends); and liking or showing interest in other peoples shared information, updates, media or links and sharing external links. These functionalities provide rangatahi with a number of ways to express themselves, their personalities and their identity/identities through online profile pages. Participants of this study indicated two distinct viewpoints on self-representation; perceptions of the self and perceptions of others that will be discussed in this section.

Representations of the self were expressed in how participants talked about presenting *themselves*, the effort they put in, and how they crafted and shaped their online presentations. Generally, participants worked towards presenting themselves in a way that they want others to perceive them, which reinforced feminist views of objectification through an observer's perspective and constantly seeing themselves from others' points of view

Participant response – self-representation through a Facebook profile
▪ *What reasons would you untag? (Researcher)* ▪ *Tragic [photos] - Antonia, female, focus group participant* ▪ *Tragic? What do you mean by tragic? (Researcher)* ▪ *Tragic looking, like make up everywhere, blaaaah. Tragic! Untag that [photo]. Like, you never know who you're going to meet or where [laughter] so what if someone comes across your page? It's like [clicks fingers] dam cos' I don't want to see no tragic photos up there – Antonia*

Furthermore, young women in the study expressed that they invested a considerable amount of thought (and time) into how they might present themselves online. The creation of text, selection of photos and links to share and with which networks (which might include whānau, friends, colleagues, university friends, community workers and so on) to include in their profile all contributed to the person they wish to be presented as.

More male participants appeared to think carefully about how they present themselves in SNS in relation to possible impacts on their chances of being employed. Their concern was focused on minimising adverse impressions or consequences of sharing particular information about themselves or their activities.

Participant response – unintended consequences of self-representation
Like, if I had a shit day at work, I wouldn't go on [Facebook] and say I had a shit day at work. Cos' like some of my bosses and friends are on Facebook and like even like employers, they search Facebook quite a bit apparently. Mmm yeah. *– Ben, male, focus group participant*

There was a consciousness amongst participants of the study that what they posted online could have potential consequences on their chances at future employment and could tarnish their reputations. Much of their online activity and shared information was done so by firstly considering the adverse effects of what that might mean for their future careers and reputations.

Perceptions of others

Another theme was the judgement and evaluation of peers' self-representations that are measured against how that person is perceived offline, participants using the terms "real life" and "normal". Participants highlighted the contradictions between "real-life" and online representations as causing confusion and giving contradictory ideas about an individual.

Participant response – conflicting online and offline personas
She only has photos when she's beautiful, when she's got make up on, when she's wearing her hair extensions, when her hair is straightened, but in real life she's not like that, she's hori[74]*, she wears track pants, and her hair is always curly [...] so every single photo, I mean every photo she has about 500 photos, is a perfect edited photo of her [...] and there's no just normal photos of what she's like normally* *– Hine, female, focus group participant*

[74] hori – rugged. This term is difficult to tranlsate, as it is also a transliteration the name 'George'. Here the word was used by one of the participants describing another person as rugged and casual offline in contrast to a highly groomed and airbrushed online representation.

Participants (both male and female) appeared to alter their perceptions about individuals whose online and offline representations were not seen as congruent. Some participants also commented that their perception of a person changed when they saw or read something from a SNS such as Facebook and judgements of that person would be made based on the online material,

Participant response – impressionable self-representations
Yeah, I reckon Facebook can sometimes be quite yuck cos' you know how girls like put themselves out there, especially like girls and they're like hardly wearing anything and they'll post it on their wall and make everyone see like their bodies and exposing their bodies, I reckon it's gross. Yeah [...] It gives you sort of an idea of what people [are] like *– Kiriti, female, focus group participant*

Judgements in the form of sexual references were often made in relation to others trying to seek attention with photos, or elaborate and excessive textual excerpts particularly in the case of women seen as wearing revealing clothing. Participants would cast judgement based on what they think they know about a person and if the online representation does not match up, often judgements of falseness were made. These forms of expression are fundamentally based on how rangatahi choose to represent themselves, which ties into identity.

Exploring the way that rangatahi present themselves online requires examination of the role of the non-textual such as photographs and video. Photos in particular are shared and tagged[75] and contributes to how a person is represented in SNS. Females in particular, expressly discuss tagged photos that they considered unflattering and

[75] A practice that means a user's name and therefore profile, is attached to text, photographs or video

unhelpful to their image, reinforcing views on how femininity is or should be presented. There is a process of 'untagging' of photos that are seen as undesirable.

Participant responses – tagged photos damaging to self-representation
▪ *Yeah I hate it when people tag you on photos though aye [...] especially when you're not looking your best – Sonia, female, focus group participant* ▪ *Oh you've got to [...] it's all about, yeah, personal image – Tui, male, focus group participant*

Untagging of images is a common practice amongst especially female participants and for some, had been routinely implemented into their Sunday morning schedule (as many photos were posted from weekend nights out).

Identity

Durie (1998) presents a useful framework of cultural identity based on a set of cultural markers that are used in a longitudinal study measuring Māori identity (Te Hoe Nuku Roa). These cultural markers include knowledge of whakapapa, participation in marae activities, involvement with whānau, access to whenua tipu,[76] contacts with other Māori and use of te reo Māori. Identity in virtual spaces is both self-identified through text, photos, videos, and interests and collectively-identified through groups (for example, iwi Facebook pages may require admin permission to join the page which might involve a process of scrutinising that members are and if they affiliate to that group).

[76] whenua tipu - ancestral lands

Managing relationships

While rangatahi are negotiating the ways in which they express themselves online, there is also evidence which suggests a negotiation and navigation of managing and maintaining offline relationships in order to satisfy needs of family members, friends, work colleagues and circles (networks). This section of analysis will look into how participants negotiate online relationships and follow an informal etiquette or process of making friends on Facebook. Etiquette includes a caution against making friends with colleagues or employers to avoid any potential damage to the status of or relationships with such parties. Connecting with family in SNS will also be discussed, as participants of the study felt relationships that were weak, then became stronger through their online connection.

Negotiating online relationships

Again, participants of the study discuss there being a blur between offline and online relationships, making it more difficult to establish and clarify expectations and restrictions of both relationships. Participants identified that there are certain risks involved with forging online relationships with colleagues and employers as there may be incidents where information or media might impact on the participant's reputation or ability to represent themselves in the best possible way to their employer or co-workers

Participant response – managing relationships with colleagues and employers
Like, cos' at my old job I was a supervisor so they were all like younger than me so it doesn't really matter, but older people maybe I wouldn't add them um… just cos' I don't want them knowing what I get up to in the weekends and stuff I don't want that to have any effect on my job *– Krystal, female, focus group participant*

Participants were very aware of the risks involved in friending employers or co-workers in SNS and generally tended to stay away from those types of online relationships. By doing this, participants did not feel like they were being examined and judged by their employer or colleagues.

Managing relationships with family members was also challenging for participants where textual and non-textual information being shared could represent mischievous or uncouth notions of participants online activity,

Participant responses – managing familial relationships
▪ *Don't add your parents!* ▪ *He was ok [dad] like for a while, when I added him as a friend, and then I made a status that had a swear word in it and then my older sister wrote to me on Facebook and she was like stop swearing in your statuses, Dad's getting angry" [laughs] DELETE!* ▪ *Bye, bye! So now he can't see my statuses!* ▪ *I'm not friends with my dad, cos' I know he'll snoop up on me what I get up to* *- Conversation amongst siblings. Names omitted for confidentiality purposes*
I don't really want my mum to know what goes on in my life. I think she'd be a bit embarrassed about some of the things that happened *– Name omitted for confidentiality purposes*

Participants were careful in what they shared and what others would share about them on their Facebook profiles to safeguard their family members (including extended family members) from being exposed to that material, which might influence family members' judgements.

Etiquette

Participants discussed their own protocols they employed in the process of managing new and existing relationships, which included extensive researching and

investigating of relationships that were made online. In the instances where participants did not recognise a person requesting their friendship (through Facebook, for example), they would then examine who their mutual friends were, in the hope to get more insight of that person before agreeing to accept them as a friend.

Participants responses – complexities of process in managing relationships
Someone might add me and like oh you've got fifteen mutual friends so I'll check who the mutual friends are first and then if it's people that are close to me and then they know them oh yeah I'll add them *– Manuel, male, focus group participant*
The mutual friends thing is a good way of determining aye like oh should I friend you should I not friend you, cos' you just check out to see who do they know and who they're friends with and then you kind of, well I just go off that anyway it's like oh yeah sweet *- Kawena, male, focus group participant*

Participants generally felt in control over who they could have as part of their online networks, as they were able to investigate who people were before deciding to make them a friend or not. Participants also tended to become friends with people who they had a personal connection with; perhaps someone they know well, or might have met recently at an event or social gathering, or know through someone else – someone who they genuinely seemed more interested in knowing more about.

Connecting with whānau

With one in five Māori living abroad, the ways of staying connected to whānau is becoming increasingly pertinent as rangatahi and pahake continue to move overseas seeking job and study opportunities and working holidays. SNS are paving the way in terms of new technologies to connect people, the world over. Participants of my research discuss the positive and negative impacts of using SNS to communicate and connect to their families, which contribute to their wellbeing and feeling of

connectedness to family despite being some distance from them or from their marae, hapū and iwi.

Increasing and strengthening whānau ties

Facebook has provided participants of this study the ability to connect with family members, including parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents and elders. Many of the participants were, at the time of interviewing, living away from their families in main cities for study or work, or some participants had moved out of their family homes to elsewhere, but remained in the same town, district or region. However, across all of the focus groups, every participant commented on the usefulness of SNS in connecting to their families.

Participants also had whānau living overseas or other parts of Aotearoa New Zealand in which they were able to continue communicating through the likes of SNS. While Facebook was identified as a good tool to access information about what family members were doing, Skype enabled participants to have more personalised and in-depth conversations with family members, providing a visual live recording of the person to the other. Keeping in contact with whānau via SNS allows participants to feel that sense of familial contact and ties that is felt within a family and within the home of a family, particularly if it is not possible to physically go and visit ones family members.

Participant response – increasing whānau ties
Yeah sometimes it's [Facebook] the only communication you have with family [...] especially when you move away from home *– Paige, male, focus group participant*

Similarly, Facebook provides an opening and introduction to new family members who participants had not met or not yet been introduced to each other but who recognise each other through Facebook from mutual friends (who might be family) or the same last name and so on.

New or weak familial ties are being strengthened whereby SNS are bringing together communities virtually and providing the platform for individuals or groups to make familial connections online and thus, strengthening whānau connections.

Participant responses – strengthening new or weak whānau ties online
▪ *Yeah just the other day I was on Facebook [...] and one of my cousins that I've never spoken to, I think he was like one of my kuias sisters, mokos*[77] *and she lives here and she was like oh I don't know if you'll remember me", but um, yeah, she like spoke to me and then we exchanged numbers – Aroha, female, focus group participant* ▪ *And that all started from Facebook? (Researcher)* ▪ *Yeah, yeah, just cos' she started talking [via Facebook] to me – Aroha*
One thing about Facebook is like I've found like random cousins and aunties I never knew I had [...] You know they just add you and you know like request family – like family tree you know. And then I'm just like whoa never knew there was a [family member] over in America or you know like just [some] random place in the world *– Claire, female, focus group participant*

Whānau capability is increasing through the use of SNS, where whānau members can maintain a form of communication despite being at a distance from each other. This notion comes through strongly from the data and indicates that whānau wellbeing is being contributed to by the use and adoption of SNS from Māori families.

[77] moko (mokopuna) - grandchild

Access to information and people

SNS are providing increased access and connectivity between friends, between families and between Māori who are living abroad. SNS are also platforms where an exponential increase in access to information and people occurs. For the participants of this research, a main use of SNS for them was to have unequivocal access to information and people of interest to them. Participants described the level of access as their "morning newspaper" where everything and anything could be found out from Facebook about something, or someone. Participants tended to see this as a huge positive in their experience of using SNS.

Information

Participants commented strongly on the notion that they were more engaged with current events happening locally and globally as a result of their participation in SNS. News items were discussed as being shared between friends which might spark the interest of another user, who might then read and repost the news item – creating a domino effect where more and more people become interested in a piece of information based on their friends interests.

Participant responses – unequivocal access to information
▪ *Oh when there was that shooting [...] when that guy took someone hostage [...] I found out via Facebook and people putting links up and instead of waiting for the newspaper to come out, you'd get a better link [from Facebook], like someone reposting it – Aroha, female, focus group participant* ▪ *Better view of it on Facebook aye – Tihema, male, focus group participant*

Participants also commented that news shared on Facebook from their networks was more reliable than hearing it from elsewhere as one participant described when he

found out a friend of his passed away, he turned to Facebook to validate the word of mouth information.

People

Participants tended to use SNS as a way to dig up dirt and investigate into the lives of others. "Stalking" other people's Facebook pages was a common theme throughout this study and highlighted the notion that information about people was highly accessible and readily available for other users to access, as well as highly desirable (and of interest to this age range). Information about a person would often be a combination of media (images and videos), previous dialogue between the person and his or her networks, status updates, mutual friends, friends lists, links that the person is interested and so on.

Participant responses – SNS as an investigative tool
▪ *And like you go in to kinda be like stalkerish too a little bit [laughs] like you go on, have a look at other people's photos* ▪ *When you get bored, stalk their page* ▪ *Read their statuses, anything that's interesting* ▪ *See what they're up to [laughs] You don't even really talk to them* ▪ *Don't even them know them personally but will like their statuses!* *- Conversation amongst two friends. Names omitted for confidentiality purposes*

Participants talked openly during the interviews about their ability to use SNS in this way to find out more about people who they were interested in knowing more about. They could investigate at their own leisure from their computer and often, without informing the person whom they were investigating.

Surveillance of family members

On the flipside to SNS use building whānau capability and wellbeing through communication and connectedness, participants living away from their parents

discussed the likes of Facebook as being detrimental to their privacy and therefore, their online relationship with family members. Some parents would use Facebook information shared on their son or daughters page as a way to keep an eye on them and what they were doing (as many of them lived away from the family home). This form of surveillance occurring between child and parent would sometimes damage the online relationship so far as saying that participants would unfriend their parents if surveillance antics became too much for them in the hope to retain some level of privacy and separation between their social lives and their family lives.

Conclusion

There are disparities in the ways that rangatahi present themselves in offline and online spaces which do not appear to be congruent to their offline representations and sometimes perceived by audiences as overly manufactured. Facebook networks are usually acquaintances that have initially been made in person, therefore the notion that offline and online representations not aligning poses a threat on those physical relationships (in real-life) around perhaps the authenticity of those relationships, thus, online and offline spaces become blurred.

Feminist views of objectifying women's bodies and obsession over appearance extend to SNS where young females in particular, invest much time and effort to presenting themselves at their very best, often driven by what they think others want to see. Careful consideration as to what material and text is shared amongst networks is important in presenting an online profile of one's self. This process requires extensive work in its development and maintenance and is restricted to conforming within the structure and architecture of SNS platforms. SNS provides a space where participants seemingly have a level of control over how they choose to represent

themselves, however the infrastructure of SNS platforms affects how people can represent themselves in SNS.

Rangatahi identities and representations are articulated through how they perceive themselves, how they would like to see themselves and how they want others to see them. Identity is in a constant state of development, shift and change as factors influence the space in which identity is being presented. Different contexts and audiences in SNS draw out different notions of identity that are presented. Moreover, identity becomes scrutinised by audiences where judgements are made in how identity is produced, reproduced, represented and in how it is perceived.

Participants are negotiating their online relationships with their offline relationships that are often conflicting with one another and causing tensions for participants. Relationships must be negotiated and carefully navigated to not only fulfill their own expectations of the relationship, but to fulfill others' expectations of the relationship. These challenges participants are faced with take time and considerable thought and can have impacting consequences on the participants and their relationships with others. Again, the online offline confusion or blur is not helped with the architecture of Facebook and the difficulty of ciphering friends into pods or groups which can potentially address some of these challenges of friendship.

It is clear that SNS are facilitating whānau connections and communication and thus, increasing whānau ties and connectedness. Whānau ora is a direct impact from maintaining healthy and consistent communication with family members, marae, hapū and iwi, increasing capability and providing whānau with the tools to carry out their roles and tasks of being family orientated and connected.

The potential of SNS as an investigative tool shows how relatively easy and accessible peoples' personal information can be (dependent on privacy settings). On the other hand some participants explained that they actively used Facebook in this way to learn more about a person, without the ordeal of having to find it out face-to-face. The vulnerabilities of rangatahi Māori through use of SNS could more broadly be linked to knowledge of privacy settings and how to manage these, as well as understanding the potential dangers involved in online engagements. Similarly there is a certain naivety in publicising of their personal life, which leaves individuals exposed to cyber-bullying, targeting by online predators, and vulnerable to influential people such as current or future employers.

Certainly in this rapidly changing milieu it is vital that young people better understand the implications of their online behaviour and how privacy settings play an important role in keeping them safe. Perhaps more education options (potentially through formal schooling and in the home) could be explored so that youth could become more equipped for appropriate and safer behaviour in SNS.

Lead into chapter: 3

Virtual whanaungatanga - Māori utilising social networking sites to attain and maintain relationships

The next chapter discusses the concept of whanaungatanga based on both customary and contemporary perspectives and analyses the idea of virtual whanaungatanga in how relationships are forged and maintained. It builds on the previous chapter by investigating one of the three themes of use outlined by rangatahi Māori. Managing and maintaining relationships, or whanaungatanga is an important concept practised by Māori in many different contexts. Such practices largely reflected how relationships might be managed and maintained in kanohi ki te kanohi contexts. Principles of whanaungatanga are discussed in the chapter, relating to virtual relationship maintenance and management and how these might differ from face-to-face whanaungatanga. The chapters feature short sections that provide an Aotearoa New Zealand context for international journals and international audiences.

The chapter is a reworked version of the article published[78] in the AlterNative Journal in Aotearoa New Zealand in August 2013. I wish to acknowledge Rawiri Tinirau, a colleague and whanaunga of mine who provided sound advice on the article prior to its submission. Ngā mihi ki a koe e te tungane.

[78] O'Carroll, A. D. (2013). Virtual whanaungatanga. Māori utilizing social networking sites to attain and maintain relationships. *AlterNative Journal*. 9(3)/ 230-245.

In this linking section, I provide a short reflection on a conference I attended and presented at, which raised an interesting question around the validity of studying and researching something as commonplace as virtual whanaungatanga. This reflection is used here as a segue to discussing whanaungtanga more broadly in relation to SNS and Māori.

Introductory reflection

Whanaungatanga normalised

I presented the findings of this paper at a MAI Māori Doctoral conference in Otautahi (Christchurch), Aotearoa New Zealand in December 2012. The conference was a congregation of currently enrolled Māori PhD students from across Aotearoa New Zealand, sharing their research. The presentation was well received and elicited audience discussions around how we do whanaungatanga. One comment was that whanaungatanga was just a normal thing that we did in SNS; and someone questioned its research importance. After carefully considering this comment, I realised that whanaungatanga *is* an embedded, normal part of our daily lives, be it face-to-face or within SNS. Virtual whanaungatanga has already (despite SNS having only emerged around 10 years ago) seeped into the mundane of our lives and perhaps users of SNS do not realise that we are in fact practising whanaungatanga in online spaces.

> Whanaungatanga refers to whānau or body of close kin whether linked by blood, adoption or fostering. It is a process concept concerned with everything about relationships between kin. It ties people together in bonds of association and obligation. It affirms and transcends tribal identity. It locates individuals and gives meaning to relationships across time and place. Whanaungatanga assists people to determine and recognise rangatiratanga by drawing on whakapapa (genealogy) to determine mana or status (Nikora, 2007, p. 68).

Whanaungatanga is about strengthening the bonds and ties between people, usually practised among family members and extended kingroups as an integral part of Māori culture. Whanaungatanga is interpreted in different ways, which incorporating whakapapa and non-whakapapa interconnectedness of a group of people. Interconnected relationships can be forged and strengthened in a range of ways, including through SNS which, like the telephone or letter-writing, is another platform in which whanaungatanga can be practised. Using SNS as a channel can enable the potential to maintain or even improve relationships at a distance. In turn, this may provide positive impacts on bonds and ties amongst whānau and friends. Whanaungatanga can therefore be considered a normalised part of our lives whether face-to-face or virtually connected.

The reason for studying the virtual forms of whanaungatanga lies primarily in the novelty of the medium and the enthusiastic uptake of SNS, especially among rangatahi. Added to these dimensions are the challenges presented to the conventional practices of whanaunatanga by the realities of national and international Māori diaspora and the powerful digital divide between generations. These areas of whanaungatanga and SNS are investigated and explored in the following chapter.

Virtual whanaungatanga - Māori utilising social networking sites to attain and maintain relationships

Introduction

For Māori the Indigenous people of Aotearoa, relational ties are a central feature of identity formation, social organisation and community cohesion. Whanaungatanga is a process by which people collectively engage and socialise in enhancing their relationships. Rangihau (1977, p.183) describes kinship-based relationships as entailing the processes of whanaungatanga where face-to-face communication solidifies and reinforces relationships, "Kinship bound us together [it's] the warmth of being together as a family group". Nikora (2007) reiterates this idea of whanaungatanga being a familial value that connects members and where relationships are nurtured. The collective need not be kin-based but can be associated or connected through other means (sharing a common purpose or goal), however the familial collective concept is implanted in the ways that relationships are managed and maintained.

How do these central social processes play out in the face of technological innovation? Māori have long been early adopters of communications technology; for example, the uptake of the written word before Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed, proving prolific letter writers and enthusiastic newspaper owners in the 19th century

(Belich, 1996; King, 2003). Māori radio stations were also early developments and, in the contemporary setting, Māori broadcasting and production in television and film are forces to be reckoned with. Little surprise to find that Māori uptake of social networking systems is widespread and proactive; Facebook has been a significant site of this uptake.

Facebook's now 1 billion users primarily use the site for social purposes such as maintaining a network of offline relationships (Bryant & Marmo, 2012; Tong & Walther, 2011). One important SNS function is as a platform for active communication between friends and whānau, complementing offline relationships, allowing users to continue relationships online and adding to their overall wellbeing (Burke, Marlow & Lento, 2010). Kennedy (2010) states that Facebook is used as a vehicle for facilitating and maintaining whānau connections, "the common relationship, that of being kin, is sufficient to make and maintain a connection, and enables whānau to state their place within the whānau through the network forum" (Kennedy, 2010, p. 16). The rapid uptake of SNS by Māori is creating new contexts within which fundamentals like whanaungatanga are being played out. Whanaungatanga, once limited as a face-to-face practice, has become common in virtual spaces where families (existing and new connections) and friends are maintaining and strengthening ties and relationships.

In this paper, I will explore the various meanings of whanaungatanga drawn from both long established and contemporary scholarship, examining how it is conceptualised and applied to a range of different contexts. This provides a basis for further discussions on whanaungatanga in SNS and how relationships are both attained and maintained using this technology. Drawing on the literature and data, I

present a model of whanaungatanga which will be explored and discussed in relation to virtual whanaungatanga.

Aotearoa New Zealand context

To describe the Aotearoa New Zealand context and in particular, the state of the Māori nation, is to acknowledge the histories of Māori people and culture. Here I provide a brief overview of Māori history; readers are encouraged to do further reading to more fully understand the local context.

The Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Māori, were (and remain) a colonised people, dating back to the British incursions in the mid-19th century by the British (M. H. Durie, 1995b; Orange, 2011; R. Walker, 2004). In spite of provisions agreed to in the nation's founding document Te Tiriti o Waitangi and its variable meanings in Māori and English languages, colonisation had severe affects on British and Māori relationships. The colonists worked to subjugate, marginalise and discriminate against Māori. Land alienation and warfare resulted in major loss of life and resources, with profound impacts on Māori systems, values, and ways of knowing and being (R. A. Benton, 1987; Biggs, 1989; Kawharu, 1989).

Despite injustice and oppression (M. H. Durie, 1998; R. Walker, 2004), Māori culture and communities survived and, in some respects are resurgent with economic, cultural, artistic, sporting and political development to the fore. A number of Māori institutions have been crucial to these developments and the marae is central among them. The marae as known in today's society has been the main storehouse of esoteric and tribal knowledge and a site where many Māori and iwi-specific ceremonies and rituals have been maintained, preserved and practised today

(Mead, 2003; Salmond, 1975; R. Walker, 1981). Practices such as whanaungatanga have customarily been fostered in these spaces where large and extended families and relations gather for various purposes. With the advent of SNS, whanaungatanga practices extend beyond the marae and other face-to-face dimensions to the virtual.

Conceptualising whanaungatanga

The concept of whanaungatanga has been applied to a plethora of circumstances and kaupapa that have contributed to formal proceedings on the marae, tikanga, kawa[79], health frameworks, teaching and learning frameworks and social protocols. Importantly, the context in which whanaungatanga is practised or applied is a Māori context that involves people and relationships. Whakapapa is described as an important part of whanaungatanga, with whakapapa links fostered and lived through shared whanaungatanga experiences (Gillies, Tinirau & Mako, 2007; Sheehan, 2011). Pere (1984) and Royal (1998) define whanaungatanga as the interconnectedness of all things through whakapapa. The many strands of generations are connected through a common ancestor or ancestors,

> Whanaungatanga is the process and practice of creating, maintaining and sustaining relationships. Whanaungatanga pulls on whakapapa kōrero knowledge as a catalyst for the creation, maintenance and sustenance for relationships (S. Edwards, 2009, p.338).

Thus, whanaungatanga in a customary sense is the interconnectedness and relationships amongst whānau, hapū and iwi through whakapapa.

In more recent times, the concept of whanaungatanga has extended beyond the nucleus of whānau, hapū and iwi to include non-whakapapa links and relationships

[79] kawa – customs, rituals (this concept is discussed in length in chapter 5)

of people who are bonded together through shared purposes (such as community groups) (W. Edwards, 2010). Metge (1995, p. 305) describes such groupings as, "kaupapa whānau" who are brought together through a common or shared purpose and not necessarily linked through kinship[80].

Ritchie (1992) describes whanaungatanga as tying people together through association, giving meaning to relationships. Whanaungatanga can provide a basis for collectively beneficial behavioral interactions (Habermann, 1997) as well as obligations and expectations (Cherrington, 1994). It is clear that whanaungatanga encompasses many meanings, interpretations and applications and that whakapapa or genealogical links are no longer an essential component in practices of whanaungatanga. It has become embedded into contemporary Māori society as an "expected and normal activity in both formal and informal contexts" (S. Edwards, 2009, p. 163).

Everyday activities such as wānanga, marae events (including meetings), fundraising, celebrations, working bees, sports events, teaching and learning in classrooms are viewed in today's society as forms of whanaungatanga or the "natural course of socialisation" (S. Edwards, 2009, p. 339). A number of researchers have drawn on whanaungatanga to provide guiding principles for conducting research with Māori and for Māori (Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1999; Tinirau, 2008; Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). Whanaungatanga with Māori communities (whānau, hapū and iwi) can greatly assist researchers in connecting to research participants and has

[80] An example of kaupapa whānau could be a kapa haka (Māori performing arts) team who are all collectively working for a common purpose or towards a common goal.

a place in many health, educational and social initiatives and models, drawing on its notions of relationship building for whānau, groups and communities.

Whanaungatanga - a model

S. Edwards' (2009) whanaungatanga model incorporates components such as aroha, manaakitanga[81] and kaitiakitanga[82] and applies to both physical and spiritual worlds. Elaborating on Edwards' model and considering broader definitions of whanaungatanga discussed above, it is clear that both whakapapa and kaupapa are components and thus, guiding principles that underpin whanaungatanga. Building on these two primary principles, Ritchie (1992) discusses wairuatanga, kotahitanga and rangatiratanga as value sets that similarly underpin whanaungatanga. In considering a whanaungatanga model for this study, I draw on the definitions and components of whanaungatanga expressed here to create a whanaungatanga model:

1. Whakapapa (descent)
2. Kaupapa (common purpose)
3. Manaakitanga (care, hospitality, nuturing)
4. Wairuatanga (spirituality)
5. Kotahitanga (solidarity and unity)
6. Rangatiratanga (governance, leadership, hierarchical Māori structures)
7. Aroha (love and compassion)

Each of these components are used here as guiding principles and values that encapsulate both customary and contemporary conceptions of whanaungatanga that have been articulated in this study thus far. Importantly, the value sets are congruent,

[81] manaakitanga - hospitality, nuture, kindness
[82] kaitiakitanga - guardianship

intertwining and contributing to each other. This model will be later discussed, arguing its applicability as a framework to conceptualise whanaungatanga in SNS.

Relationships in SNS

Whanaungatanga also occurs in relationship maintenance, as offline relationships extend to online spaces (or vice versa), which can include both strong (closely tied) and weak (relatively new or distant) relationships. Granovetter (1973, p. 1361) describes strong and weak ties (relationships) as a "combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterise the tie". Pearson (2009) discusses the use of SNS platforms as ways to maintain strong ties and strengthen weak ones. Thus, strong and weak ties are being maintained in SNS amongst both whakapapa and non-whakapapa whānau.

Building on these concepts, this paper will analyse virtual whanaungatanga in SNS, how it is conducted, how relationships are attained and maintained, and draw comparisons made from customary notions of whanaungatanga to virtual practices of whanaungatanga. Objectives that are specifically investigated in this study will compare ideas of online and offline whanaungatanga and how SNS are fostering or hindering the cultural concept of whanaungatanga. This paper will contribute to my doctoral thesis.

Method

This study uses a framework that has been specifically developed for my doctoral thesis. The framework firstly encompasses kaupapa Māori principles (Māori-based philosophies and values as a way of understanding) which provide a platform for

Māori research to be conducted using distinct Māori cultural practices and a Māori worldview (see Bishop, 1996; Cram, 1992; Moewaka Barnes, 2008; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). Secondly, the framework is complemented by acknowledging the tribal upbringing of the researcher, namely three Taranaki iwi (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngaruahine Rangi) which uniquely contributes to the way the researcher interprets and makes meaning based on two fundamental teachings; rangimārie and hūmārie. Finally, te reo Māori me ōna tikanga is the third part of the framework where te reo use is elevated and used to holistically understand Māori concepts.

The paper draws on 4 data sets including; rangatahi focus groups (52 Māori youth aged between 18-25 years in a series of 12 focus groups, all deriving from a number of iwi across the North Island); individual interviews (conducted with eight participants from focus groups); iwi case study interviews (conducted with Ngaruahine Rangi iwi (located in South Taranaki) and Ngāti Rānana (located in London, UK); and an online survey (conducted with 139 anonymous Māori respondents who had been living abroad for 12 months or more). Interview schedules and the survey were designed to capture talk that encompassed the five research questions of my doctoral thesis. Thematic analysis with its inductive orientation (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2012) has been employed to describe patterns and variations at work in the talk of participants.

Attaining relationships

Many rangatahi in this study reported making new connections and commented on how positive it was to find extended family members whom they had not met before, through Facebook. In this section of the analysis, a discussion around attaining

relationships through whanaungatanga will be conducted and in particular, around how participants met new whānau and extended whānau members through their own personal SNS profiles and collective group profiles such as marae, hapū and iwi. Most rangatahi did not actively seek new whānau to meet online, but made connections organically through names, mutual friends, or through similar groups mentioned above.

In these ways, whanaungatanga was facilitated in a shared virtual space with individuals and communities coming together and enabling new relationships to be formed and built. As relationships were formed, dialogue often shifted into physical contexts. In virtual contexts, where two people who might suspect that they are connected through whakapapa, exchanges could happen privately through message or chat functions, or publicly by adding that person as a friend and posting a message to their page; either way, dialogue occurs first to establish any form of connection, from which relationships were formed and built.

Participant response: New online relationships continue offline
Yeah just the other day I was on Facebook mucking around you know, and one of my cousins that I've never spoken to, I think she was like one of my kuia's sister's mokos and she lives here and she was like "oh I don't know if you'll remember me", but um, yeah, she like spoke to me and then we exchanged numbers and stuff and um, now I'm in their netball team [laughs]   *– Aroha, focus group participant*

Whanaungatanga came into practice from the very first introductions and continued as the relationship was established and solidified, where whakapapa brought people together, connecting them through shared genealogy.

In another domain, participants commented extensively on the forms of whanaungatanga they experienced through SNS to their marae, hapū and iwi groups. The convenience of having access to ones hapū, marae or iwi through SNS provided opportunities for rangatahi to connect back and build whanaungatanga with these groups. Within communities of marae, hapū and iwi, it can often be difficult for members who are not active participants in these institutions to make a connection. This can be particularly acute for people who have moved away from home, who grew up outside of the rohe or who do not attend hui and other events on the marae, but remain connected through whakapapa. Some whānau may feel whakamā[83] to return home and may seek alternative ways to connect back to their roots. The following participant discussed the difficulty she had in connecting to her iwi. She found that Facebook communication helped her to build a relationship and break down barriers that might be present if she was trying to forge a relationship in person,

Participant response: Building relationship to iwi via SNS
They didn't really consider me whānau but the more you kind of just post yourself in their face which is easy to do with Facebook they are kind of more accepting of you - the more that I keep coming on here [Facebook], you know keep contacting them, the more we break down those barriers *– Sonia, focus group participant*

Conversely, marae, hapū and iwi organisations have been thinking strategically about utilising SNS to connect to their constituents, and in particular, targeting audiences such as rangatahi and those who live outside of tribal boundaries. New relationships were forged through inviting members to join or subscribe to group pages, creating a virtual space where whanaungatanga can occur. Whanaungatanga occurs within the

[83] whakamā – shy, embarrassed

group page through shared dialogue and information such as photos and video, making connections with new or existing relations (who are also members) and having the opportunity to feel connected to that particular community,

Participant response: Marae/hapū/iwi targeting specific audiences in SNS to connect
A lot of these Māori communities are realising that rangatahi are on Facebook and so to bring the rangatahi home, back into the marae, they are using Facebook as a tool to, you know, tell the world there is a wānanga this weekend, or Pā[84] *wars, you know come along and jump in and get involved so that's what I am seeing a lot of, sort of around the country is that marae, hapū and iwi are really tapping in and thinking strategically about Facebook and how they can use it to bring rangatahi in* *– Sonia, focus group participant*

Whanaungatanga was initiated both from the users' perspective and organisations' perspective to facilitate connections and relationships. Both individuals and organisations facilitated whanaungatanga through initiating connections and forging new or first time relationships as well as maintaining existing relationships. Some marae, hapū and iwi capitalised on this technology to build their own capacity (albeit, virtual), which in turn created another space (and an alternative method) to build relationships amongst its members.

Maintaining relationships

Continuing on from this idea of building new relationships is the task of maintaining these connections. The Māori diaspora is growing and one in five Māori now live overseas (Collins, 2011). Families and communities are physically disconnected from each other, prompting new and alternative ways of keeping ties tight and

[84] pā - fortified place, nowadays used in reference to marae

relationships healthy. SNS are providing the tools to facilitate an alternative method for keeping relationships intact but most importantly, facilitating unity and solidarity. Existing relationships that may have been established face-to-face (such as family, friends from school, colleagues, sports team members and so on) appear to extend into SNS as a further method of maintaining relationships. Family members were able to keep in touch with each other and felt a sense of familial bonding and connection through whānau specific group pages on Facebook or having closed conversations with only family members, creating whanaungatanga amongst whānau members,

Participants response: Maintaining familial relationships
It's just mean [refers to something that is great, awesome] how if they're online then you know you can have a mean convo [conversation] with them and then like, some other family [members] might be online and you can all just be having a mean convo about the same thing and you know? Yeah, it's pretty cool how you can get, like, in touch with everybody but not have to like, go drive to every person's house to check on them you know. Yeah, it's just kind of all then and there which is mean *– Claire, focus group participant*

Clearly, SNS are important tools for Māori to maintain relationships with family locally and globally and provides a sense or feeling of connection to family; you know what is going on, you are participating in their lives and them in yours and thus, this translates to a feeling of whanaungatanga amongst whānau.

Relationships with friends were maintained in similar ways for many participants of the study, particularly those aged between 18 to 25 years. The importance of being connected to friends ensured that friendships were cared for which was clearly a priority for this age group. Efforts for maintaining friendship relationships extended beyond merely checking profiles and included personal chatting and private

messaging between friends. Unique dialogue and discussions assist individuals in getting to know their friends and what they have been up to, providing a feeling of a strong bond and relationship. This same bonding occurs in larger groups of friends on SNS, again offering a chance to maintain and strengthen relationships through online whanaungatanga,

Participants response: Maintaining relationships with friends through larger groups
Um don't laugh… it's the [name anonymised]… so we built this group up from the ground in a lot of ways to keep in touch with one of our boys whose like out on the North Shore. We just all post on this group page, there's about sixteen, seventeen of us on there and then once everyone gets a notification we all just chuck our ideas on there and we can be as blatant as we want cos it's just us, it's closed [...] so that's like a social life type thing. So that's what I've found with these groups, they are just spot on… loving it… mmm *– Tui, focus group participant*

Focus group participants who had moved away from their hometowns to pursue study or work commented that they maintained relationships with old school friends via SNS and that group pages enabled them to share information and dialogue in a private, exclusive setting providing a place for them to practise whanaungatanga amongst themselves. Participants enjoyed the idea that they were still connected to their hometowns and childhood friends through SNS and that these relationships were important to them.

Group pages also provide platforms for sports teams, kapa haka[85] teams, closed groups of friends and so on, to practise whanaungatanga and to maintain their relationships with one another. Groups that are exclusive (that is, having a members-only policy, where perhaps an administrator manages membership into the group)

[85] kapa haka – Māori performing arts

provide not only privacy, but a feeling of belonging for a particular shared purpose (kaupapa-based whānau).

Participant response: Kaupapa-based whānau maintaining relationships
It can add a common place so people from that specific group can reach out to each other and interact no matter where they are in the world, they are no longer constrained to having to meet in person, but can meet and build on these relationships anywhere they have access to the Internet, by having this access it ultimately improves your relationships *– Survey respondent*

Participants discussed at length the diverse group pages that they were exclusively a part of through membership, many of which were informal groups of like-minded individuals for specific causes. These groups were seen as pertinent in maintaining relationships with whakapapa-based and kaupapa-based whānau and were important as a space where whanaungatanga and socialising could happen. Sociality amongst its members is what constitutes whanaungatanga and in turn, provides interconnectedness and healthy relationships.

SNS and the Māori Diaspora

An online survey, conducted with 139 Māori respondents who had been living outside of Aotearoa New Zealand for at least 12 months, revealed the importance of SNS in helping them maintain relationships with family and friends living back home (in Aotearoa New Zealand). Participants commented on the dislocation they felt from their whenua[86] and tūrangawaewae. However, by having access to family and friends through SNS including video calling on Skype. Māori diaspora abroad felt some level of connection with family and friends who remained in Aotearoa

[86] whenua - land

New Zealand. SNS provides the tools to be able to practise whanaungatanga from a distance, particularly video calling, as the visual aid enhances the experience of whanaungatanga between people.

Participants response: SNS enabling Māori diaspora to practise whanaungatanga
Social networking allows us to maintain that 'bond' at the minimum level. It can be done easily, inexpensively and is convenient for many. Mediums such as Skype, where the exchanges of thoughts, and feelings combined with the ability to see the other person (their appearance, gestures and facial expressions) are as close to the idea of kanohi ki te kanohi as possible - even more so than the old telephone conversations of the past *– Survey respondent*

As mentioned in the above quote, there is a level of embodiment that is experienced during an interaction via video calling online. Body movements, facial expressions and gestures are exchanged via video calling, as if being face-to-face. Emotions are also detectable through video calling, and can be communicated during an online interaction. Such dynamics that occur between two people has long been restricted to face-to-face communication and is now transmitted via SNS.

The visual and audio are enabled in these experiences, although it lacks the physical touch; however, whanaungatanga practised in these situations is clearly satisfying many Māori who are unable to be physically present with their whānau and friends, helping them to maintain these relationships.

Participants response: SNS satisfying Māori living abroad
I don't know what I would do without it. When you're away from home if you're not in regular contact with whānau and friends you feel disconnected. Social networking allows you to stay in contact with friends and whānau as if you were there with them. You can see what they've been up to, and how things have changed since you left, or not. You can talk instantly, keeping your relationships intact

–Survey responden

Despite the sensory limitations in these examples of whanaungatanga, the importance of having *some* connection and bonding with whānau and friends is invaluable for those who live outside of their tribal areas, and outside of Aotearoa New Zealand. Equally, the level of whanaungatanga that occurs in SNS fulfills relationship demands and needs, so long as there is a level of regular interaction and that the feeling of connectedness and strong bond remains between two people or amongst a group. It is clear that a form of whanaungatanga is being practised in SNS and is very much a part of the interactions that both individuals and groups are experiencing as they forge and strengthen their relationships.

Whanaungatanga model and SNS

What is clear through the analysis of the data is that whanaungatanga continues to be practised today, but in new settings with diverse influences and impacts on the maintenance of relationships. It remains to be explored how these changes relate to the theoretical framework adopted.

The model discussed earlier encompasses both customary and contemporary definitions and ideas of whanaungatanga using strong Māori values to express whanaungatanga. The model's principles are drawn from current and previous literature around whanaungatanga definitions by both Māori and non-Māori scholars. I will use parts of this model to discuss how whanaungatanga is represented in the data and how it has shifted and changed from more customary notions. Six of the seven components (whakapapa, kaupapa, wairuatanga, manaakitanga, kotahitanga and aroha) identified in the model are applicable to whanaungatanga in SNS with the

domains of rangatiratanga and wairuatanga[87] absent from participants' talk. A further component; ngā kare ā-roto[88] has been added to the model incorporating an important new theme from the data, creating a revised whanaungatanga model.

Whakapapa

It is appropriate that whakapapa should be acknowledged first as the concept of whanaungatanga derives from whakapapa or genealogy and the interconnectedness of whānau. The data shows that whakapapa plays an important role in bringing Māori together in the SNS context. Whakapapa connections are being made for the first time through SNS in which case whanaungatanga is practised and relationships are forged. Whakapapa connections are made firstly through observation of others through mutual friends or group collectives such as iwi pages.

Virtual spaces are providing opportunities for users to make and strengthen familial connections with each other. Participants commented on the increased access they felt they had to new family members through SNS, whom they may not have ordinarily met in a face-to-face situation, thus, SNS are seen as positive spaces in which new familial connections are being made.

Kaupapa

Following on from whanaungatanga through whakapapa is whanaungatanga through a common purpose. These groupings exercise whanaungatanga in similar ways, but are not bound together through genealogy. As previously mentioned, the literature shows that kaupapa-based whanaungatanga is widely accepted and practised. The

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[87] Wairuatanga was not expressly discussed in the data, but has been incorporated into the revised whanaungatanga model as discussed later in this section

[88] ngā kare ā-roto refer to human emotions

ability to create new spaces for groups of people to access and network in for a particular purpose is far-reaching. Facebook group pages that participants were part of included academic classmates; sports teams; kapa haka teams; te reo Māori; school friends; work colleagues and political movements.

Creating a group page for a specific purpose and inviting members to join is a relatively straightforward task and much more manageable than gathering people physically in any one place at any one time. Equally important to note, is that kaupapa-based whanaungatanga is observed in almost any type of online group setting. The range of kaupapa that bring people together in SNS and who are therefore practising whanaungatanga online is extensive.

Wairuatanga

What remains unclear in this study is the importance of wairuatanga when practising whanaungatanga. However, it is important to note here, that participants were not explicitly asked about wairuatanga and SNS within the focus groups or interviews, and my data analyses reveal that there were no explicit mentions of wairuatanga as being part of the online whanaungatanga process by participants. However, participants did speak about feeling a sense of connection to whānau or friends via SNS that enabled an expression of emotions and a bond, despite not being physically present with each other.

As Cherrington (1994) discussed, wairuatanga, or te taha wairua[89] is felt rather than seen and is often expressed through emotions. Thus, the emotions experienced are an expression of wairuatanga. Holistically, wairuatanga is instilled within

[89] te taha wairua - a spiritual element/paradigm

whanaungatanga as constituted in the connections between people and the environment (land, waterways, forests, burial grounds, sacred places) that are spiritually bound and inextricable.

Western notions of 'spirituality' may differ to those of Māori spirituality in that faith and religion (usually Christian) are often attached to wairuatanga. However the latter does not necessarily infer religion (in this context), and often refers to the spiritual connections that can be felt, and made. Wairuatanga in a Māori sense draws on spiritual connections to ancestors who have passed, atua and the environment. All of these things are interconnected, and are bound by wairua. Wairuatanga has been discussed as an important principle of whanaungatanga practice (Ritchie, 1992) thus, by extension, wairuatangaa as a principle would be part of whanaungatanga practice in SNS. What is important are the spiritual connections through feelings and emotions that make interactions meaningful and important to people.

Manaakitanga

This principle is about hospitality, kindness and respect. This is an important principle in whanaungatanga, as relationships are forged, maintained and nurtured to ensure that they are healthy. Without nurturing, relationships will become weak and suffer; further, manaakitanga principles also include respect and in this context, giving respect to elders is an important value for Māori. When making connections and interacting with elders through SNS, a sense of respect is important to ensuring that whanaungatanga occurs appropriately and connections and relationships are able to be seeded and grown. Manaakitanga was similarly demonstrated by organisations and institutions (marae, hapū, iwi) that sought to connect with constituents. Their efforts in providing a safe and comfortable place (in SNS) to interact and connect can

be seen as manaakitanga playing out on their part, and their intentions to ensure their constituents are looked after and cared for.

Kotahitanga

It is clear from the data that whanaungatanga has taken on a new meaning that revolves around socialising. The study revealed that for participants aged 18 - 25, whanaungatanga was a way to feel connected through a bond of unity or togetherness with their whānau or peers. Getting to know each other, hanging out and socialising were all terms that were used by these participants when discussing their relationships and how they maintained them in SNS. Notions and experiences of unity and solidarity were extensively discussed by kaupapa-based whānau as being indicative of how whanaungatanga was practised amongst the collective.

Aroha

The component of aroha includes compassion, generosity and kindness as its main principles. This component draws from Edwards' (2009) model, and is crucial and imperative to conducting whanaungatanga. It is a positive, friendly process of communicating and interacting with others. If interactions are not enacted in a positive, kind and compassionate way, relationships will not endure. As the karakia says "te aroha anō o tētehi ki tētehi" (love and compassion for one another) affirming that aroha is a human feeling, emotion and expression, which overlaps and connects with the final principle of kare ā-roto. Without aroha, meaningful, genuine and enduring relationships could not exist.

Ngā kare ā-roto

The final component and new addition to the discussed model is ngā kare ā-roto. Kare ā-roto is the expression of emotions as an aspect of whanaungatanga in practice, which overlaps with wairuatanga where spiritual connections are felt between people and between objects (wharenui,[90] taonga as examples). To consider whanaungatanga between people is to acknowledge human emotions that are felt and expressed by participants as they practise whanaungatanga in SNS. Kare ā-roto as a component has been included in this framework to acknowledge human emotion as integral to interactions and experiences with people, whether in a physical or virtual sense. Participants noted that they were able to feel and express emotions during their interactions with others. This helped them to feel more comfortable using SNS as it gave them a sense that those interactions were real and meaningful.

Wellman (2001) posed a question over a decade ago as to whether people can emotionally and cognitively experience relationships through computerised communication systems in the same ways that they experience face-to-face relationships. From this research, it is clear that interactions through SNS take on emotive and cognitive senses and enable the individual to feel a level of emotion that engages the user, at least in lieu of being face-to-face.

Rangatiratanga

It is important to note here, that rangatiratanga (which was an original component of whanaungatanga as expressed by Richie) is not included in my revision for SNS contexts. While participants noted that collective groups in SNS sometimes required membership to be verified (for example, an iwi board member might administer their

[90] wharenui – meeting house

iwi Facebook page and permission might be required from the iwi board, to allow members to join), there appeared to be less of a hierarchical structure in whanaungatanga practised in SNS. This could be due to the increasing ease of practising whanaungatanga and making connections with others through SNS, as opposed to having to do whanaungatanga face-to-face. Some participants discussed the breaking of barriers within SNS, when there might have usually been some difficulty initiating whanaungatanga with an iwi or hapū rūnanga,[91] face-to-face, for example. Although rangatiratanga is an important component of whanaungatanga, participants did not discuss it as being integral to their whanaungatanga practise in SNS.

This revised model is made up of components as guiding principles as discussed in the literature. The components are seen as integral to whanaungatanga and furthermore provide a solid basis for how whanaungatanga is practised in SNS. The model does not explore the negative interactions that Māori may experience in SNS. The realities of SNS are that these spaces are vulnerable and accessible for threats, bullying and other invasions of privacy that can lead to serious damage and negative impacts. Other notable downsides to SNS that directly oppose positive whanaungatanga are marginalisation, exclusion, rejection, competitiveness, racism and discrimination. Participants involved in this study did not talk explicitly about these forms of negative experiences and interactions; however it may have been that participants did not feel comfortable discussing conflict they had experienced in SNS.

[91] rūnanga - institution, organisation

Positive and meaningful whanaungatanga has only been discussed in this article; however it is acknowledged that these negative issues exist within SNS for Māori. This whanaungatanga model therefore provides a Māori way of thinking about and actioning positive relationship building and maintenance in SNS and potentially providing users with some key philosophies (the 7 components of the model) for positive whanaungatanga practise in SNS. More work is required around negative experiences of whanaungatanga that might harm or impact users of SNS.

Conclusion

Whanaungatanga, to a certain extent, has undergone a shift in meaning and practise. With new technologies available to us, ways of communicating and interacting have increased to the point where relationships can be forged and maintained between whānau, peers and groups for a range of different purposes via SNS such as Facebook. Whanaungatanga as a practice has changed from being a conduit only for whānau members to connect and strengthen ties to moving beyond whakapapa and including people with a common purpose for building a relationship. In this way, whanaungatanga is more aligned with terms such as socialising, hanging out and bonding.

Data and analyses presented here articulate and acknowledge a virtual form of whanaungatanga as a practice in SNS amongst Māori. This virtual form remains rooted in its foundational principles of whakapapa, kaupapa, wairuatanga, kotahitanga, manaakitanga, aroha and kare ā-roto. The whanaungatanga concept applied in SNS appears to be much more informal and applied to many more contexts and situations than it might have been when whakapapa was the driving principle and/or when whanaungatanga was only possible in face-to-face situations.

It offers a concept and processes that Māori engage with as they work at relationships in SNS enabling them to form connections and strengthen ties with others in culturally recognisable ways.

Despite not having the physical human touch when practising whanaungatanga in SNS, emotions continue to be felt and expressed by users, providing a sense of meaningful interactions. Relationships are cared for and nurtured through the processes of whanaungatanga and without it the myriad social interactions that constitute community life would suffer.

Lead into chapter: 4

Māori identity construction in SNS

Chapter 4 looks at ideas of Māori cultural identity and how SNS play a role in the construction and formation of Māori identity, particularly for those living abroad. This chapter takes the broader concepts of whanaungatanga and connections to provide a Māori identity framework examining how Māori use SNS to form and express identity. We have already learnt that rangatahi Māori use SNS in a range of ways, including to maintain relationships and to connect back to their communities. Māori use SNS in a similar way to explore and (re)connect to markers of their cultural identity (as articulated by participants), learning more about themselves.

Some Māori may find it difficult to physically return to their roots to learn about their heritage and thus seek this information through other methods. The following chapter examines notions of Māori identity using aspects of Te Hoe Nuku Roa Māori identity framework and drawing on participants' responses in discussing how Māori identity is (re)constructed in SNS. The chapter was submitted to the International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies in January 2013. The article has since been peer reviewed and accepted for publication in the next issue.

Due to the word limit for the journal, some background literature and context are provided in this linking section as an introduction. Relevant literature around Māori

identity and cultural identity markers are explained here, with particular reference to Te Hoe Nuku Roa.

Introductory literature

Māori conceptions of identity

> In a period of shifting cultural landscapes, precise definitions of identity become increasingly difficult to construct. For Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand, collective and individual identity formation has historically been shaped by a multiplicity of factors arising from genealogical foundations (Durie, 1997, p.142).

Creation stories help us as Māori to understand who we are as a people that "reflect the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere to them" (Walker 1992, p.170). These stories provide people with a sense of identity and belonging in knowing where one has come from, both physically and spiritually. Māori identity is deeply connected to the environs, ancestors, genealogies, histories of a people, whānau, values and language (Forster, 2003). Mātauranga Māori draws on longterm observations of the relationship and connections between land, sea, sky and all natural elements. Land is not simply a place or piece of earth – it is life, that which gives life, nurturing and sustaining, giving identity to the people and is inextricably connected to knowledge and knowing. This is the genealogy of old knowledge, which gives life to new knowledge and therefore creating a fundamental and evolving basis for identity. A person's genealogy of themselves, their whānau and extended whānau is an underpinning element of identity and provides a basis on which individuals can build their identity.

Identity is a fluid and conceptual framework for how a person views themselves and how others see them: "on the most basic level identity involves recognition,

categorization and self-identification as a member of a particular group" (Ward, 2006, p.245). There are a range of factors that contribute to the make-up of Māori identity, but whakapapa is fundamental (Gibbons et al., 1994; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982): "whakapapa provides our identity within a tribal structure and later in life gives an individual the right to say, 'I am a Māori" (Mead, 2003, p.42). However identity is not only about whakapapa. It is an articulation of the individual in relation to their ancestors and is often guided by teachings within their whānau and extended whānau during upbringing (Kāretu, 1990). Māori identity is constantly evolving and changing according to individual characteristics, contexts and experiences.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa

Te Hoe Nuku Roa is a longitudinal study set up in 1992 and consisted of approximately 700 households and 1200 participants. The study's aim was to measure Māori identity and values in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand society using a framework with four major axes of Māori identity; Paihere Tangata – Human relationships; Te Ao Māori – Māori identity; Ngā āhuatanga noho ā tangata – Socio-economic circumstances; and Ngā Whakanekenekehanga – Changes over time ("Te Hoe Nuku Roa," 2012).

Axis	Subsets	Units of inquiry
Axis 2 Te Ao Māori Māori Identity	▪ Mana ake (personal identity) ▪ Taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage) ▪ Ngā rawa a Rangi rāua ko Papa (natural resources) ▪ Whakanohohanga Māori (Māori institutions)	▪ Ethnic affiliation ▪ Language ▪ Tikanga ▪ Environment: Land, Fisheries, Forests ▪ Marae, Hapu activities, Iwi links

Axis 2 was constructed as a tool to conceptualise Māori identity across a range of different fields that might be of importance, recognising that Māori identity is made

up of a number of factors. The framework attempts to address ideas of Māori identity from both traditional and contemporary points of view, not prescribing or marking out parameters as to what Māori identity is.

> Far from being members of an homogeneous group, Māori individuals have a variety of cultural characteristics and live in a number of cultural and socioeconomic realities. The relevance of so-called traditional values is not the same for all Māori, nor can it be assumed that all Māori will wish to define their ethnic identity according to classical constructs. At the same time, they will describe themselves as Māori and will reject any notion that they are "less Māori" than those who conform to a conventional image (M. H. Durie, 1995, n.p).

Despite the intentions of the survey, there have been some concerns about the Te Hoe Nuku Roa framework being used as a measurement tool of Māori identity (Stevenson, 2004). Information such as the discursive, narrative and experiential is not used in the analysis and measurement, nor is anyone actually asked how strongly they identify as Māori; rather their identity is judged for them. Borell (2005, p.34) argues that Te Hoe Nuku Roa framework "implies a certain way of being Māori that is likely to reflect the cultural identity of some Māori but not others". She argues further to say that contemporary youth, particularly those who have grown up in the city and away from perhaps their tribal lands and people may not relate to such a framework of Māori identity or the cultural identity markers outlined in the study and neverless, are still Māori.

Despite the fact that the measurement framework has limitations and drawbacks, the cultural markers of Māori identity echo a combination of both customary and contemporary values (descent based and participation based) that can be attributed to forms of Māori identity. Further, both the subsets and units of inquiry are inclusive of important cultural markers that are useful in discussing how Māori use SNS to

express, engage with and learn more about aspects of their individual and collective Māori cultural identities.

Mana Ake (personal identity)

The first subset of the framework considers the concept of whakapapa discussed earlier in this linking section as critical to Māori identity. A 2001 study indicated that 1 in 5 Māori possessed whakapapa Māori (i.e., were of Māori descent) but chose not to identify as Māori (Kukutai, 2004); some who did not have whakapapa Māori identified as Māori by virtue of involvement and participation in aspects of Māori culture (such as te reo Māori). The latter positioning is a clear contradiction to the argument that Māori identity is first and foremost underlined by whakapapa. In contrast, identity is considered to be both inherited (through blood and genealogy, therefore acknowledged membership) *and* self-identified. These variations indicate a multiplicity of conceptions and definitions that mean different things to different individuals and of groups (hapū and iwi).

Taonga tuku iho (cultural heritage)

The second subset to Māori identity is taonga tuku iho, or cultural heritage which includes language and tikanga as markers of identity. Te Reo Māori can be seen as an underpinning value of one's identity since language enables Māori to express themselves on their own terms, and in their own unique way. The World Internet Project (P. Smith et al., 2008) states that 50% of speakers of the Māori and Pasifika languages agreed that the Internet assisted them in keeping their Indigenous languages alive and that they were able to use their languages in online spaces. However, not all Māori participate or engage with the language and therefore language may not necessarily be an integral part of Māori identity online.

Ngā rawa a Rangi rāua ko Papa (natural resources)

The third subset of the Te Ao Māori axis is ngā rawa a Rangi rāua ko Papa which looks at use of natural resources of lands, fisheries, forests and environments as cultural markers. As already noted, the forests, mountains, waterways, ocean and land are inextricably interconnected in Māori thought and inseparable from Māori identity, to the point where ties of kinship and descent are traced between people and the physical features of their tūrangawaewae.

Pihama (2001) gives a detailed narrative of her connection to the lands, and waterways of her home, Taranaki. The deep spiritual connection she feels with the land and water conjure up a sense of belonging, but also a sense of pain and sorrow for all that the whenua and moana have endured through land wars, colonisation and exploitation. Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, land and waterways are ongoing sites of discussion and debate between Māori and the Government in part because of their centrality to Māori and competing resource interests. Currently the New Zealand Government is selling off the state-owned Mighty River Power asset to private investors. Prospect oil drilling off the East Coast has been mooted. Fracking within the Taranaki and Hawkes Bay regions has split communities and polluted the ground ("Taranaki fracking chemicals - a secret?," 2012). These actions are are all points of discussion because they conflict with identity values, responsibilities such as kaitiakitanga of land and waterways and have implications for natural resources and food stores which are located in the affected areas, impacting on marae, hapū and iwi.

Whakanohohanga Māori (Māori institutions)

The fourth and final subset of Te Ao Māori axis is 'Whakanohohanga Māori'. This includes Māori institutions, such as marae, hapū and iwi and how Māori are

accessing, utilising and engaging with these institutions and activities that have long provided a place of belonging and connection, reinforcing ancestral and cultural links to ones Māoritanga and identity. Te Hoe Nuku Roa and its cultural markers are used in the following chapter to discuss notions of Māori cultural identity and as an analytical frame for how SNS play a role in Māori identity formation.

Non-Māori conceptions of Māori cultural identity

In considering Māori identity, it is useful to also discuss non-Māori conceptions of Māori cultural identity to get a broader sense of the dynamics that are at play when it comes to identity construction, formation and expression in today's society through issues such as blood quantum, policies and post-Treaty land settlements.

Blood quantum

Non-Māori conceptions of Māori identity have, in the past, attempted to categorise Māori, often for self-interested political or economic reasons (Kukutai, 2004). Ways of determining 'Māoriness' used measures such as blood quantum (quasi-biological markers of cultural behaviours and identity). Māori blood quantum as a measurement system was introduced in 1953 under the Māori Affairs Act and later revised in 1977 to include descent as integral to one's identity (Broughton, 1993). In a related (contemporary) incident, the New Zealand Government's actions to categorise and classify Māori (based on their blood quantum) sparked a debate amidst discussions on Māori rights to water, with the Government attempting to sell off water to private buyers ("TVNZ," 2009): they essentially defined Māori identity from a politically and economically driven standpoint and from a dominant culture point of view.

Policy

New Zealand Census data currently require individuals to state their iwi affiliations, including identifying primary iwi that, again, categorising and shaping Māori identity (Smith, 1995). Kukutai's (2004) study investigates issues around defining ethnic groups for political reasons and related to policy making over what is essentially a debate over who gets access to resources such as social services, education initiatives, fishing quota, access to returned lands and waterways and in some instances, cash. She further explains that ethnic definitions are not isolated to Aotearoa New Zealand but apply to other Indigenous peoples across the world (First Nations people in Canada, Hawaiian people of Hawai'i and Native American tribes in the Americas) having far-reaching implications on Indigenous rights and guardianship over land and waterways. Categorising Māori into boxes becomes problematic for many Māori who have multiple identities (who might be of other ethnicities or who affiliate to many iwi and not just the two iwi that census data allows) that can affect how they choose to express their identity/identities.

Crown policies that impact Māori and their environments have been aired in SNS as a platform to rally together communities. Māori living in coastal and rural areas who access Facebook for information about environmental issues and movements within Aotearoa New Zealand have shared their feelings with me. They argued that SNS provided them with unequivocal community-led information about their environments and challenges that they, as Māori communities are faced with. One conversation in particular was about a Facebook group page named "Stop the Drilling on our East Coast" ("Stop the drilling on our East Coast," n.d.), created specifically for the purpose of rallying iwi, hapū and community members to actively boycott oil drilling. The publically accessible page was (and remains) run by community members and

leaders concerned with government plans. Many a protests for land and water have been initiated through SNS as a vehicle for mobilising collectives for a common purpose (Safranek, 2012).

Iwi rūnanga

The state-imposed categorising of Māori has seen iwi rūnanga established, having evolved from Government requirements in order to pursue and settle land claims and resources (Walling, Small-Rodriguez & Kukutai, 2009). The settlement process conditions require iwi to have an iwi membership roll, maintained by the iwi, enabling the Crown to determine allocations of resources as part of settlement claims (Walling et al., 2009). Some iwi have their own processes for verifying whakapapa for members, which might include providing whakapapa information on parents, grandparents, great grandparents and so on. For some Māori, having to formally register to one's hapū or iwi and filling out a form might seem foreign and uncomfortable. Certainly in my experience as a previous registrations officer for my iwi in South Taranaki, I encountered many individuals and families who refused to register as they felt it was merely serving the purpose of the government and not enhancing their own identity.

Identity is a critical part of who we are as Māori, and is central to positioning ourselves within local (haukāinga), and global contexts as well as being driven by politial imperatives and agendas. In the following chapter, notions of identity are discussed in relation to SNS being used to help construct, articulate and express Māori cultural identity.

Māori identity construction in SNS

Introduction

Many scholars have theorised Māori cultural identity (Māori identity) and what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa and beyond (Borell, 2005; M. H. Durie, 1995; M. H Durie, 1995; Matthews & Jenkins, 2010; McIntosh, 2005; Mckinley, Waiti & Bell, 2007; Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Rangihau, 1977; Te Hiwi, 2008; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1982; Westling, 2007; Wyche, Schoenebeck & Arbor, 2013). Prior to European contact, identity was demarcated through tribal groupings and through affiliations to iwi, hapū and geographical configurations (including regional dialectal differences). Māori as a word or concept can trace its initial origins to meaning 'normal', or 'regular' (H. W. Williams, 2006) and before European contact, did not act to categorise or identify Māori, as Māori. Māori identity itself began to develop after European contact (M. H. Durie, 1998). This positioning of Māori as normal and the new arrivals as the other has now been reversed, resulting in considerable discussion and debate about the nature of Māori and Māori identity (M. H. Durie, 1997; Moewaka Barnes, 2000; R. Walker, 2004). Latterly, multiple influences affect Māori identity as mass media and especially new technologies associated with the Internet make their presence felt (Niezen, 2005).

What is clear from these dynamics is that Māori identity is fluid, and can mean different things for different people. This paper will review existing literatures around Māori identity and use these understandings as a foundation for presentation of data in SNS use among young Māori to highlight dimensions of sense of self and community.

Aotearoa New Zealand context

To describe the Aotearoa New Zealand context and in particular, the state of the Māori nation, is to acknowledge the histories of Māori people and culture and necessary context to exploration of contemporary identity.

The Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Māori, remain a colonised people, as a result of British incursions in the mid-19th century (M. H. Durie, 1995b; Orange, 2011; R. Walker, 2004). In spite of provisions agreed to in the nation's founding document Te Tiriti o Waitangi, colonisation had severe affects on Māori/settler relationships. The colonists worked to subjugate, marginalise and discriminate against Māori. Land alienation and warfare resulted in major loss of life and resources, with profound impacts on Māori systems, values, and ways of knowing and being (R. A. Benton, 1987; Biggs, 1989; Kawharu, 1989).

Despite injustice and oppression, Māori culture and communities have survived and, in some respects are resurgent with economic, cultural, artistic, sporting and political development to the fore. Māori cultural identity has endured colonisation and imperfect race relations that are being expressed in many different forms and contexts. Aspects of Māori cultural identity are nationally and locally celebrated during national days, festivals, special events and functions across the country and have become an economic drawcard for tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Māori identity framework

I have selected concepts drawn from Te Hoe Nukuroa (THNR) as my thematic analytical frame. THNR is a longitudinal study set up in 1992 to "enable cultural, social, economic and personal factors to be correlated" (M. H. Durie, 1995a, p.461). The study consisted of approximately 700 households and 1200 participants. Its framework featured four major axes in which Māori cultural identity was measured, including 'Te Ao Māori'. This axis features the following distinct cultural markers of Māori identity; ethnic affiliation; language and tikanga; land, fisheries and forests; marae and hapū activities; and iwi links.

The framework was constructed as a tool to conceptualise current social, cultural and economic positions of Māori, recognising that Māori are diverse and dynamic with multiple affiliations. The framework attempts to address ideas of Māori identity from both traditional and contemporary points of view, attempting to avoid prescribing parameters as to what Māori identity might be. However, there have been some concerns about the THNR framework being used as a measurement tool of Māori identity (Stevenson, 2004).

The cultural markers of THNR echo a combination of both customary and contemporary values that reflect potential aspects of Māori identity. Key elements such as whakapapa, te reo Māori and tūrangawaewae while in no sense definitive of Māori identity, nevertheless do provide a sense of some of the more commonly discussed cultural boundaries. For this paper both the subsets and units of inquiry of the THNR framework are drawn upon in discussion of ways in which participants spoke of using SNS to express, engage with and learn more about aspects of their individual and collective Māori cultural identities.

Whakapapa – genealogy

Māori scholars discuss interlinked strands, which can broadly be described as ancestry and cultural practices (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). In practical terms these two aspects of Māori identity are interwoven, and overlapping. Ancestry argues that Māori identity is based on kinship to iwi, who trace their genealogy to a common ancestor (A. Durie, 1997; Gibbons et al., 1994; Hiroa, 1982; R. Walker, 1992). Moeke-Pickering (1996, p.1) describes how Māori ancestry, structures and practices have played a key role in the continuity of Māori identity.

However identity is not only about whakapapa, it is also an articulation of the individual and is often guided by the teachings within whānau and extended whānau during upbringing (Kāretu, 1990). Hence the second dimension, cultural practices (or ethnicity as articulated by Kukutai (2004)), encompasses knowledge of customs, practices, language, kawa and tikanga as well as involvement with iwi, hapū and/or marae structures, as related to Māori identity (Kāretu, 1993; Rangihau, 1977). Self-identified Māori identity is also discussed in the literature as being a form of asserting identity through engagement, participation, and/or awareness in aspects of Māori culture (such as the language, customs, knowledge). M. H. Durie (1997) goes on to say that whakapapa is the primary indicator of Māori identity, and engaging with cultural practices *strengthens* that person's identity (such as knowledge in customs, competence in the language).

In contrast, negative slurs and racism towards Māori identity can have implications on people's personal identity and how they perceive their own cultural identity. Māori statistics around unemployment, imprisonment, violence, criminal behaviour and poor education have, for some people, become markers of Māori identity. While these

statistics and racial stereotypes might be realities for some Māori, for others, they represent a negative idea of Māori cultural identity. These realities can have major implications for Māori and can cause resentment towards being Māori or expressing Māori identity. Identity therefore, is a choice and while it is conferred by membership into the group, it is more importantly chosen by the individual (Kukutai, 2004).

Te Reo Māori

Building on Moeke-Pickering's idea of engagement with cultural practices as Māori identity, is te reo Māori. A level of proficiency in te reo Māori as an imperative marker of Māori identity was asserted by the late Sir Apirana Ngata, and later reinforced by Timoti Kāretu (1993, p.223), "Ki te kore e mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, ehara koe i te Māori, if you do not speak Māori, you are not Māori". These sentiments resonated with some Māori, prompting a form of cultural resurgence and revitalisation.

> We became driven by a desire to 'be able to be Māori', to speak Māori, to understand and practice Māori cultural ways of knowing and doing. To that end, we attended Māori language classes at night, community driven Māori cultural studies in weekends and kōhanga reo [pre-school language institution] during the day (Morehu, 2009, p.5)

Kāretu eloquently states his position on the language as being at the forefront of his identity and is thus, a part of his tūrangawaewae (place of standing and belonging). Without the language, much of the old ways of knowing and doing will be lost, "for me, language is an intrinsic part of my tūrangawaewae. It is an essential element of all that I hold dear – the rites of passage of Māoridom will pale into insignificance and ignominy without it" (Kāretu, 1990, p.116). Thus for some Māori, having some proficiency in te reo Māori is the key to opening up the metaphorical door to the Māori world of understanding and being.

For others, te reo Māori proficiency may *not* be a marker of their cultural identity, "establishing a 'secure' Māori identity based solely on particular criteria of Māori culture (te reo Māori, tikanga, marae, etc…) continues to be problematic for some Māori" (Borell, 2005, p.2). Not having a level of proficiency in te reo Māori may be judged by some as inauthentic or not genuinely Māori (which echoes the earlier sentiments of Apirana Ngata) "Those who are not seen as connected in this way are often defined by what they are seen as lacking, hence terms such as disconnected, distanced, detached and dissociated" (Borell, 2005, p.2).

Such judgements are described by (Gibson, 1999, p.54) as having the potential to impacting severely on one's life in ways that might not be felt or experienced until later on in life. Gibson's study revealed that whakapapa was the most pertinent marker of Māori identity for her participants, and that having te reo Māori proficiency or any prescribed characteristic attributed to being a 'real' Māori was not what they deemed as important or central to their identity.

Tūrangawaewae

> Tūrangawaewae, in its strictest application, refers to those places to which one has allegiance and a 'right to stand'. In a wider sense, it embraces a person's identity as a Māori – culturally, linguistically and emotionally (Kāretu, 1990, p.112).

Natural environments, that is, lands, mountains and waterways have been considered to be deeply entrenched in Māori identity (Tomlins-Jahnke, 2002). The inextricable connection to the land and water is founded on spiritual dimensions where respect and guardianship are practised (Rangihau, 1977; R. Walker, 2004) in relation to elements of the landscape. The major impacts of colonisation on Māori and iwi/hapū identity in a geographical sense, have been significant (Robson & Reid, 2001). Pepper-potting

and urbanisation of Māori moving away from tribal lands (into largely populated cities), coupled with land loss and confiscation by the Crown, has equally impacted on a sense of Māori identity (McIntosh, 2005).

It is clear that there are various underpinning principles to Māori identity. According to the literature, Māori identity is thus determined by two main factors; whakapapa and self-identification. Without whakapapa, there can be no claim to being Māori, it is an essential and imperative part of Māori identity. Māori identity is therefore affirmed by family members, hapū and iwi members through the validity of whakapapa and as part of that community. It is also self-proclaimed and identified by the individual themselves which is where markers of Māori identity such as te reo Māori proficiency and knowledge of tikanga might be of significance and might therefore be used as part of one's Māori identity, however they are not essential to Māori identity.

Māori identity is therefore fluid and dynamic, and is articulated by McIntosh (2001, p.142), "to be Māori is to be part of a collective but heterogeneous identity, one that is enduring but ever in a state of flux". This state of flux is determined by the individual and his or her environment, surroundings and priorities at the time and of what is important to them and who they are. McIntosh refers to this flux as being something that is not fixed or set in concrete. Identity evolves and changes as time and priorities change and tend to reflect what's important to the individual.

SNS and Indigenous identity

Niezen (2005, p.51) discusses the positives of how Indigenous peoples are using the Internet to make it more possible to "express abstract identity" within an online

discourse between Indigenous peoples who are oppressed and use the Internet as a space to assert their cultural identity as a "cultural reawakening and boundary reinforcement". This online arena of interaction and engagement between members of Indigenous groups provides a platform for Indigenous empowerment and application of cultural knowledge, experiences and ideas.

Internationally, Indigenous peoples are using the online arena as a platform to assert and promote cultural identity against the dominant discourse, societies and globalisation (Diamandaki, 2003). However, it must be noted that SNS users must contend and conform to the architecture (and all of its limitations and restrictions) of the space and how it is structured, including privacy issues and the mining of users' data (Acquisti & Gross, 2006; Hoadley et al., 2009; H. Jones & Soltren, 2005).

This paper explores notions of Māori identity and will apply a set of cultural markers used in a Māori identity measurement framework in ascertaining how Māori users of SNS (both located within Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad) are using SNS to access, engage with and learn about aspects of individual and collective Māori identity.

Method

The paper draws on a range of data sets, including focus groups that were conducted with rangatahi Māori aged 18-25, produced in the course of my doctoral studies. Another data set involved two iwi (one based in London, UK and the other based in Aotearoa New Zealand). An interview schedule was designed to capture talk that generally pertained to five research questions of my doctoral thesis. Thematic analysis has been employed for its inductive orientation (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis,

1998; Braun & Clarke, 2012) to the patterns and variations at work in the talk of participants.

Analysis

This section of the paper will draw from a range of Māori perspectives spanning generations (including rangatahi, pahake and kaumātua) in understanding how SNS plays a role (if any) in the formation or construction of forms of Māori identity. Relevant cultural markers from Te Hoe Nukuroa Māori identity framework will be used to discuss how participants of this study use SNS for Māori identity formation and construction including whakapapa, te reo Māori, kapa haka, ancestral connections and land interests.

Whakapapa

The concept of whakapapa in Māori identity is crucial to Māori identity. Knowing these genealogical links and connections to both people and environment is part of knowing how you connect and fit into the tapestry of genealogy. Participants in this study discussed whakapapa information as being accessible through family pages or family-orientated pages, including marae, hapū and iwi pages on Facebook.

Participant response: Whakapapa
Yeah we use this page for people that are looking for their links. People looking for whakapapa and who they whakapapa to, who they whakapapa off *– Katarena, focus group participant*

Physical dislocations from ones tūrangwaewae, marae or kaumātua who are expert in whakapapa make it difficult for people to access these sources of knowledge to learn

their whakapapa. SNS fills the void and allows people to learn about their ancestry remotely.

A number of participants indicated that whakapapa shared in publicly accessible virtual spaces had its risks. The information might easily be used by unintended recipients, which caused participants to be cautious about how they shared this type of information and with whom.

Participant response: Differing views on personal identity
There was a thing whereby you don't put your whakapapa online, or it was more like you don't actually write it down. Um, I think that [attitude] is changing a lot more now and that people are much more accepting [to] put down your whakapapa online and those sort of fears are [...] changing I think for the better (personally) *– Ngāti Rānana case study participant*

The participant comments on the fears that some people may have had with sharing such sacred knowledge in public spaces. There is certainly a level of consideration given to when, how and with whom whakapapa is shared. This participant noticed a change in how Māori society approaches the sharing (and making viewable to the public) of whakapapa and are increasingly becoming more accepting of online tools as ways to share this information.

Another participant spoke about her observations of many families that moved away from their tribal boundaries and struggled to return home again. New generations brought up away from their tūrangawaewae would seek whakapapa information through other means (Internet, SNS, emails, ancestry databases).

Participant response: Differing views on personal identity
Where I fall short with that is, it's nice to connect the dots but then when it comes to, "Oh can you tell me who I am, can you tell me this, can you tell me that?" that's when I say well "Ok, here's the address, here's the time, here's the hui, hoki mai ki te kāinga [return home] *– Ngaruahine Rangi case study participant*

For this particular marae, the concern was that the numbers of people physically 'coming home' to participate in their cultural institutions and activities would diminish if knowledge and information such as whakapapa was shared in ways other than face-to-face.

An iwi organisation based in South Taranaki described how many descendants continued to opt for the face-to-face method of seeking whakapapa information,

Participant response: Differing views on personal identity
When people want to look for their whakapapa, they don't use Facebook a lot of its coming directly into the office. Funny that aye. Their queries are coming straight to [organisation name] Hapū. And I find that interesting because of all the places that I would have thought, that they would participate at that level would be on Facebook *– Ngaruahine Rangi case study participant*

Engaging with this type of information and knowledge can be a particularly sacred process, particularly when dealing with lines of genealogy that might reveal concealed information that might not be public knowledge. Whakapapa was not just handed onto anybody, it was entrusted to those who had the right to it, and who could look after it. This remains to be the feeling for some Ngaruahine descendants and finding out this information at a face-to-face level shows a genuine willingness to want to learn about themselves.

Te reo Māori

Interestingly, focus group and interview participants indicated that their use of te reo Māori on SNS was limited to responding to family and extended family members' posts in te reo Māori. Te reo Māori was not necessarily used with friends who were not conversant in the language, or used in general posts (in status updates) as friends within a participant's network might not understand them.

Participant response: Te reo use in SNS
Like oh man it's funny cos' all like my aunties and uncles and that are all going on it [Facebook] and they all like speak te reo and so I've always… I feel inclined that I've got to speak [type] to them in Māori yeah cos' they usually always comment me in Māori so I just feel like I'm inclined to, I'm obligated to reply in Māori [laughs] *– Kawena, focus group participant*

Some participants would use a few te reo Māori words in their posts but would not necessarily write extensively in te reo which could be because of capability or preference of language to use in social networks such as Facebook. Only one out of 55 focus group participants[92] intensively used SNS to practise and learn te reo Māori and used it regularly on his own page and accessed Māori language group pages to learn and converse in te reo Māori ("Te Mana o te Reo Māori - Facebook page," 2012).

Kapa haka

Some participants discussed how important SNS was for them to learn more about kapa haka, which might have been accessible to them offline.

[92] Notably, te reo Māori was not part of the criteria for participants to be interviewed, thus this number is not representative of all Māori.

Participant response: Kapa haka
When I first joined up with Ngāti Rānana to do all of the performances, nothing was online and I think it does brush on that sort of aspect of the old ways of learning which is um, you know kanohi ki te kanohi and so I've found it very, very hard to learn all of the kapa haka brackets that we had because there was nothing online, but I've changed that kind of mentality rightly or wrongly by putting a lot of our stuff [kapa haka performances] online [...] [and] linking it in with the identity thing, I think it's part of Māori identity *– Ngāti Rānana case study participant*

Given that Ngāti Rānana is a pan-tribal iwi living abroad, their access to sources of knowledge in areas of kapa haka are obviously limited given their location. SNS and online video depositories are certainly filling the gap and enabling interested Māori (and non-Māori alike) to investigate and learn kapa haka from the Internet. As the participant discusses, he posted their Ngāti Rānana kapa haka videos in YouTube and linked that to having Māori identity, and particularly being so far from home, family and Māori institutions, these forums enable Māori to express their identity no matter where they are in the world.

Ancestral connections

In a Māori worldview, recitations of whakapapa trace connections back to land areas, mountains, rivers, lakes, seas and burial grounds. These tracings are essentially acknowledging the land and water that sustained a group of people, becoming markings of identity to locating an individual and his or her ancestral connections to a place or places. Within this study, almost all participants introduced themselves in the interviews by acknowledging their ancestral connections to their particular lands and waterways from where their ancestors derived.

Participant response: Connection to the land
There's nothing like coming home you know, physically being on the land, physically being and meeting people and that adds to the whole experience, you can only get so much virtually. Well nothing's too hard, you know if the pull's there and the want is there *– Ngaruahine Rangi case study participant*

Like a feather plume worn in the hair or an appropriately inscribed moko, one's connections to their lands and waterways are a marking of identity. These ancestral connections to land and water and their contemporary expression, depict the immense importance of connection that Māori practice.

Land interests

Further, participants talked about their interests in lands, particularly land claims of their respective iwi that are unfolding as part of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi grievance/settlement process of the Crown. Participants from a case study conducted with Ngaruahine Rangi iwi in South Taranaki, Aotearoa New Zealand talked about their frequent involvement with activities of their marae, hapū and iwi (both offline and online through SNS marae, hapū and iwi pages). They demonstrated their interest in land claims processes and future of claims settlements by finding out more information through marae, hapū or iwi Facebook pages, of which they were a member.

Participant response: Land interests
[I'm] also connected to [Name anonymised] board and you just find out like when hui and that are on and although we're not back in NZ it's still good to see what's happening with the iwi, what claims they're making and stuff like that *– Ngāti Rānana case study participant*

There were only a small number of participants demonstrating their interest in land claims through SNS, though many were aware of that information being accessible if it was of interest to them. Participants talked about the content of their marae, hapū and iwi Facebook group pages and that, that type of information was discussed and posted about in these pages. Therefore, participants were aware that the information was available to them if they had an interest and they were aware of where to find out information about land claims through SNS.

Marae and hapū activities and iwi links

"The marae is the focal point of Māori culture and communal activities [...] it was a courtyard, the plaza and meeting-place" (Walker 1992, p.15). The marae and its inhabitants are families and extended family that derive from a main or prominent ancestor; these groupings are known as hapū. The majority of marae are rurally based on the ancestral homelands of its ancestors and continue to do so as a place for its descendants to use and access. Urbanisation and pepper-potting has caused urban marae to be established as focal points for Māori (pan-tribal) to belong to and use. However, the cost and time to return back to ones marae to participate in marae and hapū activities is limiting many Māori families, particularly those who live at a distance from their marae.

Marae, hapū and iwi Facebook pages have been created by some of these institutions as ways to connect more to their constituents, and to have access to more of the youth who frequent SNS spaces.

Participant response: Connection to marae, hapū, iwi, Māori community groups
With these smaller marae and hapū a lot of these Māori communities are realising that rangatahi are on Facebook and so to bring the rangatahi home back into the marae they are using Facebook as a tool to tell the world there is a wānanga this weekend - come along and jump in and get involved. Marae, hapū and iwi are really tapping in and thinking strategically about Facebook and how they can use it and bring rangatahi in *– Sonia, focus group participant*

Having access to marae, hapū and iwi is empowering rangatahi Māori with the tools to be updated, kept informed and involved in activities and events. The participant above lives in central Auckland yet her involvement in what is happening within their marae, hapū and iwi is steady, as they are made aware of happenings through the Facebook page.

Further, the institutions themselves are realising that being accessible through new technologies such as SNS that provide access to an important demographic (that is, 18 – 30 years) of the marae, hapū or iwi constituency and that it is important to be part of the SNS community to increase the network of the organisation and have greater connectivity amongst its collective.

Participant response: Connection Māori communities
Facebook [has] become the marae of the young people, that's their marae. That's what Facebook is. It's the marae where they can meet one another and kōrero to each other. Once they get to pahake status like us, there'll be a yearning to go home, but while they have the ability to catch one another on Facebook and kōrero to each other, that's where they're going *– Ngaruahine Rangi case study participant*

As discussed above, this organisation speaks about SNS as vital to their communication with hapū members in order to provide up to date information in real time. Not only are users seeking information about what is happening on the marae, activities, hui, gatherings and hapū/iwi developments, but they also seek these groups as a way to feel a sense of belonging and connection to home, to the marae, to the elders and families who continue to run the marae and therefore, a connection to their cultural identity.

Safe places for expressing Māori identity no longer relegated to homes or traditional spaces of gathering such as the marae. SNS are providing this opportunity to Māori from anywhere in the world and it is clear from the data that Māori identity is promoted, encouraged and celebrated in these particular collective spaces enabling users to feel comfortable to expressing themselves as Māori.

Conclusion

SNS are providing another means of communication, another platform, another forum in which Māori identity is being expressed, articulated and formed. What is interesting in this study is the detailed research-based knowledge on the formation or construction of Māori identity from non-traditional spaces. The Internet age is changing these dynamics, enabling Māori to find this information and express their identity through SNS. This raises some important questions concerned around how information and knowledge of Māori identity is transferred and disseminated. Despite some participants commenting that they continue to engage in their marae, there remains a growing concern amongst communities who tend to the marae and who live within the tūrangawaewae that some Māori whānau are leaving their tribal lands and not necessarily returning. Questions raised from the findings of this paper are; what

are the practical impacts on our marae if Māori are accessing intrinsic tribal knowledge from sources other than the marae? Is learning about whakapapa in the whare tupuna[93] of your marae the same as learning about this information through the Internet or SNS? What are the flow on effects regarding the dislocation of Māori who do not physically frequent the marae and their tribal lands?

Further questions are raised concerning the positive impacts to Māori (as presented in this paper) who are located anywhere in the world (or the country), and are able to express, articulate and learn more about their Māori identity online. Such questions are posed to provoke further thought in how Māori identity and SNS can be theorised as to what the issues, challenges and positives are, or as Wall puts it, to explore the possibilities of what being a Māori is, and can be.

> To move beyond the (re)formation of Māori identity through stereotypes, there should be a retheorisation of difference in ways which re-create it [...] Rather than promoting an exclusive cultural geography of Aotearoa/New Zealand which defines what being a Māori should be, we need to acknowledge and explore the infinite possibilities of what being a Māori is [...] and can be (Wall 1997, p44).

Essentially, this argument is made up of complexities in which traditional and contemporary spaces and sources of knowledge that make up Māori identity are being addressed, understood, theorised and practised. What is important is the continuation, perseverance and celebration of Māori identity – regardless of where (the space) or how (the method) it is being expressed. The research is telling us that Māori identity is an articulation from the self, and is supported and affirmed by the collective. Māori identity is an evolving and dynamic fluid process of self-realisation and discovery of the individual grounded in multiple cultural forms from diverse local and international

[93] whare tupuna – ancestral house

locations. It is indeed a journey that the individual embarks on from infancy to create, transform and build their identity as they navigate through teachings, learning's, life and experiences.

It is abundantly clear that SNS aid and assist Māori users to access more information about their whakapapa, language, performing arts, marae, hapū and iwi. It is also providing a space in which to express connections to these identity markers by using and learning te reo in SNS, by learning more and engaging with kapa haka and by making connections with new and existing familial relations through SNS.

Lead into chapter 5:

Virtual tangihanga, virtual tikanga: Investigating the potential and pitfalls of virtualising Māori cultural practices and rituals

The previous chapter looked at identity and the way that SNS plays a role in identity construction. The following chapter builds on rangatahi usage, whanaungatanga and identity and looks at how tikanga Māori are being practised within virtual spaces, and the implications on tikanga practice, the marae space, customs and rituals. The tangihanga ritual is highlighted in this chapter to demonstrate how tikanga have been virtualised in discussing the implications.

The paper was written with my marae at the heart of the issue, drawing on various data sets from the research to broaden the discussion. One of my main marae yearns for more rangatahi to return home to take up some of the major roles and responsibilities of the haukāinga. There are growing concerns that, in order for our marae to thrive and serve the people into the future, we must implement strategies to draw our people home so they can take up the key roles of marae practice and protocol. Succession planning is key to realising such a goal. Highlighting how tikanga transfers to virtual spaces can raise awareness around issues of importance when virtualising culture. In turn, this knowledge and information may assist my hapū (and other marae, hapū, iwi) in thinking about what is important for the life and wellbeing of our people as well as our marae. Understanding the ways that

technology can (or cannot) play a role in achieving these goals is important, and will be explored in the following chapter.

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Some introductory literature is provided here which covers (in some detail) key aspects of the following chapter. Literature around tikanga, marae and virtualised tikanga relate to the broader themes that are explored in chapter 5.

Introductory literature

Tikanga o te marae

> Customs are like art styles. They can be set aside for long periods of time and then revived and used again. A custom cannot be dismissed as a 'thing of the past' that belonged to a past age and has no relevance today. Customs are part of our heritage. They represent solutions to certain problems, solutions that our ancestors employed (Mead, 1997 p.167).

Tikanga that were traditionally practised (and some remain grounded in practice at marae today) are appropriate processes and protocols of conduct on the marae, but also include the everyday sensible behaviour that is expected of such gatherings. Despite marae having changed as physical spaces, the functions and purposes remain constant and rooted in tradition, with the idea of marae as places of gathering, conducting ceremonial rituals and reaffirming notions of Māori identity persisting.

Salmond (1975 p.115) uses the term "rituals of encounter" to denote protocols of the marae. In the context of ongoing colonisation, marae are a space where Māori are able to conduct themselves according to tikanga (M. H. Durie, 1998; Mead, 2003; P. Ngata, 2005; R. Walker, 1981). However, as Gallagher (n.d.) states, "tikanga was pragmatic, open-ended and lacked rule-like definitions. This allowed tikanga to be flexible and adaptable to fit new circumstances or the needs of the community at a particular time or situation". Thus, tikanga have the ability to evolve and change depending on the circumstances.

Principles of tikanga

Deconstructing tikanga reveals two main underlying principles; tika[94] and pono[95]. These principles are discussed by Mead (2003) as underlying tikanga, "in order to qualify as tikanga Māori, a ceremony, for example, needs to be correct and true to the principles and values of Māori culture" (p.26). Therefore, tika and pono are a basis for further principles that are applied and practised in tikanga. Mead (2003) and Gallagher (n.d.) discuss a number of principles that make up tikanga;

Underlying principles of tikanga Māori	
Manaakitanga	Looking after people
Whanaungatanga	Nurturing relationships
Mana	Authority
Tapu	Sacred, set apart
Utu	Revenge
Noa and ea	Neutral, free

The above principles guide and inform tikanga in what it is, for what purpose and how it might be practised. For example, my family has always visited a small church on a

[94] tika – correct, right
[95] pono – truth

hillside about 5 minutes south of Waverly, Taranaki. The church is situated at traditionally acknowledged boundary lines bordering Taranaki and Manawatu regions, and a number of high profile leaders are buried in the urupā,[96] making it a very tapu and spiritual place. On journeys that ventured beyond the church, a quick visit was made - without fail. This tikanga was instilled in us by our parents as a way to ensure that our journey beyond the bosom of Taranaki would be looked after and that we would return to Taranaki safely. My mother told me that our troops, who were en route to neighbouring iwi for reasons such as warfare, would stop at this location, cast their eye on Taranaki maunga to the west and be hopeful that they would again return to their ūkaipō[97]. This provided another reason for this tikanga to be carried on by my family. Manaakitanga plays a role in this tikanga by ensuring that we are looked after on our journeys through acknowledgement of this place of cultural and spiritual significance.

Application of tikanga to marae

The marae is the central gathering place for Māori where many types of events take place. This was the focal point of Māori cultural practices, ceremonies and communal activities (Rangihau, 1977) and was the premiere space of debate and discussion regarding issues that directly affected and impacted whānau and hapū (M. H. Durie, 1998). Traditionally, marae played a vital role in Māori society and it continues to hold a significant place amongst Māori today. Marae are therefore key places where tikanga is practised. Three variations of marae will be discussed here; traditional, urban and virtual.

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[96] urupā - burial grounds
[97] ūkaipō - place of origin

Traditional marae

Walker (1977) talks about the traditional marae as a focal gathering point for Māori and a place to conduct rituals and ceremonies. The origins of marae can be traced back to Polynesia with remnants of marae structures present in the Cook Islands, Samoa and Tonga. The term 'marae' traditionally referred to the courtyard in front of the meeting house. The courtyard was utilised for multiple purposes, including ceremonies, rituals, discussions, gatherings and training. Usually, marae would feature whare puni[98] which developed over time to meeting houses/ancestral houses. Meeting houses were a place where iwi tribes men and women were able to discuss and debate issues, teach and learn skills for hunting, gathering, preparing food and resources and conduct ceremonial rituals such as tangihanga and welcome and receive guests.

> The meeting-house is peculiarly appropriate to express the state of community relations, because it is the most powerful symbol a group may possess. It represents reverence for the past and veneration for the ancestors, but more than this, it is an architectural history book of the people concerned (Salmond 1975 p.39).

The whare tupuna structure and functionality is important in understanding how tikanga are applied to this space. These structures were often finely carved and depicted the body of a prominent ancestor whom all descendants could trace their genealogical connections. The ancestor's body is depicted as shown in the following image.

[98] whare puni - long sleeping houses

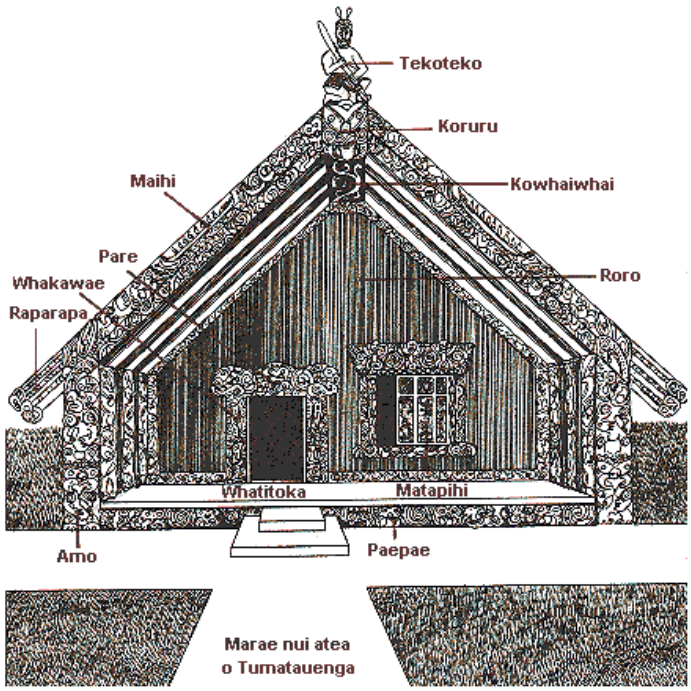

Figure 2: Marae diagram
Photo credit: Education Resources New Zealand

The kōruru[99] symbolises the roro[100] and the outstretched maihi represent the welcoming arms of the tupuna. Inside the house, the tāhuhu[101] is the backbone, the heke[102] are the ribs and the poutokomanawa[103] represents the heart of the ancestor, and is also symbolic of Tane-nui-a-Rangi (an atua[104] who separated his parents, revealing te ao mārama[105]). Inside the house, it is elaborately carved with poupou[106] lining the four walls, representing many ancestors and atua. Two main atua that reside within this context are Tumatauenga (atua of war) who reigns in the marae ātea[107] and Rongomaraeroa (atua of peace) who looks after the interior of the house; each has their own departmental authorities and power. These type of marae developed

[99] kōruru - carved figure head of a wharenui
[100] roro - brain
[101] tāhuhu - ridgepole
[102] heke – rafters of the ancestral house that depict outstretched arms of the tupuna
[103] poutokomanawa - main centre pole of the wharenui
[104] atua – supernatural being
[105] te ao mārama – the world of enlightenment
[106] poupou – carvings depicting ancestors and often adorn wharenui
[107] marae ātea – is the open courtyard in front of the wharenui

overtime, with the inclusion of wharekai and ablution blocks, into the contemporary form.

Tomlins-Jahnke (2005 p.220) states that marae are considered the "central focus of community interaction", bringing many families together for various purposes. Walker (1977) identifies four social functions of marae; a focal point for community sentiment; a basis for identity as Māori; a forum for the democratic processes of discussion and debate and; as an opportunity to unite Māori and non-Māori within an inclusive Māori centred space.

Urban marae

Māori urbanisation began around the 1920s when 80% of all Māori were rural dwellers; movement to urbanised areas occurred for a host of reasons including employment, housing and education. Nowadays, 84% of Māori are urban dwellers, populating main city areas such as Auckland, Hamilton and Wellington as well as many provincial centres and smaller towns. Post-war times also saw the number of urban Māori increase as employment needs became greater. With the increased number of Māori moving away from their tribal (and rural) lands, the need to continue connections to Māori life became pertinent.

Urban marae were thus established to refortify Māori practices within the urban areas and to retain and reclaim Māori identity. New generations were coming through not having grown up on their marae, or close to their elders and so these newly established instiutions provided some support to those who sought it. Political groups, culture clubs and community groups were also established to help maintain Māori identity, language and values, "they fulfil deeply felt needs for the maintenance of

culture assertion of identity and resistance to assimilation" (Walker 1997 p.25). Some urban marae were established as part of learning institutions (such as schools, Universities or Polytechnics) or by migrated iwi collectives who felt the need for tribal marae outside their traditional boundaries. This enabled Māori living away from home to continue practising customs and ceremonies on marae. Tangihanga in particular were held at urban marae if the grieving family felt the costs were too great to take the funeral back to the ūkaipō (Walker 1977).

Virtual marae

A relatively recent phenomenon is the virtualising of marae in online spaces to enable greater access and connection. This concept has, again, been adopted in response to the increasing dispersing of Māori who no longer live in their tūrangawaewae yet, are yearning for ways to connect back to their marae.

Naumaiplace.com is a website that offers an online central hub where marae are registered as part of its database and are enabled to connect to other marae around the country, and globally to their people.

> New technology combined with our unique system and processes enables Naumaiplace to offer a solution to bridge gaps and return significant benefits to local Marae thus impacting positively on Iwi Māori and the community as a whole (Naumaiplace, 2007).

Over 900 marae located within Aotearoa New Zealand have a basic registered page as part of this database, featuring contact information for each marae. Marae are given the opportunity to fully register with the site (at a cost) enabling them to construct a website (embedded within naumaiplace.com) with the potential functions of a registration page, upcoming events, photo gallery, marae bookings calendar and secure login-access pages for viewing taonga of the marae and information on

tangihanga. Users must gain login access to those specific marae before being given permission to access those pages. The site is revolutionising how information is accessed and made available to the community and enabling whānau, hapū and iwi to maintain control over content, quality assurance and access, and as their slogan reads, "Connecting whānau and marae – worldwide" (Naumaiplace, 2007).

More recently, a similar website has been developed to enable Māori to search for their marae using a geographical digital map of Aotearoa New Zealand. Links to marae dotted around the country are featured and include maps, basic information about the marae and contact details, "Māori Maps is a gateway to the Māori world of marae. It aims to take visitors to the gateway of marae around Aotearoa/New Zealand" ("Māori Maps," n.d.). The website features over 750 marae and is being updated regularly with more marae and information. Paul Tapsell (one of the creators of Māori Maps) discussed that the ideas behind setting up such a site grew from a concern over marae usage in today's society, in that some Māori were not returning their dead to the haukāinga and were instead keeping them at home to conduct the tangihanga rituals. He states that the marae is of utmost importance, particularly when conducting tangihanga rituals:

> It gives expression and context and frames our whakapapa [descent] as Maori, which is accountable back to a landscape in which our ancestors are buried. If we do not farewell our dead on their ancestral marae, there goes the last bastion of being Maori (Tahana, 2012)

Eighty-four percent of Māori are currently living in urban areas and cities across Aotearoa New Zealand, and one in five Māori are living overseas (Collins, 2011). For new generations of urbanised Māori, growing up close to their marae or iwi boundaries may not have been an option. This shift has had considerable impacts on marae, prompting marae caretakers (whānau and hapū) to move with the times to

enable whānau continued access to these institutions at a distance firstly through establishment of urban and now via virtual marae (Salmond, 1975; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2005; R. Walker, 1981).

Other virtualised tikanga

Tangihanga is the main tikanga discussed in the next chapter; however, there are other examples of virtualised tikanga that deserve some mention. These examples did not feature strongly in the data, but are drawn from my experiences.

Pōhiri

The pōhiri process is a highly structured pattern of rituals carried out to welcome a visiting group of people onto a marae. Traditionally, the pōhiri was utilised at first encounter between tangata whenua[108] and manuhiri[109] and served to ascertain whether manuhiri were friend or foe. Once this was established, calls would be made to welcome the group onto the marae; calls to the dead and to the purpose of the gathering were exchanged between women of both the tangata whenua and manuhiri sides. Once in the house (or on the courtyard), speeches were exchanged to ratify understandings and further connections (predominantly by men, but in some rohe, by women[110]) of both sides and waiata, usually led by women, supported the encounter.

The pōhiri process describes what might typically happen on a physical marae when welcoming visitors. Virtual marae are enabling new visitors (people from outside of the iwi, visitors to Aotearoa New Zealand, tourists) to experience Māori life and

[108] tangata whenua – people of the land. Refers to Indigenous people of a land
[109] manuhiri - visitors
[110] These tikanga vary and differ depending on the iwi

practices on the marae through a virtual experience. Virtual tours of marae or virtual pōhiri[111] are available online, and appear to be targeted to visitors or tourists to Aotearoa New Zealand. Customary practices and tikanga are being practised in virtual spaces as the increasing numbers of Māori move further and further away from their marae (O'Carroll, 2013).

Websites offering Māori cultural experiences are aimed at tourists and the industry provide online pōhiri procedures as ways to showcase Māori culture, "experience a virtual pōhiri. Wait until the pūtatara finishes, move forward and you will hear the karanga, pause at the door until that has finished then move into the whare and you will hear a tauparapara" (Tikanga: Visit the virtual marae, n.d.). A 'live' example of a virtual pōhiri that I personally observed was a welcome to Massey University first year students. A real-time pōhiri was live-webcast to the Massey website showing a pōhiri ceremony for students who were unable to physically attend the pōhiri. Such instances provide a taste of how some tikanga have been applied to SNS to enable greater participation and access of these tikanga.

Koha

There are many tikanga involved in the process of gift giving which have evidently been impacted by and adapted to colonisation, urbanisation and modernisation (Mead, 2003). Gift giving includes the giving of land, taonga, arranged marriages (the betrothing of men and women to other tribes) exchanging of products both from inland and coastal areas, kai[112] and nowadays, money (Mead, 2003). According to Mead, "principles of reciprocity equivalence and manaakitanga mediated by

[111] pōhiri - formal welcoming ceremony
[112] kai - food

whakapapa, mana and relationships guided the actions of gift-exchange partners" (Mead, 2003, p.184). Reciprocity was a major concept attached to gift-giving in traditional times. It was seen as a symbol of one's mana and thus significant gifts were given for many different purposes, and were reciprocated (Henry, 2008). Relationships are guided by whanaungatanga and the solidifying, strengthening, or in some cases, mending of relationships might be observed during the koha giving process. Manaakitanga is clearly embedded within the tikanga of giving and showing care for others. All these principles have driven the koha process in traditional times through to current day.

In a contemporary setting, koha has a significant role in the rituals of encounter on the marae and is observed during pōhiri, tangihanga and important hui that are held where the main koha form is monetary. Manuhiri would collect donations from their group as a token of their aroha and whakaaro to the kaupapa of the gathering. The saying, 'ahakoa he iti, he pounamu' (although it may be small, it is precious) comes into effect here, where any donation is cherished and will contribute to the costs of hosting that particular hui.

After the pōhiri commences and speeches begin, the koha (usually in an envelope) is passed to the final speaker of the manuhiri to place before the tangata whenua at the conclusion of his speech. He will place the envelope mid-point between the tangata whenua paepae and the manuhiri paepae[113] and then return to the paepae. Receiving koha varies from iwi to iwi however; a karanga may be given by a woman to thank the manuhiri for their whakaaro and aroha. Someone from the tangata whenua paepae will retrieve the koha, may give a few words of thanks to the people and retreat back

[113] paepae – the orators bench

to his seat. These tikanga are widely observed on many marae across Aotearoa. However, some iwi do not align with this kawa and instead their koha might be given ringa ki te ringa (hand to hand) in a discrete manner, often to the head organiser or cook of the kitchen. These variations are iwi-specific; however, they all come under the principles of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and mana.

Some whānau, hapū and iwi record who has given money in a notebook, in order to remember where the money has come from. This can also be used as a way to see who has contributed. This has reciprocation impacts if, for example, a grieving family is to reciprocate, they are able to use this record to see where reciprocation is required. Again, these processes vary from group to group, however the main underlying principle of koha is whanaungatanga where relationships are nurtured by showing support in times of need, in times of hosting, or as reciprocity to show respect of mana towards others. Manaakitanga is also part of this tikanga. Furthermore, noa/ea could be stated as a principle in this process, particularly if families present a koha as a way of showing reciprocity for previous koha contributions.

A presentation I attended in 2008 (conference name anonymised to protect confidentiality) discussed the ways in which a marae located in the North Island was adapting to the growing and varying needs of their people by utilising technology. One of the ways in which technology was utilised was for members of the hapū and marae who lived outside of Aotearoa New Zealand to continue having the opportunity to give their koha through PayPal[114] using their credit card via the marae website. This option enabled people to continue practising tikanga of giving monetary koha under the principles of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and mana. Money was collected by

[114] Paypal is an online money transfer system that is performed over the Internet

the treasurer with records of who made the payment and how much: this information could then be given to the marae committee, or the grieving family if they wished.

The vivid discussions I recall from the conference presentation included some concerns raised by members of the audience. Kuia were disgruntled at the idea that PayPal and credit card payments were implemented, in place of koha given face-to-face. They felt it removed the element of kanohi kitea, which these kuia considered pertinent to the protocols of gift giving. Mead utters similar sentiments here,

> The other important aspect of the koha is the presence of the individual and supporting group presenting it. Making the effort to visit and be seen at the mare is appreciated. This adds a meaningful social dimension to the presentation and emphasises the seriousness of the process of gift giving (Mead, 2003, p.189).

Some of these discussions from the conference raised queries for me around my own marae and if we were to implement such a strategy, whether it would take the pressure off families who no longer live within the Taranaki region and who may find it difficult to return home for various hui. This system might enable them to continue to show their whakaaro and aroha to a kaupapa without having to physically come home. However, the question is also raised about how this might impact on the sense of responsibility that whānau might feel about physically returning to their marae to give their respects to someone who has passed, or attending a family gathering and whether this type of koha system might replace the important value of being face-to-face which, is a koha in itself (Mead, 2003).

The tikanga of koha has evolved and adapted to the changing circumstances of Māori society. Virtualising koha in a marae context through digitising koha payment methods enables an already diasporic Māori society to continue to show their

whakaaro through manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and mana to each other and to a kaupapa. Despite the koha being gifted digitally and not face-to-face, these principles remain entrenched in the idea of online koha payments.

Rāhui

A final tikanga worthy of mention is the rāhui, which, while it is not exclusively practised on the marae space, it is nonetheless one of the rituals or ceremonies observed in SNS. Here, I provide some conceptualising on the ritual and its importance in te ao Māori.

Mead states that rāhui is "a means of prohibiting a specific human activity from occurring or from continuing" (Mead, 1997 p.168). Maxwell and Penetito (2007) say that the purpose of rāhui was applied to 1) claim ownership over land resources 2) acknowledge the loss of life at particular land or water areas, and 3) replenish natural resources such as the sea or a riverbed containing food. It is a type of ruling (traditionally) initiated by tohunga [115] or those who have the knowledge and understanding of rāhui and the appropriate ceremonial tasks to be carried. Rāhui are enacted upon a particular location or place for a particular reason. Unlike the law, which is enforced and policed, rāhui is a cultural restriction that clearly informs people for their protection or the protection of a resource.

Rāhui is a restriction operated for practical reasons and can sometimes be enacted as a political stance or movement, particularly in the context of today's society, "a third [rāhui] type might be referred to as the 'political rāhui' or the 'punitive rāhui'" (Mead, 1997, p.169). In 1979, Mead proposed to place a rāhui on football fields as a way of

[115] tohunga – expert, skilled person

boycotting the South African rugby tournament (Mead, 1997, p.168). Experts in customary concepts gave comment and opinion on this process proposed by Mead, which provided opportunities for Māori to have a discussion about what rāhui was, as many of the opinions were personal and not well-informed. Rāhui are frequently used to demarcate the loss of life by drowning in natural waterways such as the sea (Maxwell and Penetito 2007; Mead, 1997)

> In the case of an aituā, it is important to highlight that rāhui are still enstated to pay respects to the deceased and to allow the tapu associated with death to dissipate naturally from the area (Maxwell and Penetito, 2007, p.13).

The Ministry of Fisheries ("Section 186B Temporary Closure: Fisheries Act 1996," 2007) legislated a form of rāhui, termed "temporary closures/method restrictions" as a way of enabling tangata whenua to continue their customary fishing practices. However, this form of rāhui is not designed to replenish species but is used in order for tangata whenua to continue providing manaakitanga to guest and visitors, at a marae for example (Maxwell and Penetito, 2007).

Maxwell and Penetito (2007) discuss the various forms of 'potency' of rāhui and, depending on the reasons for the action, some rāhui were more vigorous than others where spiritual powers are called upon and various atua might be invoked. Rāhui of this nature might be symbolised by using a pou rāhui or posting (warning sign) publically indicating that a rāhui is in place, and that the restrictions must be followed in order to protect the resource, and to protect people from going there, lest the rāhui be breached and consequences follow. The following chapter explores notions of tikanga Māori in relation to the virtualisation of tangihanga in SNS.

Virtual tangihanga, virtual tikanga:

Investigating the potential and pitfalls of virtualising Māori cultural practices and rituals

Introduction

Tikanga Māori (tikanga) were established and practised in pre-colonial contexts. Over time, tikanga have remained relevant and applicable to spaces where Māori culture has been established and practised. Tikanga are widely used in Māori communities, within whānau, workplaces, classrooms, healthcare and governance, to describe and guide appropriate Māori cultural behaviour and conduct. Long-established values and principles provide the theory and rationale behind tikanga in its application to these various spaces (Mead, 2003). The application of tikanga varies in different contexts and settings according to the traditions and teachings of individual hapū and iwi; there is no one set of tikanga applicable to all (Ngata, 2005).

With the advent of the Internet, the Māori world along with most other cultures has evolved to inhabit and develop virtual spaces in ways that advance and enhance the wellbeing of its people. Māori have been enthusiastic in the uptake of Internet technologies with domains, webpages and SNS (O'Carroll, 2013; P. Smith et al., 2008) attracting high levels of engagement and use by individuals and communities.

However, the virtual space and its impacts on tikanga in particular have not been addressed in the research literature thus far.

This paper specifically looks at the adaptation of tikanga to virtual spaces and I begin by exploring theories of tikanga before analysing how tikanga, particularly those relating to tangihanga are practised and applied in SNS. However a brief description of the context of Māori in contemporary Aotearoa is first offered in order to ground my research and commentary.

Aotearoa New Zealand context

To describe the context of Aotearoa New Zealand and, in particular, the state of the contemporary Māori nation is to acknowledge the histories of Māori people and culture. Here I provide a brief overview of Māori history; readers are encouraged to do further reading to better understand the local context.

The Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Māori, inhabited these islands (Te Ika a Māui and Te Wai Pounamu; the North and South Islands) for nearly 1000 years prior to the arrival of English and other European explorers in the late 16th century. (M. H. Durie, 1995b; Orange, 2011; R. Walker, 2004). In spite of provisions agreed to in the nation's founding document Te Tiriti o Waitangi, British colonisation had severe affects on Māori people, society, economy and wellbeing. The colonists worked to subjugate, marginalise and discriminate against Māori. Land alienation and warfare resulted in major loss of life and resources, with profound impacts on Māori systems, values, and ways of knowing and being (R. A. Benton, 1987; Biggs, 1989; Kawharu, 1989; Robson & Reid, 2007). Despite this injustice and oppression, Māori culture and communities survived and, in some respects, are now

resurgent with economic, cultural, artistic, sporting and political development to the fore. A number of Māori institutions have been crucial to these developments and the marae is central among them.

The marae has been and remains a key storehouse of esoteric and tribal knowledge and a site where many Māori and iwi-specific ceremonies and rituals are maintained, preserved and practised (Mead, 2003; Salmond, 1975; R. Walker, 1981). The marae is a key site for the expression of tikanga and is also the central gathering place for a Māori community where many types of events take place. It is described by Rangihau (1977) as an "institution" predating European contact. This was the focal point of Māori cultural practices, ceremonies and communal activities (Rangihau, 1977). It was also the premiere space of debate and discussion regarding issues that directly affected and impacted whānau and hapū (M. H. Durie, 1998). Traditionally, the marae played a vital role in Māori society and continues to hold a significant place amongst Māori today. Marae are therefore key places where tikanga are practised. Nowadays, tikanga can be learnt in other settings (aside from being passed down the generations) such as learning institutions (schools, clubs, sports teams) and are adopted by Māori as they see fit and relevant to the context.

Tikanga apply in all marae contexts and situations including welcoming events such as the pōhiri. Tribal meetings known as hui, and a range of other occasions of commemoration, historical significance or celebration are also held on the marae and are inclusive of sets of tikanga applicable to these contexts. Tikanga is also applied to the everyday life and running of marae, around activities such as cooking, cleaning and maintenance; the removing of shoes when entering the wharenui or, refraining from sitting on tables, especially where food is placed. Among these

cultural practices (large and small), the funerary rites of Māori with their specific sets of protocols, are central to the function of the marae; this particular tikanga provides the focus for the analysis of data around Māori usage of SNS presented here.

What is tikanga?

The base Māori word of 'tikanga' is 'tika', which translates to correct, true, appropriate and right. The suffix 'nga' is appended as a plural or indicative of more than one. Therefore, tikanga can loosely be defined as "way(s) of doing and thinking held by Māori to be just and correct" (New Zealand Law Commission, 2001, p.16). Tikanga are therefore a set of protocols that guide and inform behaviour in a range of contexts,

> An obvious way is to consider tikanga as a means of social control. Looked at from this point of view, tikanga Māori controls interpersonal relationships, provides ways for groups to meet and interact, and even determines how individuals identify themselves (Mead, 2003, p.5).

Boast, Erueti, McPhail, & Smith (1999) explain tikanga as 'Māori customary law'; a term first used by British settlers to denote the customary practices that Māori exercised. Tikanga can be observed as a "normative system" for behaviour, as its processes and protocols essentially model morals, conduct and behaviour (Mead, 2003, p.6). Tikanga are also observed as a set of philosophies or ethics and again, moral behaviour and conduct of people in both formal and informal situations (Mead, 2003) including basic repertoires of practices used in everyday life (J. Williams, 1998).

E. T. Durie (1996, p.449) describes tikanga as "values, standards, principles or norms to which the Māori community generally subscribe for the determination of appropriate conduct". Tikanga are also noted in legislation and legal documents

pertaining to land (E. T. Durie, 1996; Mead, 2003). Thus, the wide-ranging meanings for tikanga reflect the multiplicity of interpretations and applications in the diverse contexts of Māori social life.

Tikanga were customarily handed down through generations, depicting the behavioural standards and expectations a generation has for its offspring,

> Tikanga is the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or an individual. These procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated by usually more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or an individual is able to do [...] They help us to differentiate between right and wrong in everything we do and in all of the activities that we engage in. There is a right and proper way to conduct one's self (Mead, 2003, p.12).

Passed on and instilled as a normative system of behaviour, tikanga become entrenched within whānau, hapū and iwi through being actively observed. These normative systems vary from family to family and community to community.

According to the influences on society at the time, methods for learning tikanga are adapted, or new ones are adopted. Christianity and Western ideals and practices were some of the influences to which tikanga were adapted. The use of black clothing being worn by mourners during tangihanga, for example, was an adoption spurred by Queen Victoria, who wore black when her husband, Prince Albert passed away (Bedikian, 2008). Prior to wearing black clothing, Māori wore traditional garments including extraordinary korowai[116]. The shaking of hands also became an 'addition' to the tikanga of hongi (a formal Māori greeting) which was influenced by Western greeting gestures. These are just some examples of how tikanga has been adapted, changed and added to, over time.

[116] korowai – intricate cloaks

Kawa

Discussions about tikanga cannot take place without also addressing the notion of kawa. Tikanga and kawa are connected, complementary and considered as a pair in relation to protocols on the marae. M. K. Durie (2011) states that kawa is "on the one hand, like a convention or an established protocol, it is about a measurable set of behaviors that can be expected in certain situations". Bennett (2007) describes kawa as a way of doing, a set of traditions and ceremonies that are localised to particular hapū, iwi or areas/locations. Fraser (2009, p.48) explains that kawa derive from ngā atua and tikanga derive from people, "there is a definite overlap between tikanga and kawa: both have procedural expectations but where tikanga determines an open process (rules are laid out but how a person completes them can be open), kawa holds firm and generally shows no flexibility – it is absolute". What is clear from the literature is that tikanga and kawa are interconnected and, while each has specific roles that are played out in marae rituals of encounter and ceremony, they also mean different things to different iwi and hapū.

For the purpose of this paper, tikanga will refer to the correct procedures appropriate to specific events, which have the flexibility to adapt and change to meet the needs of particular situations. Kawa will refer to customs, or localised ways of doing marae protocol, which persist and do not necessarily change. It is important to note that while tikanga and kawa are distinct from each other, they are closely associated and their functions overlap.

While tikanga evolve and can adapt to time, place or context, kawa generally does not change as long as it is enacted by the people of any marae. Marae, hapū and iwi

will conceptualise tikanga and kawa differently and it is up to each institution to decide on what these concepts mean for them.

Tangihanga

In brief, tangihanga involves the rituals and ceremonies of farewell to someone who has passed away, sending them on to their final resting place. Tangihanga refers to a set of rituals and ceremonies that are included in the process of funerals. The dead are an important part of Māoritanga and are significantly acknowledged in all aspects of Māori oratory (whaikōrero; karanga; waiata; and mihimihi) and are often embodied in the poupou that line the many carved houses of marae across Aotearoa. Tangihanga are times of great mourning where expressions of grief and sadness are openly shown through oratory, song, tribute and emotion,

> Illness, dying, death and grieving are a central part of Māori life. They are imbued with tapu (sanctity) and kawa (ceremony). The formal rituals and practices are elaborate, and the reo (language), karakia (invocations) and waiata (chants and songs) are symbolic and poetic, encouraging emotions to be openly expressed (Ngata, 2005, p.29).

Historically, tangihanga were conducted on the marae as ceremonies that were held over a number of days and where the extended family and associates of the deceased would visit to pay their respects.

In a contemporary setting, tūpāpaku[117] continue to be taken back to their home marae. However, tangihanga are also held in halls, churches and residential homes (or in a combination of venues) depending on the wishes of the family and the deceased and their relationships with their cultural communities and groups. Tangihanga at the marae usually last around three to four days; the body lies in state

[117] tūpāpaku - the deceased

and the grieving family sits at their side in attendance for the duration. Tikanga within the tangihanga process vary among iwi, hapū and marae (Ngata, 2005). Visitors who are directly and indirectly related or associated with the deceased are welcomed onto the marae to pay their respects through speech making, waiata and koha.

The procession of visitors and their acknowledgement of the deceased occur continuously until the final day when the burial rituals are conducted. After speeches of poroporoaki[118] are addressed to the deceased, the tūpāpaku is interred, often in a family urupā or local council cemetery. This entire process from start to finish entails an intensely tapu set of tikanga. The ritual of tangihanga that is the focus of this article evokes levels of tapu, so this domain and its companion concept of noa are discussed before addressing tikanga practices in SNS.

Tapu and noa

In the context of this paper, tapu is an important aspect of tikanga. Tapu is intrinsically part of the function and practice of tikanga and how tikanga are observed. Most Pākehā scholars have inadequately defined tapu as "making any person, place, or thing sacred for a longer or shorter period" (Taylor, 1870, p.164) observing that the potency of tapu was stronger and more concentrated during the earlier 17th century. Best (1924, p.90) describes tapu as "a prohibition", be it on a place (location, natural resource), object or person, whereas Cowan (1930, p.69) describes tapu as the "quarantine law" by which the sacred or holy could be managed.

[118] poroporoaki - farewells to the dead

Māori scholar, Mead more aptly summarises tapu:

> Tapu is everywhere in our world. It is present in people, in places, in buildings, in things, words, and in all tikanga. Tapu is inseparable from man, from our identity as Māori and from our cultural practices (Mead, 2003, p.30).

He further describes the behavior that is required by observers and participants when under tapu circumstances; "Some places and things are special in a cultural, historical and spiritual sense and require a change in behavior from the observers or participants in a ceremony. The special qualities attached to such places and things [...] impose some restrictions upon how we behave towards them" (Mead, 2003, p.65). Thus, tapu can be observed in people, places and some objects; there are extensions of tapu that are executed and recognised.

Shirres discusses levels of tapu as "extensions" deriving from a primary source of tapu,

> Tapu must be distinguished from extensions of tapu. While tapu in its extensions does include the notion of 'prohibition', the primary notion of tapu, linked to the notion of mana [power, status], is 'being with potentiality for power' (Shirres, 1982, p.38).

Shirres' (who was non-Māori but deeply integrated into Māori society) theories of tapu are informed by Māori manuscripts from the early 1800s and recognise tapu has relative meanings and contexts,

> Māori manuscript evidence clearly indicates that tapu must be distinguished from extensions of tapu. The term tapu is, therefore, used analogically according to an analogy of attribution. It follows that the meaning of tapu must be sought in its primary analogate, tapu in itself, and the meanings given to extensions of tapu must be seen in relationship to this primary meaning (Shirres, 1982, p.46).

The tapu inherent in something (e.g., a human being) entails extensions of tapu; for example a hat which is tapu, because it comes into contact with the body and in particular the head, which is considered a very tapu part of the body.

Another example, an urupā is in a constant state of tapu and holds more tapu than a residential house. It is important to note that tapu exists in everything, including tikanga, however the extensions of tapu increase and decrease in potency depending on the action or situation. Shirres also refers to tapu as a 'prohibition' however this describes an extension of tapu beyond the tapu already inherently present.

Noa is not necessarily the opposite of tapu (Mead, 2003; Shirres, 1982); instead it refers to the restoring of balance. If tapu has been placed on something, and that tapu is removed, it becomes noa, or at a balance with itself; however, it may still possess a form or level of tapu. The lifting of tapu is complex and layered. Methods of lifting tapu have been incorporated into Māori cultural practice, including consuming of food or cleansing by sprinkling with water (the latter may have been influenced by Christianity). Death is a very tapu process, and the hongi, the hākari[119] and the singing of waiata are all aspects that work to whakanoa te tangata (to lift specific tapu and restore ones balance) following the grief of bereavement.

This paper

The tikanga and related practices referred to above have predictably remained with Māori as they ventured and expanded into virtual spaces. In this paper the tikanga of tangihanga as practised online and in SNS will be discussed and analysed. I draw on cross-generational (rangatahi, pahake, kaumātua) data on SNS use by Māori living in

[119] hākari – feasts shared at gatherings

Aotearoa New Zealand, diasporic Māori individuals and groups, and two case studies. This paper contributes to my doctoral thesis, which is entitled, *Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past? An examination of Māori use of social networking sites and the implications for Māori culture and society*. The study specifically investigates how tikanga are practised online in relation to tangihanga, and the potential impacts on the marae.

Methodology

This research was conducted using a framework developed specifically for my doctoral study. Firstly, the framework encompasses kaupapa Māori principles that have been discussed extensively in the literature as a platform for Māori research using Māori cultural practices underpinned by Māori worldviews, theory and philosophy (see Bishop, 1996; Cram, 1992; Moewaka Barnes, 2008; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999).

Secondly, the framework is informed by my tribal upbringing, which contributes greatly to the way I interpret and make meaning. Thus a Taranaki-centred focus that derives from the prophetic teachings of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi in their peaceful fight for freedom (Hohaia, O-Brien & Strongman, 2001) is important to the framework; this invokes notions of rangimārie and hūmārie. This unique way of seeing and understanding the world provides a cultural lens when analysing and making meaning of the data and findings. These influences are underpinned by the third component of the framework, which is te reo me ōna tikanga that enable the researcher to have a greater understanding of holistic Māori worldviews and philosophies.

This study features a diverse and wide-ranging data set that includes focus groups, interviews, case studies and an online survey. The purpose for including multiple data types was to gauge diverse opinions and perspectives from a diverse range of people across the world. Focus group interviews were conducted with between three to seven mutual friends, aged 18 to 25 years old and were predominantly of Māori descent. Twelve focus group interviews were conducted and involved 55 participants. Participants were given the choice to select a pseudonym for inclusion in the study. Those who chose not to have a pseudonym are known by their first names.

Two iwi case studies were conducted; one with Ngaruahine Rangi (located in South Taranaki of the Te Ika a Māui) and one with Ngāti Rānana (a pan-tribal 'iwi' located in London, United Kingdom). These case studies were interview-based with a range of generational spokespersons that provided insights into the impacts of SNS on their organisations, communities and marae. In the instances of case study responses included in this paper, personal names have been omitted and only the name of the iwi is provided. An interview schedule was designed (for all of the above interviews) to capture responses pertaining to one of my doctoral thesis objectives; to explore the advantages and disadvantages of Māori cultural values being practised online and how that impacts on marae and kanohi ki te kanohi interactions.

An anonymous survey was conducted with 139 Māori who (at the time) had been living abroad for 12 months or more. The survey was designed to gauge a broader global context of how SNS impacts on the Māori diaspora and their connections back home and to family and friends. Ethical approval was obtained from Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Application 11/30) in 2011. Thematic analysis

was employed for its inductive orientation (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2012) to the patterns and variations at work in the talk of participants as well as some statistical analysis work. Personal experiences and observations of SNS are also drawn on.

Analysis

Some of Māoridom's high profile tangihanga have been publicised and broadcasted with the use of new technologies such as television and the Internet. Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangi Kāhu's funeral was broadcast live to the Internet and television in 2006 (NZOnScreen, n.d.). Her mana as the Māori queen through which she was accorded great respect from the New Zealand government, alongside the status she held within her own iwi, Māoridom, and society in general, prompted the broadcast of this sad moment to all those who were not able to be present at the funeral.

Dr Paratene Ngata from Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa similarly had a "tele-tangi"[120] where his funeral was videoed and webcast live to the Internet to enable friends and family overseas to participate, "The tele-tangi example demonstrates that Māori are a global people and it is more pragmatic to 'beam them in' at a relatively low cost than to fly them to the tangihanga from all corners of the world" (Ngata, Ngata-Gibson and Salmond, 2012, p.232). These examples showcase the ways in which technology plays a part in tangihanga ritual and tikanga.

Discussions of tangihanga and the appropriateness of participating in tangihanga through SNS were predominant within talk about tikanga from all of the data sets of this study. Participants commented on their experiences of participating in

[120] tangi – is to cry, or in this case is an abbreviation of tangihanga

tangihanga in SNS as well as observing others from within their networks. In this section, I analyse how tikanga of the tangihanga ritual are applied in SNS in different ways, such as: notification of deaths; the sharing of photos and videos of tangihanga; online memorials and; how wairua connections with the deceased are (or are not) experienced. Issues around the impacts of SNS on the marae and the perceptions of kaumātua will also be explored.

Notification of deaths in SNS

Participants commented on finding out about the passing of a friend or family member (be it close, or distant) through their Facebook network and via their newsfeed[121]. For some, this was the first news of the death, while others had a phone call or a text message and turned to Facebook to find out more details about the death and funeral.

Participant responses: Finding out about deaths via Facebook
▪ *You just get online and you go through your friends list and that's how you find out where all the hui are [and] tangihanga. Find out about tangihanga on there, fastest way, If you're not on there you'll miss heaps – Pare, focus group participant* ▪ *Where do the posts about tangihanga go on? Like a marae page or something? (Researcher)* ▪ *You know just family pages, and when you log in it just comes up on your homepage - Sarah, focus group participant* ▪ *It just pops up and [...] - Pare* ▪ *Yeah and it's like oh my god, thing died [laughs] - Sarah* ▪ *And then everyone's getting in contact with you to find out how you're going to get there [to the funeral] or whether you're coming or not - Pare* ▪ *They use Facebook to organise that? (Researcher)* ▪ *Yep, 'cos it's faster, I think it's faster. The only thing is that the aunties, that level [generation] they don't use the Internet - Pare* ▪ *Yeah, yeah – Melissa, focus group participant*

[121] A newsfeed is the centre column of a Facebook home page, which is constantly updating list of stories from people and Pages that a person follows on Facebook. News feed stories include status updates, photos, videos, links, app activity and likes.

- *So the younger ones, we find out a lot more stuff than they do [laughter] which is good - Pare*

- Focus group participant conversation

Confirmations were often made by looking to Facebook to see whether or not trusted contacts were confirming the death. Participants also noted that their iwi, hapū or marae Facebook pages were used as a 'notice board' to inform people about current tangihanga happening across their community.

Notices were posted as a generic message to reach many people at once, and participants commented on this being an efficient (and cost-effective) means of communicating important information in a timely manner.

Participant response: Finding out about deaths via Facebook
So for me, being on the outside of that rohe and not really having any time or ability to go up there myself, it was awesome and really beneficial for myself to just hop on and being able to see what was happening. And like we were just talking about before with tangi and stuff, there's you know it's really, really up to date, to the point where there's a spread sheet on there that you can look at, that actually lists all of the mate[122] from the last few months, where they lay, the date and all that kind of thing. Which I thought was quite interesting; I thought that was really interesting *- Cameron, focus group participant*

This participant appreciated having access to this type of such information (including collated information about recent deaths within his particular iwi) as he lived away from his marae. Facebook was a major form of communication for this participant to find out about recent deaths. Participants also talked about the necessity of having

[122] mate - deaths

access to SNS like Facebook in which details of funerals were disseminated, when no other communications methods were available.

Participants commented on how SNS can be more reliable for communicating with friends and family, compared to emails and texting (O'Carroll, 2013). Having access to a large number of relevant people enabled information to be quickly changed regarding tangihanga arrangements if necessary or to notify members with no other means of communication.

Participants response: Negative attitudes towards learning of tangihanga through SNS
▪ *Well like finding out that someone's died, fuck, through Facebook - Paige, focus group participant* ▪ *Yeah I've had [that] through Facebook - Tui, focus group participant* ▪ *Yeah I've had that – Krystal, focus group participant* ▪ *Oh my gosh, I've had that a lot of times. Gosh it's horrible - Sonia, focus group participant* ▪ *Where I found out that one of the elders aye like passed away and you found out 'cos your mate sent a status to say goodbye or something like that - Tui* ▪ *I hate it like when friends from school and then like people like oh yeah he hung himself and I'm like bro we're on Facebook like you know - Sonia* ▪ *There's some things you don't know talk about. There is a bar there and a lot of people cross it - Tui* *- Focus group participants conversation*

In contrast, some participants felt that hearing about deaths over Facebook was insensitive and offensive, particularly when conversations in SNS revealed the circumstances of their death and other such information, which may not be considered respectful.

Death notifications that provided detail about deaths by suicide, car crashes or where the event was considered too private or traumatic to share in SNS, were generally condemned by participants as exemplifying information best left out of the public forum of SNS.

Virtual memorials

Memorial webpage's and use of the Facebook page of the deceased as a notice board for eulogies, were reported by a number of participants as enabling friends to make farewells, give mihimihi and generally acknowledge their grief and loss.

Participant response: Memorials on Facebook
Her page became an active tribute and yeah it was quite strange to be used in that way, but it was good I suppose that people had the opportunity to express their feelings and when they put the tributes on the page they knew that other friends were going to see those sorts of things. So it was quite a good way to bond in grief I guess, when everyone's kind of on different parts of the world and, especially for us, it was extremely hard wanting to be there, obviously, and not being able to - *Ngāti Rānana case study participant*
And another good thing, for me personally on Facebook is like, memorial pages. 'cos like one of my best friends died like a few, like a month ago. Yeah like, they have like "in memory of" or like "RIP" so for like for my friend it was "Rest in Peace [name anonymised]" and then on his page, it felt like he's still kinda, like I can still get in contact and I know that I can't but, if I write something on his page, it just feels like I'm talking to him in a way, and so like those, for me, or for him and me, and being able to do it through Facebook and stuff, like just so I can say "miss you heaps" and all that kinda carry on and what not - *Erena, focus group participant*

Many of the focus group participants spoke about how important it was for them to feel they could say goodbye to friends or whānau members who had passed.

Facebook memorials enabled them to do this in their own personal way and, for some, brought closure. In some instances, long after the funeral, participants continued to check the page of the deceased as a way to remember him or her. Revisiting photos and reminiscing online provided participants with some comfort while reconnecting to their friend/family member in memory.

Shared images

Photographs of tūpāpaku were also discussed in focus groups and case studies. Participants reported photos of deceased babies and prominent leaders or figures from communities who had passed and were appearing on people's Facebook newsfeeds. Participants felt that such displays were inappropriate and insensitive to families of the deceased. Some participants had been tagged in photos or videos of the deceased, which made them feel uncomfortable and was considered deplorable by some people (tagged photos links that photo to a someone's personal profile pages). Mixed responses regarding related images emerged from the data.

Participant response: Mixed responses to tangihanga photos SNS or the Internet
Anyone can trace it, like you can put pictures up there; like I've seen pictures of headstones and graves, you know what I mean. And like babies in coffins online, and it's on Facebook. There's a time and a place for certain things. It's starting to get scarier and scarier *- Pare, Focus group participant*
We got the photos that they sent up of the tangihanga, there were some photos in there as well, of the tūpāpaku, going through the photos and then, oh boy [gasps] you know [I was] sort of quite surprised, we talked to [name anonymised] one of our elders here. We decided not to disseminate that to club members because, even from a Pākehā tikanga, or a Māori tikanga view, we were just not sure how our members were gonna take that *- Ngāti Rānana case study participant*

The views here show that there are issues people consider when they share and/or view material depicting tūpāpaku in SNS. There is a sense of awareness and sensitivity that participants expressed towards these images, considering that it could be offensive to them and/or to others. A Facebook user from my personal network, disgruntled at the number of such images being shared within his Facebook network, posted this on his page:

> Okay if you're taking photos of dead people lying in their coffins don't post it up on Facebook and tag your whole family in it [...] I don't like scrolling down my page to see a photo of a random dead person in their coffin (Facebook page anonymised, accessed 2012).

Generally speaking participants did not appreciate the posting of videos and photos of the deceased on Facebook as it made participants feel uncomfortable, and that there was little consideration towards the whānau pani or kirimate[123].

Video footage of funerals (including Skype calls) were reported and observed through SNS as well as other channels through the Internet. Participants raised interesting points around reasons for videoing tangihanga and then sharing them.

Participant response: Mixed responses to tangihanga recordings in SNS or the Internet
I've seen a whole tangi, basically a whole tangi being videoed and that was because there was such a loss of the reo of our old people. It was according to that family wanting to have some legacy of history for them, that was their whakaaro, they weren't going to put it [up] anywhere else but for their own family *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

[123] kirimate - grieving family. Whānau pani is also used in this way

The decline of te reo capability within communities is also prompting people to keep records of such rituals as a family treasure of words exchanged during a tangihanga.

From the online survey, 70 per cent of Māori living abroad used Skype as an SNS to connect and communicate with others, particularly family and friends who remain in Aotearoa New Zealand. One participant gave the example of sharing tangihanga via Skype, a practice that has developed for whānau who are unable to physically attend funerals yet still want to contribute through virtual participation.

Participant response: Mixed responses to tangihanga recordings in SNS or the Internet
So when my sister died in Australia, we Skyped the tangi. You know everyone saw our faces and everything and we saw them there, we saw the tūpāpaku there, it wasn't like being there, but it felt alright, but you know - in real Māoridom, [we] should really be there *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

Thus, video formats are becoming an alternative for Māori to use to participate in tangihanga when they are unable to afford the time or money to return home.

One participant felt that tangihanga being broadcast through the Internet was not too dissimilar to seeing or hearing funerals broadcast on television or the radio:

Participant response: Mixed responses to tangihanga recordings in SNS or the Internet
Photos of the tūpāpaku and stuff, putting it on Facebook or YouTube or whatever, I think is no different to having it on Google, like when the Māori Queen died, we had her tangi all over the TV *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

Such practices can be seen to enhance the accessibility of funerary rites to wide and appropriate audiences and in certain instances as positive evolutions of Māori culture.

Wairuatanga

Spirituality is a strong concept within Māori culture and for Māori people. One participant mentioned the belief that there was an inability to connect to the wairua when tikanga of tangihanga are practised in SNS.

Participant response: Inability to connect to wairua
Wairua's missing aye, to me that's the difference. Yous kissed the screen aye, yous did, didn't you? [sic] Yeah we just kissed the screen and it was sad *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

The inability to connect to the wairua from a virtual tangihanga was clearly felt by this participant. The participant shared how she kissed the computer screen to say goodbye to a deceased, and found it difficult to connect to the wairua of the deceased person. Her use of the term "sad" in this instance was to signal the sense of the emptiness of this act compared with physical presence, as she felt removed from the experience of the tangihanga ritual. While it might have been the most convenient method of saying her goodbyes, it was clearly not a replacement for the face-to-face value of being physically present at such tikanga-rich ceremonies.

It is clear that times are changing. The use of technology is creeping more into our lives and being regarded as normal and convenient. Participants' experiences with tikanga practice of virtual tangihanga showed that there were competing arguments for and against certain tikanga being practised in SNS. However the vast majority of

participants spoke strongly against the posting of tangihanga-related sensitive material in SNS and agreed that physical presence was the most appropriate way to participate. These discussions lead to the question of how virtual sing tikanga will impact on the marae, and consequently, on those who uphold tikanga on the marae.

Impact on marae and kaumātua

Alongside technological change, the functions of elders also shift and adapt to the changing needs of Māori people and culture. Kaumātua are the guardians of tikanga and kawa on the marae. Usually holding kaikaranga and kaikōrero roles[124], they are the keepers of the language, ancient karakia and waiata and are storehouses of knowledge, whakapapa and kōrero pertaining to marae, hapū and iwi.

While the core of kaumātua roles may not have changed, what has changed dramatically is the space of practice and application, where SNS and the Internet are quickly becoming the "virtual marae" in which to practise "virtual" tikanga (Ngaruahine iwi case study participant, 2012). Tangihanga is just one of the rituals and ceremonies that are practised on the marae and, as has been presented, has crossed over to the virtual space of SNS. However tikanga practice in more broader terms is having critical impacts on kanohi ki te kanohi as well as the marae space. The following section looks at the implications of SNS as the 'marae space' on tikanga practice from a kaumātua perspective and discusses how marae and kaumātua are or could potentially be affected by the virtualising of tikanga.

[124] kaikaranga and kaikōrero – key roles on the marae to call to the visitors and to give formal speeches of welcome

Kaumātua reactions to virtual tikanga

A case study was conducted with Ngaruahine Rangi, my own iwi who are located in the South Taranaki region of Aotearoa New Zealand. A number of kaumātua were present in the interview and they spoke extensively about the issues raised in this article. Their views and thoughts on tikanga practice and application to SNS varied in relation to the impact of virtualising tikanga, which might conceivably threaten the existence or need for a physical marae. They also argued that tikanga in SNS may not possess the necessary tapu or wairua required for its proper practice. The following are some excerpts from interviews with kaumātua who shared their thoughts on tikanga in SNS.

Rāhui are enacted upon a particular location or place for a particular reason. Unlike the law, which is enforced and policed, rāhui is a cultural restriction that clearly informs people for their protection or to protect a resource. This kuia refers to a recent observation of a rāhui sanction in SNS,

Participant response: Tikanga application to SNS – mixed views
I think it was ridiculous when we turn around and use a rāhui on Facebook, I think we're going beyond the bounds of marae and should stop shifting such things as those, 'cos I think those things are tapu *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

This example of rāhui involved a Māori music band who had just learned of the passing of a close friend of theirs. They were unable to attend their friend's tangihanga and so enacted a rāhui to their Facebook band page by posting a notice informing their fans of the purpose and time restrictions of the rāhui. Their purpose was to show respect to the grieving family and to express their grief. Fans of the band page respected the rāhui by following the instructions given. No posting was to

be done on the wall[125] and the band page would not enter into any correspondence until the rāhui had been lifted a week later (Band name anonymised for confidentiality) (Facebook page, accessed 2012).

In this instance, the rāhui operated in a virtual space to show respect to a life that was lost and to the grieving family. Thinking about rāhui in a traditional sense, and the varying extensions of tapu that were placed on a resource or area to ensure that it would be protected evoked broader questions around how tapu played a role in the application of rāhui in virtual spaces. While tapu is innate in everything, to say that a Facebook page on the Internet possesses tapu is debateable. However, the purpose of the rāhui, (recognising the death of someone closely connected) is indeed tapu. The notice to Facebook users was heeded, respected and acknowledged and no one posted to the page for the specified amount of time. The area of rāhui on virtual spaces requires further investigation, however the kuia argues here that tapu can only be applied to physical places or spaces.

Kanohi ki te kanohi is an important value for Māori as most of our rituals and ceremonies are conducted amongst our communities and on our marae. Being physically present implies that you have invested some time and effort in being there (particularly nowadays with financial and work pressures). Similarly, kanohi ki te kanohi practice holds mana and is the same as kanohi kitea. If ones face is seen they are tending to their responsibilities as part of the community. Some elders of the study affirmed that, while nothing beats kanohi ki te kanohi, there is very little that can be done to stop the practising of tikanga in virtual spaces.

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[125] The wall is a space within Facebook profiles where users' posts can share information, text, links, photos and videos to each others' walls. The wall is a collection of users' posts and presents the information resembling a wall of messages and notifications.

Participant response: Tikanga application to SNS – mixed views
When it comes to kōrero, or you know, when you talk to one another, the tikanga of home is kanohi ki te kanohi - that's it. So, how do you relate that to Facebook? Simple tikanga of that is as (name anonymised) said, kia tupato (err on the side of caution) - that's it. There's nothing else that we could actually say with regards to the tikanga and the way we use these things. Kia tupato, kanohi ki te kanohi. They're communication tools, that's all they are. *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

Participants in virtual tikanga are cautioned to tread carefully and with integrity so that the underlying principles of tikanga are respected. Others felt that SNS were simply outside the realm of where tikanga need to operate.

Participant response: Tikanga application to SNS – mixed views
In terms of the tikanga, when you think about these being used as a chit chat (communications) we don't have a tikanga because tikanga is at home on the marae. So does that tikanga of home apply [in SNS]? - don't know. I don't know *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

This kuia struggles to grapple with the idea that tikanga that she knows and understands from home can be transferred in practise to SNS, perhaps because she sees SNS as an informal, modern domain where communications and conversations are exchanged, not necessarily where culture is practised. Another view was one of resignation at the inevitable trickle of tikanga into SNS and other spaces.

Participant response: Tikanga application to SNS – mixed views
I think at the end of the day we're not going to be able to stop it, um we, those of us that live and breathe marae and um, you know, and adhere to the tikanga of the marae, we're not going to be able to stop it for those that are out there, who don't live breathe, tikanga on the marae, we could possibly air our views on how we feel about it, but at the end of the day, it's gonna happen anyway, so yeah. Yeah. *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

This response indicates that Māori are accessing virtual methods of participating in tikanga associated with tangihanga either as an alternative to, or in addition, to face-to-face contact and that stopping this from happening is not possible.

The issues raised here around the use and application of tapu in non-physical spaces are concerning. Tapu is entrenched in tikanga and carries more potency in tangihanga rituals through specialised karakia, the tapu of the marae space, rituals of encounter such as the pōhiri, and engagements with the deceased. These tasks incorporate an intense level of tapu. A major question arising from these findings is how that same tapu can continue to be placed upon a thing, person or object within a virtual space. This begs a further question; can tapu transfer from the physical space to the virtual space? If so, how is that tapu respected, acknowledged and heeded by others? Is it as 'authentic' as tikanga practised on the marae, where varying extensions and levels of tapu exist and are widely known and acknowledged? These are all questions that require further investigation and exploration.

SNS – a cultural succession strategy or the demise of the marae and kaumātua roles?

Some Ngaruahine Rangi elders who reside within their tūrangawaewae hold influential and significant roles on their various marae, committees and boards. Their roles carry heavy responsibilities. These kaumātua are often stretched and exhausted from the many 'hats' they wear within the iwi. However the devastating reality, is that the numbers of kaumātua of Ngaruahine Rangi are dwindling, particularly those who hold much of the esoteric knowledge.

The many ways in which they might choose to impart some of this knowledge are important in determining how knowledge is disseminated and who has access. Although kaumātua of Ngaruahine Rangi are certainly present on the marae (despite small numbers), practising tikanga and kawa, conducting tangihanga ceremonies, keeping the paepae warm, calling to visitors in karanga and keeping traditions, their physical presence is not everlasting and they will eventually pass on.

Personally, it is terrifying to think that my elders will one day pass, and with them will go much of our teachings, knowledge and traditions. If my fellow iwi members and I do not actively take up opportunities to engage and learn tikanga and mātauranga to pass onto future generations, there is the possibility of losing those traditions. There is a sense of responsibility that some of us must carry, in order to perpetuate the traditions of our elders and pass them on to upcoming generations.

This is certainly the hope of some kaumātua from Ngaruahine Rangi who are concerned with the number of descendants not frequenting their marae. While there may be a view amongst some Māori that technologies such as SNS are increasing participation and interest in marae, hapū and iwi activities, there is a contrasting view that technology is potentially *hindering* the process of enticing rangatahi to return to their marae. If much of what rangatahi want in terms of cultural sustenance can be accessed through SNS, then what imperative is there to physically return home? Some of these concerns are clearly illustrated by Ngaruahine Rangi kaumātua.

Participant responses: Kaumātua concerns
Yeah that's my whakaaro for that, because there's nothing like coming home you know, physically being on the land, physically being and meeting people and that adds to the whole experience, you can only get so much virtually, And some people are happy with that, but I think if you're in a position where you can

encourage someone else to come home, then I think that should always be our first option you know, and so help them to come home
You know we all have a responsibility with our whānau and ourselves and hapū and iwi, and marae and sometimes we lose our way with that, but I believe it is the responsibility of the whānau to ensure that link whether you live next door to the pā or you know, overseas
Well to me, I actually hope that people don't move away from their marae, because like you said before, if they were to use the Internet with the marae, you wouldn't be able to feel the comfort of home, you wouldn't be able to feel your tūpuna unless on Facebook you can research them, but then it's not the same
Suppose there's something in that aye, the importance of going to the source as opposed to becoming a Wikipedia people. *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participants*

There is a real concern amongst the older generations about the future of Māori people and culture with SNS and other technologies and how they might impact on the ways that Māori culture is practised. One kuia feared for her position as a pou kuia[126] of her marae.

Participant responses: Roles of kaumātua on the marae
Very soon we won't need to come back to the marae if we keep using it [tikanga] in that way and what then will my role be here on the marae? *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

Such concerns will undoubtedly be shared by other kaumātua within and beyond this iwi, who have similar concerns within their institutions and communities.

However, as at risk as the marae and its roles appear to be, there remained a sense of positivity regarding Māori youth and SNS in that opportunities to maintain connections, relationships and ties were achievable without having to be face-to-face, which for many is difficult.

[126] pou kuia – elder woman with important roles such as kaikaranga

Participant responses: The virtual marae
What I do think that Facebook is doing [is] it's become the marae of the young people, that's their marae. That's what Facebook is. It's the marae where they can meet one another and kōrero to each other. *- Ngaruahine Rangi iwi case study participant*

It is apparent that issues around SNS and Māori culture are multi-faceted, with positives and negatives, and grey areas as well. On the one hand, SNS have the potential to provide a place for Māori to exercise customs and practices, which can be accessed by Māori anywhere in the world, contributing to possibilities around succession strategies of (re)-building cultural capability amongst marae, hapū and iwi. On the other hand, it raises kaumātua concerns that the more tikanga are virtualised, the potentially more dislocated the marae becomes to its people, and thus, kaumātua roles and expertise may have a diminished role in Māori society.

Conclusion

The tangihanga ritual and the tikanga behind tangihanga are increasingly applied in virtual spaces as technology continues to advance and become a convenient substitute for physical presence at funerals. Tangihanga incorporate an intensely tapu set of rituals for many Māori, which requires careful consideration around the posting and sharing of information and images that might be considered disrespectful or inappropriate. Generally, research participants appreciated the role that SNS played in providing them with real time and up to date information on people who had passed away. This mode of communication was, in some instances, considered at least as reliable as other modes of communication (such as texting or emails).

However views on whether the new channels could actually encompass the depth and richness of established practices within tangihanga were more complex. Notably, one participant who attended a virtual tangihanga was unable to feel or connect to the wairua of the deceased through the computer; this was seen as an unfortunate flaw in the use of SNS. According to some elders, it is difficult to conceptualise how tapu can be transferred and applied from the physical (or spiritual) space into the virtual and therefore how tikanga can appropriately be practised without being face-to-face or physically present.

Today's ever changing and evolving society is prompting Māori to rethink and refine how tikanga and kawa are exercised. New technologies are swiftly taken up by Māori and, with that movement, long established forms of culture can either be left behind or adapted and evolved. Ngata discussed the evolution of kawa and tikanga in response to changing Māori societies and circumstances and eloquently reflected, some years before his passing and before his own live webcast 'tele-tangi', that,

> The advent of email and the Internet has created opportunities for distant members of a whānau or hapū to participate in the life of their community without being physically present (for example, via tele-tangi and e-hui). The tangihanga remains the best opportunity for many such communities to maintain and renew personal contacts, however it happens (Ngata, 2005, p.40).

Work, financial and family issues are everyday pressures that Māori face, which can impact on the ways in which they participate in tikanga practice on the marae (Ngata 2005). Despite these pressures, Māori need to keep up with the times, and continue to evolve and adapt according to the needs of the people.

On the other hand, Māori need to carefully think about the potential impacts of virtualising tikanga on the marae space and having only remote interactions with

kaumātua. These facets of human interaction might not only change the way we do tikanga, but also how we cohere as a people. Practising culture in a virtual sense poses the risk of, as one participant suggested, “becoming a Wikipedia people” (Ngaruahine Rangi case study participant). These concerns were raised by kaumātua from the case studies and echo the concerns of other kaumātua with whom I have had informal discussions.

These issues need to be further explored and researched with other iwi to fully understand how virtualising tikanga might impact Māori. Further investigation into the notion of tapu and how it can exist in virtual spaces is also required. The question is how can Māori continue to maintain cultural practices online, while holding onto traditions and the value of face-to-face interaction? Reid (2005, p.47) sums up a potential way of approaching this challenge with the comment

> People ask: what’s the Māori way, or the Māori perspective or whatever. It’s plural, it’s diverse, it’s multiple, it’s flexible, it’s changeable. We must resist people trying to make us into museum exhibits of past behaviors. We are complex, changing, challenging and developing – as is our right.

These ongoing intergenerational tensions are for marae, hapū and iwi, both locally and globally, to consider as technology is steadily becoming more intelligent, evolved and pervasive.

It is up to Māori to decide the future of tikanga, the future of the marae and the roles and responsibilities of these and other spaces. Simultaneously Māori must consider the many complexities of society, how to best practice and maintain cultural values and tikanga in modern society, and the role of technological tools. Educating and informing people of the potential risks and offering guidelines around how tikanga can be practised appropriately, could at least make SNS users aware of the issues.

Further discussion and examination could lead to developing ways to ensure tikanga practice in SNS can serve the needs and aspirations of Māori communities

Lead into chapter: 6

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past? Examining the notion of 'virtual' ahikā and the implications for kanohi ki te kanohi

Previous chapters described a number of pressures and challenges to kanohi ki te in the advent of technologies that enable alternative methods of engagement and platforms for practising aspects of Māori culture. The sixth (and final) data chapter provides an in-depth exploration of notion of kanohi ki te kanohi and the ways in which this important practice of Māoridom has changed.

The example of ahikā is investigated to highlight the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi and how ahikā has changed over time. Drawing extensively on a survey conducted with Māori living abroad, attention is paid to how ahikā is interpreted by the Māori diaspora who seek new ways to maintain their connections to home. This has implications for kanohi ki te kanohi and Māori society as technologies act to broaden and/or replace physical connection.

The chapter was submitted to the Aboriginal Journal of Health in April 2013. I am currently awaiting notification of whether the article has been accepted for peer-review. I wish to acknowledge Dr Raukura Roa who provided excellent feedback on the article prior to its submission to the journal. Ngā mihi aroha ki a koe e te tuakana.

Relevant background literature is provided in this linking section as useful context to the following chapter.

Introductory literature

Ahikā

As Kawharu (1997) explains, ahikā involves continuity of occupation on ancestral lands, "I kā tonu taku ahi, i runga i tōku whenua - My fire has always been kept alight upon my (peoples') land" (p.41). Sinclair (1981) speaks about variations of ahikā depending on peoples relationships with their whenua. Ahi tere is described in this literature as a wandering fire, one that is unstable or weak. Māori who depart their lands to reside elsewhere would be considered ahi tere. Some historical examples of this could be inter-tribal marriage where tribal members left to reside with their partner's tribe or, where land wars and occupation forcibly moved iwi and hapū outside of their mana whenua and onto new areas to inhabit. However, according to Sinclair (1981) ahikā could be rekindled and refired by descendants so long as it was done within three generations. If ahikā was not rekindled, it would become ahi mātaotao, or a fire that has died out. This of course meant that there was no longer an ahikā presence on that particular land, which would become available to other groups claiming ahikā.

Forms of land rights

Smith (1942) speaks of other rights to land through take tūpuna[127], take raupatu[128] and take tuku[129] in which rights over land were exercised. The ahikā of lands that were part of one of these transactions would be extinguished and a new ahikā

[127] take tūpuna – rights of ancestry
[128] take raupatu – rights of conquest
[129] takes tukku – rights of bequest

established. In all of these land transactions, ahikā - occupation and use - was a main feature of customary title over that land. Similarly, mana was required when assertions of ahikā were made, “Mana legitimised one’s place on whenua, which needed to be backed up with ahi kā” (Kumar, 2010, p.34). Erueti (2004) discusses how, historically, collectives who were forced off their lands either through conquest or abandonment could continue to claim a right to the land, particularly if their dead were buried on those lands, and blood had been spilt (through battle). Ahikā would sometimes be asserted by naming areas of the lands, having ancestors buried there, making claim to sacred areas, and being able to recount histories and other narratives associated with the land. At times, groups remained on the land to hold the ahikā for the wider grouping. British forces and authorities in the process of colonising the country, paid very little attention to the concept of ahikā during land confiscations and wars (Kawharu, 1977) deepening the injustice and immensely complicating subsequent efforts at redress.

Native Land Court

Customary conceptions of ahikā are based around occupation and assertions of mana whenua by a hapū or iwi over generations. The establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865 (later renamed the Māori Land Court) imposed colonial practices that altered the concept and meaning of ahikā. Erueti (2004) writes that the most distorted redefining of customary practice was where the Courts provided equal the allocation of lands to descendants (through take tūpuna) despite them not maintaining ahikā on that particular parent’s inheritance. He further argues that this was “largely due to the Native Land Court's fluid interpretation of Māori customary succession rules” (Erueti, 2004, p.48), in particular the individualising of title based solely on genealogical descent. Erueti states that ahikā was recognised through evidence that

> The land was [in] continuous occupation and use of the land's resources, with members passing specific use-rights in an unbroken chain from one generation of users to the next (Erueti, 2004, p.54).

What made things more complex was the flexibility of the lores around ahikā and rights to land, which adapted and changed depending on relationships between hapū, iwi and the land. The Native Land Court prioritised competing claims to land by various groups. This had severe impacts on customary practice and effectively negated the legal status of ahikā as occupation was no longer a requirement of the rights over any land.

Contemporary perspectives on ahikā

The separation of Māori from their lands over a number of generations has had devastating effects on their abilities to claim identity and belonging to their culturally vital ancestral locations. Tinirau's study looks into ahikā of Ngāti Ruaka and Ngāti Hine, examining how it has changed over time, and what it means for the people of specific places – often referred to as the "ahikā" or haukāinga (Tinirau et al., 2009, p. 95). The haukāinga are those who look after the marae and maintain tikanga, as well as staff and oversee the running of the lands. There are tensions in how the concepts might vary between those who whakapapa to (connect through genealogy), but do not live at home and those who work to maintain ahikā.

Ahikā is noted in Tinirau's study as not being prioritised for the iwi, as land rights and titles were based on whakapapa, regardless of land occupation and use.

> Perspectives of current generations recognise those of their kin (although relatively far removed) who keep the ancestral flame burning on behalf of those who live away from the land, and have been doing so for some time. Therefore, the definition of ahikā has expanded, and acknowledges that genealogical ties, no matter how distant, can act as a conduit to the ancestral flame for Māori urban dwellers (Tinirau et al., 2009, p. 8-9).

For many iwi and hapū, ahikā has changed in meaning to being more about who looks after the marae through the many roles of kaikōrero, kaikaranga, kaiwaiata, and of course the all important roles of the kitchen in overseeing the manaakitanga side of hosting people on the marae. Ahikā is an integral part of Māori society which connects people to their lands and people to people. Changing definitions and challenges around virtual ahikā are examined and linked to broader considerations of kanohi ki te kanohi in the following chapter.

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?

Examining the notion of 'virtual' ahikā and the implications for kanohi ki te kanohi

Introduction

He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga mahara

To see a face is to stir the emotions

The term kanohi ki te kanohi in te reo Māori literally translated means face-to-face; the social meaning of the phrase emphasises physical presence and even a sense of commitment, to whānau, to a place, to a kaupapa. Kanohi kitea is a similar notion, meaning 'the seen face' highlighting the importance of 'being seen' to strengthen relationships and one's place of belonging in the community. These concepts are of much importance to cultural practices, rituals and ceremonies that are central to Māori life and to the unique vigour of Māori institutions such as the marae.

Kanohi ki te kanohi has become increasingly difficult to achieve as a norm or even an ideal in the contemporary setting, due to the pace and pressures of work commitments, financial situations, diaspora and family contexts. Many Māori struggle with pressures to return home to participate in cultural, social and political activities of the marae. Prolonged absence from the papakāinga and marae may have major implications on the individual and/or the wider whānau/community where

connections and a sense of belonging become weak or lost. Distance, time and cost affect whether or not face-to-face engagement is possible.

This study explores kanohi ki te kanohi and its importance to Māori society and culture, using the specific context of ahikā a set of practices surrounding rights to land. The notion of ahikā particularly from the perspective of Māori living abroad will be investigated to show how they constitute these practices from afar. The roles of new forms including “virtual ahikā” mediated via SNS, in contributions and connections to 'home', will be a key focus and highlight the tensions for the values around kanohi ki te kanohi.

Aotearoa New Zealand context

To describe the context of Aotearoa New Zealand and, in particular, the state of the contemporary Māori nation is to acknowledge the histories of Māori people and culture. Here I provide a brief overview of Māori history; readers are encouraged to consult other sources to better understand the local context.

The Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, the Māori, had inhabited these islands (Te Ika a Māui and Te Wai Pounamu; the North and South Islands) for nearly 1000 years prior to the arrival of English and other European explorers in the late 16th century (M. H. Durie, 1995b; Orange, 2011; R. Walker, 2004). In spite of provisions agreed to in the nation’s founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, British colonisation had severe effects on Māori people, society, economy and wellbeing. The colonists worked to subjugate, marginalise and displace Māori from their lands, forests, fisheries and other treasured possessions (R. Walker, 2004). Land alienation and warfare resulted in major loss of life and resources, with profound impacts on

Māori systems, values, and ways of knowing and being (Belich, 1996; R. A. Benton, 1987; Biggs, 1989; Kawharu, 1989).

Despite this injustice and oppression, Māori culture and communities survived and, in some respects, are now resurgent with economic, cultural, artistic, sporting and political development to the fore. As part of the Crown reconciliation process towards Māori and their abhorrent loss of land, resources and culture, many iwi have made claims for the return of land and resources to Māori. Inherent within this process is evidence of the validity of claims, which is where ahikā comes in, and plays a significant role in proving mana whenua over parts of land and territories. Nowadays, ahikā has become a term used for the people who keep the metaphorical and literal home fires burning; those who are keeping things functioning at the coalface of, hapū and iwi communities. Kanohi ki te kanohi interaction and engagement largely holds the ahikā together.

Kanohi ki te kanohi

While kanohi ki te kanohi is about physical presence, it also relates to mana tangata (status, power) and a person's credibility in words, actions or intentions. This idea of fronting up provides people with the sense of honesty and truth. Kanohi ki te kanohi gives mana to one's kōrero. It is essentially, a typically Māori way of communicating thoughts and perspectives and the marae space is where speeches on matters great and small are delivered by skilled orators. The kōrero can often be challenging and intimidating but these types of deliveries are encouraged as the face-to-face environment is fitting for such occasions, particularly when the orator has the backing of his or her people. With kanohi ki te kanohi, there is an expectation the speaker will stand by their words in order to maintain their integrity and credibility

(Mead, 2003). Both kanohi ki te kanohi and kanohi kitea are physical forms of interaction, engagement and communication and are foundational principles for the many processes of tikanga Māori.

Many Māori researchers have incorporated the idea of kanohi ki te kanohi into kaupapa Māori theoretical frameworks for conducting research (Cram, 1992; Kepa, 2007; Pihama, 2001; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999; S. Walker et al., 2006) Kanohi ki te kanohi in this context refers to the credibility and accountability of researchers when engaging with Māori communities in community-based research.

> Kanohi ki te kanohi is regarded within Māori communities as critical when one has an important "take" or purpose. This form of consultation allows the people in the community to use all their senses as complementary sources of information for assessing and evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of becoming involved (Cram & Pipi, 2000, p.14).

Widely known Māori scholars such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Fiona Cram, Leonie Pihama and others have pioneered the way in terms of kaupapa Māori methods based on uniquely Māori philosophies underpinned by Māori values such as aroha, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and whanaungatanga. Within the research context, kanohi ki te kanohi ensures that researchers are accountable to the communities with whom they are researching with openness and honesty. Researchers seek to form relationships and trust to enable the communities to feel free to interrogate, challenge and face criticism from communities if they should feel the need (S. Edwards et al., 2005).

Very little literature has investigated how Internet technologies have affected kanohi ki te kanohi. One study looks at how a prominent iwi utilised computer-mediated communication to connect with its board members who lived around the country.

While the use of the technology suited those who lived away from the rohe of the tribe, those who lived locally felt that kanohi ki te kanohi was far more important to maintain:

> Where distant and passive members saw computer-mediated consultation as a step towards more inner-tribal democracy, locally active members were adamant that consultation should occur face-to-face. The insistence on face-to-face communication was seen as based on Māori culture: 'kanohi ki te kanohi', 'face-to-face' (Hofmann, 2010, p.197).

The above example indicates a split between those who prefer kanohi ki te kanohi and those who depend on the technology to participate in board tasks. Such conflicts are to be expected and finding the balance between utilising technology to empower those who are physically dislocated, while affirming those who hold and maintain important cultural values through physical presence, is the challenge.

A study by Keegan (2000) in particular notes that kanohi ki te kanohi is critical to Māori society and engagements but he argues that new technologies are bringing Māori society even closer by facilitating engagements between people who distance has put apart:

> Kanohi ki te kanohi, is another important Māori proverb literally meaning face-to-face. It implies that if correct contact must be made then people should meet face-to-face, one on one, so that no misunderstandings, misconstruing, misinterpretations, misapprehensions, misconstructions can occur. It implies that by taking the time and energy to arrange and travel to meet somebody you are showing the respect and homage that this person is worthy of your efforts. The Internet pretty much strives to do away with this situation. Everything and every person (in theory) can be brought to you in the comfort and convenience of your home. Thus is this aspect of culture lost in the new environment of the Internet? I believe it to be the contrary, and that the Internet makes this proverb even more applicable! (Keegan, 2000, p.1).

Ahikā

Māori people and communities have deep, intrinsic connections and relationships with the land that provide cultural markers of iwi-specific identity. A report from the Waitangi Tribunal aptly describes associations between people and place as being significantly linked to relationships, histories and whakapapa,

> The lands of the people, then, are defined not by boundaries but by relationships. The identifiable lands of a group of Māori people are the lands of their history, the places where their tūpuna [ancestors] are buried, all those lands that they could occupy or defend, or on which they could keep their fires alight (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997. p.135).

There are further spiritual connections to land, through Papatūānuku[130] and other deities, as well as the role as a provider of sustenance to people where the bounty of the land (and waterways) feeds, shelters and provides resources to tribes. Māori values of reciprocity are exemplified here in that if the people look after the land, the land looks after the people. Such associations - collectively known as ahikā - routinely maintained by occupation of a place, are more difficult to maintain for those, who from diverse circumstances, have left their ancestral lands.

Ahikā is an ancient concept and has been expressed in various ways in the literature recognising that the occupation and use of land "was a co-requirement of all other rights to land" (Asher & Naulls, 1987, p.22). Tinirau et al. (2009, p.2) state that whakapapa qualifies an assertion of ahikā, "Ahikā (the burning home fires) refers to specific whakapapa connections, and active participation in aspects of residency, land ownership and utilisation". Whakapapa was important to the assertion of ahikā, and combined with physical occupation, productive use (often evidenced in cultivation) and kaitiaki responsibilities. Using resources from a specific area also

[130] Papatūānuku – the Earth Mother.

indicated ahikā was alive and held by the inhabitants of that land, who are also referred to as mana whenua (rights over land) (N. Smith, 1942).

Mana whenua had particular knowledge of the land that they inhabited; its topography, history, locations of special food resources, storehouses and sacred places of remembrance or where customs and rituals were carried out. These processes recognised that ahikā, maintained by the inhabitants, was current and ongoing on that whenua (Sinclair, 1981; N. Smith, 1942; Tinirau et al., 2009). Friendly neighbouring iwi acknowledged the ahikā of those around them; ensuring mutual occupancy and usage rights were respected. If occupation ceased, for whatever reasons, the fire died out and claim to that whenua diminished and could be contested or supplanted (Kawharu, 1977).

Customary conceptions of ahikā are based around occupation and assertions of mana whenua by a hapū or iwi over generations. However, the establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865 (later renamed the Māori Land Court) imposed colonial practices that altered the concept and meaning of ahikā. Erueti (2004) writes that the most distorted redefining of customary practice was where the Courts provided equal the allocation of lands to descendants (through take tūpuna, ancestral connection) despite them not maintaining ahikā on that parent's inheritance. Thus, take tūpuna began to replace the concept of ahikā through passing down lands to descendants without a requirement for ahikā. This had severe impacts on customary practice and effectively negated the status of ahikā in relation to land inheritance.

Post World War II ahikā was heavily influenced by Māori urbanisation (Tinirau, et al., 2009) driven, among other things, by Māori in search of new beginnings,

employment and education. 84 per cent of Māori reside in urban areas, implying that they are living away from their ahikā and ancestral lands. The separation of Māori from their lands over a number of generations has had devastating effects on the ability to claim identity and belonging to culturally vital ancestral locations.

Ahikā continues to resonate with its ancient meanings of use and occupation, but has developed in ways that present challenges to its practice. This is evidenced in many marae around the country, which have a small core group of people committed to continuity. Whānau and those who have moved away come and go, slotting into various roles when they can, with a resident core group at the centre. Whānau living away from home accept and acknowledge the core group as the ahikā. Tinirau et al. (2009, p.14) describe the core group as "bearing the burden" for the rest who are unable to live at home and take on these roles for the betterment and development of their marae and hapū. A key challenge for those tending the ahikā is to bring back whānau to take on some of the responsibilities.

Māori diaspora

The Māori diaspora is widening with 1 in 5 Māori living overseas, no longer living on their ancestral lands within Aotearoa. Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development of Aotearoa New Zealand) recently conducted an online survey with 1,223 Māori respondents aged 16 years and over, living in 51 countries across the world (Kukutai, 2012) finding that the main reason for living outside Aotearoa New Zealand was for "the prospect of economic advancement". Generations are being born and raised outside of Aotearoa New Zealand with a staggering 47 per cent of Māori having children and raising them overseas. However, almost all (99 per cent) of those surveyed, maintained some social connections to home, family and friends

in Aotearoa New Zealand and more than three quarters used SNS for social purposes (Facebook being the most used by survey respondents, but also includes Skype, Twitter, Google Plus and others). The 16 - 30 year old age group were the highest users (90 per cent) of SNS and the lowest users were those aged 50 years and older (62 per cent).

The survey revealed some interesting findings in relation to respondents' intentions of returning to Aotearoa New Zealand; "Survey respondents expressed a high degree of uncertainty about their future plans, including returning 'home'" (Kukutai, 2012, n.p). Sixty-two per cent indicated that Australia was their home and the country that they would settle in permanently. Broadly, one third of Māori living overseas were "unsure" about their future plans.

Māori living abroad are finding new beginnings and settlements away from their ancestral lands. Urbanisation and international diaspora are two main causes for the diminishing occupancy of customary lands and raises concerns around how ahikā might continue to 'burn' in contemporary society. With the advent of new technologies and tools to keep connected to people and places across the globe, the notion of ahikā may find new expression and contribute to the reinvigoration of Māori culture, with the implications for the meaning of kanohi ki te kanohi.

This paper

This paper will explore contemporary notions of ahikā and what it means for Māori living abroad in the 21st century and how they maintain their ahikā from afar, with a particular focus on the use of SNS. More broadly, this investigation will theorise notions of kanohi ki te kanohi and its importance and practice in modern Māori

society and the age of SNS technologies. It will contribute to my doctoral thesis which is entitled; *Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past? An examination of Māori use of social networking sites and the implications for Māori culture and society*. The research objective from the thesis that will be specifically investigated in this study will explore the advantages and disadvantages of Māori cultural values (ahikā in this instance) being practised online and the implications on kanohi ki te kanohi. The thesis is also part of a wider, Marsden funded research project entitled *The Social Network project*, which broadly focuses on SNS and youth drinking cultures.

Method

This study uses a framework that has been specifically developed for my doctoral thesis. The framework firstly encompasses kaupapa Māori principles which provide a platform for Māori research to be conducted using distinct Māori cultural practices and a Māori worldview (see Bishop, 1996; Cram, 1992; Moewaka Barnes, 2008; G. H. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999). The framework is complemented by acknowledgment of my tribal upbringing in three Taranaki iwi (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngaruahine Rangi) that uniquely contributes two fundamental teachings; rangimārie and hūmārie. Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga constitute a third part of the framework where te reo is elevated and used to holistically understand Māori concepts.

The data in this paper comes from an anonymous survey conducted with 139 Māori who (at the time) had been living abroad for 12 and who used SNS. It involved 48 male and 91 female. The survey was designed to gauge a broader global context of how SNS affect Māori diaspora and their connections back home and to their family and friends. Survey respondents lived throughout the world including Australia the

UK, USA (including Hawai'i), Korea, South America, Norway, Japan, Scotland, United Arab Emirates, Switzerland and Canada. Survey questions generally covered three domains – demographic information (including iwi affiliations), knowledge and use of SNS, and cultural knowledge. This latter section included questions around maintaining virtual ahikā, role of SNS in knowledge of tribal identity, and impacts of SNS on maintaining iwi, hapū and whānau relationships. The survey provides a rich data set about how SNS plays integral roles in the lives of Māori living abroad.

Ethical approval was obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Application 11/30) in 2011. Thematic analysis was employed for its inductive orientation (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2012) to the patterns and variations at work in the talk of survey respondents. Some descriptive quantitative analysis is used to give a sense of frequency of response categories.

Analysis

As discussed earlier, kanohi ki te kanohi is an important part of Māori society cultural practice. Respondents were asked to describe what kanohi ki te kanohi meant to them. The detailed and rich responses provide this article with insights into how Māori living overseas experience and value kanohi ki te kanohi.

Survey responses: Descriptions of kanohi ki te kanohi
Being Māori is physical. It engages all your senses. To feel the warmth of someone's hongi. To taste the tears of happiness/sadness and to see pukana[131]*, hear mihi/waiata, smell the kai that ringa wera*[132] *prepare captures your pride in your identity* *- Female; aged 26-35*

[131] pukana - whitening of the eyes
[132] ringa wera – workers, refers to the whānau who cook the meals and host guests

Being in the presence of someone else... seeing their face *- Female; aged 26-35*
Being there means much more, there's no text book on things that you learn from your elders *- Female; aged 26-35*
Being there physically, to touch, to have hands on, to counsel, to express, to be seen and to be present. To maintain eye contact; to know that you are loved by being there; to experience the wairua of the other participant. It's very personal and engaging *- Female; aged 46-55*
Kanohi ki te kanohi to me means that I get to sit alongside my nannies, tauheke[133] *and listen to the stories, hear the songs; learn the language; it allows me to be in the same physical space with our tauheke while learning the wairua; aroha, pono and tika of ngā mahi ā ngā tūpuna [the work of the ancestors]* *- Female; aged 46-55*
Kanohi ki te kanohi be it physically or through a computer screen doesn't make much difference to me...but I understand how it might not go down too well for some people, I'm guessing it would be the older generation who prefer kanohi ki te kanohi...the younger generation not so much *- Female; aged 36-45*
It means my family gets to see my children who were both born in the UK and have never been to NZ *- Female; aged 36-45*
This is something that challenges me and brings into reality a need to regularly return home to remain connection. The connection with people is the easy part it's more a yearning and a need to connect with the whenua *- Male; aged 46-55*

These perspectives give light to the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi for those who live at considerable distance from their haukāinga. In the following sections, I

[133] tauheke – elderly man

highlight some of the challenges and successes that SNS provides to Māori living abroad as they seek to maintain ahikā from a distance.

Maintaining ahikā from afar

One respondent provided the following description of ahikā 'ahikā refers to having an active caretaker and/or participator role within your tribal/sub-tribal areas and/or marae'. The survey asked for respondent opinions regarding what ahikā meant for them and how they virtually maintain their ahikā. The question was then asked, 'Does SNS assist you with maintaining a 'virtual' form of ahikā?' Of the 124 respondents that answered this question, 20 per cent said they did not use SNS in this way and 80 per cent said they made some use of SNS to maintain ahikā, agreeing that their connection to their kāinga[134] can be maintained virtually. Of those who agreed that SNS can help to maintain a form of virtual ahikā, half reported both advantages and disadvantages in trying to maintain such an important practice through kanohi ki te kanohi.

Virtual ahikā practices through SNS included being kept updated and having a finger on the pulse, enabling respondents to feel a sense of belonging and place in their communities, despite being away from home. These interactions helped respondents feel comfortable in voicing their opinions regarding important community decisions and discussions. Respondents also contributed to the development of their communities with expertise and koha. These were discussed by respondents as virtual ways of maintaining ahikā that were meaningful for them.

[134] kāinga – home

Keeping updated

Respondents discussed the importance of being 'in the loop' with the affairs of home and having a sense of satisfaction that their ahikā was being maintained from afar. It is perhaps predictable that this theme would emerge from the data, given the evidence that a primary use of SNS among Māori is to communicate with whānau, friends, marae, hapū and iwi (O'Carroll, 2013). However, some responses suggested that keeping informed and participating in dealings, discussions and meetings around marae, hapū and iwi, provided them with a feeling that their ahikā was maintained.

Survey responses: Keeping updated
An example for my whānau is that we recently voted in a treaty settlement. We were able to follow the debate on line through our rūnanga (and other) FB (Facebook) pages *- Female; aged 46-55*
They give you the sense that you're near or close to your haukāinga. You receive updates of news and issues that are happening and it gives you the sense that you can still participate, whether by contributing to discussions or answering questions *- Female; aged 26 – 35*
I cannot be there in person; so my input is of value to maintain the communication line. Through this I can monitor and view the participants; observe the body language and oversee the purpose of the meeting. Provide assistance where possible and offer up my contribution and support to the agenda *- Female; aged 46-55*
By knowing what is happening with land issues and meetings, whānau from overseas can travel back to meetings and can make the decision to move back to help whānau easier when they know what is happening *- Female; aged 46-55*

As described above, respondents saw the communication and connection as enabling mutual responsibilities to be met.

Having a voice

Respondents described the importance of having a say on issues which they understood would have far-reaching implications for them and their families. However, engaging in decision-making processes at iwi, hapū and/or marae level can be daunting and challenging, particularly if participants have not maintained a working and healthy relationship with the haukāinga. The following respondent comments about the importance of relationships and respect that is necessary when exercising ahikā.

Survey response: Relationships are integral
It allows you to keep abreast of new happenings and developments in your physical absence, thus providing a platform for you to make suggestions or confirm or decline to support certain issues or events. You have a voice (as long as you are respected), despite not standing on the paepae or marae *- Male; aged 46-55*

Opinions are generally heard and acknowledged when there is a solid relationship with the home people. Without this base, respect can often be absent. Being respected is an important aspect of Māori society when it comes to having a say and making decisions for the collective. Some respondents described having a voice on topics such as development, land claims or governance of marae, hapū and/or iwi board committees. Through SNS they felt directly connected to and respected by the community group, despite living away from home.

Survey responses: Having a voice
Especially being abroad... we are able to have input into our community back home... Facebook was used recently to rally some funds for our marae back home. We setup a FB roopu page [Facebook group page] and began fundraising, sent the money back... The whānau at home were able to see what we were doing and how we were progressing *- Male; aged 36-45*

An example for my whānau is that we recently voted in a treaty settlement ... We made an informed decision and felt like we were being an active part of our tribe *- Female; aged 46-55*
SNS give you the sense that you're near or close to your haukāinga. You receive updates of news and issues that are happening and it gives you the sense that you can still participate, whether by contributing to discussions or answering questions *- Female; aged 26-35*
[SNS] allows the opportunity to have input into critical issues going on at home *- Female; aged 46-55*

SNS in these instances enabled respondents to engage and participate in decision-making and contribute to their ahikā through virtual methods.

Koha

Another way of maintaining virtual ahikā for respondents of this study was to contribute financially to their Māori communities.

Survey responses: Sending koha
[I contribute] to a certain point, (not in a physical sense) since my marae created a FB (Facebook) site, I am more aware of what's happening at home. When big events are due to happen at the marae I am aware of it and can plan holidays home to participate. When I want to help from afar I can send a koha to help that way. But there are limitations on how I can help being far away *- Female; aged 26-35*
Well, we send money back to our marae every week, and at the end of every month we receive photos of where and what our money is used for. So yes it is tino pai [very good]. It's [SNS] the easiest and fastest way for the marae to send out pānui and is really cost efficient for our marae *- Female; aged 26-35*
[We're] able to take part in whānau discussions requiring a response and/or vote and contribute funds for marae upkeep *- Female; aged 46-55*

Providing regular or one-off monetary payment gave some respondents the feeling that they were giving back to their communities, despite not being able to physically contribute. Funds to help pay for essentials such as power, phone and maintenance can be a struggle for many marae across Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly if they do not have a steady form of income from land banks, trusts or other sources.

For many Māori, the impetus to move away from one's haukāinga is based largely on greater economic and work opportunities in Aotearoa New Zealand or further afield. Many who leave home to pursue an education or career develop specialised skill sets. Some respondents commented on providing expertise and specialised skills as a way of contributing to ahikā and the life of their communities back home.

Survey responses: Contribution of skills and expertise
I feed my tribe information about how the oil spills in America are affecting the coast shores and how they need to be careful. I also post my support about various issues -that affect my people so I feel that I have a virtual ahikā *- Female; aged 46-55*

For others, SNS was a means to an end, allowing them to fill a void until they could physically return home. Some participants commented on SNS providing a satisfactory and temporary solution to the distance that kept them dislocated from their haukāinga and ahikā. Despite the lack of kanohi ki te kanohi interactions, SNS was better than nothing.

Survey responses: Contribution of skills and expertise
Although I do communicate with some people more than I ever did, I still feel compelled to share the same physical space, there's definitely something missing by not being able to touch someone, eat with them, just hang out. Hence I'm driven to return home and am making plans to come back! But

networking sites are a good tool and offer a replacement interaction that will have to do for now. And without it I'd be even further distanced, so am grateful for things like email and Facebook *- Female; aged 36-45*

Distance and longing for home appears to be encouraging some to return and therefore, physically maintain their ahikā; this may produce benefits for them, their family and, of course, their haukāinga and marae.

Maintaining ahikā kanohi ki te kanohi

20 per cent of respondents (52 people) said that SNS did not help them maintain a virtual sense of ahikā. Comments were that ahikā cannot be maintained through virtual connections and can only be practised kanohi ki te kanohi. Although SNS provided them a connection to home, it was not intended to replace face-to-face interactions. Strong opinions and perspectives (comments) were shared by 47 (out of 52) of the respondents who spoke against using SNS as a tool for maintaining ahikā.

Survey responses: Kanohi ki te kanohi is irreplaceable
Personally I feel that the true meaning of kanohi ki te kanohi is physical face-to-face. Social networking is an alternative or a back up but I don't think that [SNS can] replace it *- Female; aged 26-35*
I do not believe Skype etc will ever be able to replace the connection felt when you are in the actual physical presence of a loved one *- Female; aged 26-35*
You can't replace the actual physicality of being next to someone, or being able to touch someone or being able to feel their 'presence' - while social networking is great to keep in touch, it can never replace the physical aspect *- Male; aged 26-35*
You can never replace all the things that one receives from being truly present with another, however when you live miles away from your family,

this is the next best option you have of interacting on more regular basis with them *- Female; aged 36-45*
Although it's [SNS] better than nothing... It can't replace touch, feel, sense etc *- Female; aged 36-45*
For me, I would love to be home to love, nurture, and counsel and hold each of our children and grandchildren. To provide assurance and assistance when enduring challenges. Being physically present is having my family bonded and strengthened because we are 'kanohi ki te kanohi' *- Female; aged 46-55*

Respondents felt that kanohi ki te kanohi was irreplaceable and that the value and importance of being physically present should remain a priority for Māori. However, there was an acceptance and acknowledgement that SNS provided a temporary solution. This was echoed by the respondents of the survey who argued that virtual connections are "better than nothing" but that face-to-face interaction and communication can never be fully replaced.

Physical touch

Respondents commented on emotion and physical touch that could not be expressed through SNS. They highlighted the importance of human touch in relation to the physical connections people make when they see each other which words (spoken or typed) are unable to convey. This suggests that physicality and being present (kanohi ki te kanohi) was of utmost importance to these respondents.

Survey responses: Kanohi ki te kanohi and physical touch
Everyone will drift apart and never connect if everything is done on site [online] where as kanohi ki te kanohi is straight upfront about everything. People can see your face, hear what you're speaking, see your emotions etc *- Female; aged 18-25*

It takes away from the physical aspect that human beings need to interact 100%. It's like when we only had the telephone to rely on, it would still feel empty after you hung up *- Female; aged 46-55*

The mana that is felt and acknowledged during kanohi ki te kanohi interactions encompass wairua and mauri aspects that are experienced in physical contexts. The idea that "kanohi ki te kanohi is straight upfront" suggests that there is no hiding behind computer screens and aliases that might otherwise shield you from the physical dimension that kanohi ki te kanohi provides. Kanohi kitea, or the seen face is indicative of ahikā, as when one's face is constantly seen, the contribution to and participation in the haukāinga is substantial. Being seen is an integral dimension of ahikā. For these participants, the idea of kanohi ki te kanohi is crucial to being able to maintain some form of ahikā and thus, one's ahikā from afar was seen as *not* possible through SNS.

This respondent describes a virtual hongi, where physical contact was made with the screen as a representation of a person,

Survey response: Negotiating the physical and the virtual
Its cold pressing your nose against the screen... not the same as in person but it'll do for now until we see them again... *- Male; aged 46-55*

While physical kanohi ki te kanohi was absent, technology provided an avenue to connect in *some* way. There is a degree of give and take where some things are forsaken in order to gain something small in return, as illustrated in this respondent's experience.

Cultural experiences

Respondents commented on the feelings that are experienced when kanohi ki te kanohi interactions occur, particularly on the marae where many cultural tikanga and kawa are practised and maintained. Te reo Māori is the dominant language of the marae space with regards to rituals, ceremonies and customs (formal proceedings) as well as in informal contexts. Experiences on marae reinforce knowledge and understanding of culture, values and language. According to two respondents these experiences are not replicable through SNS.

Survey responses: Cultural experiences irreplaceable
Social networking is fine for updates and information, photos and a few funny anecdotes, but nothing will replace being close physically to the ones you love, admire and respect. There is a feeling I get in my heart, stomach and soul when I step on to a marae that will never be replaced *- Female; aged 36-45*
Our culture is based on connections and is simplistic in nature. I like the lack of technology on the marae and the fact that Māori are great storytellers and singers. No SNS can replace that, [it] fills a void when you're away and is helping me to learn new waiata *- Female 26-35*

There are some clear distinctions made here around the marae as a space in which Western influences and technologies are yet to dominate, where tikanga Māori, and being Māori remains intact. With that in mind, they affirm that technology cannot replicate or replace cultural practices and experiences of the marae and, as one comments, there is a visceral certainty on this point. This refers not only to the act of physically being there, but to the wairua and mauri that are critical elements of the physical dimension of engagement.

Wairua and mauri

The wairua and mauri of Māori relationships and communication are important dimensions of interactions in SNS. Wairua refers to the spiritual connection between people, objects and places. Mauri refers to the life force innate within all things, including people, nature and objects. Mauri is a life force shared between people and objects and is a spiritual connection binding the two together. To experience the mauri of another is to be in its physical presence. These two concepts are important dimensions of the Māori world and pervade much of Māori culture, values and belief systems. Respondents commented extensively on wairua and mauri and how the two are integral to their claims to ahikā.

Survey responses: Wairua
We are spiritual people and without breath and physical presence it compromises our entire belief system. Social networking has its place for Māori up to a point mainly as an information tool *- Female; aged 26-35*
Being there physically, to touch, to have hands on, to counsel, to express, to be seen and to be present. To maintain eye contact; to know that you are loved by being there; to experience the wairua of the other participant. It's very personal and engaging *- Female; aged 46-55*
To be able talk one on one and feeling the wairua, physical presence and working one's mind *- Male; aged 46-55*

Respondents made connections between the physical and spiritual realms, commenting on the personal and intimate nature of this exchange and experience. Similarly, the final response mentioned "feeling the wairua", suggesting wairua is something experienced and felt through physical interactions with people, places and

objects. The physicality of sharing a space with others allows spiritual connections to be made.

One respondent spoke about wairua being important to ahikā, a common thread binding her to place. Through maintaining a virtual connection to her whānau, marae, hapū and iwi, she felt a sense of spiritual connection.

Survey responses: Wairua
Any form of connection to whānau/hapū/marae/iwi, keeps the ahikā burning because I also believe the ahikā is within as well and any connection will keep my wairua burning/yearning for home. Some form of connection is better than none! *- Female; aged 26-35*

Connections to home helped this respondent to nurture and take care of her wairua and her ahikā, which she felt was a part of and connected to her; "the ahikā is within as well". Similarly, the more she felt connected to home, the more her wairua yearned for her whānau, hapū and iwi. As she states, some connection is better than no connection and, to some extent, SNS filled a void.

Another respondent raised the idea that mauri was not transferrable from physical to virtual spaces and asks how it can be shared and expressed;

Survey responses: Mauri
Mauri doesn't translate when you are not occupying the same physical space. I feel like we will always need that [mauri] as a people. It [SNS] is just a tool to help us manage between times. It can't replace it *- Female; aged 36-45*
It [Mauri] literally means to be in the same space. I do not use it to refer to virtual space like Skype. To me it has to do with mauri. You have to be in the same location *- Female; aged 36-45*

The ahikā of the kāinga is a good example and symbolic of the mauri of home. The mauri refers to the life and vitality or wellbeing of the haukāinga. This could be symbolised as the burning fires of home. These burning fires must be nurtured and taken care of, else they will die out. Mauri, in this example, is connected physically and spiritually; when the mauri of home and the mauri of a person are shared and linked, connections are made.

The following question was asked in the survey; 'how is kanohi ki te kanohi and SNS negotiated (compromised, managed, balanced etc) in your life?' The question was asked to explore how people navigated and negotiated kanohi ki te kanohi in the context of living outside of Aotearoa New Zealand and their need to communicate and connect with home through technologies such as SNS. Some spoke of the improvements that SNS had on their kanohi ki te kanohi engagements as they felt *more* connected to home

Survey responses: Negotiating kanohi ki te kanohi and SNS
I'm not sure if it is compromised. It may not allow for direct social engagement, but as someone who has lived outside of my own rohe for many years, social networking has enabled me to have more direct contact with whānau than I would have without it *- Female; aged 46-55*

A respondent who had lived away for a long time felt that SNS was the only way to engage kanohi ki kanohi with her people, as the challenges of having grown up outside of Aotearoa New Zealand had had negative impacts on how her whānau, hapū and iwi accepted her as one of their own.

Survey responses: Negotiating kanohi ki te kanohi and SNS
Because I've been away so long and I have a strong Aussie accent, face-to-face has been problematic in the past. In terms of distance, money and time to get home. This was coupled with the extended whānau not knowing who I was. My presence online has allowed me to connect with my extended whānau and I know that next time they won't be wondering who the Mozzie (Māori Australian) is in the corner ktk [kaha te kata, similar to lol or laughs out loud] *- Female; aged 46-55*

Some respondents called for the concept of kanohi ki te kanohi to be broadened and more inclusive of the variations of what kanohi ki te kanohi is for them, which is still face-to-face, just not in a physical sense.

Survey responses: Negotiating kanohi ki te kanohi and SNS
Skype is not exactly physically interacting but is an extraordinary creation for a lot of us. It helps bring us closer to home when we're abroad. So I get a closer feeling to whānau, it's almost like we're face-to-face *- Female; aged 18-25*
I'm of the belief that we need to broaden the definition and articulation of kanohi ki te kanohi *- Female; aged 26-35*
As for kanohi ki te kanohi: obviously it's about face-to-face physical relationship, but I'm not so sure that we need to keep the definition limited like that *- Female; aged 36-45*

A range of generational perspectives presented here, advocate for alternative methods of kanohi ki te kanohi that enable more of the diaspora to connect to the haukāinga in meaningful ways, through SNS, providing a stronger sense of being

‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ with their extended whānau, marae, hapū and iwi, despite not being physically face-to-face.

Conclusion

Participants who used SNS regularly to contribute to ahikā commented on the technology being a means to an end; a temporary fix that provided at least some sense of connection and participation. Their inputs and contributions were meaningful, despite being expressed and communicated through virtual channels. While kanohi ki te kanohi was preferred by many participants, the reality is, that where great distances dislocate people from their Māori communities, SNS provides some means of connection to allow people to contribute to the ahikā of home. What is abundantly clear in the data is that people are expressing their contribution to ahikā in diverse ways and that, given the current state of Māori society and the dislocation from ancestral lands, alternative methods and processes are being developed to accommodate traditions and responsibilities.

Some respondents felt that contribution to ahikā in SNS did not help them to maintain satisfactory connections and when asked about the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi, reiterated that meaningful interactions are face-to-face and could never be replaced by virtual means. Being present on the marae was discussed as a powerful experience for some respondents who connected to the wairua and mauri that, that space provides, through rituals, ceremonies or listening to elders speak about traditions and genealogies. Such kanohi ki te kanohi experiences were profoundly important for some respondents in nurturing their identity and connection.

This study found that many Māori of the diaspora are actively seeking and using virtual media to make and maintain strong connections with their haukāinga, despite being physically dislocated from them. It is clear from analyses of the survey data that personal use of SNS is based on attempting to balance the all important kanohi ki te kanohi values with maintaining some connection to whānau, marae, hapū and iwi. Although this key ingredient was absent, SNS provided an avenue for respondents to connect in *some* way. Without this compromise or temporary medium filling the void, the Māori diaspora would be less well served.

Reconceptualising ahikā

The multiplicity of meanings for ahikā and the processes for maintaining ahikā are changing and evolving with the use of technology. The redefinition of ahikā by Māori living, working and raising their families outside of Aotearoa New Zealand and away from their tūrangawaewae adds complexity to debates about connections to place. Ahikā continues to connect people to their whenua. These connections are maintained in diverse ways and SNS plays an important, if partial, role in this process. This research could be extended to ascertain what marae, hapū and iwi communities think about the emergence and effects of virtual ahikā.

More importantly, redefining what ahikā means may have potential impacts and consequences on issues to do with rights and ownership to resources, assets, lands and waterways. Ahikā as a concept is being redefined and expanded with potential impacts on land claims between hapū, iwi, and government as well as boundary and resource disputes amongst iwi. In ownership and/or rights to land, ahikā is an important concept that is considered and debated when it comes to claims against the Crown. The expansion of the definition of ahikā from the Native Land Court

previously mentioned had severe impacts on rights to land. Virtual forms of contributing to ahikā may also have wide reaching implications. Evidently, definitions of ahikā have and will remain contested in the settling of hapū and iwi land claims both from a government and hapū/iwi perspective as more Māori reside beyond their tūrangawaewae and away from their whenua. This issue will be of interest in future research as more iwi around the country move closer to finalising Treaty settlements with the Crown.

Contemporary Māori society and the changing definitions, values and principles of ahikā are complex, dynamic and constantly evolving. As Tinirau argues, "the ahikā" - those who live and breathe the home fires, tending them in all ways possible - are likely to have varying opinions on the things that constitute their roles. On my marae, those who return home, literally to stoke the fires, cook the kai, feed the people, call to our guests, welcome our visitors, sing the songs, run the board meetings and pay the bills are considered haukāinga, the ahikā. Without haukāinga or ahikā tending to these duties, the life of the marae would be lost, and tikanga and values would also be lost. The distinction between *being* ahikā and *contributing* to ahikā can be seen in this example where the haukāinga collectively work together to look after and nurture the marae (and therefore, the whenua). They are considered the ahikā. Virtual ahikā then, is the contribution to and supporting of the ahikā (haukāinga) at home, by those who are away from their turangawaewae.

Maintaining ahikā in this study is about keeping connected and informed, having a voice at meetings, or providing koha to the marae account each week to pay the bills. These forms and methods have all been identified as important ways of supporting the maintenance of ahikā from afar, requiring a negotiation of how kanohi ki te

kanohi is considered, applied and practised. However, these methods of ahikā maintenance are not possible unless the haukāinga and ahikā of home endorse these practices and support those living abroad to find alternative means to contribute back to home.

Negotiating kanohi ki te kanohi and SNS

For some, kanohi ki te kanohi is irreplaceable and SNS cannot facilitate linkages and connections that ahikā requires or to the extent that some people seek. For others, kanohi ki te kanohi was practised in various ways and at different levels through SNS. This study raises issues about virtualising aspects of Māori culture, which has implications for the cohesion of Māori society. The economic climate and better financial opportunities that exist offshore continue to beckon our people and virtual forms of ahikā will inevitably begin to spread and increase as Māori seek ways to stay connected to the source, to the haukāinga.

What lies at the heart of this paper is the notion of kanohi ki te kanohi, its importance for various Māori communities and how we may practice kanohi ki te kanohi in new and innovative ways. Contribution to ahikā through virtual pathways, allows for participation and support of the haukāinga and is one way in which some kanohi ki te kanohi values can be met by whanau who are not physically present. While most respondents were satisfied with their virtual connections to the haukāinga, there was a considerable negotiation around using SNS to maintain virtual kanohi ki te kanohi and physical kanohi ki te kanohi.

If we return to what constitutes the value of kanohi ki te kanohi for the Māori diaspora, there is a very strong sense of physicality and the importance of physical

presence. While SNS cannot fully deliver this, it does provide opportunities for people to be "face-to-face" and present and the responses suggest that kanohi ki te kanohi as a Māori concept could be broadened and applied in some ways to virtual forms of kanohi ki te kanohi.

SNS are already empowering many Māori with the tools to access information and knowledge about their cultural heritage, identity, values and language as well as participation in cultural practices of ahikā. This is a testament to the adaptive flexibility of Māori culture, society and its people; Māori have long been early adopters of communications technology be it literacy, telephone or Internet. The ability to transfer physical norms to virtual realms is, I believe, positive for Māori development.

Some Māori living overseas have no current plans to return home. This is concerning in terms of the continuation and perpetuation of tikanga, kawa and language on our marae and how our cultural values and practices are to be maintained and uplifted. The heart of the issue is multi-dimensional; the yearning and desire to go home are much easier to deal with when virtual connections are satisfying some of these needs. Furthermore, by keeping lines of communication open, virtual connections could equip people with the necessary knowledge, capability and confidence to physically return home. Equally the notion that the ahikā can be augmented from beyond the marae by the diaspora means that they can fulfil at least some of their roles of leadership and knowledge bearing in ways that make it more attractive for people to come home. However, the life of the marae and the nature of the connections that Māori have with home still require some physical presence.

The future of our marae lies in the hands of the new generations and in how they choose to maintain the values and practices handed down from our tūpuna. The marae is the stronghold of tribal identities and knowledge systems, which will always have a place in Māori society, as long as technologies work to facilitate and connect people to the haukāinga and not replace marae or kanohi ki te kanohi. Negotiating and balancing these is a key challenge for Māori, ensuring that we can remain connected to one another while upholding the integrity and potency of our culture, values and practices.

Lead into conclusions chapter:

Summary of key findings

This research project produced a number of findings which not only contribute to a new body of knowledge around Māori and SNS, but also provide the basis from which recommendations can be designed to further guide the use and practice of SNS for Māori users, marae, hapu, iwi and potentially policy makers. This linking section is intended to provide the reader with a succint summary of key findings that emerged from the five main data chapters. This section leads into the conclusions chapter, which discusses the findings in relation to theory, frameworks and broad themes.

A number of clear and specific findings emerged that suggest some interesting implications for Māori and SNS. These align directly with the research questions and objectives outlined in the introduction. The key findings present a range of discoveries that provide perspective and insight relative to a wide range of audiences including rangatahi, kaumātua, marae, hapū, iwi and Māori diaspora. The findings contribute to discussion and debate over related issues connected to identity, cultural concepts, tikanga and the marae, which have had, and will continue to have serious implications for Māori societies both currently, and into the future.

Here, key findings are presented in the order in which they appeared in the thesis. A short discussion paragraph is provided for each area relating the findings to the research and conceptualising them more broadly.

Key findings

An analysis of how rangatahi Māori use SNS

- Offline and online self-representations were not congruent with each other, such that rangatahi Māori presented diverse online personalities and representations in comparison to their offline representations of themselves.

- Relationships in SNS are just as important as offline relationships. Many rangatahi poured time and effort into navigating and negotiating their various relationships online and ensuring that they met expectations of friends, family, work colleagues and so on.

- Participants negotiated their online and offline relationships to manage the conflicts that often arose, causing tensions for participants.

- Online identities (how participants chose to represent themselves) were scrutinised by diverse audiences (families, schools, employers, marketers) where judgements were made having social, ethical and future implications for participants.

- SNS are facilitating whānau connections and communication and thus, increasing whānau ties and relationships. In turn, this is enhancing whānau ora amongst families and communities by providing them with the tools to carry out their roles and tasks.

- Many rangatahi do not fully understand the importance of privacy and settings attached to their online personalities, nor the potential dangers involved in online engagements. The majority of participants in this study did not know how to change their privacy settings in Facebook.

- Rangatahi are exposed to cyber-bullying, targeted by online predators, and are vulnerable to influential people such as current or future employers through the online material they share and with whom.

- Participants felt that using SNS as a tool to communicate and connect with others was not to substitute for kanohi ki te kanohi and if given a choice between the two, all rangatahi reported that they would choose kanohi ki te kanohi.

Discussion

The research aim was simply to explore and analyse how rangatahi Māori were using SNS and for what purposes. These purposes included; to connect with family, friends; to share information; to maintain relationships; and to socialise with people in their networks. The study revealed that many rangatahi Māori used SNS in advanced and complicated ways, having meaningful effects on their lives, networks, relationships and perceptions of themselves. In this study, rangatahi Māori used SNS in ways consistent with other literature in this area. One point of difference is that many of the 55 rangatahi interviewed, felt a moral obligation and responsibility to their families and extended families. The obligation often involved the establishment of an online relationship with family members, and regular contact and interaction, particularly with those who were not physically seen at regular times. The strong familial connections that rangatahi felt when they used SNS strongly relates to whanaungatanga as a value and practice for Māori. Ensuring that relationships are

strong and doing so in alternate ways is innovative and exemplifies how strong family values are to Māori.

Societal expectations and pressures in the offline world are instantly transferred to the online world (and potentially more so) where individuals become obsessed with manufacturing their desirable image or maintaining complicated family relationships online. Furthermore, the fact that many of the rangatahi interviewed had very little idea about their privacy raises concerns for their personal safety and understanding of social practices and etiquette in SNS. The implications of their actions and decisions can have undesirable affects on employment, acceptance into educational institutions, family relationships and friendships. This is one of the major concerns raised by this study, and will be addressed in the recommendations section of the conclusions chapter.

Virtual whanaungatanga in SNS

- Virtual whanaungatanga is common practice in SNS amongst Māori. Virtual whanaungatanga continues to employ foundational principles of whakapapa, kaupapa, wairuatanga, kotahitanga, manaakitanga, aroha and kare ā-roto.

- Relationships are not only maintained and managed using SNS but new relationships are also forged among whānau, peers and groups.

- The whanaungatanga concept applied in SNS appears to be much more informal (than its traditional meaning) and in-play in many more contexts and situations. It offers a framework and processes that Māori engage with as they work at relationships in SNS enabling them to form connections and strengthen ties with others in culturally recognisable ways.

- Despite not having the physical human touch when practising whanaungatanga in SNS, emotions continue to be felt and expressed by users, providing a sense of meaningful interactions.

- Relationships are cared for and nurtured through the processes of whanaungatanga and without it the myriad social interactions that constitute community life would suffer.

- Whanaungatanga as a practice has changed from being a conduit only for whānau members to; connecting and strengthening ties with others, to building relationships in groups of people who share a common purpose.

Discussion

The guiding research question for this chapter was to explore how whanaungatanga practice differed from offline to online spaces and how SNS fostered or hindered this practice. Whanaungatanga has undergone an expansion of meaning and is no longer simply relevant to whakapapa connections but includes kaupapa connections as well. Thus, this tikanga has expanded to be more inclusive enabling its transfer and adaption into the virtual world of SNS. Whanaungatanga is the same practice, with the same underlying principles, except it is enacted in a new space. Virtual whanaungatanga is less formal and its scope is wider. The concept of whanaungatanga and its practice is strongly present amongst rangatahi Māori in SNS and is enabling them to maintain (and attain) relationships with family and friends in a busy and fragmented world.

Relationships are important to these rangatahi in which they actively sought new ways to manage them. Practising whanaungatanga in SNS enabled rangatahi Māori

to strengthen their existing relationships and establish new ones, some of which were reported as progressing to kanohi ki kanohi relationships. One way of thinking about this is that virtual whanaungatanga is a stage of the process where maintenance and management occurs in preparation for kanohi ki te kanohi engagements; when face-to-face engagements take place, the relationship is intact because it has been maintained and managed through alternate tools and methods, despite time lapse or distance.

The conceptual development of whanaungatanga is expanding in response to the growing and changing needs of modern Māori societies and SNS provides an advantage in facilitating whanaungatanga processes even when face-to-face engagement is not possible.

Māori identity construction in SNS

- Māori identity is an articulation from the self, and is supported, affirmed and shaped by the collective. This is evident in both offline and online spaces where identity is negotiated and expressed.

- SNS are aiding and assisting some Māori users to access more information about their whakapapa, language, performing arts, marae, hapū and iwi and te ao Māori, contributing to their knowledge and articulation of their Māori cultural identity.

- SNS provide a space in which to express connections to key identity markers that individuals feel are important to them.

- Despite some participants commenting that they continue to engage in their marae via SNS, there remains a growing concern amongst communities who

tend to the marae and who live within the tūrangawaewae that some Māori whānau are leaving their tribal lands and not necessarily returning.

Discussion

The study found that Māori use SNS to find out more about aspects of Māori culture, which in turn, inform their own awareness of their Māori cultural identity. The research question aimed to develop an understanding of Māori cultural identity construction and explore ways in which rangatahi access cultural knowledge. For Māori who are living away from their tribal areas, SNS was an important tool to connect them to their culture and heritage. There is the potential for Māori who are using SNS in this way, to use these connections and understandings of their culture to return home kanohi ki te kanohi where physical interactions could be made with marae, hapu and iwi members.

Despite colonial constraints of racism, marginalisation and deprivation, dimensions of Māori cultural identity were reinforced through SNS through freedom of expression and association, creating an open and safe space in which identity was proudly affirmed and expressed. In a sense, SNS provided these participants with the same environment that Māori spaces such as the marae (where cultural expression and identity and are celebrated and acknowledged) provides. Importantly, Māori are using SNS to strengthen and enrich their cultural identity, which is viewed as a positive aspect of cultural revitalisation and self-determination for Māori.

Virtual tangihanga, virtual tikanga - Investigating the potential and pitfalls of virtualising Māori cultural practices and rituals

- Literature suggests that as many as 1 in 5 Māori now live abroad and that much higher proportions have moved from their tribal areas into urban areas. With these changes of society, Māori are now faced with rethinking and refining how tikanga and kawa are exercised, particularly, the role that SNS plays.

- While there were some concerns with the practising of tangihanga rituals in SNS, participants appreciated that SNS provided them with real time and up to date information on people who had passed away and details of their tangihanga (such as venue, time, date, and so on).

- Kaumātua participants questioned the application of tapu being applied to virtual spaces and had some concern over how this could be done appropriately and under the guidance of suitable experts and elders within SNS.

- Participants expressly discussed their concern with seeing various forms of media (such as photos and video) in SNS that showed tūpāpaku and felt some of the shared material was insensitive and disrespectful to grieving families.

- Elders expressed their concern towards potential impacts of virtualising tikanga and how this will affect the marae, their roles, wairua and the potency of tikanga that are being practiced in SNS. Some elders felt that their roles as cultural practitioners of the marae may become redundant if tikanga continue to become virtualised.

Discussion

This chapter raises some important points around how tikanga has evolved and adapted around tangihanga and sharing information in virtual spaces and practices. SNS are being used in this instance as a communication tool amongst networks. Participants were clear that it worked effectively amongst some Māori communities; however some shared information bordered the lines of tapu, which raised concerns amongst participants.

Instances where Skype was used to remotely access tangihanga, caused participants to question the idea of whether or not there was an ability to connect to the wairua of the deceased via this medium. Another challenge arose over the use of the rāhui ritual and the notion of tapu that transcended the physical to the virtual space in appropriate and meaningful ways, while maintaining its potency.

As mentioned earlier, Mead states that "tapu is everywhere in our world. It is present in people, in places, in buildings, in things, words, and in all tikanga. Tapu is inseparable from man, from our identity as Māori and from our cultural practices (Mead, 2003, p.30). If this were accurate, could applications of tapu to virtual spaces merely be an extension of cultural practices and articulations of identity? These are all issues that Māori must consider for themselves as they navigate and negotiate SNS. Despite kaumātua concerns, the example of rāhui application in the study worked well and people refrained from posting to the page until the rāhui was then lifted.

Participants were content with using technology to allow them some connection to tangihanga and the bereaved; however, kaumātua expressed concerns regarding the

virtualising of these practices which could isolate the marae space from these tikanga, particularly if more Māori begin to use technology in these ways. The final concern was with the appropriate exercising of tikanga and under appropriate guidance. SNS are a rangatahi-dominated space where kaumātua are not necessarily present as they might be on a marae. On the marae, the kaumātua have the authority and wisdom to guide many tikanga in rituals and customs. Who, if not kaumātua, are overseeing these practices in SNS? This research explored the area of virtual tikanga but raised many more questions about the wellbeing of our traditional places of ritual practice (marae), the roles of our kaumātua and the potency of tikanga going forward.

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past? Examining the notion of 'virtual' ahikā and the implications for kanohi ki te kanohi

- Māori diaspora are actively seeking virtual ways to make and maintain strong connections with their homes, despite being physically dislocated

- Multiple meanings for ahikā also mean that there are multiple processes for maintaining ahikā, which are changing and evolving with the use of SNS

- Participants are expressing their ahikā in diverse ways including financial or skills contributions to the haukāinga, keeping in communication and updated on events and meetings and being part of decision-making at hapū and/or marae level

- Expanding on the concept of ahikā poses new challenges to marae, hapū and iwi who are undergoing settlement claims with the Crown and rights to land, waterways and resources through ahikā could potentially become much more complicated.

- For some survey respondents, virtual assertions of ahikā fulfilled some areas of responsibility and participation, for others, kanohi ki te kanohi was irreplaceable and SNS couldn't facilitate connections that ahikā requires or to the extent that some people seek (physicality and physical presence, in particular).

- While SNS cannot facilitate physicality, it does provide opportunities for people to be "face-to-face" and present (through real-time video Skyping, for example). Respondents suggested kanohi ki te kanohi as a Māori concept could be broadened and applied in some ways to virtual forms of kanohi ki te kanohi.

- Māori have long been early adopters of communications technologies, which is a strong testament to the adaptive flexibility of Māori culture, society and its people, which is hugely positive for the survival of Māori culture.

- There is concern over the future of the marae and the roles of kaumātua. If tikanga and ahikā are being practised and maintained away from the marae, the pull to return home to ones marae is not as strong.

- Balancing SNS and kanohi ki te kanohi is the challenge for Māori to ensure they remain connected to one another while upholding the integrity and potency of the culture, values and practices.

Discussion

The study has provided a basis for reconceptualising ahikā in light of Māori uptake of Internet communication technologies. Descendants can now connect to their haukāinga through a computer and an Internet connection. The concept of ahikā is therefore up for and undergoing redefinition, which could have impacts on rights

over resources. Some descendants felt satisfied and content with their virtual forms of ahikā back to their haukāinga, perhaps not fully understanding the workload and burden that the haukāinga people carry. This tension may raise some divergences amongst marae, hapū and iwi. Exploring the issues and discussing with members of marae, hapū and iwi around ways in which ahikā can be maintained from afar could be a way forward.

The final data chapter highlighted the importance of forms of kanohi ki te kanohi, be it virtual or physical, which foster meaningful connections to the haukāinga. This links in well with Keegan's (2000) position mentioned earlier on in this thesis around kanohi ki te kanohi being faciliated and nurtured through the Internet. Broadening kanohi ki te kanohi as a values-based practice to include virtual forms could be more inclusive of Māori living away from their ancestral lands to continue maintaining meaningingful connections to their haukāinga. Without these connections, Māori may become removed from their culture and heritage. Equally important is the life and sustainability of the marae as a traditional space for practising Māori culture. The future of the marae can become a significant concern if we as Māori do not consider the challenges and opportunities of virtualising aspects of our culture.

The findings from this research have been summarised here as a background to the conclusions chapter. In the concluding chapter, findings are related to the research theory, frameworks and broad themes and provide a basis for recommendations that aim to address some of the tensions identified in this research. This returns to one of the research values argued earlier in this thesis - the aim of conducting research should not only be concerned with filling research gaps, but also be more widely tasked with seeking positive solutions and pathways forward, helping alleviate

issues, problems and concerns within society. This is a key feature of kaupapa Māori research; actioning a positive approach and outlook when engaging with research is to aim for better outcomes for the futures of whānau, hapū, iwi and beyond.

Introduction

This final chapter provides an overview of the research and discusses broader considerations in relation to SNS and Māori. It also explores possible pathways for development around SNS and Māori communities in light of the findings, issues and concerns. Suggestions are framed as recommendations and are targeted at specific audiences such as, researchers, rangatahi Māori, marae communities and haukāinga. The chapter concludes with personal reflections of the research itself; the process; challenges; and revelations experienced throughout the research journey.

Theoretical framework

Moewaka Barnes (2008) comments in the final chapter of her PhD thesis on the idea that Māori themselves are frameworks from which research can be conducted. She argues that we do not need to look to the West for European theories and frameworks to rationalise our own ways of being, thinking and doing. In this research, I have attempted just that, to incorporate a distinctive framework centred on a Māori world and ways of knowing. Based on my iwi, hapū and marae affiliations. I used these anchors as the basis of a theoretical frame and body of research practice. By grounding myself in te ao Māori and in my iwitanga, I was compelled to draw on my own experiences and the teachings I received from my people to inform my worldview, which in turn, enabled me to see and practise research from this position. This awareness has also heightened my sensitivity to the context of individual

participants who carry with them their unique backgrounds, iwi, hapū, marae, whānau, values, ideals and belief systems.

As Walker et al. (2006, p.335) argue, Indigenous research is underpinned by "self-determination, values, their world view, and ensures their own cultural practices are respected and maintained". My framework drew overtly and proudly on my ancestral connections to Taranaki and the importance that those links hold for me in my identity, ideals, values and philosophies. Knowing who I am, and where I come from provided the basis and foundation for this framework. The teachings of my kaumātua on the marae ground me in my identity, language, culture, tikanga and my approach in this research was anchored by these strong components. Offset by elements of kaupapa Māori methodology and te reo me ōna tikanga, these Māori philosophies and worldview have enabled me to locate my position within the research, as a rangatahi, as someone living away from the haukāinga, as someone who is heavily immersed in SNS use and who is a strong participant in aspects of Māori culture, language and tikanga. For me, these positions provided a compelling standpoint in the research where I was able to navigate the work of making sense of data using the ideas and arguments from within these multiple dimensions.

Being grounded in who you are is to be in process and aspiration, and in itself, self-determining. As members of an Indigenous minority in a colonial society, Māori experience constant discrimination and subjugation, so the goal of self-determination is an important positioning of hope and action. The notion of being self-determining in identity, culture, language and tikanga (in whatever that might mean for individuals) relates closely to the themes highlighted by my research. Identity maps onto self-determination in similar ways to those in which kanohi ki te kanohi relates

to processes of self-discovery, reclamation, learning and knowing more of who you are and where you come from. Such constructs connect the land, waterways and mountains to Indigenous individuals and collectives, as key elements that ground a person (both literally and metaphorically) to their identity, language, culture and tikanga.

An overview

Aspects of Māori culture have moved with Māori as they navigate new and uncharted territories. The idea of navigation is entrenched in Māori history; ancestors traversed unknown seas, reaching their final destination of Aotearoa New Zealand. Navigation of such treacherous environments has provided Māori with a plethora of knowledge and learnings. With rigour and systematic observation our ancestors gained a clear understanding of the meaning of star navigation (as part of a larger knowledge system) as a compass to reach far away destinations. Their ingenuity and innovation as navigators is something that Māori of today can take much pride in, as we live in their legacy as navigators of very different environments.

SNS are innovative, exciting, yet potentially hazardous spaces in which Māori are navigating and exploring, taking with them their culture, language, values, belief systems, knowledge systems, rituals and ceremonies (Māoritanga). Our ancestors had the foresight and wisdom to take everything needed for the journey on the waka. Māori of today take their Māoritanga as they navigate SNS enabling them to engage, connect, interact and communicate through complex, virtual and risky realms in SNS. Māori identity, language, culture and tikanga have not been left behind in physical spaces but have moved with Māori as they navigate SNS. Impacts of colonisation and subjugation by the British Crown have prompted Māori to find new

and innovative ways in which cultural vitality can be achieved. Cultural survival and vitality is a key priority for marae, hapū and iwi and SNS are clearly a main platform in which aspects of this priority can be achieved.

The central notions of identity, language, culture and tikanga all had a clear presence within online SNS. SNS and the era of new technologies in general provided respondents with an alternative platform in which culture could survive, and thrive. This study explored use of SNS, whanaungatanga, identity, tikanga, ahikā and their overall relationship to kanohi ki te kanohi.

The study demonstrated multiple ways that SNS enabled connectivity. Participants' use of SNS provided them with the ability to connect to each other and engage in meaningful ways that included; maintenance of whanaungatanga amongst family and friends; socialising within their networked communities and sharing information (including photos and videos) about themselves. Relationships were maintained (despite location) and in some cases, new relationships were forged. SNS provided another platform for the practice of whanaungatanga, which can be an important tool for the wellbeing of whānau. Whanaungatanga practice in virtual spaces was underpinned with the same values and principles as those practised in physical spaces. Enabling whānau members to connect to each other helped them to nurture their familial relationships. A woman said goodbye to her deceased sister, grandparents Skyped their grandchildren and nieces met their aunties and uncles for the first time in SNS. These connections were far from trivial and injected life and vitality into whānau and extended whānau; crucial to whānau ora, and whānau wellbeing.

SNS provided participants with similar environments as the marae where cultural expression and identity was celebrated and acknowledged. Māori used SNS in ways to strengthen and enrich their cultural identity. This is viewed as a positive aspect of cultural revitalisation and self-determination for Māori. Generally, Māori were content with using technology to allow them *some* connection to tangihanga and the practices involved to enable them to manage and express their grief, though participants questioned the ability to connect to the wairua of the deceased via SNS.

The influence of Māori diaspora and urbanisation was strongly evident in virtualising Māori culture. There was a powerful need for those who lived away from their Māori institutions to find alternative methods to connect back. Some participants felt satisfied and content with virtual forms of ahikā to link back to their haukāinga.

Overall the study reinforced the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi, be it in virtual or physical forms. Meaningful connection to the source, the haukāinga and the ahikā remained critical for Māori living outside of their tūrangawaewae. Some cultural concepts such as whanaungatanga, transferred well to SNS. Ahikā, however, was open for redefinition as the diaspora sought new ways of contributing to the ahikā of the haukāinga through virtual methods. Participants called for kanohi ki te kanohi to be redefined and broadened so that virtual connections to home could be acknowledged as a form of kanohi ki te kanohi engagement.

Research and theory

The ability to express cultural identity in a diverse range of ways, and through different methods is contributing positively to Māori identity as a whole. It is equipping Māori with the tools and abilities to be able to stand proudly as uri of their

respective whānau, marae, hapū and iwi in various places and spaces, where as historically, these affirmations may have been only fully recognised and acknowledged in traditional spaces of practice. The usual constraints on the expression of Māori cultural identity are changing and fading. SNS are becoming a pro-Māori space in which Māori are indigenising as their own space through strong articulations and expressions of their identity as Māori and as iwi, hapū and marae. Having a strong identity can enable Māori to succeed in their lives and careers, leading to the development of more Māori leaders. This is a whakataukī that illustrates these points;

Tangata ako ana i te whare, te tūranga ki te marae, tau ana

A child who is taught at home and instilled with values, culture and identity will not only stand proudly for their marae, but also within society and throughout their life.

This idea of identity returns to the methodological framework for this study, in that knowing who you are and where you come from enables you to walk into the future with confidence and conviction, and with the understanding that one's ancestors walk behind you. Having a sense of identity grounds you, but also enables you to reach great heights through career, education and leadership opportunities, which can contribute positively to Māoridom.

Tikanga Māori is being virtualised to accommodate the needs of modern Māori society. Important events such as the tangihanga of the prominent Māori leader and Member of Parliament, Parekura Horomia who was laid to rest on his marae in Tolaga Bay, Aotearoa New Zealand in May 2013, were available online. The live webcast of the funeral processions and speeches enabled the multitudes of people to link in and witness some of the touching tributes given to Horomia, his whānau, hapū and iwi. His impact on te ao Māori was significant, and someone of his status and

reputation would undoubtedly draw many people wishing to say their goodbyes. In some ways, the virtual live-feed may have eased the pressure on the haukāinga charged with hosting the manuhiri, as people had the opportunity to watch from a computer and Internet connection. 29,000 people from 103 different countries connected to the live-webcast of the day of Horomia's burial ("Radio New Zealand," 2013). Messages of farewell poured onto Facebook by individuals and groups from within my own network, again providing Māori with the platform to bid farewell to the dead; a practice usually reserved for the marae ātea.

Undoubtedly, there are issues raised in this study that highlight the importance of physical kanohi ki te kanohi and what that means for Māori as a people and culture. Profound concerns were voiced by older participants around the effect of SNS on kanohi ki te kanohi and the all-important marae as a space of cultural practice and being. The issues raised are not only concerned with the physical maintenance or frequenting of the marae, but also extend beyond that to the ideals of what a marae symbolises for a community. The wharenui of the marae can often represent a main ancestor for that hapū or iwi. Within that structure, carved depictions of other ancestors and atua are housed. The wairua inherent within the carvings and adornments alone is something that cannot be replicated in SNS, as these carvings represent and possess mauri.

The marae embodies the deeply entrenched paradigms that one moves through during a pōhiri process. Crossing over the marae ātea, the realm of Tumatauenga in which historically and presently, strong challenges are fired from tangata whenua to the manuhiri side and vice versa and rigorous debates are joined on matters great and small. Then entering the house that is embraced by the atua Rongomaraeroa who

ensures neutrality is restored and peace reigns. These dimensions of ritual, ceremony and tikanga are a part of the uniqueness of the marae. Virtualising marae, I believe, risks the quintessence of what marae symbolise (in different ways) for Māori. It is a stronghold of histories, traditions and localised knowledge where multitudes gather to discuss, debate, celebrate and mourn. One of the few remaining *physical* spaces in which Māori identity, culture, language and traditions are unquestioningly accepted, acknowledged and upheld. To virtualise that space and these practices is to threaten the very fabric of Māori society and the foundations upon which communities have been built.

If our cultural practices and rituals are heavily virtualised, what will be the future of the marae and its place in Māori society? Will the marae become desolate of its people? Our elders, practitioners and cultural warriors are concerned about the integrity with which tikanga and kawa are practised and maintained away from their guidance and expertise. If Māori are obtaining information and having experiences in SNS that they would usually have on the marae, there is the concern about whether or not the marae will have a meaningful place in Māori society in years to come

Modern Māori society is responding to its unique needs and seeking to perpetuate cultural participation by marrying traditions with technology. As yet this marriage is far from perfect and faces limitations and challenges identified in this research. The potentials and pitfalls for Māori use of SNS have lead us to a crossroads where the gains in terms of cultural vitality, on the one hand are weighed against what could, over time, be the demise of some of the foundational components of Māoridom.

Understanding SNS technologies is imperative for Māori development and advancement as we juggle their potential contribution to cultural survival. What I believe is crucial to this process is that Māori institutions have these discussions and debates early, so that considered, robust dialogue can occur around the directions they take for their people, their cultural values and practices. Such a move helps to put Māori back in control of what happens and allows us to develop our capabilities and capacity in order to get what we need from development rather than allowing the agenda to be controlled by commerce or governments. With greater understanding of SNS alongside information and resources, marae, hapū and iwi can make informed decisions about virtualising aspects of culture. Some iwi (Tainui, Kāi Tahu amongst others) are increasingly investing in integrated communications strategies that incorporate use of SNS and therefore bring them firmly into the purview of tikanga experts and iwi policymakers.

The implications of SNS for te reo Māori have not fully been investigated in this study. However as has been observed, this medium has much potential especially given its inherent attractiveness to younger people to target specific audiences, facilitating learning te reo through interaction and engagement. Importantly, Facebook caters to Māori communities and collectives that have already come in various groupings. These virtual settings have the capacity to support interaction on a daily basis, at high frequency in mundane or 'everyday' contexts, which I believe differentiates SNS from other online learning models that are often overtly pedagogical, somewhat insular and one-way. This idea obviously requires further development and investigation, but could be the basis of an application (app) for a trial, interfaced with Facebook (and smart devices) with potential as a prototype for other Indigenous languages.

The technology has already proved itself in Indigenous peoples' movements (political, social and environmental) such as the various revolutions of the 'Arab Spring' that have mobilised by using SNS as the platform. The 'Idle No More' campaign launched from the First Nations tribes of Canada was a reaction to the Canadian Government breaching Treaty rights for Indigenous peoples. Using SNS, it rapidly gained momentum throughout the world, and was picked up and supported by other Indigenous communities the world over.

SNS are providing a powerful platform in which political issues affecting Indigenous people can be highlighted and shared. The key difference here is that Indigenous people control the ways that messages portray their challenges. This is an 'alternative media' approach in which text, tone, images and video clips challenge mainstream media practices of reporting, which are often biased and contrary to Indigenous aspirations for social justice.

The overarching question that this thesis set out to explore was; how are SNS changing Māori practices of communication, socialising, identity, values and society? This thesis has brought to light a range of issues for Māoridom to consider in current and future use of SNS. It is evident through this research that SNS has changed the ways in which we communicate and socialise. SNS has provided an alternative platform to construct and express identity as well as practise tikanga outside of the physical marae space. These changes further question the future of kanohi ki te kanohi communication and interaction with particular concern for the future of our marae.

Recommendations

On the basis of the research findings summarised here and presented throughout the thesis and its component publications, a number of insights have emerged that suggest potential pathways and solutions to helping alleviate some of the issues that Māori are faced with when engaging with SNS. In this section of the chapter, possible strategies, guidelines and recommendations have been theorised and presented as an offering of ways forward. They are aimed at various audiences and areas of SNS and will hopefully contribute to the wider debate and theorising of SNS and Māori relevant to marae, hapū, iwi and policy makers. This section also provides recommendations for further research that builds on this study.

Tikanga in SNS

Background

As previously discussed, there is a need for some guidelines and advice to be produced for rangatahi who use SNS; specifically to inform them of the dangers and risks of SNS engagement, how to protect their privacy and social and cultural guidelines around actions and behaviour in SNS. Fortunately, there are some excellent online resources that exist within the Aotearoa New Zealand context around how youth can keep safe online and in SNS. One of the most comprehensive and clear set of guidelines comes from the Privacy Commissioner's page on Social Networking. The concise set of guidelines speaks to many of the issues that have been raised in the research, specifically around privacy;

- Carefully choose how much personal information you post or share online
- Use privacy settings and categories such as 'friends only' to limit who can see your information

- Think before you upload
- Get consent from friends and family before posting information or photos about them.

  (“Privacy Commissioner,” 2013)

These guidelines are useful to rangatahi and users in general who are seeking advice on how to protect their online privacy and identities. While we might assume that most youth know and understand the issues, this study showed that many rangatahi did not regard privacy as important or something that they should know about. It was not until something drastic happened, such as identity theft, that they began to realise the seriousness of privacy and the importance of fully understanding privacy settings and what information is shared and with whom.

The netsafe website also provides advice and guidelines around safe use in SNS including Facebook. Some of the sections of advice cover the following;

- Facebook gossip and rumour pages
- Top Tips for Staying Secure on Facebook
- How and where to report website abuse
- Facebook: reporting fake and imposter profiles

  (“Netsafe,” n.d.)

Both sites offer some excellent advice for anyone interested in learning more about their privacy and the risks involved in SNS engagement. However, through my investigations, I have not come across any resource (in the Aotearoa New Zealand context) that provides advice or guidelines around social behaviour (or etiquette) in online contexts. Social etiquette and protocols often go unsaid or unwritten and are instead skills that people develop as they engage and socialise within the technology.

Participants in the research often commented on the protocols that they had observed through their experiences and interactions, which were not necessarily Māori protocols but presented additional challenges.

I believe it would be useful to explore and identify the various etiquette and tikanga in social interactions to help rangatahi Māori (and others) understand some of the key social aspects that have been raised as important in this research. Throughout the project, participants said they felt unsure of what was tika, and so would often follow suit with others' actions in SNS. This is described in this context as 'SNS tikanga'. The following table provides some considerations for rangatahi when they engage in SNS and have been developed around principles and values that underline tikanga Māori.

SNS Tikanga - Recommendations	
Target audience	Rangatahi Māori
Mana Tangata *Status or presence amongst communities; sharing information about oneself and surroundings*	Sharing information in SNS always has its risks. It is important for rangatahi Māori to become aware of and understand the risks to avoid finding themselves in awkward and uncomfortable situations and to keep themselves safe. **Photos and videos** Many rangatahi like to share photos of themselves and of their friends and family, as a normal part of engaging in SNS. Things to consider when sharing photos are a) who has permission to view the photo? b) if the photo contains other people, will those people feel comfortable with the photo being shared to external networks? c) could this photo have the potential to implicate, offend or hurt the user, and/or the members in the photo? These considerations should be made before posting photos online. Seeking permission from friends and family to post photos up is a good way to check that content does not implicate others. Another example is posting photos of elders, ancestors and whakapapa diagrams. Such examples may be best put through the process of consultation (to a family, community, marae, hapū) to discuss and agree on what is appropriate for posting these types of material and to give a sense of which photos may be better kept for only a select group of people to see. The rule of thumb is to think about the personal and broader implications before uploading any photos to SNS.

	Personal information Similar to photos; personal information, information about family, the workplace (including employers and managers), education providers (including teachers and lecturers), communities (including marae, hapū and iwi) and friends should be shared with sensitivity and consideration for their wellbeing as well as individuals wellbeing. There is a lack of understanding among many young people, that once something is 'written' in social media and posted, it can be seen (depending on privacy settings) and used in unpredictable ways by other unknown parties. It is also retained by the SNS and even if deleted may enter databases from which it can be shared or onsold for commercial or other purposes. Again, be aware of potential consequences of your actions that may impact on you later.
Whanaungatanga *Accepting friend requests from family*	Often, family members can request to become friends in SNS to continue offline relationships. It is of course up to the individual if they accept that friend request. There should be some consideration of the potential of keeping that relationship active in SNS and how that might impact positively or otherwise on offline relationships with that person. Similarly, receiving a friend request from family members who you have not met face-to-face could initiate offline or face-to-face relationships. Thought should be given as to what information is shared with particular family members and how the material that is shared through SNS could affect them. Understanding the structure of Facebook is imperative to being able to 'filter' information to selected groups of people in your network. Facebook has recently implemented a tool that enables friends to be grouped into 'lists', which creates custom lists of friends that are selected and controlled via privacy settings of that list. This tool will allow for greater control over what information and material is shared and with whom.
Whakamiha *Respect*	Respect should be shown to those whom would normally be shown respect in face-to-face contexts (at home, or on the marae for example). Respect can be shown in different ways in SNS through gestures such as formal and polite language and responding to people's messages or requests in a timely manner. Even though interactions are via the computer, respect can and should still be shown as it would offline.
Te reo *Language use*	Despite the study indicating low numbers of rangatahi using te reo Māori in SNS, this aspect of socialising and interacting through the Māori language is worth exploring. Some rangatahi mentioned that they would not use te reo Māori in Facebook unless it was their kaumātua or people whose language preference was te reo Māori, and felt that conversing with friends required a language that could be understood by the majority. However, te reo Māori need not to be relegated to certain situations or for certain people. The more it is used in posts, comments, and dialogue, the more normalised it will become. Rangatahi should therefore feel encouraged to use te reo Māori as a language of choice in contexts and situations that they feel comfortable in, rather than only meeting expectations of others. Translations into English are an easy addition to ensure that non-speakers of the language can still access and understand what is being said. Regarding the English language, some caution is given around profanity and abuse, which can be observed in people's posts in SNS. Often,

	messages that are intended for a select group of people are shared with entire networks, which can be insensitive and offensive to others. Some consideration and regard is needed when deciding how to interact with others and the language used.
Kaitiakitanga *Guardianship over ones privacy and identity*	It is important to become familiar with privacy settings and policies in SNS. Understanding how to change settings will provide greater control over profiles and the information being shared. Without understanding privacy needs and the settings in which to change them, the user is vulnerable and their information is open to the public to view, which raises serious safety concerns. Some guidelines have already been provided above. Take precautions to safeguard yourself from online predators, identity thiefs and being exposed to people who may not know you. Similarly, teach your friends and family members about privacy settings and the importance of keeping themselves safe online.
Manaakitanga *Nuturing others*	Threats, exploitation, theft, cyber bullying, abuse, racism and suicide are ugly realities of SNS. It is important to become aware and attuned to your networks and friends and how they might communicate their need for help or advice. It is difficult to advise how people can watch out for strange behaviour from their peers and family, in particular around suicide. However, a rule of thumb could be that if something feels different about a friend's posts, comments or interactions in SNS which might not be in their usual character, it is ok and safe to ask people how they are. A simple gesture of care and compassion goes a long way. Asking someone how their day is, or how they are can allow people to open up and share details of any struggles they may be experiencing. Often, people use SNS to try to find help but do so in obscure (unclear, almost hidden) ways. It is better to be cautious about someone's personal wellbeing, than to shrug it off and think nothing of it. Being observant and aware of friends' activity may guide reaching out to a friend who is struggling with something and needs help. Essentially, the core of this tikanga is manaakitanga. Rangatahi are encouraged to take on the responsibility of looking out for each other by showing care and support. Key to this is 'listening' to others, particularly if you feel they are seeking help.

Education around online safety and behaviour

Background

As mentioned, there are a number of websites in Aotearoa New Zealand that provide specific guidelines around safe online behaviour. Resources specifically targeted to children/teenagers, parents and teachers regarding online safety are also available ("Department of Internal Affairs," n.d.) The site provides extensive information and advice on how people can keep their identities and profiles secure in SNS by understanding how to use the control settings in Facebook.

What was clear from this study is that many rangatahi Māori do not have the necessary understanding of privacy and safe online behaviour, which I believe can be improved through greater education. While this study explored the perspectives of 18 – 25 year olds, the minimum age for SNS such as Facebook is 13 years old who are presumably even more at risk than 18 year olds as they have less experience with social interactions. It is important to consider providing access to education for 13 year olds and up, to equip them with knowledge around the risks involved in SNS interactions, and to teach them safe online practices.

Parents also need the opportunities to become more educated around their child's use of SNS, safety precautions, risks, as well as social behaviour. If society expects these teachings to come from within the home and from parents, there must be available and accessible options for parents to learn more about SNS to enable them to appropriately teach their children. There has been a "striking growth in the use of SNS for the over-30s. Usage in these age groups has risen by about 20% in the two years since 2009" (P. Smith et al., 2011) however, SNS remains rangatahi dominated and few parents have the necessary skills and expertise to be able to effectively guide their children. It is hard to see how such guidance can be achieved without first equipping parents with the necessary tools, skills and education. This set of recommendations is aimed at policy makers and educationalists to assist them to consider how Aotearoa New Zealand's education system could address these challenging issues for parents.

Online behaviour education - Recommendations	
Target audience	Policy makers Education sector Educationalists
Online social behaviour and safety education for teenagers through education and the home	Currently, schools have the option to write their own SNS policies that may provide some control over students' behaviour in school. This does not necessarily mean that students have learnt the values of SNS tikanga and interactions or appropriate behaviour in online spaces. I believe teaching such practices will greatly benefit teenagers and their experiences in SNS. There is the potential to equip teenagers with the skills to manage situations and relationships while enhancing their understandings of the consequences of their actions and the risks involved. Some recommendations to consider: • Educators should be supported and guided with investigating the possibilities of incorporating education for teenagers around online safety and social practice • A resource could be developed to assist teachers to teach students about safety and social practices in SNS. This resource could be built into teachers training curriculums and could also be delivered as part of a workshop within schools, which could seek to include parents and family members. Awareness in the home around these issues is just as important and parents and family members need to have the necessary skills and education to understand their child or siblings behaviour in SNS. Tikanga in SNS, outlined above could be extensively explored and built up to produce a resource for teachers and their students. • Teachers also need to be trained in online safe use of SNS and cyber bullying, including the signs to look for amongst students. While there are resources and websites that provide sound advice for these specific issues, it is important to have these lessons provided to teachers through formal training and or as professional development.

Communications strategies

Background

The research suggests that Māori from both within Aotearoa New Zealand and living abroad are constantly seeking ways to connect with their marae, hapū and iwi in meaningful and constructive ways. SNS have provided them with the window in which to make a connection, but interactions with Māori institutions are not necessarily two-way. Participants commented on some Māori institutions hosting static Facebook group pages in which information was posted to update people, but interaction and dialogue were rare, leaving some Māori users of SNS feeling uninterested in the page. Activity and interactions are what attracts people to various Facebook group pages.

Small to medium organisations or Māori institutions may benefit from some insights into how their constituents use SNS, for what reasons and how they can be better connected with them. I believe that marae, hapū and iwi have an excellent opportunity to use technology in innovative ways of bringing people together and sharing information as a means to draw them back home physically. It is my hope to provide some recommendations to marae, hapū and iwi who are interested in engaging better with their constituents and maximising the use of the technology that is currently available to us. These recommendations are provided below:

Communications strategies - Recommendations	
Target audience	Marae, hapū, iwi
Consultation	Consultation with iwi, hapū and marae members is critical. Discussing the purpose of the page, the target audience and what material and information will be shared, is a critical first step. Rangatahi, pahake and kaumātua (including board members) should have an input into what material is shared on the page.
The purpose of the page	It is important to establish (early) the purpose of the page and how SNS are going to benefit both users of SNS and the institution running the page. If the intention of the institution is to provide pānui to its members, this will more or less be a one-way method of communication to SNS users. However, if the purpose is to generate discussion, debate and conversation, then this requires a much more hands-on approach where interaction from both administrators and users will be key. Further, if the page being created is set up to (re)connect uri to their roots (marae, hapū, iwi) then the page could be considered as a 'door way' for people to physically return home. There are possibilities of using the page as a means to encourage people to come home physically through asking about skills and expertise in various areas that might benefit the marae; asking specific people for their assistance; and promoting events that might be of interest to those living away from home. All of these strategies could be utilised as ways to get people more engaged and interested to physically returning home.
Sharing information	Discuss with key members of the organisation, what types of information will be shared in this space (i.e., what is appropriate and what is not appropriate). There may be some restrictions around what administrators and members can post. Establish these restrictions beforehand so there is little confusion and post these in the description of the page so that everyone can easily access them and be made aware of the restrictions. This recommendation can be read in the light of the earlier tikanga of Mana Tangata
Regular contact	Rangatahi spoke extensively about how important it was for them to have regular contact with their marae, hapū and iwi. Having regular updates or information that is shared provides more opportunities for interaction and participation and also shows that the page is active, and therefore interesting.

	Administrators should carefully consider how much contact and activity they are able to commit to providing within the page. The more interactions (either by administrators, members or both) the more interest is generated. The flip side to that is how institutions will actively engage with their members through SNS while also encouraging them to return home to the marae, hapū or iwi, kanohi ki te kanohi. Bringing people home being kanohi ki te kanohi should be the ultimate goal.

Future of marae

Background

The future of the marae was a constant theme throughout the research, often being raised by kaumātua and practitioners of the marae. While SNS provides Māori with considerable advantages by way of communication, connectivity and the ability to socialise and share amongst select networks, the technology could become a threat to the fabric of Māori culture, community and marae life as marae potentially become virtualised. The concerns of kaumātua raised in this study are likely to resonate with kaumātua from other marae, hapū and iwi across Aotearoa New Zealand that may be experiencing similar or worse situations.

As noted in previous chapters, the inquiry that lies at the heart of the issue is, how technology and traditions can appropriately interweave together, while not overlooking or disregarding the marae and its function, purpose and role in Māori society? Some recommendations have been put together for marae, hapū and iwi to consider when theorising this inquiry. It must be noted that in all situations, inquiries should be returned to one's marae, hapū and iwi as to how they see tikanga playing out and being applied to SNS. Recommendations provided here are only signposts to assist Māori in thinking broadly about their actions and choices they make when engaging in tikanga and SNS. These are not intended to overwrite, trample or replace individual and collective tikanga practices.

Communications strategies - Recommendations	
Target audience	Marae, hapū, iwi
Kanohi ki kanohi	This research has constantly returned to this theme; kanohi ki te kanohi and its importance in Māori culture. SNS are an alternative form of communication and there is a possibility that, if we are using SNS more to communicate, this could facilitate more kanohi ki te kanohi interaction. This research interrogates the notion of Māori moving away from kanohi ki te kanohi interactions, and instead use tools and technologies that make life easier to maintain relationships, to communicate and so on. Consideration should be given to how we choose to balance the virtual and physical demands and expectations of our behaviour and discover for ourselves what is important. For example, Skyping a relative on the other side of the world would be more convenient than travelling great distances to see them. On the other hand informing your family and friends of significant life events such as, having a baby, via Facebook could be something more appropriately done face-to-face, particularly with family and/or close friends. It is all up to the individual, however what is important is that this balance of virtual and physical interaction be carefully considered before participation becomes extensive. Whānau, marae, hapū and iwi should consider the implications, risks, and potentials to make informed decisions about their behaviour and use of SNS, realising the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi for them and their communities, whilst also maintaining meaningful connections to one another.
Virtual tikanga	The data clearly shows that tikanga Māori are being practised in SNS, often without the guidance of kaumātua or other expert practitioners. Virtualising tikanga has meant that people living away from their marae are able to participate in cultural practices from afar. Some tikanga have been suitably fused into the virtual space, while other tikanga are seen as insensitive and offensive to others. Concerns raised in the study suggest that there is some discussion that needs to take place amongst marae, hapū and iwi to establish a position on virtualising tikanga and the implications, to set some boundaries around what is appropriate (according to them) and what is not. The mana of this issue lies with marae, hapū and iwi but it could be helpful to consider the following points in such discussions; *Understand the make up of modern Māori society* We are now a global people, with many living away from their tribal boundaries and marae. Māori are raising families and new generations in far-off lands. Inclusivity of those living both near and far (including those living abroad) may be an important goal when institutions discuss virtual tikanga. *Guidance in tikanga practice* Aside from considering the underlying principles of tikanga, some careful thought about who is guiding such practices in virtual spaces is suggested. On the marae space, kaumātua are at the ready to guide and instruct on tikanga and appropriate process, however, kaumātua are not always on hand in SNS. Consider how guidance, and to some extent, quality assurance, will be maintained in the virtual space. *Impacts to your marae* Think broadly about how virtual tikanga might impact (positively or negatively) on your marae. Consider how your institution can use SNS as a pathway to active participation in the life of the marae. Allowing members to engage in the functions of the marae online could motivate and encourage them to want to return home to contribute to specific events or even to stay for longer periods. Again, bringing your people home and being kanohi ki te kanohi should be the ultimate goal.

Inclusivity	Being inclusive is important. With 1 in 5 of all Māori living overseas, institutions need to think broadly and strategically about how they connect and bring those people home, whether in a virtual or physical sense. Being inclusive in decisions could mean being open to virtual ways of practising aspects of Māori culture. SNS will enable institutions to connect to members who they might not be able to connect with physically. If capacity building is part of an institution's strategy then using SNS in innovative ways is one option. New generations are being born outside of their tūrangawaewae, many will not visit their marae during their childhood, or even during their young adulthood years. Consider how tikanga, kawa and culture of your institution will play a meaningful role in their lives. Equally, these uri may also be a source of new ideas and renaissance around the challenges facing marae communities and their skills may provide both the inspiration and means for creative solutions.
Succession	There is the potential to see SNS as ways to help increase cultural capabilities and capacity amongst hapū and iwi members. This of course, requires serious consideration and discussion with key iwi/hapū/marae members before pursuing this strategy. Virtual communities already exist and this study shows that many Māori participants (both locally and globally located) in this way are actively seeking information and resources to increase cultural knowledge. Practitioners could utilise the technology to collectivise members to a space where resources and kōrero could be shared, for example around specialised tikanga and kawa relevant for their particular hapū/iwi. SNS such as Google + (an SNS that caters to groups of up to 10 people that can video chat and interact) could provide communities with forums in which learning environments can be created, where no software or registration fee is currently required (as it is a free SNS with a valid Gmail account). SNS can provide excellent forums to facilitate such hui. The need t osupport kaumātua and practitioners (haukāinga) that carry out their roles on the marae could tap into this strategy to upskill other members, increasing capacity and capability for the marae. This could also be a useful strategy for bringing whānau home to take up these positions. There are many considerations that must first be explored for instance around who will be able to view the online material (i.e., will the page be private to non-members). Also important are the processes people undertake to be approved as a member and who will oversee the page and material shared with the group. Considerations could include how many people actually seek that type of information and teachings; who might have the appropriate expertise, skill and experience in various areas of cultural competency to provide such teachings; basic tikanga for behaviour towards each other and; treatment of material. These points lead to the question; is SNS a viable option for iwi, hapū and marae to consider if they are interested in using technology to assist in succession plans for cultural competence? It is important to be clear about the purpose of creating these virtual spaces and communities first.
Te Ao Hurihuri *The ever-changing world*	Nau mai ki te ao hurihuri. Welcome to the ever-changing world. Conceptualising what all of this means is crucially a matter of deciding how we as Māori wish to be present in the world and how we choose to behave and practise our culture in modern times. With the rapid changes and evolution of society, marae, hapū and iwi need to consider their position on culture and technology so that the two can be interwoven appropriately and with integrity.

It is my hope that these sets of recommendations provide rangatahi, pahake, kaumātua, marae, hapū, iwi, policy makers and educationalists with some ideas around how SNS can be used for social and cultural advancement. There are many areas to consider and consultation with key stakeholders is imperative. The overall focus of these recommendations is to raise awareness of the issues that might be considered when engaging with SNS, for social and/or cultural purposes. The recommendations are not exhaustive and could be built upon as more research around these areas of inquiry become available.

Future research priorities

As with any research project, there are limitations in what can be achieved in the designated amount of time. Unfortunately I was unable to explore and investigate all of the the areas I had initially intended. Due to the scarcity of research in the area of Māori and SNS and the breadth of the topic, this project has been exploratory only. This meant that the project was limited to scouting aspects of the domain, leaving further detailed investigations with marae, hapū and iwi, yet to be done. Thus, there are some areas of the research that have not been explored, but have been identified as highly significant to the field of inquiry, which are itemised below.

Further detailed investigations are required in a number of areas identified here, in order to provide ongoing contributions to knowledge for Māori and Indigenous people alike. Further investigation is suggested into;

Recommendations	
Future research priorities	Measuring whether or not virtual connections to culture (i.e., te reo Māori, kapa haka, history, whakapapa, marae, hapū, iwi etc) encourage people to physically return home to the haukāinga/marae
	The viewpoints and narratives of virtual ahikā from a haukāinga/marae/community point of view
	The roles of wairuatanga and mauri in tikanga practice in virtual spaces
	How tapu is applied and practised in SNS
	The practical impacts on marae if Māori access intrinsic tribal knowledge from sources other than the marae
	The flow on effects regarding the dislocation of Māori who do not physically frequent the marae and their tribal lands and the role that SNS could play in relocating Māori to their culture, heritage and marae.

All of these areas will significantly contribute to our knowledge and to growing literature in this area of study. More broadly, ideas about other issues that SNS pose for Māori society could include; the significance of commercial activity within SNS and its impact on Māori health, wellbeing and aspirations; the possibilities of building stronger international Indigenous networks via SNS; and the roles that SNS play in ideological and political manipulation and repression. These broader areas are just some ideas of where this research can be taken. Clearly, the area of research is fairly unchartered and has much potential to provide more light in the area of Māori futures as a people and culture.

Personal reflections

One of the highlights of this research has been the opportunity to work with and to interview participants from all over Aotearoa New Zealand (and abroad) and from different age groups. The research journey has been a fruitful learning experience for me and I have absorbed each phase of the process with reflection and forward thinking to the next phase. In this section of the chapter, I take a moment to reflect

on the research journey and share my thoughts on the some of the challenges, developments and realisations that I experienced.

My journey

I have learnt a lot about others and myself. Firstly, I felt that I was able to grow in my position as a researcher, and also a rangatahi, having gathered so many stories from young people about how they use new technology to maintain their identity, culture, language and familial connections. Conducting the research also taught me about my personal behaviours and practices within SNS prompting me to be more considerate and mindful about how I was representing myself (and therefore, my iwi, hapū, marae) in SNS. It also opened my eyes to seeing how important privacy is and should be to users of SNS.

Through conducting this research, I was able to reflect on my behaviour and how I interacted and engaged with family and friends in SNS. I was humbled to hear repeatedly from rangatahi that they were committed to maintaining connections to these important areas and people in their lives. Further, they were committed to the maintenance and practice of kanohi ki te kanohi.

This research also affected me on many personal levels. During the course of my PhD, I was exposed to a situation where a young female relative of mine who was posting photos of her wearing barely any clothes. Her profile was set to public, meaning all in sundry had the option to view the photos. When I approached her and reminded her of the fact that she was publicly sharing photos of her half naked body with, potentially the world, she was embarrassed to say the least. She did not know how to make photos private, or how to select members of her friends that she

permitted to view certain material on her Facebook page. Personally, this alarmed me as I was concerned about how many other younger relatives were sharing information and media and not understanding who they were sharing it with, or, the implications of such material.

Conducting this research also prompted me to think about how rangatahi Māori are using SNS in attention-seeking ways, which can sometimes be, at one level, a way of signalling distress. Another young person I knew began posting strange status updates on her profile, which I quickly observed as a potential cry for help. I contacted her immediately and found that an issue she was dealing with had become too burdensome and she needed to find support against doing something drastic to herself or to others. Her first reaction was to turn to Facebook where she knew people would 'listen' and maybe offer some help. I believe that engaging in this research and becoming aware of the ways in which Māori use SNS for various purposes and reasons (including the risks and dangers) has opened my eyes to being more observant in SNS amongst and within my own friends, family and colleagues.

A sobering realisation for me conducting this research was comprehending how under threat our marae space is. When considering the findings, it is important to reflect personally on how SNS and new technologies might impact or affect you and your own people. In my personal context, I have contributed and engaged extensively with one of my main marae in South Taranaki. Over the past 5 years, I have worked alongside kaumātua and board members of our marae in an attempt to bring home our rangatahi. Various kaupapa have been organised to entice the youth of our marae to return home and to be involved in the work and life of our marae. It has been difficult and we have been, and continue to be, faced with many challenges.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, I was given permission to set up a space where rangatahi, pahake and kaumātua alike could connect to the marae through Facebook. The Facebook group page was thriving, with many of its members residing outside of Taranaki, and within Australia. However, the page was not maintained regularly, and lacked the interactions and engagements that participants might have wanted. There was a potential loss of interest from participants as the page was not active.

It is evident that Facebook group pages need to be engaging, regularly updated and interesting so that users feel more compelled to be involved and participate in the page and sharing of information. Whether participants who were connected to our marae page returned home physically has not been examined, however, it did provide them with information about what was happening on the marae, as well as direct connections to other uri from our marae (among other positives). The page still exists and is slowly being revamped and revised to better capture the audience's attention and interest and be more engaging and interactive. A revised strategy for the marae and its social media communications could potentially be developed, if the hapū wished, taking into account the findings of this research and its recommendations.

Conclusion

Discovering that all rangatahi who were interviewed actually preferred face-to-face contact as opposed to virtual contact instilled hope for the future of the new generations growing up in an evolving and ever-changing society with equally evolving and advanced technologies. The rangatahi involved in this research have an appreciation of kanohi ki te kanohi values. They also understand what face-to-face can provide that virtual connections cannot. Furthermore, they were aware that

esoteric and tapu knowledge lies within the marae, hapū and iwi and that best access to such knowledge is to physically return home to engage and participate.

Māori have historically adopted and adapted new technologies (from iron to Internet!) very easily and successfully. In the process, Māori culture in many of its manifestations has changed and developed to encompass te ao hurihuri and the speed and pressure of change can at times be overwhelming. In a 21st Century society, there is an increasing need to hold on to and preserve culture and language as many pressures force Māori further away from their cultural heritage and roots.

SNS have been and will continue to play an integral role and iwi, hapū and marae will be faced with the challenge of shifting values-based practices and rituals to the virtual space to empower their people with the ability and access to participate and engage. Kanohi ki te kanohi is becoming increasingly difficult in the contemporary setting due to the pace and pressures of work commitments, financial situations and family contexts. Māori are faced with the challenge and pressure to return home to participate in cultural, social and political activities of the marae. Prolonged absence from these spaces and places may have major implications for the individual and/or the wider whānau/community where connections and a sense of belonging become weak or lost.

SNS and the Internet have played an integral role in bringing Māori communities together for a range of purposes including cultural renaissance and practice and thus, these technologies have wide-reaching implications for identity, language, culture, tikanga, whanaungatanga and social norms. Māori are urged to consider how SNS can play a role in increasing cultural capability and capacity for marae, hapū and iwi

so that culture can thrive. There is also a need to ensure that kanohi ki te kanohi values and returning home to ones marae to the haukāinga and ahikā are also nurtured and encouraged. Intersecting all these considerations in a way that is inclusive and respectful of the diversity and contexts present within Māori communities is to forge a new pathway where Māori identity, language, culture and tikanga can thrive.

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Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past

Interview guidelines

Key domains

- Use[s] of social networking technologies from a community group perspective
- Organisational use[s] of social networking technologies within a Māori paradigm i.e., iwi, hapū, marae and its impact on relationships with members/constituents and the dissemination of information/knowledge
- Shift of practical tikanga and kawa from physical space to virtual space
- Construction of cultural knowledge (and identity) through the use of social networking technologies
- Facilitation of whakawhanaungatanga (relationships and connectedness) in diverse Māori contexts (cultural, social, political, academic etc) through social networking technologies including immediate and extended whānau members and impacts of social networking technologies on those relationships

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past

Revised interview schedule - Friendship Focus Groups

General use

- Tell me about how you use social media technologies such as Facebook and what you use them for
- What other functions do these websites provide you with?

Whanaungatanga

Whānau

- How do you keep in contact with your whānau?
- What sorts of things do you do with your whānau online?
- How often do you use SNS to communicate with whānau?
- Which members of your whānau and extended whānau are connected with you sites such as Facebook?
- Have you got whānau living overseas? How do the likes of Facebook impact on your relationship with these whānau members living abroad?

Friends

- How do you keep in contact with your friends? Examples: face-to-face, phone, social networking sites (SNS), texting, Skype, chat etc?
- What sort of things do you do with your friends online?
- How often do you go on SNS? Which ones most often?
- Can you tell me about the time you first set up your SNS?
- Who do you interact with online? Are they any different from those you know offline?
- How many friends do you have on your SNS?
- How often would you spend on SNS?
- How do you accept a friend on SNS? Who is a friend on SNS? What makes a Facebook friend?
- Do you maintain a physical relationship with all of your Facebook friends?

- Do you know all of your Facebook friends personally?
- Who isn't a friend on SNS? Have you rejected someone on SNS? Can you tell me what happened?
- Have you deleted a friend on SNS? Can you tell me what happened?
- What's your best / worst experience of using SNS?
- What advice would you give others about using SNS?
- What advice would you give people about setting up an SNS profile?

Cultural uses

Identity

- Can you tell me about how you use Facebook to help you find out more about your iwi, hapū, marae?
- How do you use Facebook to connect with your iwi, hapū and marae?
- Is Facebook and other social media technologies effective to learning more about what's happening at "home"?
- What are some of the things that are communicated to you from your iwi, hapū or marae?
- Do you feel like your finger is on the pulse more so now that you're connected with your iwi, hapū, marae through the likes of Facebook? How would these types of tools be useful for iwi, hapū, and marae?
- How does having a flow of information about what's happening on your marae impact on your involvement there?
- How has your knowledge of iwi, hapū, marae that you've gathered from social media technologies, helped you in knowing more about who you are?
- What are your views about having more information that is available online (like cultural information about who we are, our iwi, hapū marae etc)?
- What do your elders think of social media technologies?
- What are your views on tikanga and te reo being exercised online? Can you provide an example? Who was involved? Where? Why?
- What are some of the different perspectives that rangatahi might have in comparison to kaumātua regarding these types of technologies?

Groups

- Do you belong to any "groups" on Facebook? Which ones and why?

- How often do you interact with the groups that you're subscribed to?
- What level of involvement do you have with the various groups? (post links, post discussions, comment on peoples posts, etc)
- How do these groups differ from individual Facebook profiles?
- Do these types of groups offer more or less privacy around the members of that group?
- Can you explain the privacy measures around these groups and how that impacts what you share within those groups?

Self-image

- How does your Facebook profile page represent you? (i.e., the posts you make, the photos, the people who you're friends with?) Explain "how" you've made your profile uniquely yours
- What do you do to maintain this profile? (i.e., tag yourself in photos, untag yourself in photos, post comments, photos and links that reflect you etc)

Cultural

- What languages do you use when communicating on Facebook?
- Do you use te reo Māori when leaving posts, comments or status updates?
- How does Te Reo Māori enhance or otherwise, your experiences in Facebook?

Politics

- How do the likes of Facebook inform you of current events and news, particularly those that relate to Māori people or issues? Can you elaborate?
- What types of pages do you subscribe to, to get this kind of information?
- How do you interact with these types of pages? Do you leave comments? Engage in discussion or debate? Can you tell me about one of those times?

Media

- Do you access media and news stories via Facebook / Twitter?
- What media hubs do you tend to follow frequently? i.e., Te Kaea, TVOne news etc
- How does this tool impact on your knowledge of either past or current Māori issues? Can you give me an example where you discovered some news via Facebook?

Academic (for student participants)

- How does your university utilise SNS to connect with you as students?
- Is this an effective form of communication for you?
- How are your learning experiences enhanced by the use of sites such as Facebook or groups within Facebook for classes or courses you might be enrolled in?
- Would you say it's a forum where students or like-minded people can share mātauranga?
- How does the online environment change the status of mātauranga, are some things kept offline (i.e., tapu, sacred knowledge) and other things talked about freely? Please explain

Knowledge of SNS structure

Privacy

- Do you feel you have a sound knowledge of the privacy settings/options available on the SNS site(s) you use? What privacy settings do you have in place?
- Who can see your profile, and do you have different 'views' for different sets of people?

Marsden data

Advertising

- What are your thoughts on the advertising that Facebook features?
- Do you engage with any alcohol related advertising? Can you give me an example? What's made you click on their link?

Alcohol

- Are there any social events that you organise? Can you give an example?
- How do you talk about your drinking stories or experiences on Facebook?
- What sorts of things do you share on Facebook etc when you're out with friends and alcohol is involved, do you access these sites during these times?
- How much alcohol do you typically drink? What changes that amount?
- How often do you drink together and where?
- Who do you typically drink with? Can you tell me some of the reasons that you drink together?

- What kinds of alcohol do you drink? How much alcohol do you typically drink? What changes that amount?
- What do you guys typically do when you're having a "big night" (a night of heavy drinking)?
- How do you organise your drinking?
- What do you tend to do when you're drinking together?
- What do you enjoy about drinking together? What don't you enjoy about it?
- How do your drinking experiences (together or not) come through in your online activity in Facebook etc? Can you describe a time/experience?
- Do you follow Facebook group pages of bars, or establishments that sell alcohol? Can you give me some examples?
- How do these bars engage with you to "subscribe" to their pages? How do these group pages impact on yours and your friends drinking behaviours?
- What do they think about bars using these strategies?
- Why is it appealing?
- Do you tend to "follow" any celebrities, or bands, singers, musicians, sportsmen/women etc on Facebook? What information are you interested in about these people?

Final discussion

- What are your views on face-to-face communication versus online communication?
- Advantages, disadvantages?

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past

Revised interview schedule – Individual interviews

Demonstration of Facebook

- Show me what you would typically do when you sign into Facebook?
- What do you post online? (general content & format: text, video, audio, image.)
- Do you post photos of yourselves or others? Who to? What's an example of such a post? How do you decide what photos to post?
- What alcohol related posts do you do?
- If appropriate, show me some community related pages that you are connected to

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past

Revised interview schedule – case studies

1. **Use[s] of social networking technologies from a community group perspective**

   - How do you use social networking technologies?
   - How does your whānau, hapū and/or iwi use SNS?

2. **Organisational use[s] of social networking technologies within a Māori paradigm i.e., iwi, hapū, marae and its impact on relationships with members/constituents and the dissemination of information/knowledge**

   - How does your iwi/hapū/marae communicate with you & your whānau?
   - What sorts of information do you receive through SNS that pertain to your whānau, hapū or iwi?
   - What are your thoughts about iwi/hapū/marae using SNS to share info about what's going on?
   - Is Facebook and other social media technologies effective to learning more about what's happening at "home"?
   - How does having a flow of information about what's happening on your marae impact on your involvement there?
   - What other methods of communication do you prefer?
   - Out of all these methods, which is the most effective for you and your family (i.e., most efficient, accessible etc)?
   - How did your iwi/hapū/marae communicate with you before Facebook?

3. **Shift of practical tikanga and kawa from physical space to virtual space**

   - What languages do you use when communicating on Facebook? And your what about your iwi/hapū/marae (and languages that they use)?
   - How does their use (or lack of use) of te reo impact on your own reo?
   - Kaumātua Specific Question: Do you kōrero Māori on Facebook? If so, to whom and do they reply to you using te reo?

- Have you ever observed tikanga Māori being practiced in a virtual space like, Facebook? Please share that story and how you felt about it
- What other tikanga have you seen others doing, or organisations doing?
- What are your thoughts around virtual spaces like Facebook, functioning like a marae, a place of "gathering"? He aha ou whakaaro?
- What are the boundaries (if any) in terms of practising tikanga Māori in these virtual spaces?
- In your opinion, does the concept of tapu apply to virtual spaces of gathering?
- Is mātauranga ā iwi/hapū/marae/whānau appropriate to post in virutal spaces? What about tapu mātauranga such as whakapapa?
- In your opinion, how appropriate are tangihanga (videos of tangi, photos of tūpāpaku) to post in virtual spaces for sharing with whānau?
- If there are more ways to access information about iwi/hapū/marae in virtual spaces, in your opinion, how do you think this will impact on the physical places we gather at, like the marae?

4. **Construction of cultural knowledge (and identity) through the use of social networking technologies**

   - How has your knowledge of iwi, hapū, marae that you've gathered from social media technologies, helped you in knowing more about who you are?
   - How does the iwi/hapū/marae help its members in finding out more about that members identity (whakapapa, tupuna, whenua, whanaunga etc)?

5. **Facilitation of whakawhanaungatanga (relationships and connectedness) in diverse Māori contexts (cultural, social, political, academic etc) through social networking technologies including immediate and extended whānau members and impacts of SNS on those relationships**

   - Tell me about some experiences where you've used the likes of Facebook to find whānau members, or connected to long lost whānau who live away from home that you might not see that often
   - In your opinion, do you think that in say, 25-50 years time, there will still be a need for our marae given that SNS are somewhat virtual marae spaces where many of our tikanga and our people are frequenting? Kōrero mai.

Survey screenshots

Screen 1: Welcome screen

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

Thank you for taking an interest in the Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past online survey!

What is the research about?
The research will investigate effects of social networking site (SNS) technologies on Māori ways of connecting with each other, while analysing its uses in socialising, cultural identity construction and values and Māori community development.

Who is the researcher?
Ko Taranaki te maunga
Ko Aotea te waka
Ko Ngaruahine Rangi, Ngāti Ruanui mē Te Atiawa ngā iwi
Ko Kanihi-Umutahi mē Ōtaraua ngā hapū
Ko Acushla Dee O'Carroll tōku ingoa
Rire, rire, hau pai mārire!

He mihi matakuikui ki a koe.

My name is Acushla Dee O'Carroll. I am a PhD student in the Whariki Research Group at Massey University, Aotearoa New Zealand. The research I am undertaking will investigate the effects of social networking technologies on Māori ways of connecting with each other. Dr Helen Moewaka Barnes and Dr Tim McCreanor of Whariki are both supervisors for my research.

Survey results
Please check this website for survey results: *http://drinkingcultures.org* There will be no notification email sent to you regarding the posting of these results (due to the anonymous nature of the survey) therefore please check the website from January 2013 onwards to access these results.

Anonymity
All survey responses and submissions are anonymous.

Your rights
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:
* decline to answer any particular question (except for compulsory demographic information related questions) and therefore are required to select the "I do not wish to answer" option;
* have access to a summary of results. Please visit the above website link from January 2013 onwards to view results.

The survey takes between 8 - 10 minutes.

By agreeing to complete the online survey you are consenting to participation

Click "Next" to begin the survey!

Screen 2: Criteria pre-test

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

2. **Are you currently living outside of New Zealand and have been doing so for at least 12 months?**
- *Yes*
- *No*

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Screen 3: Criteria pre-test (cont)

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

Criteria pre-test

1. **Are you Māori?**
- *Yes*
- *No*

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Screen 4: Criteria pre-test (cont)

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

3. **Are you 18 years or over?**
   - *Yes*
   - *No*

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Screen 5: Criteria pre-test (cont)

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

4. **Do you use social networking sites such as Facebook, Bebo, MySpace, Twitter, Skype, YouTube**
   - *Yes*
   - *No*

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Screen 6: Demographic information

marae - common gathering place for members of subtribes/tribes
whānau - family, kinsmen
wānanga - to workshop, meet & discuss issues
tangihanga - funeral
hui - gathering
whakapapa - genealogy

5. **What age range do you currently belong to?**
   - *18 - 25*
   - *26 - 35*
   - *36 - 45*
   - *46 - 55*
   - *56 - 65*
   - *66 +*
   - *I do not wish to answer*

6. **What is your gender?**
   - *Male*
   - *Female*
   - *I do not wish to answer*

7. **Where do you currently reside? (Please specify city (or town/rural area) and country)**

8. **How long have you been residing there?**
   - *12 months - 5 years*
   - *5 - 10 years*
   - *10 - 15 years*
   - *15 - 20 years*
   - *21 years +*
   - *I do not wish to answer*

9. **What is the main reason for being overseas? Tick all that apply**
   - *OE (overseas experience)*
   - *Work*
   - *Business*
   - *Study*
   - *Have family time*
   - *Other*
   - *I do not wish to answer*

11. **Please indicate (up to two) iwi that you affiliate to**
    Iwi (1)
    Iwi (2)
    If unknown, please indicate "NA" in the text box

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Screen 7: Social networking sites related questions

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

Social networking sites

12. **Which social networking site accounts do you have? (Tick all that apply)**
- [ ] *Facebook*
- [ ] *Twitter*
- [ ] *YouTube*
- [ ] *Skype*
- [ ] *Bebo*
- [ ] *MySpace*
- [ ] *Friendster*
- [ ] *Google Plus*
- [ ] *Flickr*
- [ ] *Linkedin*
- [ ] *Tumblr*
- [ ] *Other*

14. **How many hours on average would you spend using social networking siteseach week?**
- ○ *Less than an hour a week*
- ○ *1 - 5 hours per week*
- ○ *6 - 10 hours per week*
- ○ *11 - 15 hours per week*
- ○ *16 - 20 hours per week*
- ○ *21 - 25 hours per week*
- ○ *More than 25 hours per week*

15. **Do you communicate with whānau and friends via social networking sites who live back in Aotearoa New Zealand?**
- ○ *Yes*
- ○ *No*

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Screen 8: Social networking sites related questions (cont)

Social networking sites

12. **Which social networking site accounts do you have? (Tick all that apply)**
- [ ] *Facebook*
- [ ] *Twitter*
- [ ] *YouTube*
- [ ] *Skype*
- [ ] *Bebo*
- [ ] *MySpace*
- [ ] *Friendster*
- [ ] *Google Plus*
- [ ] *Flickr*
- [ ] *Linkedin*
- [ ] *Tumblr*
- [ ] *Other*

14. **How many hours on average would you spend using social networking siteseach week?**
- ○ *Less than an hour a week*
- ○ *1 - 5 hours per week*
- ○ *6 - 10 hours per week*
- ○ *11 - 15 hours per week*
- ○ *16 - 20 hours per week*
- ○ *21 - 25 hours per week*
- ○ *More than 25 hours per week*

15. **Do you communicate with whānau and friends via social networking sites who live back in Aotearoa New Zealand?**
- ◉ *Yes*
- ○ *No*

16. **Where in Aotearoa New Zealand do those whānau and friends reside? Tick all that apply**
- [ ] *Northland Region*
- [ ] *Auckland Region*
- [ ] *Waikato Region*
- [ ] *Bay of Plenty Region*
- [ ] *Gisborne Region*
- [ ] *Hawke's Bay Region*
- [ ] *Taranaki Region*
- [ ] *Manawatu-Wanganui Region*
- [ ] *Wairarapa Region*
- [ ] *Wellington Region*
- [ ] *Nelson Region*
- [ ] *Marlborough Region*
- [ ] *West Coast Region*
- [ ] *Canterbury Region*
- [ ] *Otago Region*
- [ ] *Southland Region*
- [ ] *Chatham Islands*
- [ ] *Do not know*

Screen 9: Social networking sites related questions (cont)

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

17. **How does social networking sites help you maintain contact & relationships with these whānau & friends?**

18. **Are you 'friends' with any marae/hapū/iwi/Māori community group Facebook page (or any other social networking site group pages)?**
- (•) *Yes*
- ( ) *No*

19. **Please specify the nature of the pages who you are friends with (i.e., whānau reunion group page, marae committee page etc)**

20. **What ways has this online connection with your marae/hapū/iwi/Māori community group impacted on you? (tick all that apply)**
- [ ] *Increased tribal knowledge*
- [ ] *Learnt more about your marae*
- [ ] *More in contact with whānau, extended whānau*
- [ ] *Makes you feel like you belong*
- [ ] *Helps with homesickness*
- [ ] *Provides updates and info on your iwi/hapū land claim*
- [ ] *Check out photos of whānau and gatherings*
- [ ] *Find more out about whakapapa*
- [ ] *Connect with other whānau/hapū/iwi members abroad*
- [ ] *Meet new relatives online*
- [ ] *Find out what's happening at the marae*
- [ ] *Feel more connected, finger on the pulse*
- [ ] *Other?*

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Screen 10: Social networking sites related questions (cont)

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

22. **In your opinion, how can social networking sites improve the relationship you have with your marae/hapū/iwi/ Māori community group?**

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Screen 11: Cultural knowledge related questions

Cultural knowledge

23. **Do you access cultural knowledge (such as historic accounts/stories, genealogy, oral traditions, language and values etc) about your marae/hapū/iwi/community group?**
- (•) *Yes*
- ( ) *No*

24. **How do you access it? (tick all that apply)**
- [ ] *By being present at the marae*
- [ ] *Attending gatherings (tangihanga, hui, wānanga, celebrations)*
- [ ] *Literature (books)*
- [ ] *Participating in wānanga*
- [ ] *Engaging in performing arts*
- [ ] *Waiata o mua (traditional Māori songs of old)*
- [ ] *Waiata o naianei (Māori songs of today)*
- [ ] *Oral traditions (shared by experts in this field)*
- [ ] *Website*
- [ ] *Facebook group pages*
- [ ] *Other social networking pages*
- [ ] *DVDs*
- [ ] *Movies*
- [ ] *News*
- [ ] *Google*
- [ ] *Encyclopedias*
- [ ] *Other?*

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Screen 12: Cultural knowledge related questions (cont)

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

26. Do social networking sites assist you to finding out more about your Māori/tribal identity?
- Yes
- No
- Don't know

27. Please explain how (optional)

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Screen 13: Cultural knowledge related questions (cont)

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

Context for the following question

Social networking sites such as Facebook, Skype and others, help us to connect from one person/group to another through conversations in text, live video feed conversations and sharing information. Facebook group pages and Internet websites in general provide us with ways to keep connected to what's happening at the marae, or within your hapu/iwi, and allows you to participate in those types of communities in many ways, but from a distance through social networking sites! Like maintaining ahikā in a virtual sense. (In this context, ahikā refers to having an active caretaker and/or participator role within your tribal/sub-tribal areas and/or marae).

28. Do social networking sites assist you with maintaining a "virtual" form of ahikā?
- Yes
- No
- Don't know

29. Please explain how (optional)

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Screen 14: Cultural knowledge related questions (cont)

Context for the following questions

Media like Skype helps people to be brought closer through real time video feeds, so you can see the other persons face, even though they may be on the other side of the world! Kanohi ki te kanohi is about being physically present, having physical face to face interaction which can sometimes be lost when we engage with social networking sites as we are often connecting with people through a computer screen or phone. These next few questions are aimed at getting your opinions on what you think about kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face, present, physical) and in contrast, how you manage your participation in both realms of kanohi ki te kanohi and social networking sites.

30. Describe briefly what kanohi ki te kanohi (physical presence, face to face interaction) means to you?

31. How is kanohi ki te kanohi and social networking sites negotiated (compromised, managed, balanced etc) in your life ?

32. Do you think that social networking sites can replace kanohi ki te kanohi?
- Yes
- No
- Somewhat
- Don't know

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Screen 15: Submission page

Kanohi ki te kanohi - a thing of the past?

Contact details
If you have any questions at all, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher or supervisors on the details listed below.

Researcher: Acushla Dee O'Carroll
A.D.OCarroll@massey.ac.nz
021 658 341

To complete the survey, please click "Submit" below

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Friendship Focus Group Information Sheet

The Social Networking Project

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?

Who is the researcher?
Ko Taranaki te maunga
Ko Aotea te waka
Ko Ngaruahine Rangi, Ngāti Ruanui mē Te Atiawa ngā iwi
Ko Kanihi-Umutahi mē Otaraua ngā hapū
Ko Acushla Dee O'Carroll tōku ingoa
Rire, rire, hau pai mārire!

He mihi matakuikui ki a koe, tēnā koe, tēnā koe, tēnā koe

My name is Acushla Dee O'Carroll, I am a PhD student in the Whariki Research Group at Massey University. The research I am undertaking will investigate the effects of social networking technologies on Māori ways of connecting with each other.

My research is part of a larger Marsden-funded project called The Social Networking Project led by Dr Antonia Lyons of Massey University which will explore youth alcohol culture within social networking, The data I gather will be part of the wider database that includes young Pakeha and Pasifica people. Dr Helen Moewaka Barnes and Dr Tim McCreanor of Whariki are both members of the Marsden team and supervisors for my research.

The research
This research will investigate effects of social networking technologies on Māori ways of connecting with each other, while analysing its uses in socialising (including drinking), cultural identity construction and values, Māori community development and other areas.

Participation in this research
I am excited to invite you to be part of this research and look forward to your invaluable input into this new field of investigation.

In recognition of your time and contribution, a $30 voucher for one of the following; iTunes Music voucher or New World voucher will be presented to you at the conclusion of the interview.

The focus group discussion

Discussions will be with groups of friends aged between 18-25 years and will explore how social networking technologies have impacted on the ways you connect to whānau and friends online, how you use these technologies and for what purposes. Discussions will be videotaped and audio recorded. There will also be a laptop available (with Internet) if participants would like to show/use various websites and social networking sites, however, your online activity will **not** be recorded. Discussions will take place on one of the Massey University campuses (Wellington, Palmerston North or Auckland) or another appropriate location (that has access to power) at a time convenient, and agreed upon, by all participants. Discussions will last approximately 60-120 minutes.

The data

Audio data will be transcribed into written form and will then be analysed by the researcher along with the video. Some of the data you provide us with may contribute to *The Social Networking Project* study that is, the investigation of drinking cultures and online behaviours of young adults.

Raw video and audio data will not be used for the purposes of dissemination; it will only be used to assist in the analysis of the discussions. As focus group data are co-constructions, we will **not** seek for amendments to be made to transcripts from these focus groups.

Anonymity

If you wish to remain anonymous within the research, **please inform the researcher before the interview.** You will then be asked to select a pseudonym so that your identity is unknown throughout transcriptions and within the research.

Your rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- be anonymous in the interview by informing the researcher before the interview and selecting a pseudonym so that your identity remains anonymous;

Project contact details

If you have any questions at all, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher or supervisors on the details listed below.

Researcher	Acushla Dee O'Carroll A.D.OCarroll@massey.ac.nz 021 658 341
Supervisor	Dr. Helen Moewaka-Barnes H.Moewakabarnes@massey.ac.nz 09 366 6136
Supervisor	Dr. Tim McCreanor T.N.McCreanor@massey.ac.nz 09 366 6136

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 11/030. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Ralph Bathurst, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x 9570, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

The Social Networking Project

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?

Who is the researcher?
Ko Taranaki te maunga
Ko Aotea te waka
Ko Ngaruahine Rangi, Ngāti Ruanui mē Te Atiawa ngā iwi
Ko Kanihi-Umutahi mē Otaraua ngā hapū
Ko Acushla Dee O'Carroll tōku ingoa
Rire, rire, hau pai mārire!

He mihi matakuikui ki a koe, tēnā koe, tēnā koe, tēnā koe

My name is Acushla Dee O'Carroll, I am a PhD student in the Whariki Research Group at Massey University. The research I am undertaking will investigate the effects of social networking technologies on Māori ways of connecting with each other.

My research is part of a larger Marsden-funded project called *The Social Networking Project* led by Dr Antonia Lyons of Massey University which will explore youth alcohol culture within social networking. The data I gather will be part of the wider database that includes young Pākehā and Pasifika people. Dr Helen Moewaka Barnes and Dr Tim McCreanor of Whariki are both members of the Marsden team and supervisors for my research.

The research
This research will investigate effects of social networking technologies on Māori ways of connecting with each other, while analysing its uses in socialising (including drinking), cultural identity construction and values, Māori community development and other areas.

Participation in this research
I am excited to invite you to return and be part of this research and look forward to your invaluable input into this field of expertise.

For your invaluable time and contribution, a $40 voucher for one of the following; iTunes Music voucher or New World voucher will be presented to you at the conclusion of the interview.

The interview
The interview will work around your live engagement with websites and other communication systems that you visit or use and will be focused on your navigation and use of social networking sites and websites. Sessions will last approximately 60-90 minutes and will be both videotaped and audio recorded and we will use online tracking to record your navigation through cyberspace. The interview will take place on one of the Massey University campuses (Wellington, Palmerston North or Auckland) or another appropriate

location (that has access to power and Internet) at a time convenient and agreed upon between myself and you.

The data

Audio data will be transcribed into written form and will then be analysed by the researcher along with the video and online navigation record. Some of the data you provide us with may also contribute to *The Social Networking Project* study that is, the investigation of drinking cultures and online behaviours of young adults.

Raw video and audio data will not be used for the purposes of dissemination; it will only be used to assist in the analysis of the discussions.

All digital data will be stored on the password protected computers of the research team. I will provide a copy of your transcript for you to review and make any amendments. The transcript will be provided to you (via email only) as soon as it is available and you will have at least one week to make any amendments and return those changes to the researcher to be updated.

Anonymity

If you wish to remain anonymous within the research, **please inform the researcher before the interview.** You will then be asked to select a pseudonym so that your identity is unknown throughout transcriptions and within the research.

Your rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study provided you notify the researcher within 1 week after the interview
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- be anonymous in the interview by informing the researcher before the interview and selecting a pseudonym so that your identity remains anonymous;
- be provided (via email only) a copy of your transcript to make any amendments you see fit, within the timeframe provided by the researcher;
- ask that the audio recorder, video recorder or online tracking recorder be turned off at any time during the interview.

Contact details

If you have any questions at all, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher or supervisors on the details listed below.

Researcher	Acushla Dee O'Carroll A.D.OCarroll@massey.ac.nz 021 658 341
Supervisor	Dr. Helen Moewaka-Barnes H.Moewakabarnes@massey.ac.nz 09 366 6136
Supervisor	Dr. Tim McCreanor T.N.McCreanor@massey.ac.nz 09 366 6136

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 11/030. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Ralph Bathurst, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x 9570, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Case Study Information Sheet

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?

Who is the researcher?
Ko Taranaki te maunga
Ko Aotea te waka
Ko Ngaruahine Rangi, Ngāti Ruanui mē Te Atiawa ngā iwi
Ko Kanihi-Umutahi mē Otaraua ngā hapū
Ko Acushla Dee O'Carroll tōku ingoa
Rire, rire, hau pai mārire!

He mihi matakuikui ki a koe, tēnā koe, tēnā koe, tēnā koe

My name is Acushla Dee O'Carroll, I am a PhD student in the Whariki Research Group at Massey University. The research I am undertaking will investigate the effects of social networking technologies on Māori ways of connecting with each other. Dr Helen Moewaka Barnes and Dr Tim McCreanor of Whariki are supervisors for my research.

The research
This research will investigate effects of social networking technologies on Māori ways of connecting with each other, while analysing its uses in socialising, cultural identity construction and values, Māori community development and other areas.

Participation in this research
I am excited to invite you to be part of this research and look forward to your invaluable input into this field of expertise.

For your invaluable time and contribution to the study, we will present the iwi with a suitably selected book (related to mātauranga Māori).

The interview
The interview will discuss uses of social networking technologies at community group level and cultural impacts of these technologies as well as perspectives on Māori methods of communication in comparison to the tools that are now available. The discussions will take place at an appropriate location at a time convenient, and agreed upon, by the researcher and informant of the iwi. Discussions will last approximately 90-120 minutes and will be audio recorded.

The data
Audio data will be transcribed into written form and will then be analysed by the researcher

Audio data will be stored on the password protected computers of the researcher and upon the password protected shared Massey drives.

The researcher will provide a copy of your transcript for you to review and make any amendments. The transcript will be provided to you (via email only) as soon as it is available and you will have at least one week to make any amendments and return those changes to the researcher to be updated.

Anonymity
If you do not feel comfortable being identified in the transcriptions and reporting of this research, **please inform the researcher before the interview**. However, identification of the iwi/group is essential.

Your rights
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study provided you notify the researcher within 1 week from the interview;
- be anonymous in the interview (as an informant) by informing the researcher before the interview and selecting a pseudonym so that your identity remains anonymous;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- be provided (via email only) a copy of your transcript to make any amendments you see fit, within the timeframe provided by the researcher;
- be provided (via email only) a copy of the completed thesis for your information; and
- ask that the audio recorder be turned off at any time during the interview.

Contact details
If you have any questions at all, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher or supervisors on the details listed below.

Researcher	Acushla Dee O'Carroll A.D.OCarroll@massey.ac.nz 021 658 341
Supervisor	Dr. Helen Moewaka-Barnes H.Moewakabarnes@massey.ac.nz 09 366 6136
Supervisor	Dr. Tim McCreanor T.N.McCreanor@massey.ac.nz 09 366 6136

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 11/30 If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Ralph Bathurst, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x 9570, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz

Friendship Focus Consent Form

The Social Networking Project

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?

I have read the Friendship Focus Groups Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

Please answer Y (Yes) or N (No) to the following statements

- ☐ I agree not to disclose anything discussed in the Focus Group (You will also need to sign a confidentiality form)
- ☐ I would like an electronic copy of the research summary and the completed thesis sent to me via email at the conclusion of the study (please provide a current email address)
- ☐ I agree to the interview being video & audio recorded
- ☐ I wish to have my recordings returned to me (by default, these will be archived in a secure filing system)
- ☐ I wish to remain anonymous in this study as a friendship focus group participant (identity unknown throughout this particular research) and therefore need to select a pseudonym to be used in this research
- ☐ I am aware that some of the data I provide may also be used for *The Social Networking Project* which is investigating drinking cultures and online behaviours of young adults (Marsden funded project) on the understanding that it does not identify me in any way
- ☐ I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet

Please complete this section

Your full name .....

Your signature .....

Email address .....

Date .....

Individual participant Consent Form

The Social Networking Project

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?

I have read the Individual Participant Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

Please answer Y (Yes) or N (No) to the following statements

- ☐ I would like as summary of the findings and an electronic copy of the completed thesis sent to me via email at the conclusion of the study (please provide a current email address)
- ☐ I agree to the interview being video & audio recorded
- ☐ I agree to the my online activity being recorded
- ☐ I wish to have my recordings returned to me (by default, these will be archived in a secure filing system)
- ☐ I wish to have a copy of my written transcript (of the audio) emailed to me for feedback and amendments and then returned to the researcher within the given timeframe
- ☐ I wish to remain anonymous in this study (identity unknown throughout this particular research) and therefore need to select a pseudonym to be used in the research
- ☐ I am aware that some of the data I provide may also be used for *The Social Networking Project* which is investigating drinking cultures and online behaviours of young adults (Marsden funded project) on the understanding that it does not identify me in any way
- ☐ I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet

Please complete this section

Your full name .....

Your signature .....

Email address .....

Date .....

Case Study Consent Form

Kanohi ki te kanohi – a thing of the past?

I have read the Case Study Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

Please tick the boxes if you AGREE to the following statements:

- ☐ I would like summary of the research findings and an electronic copy of the completed thesis sent to me via email at the conclusion of the study (please provide a current email address)
- ☐ I agree to the interview being sound recorded
- ☐ I wish to have my recordings returned to me (by default, these will be archived in a secure filing system)
- ☐ I wish to remain anonymous in this study as an informant (identity unknown throughout research). However, I understand that iwi/organisation identification in this research is essential
- ☐ I wish to have a copy of my transcript emailed to me for feedback and amendments and then returned to the researcher within the given timeframe
- ☐ I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet

Please complete this section

Iwi/Organisation .....

Your full name .....

Your signature .....

Email address .....