E-whanaungatanga:
The role of social media in
Māori political engagement

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Abstract

Social media are used increasingly worldwide to connect people and points of view. This thesis explores the role social media can play in enhancing Māori development via political engagement. It investigates the efficacy of using social media to increase Māori political awareness and participation using the Mana Party Facebook pages as a case study. It also examines the opportunities and implications of social media for indigenous development in general. Themes in the literature on social media and indigenous development include: identity politics; language revitalisation and cultural preservation; activism; knowledge management; networking and collaboration; and business and marketing.

This qualitative study was informed by Kaupapa Māori and empowerment theories. It involves interviews with the Mana Party president, Mana Party Facebook page moderators, and users of the Mana Party Facebook pages. The interviews explored the objectives and outcomes of using social media to raise political awareness of Māori, finding that Mana Party objectives were met to varying degrees. It also found that social media has both positive and negative implications for indigenous development.

Social media aligns with tikanga Māori through Tino Rangatiratanga and whanaungatanga. However, it can conflict with tikanga Māori due to lack of respect, cultural misappropriation, sharing sacred information, subversion of traditional hierarchy and absence of a 'seen face'. There are thus tensions in the use of social media for political engagement among indigenous peoples. Finally, the thesis offers a framework of how to use social media with indigenous groups that emphasises the positive and mitigates the negative aspects of the platform.

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Whāia te iti kahurangi
Ki te tūohu koe, me he maunga teitei

Pursue excellence – should you stumble, let it be to a lofty mountain

Ko Horouta te waka

Ko Hikurangi te maunga

Ko Waiapu te awa

Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi

Ko Ngāti Putaanga te hapū

Ko Putaanga te marae

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This is for Mum. Who helped out such a huge amount throughout this thesis process. But also just for always being there to help me, with anything, whenever I needed it.

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To my supervisors Regina and Te Rina, thank you for all your wisdom and encouragement.

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Glossary of Māori terms

ako	to learn, study, instruct, teach, advise
Aotearoa	North Island. Used as the Māori name for New Zealand
aroha	affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love, empathy
awhi	to embrace, cherish, sit on eggs, brood, besiege
haka	vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words
hapū	kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe
hīkoi	step, march. Has come to refer to protest march
iwi	tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face, in person, in the flesh
kapa haka	Māori cultural group, Māori performing group
kaumātua	adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man
kaupapa	topic, policy, plan, scheme, proposal, subject, theme
kawa	marae protocol - customs of the marae and *wharenui*, particularly those related to formal activities such as *pōwhiri*, speeches and *mihimihi*
kete	basket, kit
Kōhanga Reo	Māori language preschool
kōrero	speech, narrative, story, conversation, discourse
Kotahitanga	a movement for self-government and national unity among Māori during the 19th Century
kuia	elderly woman, grandmother, female elder
kūmara	sweet potato
Kura Kaupapa	primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction
Māoritanga	Māori culture
mana	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status
Mana Motuhake	separate identity, autonomy - *mana* through self-determination and control over one's own destiny
Mana Tāngata	power and status accrued through one's leadership talents, human rights, mana of people
marae	courtyard - the open area in front of the *wharenui*, where formal greetings and discussions take place

mātauranga	education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill
mihimihi	(v) to greet, pay tribute, thank. (n) speech
Ngāi Tahu	Or Kāi Tahu, is the principal tribal group of the South Island
Ngāpuhi	Northland tribal group
Ngāti Porou	tribal group of East Coast area north of Gisborne to Tihirau
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pākeke	be grown up, adult, mature
Papawai	location of Kotahitanga Māori parliament in Wairarapa
pōwhiri	invitation, rituals of encounter, marae welcome ceremony
pūkana	to stare wildly– done when performing haka and waiata to emphasise particular words
rangatahi	younger generation, youth
rohe	boundary, district, region, territory, area, border
Tā	Sir, knight
taiaha	a long weapon of hard wood with one end carved
takatāpui	intimate friend of same gender. Homosexual in modern usage
tā moko	tattooing
Tānenuiarangi	god of forests and of birds
tangata	person, man, human being
tāngata	people, men, persons, human beings
tāngata whenua	local people, hosts, indigenous people of the land
taonga	property, goods, possessions, effects; treasure
taonga tuku iho	heirloom, something handed down
tapu	sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden
tau iwi	European, non-Māori, foreigners, immigrants
tautoko	to support, prop up, verify, advocate
te Ao Māori	the Māori world
teina	younger brother (of a male), younger sister (of a female), junior line
Te Tai Tokerau	Northland, North Auckland
tikanga	correct procedure, custom, code, plan, practice
Tino Rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty, rule, control, power
tīpuna	ancestors, grandparents
titiro	to look at, inspect, examine, observe, survey, view
tohunga	skilled person, chosen expert, priest
tuakana	elder brothers (of a male), elder sisters (of a female), senior branch of the family

Tūhoe	tribal group of the Bay of Plenty
wāhine	(plural) women, females, ladies, wives
waiata	song, chant, psalm
waka	canoe, vehicle, conveyance, spirit medium
whakapapa	genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent
whakarongo	to listen, hear, obey
whakataukī	proverb, saying, cryptic saying, aphorism
whakawhanaungatanga	process of establishing relationships, relating well to others
whānau	extended family, family group
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging
wharenui	meeting house, large house - main building of a marae where guests are accommodated
whenua	country, land, nation, state

Glossary of Information Technology terms

Android	an operating system owned by Google designed primarily for touch screen mobile devices such as smart phones and tablet computers
cyber-terrorism	the use of Internet based attacks in terrorist activities
Denial of Service (DoS)	an attempt to make a machine or network resource unavailable to its intended users
Facebook	an online social networking service
Flickr	a photosharing social network site
Global Positioning Satellite (GPS)	a space-based satellite navigation system that provides location and time information
Geographic Information System (GIS)	a system designed to capture, store, manipulate, analyse, manage, and present all types of geographical data
hacktivism	the use of computers and computer networks to promote political ends
hashtag	a word or a phrase prefixed with the symbol #. A form of metadata tag
Internet Communication Technology (ICT)	is often used as an extended synonym for information technology (IT), but is a more specific term that stresses the role of unified communications
internet meme	an idea, style or action which spreads, often as mimicry, from person to person via the Internet. Often videos or captioned photos
IP	Internet Protocol
internet troll	a person who causes trouble on the Internet by starting arguments or upsetting people
listserv	electronic mailing list software applications
metadata	data about data. For example, purpose, time and date of creation, author, location
mobile application (app)	computer software for useful tasks designed to run on smart phones, tablet computers and other mobile devices
Skype	Voice over Internet Protocol service and instant messaging client
slacktivism	pejorative term that describes support of an issue that is

	perceived as having no practical effect. For example signing an online petition
smart phone	a mobile phone built on a mobile operating system.
short message service (SMS)	a text messaging service component of phone, web, or mobile communication systems
social media	interaction among people in which they create, share, and/or exchange information and ideas in virtual networks
tweet	Twitter text message limited to 140 characters
Twitter	online social networking and micro-blogging service
Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP)	technologies for the delivery of voice communications and multimedia sessions over Internet Protocol networks, such as the Internet
Web 2.0	web sites that use technology beyond the static pages of earlier Web 1.0 sites
weblog	a discussion or informational site published on the World Wide Web
wiki	a web application which allows people to add, modify, or delete content in a collaboration with others
YouTube	a website on which users can upload, view and share videos

Chapter 1: *E tipu*

Introduction

They don't care about us so why should we care about them?

This was the response I received when attempting to convince someone to vote. It is a tough question to answer because 'we' represents young Māori, a marginalised group in New Zealand society (McGachie & Smith, 2003). They are a group that doesn't exercise political power because they don't think they have any (Tawhai, 2011). This reflects a common situation for young people worldwide (Holdsworth, Stokes, Blanchard, & Mohamed, 2007) and is particularly relevant to indigenous youth (Alfred, Pitawanakwat, & Price, 2007).

The New Zealand public often remonstrates about voter apathy but the education system does not encourage young people to engage with politics (Tawhai, 2007). If people lack political awareness, they can't comprehend the power of the vote that everyone is entitled to. If everyone had the knowledge and belief that they could transform their society, government would look very different indeed (Cheyne & Tawhai, 2008).

I must qualify at the beginning that although I encourage Māori political engagement with the electoral system, I do not propose that the Westminster system of government is the most appropriate decision making forum for Māori. Investigating which forums might be best is the subject for another thesis. I do stress, however, that Māori were guaranteed the right to full participation as citizens in New Zealand society under Te Tiriti o Waitangi (see Appendix 8) and that includes full participation in its decision making processes (Tawhai, 2007).

Until such time as Tino Rangatiratanga is fully realised – in whichever form that might take – Māori must take every opportunity to influence current government systems into becoming more responsive to the needs of the people and the environment. While opting out of the system is a valid form of protest for some, not voting should be an informed decision – not the result of apathy, submission or lack of information (Fitzgerald, Stevenson & Tapiata, 2007; Tawhai, 2011). Furthermore, electoral participation is only one form of political engagement – petition signing, submission making, party membership, protest and more are also valid ways of engaging with the political system (McVey & Vowles, 2005; Putnam, 1995).

Research rationale

This research is significant because it highlights new opportunities to enhance Māori development through empowerment via political awareness and participation. The research will show how social media can facilitate increased political engagement among Māori. It also investigates the alignment of social media with the values of indigenous people, particularly tikanga Māori, and the suitability of social media as a platform for indigenous development. There is a body of literature on the benefits of using social media for political engagement (Ellison, 2007; Norris, 2003; Norris & Jones, 1998), particularly among youth (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011; Harfoush, 2009). However at the time of writing the thesis, there are no sources that focus on social media and political engagement among Māori.

Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) speaks of a decolonising framework where tāngata whenua name and claim their spaces. The term "e-whanaungatanga" as used here defines virtual spaces and networks where indigenous like minds can interact and the seed of a kaupapa can be planted, nurtured and realised. Social media is a platform from which e-whanaungatanga can be promoted. It can facilitate collaboration and creativity in numerous areas of indigenous development such as strengthening indigenous identity, revitalising indigenous language, preserving indigenous culture, building solidarity through indigenous activist networks, raising global awareness of indigenous issues, assisting indigenous research partnerships or promoting indigenous business. In order for indigenous development to advance, such spaces must exist.

Personal rationale

At the last New Zealand General Election in 2011, three-quarters of those on the general roll voted, and less than half of those on the Māori roll voted. This doesn't reflect the number of Māori on the general roll (estimated at 188,608) who voted, but it shows the clear disparity in electoral participation between Māori and the rest of New Zealand. Similarly, youth are underrepresented in political participation with eligible voters aged 18-24 years making up 13% of the total voting population yet representing nearly half (47%) of the total eligible voters who did not enrol for the 2011 election (Parliamentary Library, 2011). It has been suggested that among other reasons, marginalised groups don't vote because they don't see the point (Fitzgerald, Stevenson & Tapiata, 2007).

As a result of the 2011 election, New Zealand saw the second term of the centre-right National Party who have implemented a rise in Goods and Services Tax (GST)[1], an increase in prescription costs, reintroduction of youth wages and extensive neo-liberal reforms across welfare and education (Mutu, 2013; O'Connor & Holland, 2013). It is these decisions that affect the daily lives of marginalised groups yet people's lack of political awareness means they don't make those connections. We do not live in a truly democratic society if there are barriers to political participation for some groups (Alfred et al., 2007). It is in the interests of the dominant groups for the situation to remain this way and traditional media is complicit in maintaining the status quo through its narrow presentation of news and political issues (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In New Zealand, this also occurs in relation to Māori issues (Walker, 1990; Wall, 1997).

Information is power (Foucault, 1980) and I believe there is an opportunity for social media to challenge the status quo by allowing easier access to political information from different sources. It also allows marginalised citizens such as youth, the poor, and indigenous minorities, to engage with issues on their own terms. Social media can allow the space to create a dialogue where people can learn to utilise the power of their political voice that was previously unheard. If indigenous people are also empowered to engage in these spaces where their cultural values and customs are respected then the prospects for online indigenous development are extremely positive.

Research aim, key questions and objectives

The aim of this research is to investigate how social media can enhance Māori development by increasing awareness and participation. I will use the Mana Party Facebook presence as a case study to determine how social media sites can encourage political engagement among Māori, and potentially draw implications for the use of social media for indigenous development.

Research questions:

1. What are the objectives of the Mana Party's social media strategy in regards to Māori political engagement?
2. Were the objectives met during the 2011 General Election campaign?
3. How effective were the Mana Party's Facebook pages in conscientising and mobilising Māori around political issues?
4. Can social media align with indigenous values, in particular tikanga Māori?

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[1] GST is a value added tax in New Zealand which was increased from 12.5 to 15 percent in 2010.

5. How can social media tools be utilised to advance indigenous development?

Theoretical background

The research is conceptualised within the theories of empowerment (Freire, 1970; Friedmann, 1992; Longwe, 1991; Rowlands, 1997) and Kaupapa Māori ideology (Bishop, 1999; Cram, 2001; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999), which both have emancipation as their aim. The principles of Kaupapa Māori underpin the theoretical discussion as well as guide the methodology of the study. The concept of 'conscientisation' as described by Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) is also a central theme of the thesis as it is concerned with raising awareness. Freire illustrates how the oppressed or disadvantaged can become empowered through critical consciousness of the factors which have lead to their position of disadvantage and continue to reinforce it.

Political awareness facilitates empowerment through the knowledge that the oppressed can challenge and transform their status in society. Freire's ideas resonate with indigenous and minority scholars (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo; hooks, 1994; Taiaiake, 2004) including Māori academics (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Walker, 1990), because colonisation and Western hegemony has created and maintained the conditions of oppression from which the oppressed need liberation. Similarly, it is Freire's views on conscientisation and resistance that hold much promise for the advancement of Māori development.

Introduction to Māori development

Despite the diverse physical and cultural differences of the world's indigenous populations, an unfortunate similarity lies in the unjust and violent colonial histories experienced by many (Césaire, 1972). The legacy of alienation from land, language and custom has manifested in an over-representation of indigenous people in negative social statistics compared to other populations in their respective countries (Maaka & Andersen, 2006).

British colonisation of New Zealand has led to a similar fate for Māori who lost land, language and custom through physical and legislative force (Durie, 1998; Walker, 1990). In 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi[2] was signed by representatives of iwi Māori and the British Crown and allowed the Queen governance over the lands. It guaranteed Māori, 'te Tino

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[2] Māori version of Treaty of Waitangi signed by Crown and iwi representatives (see Appendix 8)

Rangatiratanga' or the "unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages, and all their property and treasures" (Wilson, 2012). The English version however, ceded sovereignty of the chiefs' lands to the Crown. This never would have been agreed to by Māori because to lose control over land would negate the mana of the chief and his people (Walker, 1990).

Among other things, the Treaty was meant to protect Māori and their land from unscrupulous settlers. However the passing of the Native Lands Act in 1862, and the New Zealand Settlements Act and Suppression of Rebellion Act in 1863, led to massive land losses through Crown purchase and confiscation. From 1840 to 1996 land in Māori ownership went from 66 400 000 to 3 743 689 acres (Durie, 1998). As a result of this and further legislation to repress Māori culture by assimilating Māori into Pākehā society, by 1984 there was an increasing gap in living standards between Māori and non-Māori (ibid).

In response to this disparity, in 1984 the Hui Taumata, Māori Economic Summit was convened by the Ministers of Māori Affairs and Finance and attended by iwi and Māori community representatives from various sectors. The general goals of the summit were concerned with economics, social equity and the revitalisation of Māori language and culture (Durie, 2003). The hui concluded with recommendations for a 'Decade of Māori Development' which encouraged positive Māori development through six themes: the Treaty of Waitangi; Tino Rangatiratanga; iwi development; economic self-reliance; social equity; and cultural advancement. Importantly, Māori needed to attain economic and social wellbeing while still having access to Te Ao Māori. It was about Māori being able to fully participate in Māori society rather than needing to assimilate into Pākehā society in order to be successful (Durie, 1998; 2003).

The Tino Rangatiratanga that escapes Māori despite its guarantee under Te Tiriti is still being sought, and Māori now have some devolved power through the rūnanga or tribal council system (Jahnke, 2006). However, the gap in living standards between Māori and non-Māori has not decreased, rather Māori are still disproportionally overrepresented in negative statistics (*Te Ara Hou: A pathway forward*, 2011). The corporatisation of iwi structures may improve the lives of post-settlement iwi such as Kāi Tahu but it provides little benefit for urban Māori, many of whom are living in poverty and disconnected from their heritage (Barcham, 1998). According to 2013 Census information, 110,928 people of Māori descent did not know their iwi (Statistics NZ, 2013).

Tino Rangatiratanga for whānau and Māori individuals however, can be strengthened by a critical consciousness of the power relationships that exist in government and corporate interests in Aotearoa and the world at large. Lack of understanding keeps people out of the political sphere because they don't realise how much of their lives are influenced by it. By choosing to become active in political discussion and participation, Māori determine their own direction. Māori development is less about financial resources and more about building the capacity of the people to envision what they need, and know what to do to achieve it (Winiata cited in Warren, 2004).

Māori and political participation

Political engagement sits within the wider term of 'civic engagement' and these terms are used interchangeably within the literature. Civic engagement refers to broader participation at community, regional and national levels. For example, church membership, sports and cultural club membership, volunteering, fundraising or committee service (Adler & Goggin, 2005).

As previously noted, Māori have a lower voter turnout than non-Māori. Electoral studies offer the reason that Māori are on average younger and less affluent than non-Māori, and political disengagement is most common among youth and those on lower incomes (Aimer & Vowles, 2004). This is reiterated by an Electoral Commission report which found that Māori who were younger and less well off were least likely to vote (Fitzgerald, Stevenson & Tapiata, 2007). In terms of local government, research by Cheyne and Tawhai (2008) highlights the barriers Māori face in participation. They emphasise that in order to mitigate these issues there needs to be information flow, engagement and accountability.

There is a large body of literature focussing on Māori social units such as whānau, hapū and iwi. All sources document the collective nature of Māori society in which whanaungatanga is fundamental to promoting and maintaining social cohesion (Best, 1924; Firth, 1963; Metge, 1995). The concept of whanaungatanga has clear links to the notion of 'social capital[3]' and 'civic engagement' as they all define the relationships of people within their communities. Active participation in community life is seen as for the good of the whole. McVey and Vowles (2005) found this was reflected in Māori having higher associational memberships such as sports clubs than average, and higher participation in active politics such as protests. However they did reiterate that Māori participate less across the passive indicators including voter turnout.

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[3] Social capital is refers to social networks and the sense of community they create.

Māori and the internet

The Internet is beneficial in liberating indigenous peoples and constructing a 'digital identity' to promote indigenous language, culture and rights (Niezen, 2005). In the New Zealand context, Māori have been quick to identify enhanced opportunities through information technology and are participating in increasing numbers online (Statistics NZ, 2010). New Zealand was the first country in the world to establish a second level domain name for indigenous people (iwi.nz) with 13 iwi throughout the country registered with active websites. This was extended by the .māori.nz domain name which allowed for a broader understanding of Māori culture and with less restrictive criteria than the .iwi.nz domain (Goode, 2010). The notion of the technological haves and have nots or 'digital divide' does exist, however, with Māori less likely to have access to the internet than Pākehā (Cullen, 2003; Greenbrook-Held & Morrison, 2011).

The Mana movement: Introduction to the case study

In early 2011 disagreement with party leadership over support of the government's foreshore and seabed legislation led Te Tai Tokerau MP, Hone Harawira, to resign from the Māori Party[4]. Following his resignation Mr Harawira began organising a new political party and after numerous hui around New Zealand to consider the movement and its mission, the Mana Party was launched. (Hill, April 30, 2011). While campaigning in all seven Māori seats[5] competing with the Māori Party for Māori votes, Mana put forward 14 candidates in the general electorates and also positioned itself as a socialist, workers' party garnering support from left wing groups such as Socialist Aotearoa. According to Mana campaign material:

> *The mission of the MANA Movement is to bring rangatiratanga to the poor, the powerless and the dispossessed; to empower them against government by the rich and powerful for the rich and powerful* .

The Mana Party was chosen as a case study because its target populations are the powerless and dispossessed. These are the same people I am trying to highlight the

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[4] A New Zealand political party founded in 2004 by Tariana Turia

[5] Four Māori seats were established by the 1867 New Zealand Parliament to give Māori a direct say in Parliament. In 1975 the government introduced the Māori Electoral Option to be held alongside (or following) each census. This allowed electors of Māori descent to choose whether they enrolled in general or Māori seats. Subsequent Māori Electoral Options have seen the number of Māori electorates increase to seven. http://www.elections.org.nz/events/Māori-electoral-option-2013/about-Māori-electoral-option

importance of political engagement for. The party missed out on broadcast funding from the Electoral Commission as applications needed to be made by March 17 and the party wasn't launched until April (Chapman, June 2, 2011). Without funding for airtime on radio or television the low cost nature of social media as well as its ability to speak directly to the people made it a useful platform for the new party. The party launch was shared on social media in real time with Twitter and Facebook feeds running throughout the day (Digital Māori, 2011). The nature of the Mana Party as a grassroots organisation is a perfect example for examining how social media can provide alternative opportunities to increase Māori engagement with politics.

Introduction to social media

Extensive sources exist on applications of social media in different fields such as education, music, tourism, health and public relations to name a few (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Within the literature, the term 'social media' is used in the singular form when discussing the platform as a whole but also as a plural when referring to its various tools. Therefore, both singular and plural forms are used throughout the thesis. There is no consensus in academia on a definition of what social media is. However, Public Relations expert Brian Solis has become a regularly cited source on the subject and offers the following assertions about social media:

Social media is the democratization of content and the shift in the role people play in the process of reading and disseminating information (and thus creating and sharing content). Social media represents a shift from a broadcast mechanism to a many-to-many model, rooted in a conversational format between authors and peers within their social channels (2009, p. xxi).

While social media is not easily defined, social media tools are ubiquitous and (at the time of writing) fall into six categories.

Categories of social media:
1. collaborative projects such as wikis (e.g. Wikipedia) or social bookmarking applications (e.g. Delicious)
2. blogs (including microblogs e.g. Twitter)
3. content communities for sharing photos (e.g. Flickr), videos (e.g. YouTube) or PowerPoint presentations (e.g. Slideshare)

4. social networking sites, between friends (e.g. Facebook, Myspace) or professional networks (e.g. LinkedIn)
5. virtual game worlds (World of Warcraft)
6. virtual social worlds (Second Life).

Source: Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, pp. 61-62.

According to web information company Alexa which documents the top 500 websites[6] worldwide, five of the top 10 websites (as at November 2013) were social media platforms – Facebook (2nd), YouTube (3rd), Wikipedia (6th), Linkedin (8th) and Twitter (10th). New Zealand statistics are similar with Facebook (3rd), YouTube (4th), Wikipedia (8th) and Linkedin (10th). Twitter is 17th which shows micro-blogging is not as popular in New Zealand as it is in the rest of the world. For example, in China the micro-blogging service Weibo holds 7th place (Alexa, 2013).

Web 2.0

The term Web 2.0 has also become a significant search phrase in social media literature. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) offer that social media are "a group of internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of user driven content" (p. 61).There has been no explicit technical upgrade from Web 1.0, which features personal web pages and the idea of content publishing, however, Web 2.0 has a more collaborative user-as-creator driven focus. Another difference between Web 1.0 and 2.0 is the hardware itself with the increasing prominence of 'smart phones' such as iPhone or Android and other technologies like the iPad through which user interfaces are more lightweight, more portable and more easily accessible (ibid). Tim O'Reilly is associated with the coinage of the term Web 2.0 and explains it as follows:

> *Web 2.0 is the network as platform, spanning all connected devices; Web 2.0 applications are those that make the most of the intrinsic advantages of that platform: delivering software as a continually updated service that gets better the more people use it, consuming and remixing data from multiple sources, including individual users, while providing their own data and services in a form that allows remixing by others, creating network effects through an 'architecture of participation', and going*

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[6] The sites in the top sites lists are ordered by their 1 month Alexa traffic rank. The 1 month rank is calculated using a combination of average daily visitors and pageviews over the past month. The site with the highest combination of visitors and pageviews is ranked #1.

beyond the page metaphor of Web 1.0 to deliver rich user experiences (O'Reilly, 2005).

Murugesan further elaborates on the features of Web 2.0 and lists six characteristics of the network.

Features of Web 2.0:
- facilitates flexible Web design, creative reuse, and updates;
- provides a rich, responsive user interface;
- facilitates collaborative content creation and modification;
- enables the creation of new applications by reusing and combining different applications on the Web or by combining data and information from different sources;
- establishes social networks of people with common interests; and
- supports collaboration and helps gather collective intelligence.

Source: Murugesan, 2007, p. 34.

Although not identical in definition, I found in reviewing the literature that the terms *social media* and *Web 2.0* are often used interchangeably, referring to the same concept. For the purposes of this thesis they both refer to an internet platform or internet tools with user generated content or features which can be shared with other users.

ICT4D 2.0

Information and Communication Technology for Development (ICT4D) aims to bridge the 'digital divide' that exists globally between developed and developing countries and at a national level between rich and poor citizens (Heeks, 2008; Thompson, 2008). Examples of programmes or applications used in ICT4D include email, internet, video conferencing, participatory geographic information systems (GIS), mobile phones, short message service (SMS), blogging, Twitter and more (Chambers, 2010). Much like Web 2.0, ICT4D 2.0 has a participatory ideology and advanced technology compared with the broadcast medium of Web 1.0. ICT4D 2.0 seeks to change the thinking about ICT4D to working with the poor to empower themselves through new technologies:

ICT4D 2.0 focuses on reframing the poor. Where ICT4D 1.0 marginalised them, allowing a supply-driven focus, ICT4D 2.0 centralises them, creating a demand-driven

focus. Where ICT4D 1.0 — fortified by the "bottom of the pyramid" concept — characterised the poor largely as passive consumers, ICT4D 2.0 sees them as active producers and innovators (Heeks, 2008, p. 33).

Participatory technologies can be utitlised in both developed and developing countries to bridge the gap between the digital haves and have nots and markedly improve the lives of the latter. ICT4D applications are generally focused on developing communities yet the need to empower the disadvantaged through increased access to technology and information is also evident in developed countries where sections of the population have less access, such as Māori in New Zealand (Greenbrook-Held & Morrison, 2011).

Social media and political engagement

Norris and Jones (1998) found that the Internet could have a positive impact and promote engagement due to its ability to foster virtual communities, enable users to coordinate their activities and share information in support of common concerns. Ellison et al. (2007) also found that use of social media was strongly associated with high measures of social capital.

Castells (2000) forecast the network society to expand throughout all social structures and to transform political processes and social movements. As he predicted, we have witnessed over the past decade that politics has become increasingly prominent in the space of social media. Political parties and candidates have an increased profile through the use of Web 2.0, with those not utilising new media in danger of being left behind (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011).

Zuniga et al. (2011) contend that use of social networking sites has a significantly positive impact on activities aimed at engaging in political action. Seeking current events information via social network sites is a significant predictor of people's social capital and political participation, online and offline. This is relevant to my research as I believe that participation in information seeking and sharing is a precursor to participation in social action and social media is a powerful platform through which to realise this.

Orr (n.d.) argues that while Web 2.0 might facilitate increased engagement, technological tools – regardless of their simplicity, low cost and ubiquity – cannot increase participation in and of themselves. He contends that an individual who is politically minded will participate through whichever medium is available to them.

I don't advocate that social media is a panacea for political disengagement; however, the nature of the platform requires users to encounter information through their networks with others such as friends and family. It also allows them to engage independently with that information. Engagement might only take the form of reading an article or writing a comment but it is raising awareness of the issues nonetheless. Online political participation will never take the place of physically protesting or attending a hui. However, the ubiquitous, low cost, social networks and tools, can engage new people in politics, organise them efficiently, and also complement traditional strategies to enhance any political movement.

Thesis structure

The idea of using Western tools for indigenous advantage reflects the vision of Ngāti Porou scholar Tā Apirana Ngata (Durie, 1998). In my research this notion refers to the use of social media tools for Māori development. He wrote 'E tipu, e rea' to encourage a young Māori girl, Rangi Bennett, in her education. In those words he urged that Māori take up Pākehā tools to advance in the Pākehā world while holding fast to their Māoritanga to assure their connection to Te Ao Māori. As a study which looks at how new media can align with indigenous values, this thesis echoes that wisdom. Accordingly, the Māori title for each chapter represents a phrase from his whakataukī. Therefore, the titles are not an exact translation of the English title but still reflect the content of each chapter.

E tipu e rea, mō ngā ra o tou ao,
Ko to ringa ki ngā rākau ā te Pākehā,
Hei oranga mō tō tinana
Ko tō ngā kau ki ngā tāonga a ō tipuna,
Hei tikitiki mō tō mahunga
Ko tō wairua ki te Atua,
Nāna nei ngā mea katoa
- Tā Apirana Ngata

Chapter One: *E tipu*, locates the thesis in its social and historical context by discussing the related concepts and topics. This chapter introduces the research rationale and objectives the study hopes to achieve. It then establishes the theoretical background of Kaupapa Māori theory and Empowerment theory. It illustrates the experiences of Māori people and culture following British colonisation of New Zealand and examines the responses of Māori development. Māori political participation is discussed and the case study of the Mana Party is introduced. The concepts of social media and Web 2.0 are

defined and then examined in relation to development and political engagement. Finally, the thesis structure is outlined.

Chapter Two: *E rea* explores the body of literature surrounding the uses of social media for indigenous development. It defines the notion of the 'digital divide' and notes the disparity in access between Māori and non-Māori in New Zealand. Examples of social media use for the empowerment of indigenous youth are provided and indigenous development is further grouped into the categories of social media and identity politics; language revitalisation and cultural preservation; activism; knowledge management; networking and collaboration; and business and marketing. Lastly, the negative implications of social media use for indigenous cultures are also addressed.

Chapter Three: *Ngā ra o tou ao*, conceptualises the study by describing the theories of emancipation that the thesis has drawn upon. In defines critical theory and examines empowerment theory within the wider literature, focussing on the ideas of Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) and John Friedmann in *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (1992). Kaupapa Māori ideology is defined and presented as the principles in which the thesis is grounded as well as the concepts behind the theory and methodology of the study. Post-development theory and post-colonial theory are also noted.

Chapter Four: *Ki ngā rakau*, explains the qualitative methodology used in the study and the reasoning behind the choices of Kaupapa Māori and empowerment theories. It describes the way the research was approached and how it was designed. This chapter details the research process from recruitment through to analysis and highlights the constraints faced by the researcher. It also outlines the ethical considerations of the study as per the Massey University Human Ethics Committee guidelines, the ethics of Internet-based research, and the ethics of conducting research with Māori participants.

Chapter Five: *Hei oranga*, presents the findings of the fieldwork which includes interviews to determine the objectives and outcomes of the Mana Party social media strategy as well as local branch objectives and outcomes. How social media can align with or oppose tikanga Māori was also addressed. Interviews were conducted with the Mana Party president Annette Sykes; two Mana Party Facebook page moderators from Mana ki Manawatū; and 10 users of the Mana Party Facebook pages – Te Mana, Mana ki Manawatū, Mana ki Wairarapa and Mana Rangatahi.

Chapter Six: *Ngā taonga*, synthesises Chapter Five with Chapters Two and Three by analysing the participants' responses within the literature on social media and indigenous development and the theories of empowerment and Kaupapa Māori. Framed by the research questions it discusses the Mana Party's social media objectives and outcomes and highlights where the findings have supported the themes from the literature and where they have not. Finally, a framework (based on Friedmann's (dis)empowerment model) has been constructed to identify empowered social media sites for indigenous development. The Mana Party Facebook pages have then been examined within this framework.

Chapter Seven: *Hei tikitiki*, provides a chapter summary and reviews the main findings of the study offering three main conclusions. This chapter makes recommendations of how to create social media sites that enhance indigenous development by being empowering and culturally responsive spaces for indigenous people. Personal reflections of the research journey are offered followed by opportunities for future research.

Chapter 2: *E rea*

Social media and indigenous development

Nāku te rourou nāu te rourou ka ora ai te iwi[7]

This chapter explores the literature that examines how indigenous groups have used social media to empower their communities despite the notion of a 'digital divide'. Academic studies and other non-academic sources have been referenced on indigenous people and identity politics (Goodwin, 2001; Lumby, 2010; Niezen; 2005), language revitalisation (Arobba, McGrath, Futrelle, & Craig, 2010; Huaman & Stokes, 2011), activism, (Harlow, 2011; Petray, 2011; Soriano, 2011), research (Cook & Hobson, 2011; Patterson, 2010), knowledge management (Belarde-Lewis, 2011; Chikonzo, 2006; Greyling & Zulu, 2010; Maina, 2012), cultural preservation (Corbett, Singleton, & Muir, 2009; González, Sánchez, & de los Santos, 2011) and business and marketing (Digital Maori, 2013; Te Kupeka Umaka Māori ki Araiteuru, 2013)

There is an increasing body of literature on Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) and their influence on indigenous development in New Zealand (Parker, 2003) and abroad (Dyson, Hendriks, & Grant, 2007; Roy & Raitt, 2003). My research focuses on one form of ICT which is social media. After discussing the benefits of social media for indigenous development the chapter will also look at the potential negative implications of using social media by indigenous groups. First, however, it will discuss the recurring theme of a 'digital divide' within ICT literature.

The 'digital divide'

The 'digital divide' is the gap that exists between those who have access to up to date ICTs and those who do not. Because we live in an information era, the assumption is that lack of access to information by a particular group means they are at a disadvantage (Norris, 2003). The term generally refers to those with a lack of infrastructure or material access to the internet however people can also lack digital skills and experience which also puts them at a disadvantage (Van Dijk & Hacker, 2003). Literature on how to bridge the 'digital divide' includes (but is not limited to) studies on the elderly (Millward, 2003), developing countries (Nulens, Hafkin, Van Audenhove, & Cammaerts, 2001), people with disabilities (Adam &

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[7] Translation: *"With your basket and my basket the people will live".* This whakataukī refers to cooperation which reflects the themes of networking and collaboration which run throughout the literature on indigenous use of social media.

Kreps, 2006), rural communities (Akca, Sayili, & Esengun, 2007), gender (Cooper, 2006) and indigenous minorities (Greyling & Zulu, 2010; Mehra, Merkel, & Bishop, 2004; Singleton, Rola-Rubzen, Muir, Muir, & McGregor, 2009).

Literature on the 'digital divide' in New Zealand shows that Māori are less likely to have access to the internet than Pākehā (Cullen, 2003; Greenbrook-Held & Morrison, 2011). This is supported by the most recent Statistics New Zealand (2010) publication on ICTs which shows that of users surveyed, 74 percent of Māori had used the internet recently[8] compared with 82 percent of Pākehā. Parker (2003) writes that access to landline telephones, cost of internet connections and lower educational achievement are factors in the underrepresentation of Māori online. It is important to note, however, that the same survey showed that Māori were more likely than Pākehā to use mobile technology such as cellular or wireless devices to access the internet. Similarly, they were more likely than Pākehā to access the internet at a place of education, another person's home or at a community internet facility such as the public library (see Table 2.1). This might be due to having less access within the home; however it shows that Māori can access the internet in other ways.

Table 2.1: Where Individuals Access the Internet[9]

	Place of education	Another person's home	Community internet facility
Māori	31%	65%	25%
Pākehā	24%	52%	15%

Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2010.

Of particular interest to this thesis is that 52 percent of Māori surveyed used the internet for social networking compared with 44 percent of Pākehā. It is not clear from any literature if this is due to youth favouring social networking sites (Hindenach, 2013) and Māori having a younger population[10], cultural reasons such as staying connected to whānau online (O'Carroll, 2013), or other reasons. While current literature (Statistics NZ, 2010) suggests that the 'digital divide' does exclude Māori from accessing the internet to the same degree as Pākehā, more recent research is necessary to determine whether this is a phenomenon that

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[8] Past 12 months
[9] Percentages are of individuals who used the Internet at places other than home. Internet use at home was categorised as household internet use. Ethnic groupings were not determined in household internet use.
[10] As at June 2011 the median age of the Māori ethnic group was 23.1 years of age, 13.7 years younger than that of the total population.

is changing with advances that allow internet access more easily through new mobile and wireless technologies.

Social media and indigenous youth

As noted, social media is a platform increasingly favoured by youth, and indigenous youth are no different. Social media tools can be used to show pride in indigenous identity; transfer intergenerational knowledge to revitalise language and preserve traditions; and maintain connections with kin. O'Carroll (2013) has written on how rangatahi Māori have utilised social networking sites for the purposes of whanaungatanga, communicating with whānau, expressing identity and accessing information. Kennedy (2010) has also noted Māori use of the internet in relation to social network analysis. While there is literature on empowerment of indigenous youth through social media (Corbett et al., 2009; Kral, 2011; Singleton et al., 2009), there are no sources referring specifically to indigenous youth, social media and political engagement. There is however a substantial amount of material on social media and its potential for increasing youth participation in politics (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Rheingold, 2008; Valenzuela, Arriagada, & Scherman, 2012).

Identity politics

How indigenous people present themselves and how they identify as indigenous is a common theme in literature on social media and indigenous development. Niezen (2005) states that the idea of a pan-indigenous identity is a relatively new movement and a product of international law. However, indigenous solidarity has now become a global movement represented both on and offline. Indigenous identity is inextricably linked to other themes in the literature such as language, the environment, and cultural knowledge (Durie, 2005). Essentially, indigenous people draw their identity from their language, their land and their stories. As such there are various overlaps between sources examining these different themes.

Maintaining cultural identity is a common challenge for indigenous people who have often been forced through policy or poverty to leave their tribal homes to find new livelihoods in cities. In New Zealand, recommendations of the Hunn Report (1961) aimed to integrate Māori into wider society. The 'pepper potting[11]' housing policy neglected to provide any options to fulfil the place held by the traditional marae and therefore disconnected people further from their language and customs (Walker, 1990). Urban migration and its resulting

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[11]Dispersing the Māori population within non-Māori areas to prevent residential concentrations or 'ghettoes'.

dislocation from traditional ways of life, loss of language and therefore loss of identity is an experience shared by indigenous people all over the world (Maaka & Andersen, 2006).

In resistance to this however, many indigenous groups stress the need to pass on their culture to younger generations in order for it to survive and are involved in social media initiatives aimed at facilitating this. These groups include the Mohawk, Objiway and Algonquin nations in Ontario, Canada (Maina, 2012), Te Rarawa ki Hokianga, Ngapuhi ki Hokianga, Te Uri o Hau ki Kaipara and Patuharakeke ki Takahiwai iwi in Te Tai Tokerau, New Zealand (Cook & Hobson, 2011), the Lakota people of North and South Dakota in the United States (Arobba et al., 2010) and indigenous communities from the Mixtec region of Oaxaca, Mexico (González et al., 2011). Language is a major indicator of indigenous identity (Durie, 1998) and these examples will also be discussed in the language revitalisation section of the literature review.

Indigenous ethnic minorities in Taiwan have taken to blogging communities and Facebook to promote their distinctive cultural identities (Zheng, March 9, 2011). These groups are still enduring confiscation of traditional land for development by the government and their culture is extremely marginalised. It is common for indigenous Taiwanese people to register their name in Han Chinese[12] when processing official documents which leads to further marginalising their ethnic identity. A recent phenomenon however, has seen indigenous Taiwanese seeking to rebuild their identity by using their ethnic Romanised names in addition to or instead of their Han Taiwanese names on Facebook profiles (ibid). It shows their Facebook friends pride in their indigenous heritage and helps connect to others who share an indigenous identity. While it may seem a small measure in terms of online action, it is an important statement which aims to raise the visibility of a culture that is largely invisible to wider Taiwanese society.

One of the scarce discussions specifically on Māori and social media reiterates the empowering opportunities social media affords in its ability for users to represent their own cultural expressions. Goodwin (2011) examines how Facebook allows space for user generated expressions of Māori identity through Facebook pages including political forums like "Tangatawhenua.com" or humourous pages such as "Super Māori Fulla" where users can comment and post on what it means to be Māori. He identifies that "these various Facebook usages produce differentiated means for Māori Facebook users themselves to explore, contest, and re-define Māori cultural identity across a set of technologically facilitated social spaces" (p. 114). This allows Māori to express themselves as Māori on their

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[12] The language of the Chinese majority in Taiwan.

terms and counter other representations of Māori people, particularly negative stories which commonly feature in mainstream media (Barnes et al., 2012; Walker, 1990; Wall, 1997).

Throughout colonial histories there has been a tendency by Western authors to represent the indigenous "Other" as primitive, exotic or savage – in one dimensional forms lacking context or respect (Said, 1978). This tradition has continued through print and broadcast media forms into the present day. Whether it is the romanticised untouched tribes of the Amazon or the demonised radical "terrorists" from the Tūhoe nation, these representations are accepted by mainstream society who lack a deep understanding of the lives of native people (Abel, 2008). Therefore, it is important for indigenous people to influence how they are presented in the media and the user generated content of social media offers them the ability to do this.

Language revitalisation & cultural preservation

Language revitalisation is more than an act of cultural preservation. It is a form of resistance – a political act in opposition to mainstream control that continues to dominate and marginalise minority cultures. The concept of linguistic determinism maintains that your world view is determined by your language *(A Dictionary of Media and Communication)*. Therefore, to limit someone's ability to speak their native language is to deny them access to their peoples' full experience of the world.

As previously noted, indigenous language and identity go hand in hand. According to a Mohawk elder in Maina (2012):

To learn about yourself in English and to pass it on in English is different from learning about yourself in Mohawk and passing it on in Mohawk. There are so many things embedded in that language that you would miss in English…Our language expresses our worldview, English expresses a different worldview (p. 4).

As well as loss of land, loss of language has played a large part in loss of cultural identity for many minority language speakers and is the result of the dominance of the mainstream language and culture (Batibo, 2009). This affects not only indigenous people but the global population at large as it impacts greatly on human diversity with only four percent of the world's population speaking 97 percent of the world's languages (Bernard, 1996). The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) categorises 43 percent of the world's languages as being vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered, and extinct (Figure 2.1). The decrease in language

diversity is an ominous situation, however there have been a number of indigenous initiatives launched to counter this (Moseley, 2010). In Latin America for example, weblogs established to promote indigenous language and culture include *Cultura Aymara* of the Chilean Aymara people; *Comunidad Mbyá Guaraní* from the Argentinean Guaraní people; *Ilamagun* by the Panama Kuna people, and *El camino de los tobas* and *Barrio Toba de La Plata* relating to the Argentinean Qom people (Civallero, 2008).

Figure 2.1: Overview of the Vitality of the World's Languages[13]
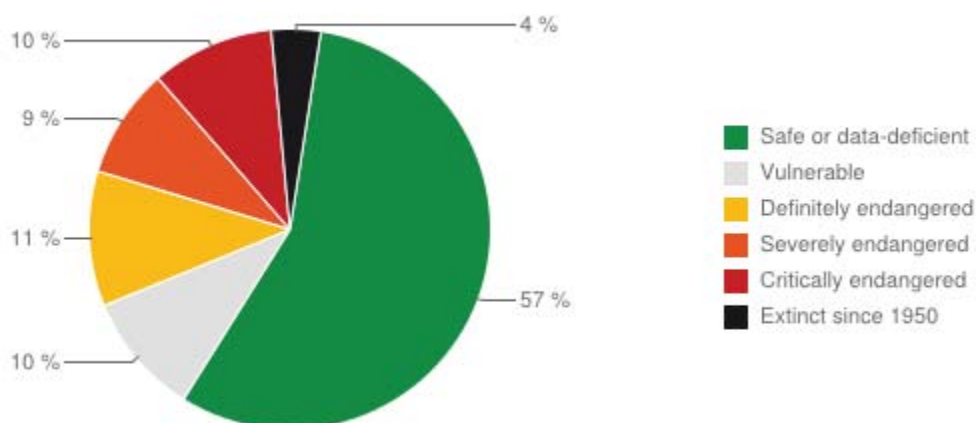
Source: Moseley, 2010.

The ability to pass on indigenous language and culture to younger generations decreases as families move away from traditional tribal lands to urban areas. They are no longer immersed in their language and culture and it is often thought better for them to integrate into mainstream society (Durie, 1998). Indigenous people move away to seek opportunities for their families yet this can have a detrimental effect on their language and identity, particularly if their tribal homeland is a major distance away (Batibo, 2009). The promise social media holds for this diasporic population is the ability to connect with their language and culture remotely. This allows them to reside outside of their homeland yet still interact with their indigenous community via Skype or through social networking sites. A number of indigenous social media initiatives are aiming to enhance language revitalisation and cultural preservation opportunities by creating online indigenous communities which are able to collaborate and share content regardless of geographical distance (Arobba et al., 2010; Corbett et al., 2009; González et al., 2011; Huaman & Stokes, 2011).

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[13] 43 per cent of the world's languages are vulnerable or in some degree of endangerment. This doesn't mean 57 per cent are safe as figures for data deficient languages were aggregated with data for safe languages.

González, Sánchez and de los Santos (2011) discuss the ViTu computing system which seeks to bridge the gap between migrants' children and their home communities. Indigenous people of the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca have a long history of migration to the United States to seek employment due to the state's economic poverty. They face loss of language and customs as a result of migration and disconnection from their culture. ViTu[14] uses an internet terminal booth in Oaxaca to connect locals with US-born Mexicans. During their research they found that immigrants' children were eager to learn more about their cultural heritage and there was a wealth of knowledge in Oaxaca, such as how to make traditional tortilla and sombrero. The communication between the two groups seeks to maintain relationships between them and preserve cultural traditions.

Social media is becoming more prominent amongst indigenous people due to the free nature of many sites. Aboriginal community research projects in Canada have utilised listervs, weblogs, Skype, Facebook, YouTube and Twitter in building and maintaining their networks (Patterson, 2010). Similarly, Cook & Hobson (2011) investigate the use of social media in Māori research and concur that their preferences are social media tools which are free, easy to use and with minimal software downloading. Because it is free, social media is then used in all aspects of research workflow such as identifying opportunities, finding collaborators and support, identifying literature, collecting and analysing data as well as managing research and disseminating findings.

Cook & Hobson (2011) also cite collaboration between the University of Auckland and four Northland iwi - Te Rarawa ki Hokianga, Ngapuhi ki Hokianga, Te Uri o Hau ki Kaipara and Patuharakeke ki Takahiwai - which created a website repository called Te Wehi Nui to benefit those with Taitokerau whakapapa as well as those interested in local histories. Audio, video, images, waiata, stories and research papers are stored and visitors are encouraged to log in and contribute their own. This initiative is focused on sharing information from Māori communities and used as a tool to both impart histories and revitalise language.

Another example of community collaboration is the LiveandTell community portal, LiveandTell.com. LiveandTell is a small internet technology business in the Lakota speaking territories of North and South Dakota (Arobba et al., 2010). It has been partnered with content management developers to help link community needs and academic archival practices. The project was driven by the community concerned at the deterioration of their language and customs. Because the Lakota are a dispersed nation, a third of their people

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[14] Means "bridge" in the native regional language of Mixteco.

live outside their territories. The focus of the initiative is on promoting language and cultural heritage particularly amongst the youth of the tribe. Increasing the use of language is important in maintaining identity and cultural heritage and there is sense of urgency to the project as only 175 languages of 300 Native American remain and only 20 are taught to children (ibid).

Like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, LiveandTell.com is a platform for user generated content, sharing and collaboration. However, LiveandTell.com also has features more attuned to archiving with more academic functions such as metadata used for tagging, which makes it easier for searches. The main advantage of the LiveandTell system is ownership. It was created specifically for the Lakota and there are future opportunities for other indigenous communities. This system allows the people the ability to upload songs, recipes and oral histories but also provides autonomy over them because of the different levels of access that can be given. This not only benefits the Lakota people through revitalising language but also through preserving and archiving their culture. The academic partnership allows them to share their language and culture with non-indigenous people for the purposes of education while still maintaining ownership of the content.

Another community that has worked to promote and revitalise indigenous language is a United States campus group of indigenous post secondary students from different nations[15]. Writing on the need for innovation in language revitalisation, Huaman and Stokes (2011) discuss the student driven initiative to create a fellowship of scholars focused on different aspects of indigenous language such as linguistics, language policy, indigenous nation building, national political work, and cultural and language. Social media provides a forum for communication, collaboration and sharing of resources which is particularly helpful for indigenous academics as they represent a small section of the academic community and are often otherwise isolated.

Activism

Indigenous people have long been denied land, language and self determination through imperialist pressures in the form of colonialism historically and globalisation currently. (Maaka & Andersen, 2006). However, indigenous groups have used many tools for resistance, the most recent of which are technologies of online dissent, activism and acts of solidarity among indigenous people across the world. Marginalisation of indigenous people, their languages and their culture, has left them at the periphery of society where they are

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[15] Refers to ethnic grouping as opposed to the concept of a political nation.

ignored by traditional media (Walker, 2002) and invisible to the rest of the world or misrepresented as caricatures or stereotypes removed from their historical and cultural contexts (Said, 1978).

The digital age, however, has enabled a higher platform for indigenous issues with the internet acting as an amplifier, assisting indigenous voices to be heard around the globe. One of the more famous examples of this was the Zapatista Rebellion. Indigenous Mayans in Mexico protested the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by using the internet to construct a trans-national network among human and indigenous rights groups. The media display that followed forced the Mexican government into negotiations with Zapatista over land rights, compensation for resource extraction and indigenous self-determination (Gelsomino, 2010). Technology has now developed further to include social media with many new tools including weblogs, social networking sites, photo or video sharing forums, and micro blogging services to aid indigenous groups. The ability to create international solidarity as well as elevating indigenous issues to a global platform both remain key strengths in the online indigenous activist movement.

The level of visibility social media has given indigenous issues is unprecedented with pressure on corporations and governments growing while the world is watching. In India, British mining company Vendanta Resources encountered a massive public relations debacle after Bollywood actress Gul Panag pulled out of a competition in which film makers were supposed to portray the 'happiness' the company creates (Survival International, 2012). The company had previously ignored the rights of the Dongria Kondh tribe, whose sacred mountain it sought to mine for aluminium ore. Panag was alerted via Twitter that she was involved in a public relations exercise and subsequently withdrew. She tweeted:

> @mynk *My bad. Just got full details. I wasn't aware that the competition was part of #vedanta glorification /PR. Have pulled out* (ibid).

Another example of activism through social media involves a study of the online presence of two indigenous groups in the Cordillera region of the Philippines (Soriano, 2011).The research looks at case studies of Tebtebba and the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA) who both promote indigenous rights. While Tebtebba is focused on multilateral issues working with global and local government agencies, CPA has a more activist and adversarial relationship with authorities. They both initiated their online presence to gain support and funding from global partners and also to show a presence of professionalism as indigenous people are still seen as primitive in the Philippines. It was also important to build networks

with other similar organisations at home and overseas. Global exposure was signifcant to CPA since their activist stance meant they often targeted multinational corporations and government who had firm control over local media. This led to the online space being the only platform available to share their concerns with and gain support from sympathetic organisations worldwide.

Both activist groups have managed to use their online presence to promote the rights of indigenous people and make connections with likeminded communities on an international scale. Belton (2010) describes cyberspace and United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues as "two unique spaces of a globalizing world [in which] to make their claims, foment alliances, and assert their right of self-determination" (p. 193). It is through these alliances that the true liberating effect of the internet can be seen. The spirit of social media is collaboration and sharing. By using social media tools indigenous communities can share their experiences and work alongside each other and the rest of the world to fight any injustices they face that would previously be unheard of outside their own territories.

Numerous online spaces have documented indigenous attempts to do this. Apiwtxa.blogspot.com is a space where indigenous Ashaninka people in Brazil and Peru have a video blog on the life in the rainforest and post satellite photos clearly showing the devastation caused by illegal logging in the area (Federal Police Advisory Acre, 2011). Similarly in Canada, a campaign from the Union of British Colombian Indian Chiefs (UBCIC) started with a Twitter tweet that came from the Rapa Nui on Easter Island who were being evicted by Chilean riot police. The UBCIC sent a press release to Canadian politicians which was subsequently picked up by Twitter and Facebook leading to Rapa Nui supporters around the Pacific getting behind the campaign (Krebs, May 30, 2011).

Also in Canada, the indigenous protest movement #IdleNoMore has used a social media campaign to highlight the issues facing First Nations, Metis and Inuit people. The indigenous people of Canada are raising a number of concerns after the government passed Bill C-45[16] which weakened environmental protection and is an abuse of indigenous treaty rights. In particular, there are concerns over proposed oil pipelines from the Athabasca Tar Sands to the Pacific Ocean through indigenous lands and waters (Preston, 2013). The movement was also motivated by Chief Theresa Spence's liquid hunger diet in protest of the legislation. #IdleNoMore questions why Canada should become wealthy from oil profits while

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[16] Omnibus legislation which includes changes to the Indian Act by lowering the threshold of consent for community referendum on land designation for surrender or lease and changes to the Navigable Waters Act which removes protection from rivers and lakes.

indigenous lands and waters are poisoned and indigenous people such as the Attawapiskat[17] live there in poverty.

The #IdleNoMore movement utilises social media such as Facebook and Twitter to promote these issues globally. The Facebook page has over 120,000 'Likes' and other pages such as *Aotearoa in Support of Idle No More* have been created to show indigenous solidarity with the movement. According to the #IdleNoMore website:

Idle No More has sparked an awakening of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples internationally in support for democracy, human rights, and social and environmental justice. It has raised global consciousness and served as an invitation to communities in North America (Turtle Island) and around the world to participate in local education and activism as part of a powerful, inspiring, and growing social and environmental movement (Idle No More, 2013)*.*

While the efficacy of social media movements relies on more than "liking" a Facebook page or signing an e-petition, there are a number of online measures open to cyber-activists or "hacktivists" that can make a distinct impact on their particular targets. Manion and Goodrum (2000) define hacktivism as "the (sometimes) clandestine use of computer hacking to help advance political causes" (p.14). Some hacktivist actions include web site defacements, redirects, information theft, web site parodies, virtual sit-ins and denial of service (DoS) attacks. "Anonymous" is one of the most prolific hacktivist groups and has focused its campaign on perceived threats to internet freedom. Subsequently, they have launched DoS attacks on Visa, Mastercard, Paypal, EveryDNS and (unsuccessfully) Amazon in response to these organisations cutting services to Wikileaks[18] (Daly, 2012; Lindgren & Lundström, 2011).

Māori are no strangers to online activist campaigns, as was evidenced by the case against toy manufacturer Lego for cultural misappropriation (Coombe & Herman, 2004; Fitzgerald & Hedge, 2008). The company had used Māori words and imagery in its Bionicle toy range in 2001 which resulted in Māori legally challenging what was seen as unauthorised and inappropriate trivialisation of Māori culture. Lego conceded and agreed to stop using the particularly sensitive term tohunga which refers to those of particularly high esteem in Māori culture.

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[17] An isolated First Nation in Northern Ontario, Canada
[18] Online organisation that publishes secret information just as cable leaks and other classified information from anonymous sources

Despite this concession from the company, the Bionicle fan site BZPower.com did not stop the terms being used in their forum. This prompted a warning giving "24 hours to pull this board down and discontinue the abusive use of Māori culture, customs and history… Failing that it's open season..." (Thompson, 8 November 2002). The warning was deleted by the site which led to the user employing a DoS attack which slowed the forum's servers to a standstill. Following this BZPower.com was forced to remove the forums altogether. Whether or not this type of action is cyber-terrorism or merely electronic civil disobedience is a point of contention (Manion & Goodrum, 2000). However, the Bionicle example has shown Māori can engage in both on and offline activism to achieve effective results.

Activism via social media in the non-Western world took centre stage in early 2011 through the phenomenon known as the "Arab Spring". Widespread pro-democracy protest in the Middle East culminated in the overthrowing of longstanding dictatorships in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya with uprisings continuing in Yemen and Syria (Joseph, 2012). 'Twitter revolutions' were attributed to the micro-blogging site which was used to mobilise massive numbers of protesters and also provided a medium for those in and outside the Middle East to follow events in real time with hashtags such as #Jan25, #Mubarak and #Egypt defining the Egyptian uprising (Ghannam, 2011). While there are both supporters (Shirky, 2011) and cynics (Gladwell, October 4, 2010; Morozov, 2010) of the positive influence of social media in social movements, there is no doubt Facebook, YouTube and Twitter have all contributed to an evolving political landscape where citizen journalists are increasingly powerful and prevalent.

Knowledge management

Ownership and autonomy is imperative to the survival and vitality of indigenous cultures and an online archive involving the Warumungu people of Australian's Northern Territory challenges the expectations of free and open access of the internet. In collaboration with an American anthropologist they produced the Mukurtu Wumpurrarni-kari archive which, allows the Warumungu to dictate the terms of access to and distribution of their cultural materials. Everything in the archive is annotated and linked to a set of cultural protocols defined by the community as significant for circulating and reproducing cultural materials and knowledge (Christen, 2009). The project has since evolved into Mukurtu an open access software package that is marketed to indigenous libraries, archives, museums and cultural centres; local and regional cultural heritage centres; and national and international collecting institutions who wish to partner with Indigenous communities globally to share content and metadata.

Currently the software is used by a number of organisations including Miromaa Aboriginal Language and Technology Centre, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Data Archive and The Canning Stock Route Project in Australia; the Musqueam First Nation; California Indian Museum and Cultural Center, the Association of Tribal Archives, Libraries and Museums, the National Museum of the American Indian (Smithsonian) and the School of Information, The University of Texas at Austin in North America; and Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in New Zealand (Mukurtu, n.d.). Utilising this type of software means that indigenous communities and organisations have more control over their cultural information.

In another archiving project Maina (2012) discusses the role of Western Library Information Science (LIS) in preserving indigenous knowledge. The research drew on interviews from First Nations elders in Ontario who all shared the opinion that traditional knowledge should be documented in order to preserve it for future generations. Web 2.0 specifically has the ability to bridge the gap between elders and the technophile generation as it is a medium favoured by youth who are not necessarily connected to their indigenous heritage. Elders were, however, concerned about traditional knowledge being in the public domain and what implications that would have for intellectual property and possible misappropriation.

Another consequence of open access to indigenous knowledge is the possibility of undermining traditional hierarchies which focus on the elders of the tribe as the sources of knowledge. Elders in this research preferred that a member of the community would be in control of documentation to maintain its integrity however LIS is a specialised area requiring particular qualifications. The conclusion of the paper was that LIS is positioned to develop indigenous-based knowledge organisations but professionals needed to be trained in cultural competency to be able to engage with indigenous information appropriately.

A project with Walkatjurra Cultural Centre, also highlights the capabilities of social media to provide an intergenerational link within indigenous cultures (Corbett et al., 2009). Due to the marginalisation of Aboriginal culture in mainstream Australia, it is harder to demonstrate to Aboriginal youth the value of their identity, language and culture with many abandoning it in favour of the Western lifestyle. Using Web 2.0, video and other Internet-based applications the project aimed to meet two objectives: archiving, managing and sharing local knowledge so it is available for successive generations; and teaching Aboriginal youth how to use these tools in order to enhance community participation and empowerment.

Outcomes were positive with youth utilising video among other tools to create and share their stories with the world. This also reinforces for them the significance of their cultural heritage and indigenous identity.

In South Africa, Greyling and Zulu (2010) describe a model for the online preservation of indigenous knowledge resources which also utilises community participation and seeks to contribute to community empowerment. Stories are collected from local people and then maintained through a wiki in a digital repository of the public library. Libraries are already well established in the community and within government structures and therefore well positioned to allow free and equal access to information. They note the significance of implementing this type of model as current South African e-initiatives only provided access to agricultural, health and business information, giving less significance to indigenous knowledge:

> *While Web 2.0 is all about community and collaboration, it is also about usability. The usability of Web 2.0 technology in this project lies in its strong interactive community aspect: the wiki is used to share ideas, content, images, oral histories and videos between members of the local community (p.5).*

Much like the Walkatjurra project, it seeks both to preserve local knowledge and share it within the community and the world, while also building the capacity of the local community through ICT literacy. Increased capability in ICT exposes locals to wider knowledge, promotes lifelong learning, engages them with the global information society, improves their knowledge levels and creates job opportunities (ibid). It is an example where the community stands to gain immensely from a social media project.

Networking and collaboration

One of the major benefits of social media for indigenous people is the capability to connect them with each other. Regardless of issue – identity (Ian Goodwin, 2011; Lumby, 2010), language revitalisation (Arobba et al., 2010; Huaman & Stokes, 2011), cultural preservation (Chikonzo, 2006; González et al., 2011; Maina, 2012) or activism (Gelsomino, 2010; Petray, 2011; Soriano, 2011) – indigenous groups around the world can collaborate and share experiences which strengthen the groups themselves (O'Carroll, 2013) as well as solidarity within the indigenous peoples movement (Preston, 2013). The collaborative nature of social media holds a lot of promise through working together in research (Cook & Hobson, 2011) and in the art world it offers many opportunities for redefining interaction between artist and audience (Mills, 2009). Many contemporary Māori artists are using digital media to

convey cultural art forms. Video installations are a new form of expression and posting video on YouTube is a further more interactive version of that.

Another collaborative example of Māori art on a social media platform was the 2013 Te Matatini National Kapa Haka Championships. Although held in Rotorua, the 'social media kapa haka festival' was watched by viewers from around the world due to the collaboration of Te Matatini Society with Māori Television who allowed live performances to be streamed through the Māori Television website, Twitter, and Facebook. Most of the internet viewership was from New Zealand (56 percent) and Australia (41 percent) with viewers also from the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Germany, France, United Arab Emirates and the Netherlands (Te Matatini Society, 2013). This type of platform allows for ex-patriot Māori to still view the biennial festival even though living away from home and it promotes Māori performance art on a world stage.

Business and marketing

Cultural artefacts are one feature of what is unique about indigenous people and not surprisingly a source of interest for others. The *Ka Mate* haka has a global profile because of its association with the All Blacks and this was capitalised on via social media as a marketing tool during the 2011 Rugby World Cup. Throughout the tournament 'flash mob haka' appeared all over the world in places such as Australia and France as well as in New Zealand. They were organised via Facebook and Twitter then filmed and posted on YouTube – the flash mob at Sylvia Park, Auckland has garnered over 1.3 million views (Flash Haka @ Sylvia Park, September 3, 2011). This is an example of using Māori culture to promote New Zealand via social media and shows the ability of viral marketing to gain the attention of hundreds of thousands of people in a short space of time for very low cost.

Another social media based Māori tourism venture utilises smart phone technology and is a collaboration between Te Kupeka Umaka Māori ki Araiteuru, the Māori business network for the lower South Island, and students from Otago Polytechnic's Bachelor of Information Technology. They have developed a free downloadable application linked to the Tiki Tour project which aims to celebrate Māori tourism. The Tiki Tour Map application features Māori operated tourist attractions, a location map with information as well as Māori stories and histories about the locations. The application helps guide visitors when touring the lower South Island and links them with Māori owned business and local histories to enhance their New Zealand holidays (Te Kupeka Umaka Māori ki Araiteuru, 2013). With the advent of smart phones and tablets, mobile technology is used increasingly for both business and recreation and it is positive to have an indigenous presence within this.

Tangatawhenua.com has also released a smart phone application linking to information on their website. They are a Māori owned and operated company that specialises in indigenous issues and technology. They offer analysis from an indigenous viewpoint and tailor marketing packages to indigenous audiences. It is an example of an indigenous organisation utilising many digital media such as Facebook, Twitter, smart phone applications and YouTube. According to the company website "[w]e have now evolved into a specialist communications company with a focus on empowering Māori organisations to communicate with their people, while reflecting their unique kaupapa, tikanga and kawa" (Digital Maori, 2013).

Tangatawhenua.com also serves as a blog commenting on Māori issues and at this stage is one of the most comprehensive social media sites dealing with Māori political engagement as it is active in sharing Māori views on political issues as well as encouraging further discussion on these topics. Māori in the blogosphere is an interesting new phenomenon which allows Māori to present their perspectives on issues to a wider potential audience than is possible through iwi radio or Māori Television.

One prominent Māori blogger is Marama Davidson from *Te Wharepora Hou*, a group of wāhine Māori "comforting the disturbed and disturbing the comfortable" (Te Wharepora Hou, 2010). The collective write about indigenous/Māori rights, citizen's rights, gender equality and environmental sustainability and present various topics from their specific wāhine Māori perspective. Also, Morgan Godfrey from *Maui Street* provides his perspective on Māori politics and Māori in politics. He does not profess to be an expert on either subject but states the blog was intended "to address the shortage of Māori voices in the blogosphere. The older this blog got the more I wanted to address the shortage of Māori voices in the media too" (Godfrey, 2010). As previously noted, blogs are not considered an academic source however these examples provide online discussion of Māori political issues that is lacking in the literature.

Negative implications of social media use

The opportunities for social media to enhance indigenous development are vast, however not all consequences of new media are positive for indigenous people. Some indigenous scholars recommend caution and hold a critical view of the internet and its representation of indigenous people (Kamira, 2003). Iseke-Barnes and Darnard (2007) contend that cyberspace is an artificial, disconnected and Western construction which can easily reinforce hegemonic practices from the offline sphere. The indigenous "Other" can still

be misrepresented on the internet, in some ways worse so than traditional media as it is removed even further from its original context and place of meaning. The ease and speed of replicating digital files is also a cause for concern as it allows dissemination of information (true or false) to be spread far and wide at the click of a button.

Identity

Negative implications for indigenous identity and cultural expressions online aren't limited to the ignorant or misguided actions of non-indigenous people. While digital space is an arena in which indigenous groups can connect both with themselves and each other for positive purposes, it can also serve to intensify feelings of exclusion. Lumby (2010) conducted research on urban indigenous identity on Facebook in Australia and found a tendency among many with indigenous heritage to present their Facebook profiles with as much indigenous content as possible – 'liking' Aboriginal groups, having Aboriginal friends, Aboriginal photos and conveying political messages. This portrayal of themselves was driven by the fear of being judged as inauthentic or a "wannabe" particularly among those who don't "look very Aboriginal".

This again shows the difficulties of indigenous groups in urban environments that have been disconnected from their land and culture. While social media can facilitate links to find more about "their mob" and their stories, it also provides an environment where people feel they need to adjust how they are perceived in order for them to be accepted by the group. Many indigenous people are excluded from their culture through no fault of their own. If they don't know "their mob" or where they came from this concept of indigeneity doesn't reflect their reality - particularly urban indigenous youth – and can lead to further feelings of exclusion. This is where Durie's (1995) notion of 'Diverse Māori Realities' are significant because although indigenous people have different lived realities – urban, rural, fluent in native language or not – it doesn't make them less indigenous.

Similarly, traditional rivalries can be exacerbated through social media interactions. While indigenous development and social media research in general is sparse, there are even fewer academic surveys of the possible negative implications of indigenous use of social media. There have however been newspaper reports about social networking sites and their part in aggravating existing clan tensions amongst Aboriginal youth in remote Queensland communities. According to the *Herald Sun* (January 6, 2012) tribal elders have called for banning or censorship of Facebook after several online arguments reignited clan rivalries resulting in a violent clash between rival youths offline. While it is not uncommon for

social media to be blamed for anti-social behaviour such as contributing to elevated sectarian violence in Belfast (Reilly, 2011) or the London riots of 2011 (Tonkin, Pfeiffer, & Tourte, 2012) it is particularly concerning for indigenous communities in which effects of marginalisation such as poverty and disenfranchisement already contribute to perceived anti-social behaviour and negative social statistics.

Activism

The online spaces for indigenous activists are still contested ones with increasing and often harsh government reaction to these new forms of dissent. Online censorship is a grave threat to internet freedom with a number of regimes such as Iran and China limiting their citizens' access to particular websites (Joseph, 2012). Activists in the Arab Spring utilised proxy servers to counter this censorship however online actions do have offline repercussions now that governments themselves are using new technologies to monitor their populations. For example, both Iran and Belarus have used cell phones and global positioning satellite (GPS) tracking to identify and locate online dissidents (ibid).

Māori activists have also run afoul of the law through new media with the temporary closure of online forum, Aotearoa Café, in 2007. Aotearoa Café was a chat room dedicated to the promotion of tā moko, resistance against cultural misappropriation of Māori intellectual property, assisting Māori to find their tribal links and promoting Tino Rangatiratanga. It was shut down during the 2007 "anti-terror" raids[19] and the server confiscated by the New Zealand E-Crimes unit. Crown prosecutors subsequently used excerpts from online communication in their cases against the so-called "Urewera Four[20]" (Tuiono, 2011). While new media can be used to coordinate activist activity to subvert government and corporate control, because governments and corporations are so powerful online spaces are not always safe places.

For indigenous groups in the Philippines social media can be precarious spaces (Soriano, 2011). Use of free online tools such as Google forums exposes groups to advertising and commercialism that is at odds with what many indigenous groups stand for, particularly those as anti-capitalist as Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA). As Tebtebba is an advocacy group, they must consult the communities about what is and isn't appropriate for sharing publically. CPA face a further dilemma of information sharing amongst themselves –

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[19] A series of armed police raids conducted on Monday, 15 October 2007 in response to alleged paramilitary training in the Urewera mountain range.

[20] Tame Iti, Emily Bailey, Te Rangikaiwhiria Kemara and Urs Signer were the only four out of the original 18 that stood trial.

their activist nature has led to both website filtering and email hacking – so they are extremely carefully about sharing sensitive information. Safety is a major concern in the Philippines as online dissidents have been known to disappear in real life.

The efficacy of a social media campaign cannot rely on the tools alone. Harlow (2012) describes the online Guatemalan justice movement in which Facebook groups organised massive protests against violence and corruption within their government. The author notes caution in overestimating the influence of an online campaign. While social media can assist to raise awareness and organise people, it took a major political catalyst for this to occur. Although social media has potential to reach large numbers of people far and wide it is not a catalyst in itself. Online support for activism and social movements does not necessarily transfer to offline activities. According to Landzelius (2006) "push button activism" may even decrease effectiveness of a campaign.

Petray (2011) gives examples of online Aboriginal activism in Townsville, Australia, citing an online petition to release an Aboriginal man for inciting a riot after his kinsman was killed in police custody and the officer responsible was not prosecuted. She believes signing an online petition or "liking" a page helps to build collective identity of those who might not otherwise participate in activism. The petition garnered 404 signatures from around the world but both the purpose and target were vague with no resulting offline repercussions. Petray doesn't discount Web 2.0 as a tool for activism and states the usefulness of listservs for communication. But as does Harlow (2011), she contends that for social media activism to be successful there needs to be an integration of a whole movement including both on and offline actions.

Cultural misappropriation and sacred images

Indigenous cultural knowledge has a history of being appropriated by others as a curiosity or for commercial gain. It is particularly at risk in the age of social media where digital replication has led to easy dissemination of indigenous images and practices. For Māori, tapu extends not only in relation to images and practices but information as well. Mātauranga Māori is sacred, particularly whakapapa which is traditionally held by those to who had the mana to keep it. While diasporic Māori wish to reconnect with their whānau and hapu via social media, certain information is not appropriate to share in a forum such as Facebook. According to Brown and Nicholas "*whakapapa* is more than a family tree. It is regarded as a *taonga*" (2012, p. 316).

Belarde-Lewis (2011) discusses the prevalence of both native and non-natives in the United States posting videos of traditional ceremonies on YouTube. While the Zuni tribe of Pueblo, New Mexico have a ban on photography or filming of sacred ceremonies, phones with video capabilities make it virtually impossible to prevent. The Zuni people, like Māori, hold no distinction between sacred artefacts and representations of them, such as photographs or video so digital reproductions will still be considered sacred or tapu (Brown & Nicholas, 2012).

A particularly nasty example of misappropriation is the photo of Wharekahika Clarke, a Rotorua kapa haka performer whose image in traditional costume and full facial moko was the subject of a viral internet meme used to mock Rotorua and Māori culture. His image was shared around social media with phrases such as 'Iwi stands for I want it' and 'Biggest marae in NZ – Mount Eden prison' (Childs, September 29, 2012). According to Brown and Nicholas (2012) there is scarce legislation to protect indigenous intellectual property because laws are based on a Western view of the property of individuals which is protected by patent or trademark. Indigenous intellectual property however:

is situated in customary law and culture, and based on social relations and responsibilities… it is concerned largely with people; ownership may be communal; and infringement results in cultural, spiritual and economic loss. The stakes are thus higher for indigenous peoples when aspects of their culture are used in inappropriate or unwelcome ways (p. 16).

Cultural practices online can also be problematic for Aboriginal Australians as some information can only be accessed by someone of a particular gender or status. Similarly, during times of 'sorry business'[21] strict mourning rituals mean that a deceased person's name, image or creation cannot be displayed (Dyson, 2004). It would be impractical to appropriately manage this in an online forum where information can be shared easily, however many websites have a disclaimer warning viewers where there may be images of the deceased. The Wiradjuri[22] Mob Facebook page is one example:

Advice: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander viewers are advised that this website may contain images and voices of people who have passed. For this Wiradjuri Mob mean no disrespect! – from Wiradjuri Mob FB (Wiradjuri Mob, n.d.).

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[21] Australian Aboriginal funeral and mourning practices
[22] Aboriginal kinship group of central New South Wales.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a range of literature on social media and indigenous development. There are a number of overlaps between themes such as language and identity; cultural preservation and knowledge management; or indigenous networks and indigenous activism. The networking and collaboration aspects of social media link them all. The number of sources also varies by topic with the majority of indigenous social media initiatives relating to areas of language revitalisation and cultural preservation, or political and social activism. In comparison, there is very little that deals with indigenous business enterprise or indigenous art creation. It is important to note while many deal with the positive possibilities of social media in indigenous development, there is also caution over potential negative implications of new media for traditional communities.

Scholarly publications mostly focus on indigenous development and information technology in general rather than specifically dealing with social media and Web 2.0 technologies. It is anticipated that more literature – journal articles followed by books - will be available on the topic of social media and indigenous development in the future as research is continued and findings are published. To date, the scarcity of published material has led this research to cite a number of blogs whose lack of academic rigour must be acknowledged. However, subjectivity aside they are an up to date commentary on issues as they unfold and an invaluable link to other sources on topics in social media and indigenous development.

Ultimately what has become apparent throughout this review of current literature is the lack of sources detailing social media use for the purpose of encouraging engagement with the political system among indigenous populations in general, with nothing on Māori communities. While there are examples of political activism focused on creating solidarity amongst indigenous people or raising awareness of indigenous issues to the rest of the world, no one is raising the awareness of the indigenous people themselves.

Awareness and consciousness begins the process of change that leads to action. While social media is most efficient alongside offline action, it has the capacity to initiate empowerment by increasing awareness and facilitating participation. Indigenous communities need to be cognisant of their position in society and social media can help to educate thems. However, they also need control of the social media tools to instigate this. Active participation and ownership of social media initiatives is vital to planning and

navigating their own path. Rowing your own waka[23] is less effective if someone else is charting its course.

The next chapter will examine the literature surrounding the theoretical position of the thesis. It will illustrate how critical theory, empowerment theory and Kaupapa Māori theory are appropriate approaches for exploring how indigenous development can be enhanced through the social media platform and its accompanying tools.

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[23] Māori idiom for determining a pathway.

Chapter 3: *Ngā rā o tōu ao*

Theoretical approaches

> *I came to theory because I was hurting – the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend – to grasp what was happening around and within me.*
> *– bell hooks (1994, p. 59)[24]*

This chapter will provide a description of the theories of emancipation that the thesis has drawn upon. As a study with Māori, Kaupapa Māori theory rests at the core of this research. The chapter also includes critical theory which relates to empowerment theory – particularly the writings of Paulo Freire and John Friedmann – and post-colonial and post-development theory. Each of these theories is concerned with highlighting the inequalities of society so that marginalised groups become aware of their disadvantage. Their new consciousness then allows them to seek out ways to transform their position in the world.

This is linked to Gramsci's (1971) concept of cultural hegemony which proposes that the ruling class manipulate and dominate the other social classes with their imposed worldview which justifies the status quo of the society as if it were natural and normal. This chapter illustrates theories which challenge this status quo and discuss the need to empower marginalised groups such as indigenous people in order to liberate them from their oppressed position in society.

Critical theory

It is important to note the historical and social background from which critical theory was conceived. Prior to its inception, the assessment of social sciences focused on absolutes and was devoid of social or historical context. The Western social science tradition began following the 19th century Enlightenment period where science and reason overtook religion as the means through which people sought to understand and explain the world (Turner, 2001). The positivist approach was outlined by Auguste Comte who believed scientific methods of natural science such as objective observation and empirical evidence could also be applied to the social sciences as a way of understanding society and predicting patterns in human activity (Wright, 1986). Positivism emphasises causal law and deduction

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[24] bell hooks is an African-American feminist author, activist and proponent of emancipatory education.

without focus on ethics or values. It holds that science is the only valid form of knowledge and the scientific method is the only valid form of inquiry (Davidson & Tolich, 1999).

However, there are problems with attempting to create value free, universal laws to observe and describe social and cultural phenomena. There is more than one way to view society and creating laws to define it will only serve the dominant perspective (Fay, 1987). Assuming the legitimacy of the status quo is a form of manipulation and domination as it reinforces oppressive situations and shuts out any competing views (ibid). Current Western capitalist societies such as New Zealand create winners and losers, with a number of groups such as indigenous Māori marginalised due to the structures of power. While positivism attempted to describe and measure social phenomena, little attention was paid to explaining why and how and inequalities related to capitalism had occurred.

In response to this myopic view of the social order, writers began to question the relevance of positivism and began to instead focus on critiquing the structures within society. An anti-positivist school of Marxist thought developed and is linked to critical social scientists including Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse, Fromm and (later) Habermas. This school of thought informs what is known as critical theory (Antonio, 1983). The aim of a critical theory is emancipation, "to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (Horkheimer, 1982, p. 244). Critical theorists believe that oppressive structures must be identified and understood so people can transform their society into one that is more equal and just.

However, a significant problem faced by marginalised groups is their inability to recognise the features that oppress them (Freire, 1970). They are often unhappy with their lives but unable to see any way to change it. They accept their reality as inevitable and normal rather than the result of unjust historical processes. Fay (1987) asserts that this 'false consciousness' inhibits the oppressed from questioning the organisation and power structures of society, instead leaving them to accept their position in society as natural. Without a true consciousness the oppressed will not challenge the status quo and instead resign themselves to an inferior fate. Steve Biko, hero of the anti-apartheid movement, reiterates the importance of understanding and challenging the false consciousness that inhibits the struggle for liberation:

> "[t]he philosophy of Black Consciousness… expresses group pride and the determination by the blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self. At the heart of this

kind of thinking is the realisation by the blacks that the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Biko, 1978, p. 68).

Fay (1987) maintains that a critical theory creates a process of 'enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation'. It must explain the social order with the purpose of transforming it. A fully developed critical theory should encompass the following characteristcs:

I. *Theory of false consciousness*
1. Demonstrates the ways in which a group of people falsely believe that there are higher elements in society that they have no control over and that they therefore must obey;
2. Explains how the members of this group come to have these misunderstandings and how they are maintained;
3. Outlines a true understanding of people along with their potential to recreate material or social conditions.

II. *Theory of Crisis*
4. A theory of crisis is provided;
5. Indicates how crisis can occur in a particular society as a consequence of the increasing disparity and dissatisfactions among people;
6. A historical account of the crisis is discussed, partly in terms of the false consciousness of group members and in terms of the structure of society.

III. *Theory of Education*
7. Offers an account of the conditions necessary and sufficient for the sort of enlightenment envisioned by the theory;
8. Shows that given the current social situation these conditions are satisfied.

IV. *Theory of Transformative Action*
9. Identify those aspects of society which must be altered if the social crisis is to be resolved and the dissatisfaction of its members lessened;
10. Rough guidelines of a strategy for change are developed in order that the education and social transformation of the group/society can occur.

Source: Walsh-Tapiata, 1997, pp. 121-122.

This chapter is informed by a number of theories which are related to critical theory. Adhering to Fay's (1987) description of a critical theory, empowerment, post-colonial, post-development and Kaupapa Māori theory, all seek to enlighten, empower and emancipate. Empowerment theory attempts to liberate marginalised groups through raising their critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Post-colonial theory endeavours to liberate the colonised mind (Fanon, 1961, 1968). Post-development theory aims to liberate Development Studies (Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997) and Kaupapa Māori theory seeks to liberate Aotearoa New Zealand – both Māori and Pākehā alike (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). The theories are presented in Figure 3.1 which shows that empowerment, post-development and post-colonial theory are associated with critical theory. Kaupapa Māori theory encompasses the other theories as it broadly informs the parameters of the research theory, methodology, ethics and practice.

Figure 3.1: Conceptual Framework of this Research
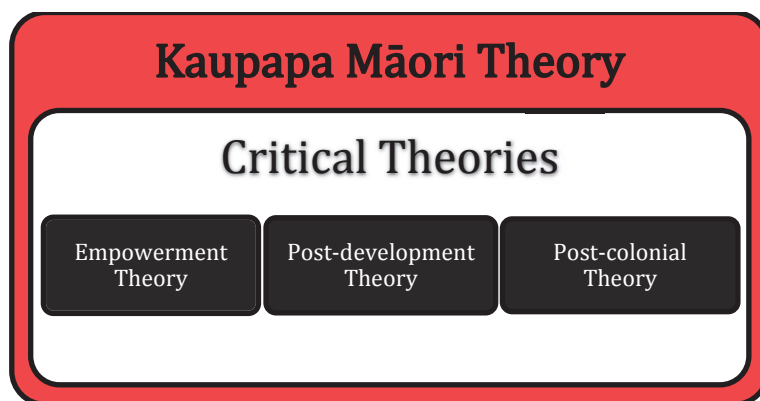
Source: Author, 2013.

Empowerment theory

'Empowerment' is a well worn term that has been broadly defined and therefore interpreted in different ways by different people for different purposes. Empowerment literature is found in various disciplines including education (Freire, 1970; hooks, 1994), Development Studies (in particular gender and development) (Batliwala, 1994; Rowlands, 1997; Scheyvens, 1999), political science (Banducci, Donovan, & Karp, 2004; Weissberg, 1999), social work (McWhirter, 1991; Solomon, 1976), health studies (Gibson, 1995; Peterson & Reid, 2003), management studies (Blanchard, Carlos, & Randolph, 2001; Terblanche, 2003) and community psychology (Banyard & LaPlant, 2002; Goodkind & Foster-Fishman, 2002).

Empowerment is viewed as a process, an outcome or both (Luttrell, Quiroz, Scrutton, & Bird, 2009). It can be seen to operate within dimensions such as personal, relational and/or collective (Rowlands, 1997) or dimensions such as social (Adams, Blandford, & Lunt, 2005; Adams, 1996; Solomon, 1976), political (Giroux, 1988; Parker, 1990) or psychological (Rappaport, 1987; Zimmerman, 1995). The focus can be agency of the individual and/or community or a deeper examination of the structures of inequality in society (Luttrell et al., 2009). Empowerment can also be understood in degrees whereby increasing levels of empowerment can be achieved (see Figure 3.2).

Longwe's framework suggests that the degrees of empowerment increase from 1 through to 5 with the attainment of lower levels necessary for the realisation of the higher. The focus of this thesis begins at the third degree of empowerment and centres on the call for critical consciousness as detailed by Freire (1970). The discussion will highlight the need to raise people's awareness of the oppressive structures in society. This can prompt their increased participation and mobilisation (fourth degree) around issues at local and national levels and result in greater autonomy (fifth degree) over their lives.

Figure 3.2: Longwe's Degrees of Empowerment

1.	Welfare	Basic needs are satisfied. Does not require structural causes to be addressed. Views those involved as passive recipients.
2.	Access	Equal access to e.g. education, land and credit is assured.
3.	Conscientisation and awareness-raising	Structural and institutional discrimination is addressed
4.	Participation and mobilisation	Equal making of decisions is enabled
5.	Control	Individuals can make decisions and these are fully recognised

Source: Longwe, 1991.

Sources on empowerment for the purposes of addressing structural and institutional discrimination focus on disadvantaged groups and their status of disempowerment within their respective societies. Literature has been written on the significance of empowerment for black communities (Biko, 1978; Fanon, 1961), indigenous minorities (Burguete Cal y Mayor, 2000; Radcliffe, Laurie, & Andolina, 2004), women (Batliwala, 1995; Longwe, 1991), youth (Jennings, Parra-Medina, Hilfinger-Messias, & McLoughlin, 2006; Valaitis, 2005) and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities (Dilley, 1999; Mehra et al., 2004). All of these marginalised groups benefit from being able to recognise and critically evaluate their

disadvantage in mainstream society as a social construction and therefore a situation they can seek to alter.

In this research the concept of empowerment is understood as the process and objective of reversing the current disempowerment of marginalised groups in society. An empowerment philosophy has informed much feminist theory and this thesis reiterates Rowlands' proposal that "[e]mpowerment must involve undoing negative social constructions, so that people come to see themselves as having the capacity and the right to act and influence decisions" (1997, p.14). Whereas Rowlands' discussion of negative social constructions refers to the discrimination against women in society (particularly in developing countries), my research considers the negative social constructions that keep Māori from participating fully in society. In the New Zealand context, **disempowerment** has resulted from a history of colonisation and colonialism and contributes to the immense potential of Māori being repressed rather than realised (Walker, 1990). Alternatively, **empowerment** is about Māori individuals, whānau and communities recognising their abilities and utilising them to control their lives, fully participate in society, and transform their futures (Durie, 1998).

Paulo Freire and critical pedagogy

Paulo Freire's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* has deeply influenced the theoretical perspective of this thesis. It is a seminal work of empowerment theory and a defining text in the field of liberation education. His writings are based on working with Brazilian peasants yet his lessons are universally applicable to any disempowered group struggling against a history of oppression. Echoing the voices of Steve Biko (1978) and Frantz Fanon (1961) he discusses how the oppression of a people has a dehumanising effect on both the oppressor and the oppressed. While the oppressors are in no hurry to give up their power, the oppressed are unaware that the status quo is not a certainty and that they can control their own destinies. They need to become aware of the possibilities of transforming their situation. Freire (1970) contends that:

> *[t]o surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognise its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity (p. 47).*

This critical recognition is a core principle of empowerment and Freire coined the Portuguese term *conscientização* to describe it. *Conscientização* translates into English as conscientisation, consciousness raising or critical consciousness. It is the process of

unveiling the oppression that exists. Subsequently, the oppressed not only become aware of their situation but also aware of their power to transform it. This awareness reveals to them the world as it is and highlights the path towards liberation.

According to Freire, the unequal structures and systems in society create a 'culture of silence' which encourages a negative and suppressed self image of the oppressed who are made to feel inferior to the oppressors. Alternatively, it is conscientisation that leads the oppressed to recognise that this 'culture of silence' exists and that it exists to keep them in a subordinate position. Once conscious of the situation the oppressed can challenge the 'culture of silence' so that their voices are heard rather than hidden.

Freire maintains that to halt the dehumanisation of the oppressed, they must reclaim the right to 'speak their word' in order to name their world. However, this cannot be achieved through well intentioned humanitarian efforts but instead through the efforts of the oppressed themselves as "freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift" (1970, p. 47). This leads to the question of how to alert the oppressed to their situation and how to stimulate them to become co-authors of their liberation without prescribing the means by which to write it.

Education as a prescription is the traditional model and one that Freire believes serves to reinforce the status quo rather than teaching students how to challenge it. The teacher/student relationship relies on the premise that the teacher is the holder of the knowledge and the student is the receptacle into which knowledge is transferred. Freire calls this the 'banking' concept of education where the student receives, files and stores the information (p.72).

On the contrary, he contends that students and teachers are simultaneously learning and teaching in their interactions with each other. Teachers can guide their students towards praxis which is reflection and action on the world in order to transform it. Theory must be linked to practice and "this discovery cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; nor can it be limited to mere activism, but must include serious reflection" (p. 65). Methods of education must promote critical awareness and individual thinking or else they risk being an instrument of the system of oppression rather than in opposition to it.

The reciprocal learning and teaching relationship between teacher and student is enhanced by open dialogue. This dialogue creates the conditions in which a person can become aware of the world around them and is necessary at any and every stage of their struggle for freedom. Freire maintains that, "[o]nly dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is

also capable of generating critical thinking. Without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education" (p. 92). The concept of dialogicity is central to the learning process and encourages liberation.

Influence of Freire on education

Freire's philosophy of popular education has resonated with other authors who have sought to challenge traditional pedagogical methods and practices that treat the learner more as an object than a subject. These authors also promote the need to recognise and challenge the dominant social relations that exist in order to transform society. Henry Giroux is a proponent of cultural pedagogy in the United States and reiterates Freire's argument that literacy is more about critical awareness than it is about learning to read and write:

Human beings (as both teachers and students) within particular social and cultural formations are the starting point for analysing not only how they actively construct their own experiences within ongoing relations of power, but also how the social construction of such experiences provides them with the opportunity to give meaning and expression to their own needs and voices as part of a project of self- and social empowerment (Giroux, 1988, p. 64).

Giroux maintains that Freire needs to be read as a post-colonial author because many teachers misappropriate his texts while teaching critical thinking or dialogical pedagogy by focussing only on parts of his philosophy. Freire's writings are about anti-colonial revolutionary action and speak to learners who are situated in struggle against oppression. Teachers who reference Freire without reference to historical context and imperialism are only looking for "pedagogical recipes dressed up in the jargon of abstracted progressive labels" (Giroux, 1992, p. 15). Freire can only be referenced in relation to history and context of sites of struggle against oppression.

Giroux accepts that Freire's work is utopian, however, he does not view this as negative rather, it is Freire's optimism for a better future and his faith in humanity that counters the pessimism of some critical theories (Pieterse, 2000). This is reaffirmed by fellow critical literacy theorist Peter McLaren (1986) who reiterates Freire's claim that a utopian aspect is necessary for any progressive transformative action and in fact it is that lack of optimism within the actions of the Right that define the nature of its oppressive regime. McLaren quotes Freire saying, "cultural action for conscientization is always a utopian enterprise…[which] is what distinguishes it above all from cultural action for domination" (p. 397).

African-American feminist author bell hooks was also heavily influenced by Freire and the emancipatory function of education despite criticisms that his texts are sexist. She doesn't discount the phallocentrism[25] of his works but recalls that she identified with his descriptions of the oppressed and the struggle against the coloniser in her own life more than she ever did with any literature written by white middle-class feminists. In *Teaching to Transgress* (1994), she discusses Freire's influence on her own teaching and the need to create a climate of openness classrooms for minority students to challenge the 'culture of silence'. She reiterates the dangers of the 'banking method' of education and stresses the need for students to be active participants not passive consumers. According to hooks (1994), conscientisation can assist in decolonisation because critical awareness is a crucial stage in the transformation of an oppressed person. However, it doesn't end there as Freire "never spoke of conscientisation as an end itself, but always joined by meaningful praxis" (p. 47).

Development Studies and empowerment

As in education, traditional mainstream approaches[26] in Development Studies often served to reinforce the status quo and excluded the disempowered in society. This is particularly problematic for a field that exists in order to aid the disadvantaged and improve their lives. For example, neo-liberal development theory views economic growth as the main factor in reducing poverty. However, strict economic policies of structural adjustment in the 1980s left even more people in developing countries in conditions of poverty (Peet & Hartwick, 2009).

Alternative development theory

In the 1990s there was increasing cynicism of the development 'industry' after it seemed to have failed in what it set out to achieve. As a result new movements such as alternative development, anti-development and post-development emerged with authors looking to bottom-up, localised grassroots approaches as the way to alleviate poverty (Rahnema & Bawtree, 1997; Rist, 2002). While anti-development writers adopt a more pessimistic stance, alternative development approaches promote participatory and people-centred practices (Pieterse, 1998).

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[25] Coined by French philosopher Jacques Derrida, refers to the privileging of the masculine (phallus) in the construction of meaning.
[26] Such as Modernisation Theory

Alternative development recognises the potential of people to determine their future rather than determining it for them. It is a process that utilises an empowerment approach focusing on liberation through social and political action which in turn facilitates psychological and emotional wellbeing. Friedmann (1992) reiterates Freire (1970) in the belief that external agents can only offer support to this struggle and that it is imperative for the disempowered to mobilise to free themselves. Authentic empowerment cannot come from outside but must instead draw from within. He does however advocate that while the process must begin on a local level, there are economic and political factors such as structural inequality that can only be influenced by government. Subsequently, for an alternative development to be realised the state must also become an agent in transforming society.

Friedmann offers a new way of looking at poverty and his book *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (1992) also informs the theoretical perspective of this research. His (dis)empowerment model influences the (dis)empowerment framework in Chapter Six of this thesis. Instead of seeing poverty as an economic condition, Friedmann views it as a form of social, political and psychological disempowerment. Accordingly, he describes the (dis)empowerment model of poverty as "a political variant of the basic-needs approach[27]….[c]entred on politics rather than planning" (p. 66).

The model maintains the poor lack the social power to change their lives. Social power is about access to the 'bases' of a household's productive wealth – information, knowledge and skills, participation in social organisations, and financial resources. Once the poor have access to the bases of social power they can mobilise to then exercise their political power. Political power is a central theme of this thesis and can be defined as access to decision making and influence over one's future. According to Friedmann (1992) it can exist through participation at a personal, local or national level and is "not only the power to vote; it is as well the power of voice and of collective action" (p. 33). Psychological power is the result of success in the social and political spheres and is exhibited through increased confidence and self esteem. It also contributes to further success in transforming the social and political environments of individuals, households and communities (ibid).

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[27] Measurement of absolute poverty which defines the absolute minimum resources necessary for long-term physical well-being and focuses on the measurement of what is believed to be an eradicable level of poverty.

Figure 3.3: Forms of Empowerment
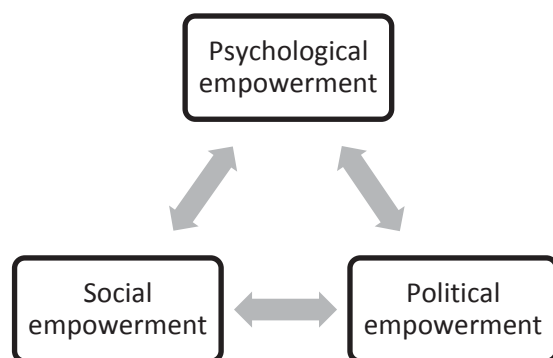
Source: Friedmann ,1992, p. 117.

Post-development theory

Post-development is an alternative to development as opposed to alternative development because the latter still uses the language of development which authors such as Escobar (1995b) believe is problematic. The entire discourse around development is at fault because rhetoric such as 'Third World' and 'underdeveloped' makes incorrect and generalised assumptions about the lives of the poor. He views that using the language of development further perpetuates the dominant ideas, excluding alternative perspectives, and therefore should be avoided.

Similarly, Esteva (1997) believes the rhetoric around globalisation and development should be replaced with thinking and acting locally. He contends that grassroots initiatives are key to opposing global forces that threaten local spaces and traditions. Focusing on the local, in particular, indigenous epistemologies, is a major theme of post-development theory and links to Kaupapa Māori theory which will be discussed further in this chapter. Where traditional development theory privileged only Western knowledge, viewing indigenous ways of thinking as primitive and unscientific, post-development theory highlights the value and diversity of local knowledge (Rist, 2002).

There are some criticisms of post-development theory which maintain it is pessimistic, ideological and over-generalises development theory (Pieterse, 2000). However, despite this critique there are writers such as Gibson-Graham (2005) whose work reflects their attempts to change the discourse of development and empower communities by focusing on their assets rather than their needs. Further, post-development theory, as a critical theory looks at the structures of society that cause inequality rather than focusing merely on economic development (Sachs, 1992).

Kaupapa Māori theory

Kaupapa Māori theory also focuses on unequal structures in society and its characteristics are defined by many authors (Bishop, 1999; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997). However, this thesis is guided by the words of Tuhiwai-Smith who states that Kaupapa Māori research is "research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori" (1995, p. 11).

Historically research on indigenous communities was approached from a mainstream perspective for the purpose of categorising the 'subject' and enhancing academic esteem for the researcher and their institution (Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999). Theory was also defined from a Eurocentric position thereby limiting all inquiry to the parameters of the Western mind (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). This viewpoint has since been critiqued by post-development writers for its universal 'grand theories' that ignored local differences and indigenous epistemologies (Escobar, 1995a; Esteva & Prakash, 1998).

Similarly, Western academia has also been criticised by post-colonial authors for its homogenous representations of the 'Other' through concepts like 'Africa' and 'Eastern' and reinforcement of oppressive ideas such as the inferiority of the colonised (Fanon, 1961, 1968; Said, 1978). Post-colonial theory is based in literary and linguistic studies and its authors are often from colonised societies trained in the Western tradition. They seek to control their own representations as well as challenge the discourse of colonialism itself. The theory also draws upon Freire (1970) and the concept of critical consciousness. It seeks to highlight the oppression of the people and the structures of society that are reinforcing it – as such it is also a critical theory.

Nonetheless, while critical theory seeks to enlighten, empower and emancipate, it must also be recognised as a colonial construction. Its tenets are appropriate in this research however its theoretical position must be viewed within the parameters of Kaupapa Māori theory which is a more fitting philosophy to underpin a Māori study. With a similarly radical and transformative view of subverting the dominant Western hegemony, Kaupapa Māori theory has been described as 'localised critical theory' (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Although, an important distinction is that it does not originate from critical theory which is informed by Western principles, rather, it has evolved in Aotearoa New Zealand so it reflects Māori values (Pihama, 2001).

Māori knowledge traditions have existed since Tānenuiarangi retrieved the three baskets of knowledge: te kete-tuatea (basket of light), te kete-tuauri (basket of darkness) and

te kete-aronui (basket of pursuit) from the heavens (Marsden, 1988). Mātauranga Māori is an indigenous epistemology - the traditional Māori view of understanding and knowing the world. Kaupapa Māori is understood as "the conceptualisation of Māori knowledge" (Nepe, 1991, p. 15). One of the issues with Western positivist research is its tendency to invalidate information that does not conform to its standards of academic rigour. Hence mythologies are not valued as legitimate sources of information whereas in Mātauranga Māori they are the foundation from whence all other knowledge derives.

Kaupapa Māori as a conceptual framework is based on the writings of Graham Hingangaroa Smith whose work with Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori provides examples of Māori achievement in a Māori environment. These Māori education initiatives were established as a result of mainstream education's failure to address Māori needs. They demonstrate the conditions such as Māori autonomy which are necessary to facilitate Māori success (Smith, 1997). According to Smith in Cram (2001),

> *A Kaupapa Māori base (Māori philosophy and principles) is local theoretical positioning related to being Māori; such a position presupposes that:*

- *the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted*
- *the survival and revival of Māori language and culture is imperative*
- *the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival (p. 41).*

From these three key themes Smith further elucidates seven principles of Kaupapa Māori which have informed the basis of Kaupapa Māori theory. Although founded in education, these principles guide the theory and praxis of working with Māori in a variety of disciplines and environments and are described in the following illustration:

Figure 3.4: Elements of Kaupapa Māori Initiatives

1. *Tino Rangatiratanga – self-determination:* the ability to have increased control and autonomy over the meaningful decisions which impact one's life

2. *taonga tuku iho – cultural aspirations*: the emotional need for Māori language, knowledge and culture as a basis for one's cultural identity

3. *ako Māori – culturally preferred pedagogy*: learning and teaching which positively reinforces the values, behaviours, customs and cultural capital of the Māori home
4. *kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te kainga – socio-economic impediments*: the mediation of the socio-economic impediments which impact in disproportionate levels on Māori
5. *whānau – extended family social structures and practice*: the employment of Māori collective cultural practices built around extended family structures and responsibilities
6. *kaupapa – a collective vision*: a shared vision supported by all of the participants and that provides direction and impetus for the struggle

Source: Smith, 1999, p. 38.

Over time Kaupapa Māori theory has evolved to include other principles which also underpin the philosophy. Pihama (2001) notes the importance of te reo and tikanga Māori as well as a focus on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the notion of decoloniation. Authors have also written about Kaupapa Māori as research praxis and the necessary ethical considerations during the research process. Durie (1998) details Māori ethicality factors – Mana Tāngata (dignity, safety and mutuality), Mana Whakahaere (collaboration and control) and Mana Motuhake (outcomes, benefits) - crucial to research with Māori.

Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) notes appropriate research conduct in seven cultural terms which have subsequently been clarified by Cram (2001) and are explained in Chapter Four of the thesis (see 'Māori ethics'). These seven terms have been adapted into the guidelines of the 'Community Up' model by Cram and Smith and form the ethical principles by which the method and methodology of the thesis adheres (alongside the Massey University Human Ethics Committee Code of Conduct). Consequently, this research not only conceptualises Kaupapa Māori theory but also articulates how it has been used in practice.

Coming back to Smith's (1997) principles of Kaupapa Māori it is important to note that the first principle of Tino Rangatiratanga is the primary objective of Kaupapa Māori whether in principle, theory or research praxis. Tino Rangatiratanga is the goal of autonomy and self-determination that means that Māori philosophy, ways of thinking and ways of knowing are privileged rather than marginalised (Walker, 1990). According to Durie (1998) the essence of Tino Rangatiratanga is about the advancement of Māori, living as Māori as well as

intergenerational equity. In the framework Ngā Pou Mana (ibid), Durie further explores self-determination in relation to Māori, referring to seven key areas of life: Mana Atua (environment), Mana Tūpuna (identity and heritage), Mana Tāngata (well-being of individuals), Mana Whenua (land), Mana Moana (fisheries), Mana Tiriti (Treaty of Waitangi) and Mana Motuhake (autonomy, governance and nationhood).

Tino Rangatiratanga was guaranteed under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, signed in 1840 by representatives of iwi and the Crown (Wilson, 2012). This is not always recognised by contemporary society and is sometimes misunderstood by both Māori and Pākehā (Walker, 1990). Because of the legacy of colonial oppression many Māori are marginalised, uneducated and unaware of their rights as tāngata whenua. Similarly, Pākehā are unaware of the history and context that has created current inequalities and often revert to stereotypes perpetrated by the media when discussing Māori issues (Walker, 1990). These attitudes reinforce the ideas of the status quo that see Māori as privileged at best (Meihana, forthcoming) and criminal at worst (Wall, 1997). This is where Freire's notions of conscientisation are valuable and we see that if Māori and Pākehā were critically conscious of the situation they could work together to make a fairer more equal New Zealand society. Kaupapa Māori theory seeks to locate the discussion around the real reasons Māori hold a position of disadvantage in society. According to Pihama in Cram (2001):

> intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities…exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct conceptions of 'common sense' and 'facts' to provide ad hoc justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori (p. 40).

Influence of Paulo Freire in Aotearoa

It is clear from Pihama's (2001) discussion on power and inequality, that Kaupapa Māori theory reflects many facets of empowerment theory based on Freire's (1970) ideas of theory and transformative praxis. Decolonisation and emancipation from dominant social power structures is a goal for indigenous people worldwide who continue to suffer the fallout from their colonial histories (Maaka & Andersen, 2006) Pihama also refers to Freire's discussion on dehumanisation as a characteristic of colonisation, in particular, how the denial of Māori knowledge – te reo, whakapapa, identity – dehumanises Māori because it denies their humanity and the right to be fully human. According to Pihama "[c]olonisation has impeded the ability of many of our people to think beyond the colonial box" (2001, p. 80). She contends that Māori can only challenge the unequal systems and structures of power if they

become conscientised and change their thinking beyond what the hegemony of colonisation has permitted.

Smith (1997, 1999, 2004) also makes connections between Freire's work and the experience of Māori. For him the Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori initiatives are an example of critical pedagogy in their resistance to cultural oppression and exploitation. He does however note the difference in the uni-directional view of the Western understanding of conscientisation, resistance, and transformative praxis as a progression, compared with the inter-relational Māori view. According to Smith (2004):

Māori cultural ideology rejects the notion that each of these concepts stand individually; or that they are necessarily to be interpreted as being a lineal progression from conscientisation, to resistance, to praxis. That is, one state is not necessarily a prerequisite to, or contingent on, the other states (p.50).

Smith's experience of Kaupapa Māori interventions shows these elements more as a cycle rather than linear or uni-directional. These concepts can occur in any order and can occur simultaneously. For example, a parent might take their child to Kōhanga Reo to learn the language but they subsequently become conscientised through that interaction, which then leads to participation in resistance. Engagement with the elements can also be simultaneous, as is shown by the multi-directional arrows in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5: Cycle of Transformative Praxis
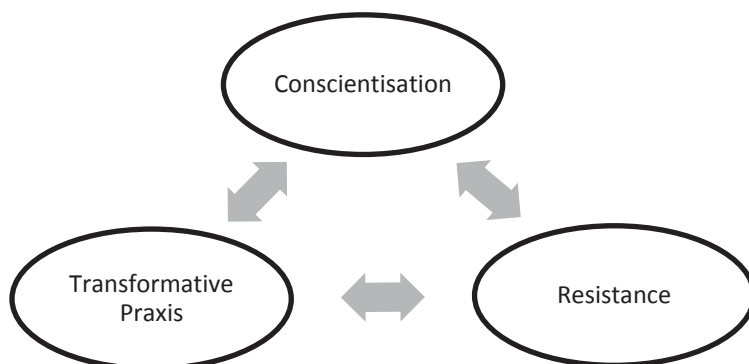
Source: Smith, 2004, p. 51.

Freire's focus on giving a voice to the disempowered also resonates with Māori academics because Māori voices were often missing from conversations about Māori issues (Durie, 1998). Through conscientisation Māori can win back the right to "name the world, to change it" (Freire, 1970). This notion within Kaupapa Māori reflects the concept of Tino

Rangatiratanga and has been further explored by Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) who concurs that those who name the word and world have control over how it is viewed. She offers the example of using original indigenous place names. Māori have attempted (with varying success) to re-claim Māori place names. She maintains that this allows more indigenous control over meanings and that "by naming the world, people name their realities" (p. 157). Furthermore, using original names challenges the superiority of the English language that colonialism has assumed.

Bishop (2009) also highlights Freire's philosophy in relation to Kaupapa Māori, in particular pointing to the idea that only the oppressed can liberate the oppressor as well as themselves, not the other way around. He refers to Māori education and the fact that Māori students do disproportionately worse than Pākehā students within the mainstream education system. Yet when Māori exercise rangatiratanga and have control over content and delivery of education initiatives such as Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Te Kotahitanga[28], educational outcomes for Māori students are markedly increased. According to Bishop et al (2009) the key to Māori achievement does not lie in traditional education practices:

given the experiences of the last 150 years, mainstream practices and theories have kept Māori in a subordinate position, while at the same time creating a discourse that pathologised and marginalised Māori peoples' lived experiences (2009, p. 741).

Professor Ranginui Walker (1990) relates many of Freire's descriptions of the struggle of the oppressed to the struggle of Māori. Similar to Pihama (2001) he highlights the dehumanisation of Māori by loss of land, language and fisheries through colonisation which reflects Freire's notion of cultural invasion. Like Bishop (2009), he proposes that Māori must lead their own struggle for liberation and that Freire contends, liberation (from Pākehā dominance) cannot be gifted by the oppressor. Walker (1990) maintains that Māori are in an optimistic position because through education they have knowledge of the alienating culture which can contribute to transformative action.

According to Freire (1970), knowledge of the alienating culture results in a culture which is being freed from alienation. Walker (1985) proposes that this is where Tā Apirana Ngata's whakataukī 'E tipu, e rea' also links the Māori experience to Freire. By utilising the tools of the Pākehā, Māori have knowledge of the colonising culture and are in a position to transform society through cultural action – examples of which can be seen in resistance to

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[28] A kaupapa Māori research/professional development project that aims to improve the educational achievement of Māori students in mainstream schooling environments.

the dominant Pākehā culture through the Māori cultural renaissance which began in the 1970s[29].

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the key concepts which underpin the theoretical position of this thesis. Emancipation theories such as Kaupapa Māori theory and critical theory (empowerment, post-development and post-colonial) are key to liberation and have similar aims although different whakapapa. They are about highlighting the status quo as one view of the world rather than the **one** view of the world so we can see that there is room for alternative possibilities. Similarly, through the work of Friedmann (1992) we can see there are alternative possibilities for development theory and practice. Conscientisation as described by Freire (1970) is a central theme and is the beginning of the process of emancipation that ends when all individuals, whānau, and communities have fulfilled their potential and transformed their societies. Freire's words have resonated with Māori scholars and the concept of Tino Rangatiranga reflects his assertion that the struggle liberation must be led by the oppressed.

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[29] Includes the revival of te reo Māori through establishment of Kōhanga Reo (1982) and passing of Māori Language Act (1987), the Māori protest movement which fought for Māori and the right to redress, and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal (1992) to address settlement of historic grievances.

Chapter 4: *Ki ngā rākau*

Methodology

He taonga rongonui te aroha ki te Tāngata[30]

The thesis journey regularly brings the researcher to a point where choices must be made. Not only choosing what will be investigated but also how it will be evaluated. While I came to the decision that I wanted to incorporate the three strands of my research topic - Māori development, media and politics - with relative ease, the path was not as clear when assessing the different approaches I could take to carry out my research. There were a number of options available through Māori research methods and Development Studies approaches – many of which were complementary. The choice of method and methodology with which to engage in the research would determine the process and ultimately the finished product.

Research design

Literature sources

This study differs from many traditional theses in that a large amount of the literature comes from outside of the field of what is considered academic such as peer reviewed publications. Due to the ever changing nature of technology, literature is not always available on contemporary topics. As such I have referred to a number of blogs that might lack the academic rigour of peer reviewed articles but do however offer a current discussion on what is happening in the field of social media and Web 2.0. Similarly, as there is a sparse amount of literature on indigenous development and social media, I have referenced a number of news articles which would not traditionally be used in an academic study, however, they are relevant sources while academic publications are still being produced.

A qualitative approach

The thesis was undertaken using a qualitative approach, specifically individual in-depth semi-structured interviews. While I initially considered an online survey which would have had a wider reach and garnered a larger response, it would not afford me the same insight into the respondents that I gained through semi-structured interviews. As noted by

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[30] Translation: "*Goodwill towards others is a precious treasure*". This whakataukī highlights for me the importance of respect throughout the research journey. Aroha, manaaki and respect are integral to my interactions with others throughout this process.

David and Sutton (2004) "the more unstructured interview seeks to emphasise the depth and validity of each individual interview; the attempt to let the interviewee tell their story "(p.120).

The benefit of qualitative over quantitative research methods is the ability to do more than monitor or measure but instead investigate and explore, thus achieving greater insight into the information given by the participants. Furthermore, a qualitative methodology generates rich, detailed data as it approaches research in a more holistic manner – considering more than the research project itself but also the context in which it exists. Qualitative research emphasises "the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 8).

It was also important to me that the research approach I used reflected the ethos of the research topic. Quantitative methods take away the opportunity for the participants to discuss the topic at length and I believe results in too much focus on the analysis of the researcher. This is not empowering for the participants who have nothing to gain from the research if they are just another number and have their answers cut short if the researcher doesn't get the responses they want to hear.

According to Awekotuku (1991), disempowering research was common with Māori and other indigenous people and research has historically been another tool of colonial oppression. She contends that research is about "the gathering of knowledge – more usually, not for its own sake, but for its use within a variety of applications. It is about control, resource allocation, information and equity. It is about power" (p. 13). While looking at how empowerment as a theory discusses transformation and conscientisation I wanted to make sure that the research process was also reflective of this in practice. As noted in Chapter Three, the works of Paulo Freire, specifically *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) inspired my interest in raising Māori consciousness through social media to affect political change.

Path to Kaupapa Māori research

Consequently, it was important that the people involved in my research were able to feel a sense of empowerment through sharing, as well as rangatiratanga over their stories throughout the research process. It was for this reason I elected to use longer quotes as in a narrative analysis approach when writing my results section so I could avoid losing any essence of what my participants were trying to say. The aim of the collaboration between me and my participants was to share as much with them as they had with me. It was this

consideration of valuing all those involved that put me on the path towards a Kaupapa Māori approach.

Cunningham (2000) outlines a framework which identifies different types of research which aim to develop Māori knowledge. Research activities can be characterised in four ways - research not involving Māori, research involving Māori, Māori centred research and Kaupapa Māori research. He contends that while there is no research that doesn't impact Māori these four approaches differ by having Māori involvement to varying degrees.

Initially I considered a Māori centred approach as the safer option. Forster (2003) based on Durie (1998) describes Māori centred research as an approach which "focuses primarily on Māori people, as Māori, and the research methods and practices employed take full cognisance of Māori culture, Māori knowledge and contemporary realities" (p. 49). Durie illustrates three Māori concepts which underpin the Māori centred approach - Whakapiki Tāngata; Whakatuia and; Mana Māori.

Whakapiki Tāngata refers to enablement, enhancement or empowerment. Research needs to improve Māori communities and empower whānau. It is important that the benefits flow to the people considering Māori have a long history of being subjects of research for the benefit of the research community (Awekotuku, 1991; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). Whakatuia means integration and highlights the interconnectedness and holism that is the Māori world view. This is evident in the importance of relationships and the appreciation of people in a physical, spiritual and emotional sense. Mana Māori is about Tino Rangatiratanga and self-determination. Past research has been 'on' Māori with little or no control by the people over the research activity. Research which encapsulates Mana Māori will include Māori control over design, participation and all parts of the research process (Durie, 1998).

Cunningham (2000) makes the distinction that Māori centred research has Māori participants and researchers, but also utilises Māori methods alongside Western models. My research involved Māori participants, researchers and methods alongside methodologies such as empowerment approaches so it seemed to fit. I was intimidated by the Kaupapa Māori label, unsure of myself as a Māori researcher particularly when faced with principles that dictated the necessity of kaumātua involvement (Irwin, 1994) or viewed that "Māori research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required (Bevan-Brown, 1998, p. 233).

While any endeavour is enhanced by the perspective and mentoring of kaumātua I am confident that the research still reaches its objectives despite the lack of it. Also, I am a student of te reo me ona tikanga Māori but at only the very early stages of my learning journey. Although using te reo is the ideal situation, my circumstances are not uncommon and according to other Māori researchers, "the reality is that many Māori researchers are not fluent in te reo and many Māori people who might be research participants have only a basic working knowledge of the language" (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006, p. 334).

Further investigation has lead me to sit more comfortably with Kaupapa Māori research as it is not a prescribed to do list and I instead subscribe to Tuhiwai-Smith's broader definition of Kaupapa Māori research as "research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori" (1995, p. 11). Kaupapa Māori research challenges the status quo that privileges Western epistemologies, reducing Māori to limited roles in their own stories. Previously research was a tool of oppression of indigenous people. According to Smith (1999):

research of Māori is marked by a history that has shaped the attitudes and feelings Māori people have held towards research. Research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories, which have dehumanised Māori and in practices, which have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture (p. 183).

Conversely, Kaupapa Māori research aims to empower Māori and privilege Māori knowledge so that Māori can control how their stories are told (Bishop, 1999; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999). My thesis aims to do just that through both the content and the process of the research. It is important to note that truly emancipatory research methodologies such as Participatory Action Research[31] were considered however given the time frames of a master's thesis I didn't think there would be adequate scope to implement this in a way which would do either my topic or my participants justice.

Māori ethics

By adhering to tikanga Māori rather than a prescribed list of rules my research is guided faithfully in the principles of Kaupapa Māori. For clarification I have utilised the 'Community-Up Model' outlined by Smith (1999) and Cram (2001) to ensure a respectful research experience for my participants.

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[31] For more information on action research see Chambers, R. (1983). *Rural Development: Putting the Last First.*

1. **Aroha ki te tāngata** - *A respect for people – allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms.* Each participant chose the situation in which they felt most comfortable to share their story. This included their home, my home, public libraries, cafes and cars; with or without a support person.

2. **He kanohi kitea** - *It is important to meet people face to face, and to also be a face that is known to and seen within a community.* All interviews were conducted face to face.

3. **Titiro, whakarongo…kōrero** - *Looking and listening (and then maybe speaking) – develop understanding in order to find a place from which to speak.* I gained much more information by allowing my participants to speak at their own pace and length. The quickest interviews took 15 or 25 minutes whereas others were between 60 and 90 minutes. Some participants required me to elaborate further to help them understand the questions. I often had to remind them that social media included more than just Facebook. I needed to define which different actions were considered political engagement and in some instances explain what a submission or petition involved.

4. **Manaaki ki te tāngata** - *Sharing, hosting, being generous.* I provided participants with food and drink, opened my home to them if necessary and gave each a voucher as a token of thanks for their time.

5. **Kia tupato** - *Be cautious – be politically astute, culturally safe, and reflective about insider/outsider status.* I was very mindful of the sensitive nature of political questions and restated the whole process was voluntary reminding participants they could opt out at any time.

6. **Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata** - *Do not trample on the 'mana' or dignity of a person.* My participants varied in age, education and confidence however I reassured them there was no right or wrong answer and that their perspective was important.

7. **Kia māhaki** - *Be humble, do not flaunt your knowledge; find ways of sharing it.* I intend to share my findings with my participants and reiterate how important their contribution has been to the research. I will do this by writing a summary of my

findings and contacting each participant to ask them if I can post or email the summary to them depending on their preference.

Bishop (1996) defines the significance of whakawhanaungatanga as a research methodology and claims that establishing and maintaining relationships is an essential, extensive and ongoing part of the research process. The research group is a metaphorical whānau and reflects the principles of the literal whānau. Bishop expresses that "[t]he whānau is a location for communication, for sharing outcomes and for constructing shared common understandings and meanings" (1999, p. 4).

Ethics of internet-based research

As previously mentioned, this study does not rely solely on traditional sources and focuses heavily on online material from social media such as blogs and social networking sites. Internet-based research is becoming increasingly common and as such a number of ethical considerations that are not relevant in the offline world have been noted. These include attempting to recruit and obtain informed consent from individuals in an online community such as a chat room or Facebook page (Flicker, Haans, & Skinner, 2004). There is debate on using blogs for content analysis, that is, whether they are 'fair game' for researchers or whether consent from the author needs to be sought (Hookway, 2008). Some argue that the Internet is a public domain and consent is not necessary when using material from internet communities (Salem, Bogat, & Reid, 1997). Personally, and from a Kaupapa Māori perspective, I would not use information from Mana Facebook pages without the consent of the authors. I have included screen captures of the main Mana Party and Mana ki Manawatū Facebook pages in Chapter 5, however, only posts from those involved in the study are visible. I also felt more comfortable with referencing blog entries from *Te Wharepora Hou* and *Maui Street,* by advising their respective authors, Marama Davidson and Morgan Godfrey about the research and the purpose of including their blogs.

Further ethical considerations

The seven principles of the Community-Up model influenced my research activities so I was confident of meaningful exchanges with both Māori and non-Māori participants. I also went through the in-house ethics process of the Institute of Development Studies which included discussion of the research and its ethical considerations with Professor Regina Scheyvens and Associate Professor Glenn Banks. This process resulted in a low risk

notification (Appendix 1) and it was this in addition to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee code of conduct, which guided the other ethical principles of my research.

Informed and voluntary consent

It is important to recruit participants honestly and respectfully. This means that written consent (unless culturally inappropriate) must be obtained. To ensure informed and voluntary consent has been given the potential participants must have - a) information on which to make the decision; b) comprehension of the information; c) competence to make a decision and give formal consent and; d) absence of pressure or coercion (Massey University, 2012, p. 9). I provided all potential participants with an information sheet (Appendix 2) outlining the scope of my study, what I hoped to achieve and contact details of myself and my supervisors if they had any questions or concerns.

Before each interview I provided the participant with another copy of the information sheet to read to remind them what they were taking part in and asked if they had any questions at this point. They were then given the consent form (Appendix 3) which requested that the interview be recorded and that they could ask for it to be stopped at any time. It reiterated that the research was voluntary and they were not obliged to answer any question or remain part of the study if they chose not to do so. There was also a tick box option which meant the participant could approve or decline to be contacted again by the researcher if follow up questions were necessary.

Respect for privacy and confidentiality

Respect and aroha are tikanga on which the research process was based (Mead, 2003). Each participant was assigned a pseudonym which is used not only in the published thesis and draft versions but also in the transcriptions of their interviews to ensure anonymity. The only record of their real name is on the signed consent forms which will be held in locked storage for five years and stored separately from the transcripts. The recording device was cleared of each interview once it had been uploaded to the computer. Pseudonyms were used to label voice recordings on the computer so participants could not be identified if the recordings were ever accessed. Privacy during the interview was also vital however, not always practical. The participant always chose the location which was most comfortable or convenient to them and it wasn't always private, such as a cafeteria or public library and one person brought a friend along. I am confident that following the wishes of the participants was paramount and reasonable steps were taken to ensure interviews weren't overheard in public so privacy concerns were dealt with effectively.

Conflict of interest

Political party affiliations can be sensitive topics and I ensured not to ask participants if they were a member of a particular party or who they voted for. At the time of the research I had given different forms of assistance to both the Mana Party and the Green Party however I don't believe any conflict of interest is involved in my choice to use the Mana Party as a case study. The unique situation in which the party evolved and the voters it aims to reach means the study could not have been similarly replicated with any other New Zealand political party. Participants were made aware that I was not affiliated with the Mana Party and the research was a case study and academic exercise and not a project for the party's purpose.

Sampling

Due to the nature of the study I needed specific participants who were either moderators or users of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page. With this fairly narrow brief I needed a sampling choice that would allow me to target participants that would most likely be able to contribute rich and relevant information to my research. Purposive sampling is "a non-probability sampling procedure in which elements are selected from the target population on the basis of their fit with the purposes of the study and specific inclusion and exclusion criteria" (2011, p. 86). Using this technique I was able to reach a group that included members and moderators of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook pages who lived in the Manawatū region.

Recruitment of participants

I had identified two of the three moderators of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page at the inception of the research as recruiting further participants would have been impossible without their input. If I was unable to recruit at least one of them to the research the project would go no further. Initially I was looking at three to five participants but following my supervisors' suggestion I aimed for eight to ten so I could seek to identify a broader spectrum of engagement with the page. For example, at one end of the spectrum would be those who regularly posted content on the page such as moderators and other active members and at the other end would be participants whose only interaction with the page was clicking the "Like"[32] button or possibly reading the occasional post.

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[32] A feature on Facebook where the user can express that they like, enjoy or support certain content.

I already knew of one person who had relatively regular interactions with the group and was happy for me to conduct a pilot interview with him. He read the information sheet and signed the consent form and understood he had no obligation to participate in the research. As well as asking him questions from my interview schedule I also asked him for feedback on the questions themselves. He was able to advise when questions were ambiguous or repetitive. I was able to adjust the questions accordingly for subsequent interviews. This was important to make sure there were no misunderstanding which could jeopardise the results. David and Sutton (2004) point out the importance of the piloting process stating that "[q]uestions are a bridge between the two sides. Faults in the questions may lead to faulty information passing between the two sides" (p. 89). I did not originally intend to use the pilot interview results in the research however, the richness and clarity of his responses were too valuable to discard and I felt the finished thesis would have lacked without his contribution. After discussing this with him he was happy for his interview to be included in the study.

I was unable to directly contact any other members of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page since one moderator felt the members had joined the page in good faith and were not informed at the time that they may be contacted as part of a case study. She felt it would be a breach of that good faith for me to contact them directly. This meant my information sheet and description of the research was emailed from the moderator to the branch's email tree. It was also posted on the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page. I had to wait for prospective participants to contact me. Only one person responded so I had three participants including the two moderators and I needed at least five more.

This led me to adjust my sampling method to a 'snowballing' technique so during these three initial interviews I also asked the respondents to recommend other people who they thought might be interested in taking part. Snowballing is used when "the lack of a sampling frame makes it impossible to achieve a probability sample, when the target population is unknown, or [as in my case] when it is difficult to contact people in any other way" (Davidson & Tolich, 1999, p. 119). From the first three interviewees I received the names of two people they thought might be interested and wouldn't mind being contacted. Both were happy to assist with the research however this still left me with at least three more participants to recruit.

It had been a month since the information sheets had been sent through the Mana ki Manawatū networks and I was in danger of running out of time to transcribe, code and analyse my interviews. I could not wait any longer for responses from Mana ki Manawatū

members so I elected to broaden the scope of my research group and recruit people from other Mana branches living in the Manawatū, Wairarapa or Wellington regions as they were the only destinations I could realistically cover while I was living in Masterton. By searching through other Mana pages for people who I already knew and therefore felt it ethically appropriate to make direct contact with, I was able to recruit two members of the Mana Wairarapa Facebook, two members of the Mana Rangatahi (youth branch) page and two members of the nationwide Mana Party page.

The initial two criteria when recruiting my participants was that they had "Liked" the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page and that they were Māori as my focus was on this particular branch of the Mana Party and the topic was about Māori political participation. As previously mentioned, due to lack of responses from the Mana ki Manawatū group the scope was widened to include Mana Wairarapa, Te Mana (nationwide Facebook page) and Mana Rangatahi. At the conclusion of my interviews I had also relaxed my second criterion and had interviewed three non-Māori participants - Cook Island Māori, Scottish and Pākehā. Their experiences that I documented were equally valuable as each individual was able to cast a different light on the topic and answer the questions from another viewpoint.

While these three non-Māori participants were not always able to respond about their perception of social media and tikanga Māori, neither were some of the Māori participants who also had a lack of understanding of these cultural aspects. Similarly, a varying level of educational experiences among participants meant a range of responses from in depth theoretical treatment and analysis of issues, to straightforward basic answers to the questions. It was the latter that led to an essential learning experience as a researcher – just because a question makes sense to you doesn't mean it will to everyone. Figuring out how to simplify a discussion point allows for a clearer explanation for both academics and non-academics alike.

I ended up with 12 participants – two page moderators and 10 page members. During the process of interviewing these 12 people I was slowly identifying the motivations and aspirations of those who ran and used the pages however I felt I was missing the overarching strategy and objectives from the party headquarters. Thus I sought out the Mana Party communications adviser, Mana Party social media team and the Mana Party president for their views on the Mana Party social media strategy specifically and Māori political engagement in general. It was a real struggle to even get replies let alone answers but eventually I was able to get email responses to my questions from party president, Annette Sykes. I believe it is a much more robust investigation of the topic having the three layers of

kōrero – national party strategy, branch objectives and Facebook user perspectives. The Mana Party social media strategy gives an overview of the aims of the movement in regards to using social media as a platform for their message and engaging with people. The branch objectives offer a local perspective on what the Mana Party is trying to achieve. Perspectives from users of various Mana Party Facebook pages can ascertain whether or not the party's objectives were met and offer general views on Māori use of social media.

Figure 4.1: Case Study Layers of Kōrero
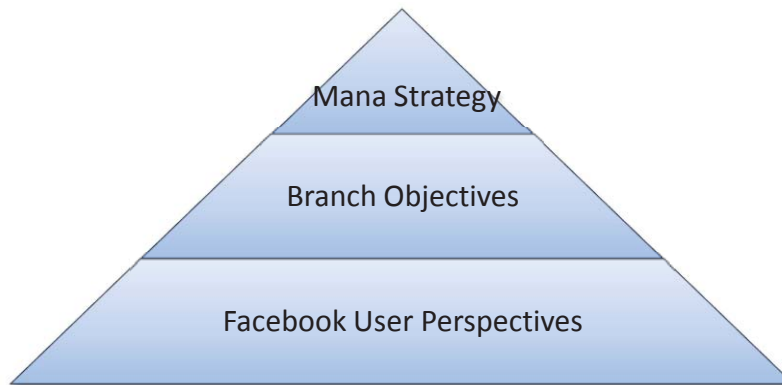
Source: Author, 2013.

Research questions

The initial research topic I chose was "how social media can enhance civic engagement amongst Māori". After reviewing the sizeable literature around civic engagement I found that it has been declining worldwide and mirrors the findings of Robert Putnam's seminal work *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American Community*. He noted the decrease of civic engagement in the United States since the 1950 and claims that:

> *civic disengagement appears to be an equal opportunity affliction. The sharp, steady declines in club meetings, visits with friends, committee service, church attendance, philanthropic generosity, card games, and electoral turnout have hit virtually all sectors of American society over the last several decades and in roughly equal measure"* (1995, p. 185).

I also found that others (Ellison, 2007; Norris & Jones, 1998) were more positive about the future of civic engagement due to new technology such as the internet and social media and their ability to create virtual networks. I chose civic engagement as a topic due to the solid literature base it presented me with and for the purposes of my research I defined

civic engagement as participation of citizens in actions which strive to improve conditions for the community and/or wider society – yet I focused on political aspects of these. However, after discussion with Massey University Associate Professor of Politics Richard Shaw I concluded that civic engagement is too broad a topic as it encompasses all aspects of engagement with community and society, for example, involvement with sports clubs, churches, unions or charities.

The focus of my study is only on the political sphere so I changed the research topic to *E-whanaungatanga: The role of social media in Māori **political** engagement,* to reflect this. Also, because I am investigating how Māori engage with social media it was important to determine how Māori values could fit with these new technologies. Furthermore, I wanted to explore how these new technologies could advance development for Māori as well as other indigenous people. The resulting research questions are as follows:

1. What are the objectives of the Mana Party's social media strategy in regards to Māori political engagement?
2. Were the objectives met during the 2011 General Election campaign?
3. How effective were the Mana Party's Facebook pages in conscientising and mobilising Māori around political issues?
4. Can social media align with indigenous values, in particular tikanga Māori?
5. How can social media tools be utilised to advance indigenous development?

Interview schedule and approach

On completion of the literature review of social media and indigenous development a number of themes became apparent so a section of my interview schedule was written reflecting this. These recurring themes included the concept of ownership of online content particularly in terms of traditional and often sacred information; the manner in which social media is either in alignment with or in opposition to indigenous values; online behaviour and its level of influence over offline behaviour; and issues of access to digital technology and social media or what is referred to in the literature as the 'digital divide'.

I wrote a brief script to introduce myself giving background information on my topic and why I chose it as the subject of my thesis. I repeated that the entire process was voluntary and that the participants could decide to withdraw at any time. I reiterated that the interviews were completely confidential and that they would be allocated a pseudonym. I chose to number the ten participants from 1 to 10 in Māori so my participants are called Tahi, Rua, Toru, Whā, Rima, Ono, Whitu, Waru, Iwa and Tekau. The page moderators are named

Moderator A and B. As Annette Sykes is the party president and it is important to know her views and who she is, a pseudonym was not necessary in this instance.

I had initially planned to recite a karakia to start each interview as this is often used during Māori research, however, my desire to put the participant at ease could possibly backfire if karakia was not something that they were comfortable with doing. For me the true sense of respectful research is to value the wants and needs of each individual rather than ticking some sort of "How to do Kaupapa Māori Research" checklist. I rely on Durie's (1995) concept of "Diverse Māori Realities" which illustrates that Māori in the contemporary world might share some characteristics but cannot be defined exclusively by them:

> *Far from being homogenous 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. They may or may not enjoy active links with hapū or iwi, yet will still describe themselves as Māori and even if they do not enjoy close links with conventional Māori institutions, they will reject any notion that they are "less Māori" than their peers (p. 15).*

Similarly, some Māori are at ease and more comfortable with tikanga such as karakia in their daily life however, many are not and their ignorance or lack of participation in things Māori can make them uncomfortable and feel inadequate. Consequently, I asked if the participant would like to have karakia before we got started with the interview.

My questions at this point were divided into three categories and I explained to the participants that the first section would focus on and their interaction with the Mana Party branch via Facebook as well as offline. The second section was a broader investigation of their views on social media and its opportunities as well as challenges for Māori. Finally, the third section questioned them on their own political behaviour. After I asked the scripted questions and let them speak at their own pace I asked if they had any questions of their own, then thanked them again for their time. I informed them I would provide a summary of the results to them once the data was analysed.

My questions for the page moderators and party president focused on the objectives of the Facebook pages as a political tool and their observations on how effective the social media campaign was in meeting those objectives. I wanted to establish the positive and negatives of utilising social media for the purposes of political engagement - particularly in engaging with Māori communities. The consensus was generally positive although there

were issues of concern raised through using social media as a tool. Page moderators are able to access general statistics about the demographics of the page users such as age, gender and geographic location. This information was useful to know who they were reaching and was very helpful data for my research.

As I used semi-structured interviews I had set the interview schedule (see Appendices 4, 5 and 6) but I often followed on with other questions in order for the participant to elaborate on a particular point they were making. I hesitated to interrupt anyone even if they were often repeating themselves so they felt comfortable to make their point in their own time. I could have missed many opportunities had I tried to rein them in as they all had valid contributions. As noted by Mertens (2009), interviewing and listening to the participants shows them "validation of their worth and the importance of their experiences" (p. 245). For some of the participants I had difficulty explaining the questions initially because they were not familiar with some of the concepts I was referring to such as social media, tikanga Māori or political engagement. While it was frustrating and I got less discussion from these people I believe that the interviews allowed them a space of dialogue that they had never encountered before. It was a transformative experience in itself as I could see them connecting the dots as I explained the questions in different ways.

It was a new experience for some that a researcher was asking their opinion of politics which they initially thought they had no ideas about or not enough education to comment on. After the initial hesitance they spoke freely of their perspectives on various issues. It might have only been the smallest degree of consciousness raised but it was completely reflective of what my research is trying to promote. Through new awareness the possibilities are endless. One participant even thanked me because he had never talked about politics before, had never been asked to be part of a study, and he had really enjoyed it. He may or may not have gone on to think further about our discussion but he was boosted by the experience even if only for a short time. In Chapter Three I have written at length on empowerment theory and its definitions, however, during my fieldwork I was fortunate to encounter awareness raising experiences in practice.

Data analysis

Transcription

I borrowed an electronic dictaphone from the Institute of Development Studies to record each of my interviews if authorised by each participant. Transcription is very time consuming and is not made any easier by trying to decipher pauses and other non-verbal

communication that isn't a problem face to face. For example, some people had the tendency not to finish their sentences but rather indicate the rest of their point through gestures or facial expressions. Fortunately I became aware of this after the pilot interview so I made sure I took accurate written notes as well during this process. Despite the difficulties however, I was able to become so much more familiar with my raw data through the transcription process which made writing my results chapter easier than it might have been otherwise. As noted by David and Sutton, "[k]nowing every word of the conversation is a great advantage when it comes to qualitative data analysis" (2004, p. 99).

Coding

Coding requires the researcher to review their interview transcripts in order to categorise data and highlight themes in the results (Davidson & Tolich, 1999). After conducting my field work I have since read that data collection, coding and analysis should be a concurrent exercise with each interview and subsequent review an opportunity to fine tune the process for the next. As I coded all my transcripts at the same time after interviews were completed and transcribed, I can see how the concurrent method would be more efficient and effective. I elected to print out all my transcribed interviews and highlight each theme with a different coloured sticker. This resulted in 18 themes and subthemes which I documented alongside the corresponding sticker colour in a notebook. While this was a necessary exercise in getting closer to the data to draw out the themes I found that physically organising the hard copies was awkward and confusing. I decided to then go through the electronic version highlighting the themes with the different colours. This allowed me to cut and paste to organise all the data relevant to a particular theme into the same place. It also helped me to copy and paste data multiple times if it related to more than one category. In future research projects I would definitely look into using coding software such as NVivo[33] to organise my raw data.

Thematic analysis

After the coding process I was left with themes and sub themes that represent the participants' positive and negative views Māori and social media and their experiences with Mana Party Facebook pages. Positive aspects included easier organisation due to speed and efficiency, low cost, ability to communicate and educate, effectiveness for youth engagement, solidarity, information sharing, Tino Rangatiratanga and Māori autonomy over information compared with negative portrayal in traditional mainstream media, and networking and whanaungatanga. Negative aspects of social media include: breaches of tikanga – sharing tapū images and information, lack of respect, lack of credibility and

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[33] NVivo is a qualitative data analysis software package.

authenticity of traditional intellectual property and exclusion of kaumātua or subversion of traditional hierarchies. There was also discussion on the participants' degree of political engagement; their level of engagement with the Mana Party; the influence of online behaviour on offline action and; recommendations of appropriate use of social media for Māori.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the method and methodology of this thesis and described why I have chosen to approach the research they way I have. It highlights the research design and discusses the ethical considerations necessary to undertake research with Māori. It outlines the sampling method, recruitment technique, interview schedule and methods used to analyses the data. The main influence on my methodology was the desire to reflect the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory and empowerment theory, in the way I physically conducted the study, not just in how I theoretically approached the research. It was important that the research was an empowering experience for the participants, not just an exercise in academia. As such, following the 'Community Up' model of Kaupapa Māori research ethics has ensured a reciprocal relationship of respect, also known as whanaungatanga, between me and my research whānau.

The following chapter reports the results of the interviews and themes that have arisen from the fieldwork data.

Chapter 5: *Hei oranga*

Conscientise, politicise, organise, mobilise

He hono tāngata e kore e motu; ka pa he taura waka e motu[34]

This chapter will identify the objectives of the Mana party's social media strategy according to the party president and moderators of Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page. It will then illustrate the views of Mana Facebook page users of Mana ki Manawatū, Mana ki Wairarapa, Mana Rangatahi and the main Mana Party page on the effectiveness of the party's Facebook presence in raising awareness of political issues and encouraging participation. Finally, it will present their views on the implications of using social media for Māori and its compatibility with Māori values. In keeping with the empowering kaupapa of this study I have elected to use long quotes when presenting the voices of my participants. I want the fullest understanding of their thoughts and feelings to be achieved through their conversations rather than from what I have inferred.

Mana Party national social media strategy

Main objective: Encourage political participation among young Māori voters.

I spoke with Mana Party president Annette Sykes (Interview: October 9, 2012) about the movement's use of social media and their goals for Māori political engagement. She told me the main objective was to encourage the political engagement of youth:

In Mana we use Facebook to share political beliefs, support specific candidates, and interact with others on political issues but mainly to encourage political participation among young rangatahi voters, a group traditionally perceived as apathetic in regard to civic engagement.

There are different Mana affiliated Facebook pages which include the main Mana party page; regional Mana branch pages including Mana Brisbane and Mana Sydney; and kaupapa based pages such as Mana Rangatahi, Mana Aotearoa and Mana Takatāpui. In addition to engaging with youth and promoting constructive political discussion amongst Māori, other functions include communication and open access for everyone:

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[34] Translation: "*Unlike a canoe rope, a human bond cannot be severed*". This whakataukī refers to whanaungatanga or human relationships which have proven a common theme in the results of the interviews on social media use for Māori.
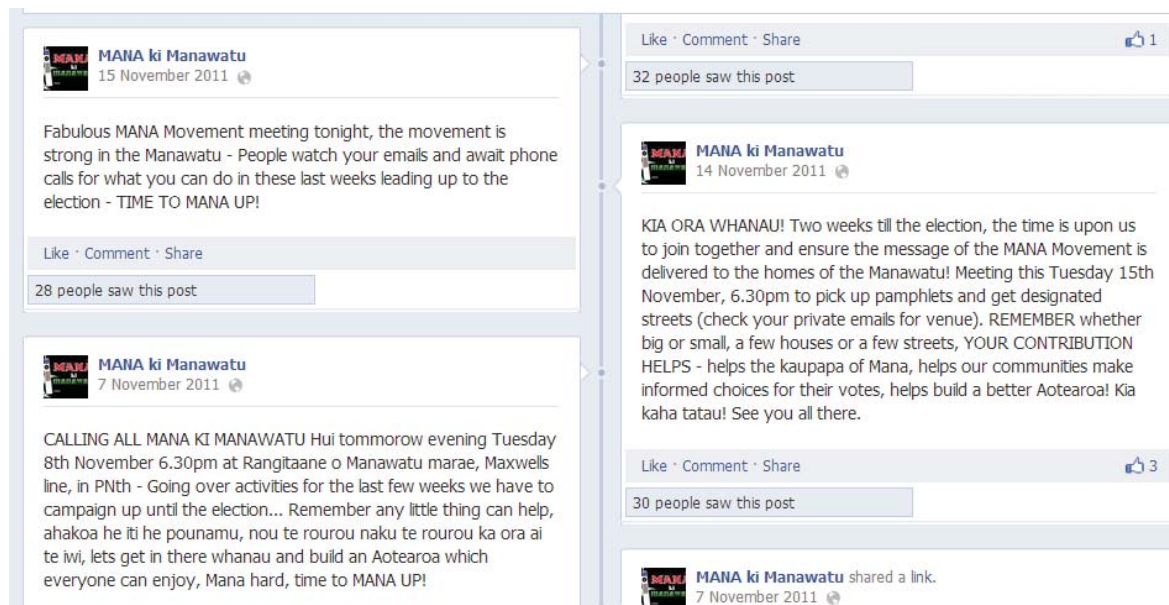
Te Mana is a public page therefore accessible by anyone to keep up to date on issues that not only affect Māori, but Aotearoa as a whole. [It is also] to inform all members on events, news and any updates.

Image 5.1: Screenshot of Main Mana Party Facebook Page

Source: Facebook, 2013.

Image 5.2: Screenshot of Mana ki Manawatū Facebook Page

Source: Facebook, 2013.

There are also the personal pages of Mana executive members in addition to Ms Sykes such as Hone Harawira, John Minto and Sue Bradford which advocate for social justice across various sectors. They all help to raise awareness and provide alternative perspectives of political issues:

We are all extremely active Facebook users posting daily on current affairs on major issues of national importance for Māori. [We aim to] increase political participation through the ability to acquire greater political knowledge, increase political interest, improve political self-efficacy and highlight different perspectives and political opinion on what media portrays to us.

Furthermore she noted many positive aspects to using the medium of Facebook to achieve Mana's desired objectives:

[It is] easily accessible with all current affairs and issues at hand every minute of every day. Politician's private or public pages are also appealing to voters as they are able to post or comment directly giving the sense that they are engaging personally with their Members of Parliament. As a political movement we are also able to see first-hand what our rangatahi Māori are interested in and the struggles they are going through.

She regards the 2011 General Election social media strategy as a success:

Our social network media strategy 2011 has proven that voters by region, reach and demographics were hugely influenced by our Facebook strategy and the Mana Party with such a short life span managed to politically engage with voters both on and offline. Many also felt closer and more in touch with Mana candidates who stood in the Māori and general seats in 2011 and were able to ask questions, follow their candidates on Twitter and keep up to date with campaign trails.

Ms Sykes also believes the party had great success in achieving their main objective of encouraging youth engagement:

[Social media is] great to engage and motivate interest in issues important to Māori. We can find some great political debate and discussion on some interest group pages and a generation of rangatahi Māori engaging politically and more freely that ever before.

She believes that Māori prefer this social media over traditional mainstream forms such as broadcast or print media but that it does not align with tikanga Māori. In fact she contends it can create barriers for young and old alike:

Social network media is the most popular means of communication, networking and information sharing amongst Māori and… offers a forum and platform to promote, engage and motivate a whole generation on issues happening at home. [However it] disengages our rangatahi from kanohi ki te kanohi discussions and isolates a whole generation (our Kaumātua) from issues of significance that are generally raised at the marae.

The Mana Party social media strategy has a genuine place in enhancing political engagement amongst previously disengaged groups such as rangatahi Māori. Online networks take the discussion from the marae to the global arena and connect people worldwide. The main Mana Party page statistics demonstrate that the movement has followers not only in New Zealand and Australia, but also the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, France, Canada, Italy, Thailand, Ireland, Peru, China, South Korea, Argentina, Sweden, the Czech Republic and Vietnam. The movement has no boundaries connecting with international followers and communities in local towns. While there is an overarching social media strategy for the party as a whole local branches allow local people to address objectives that are important for them and their area.

Mana ki Manawatū moderators' objectives

There were three moderators of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page, two of whom I have interviewed for my research. After speaking with them (Interviews: June 10 & 22, 2012) it became clear the site had five objectives which also reflect the main Mana Party goals:

Objective 1 – Facilitate rangatahi engagement

Objective 2 – Facilitate free and open access to information

Objective 3 – Conscientise and politicise

Objective 4 – Organise and mobilise

Objective 5 – Provide a platform for alternative/Māori views

At a higher, more aspirational level, the focus was on politicising and conscientising people, particularly rangatahi, around the issues and highlighting new ways to see them. At

an operational level social media tools were utilised to communicate information, organise actions and mobilise people.

Objective 1: Facilitate rangatahi engagement

Much like the Mana party social media strategy, the Manawatū branch also saw rangatahi engagement as significant. Māori youth have particularly low levels of political involvement (Tawhai, 2011) so getting rangatahi engaged in political activity was also a key objective:

> *On our Facebook page it was actually their kids that would go on and have a look - I don't know if those kids would then go along to the meetings…but [it was] keeping them up to date with what was going on and just informing them. Definitely the whole advent of Mana in some parts of the communities has been a massive politicising movement which of course children in whānau have been a part of … the Facebook page was something that the kids can connect to on their own individually to be able to reflect upon…while they might not have internet access at home or even a home line, youth will find a way. They'll either get it at school or elsewhere.*

Objective 2: Facilitate free and open access to information

Mana ki Manawatū Moderator A focused on providing a means of communication that allowed relatively easy access for everyone at any socio-economic level. She explains the reasoning behind the use of Facebook to achieve this objective:

> *I've got a real bee in my bonnet about people being excluded because they don't have the money or resources to do stuff… Facebook is one of the key ways that people across different socio-economic backgrounds including those that are really poor can communicate with one another and so it was a no nonsense way of communicating. So using Facebook wasn't about being cool or being hip or anything like that, it was the fact that people that are poor and have little access to resources often still have access to Facebook. We've seen that in lots of different places, primarily because if you don't have a computer or you don't have the internet at home, there are places like public libraries which have internet access. Most people have an aunty or an uncle that has access, like at least one person in the whānau will have it.*

Objective 3: Conscientise and politicise

A further objective was raising awareness with emphasis on keeping people up to date on what was happening and presenting them the opportunity to engage with the information. While active participation with the movement through party membership, hui or protest attendance and voting were all desirable outcomes, Moderator A suggested that they weren't the only measures of success:

I mean obviously we would consider all those things to be positive but I myself wouldn't consider it necessarily a negative if they didn't. For me, the fact that they are reading material, the fact they are engaging in any kind of thinking around political issues, to me is all part of the positive… the very act of engaging and thinking critically is the outcome.

Objective 4: Organise and mobilise

Moderator B was largely concerned with the operational mechanics of the Facebook page and its ability to achieve her objectives which focused on raising the profile of Mana ki Manawatū, promoting its activities and growing the membership of the group. Mana ki Manawatū were able to utilise already established networks through current Facebook 'friends' to inform people the group was up and running and encourage them to 'Like' and 'Share' the page. While the site was used to share links to articles and information it also provided a means for effectively communicating upcoming hui or hīkoi, dates for submissions and organising travel to events. Moderator B sees Facebook as a very successful way to organise. In terms of success raising the Mana ki Manawatū profile and growing the group she was also optimistic:

I'd say in the first day we had 30 people and after that we got more. It was really successful, we got lots of people joining up from different age groups…There were people who were interested in what Mana wanted to do and what the visions were and they were participating online and spreading the word. We had a lot of viewers a lot of the time. Considering it was real small to start off with. Then we were having between 124 and 204 views a day which is really good. Like not necessarily membership but views a day which is really good. So to me that signalled success.

Objective 5: Provide a platform for alternative/Māori views

Exposing page members to new information involved posting links to news articles and blogs as well as links to websites for petition signing and submission making. A further objective was not only to share the information but to present an alternative view from the mainstream media perspective of political issues, particularly those concerning Māori. Moderator A notes the significance of being connected to the leadership and getting their views directly rather than through traditional media:

> *I read Annette's posts and I know its Annette that's posting them, because even when we quote in the newspaper you can't trust it, they just change it. So I think that's the thing you know, Annette writes, I know its Annette, John Minto writes, I know its John, when Hone writes I know it's…well, it's either him or his mokopuna. But definitely with Annette and you know that means something, it's exciting.*

Moderators' views of success

The objectives were to encourage rangatahi engagement; allow easy access to political information for anyone; raise awareness and consciousness around political issues; organise action; raise the profile of Mana ki Manawatū and grow the membership of the group; and provide an alternative Māori view of political issues. The moderators view that success is not necessarily active participation and are encouraged by people participating on more passive terms. Even if it is just viewing the page or reading an article, the level of engagement isn't the main focus but it is the fact that engagement is occurring in any form that is important.

According to Moderator B, page statistics for the Mana ki Manawatū site shows the growth in membership of the Facebook page and the number of views of each post. These gains show measurable success in reaching the objectives of growing page membership and raising the group's profile. Similarly, hui attendance and participation in hīkoi partially reflected the success of Facebook as an organisational tool. Objectives such as raising awareness and increasing engagement however are difficult to measure but I have attempted to investigate the effectiveness of these objectives through discussion with users of the Mana Party Facebook pages.

Kōrero from users of Mana Facebook pages

I spoke with ten users of the main Mana Party, Mana ki Manawatū, Mana Wairarapa and Mana Rangatahi pages about their experiences with the social media sites. In terms of engagement with the Facebook pages I asked participants if their interactions included reading Mana page posts, 'liking' posts, sharing posts from Mana pages on their own page, commenting on a post on a Mana page and posting new information of their own accord. Results of this (see Figure 5.1) showed participants' engagement ranged from not very engaged – just reading posts, to very engaged – posting new information on the page. The majority of participants, however, fell somewhere in the middle with most being comfortable 'liking' and over half at ease with commenting and sharing. However, the frequency of any of these actions was not disclosed so the information only paints a rough picture of where they sit on the ladder of engagement and not how often they engage.

Figure 5.1: Research Participants' Engagement with Mana Party Facebook Pages[35]
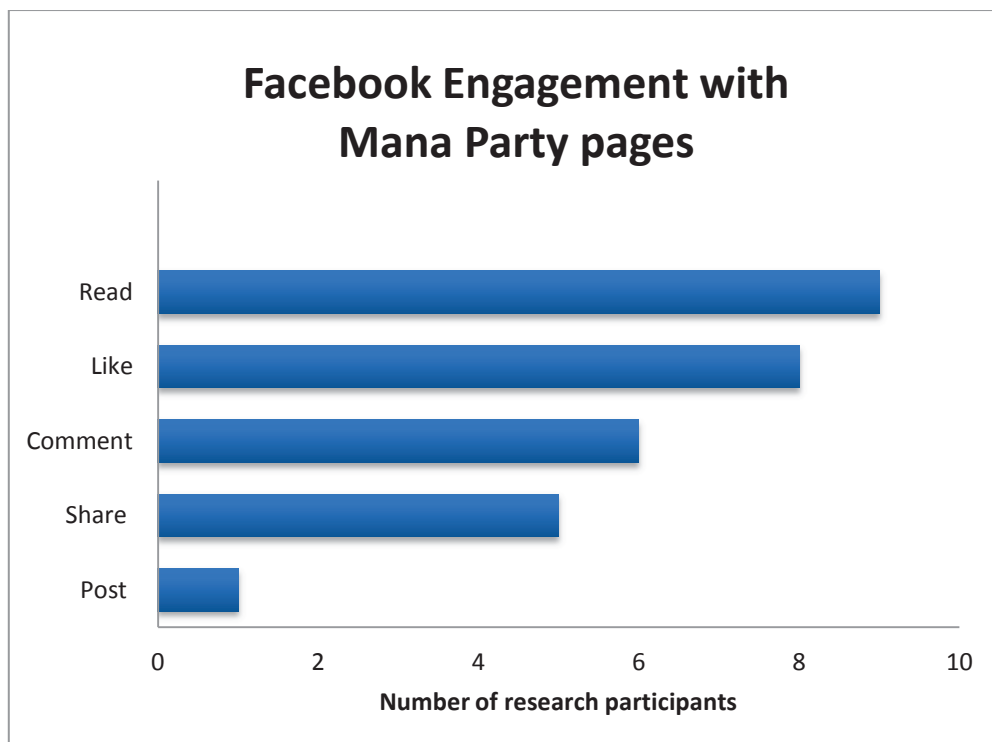
Source: Author, 2013.

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[35] Pages include main Mana Party page, Mana ki Manawatū, Mana Wairarapa and Mana Rangatahi.

Facebook users views on objectives

Objective 1: Facilitate rangatahi engagement

Two of my participants were connected to the Mana Rangatahi Facebook page and both conveyed positive opinions on the value of the site. Iwa related:

I think it [social media] has a part to play in educating especially rangatahi…I was becoming more and more engaged and more and more pissed off with the way things were going.

While rangatahi engagement was an objective for the Mana ki Manawatū page, none of my participants that used the page were in the rangatahi age category so therefore unable to speculate whether the objective was met. The moderators noted that a large proportion of the page 'likers' were rangatahi, however, no assumptions can be made about the level of engagement that they had.

Objective 2: Free and easy access to information

A key objective of the Mana Facebook pages was to provide free and easy access to political information and a means of communication. While they can provide the information via social media they have no control over whether or not Facebook users have the means to access the internet itself. A few participants didn't have regular access to the internet at home but they had access either at education institutions, public libraries, work or free wireless internet areas. In terms of their wider whānau, access was an issue for some but this was due to financial constraints rather than infrastructure or geographical limitations. Younger participants could not even conceive of anyone except 'old people' not having the internet.

Most participants agreed that Māori without access to the internet were disadvantaged politically because they were unable to access a variety of other perspectives. However, Participant Rima pointed out that lack of internet cannot assume lack of political engagement:

It's not an issue for Ngāpuhi[36] aye, they're active as. They've got Waitangi[37] up there so it's like a polarising issue. The way I've always seen Ngāti Porou[38] as really

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[36] Māori tribe in far north of North Island. Much of the area is geographically remote lacking infrastructure.
[37] Where treaty between iwi and the British Crown was signed in 1840.

independent, autonomous in terms of their own mana and their political engagement within their own rohe, so while they might not have so much access through the internet to external political goings on, within their hapū it might be a completely different story.

Our hapū and iwi – their political action or potential to be active within politics shouldn't be determined by their access to the net because I mean they all have their own stories. I mean Ruatahuna[39] might not have access to the internet but in terms of political consciousness? Maybe in the Wairarapa something like this would be really valuable because a lot of our people have been dormant politically since Greytown, Pāpāwai[40] and the Kotahitanga[41] movement.

Trying to activate those people or get them conscious about political things again, we need every avenue we can get. So I think the internet fits the stories of those rohe… and how it's utilised or whether they have access to it is part and parcel of their story as a people. But personally, I wouldn't want to try and make any assertions based on internet access.

Participant Tekau also points out that there are more fundamental issues behind Māori disadvantage than just having access to the internet:

Even if we did have more access and we all carried around little Blackberries or whatever, I don't think that would change how influential we are politically because the nature of the system is that it is set against us. Like we already are politically disadvantaged.

From the participants' responses on internet access I can conclude that a free and easily accessible source of political information and communication is a reality for most. This illustrates effective achievement of another key objective of the Mana Facebook pages. Yet while the significance of internet access to facilitate engagement has been stressed I also acknowledge that Māori political engagement is not reliant upon it.

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[38] Māori tribe on east coast of North Island. Also geographically remote.
[39] Small town in the Urewera, central North Island. Home to the Tūhoe nation. The site of much action during the New Zealand wars of the 1860s and 1870s.
[40] Important site of the Kotahitanga movement in Greytown
[41] Māori parliament movement in the late 1800s.

Objective 3: Conscientise and politicise

The majority of participants maintained that they became aware of information via the pages that they would not have seen elsewhere. Those with little or no political knowledge were exposed to a range of new ideas. Those who were already politically active were no strangers to the issues but often the Mana perspective on them was unique. Branch specific, local news about upcoming events and action was also not information they would have seen elsewhere.

Participant Iwa had not voted prior to 2011 because she had no understanding of politics, no encouragement from her parents or education around it at school. While her increased political activity is also attributed to university education, in particular a Treaty of Waitangi paper, she asserts that the Facebook pages also had a strong influence on her awareness and thinking about politics:

I'm more exposed to it and because Facebook is a part of most people's every day activities you're more exposed to it through there so you're seeing it more, reading it more and the debates you do see encourage you to be more active. Before I had connections with Mana through Facebook I would have only got what I knew from the news which I hardly watch anyway so I think it's made me more conscious of the political activities around me.

Connections with the page for Participant Toru meant a change in his thinking about the party leader:

It resulted in me actually meeting Hone Harawira which changed my views of him. I used to find him quite divisive and now I can see that he's just a victim of the way the media like to portray everybody who's not a member of the National Party or the Labour Party basically.

Participant Whitu was already politically active but his knowledge of issues was increased through the Facebook page:

I don't think it's sort of changed my views so much but it has given me more of a depth of understanding of things that I had vague views on but didn't really fully understand like particularly with a lot of Māori rights issues which I hadn't had a lot of exposure to before.

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Participant Rima is very politically active and became more politically conscious after starting a psychology degree. While he always knew something was not quite right with the system he now has more understanding of the structures of power and is able to clearly articulate his disenchantment. Like Participant Whitu and other participants he wouldn't attribute to Mana Facebook pages any change in his thinking, but it was a source of local information about local events. He does however see great value in its potential to challenge thinking and raise awareness of others:

> *I think it's good. If we're thinking about something like Facebook and the Mana page on Facebook, let's just say if someone clicks it and 'Likes' it and then the information that gets posted on that site comes into their newsfeed then there's an access route whereas that might not have been there otherwise…If that just allows for one particular story to get through to one particular person, you know you give them time, you don't really know how that is going to affect people at the time they read it, at the time they engage with it. We can't underestimate the effect of that network and its potential.*

Objective 4: Organise and mobilise

On the whole, participants agreed they would not have had the same level of involvement with the Mana Party if they were not connected through Facebook. Many also agreed that their social media connections led to offline action. Iwa explains:

> *The organisation of the hīkois and protests was done through social media. So the asset sales was one, the Tūhoe raids one outside the high court, I found that out through the page as well and so when and where etcetera through there. So it made me active outside of the Facebook …I wouldn't have known about times, places for hīkoi and protest and I probably wouldn't have gone and sought it out myself if it wasn't as easily accessible on the internet, I probably wouldn't have asked around.*

Participant Toru noted the ease of using the medium:

> *The thing about Facebook…is you can come home and I can open my laptop, sit on the couch and I'm connected with it straight away. Don't have to get on the phone, I don't have to text someone, I can just see what's happening there and then and then I'll know about it and I can just send somebody a message and the next time I go online it's all there waiting for me. It's instant so it makes things a lot easier. And*

even someone like me who's politically engaged anyway, it's still like, can I be bothered calling this person, can I be bothered going round to see this person. And you don't have that because it's just instant.

All participants engaged with the Facebook pages at the most basic level – reading comments and articles that were posted. Many then went on to attend hui or hīkoi to support political issues following information from the Facebook page. For some Facebook was their only means of communication with their Mana branch and was the only way they knew about events. They preferred this type of interaction because of the efficiency and ease of the forum. Questions could be asked and answered in an instant and with information coming up regularly in their newsfeed they were more regularly engaged with the party.

Bearing in mind the moderators' definition of a successful outcome in terms of political engagement, the varying levels of engagement from these ten page users shows this objective was met. We cannot assume Facebook was the only factor in influencing participation, however, it was widely stated that participants' levels of involvement was due to their connection with the Facebook pages. Furthermore, they would have had far less involvement with Mana if they were not connected via social media. While ten people are in no means representative of all Mana page users, it indicates an opportunity for influencing political consciousness and subsequent action, even if only to a small degree.

Objective 5: Provide a platform for alternative/Māori views

Participants generally considered mainstream media as biased and untrustworthy. Whether it was a deliberate conspiracy to misrepresent and stereotype Māori or merely reflected the Eurocentric cultural norms of mainstream New Zealand society, the verdict across the board was that 'the news' was bad news for Māori. All agreed that their membership of the respective Mana pages provided perspectives and information they might not otherwise see. Many participants were encouraged by the opportunities social media provides to oppose the status quo and provide another view. Participant Whā:

I definitely think we live in the age of the single story. So one of the hardest things about conscientising people…is that you're trying to battle against a whole lot of singular ideas, you know like a singular history around New Zealand history and that misinformation starts really early and still carries on right throughout the education system and it's pervasive in the media. So I think it [social media] offers massive opportunity to increase the number of stories that are available. I don't think you can

gain the same kind of hegemony that some of those stories have but it's a counter. I prefer to get my news, about the world even, just in people's posts in Facebook because they would add some of their thoughts. People would usually post various angles on things so you weren't being told what happened, you were being given a few perspectives on things and they were owned as perspectives, not as the absolute truth.

This was reiterated in more simple terms by Participant Ono:

I think the Facebook, Twitter, social media way is better because then you get everyone's opinion rather than just one in the newspaper.

Participant Tahi describes mainstream media as racist:

My perspective is that the media is racist on Māori issues. The media is projecting all these images into peoples' homes and they have little impressionable kids. The language starts early, the whole construction of the racist perspective starts early. I think too that you can't actually stop it. But what you can do is make people more aware of it…as being biased. Natives are still considered by and large in today's language as uncivilised. You just need to look at the statistics you know, education, health, judicial, they're always at the bottom and the media projects that as if it's their fault.

Participant Whā describes the situation as less purposefully racist but still negative:

When you start to talk about Māori representation in the media it can start to seem conspiracy theorist, like you're imagining that they sit behind their newspaper desks and their television screens plotting…But I am interested in how business as usual achieves that anyway and I think it does definitely… And it's always through a particular lens which is a predominantly Pākehā lens.

Participant Rima questions the implications of this type of narrowly focused news media:

You know its [news media's] ability to undermine and navigate argument and debate is huge. And what I've noticed too is that everything else from that story, like you have a headline news story and everything else derives from it, the newspapers, your

talkback, everything. So it sets the tone. Once it's framed that way there's no argument, like outside of that. And the power to be a story teller like that and to determine the nature of the argument, its huge but you don't even consider it. I mean what does that do to a society; I mean how does that shape our society?

Tikanga Māori and social media

In addition to their experiences with the Mana Party Facebook pages, I spoke to the participants about their views on social media and how it does or doesn't align with tikanga Māori. From these perspectives two themes with social media as positive and in alignment with tikanga Māori emerged – Rangatiratanga and Whanaungatanga. Conversely, these discussions also highlighted where social media was negative and in opposition to tikanga Māori – through lack of respect or aroha, lack of face to face interaction, sharing tapu images and knowledge, lack of authenticity and ease of cultural misappropriation.

Rangatiratanga

Autonomy over telling their own stories and determining their own future is a central Māori aspiration and a goal of the Mana Party. As a platform for alternative voices social media is helping to facilitate that. This links closely with Objective 5 of the Mana Party social media strategy. Participant Whā believes it is one of limited spaces for Māori to speak:

Because we are not well represented outside of local radio and Māori television stations it [social media] is one of the few forums in which Māori do get to speak and not be censored.

Participant Tahi is similarly positive:

I think the opportunities for Māori are huge. It's a forum for you to get whatever you want to get out there which is what you never had before and that itself is a bane in politics eyes now. It gives you more power and it takes it away from them ... They have too much power... It gives back the power to the people. It is definitely a plus for Māori…for indigenous people. You can be in the bush but if you've got your internet you still can be vocal to the majority of the world out there and that's got to be a plus.… I think the internet helps because it does weaken that power structure and that's what I like about it. It weakens their power over us as long as we have the financial means to keep on the internet.

Iwa noted that social media could be a tool for self determination:

Tino Rangatiratanga, by Māori for Māori, so Māori taking control of their own destinies…through social media…they're using that avenue to pursue one's goals and political aspirations

Participant Tekau also believes it has potential:

It definitely provides Māori with a form of information dispersal that they have more control over, that's the benefit.

As does Participant Ono:

Yeah it would be more positive because it would be Māori reporting on Māori wouldn't it.

Whanaungatanga

A major theme that most participants mentioned was the concept of whanaungatanga which is also significant to the Kaupapa Māori methodological and theoretical approaches this study has taken. Relationships with other people and the environment are central to Māori living and the nature of social networking sites such as Facebook allows whanaungatanga to flourish in the virtual world. Participant Whā explained her perspective of whanaungatanga online:

I think it's something Māori have superior knowledge of, how to conduct relationships…If you're talking about social networks, I think that aligns really well with conducting relationships. I think about when at hui when the idea is that everybody has the chance to speak then I think that is something that is probably facilitated more easily through the internet.

Online social networks are particularly important as people are increasingly scattered geographically. Participant Tekau shared the experience of her whānau:

In terms of whanaungatanga keeping in touch is the main thing. I didn't realise it but my husband's parents who live in Waitara have been going to Facebook every day just to look at baby's photos. The ability for them to be able to look at her and watch

her grow, you know in the instance where we don't have the ideal which would be to have them live with us or at least in Palmerston North but they're back there looking after the marae. It's really provided something invaluable. They can see her; they can post to each other and it's free. It's freer than a toll call, freer than driving.

Participant Tahi highlights how it can also create personal wellbeing*:*

It helps us keep in touch with our whānau we haven't heard from in years, or friends. That makes a person feel some self worth about themselves which is good.

A clear theme that arose in the discussion of whanaungatanga was its ability it to create a strong sense of solidarity, particularly in terms of political engagement. For some it was the solidarity in being linked with other Mana party Facebook pages as Participant Waru explains:

It's also connected me to a broader network of likeminded people and let me know what's going on in other provinces around New Zealand. And one of the things I've always thought about politics and Māori engagement and that's about Māori feeling alone. So one thing that social media does, in particular if we're going to focus on Mana ki Manawatu and also the connection it has with other Mana groups around the country is that you're not alone. Which is hugely important.

For others it was the solidarity in being connected to other indigenous networks around the world with similar struggles. Participant Rima was very encouraged by this aspect of social media:

It's really important and it's really awesome to know that out there in the world there are nations and groups of people who are going through what Māori are going through and that you know, there's solidarity around these issues. Not only just with indigenous people but heaps of Pākehā people out there man.

Negative implications

While there are many positive implications of using Facebook for Māori, breaches in tikanga can lead to a culturally unsafe online space. Whanaungatanga is about respectful relationships however this is sometimes not always adhered to in the virtual world. Traditional Māori values such as aroha, awhi and manaaki are expressed through taking

care of people, giving support and showing respect. In the offline world they can be shown through offering hospitality to a visitor in your home, respecting the status of an elder or supporting a friend or relative through tough times. However, lack of respect, 'trolling' and threats to safety are all valid concerns about social networking sites.

Kaua e takahia te mana o te Tāngata

In the online world of social media traditional values can be ignored and this was a cause of concern for a few of the participants. There was mention of the tuakana/teina aspect of Māori relationships where the elder should be respected yet on Facebook for example a young person might deride their tuakana through rude comments. Similarly, the notion of tautoko or support can be displaced online as people don't take problems as seriously as they would in the real world. Participant Tekau was disturbed by this aspect:

I know someone who is suffering from mental illness and the nature of their posts…I feel sorry for them because people are reading them and they can see, you know it just makes it really public that 'ok that person is not together'. Personally, I think his whānau should step in and shut down his page because I don't think that's tikanga. When someone is sick you surround them and you awhi them and you look after them. You wouldn't leave them standing outside exposed and I think having a Facebook page can be very much like that sometimes.

Disrespect is a regular occurrence in online forums where the prevalence of trolling has led to people being attacked by others anonymously just to create trouble. Participant Toru was frustrated with this aspect of social media:

I think specifically with things like Facebook and blogging, the trolling aspect of it can be very negative and its very easy for idiots to just barge on to forums and message boards and spout the usual anti-Māori rhetoric that comes from right wing trollers. Its more open to not constructive criticism but just people being negative for no good reason

Mana is a new movement pushing for major changes to the power structures in society and with a polarising figure such as Hone Harawira at the helm, Moderator A also had concerns about troublemakers offline:

Without a doubt what people consider as the most dangerous thing in society is ideas because they can be revolutionary. So I do not underestimate the ability of oppressors or violent people to hate. The only thing about Facebook which is out there in the internet world for anyone to access is who the members are, where they live, even photos seeing who their friends are. I think if we had a really determined KKK type movement spring up anywhere there could be some serious dangers in terms of the security of our members. Because I mean Hone has had massive death threats, you know, how long will it take till that extends to members of the movement? Also I'd never put it past the police to use surveillance, you know what I mean? So in terms of people becoming more exposed I think there are some real dangers there.

Kanohi ki te kanohi

The seen face is important in Māori culture and significant to the ability to grow and maintain relationships. However, social media such as Facebook can increase the likelihood of disrespect either through misunderstanding or mischief. Participant Ono noted**:**

Its not face to face so you can misinterpret things.

And Participant Waru contends:

Because there's that thing of anonymity, you're not necessarily going to meet that person on the street so you say things that you wouldn't kanohi ki te kanohi. So there's that aspect of trampling on Māoritanga.

Tapu images

A strong concern came through from a lot of participants about the nature of images shared on forums like Facebook. Māori consider it a breach of tikanga to display images of dead people alongside images of the living. While most people know not to have photos of the living and the dead side by side on a wall in the house, some don't necessarily transfer these practices around photos or video into virtual forums. Participant Tahi was conflicted about the sharing of tapu images:

Sometimes I wonder [if it's right] when we are showing pictures of our tipuna that have passed. [It] reinforces that it's not the way to do it but sometimes we know deep in our hearts it's the only way we are going to be able to share those things. So it kind of contradicts you but at the end of the day it's the person putting those out.

Sometimes I was doing it, I would bless it before I put it out there if it's a picture of someone who has passed. I get a bit thing when I see my cousin has got her mother's photo up there and she has passed away, I mean I think 'kei te pai[42]' I understand but you have to be careful, it's like posting pictures of your children.

Participant Tekau shared similar sentiments about images:

I do think there are some things around tapu that need to be explored. That's only because, people would say I'm a real nanny but you know the nature of images…Things like dead people, but even just like my wedding photos, I'm the type of person that wanted a really small wedding because I didn't want to be on parade and even images of my daughter to me are tapu. In my whānau very few people have a photo of my nanny, because we do consider it a tapu thing in terms of the image.

Authenticity

There was also concern voiced about the speed and ease with which false information could be spread. While social media can encourage discussion and promote Māori perspectives, it can also reinforce existing ignorance. Many of the participants expressed concern at the credibility of information shared on social media and difficulty in challenging some attitudes. Participant Rima noted:

Because of the platform you get in a public forum, you know, my ignorance if I don't acknowledge it and just assume that what I'm saying is tikanga, it just gives your perspective a bigger platform and you have potential to influence other people's thinking and if they're removed from a cultural context or their connection to Māoridom, then you know, often the authority on the net is the one they're going to repeat, especially if it sounds good or makes sense so you know, we really don't want to be redefining important aspects of tikanga through internet forums.

Participant Whā reiterates the sentiment:

Who knows what gets put out where and to whom and who takes it up and it becomes gospel because they read it on the internet and yet it's just some idiot's idea on what Māori think.

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[42] Translation: *"That's okay".*

Iwa also concurs:

Some information not being credible, like say for example people believing stuff that might not necessarily be true and everyone is believing it.

Cultural misappropriation

Indigenous people regularly struggle to assert control over traditional intellectual property because of the commercialisation of their culture due to the ignorance and greed of others. Participant Rua strongly condemns this increasingly common practice:

There was this Māori fulla and a company wanted to take a picture of him, nek minnit they sell his picture doing the pūkana with a taiaha, sold it to overseas and it just went everywhere, all over the internet and all he got was a couple hundred dollars for it when his photo is really worth a couple of million, and yeah that pissed me off hard out.

Similarly, Iwa noted the negative possibilities around Māori knowledge and images:

I think with Māori knowledge, tikanga, mātauranga Māori, it is a tapu thing, so social media can have the tendency to disseminate information that actually might not be appropriate to be out … on the internet. Same as images.

Misappropriation of cultural artefacts is not a new phenomenon for Māori but a forum like social media allows for quick and easy replication of digital files which further intensifies the problem.

Traditional hierarchy

Traditionally knowledge rests with elders in Māori culture. They are keepers of whakapapa, reo and whānau stories. As a new technology, Facebook and other social media are readily taken up by youth however older generations tend to be excluded. While some older people do use new media it is a major barrier to information for some. Participant Waru notes that while reaching out to rangatahi, kaumātua could be excluded:

Our goal was to get youth involved and so that's who we targeted. We didn't divert naturally to kaumātua and kuia who are traditionally the knowledge base…So I guess from a tikanga perspective we didn't follow that. But I guess that's social media and

new technology in general now, we have the access to a lot of different sources of information and we can just pick and choose from that. It has kind of watered down the traditional influence of elders.

For Moderator A engaging kaumātua is an important process that needs to occur in future:

[We need] to get the older generation engaged in Facebook as well because I think they didn't really read it [Facebook] for meetings and stuff like that…some people it wasn't even ok to send them an email you had to phone them. There were a few women that were like "we didn't know the meeting was on" …"I need to be called" sort of things like that. [We need to say] "get your mokopuna to show you how to make a Facebook page", you know, kids check it like once an hour, not even once a day, kids check it every hour that they're awake.

Whichever technologies Māori use it is important to use them in accordance with the tikanga or values they live by. The concept of best practice and literacy around social media is something that would benefit all users given the scope for harm. Participant Rima maintains however that this should not be difficult:

If people have a kawa that governs how they treat people socially then there's no reason why that kawa shouldn't carry through to the internet and their relationships online or their engagement online, that kawa should still follow through….It's a good illustration of how we in this day and age, as Māori communities should be able to maintain kawa while having these different interfaces that we have to engage with so whether or not it's the internet or the rūnanga, as long as your kawa is in place, that kawa should govern how people interact.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on results from interviews in the field conducted with Annette Sykes, Mana Party president; two moderators of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page; and ten users of Mana Facebook pages – Mana, Mana ki Manawatū, Mana Wairarapa and Mana Rangatahi. The interviews have provided insight into the objectives of the national Mana social media strategy; the objectives of the moderators of Mana ki Manawatū and the Facebook users' perceptions of whether these objectives were met. The findings show that the four objectives – to facilitate rangatahi engagement, to facilitate open and free access to

information, to conscientise and politicise, to organise and mobilise, and to provide a platform for alternative/ Māori views – were all met to varying degrees. Finally, the results show the participants' thoughts on social media and whether they think it relates positively or negatively to Māori culture and values. These findings show that social media aligns with tikanga Māori by reinforcing the concepts of Tino Rangatiratanga and whanaungatanga. Conversely, social media is in conflict with Māori values when it facilitates breaches of tikanga such as lack of respect, cultural misappropriation, sharing sacred information, subversion of traditional hierarchy and lack of 'kanohi ki te kanohi' interaction.

Chapter Six will now analyse these fieldwork results and discuss how they relate to the concepts and themes raised in the literature review and theory chapters.

Chapter 6: *Ngā taonga*

New spaces

[Development and Web 2.0] illustrates the runaway empowering potentials of new combinations of technology and volunteer commitment, energy and creativity. We are in a new space – Robert Chambers[43] (2010, p. 344).

This chapter presents an analysis of the themes identified from interviews with the Mana Party president, Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page moderators and Mana Party Facebook page users. These themes will be explored in relation to the concepts highlighted in the literature on indigenous development and social media in Chapter Two and the theoretical frameworks illustrated in Chapter Three. Key findings will be drawn out and highlighted as important research outcomes. I will frame this by analysing the results in relation to the questions posed at the beginning of the thesis. I will also introduce a framework of empowered social media spaces based on Friedmann's (1992) (dis)empowerment model and discuss how the Mana Party Facebook pages are positioned within this model.

As the methodological and theoretical foundation of this thesis, Kaupapa Māori principles have informed both the 'how' and the 'why' of the research. A number of principles and practices of Kaupapa Māori theory and research have been elucidated by various authors (Bevan-Brown, 1998; Bishop, 1996; Cram, 2001; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999) in Chapters Three and Four. Regardless of varying definitions, however, I believe that each of these understandings comes down to tikanga as the parameter of what is correct and what is not.

Therefore, deferring to tikanga alongside critical and empowerment theories while exploring the results from the field will allow me to appropriately analyse and define the 'what' of this research. This study adheres to the contention of Mead (2003) that tikanga is not just traditional custom but a practice which can also be applied in contemporary situations. For example, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga are principles that are inextricably linked to aroha and underpin tikanga in any environment. Subsequently, I have endeavoured to utilise them in my interactions with the research participants. The five research questions will be considered in turn.

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[43] Robert Chambers is a development scholar and leading advocate for participatory approaches.

Answering the research questions

1. What are the objectives of the Mana Party's social media strategy in regards to Māori political engagement?
2. Were the objectives met during the 2011 General Election campaign?
3. How effective were the Facebook pages in conscientising and mobilising Māori around political issues?
4. Can social media align with indigenous values, in particular tikanga Māori?
5. How can social media tools be utilised to advance indigenous development?

Question 1.

What are the objectives of the Mana Party's social media strategy in regards to Māori political engagement?

According to Mana Party president Annette Sykes, the main objective of the social media strategy was to encourage political participation of Māori youth. Additional objectives were promoting constructive political kōrero; providing free and easy access to political information; communicating the message of the Mana movement; and providing an alternative perspective on political issues (particularly Māori issues) to that of the mainstream media (Interview: October 9, 2012).

This was reiterated by the moderators of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook group which had the following objectives: to facilitate rangatahi engagement; to facilitate free and open access to information; to politicise and conscientise; to organise and mobilise; and to provide a platform for alternative/Māori views as opposed to that of mainstream media (Interviews: June 10 & 22, 2012). Their objectives align closely with that of the Mana Party strategy however; rangatahi engagement was a main driver for Annette Sykes where as for Mana ki Manawatū the other objectives were equally important.

Question 2.

Were the objectives met during the 2011 General Election campaign?

Annette Sykes was very positive about the social media strategy's effect on the Mana Party's campaign (Interview: October 9, 2012). The Facebook branch pages based on location or kaupapa kept people informed of issues and provided a forum for debate. People were also able to engage personally with individuals standing for Mana in the Māori or

General electorates either by connecting with them on Facebook or following their campaign on Twitter.

The success of the individual objectives as evaluated by two Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page moderators and ten Mana Facebook page users is noted as follows:

Objective 1 – Facilitate rangatahi engagement

According to moderators and the Facebook page demographics there were quite a few rangatahi connected with the page. This did not however, translate to measureable engagement with the page such as 'liking', 'commenting' or 'posting'. They may have engaged via viewing, reading or talking about information on the page which are all valid interactions however it is not possible to measure these. The two rangatahi I did interview both got a lot of information through the Mana Rangatahi and main Mana pages and agree it is an important medium because they use Facebook daily and they can share political information and different points of view with their friends and other networks who might not be as politically active as they are.

There is a lot of literature on the subject of social media and encouraging political engagement among youth, for example with the 2008 presidential campaign of Barack Obama (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011; Harfoush, 2009). Further investigation would need to be done however to ascertain how to most appropriately engage indigenous youth, in particular Māori youth, in politics using social media.

Objective 2 – Facilitate free and open access to information

While most agreed that lack of internet access disadvantaged Māori politically, it was not considered a barrier to participation. None of the participants viewed lack of internet access as an issue for them or their whānau as there were other avenues to access it rather than having a computer and broadband connection at home. Some didn't have this because of financial reasons but still use portable devices such as smart phones, laptops or tablets to access internet wirelessly. Additionally some noted that they would use the internet at the public library or at someone else's house if they needed to.

This information is contrary to the concept of a 'digital divide' which is common in literature on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and indigenous minorities in other countries (Greyling & Zulu, 2010; Mehra et al., 2004; Singleton et al., 2009) as well as New Zealand (Cullen, 2003; Greenbrook-Held & Morrison, 2011; Parker, 2003). I should note

however that of the 12 participants I spoke to, all lived in a large town or city and many were studying at university. While they do not perceive lack of access to be an issue for Māori, even within their own whānau, neither they nor I can speculate on the reality for Māori who are living in impoverished areas – rural or urban.

Objective 3 – Conscientise and politicise

The Mana social media strategy is successful because success is defined as any engagement with the Facebook sites and all participants engaged with the page in varying degrees. As Adminstrator A stated (Interview: June 22, 2012), the act of engaging with the page was the outcome and so any further political action that came from that was a bonus. To conscientise or politicise there might not be any tangible indicator, for example, a Facebook "Like" or a comment. However, the very act of reading something can raise awareness and plant a seed of thought. Participant Whā discussed this in relation to debating on social media:

On the opinion boards it was never for me about convincing whoever I was arguing with because they were pretty set in their ways. I would think about all of the Māori that were watching, watching and not engaging and thinking about them. Giving them the other stories and that's probably the value of social networking too is that we think about people who participate but there are far more than we could ever know, observers who don't actually get to comment.

Raising awareness and creating a political consciousness was a key objective – before any kind of political action there must be political thought. This reiterates Freire's (1970) thoughts on conscientisation whereby the disadvantaged must first become aware of their conditions of disadvantage and the structural inequality of society's systems. Subsequently, they become aware of the power they have to transform those conditions. This also refers to Longwe's (1991) third degree of empowerment, the conscientisation and awareness-raising degree where structural and institutional discrimination is addressed. In the context of the research the Mana Party Facebook pages were a tool for increasing Māori awareness of political issues. The less engaged users only joined the page because it was suggested to them by a friend or whānau member but they still agreed that they were exposed to information that would not otherwise see. Users who were already politically engaged became aware of different perspectives of the topics even if they were already familiar with the issues.

The Mana Party social media platforms raised awareness of Māori issues which parallels the examples of indigenous activism within the literature. Tebtebba and the Cordillera People's Alliance of the Philippines (Soriano, 2011); the Canadian First Nation's #IdleNoMore movement (Preston, 2013); and the Rapa Nui on Easter Island, have all utilised social media tools such as Facebook and Twitter to raise the awareness of indigenous rights violations and bring the injustices their people are facing to the attention of the world.

Objective 4 – Organise and mobilise

Social media is free, relatively easy to use and it is taken up by more users every day. Because of this it is an ideal tool for groups to communicate information and organise action (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). These tools were used to great effect during the 'Arab Spring' with Twitter particularly being employed to mobilise pro-democracy protesters in Egypt, Tunisia and Libya to overthrow longstanding dictators (Ghannam, 2011; Joseph, 2012). Moderator B noted the efficiency of using the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page to communicate when and where hui or hīkoi would be held. It was used to show people how to make submissions to parliament and also helped organise group travel arrangements to Wellington to support Hone Harawira, Mana Party leader, being sworn in at Parliament.

All but two of the Mana Facebook page users interviewed believed their link to the page encouraged them to attend hui and/or hīkoi as it was their only means of interaction with the party and they would not have attended those offline political actions otherwise. This type of action refers to Longwe's (1991) fourth degree of empowerment, the participation and mobilisation degree where the oppressed or disadvantaged are enabled to participate equally in making decisions and mobilise to take action. This also reiterates Friedmann's (1992) view of power whereby people can liberate themselves by exercising their social and political power by mobilising to collective action as well as participating in decision making. While mobilising Facebook users to collective action the Mana pages also encourage participation in decision making through voting for Mana candidates in the electorates and/or giving Mana their party vote – it is however a matter of first conscientising people so that they believe their votes will make a difference.

Objective 5 – Provide a platform for alternative/Māori views

There was overwhelming scepticism among the research participants of the ability of mainstream traditional media to fairly and accurately portray Māori people and issues. This mistrust mirrors the findings of various studies that have highlighted the narrow and

stereotypical and negative way that Māori have been portrayed in the New Zealand media (Barnes et al., 2012; Walker, 1990b, 2002; Wall, 1997). The Mana party president and the page moderators viewed the Facebook pages as a platform to offer a different perspective from what was found in the daily newspapers and 6 o'clock news bulletins. As previously noted all participants found they became aware of information they would not have otherwise been exposed to. They were either hearing about some issues for the first time or they were seeing another perspective on a story that was never shown in mainstream media.

An alternative platform for Māori views is the blogosphere. No technological savvy is required to set up a blog on a site such as wordpress.com or Tumblr as they are user-friendly and allow anyone to create a blog on which to share their thoughts. For Māori, bloggers such as Marama Davidson of *Te Wharepora Hou* and Morgan Godfrey from *Maui Street* offer Māori analysis of issues that is missing in mainstream media. Maui Street specifically addresses Māori politics and Māori in politics while Te Wharepora Hou offer a wāhine Māori perspective on various topics including gender, environmental issues, indigenous rights and more.

The value of these bloggers isn't in their expertise but their fulfilment of a need for Māori perspectives on Māori issues. Within those online spaces they can influence how Māori issues are represented and encourage a healthy debate around the topics. Interestingly their blogs have also led them to become commentators on television current affairs programmes such as Native Affairs on Māori Television which allows their contributions to reach wider audiences. The ability to control media and therefore influence its representation on an issue reflects a major principle of Māori development which is Tino Rangatiratanga. I will elaborate further on this concept in the context of social media and tikanga Māori later in this chapter.

Question 3.

How effective were the Facebook pages in conscientising and mobilising Māori around political issues?

Raising awareness or conscientising people around political issues and increasing their political power is the central theme of this thesis. The importance of empowering the oppressed is highlighted in Chapter Three and supported by the works of key theorists Freire – *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) and Friedmann – *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (1992). The importance of empowerment for Māori was specifically

addressed through the discussion on Kaupapa Māori in both theory and praxis (Bishop, 1999; Cram, 2001; Pihama, 2001; Smith 1997; Tuhiwai-Smith; 1999). Both empowerment and Kaupapa Māori theories seek to draw attention to the injustice and inequity of the current systems in society. As noted in discussion of Mana Party objectives in Chapters Five and Six, conscientising and mobilising people were both key aims for the Mana Party social media strategy and Mana ki Manawatū branch moderators. Furthermore, the interviews with the Facebook page users have shown that these objectives were achieved.

Question 4.

Can social media align with indigenous values – in particular tikanga Māori?

Tikanga is a principle that guides Māori life. It underpins Kaupapa Māori theory and directs Kaupapa Māori research. As a Māori researcher engaged in a study with Māori it is important that I have a code to abide by that will keep my participants and me safe. The specific principles of Smith (1999) and Cram's (2001) 'Community Up' model inform the tikanga that guides this project. It is important to recognise the complexities of tikanga and that I by no means assume to have fluency in it. Similarly, my participants also have varying degrees of understanding of the concept and we all reflect Durie's (1995) notion of 'Diverse Māori Realities' whereby differences in age, gender, geography and education among other factors contribute to different lived experiences by Māori. So while some features of tikanga might not be noted, I would propose that a shared appreciation of the correct way to engage with people present and past, the correct way to engage with traditional knowledge, and the correct way to engage with cultural artefacts is the understanding of tikanga that was accepted in our conversations. Discussion on indigenous values, tikanga Māori and social media will be separated into two sections – aspects of social media which align with indigenous values and aspects of social media which conflict with indigenous values.

How social media aligns with indigenous values

Tā Apirana Ngata encouraged Māori to utilise the tools of the Pākehā for advancement yet still hold onto their Māoritanga for spiritual sustenance . The following section illustrates examples of how this can be achieved for both Māori and other indigenous people.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino Rangatiratanga is power and it is self-determination. Tino Rangatiratanga is a key principle of Kaupapa Māori theory and comes from the discourse of the Treaty of Waitangi in which it refers to Māori sovereignty (Smith, 1997). Tino Rangatiratanga means Māori control over Māori things and has been somewhat realised in education through Kura Kaupapa and Kōhanga Reo initiatives. It is also realised to a degree within social media as the user generated nature of the medium gives Māori the opportunity to 'speak their word', tell their stories and represent their own identity. This counters the hegemony of mainstream media which generally frames Māori in a narrow and negative way. There are examples of indigenous representation of identity in the literature with Māori (Goodwin et al., 2009), indigenous Taiwanese (Zheng, March 9, 2011) and Aboriginal Australians (Lumby, 2010) using Facebook to present themselves and their culture online.

This corresponds with the experiences of the participants who were wary of how Māori and Māori issues were being presented in a biased way without any reference to history or context. They viewed the Mana Facebook pages as a platform for authentic and trustworthy representations of Māori issues. Social media such as blogs, Facebook, YouTube and Twitter provide an opportunity for alternative voices to be heard and forum in which to engage with political parties and politicians directly.

Ownership and control is a recurring theme throughout the literature on indigenous development and social media. The ability to control information has traditionally been held by the dominant elite in society with minority voices going unheard. However with indigenous activism for example, social media presents an opportunity to control information and highlight issues that otherwise would not be seen. It is important to consider though, the level of control that is possible when engaging with a social media site that is a commercial entity which doesn't reflect indigenous values. The Facebook company had its initial public offering on the stock exchange in May 2012 and its main priority is providing revenue for its shareholders through advertising. According to Soriano (2011) commercialism is contrary to the nature of indigenous values and advertising threatens the credibility of indigenous activist spaces online.

This is something that Mana must contend with in utilising sites such as Facebook. Its anti-capitalist, pro-indigenous stance would sit better outside of a commercial site however one of the benefits of the platform is the massive potential of its networks and the fact that it is free. This is a point to consider and there are examples in the literature of indigenous groups exerting control over social media platforms. This includes social media projects such

as the LiveandTell.com community portal of the Lakota people in the United States which allows tribe members to upload songs, recipes, oral histories but also allows control of the level of access outside groups (libraries or academic institutions for example) will have to their traditional knowledge (Arobba et al., 2010). Similarly, the Warumungu people of Australian's Northern Territory have produced an archive of their cultural materials but they dictate the terms of access and distribution to follow their cultural protocols (Christen, 2009). These types of platforms are possibly more suited to indigenous ventures charged with preserving culture and language than those raising awareness and spreading political messages.

Tino Rangatiratanga is a strand woven throughout the thesis so its significance is highlighted in Chapter Three within the theories of empowerment and Kaupapa Māori. It is emphasised in Chapter Four which describes the method and methodology that is supported by the notion of 'research by Māori, for Māori, with Māori'. It is also raised in Chapter Five through the aspirations of the Mana Party to achieve rangatiratanga for the disadvantaged; and through the stories of the participants in their collective determination for Māori to have control over the way Māori issues are presented.

Whanaungatanga

The thread of whanaungatanga has also been woven through this thesis and informs the research theory and research practice. It refers to networking, maintaining relationships and building solidarity. The concept is similarly highlighted within the results chapter where discussions on whanaungatanga relate to connecting with whānau, international movements and likeminded individuals. Bishop (1996) discusses whakawhanaungatanga as a research strategy of Kaupapa Māori theory where the metaphorical research whānau reflects the same principles of respectful engagement as a literal whānau. The concept of research whānau also reflects the 'kaupapa whānau' which is characterised by common bonds such as shared interests or purpose rather than genealogy (Cunningham, Stevenson & Tassell, 2005; Metge, 1995).

Respectful engagement was the basis of my interactions with the research participants. They agreed the ability of social media to connect people was one of the key ways social media aligned with tikanga Māori. In the context of whanaungatanga it was about keeping in touch with whānau many of whom were living overseas. This reflects the findings of O'Carroll (2013) and Kennedy (2010) which show how Māori use social networking sites to maintain relationships. These connections were also significant for the indigenous people of

Oaxaca, Mexico who used social media to link ex-patriots and their children living in the United States with their relatives in their homeland (González et al., 2011).

The participants also noted the importance of being able to connect with other likeminded people and organisations facing similar struggles and the solidarity that it created. These type of connections are also evident in the examples of the First Nations in Canada #IdleNoMore campaign (Preston, 2013), the experiences of indigenous activist organisations in the Philippines (Soriano, 2011), and the Arab Spring phenomena in the Middle East (Ghannam, 2011; Joseph, 2012). The very nature of social media as a platform for networking and collaboration aligns itself with the whanaungatanga aspect of tikanga Māori. Regardless of the purpose – preservation of indigenous language, collaboration in indigenous research, raising awareness of indigenous issues, advertising indigenous business or promoting indigenous art and culture – social media connects people from around the world and brings them together to share understanding and create meaning of what is to be indigenous and how to live as such.

How social media conflicts with indigenous values

While emerging technologies can complement traditional culture in many ways there are also a number of divergences between new media and indigenous values. It is for this reason that care must be taken when using social media for any indigenous initiative. Examples of these conflicts are as follows:

Kaua e takahia te mana o te Tāngata

While social media can bring people together it can also tear them apart by facilitating misunderstandings or exacerbating existing tensions. Māori values of manaaki and aroha promote respect and care yet social media can often undermine these. The participants gave examples of the negativity and ignorance that can be encountered in social media forums like disrespect of elders, lack of support and compassion for the mentally ill or being purposefully hateful through 'trolling'. Similarly, Lumby (2010) noted the negativity around Aboriginal identity on Facebook where people would try to present themselves to be as indigenous as possible for fear of being labelled a 'wannabe'. Rather than fostering relationships within a group, it promotes self doubt and concern for those who live far from tribal homelands and don't know about 'their mob'.

One participant worried that the hostile environment online could lead to offline problems, noting the death threats received by the Mana party leader and the opportunities

for people to access personal information through Facebook profiles. Such hostilities have been a reality for Aboriginal Australian tribes and the *Herald Sun* (January 6, 2012) reported that elders have called for social media bans or censorship after Facebook slander fuelled existing family rivalries and lead to offline fighting.

The threat of government surveillance was an issue of concern for one participant and it is well founded as activist groups in the Philippines have been subject to website email hacking (Soriano, 2011). Government censorship is a reality in countries like China, while Iran and Belarus have both used technology to identify and track political dissidents which often results in disappearances (Joseph, 2012). In New Zealand the consequences of government defiance through the online medium are far less severe than more oppressive regimes. However, the experience of Aotearoa Café losing their servers to the E-Crimes unit in 2007 (Tuiono, 2011) and the May 2013 passing of Government Communications and Security Bureau (GCSB) legislation extending government surveillance of citizens online (Harrison, August 17, 2013), show that New Zealanders are also at risk of state scrutiny for the purposes of 'national security'.

Cultural misappropriation and sacred taonga

A number of participants expressed unease with the ability to replicate and share images or mātauranga Māori online. Some were concerned with non-Māori using Māori imagery or language for commercial purposes as is evidenced in the Lego debacle where the company appropriated culturally sensitive Māori words including tohunga for its Bionicle toy range (Coombe & Herman, 2004). Others worried about the possible misrepresentation of Māori culture. An example from the literature details an image of a Māori kapa haka performer circulated as an internet meme around Facebook with accompanying remarks stereotyping Māori as privileged or criminal (Childs, September 29, 2012).

Instances of distributing whakapapa through Facebook have also been noted and example the type of misuse of mātauranga Māori that the participants were weary of (Brown & Nicholas, 2012). At least two participants noted their discomfort with people sharing sacred images on Facebook such as photos of whānau who have passed away. However it is not easy to stop because some people want to see those images. Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders have similar customs which prohibit showing photos, names or even creations of people who have passed away but this is entirely impractical to monitor online (Dyson, 2004). Similarly, examples of uploading of sacred Zuni ceremonies onto YouTube

show that controlling access to cultural artefacts in an age of digital democracy is virtually impossible (Belarde-Lewis, 2011).

Traditional hierarchy and kanohi kitea

Traditionally, for safety, cultural information was held by those with the mana to respect and keep it. Taonga such as whakapapa was passed from the ancestors down to kaumātua who have the knowledge and understanding of tikanga. However according to Brown and Nicholas, "social media cut[s] across these hierarchies, and therefore may undermine the choices made by ancestors" (2012, p. 317). This can happen easily when knowledge such as whakapapa can be accessed through genealogy websites and shared via social media instead of being transmitted in the traditional way. The undermining of traditional hierarchy has been a challenge for the Mana campaign with the party president admitting that the social media forum has excluded an entire generation from the discussions that would usually take place on the marae. Similarly, other participants noted that while reaching out to rangatahi, Facebook was not the appropriate means for contacting kaumātua.

Concerns were also raised in the literature where Canadian First Nations elders recognised the need to document their traditional knowledge in order to preserve it. They understood that technology such as Web 2.0 was a tool that the younger generation was proficient in but worried that it distracts young people and lures them away from the oral tradition (Maina, 2012). While older people are completely capable of using social media technologies, issues around access are particularly relevant to them with the 'grey digital divide' often due to lack of financial resources, lack of knowledge or lack of interest (Millward, 2003).

Social media cannot replicate oral tradition or replace the function of kaumātua. Likewise, social media cannot replicate kanohi ki te kanohi interaction which is of great significance to Māori (Ka'ai, Moorefield, Reilly, & Mosley, 2004; Mead, 2003). A few participants noted the possibilities of misunderstandings and lack of self control when debating from behind a keyboard. Technologies such as Skype and YouTube might add to the list of tools that connect people to their culture and traditions but will never replace the trust established by the seen face or the feeling of your whenua beneath your feet. The indigenous experience cannot be replicated online otherwise why would people ever go home?

Question 5.

How can social media tools be utilised to advance indigenous development?

Social media lends itself to being a platform for alternative development because it is a participatory technology (Chambers, 2010) which enables bottom-up creation as opposed to the top-down broadcast medium of earlier ICTs (Thompson, 2008). As was shown in the literature and reiterated in the findings, there are opportunities to empower indigenous people using social media but at the same time there are risks of disempowerment. Table 6.1 is a framework based on Friedmann's (1992) (dis)empowerment model in which I have highlighted social media experiences that contribute to either empowerment or disempowerment of indigenous people in social, political and psychological spheres. From this table we can see examples of signs that a social media space is either empowering or disempowering for indigenous people. It is important to note that where Friedmann refers to empowerment and disempowerment of households and their individuals, my discussion is in relation to the social unit of whānau and its individuals.

Table 6.1: Empowering Indigenous Social Media Spaces

	Signs of Empowerment	*Signs of (dis)Empowerment*
Mana Tāngata *Psychological Empowerment*	Sense of wellbeing and self esteem enhanced through: - Promoting native language and custom but also encouraging beginners - Encouragement to participate in discussions - Feeling that thoughts and opinions are valued - Knowing kawa is in place and to keep users culturally safe - Following of culturally specific customs	Sense of wellbeing and self esteem diminished through: - Judgement and exclusion based on lack of language or cultural knowledge - Opinions not valued by others - Personal attacks or unconstructive criticism - Having no guidelines of appropriate behaviour - Ignoring culturally specific customs
Whanaungatanga *Social Empowerment*	Sense of community and solidarity enhanced through: - Maintaining or creating connections to whānau, marae, hapū, iwi sites or other groups - Regularly updating sites with information such as photos or details of hui - Site users interacting regularly with each other - Users share appropriate	Sense of community and solidarity diminished through: - Disregard of kaupapa of the page e.g. using for advertising purposes - Sites lack regular information so people get bored and stop interacting with it - Users arguing and creating a hostile environment - Users uploading content that hasn't been authorised by

	information to learn about themselves and their whānau - All whānau are included regardless of age	kaumātua such as whakapapa, tapu images - Kaumātua are excluded from discussion
Tino Rangatiratanga *Political Empowerment*	Sense of self determination enhanced through: - Ownership of site and content - Access to varied sources and opinions - Sharing own ideas and opinions - Interacting with people and organisations with similar goals - Raised awareness about political issues - - Determination to change status quo - Online political action e.g. submission making, petition signing - Organisation of offline action e.g. hīkoi, hui	Sense of self determination diminished through: - Lack of ownership over site content - Sparse networks limiting interaction and collaboration - Moderator strictly controls discussions - Information coming from same narrow sources - Reinforcement of mainstream ideas - - Sites under corporate or government surveillance - Sites not encouraging online action - Sites not promoting offline action

Source: Structure adapted from Friedmann, 1992 and Scheyvens, 1999.

Within this framework we can see the social media experiences that promote psychological, social and political empowerment for indigenous people. Table 6.1 provides the foundation of recommendations in the concluding chapter for any social media initiative with indigenous people. In terms of locating the Mana Facebook pages within the framework, findings from the literature and general consensus from the research participants positions the main Mana Party, Mana ki Manawatu, Mana Wairarapa and Mana Rangatahi Facebook pages in Table 6.2. It is very important to note that this is not an analysis of the entire Mana social media strategy nor is it the experience of all Mana Facebook users. The table merely highlights some aspects of the four different Facebook pages examined in this research in relation to the (dis)empowerment model.

Table 6.2: Are Mana Facebook Pages Empowering Social Media Spaces?

	Signs of Empowerment	*Signs of (dis)Empowerment*
Mana Tāngata *Psychological Empowerment*	- Participation in discussion encouraged - Social networking policy clearly expressed - Negative content quickly removed	- (Not identified by research participants)
Whanaungatanga *Social Empowerment*	- Connections with others in the Mana whānau - Connections with other Facebook groups on the same kaupapa - Rangatahi are engaged	- Some sites stop posting outside of election campaign times - Some inappropriate use of site i.e. spam or advertising - Kaumātua are excluded
Tino Rangatiratanga *Political Empowerment*	- Raises awareness of political issues - Facilitate access to political information - - Offers different perspective on issues - Site communicates links to online action e.g. petitions, submissions - Site used to organise offline action	- Lack of ownership over medium - Lack of ownership over content

Source: Structure adapted from Friedmann, 1992 and Scheyvens, 1999.

Table 6.2 shows that aspects of Mana Facebook pages create the conditions for psychological, social and political empowerment however elements of disempowerment are also present. Psychological empowerment has been achieved through positive interactions with the page and other users. In order to maintain this, it is necessary for moderators to enforce the social networking policy by monitoring the pages proactively in order to remove any nasty or inappropriate comments promptly.

Social empowerment or whanaungatanga has been achieved by creating connections between users and other groups and individuals within the Mana movement. It is particularly significant that users are connected with candidates and the party leadership. Rangatahi engage with the sites and have their own Facebook page allowing them a sense of autonomy within the movement. Unfortunately, the reverse applies for kaumātua who have

been largely excluded from social media interactions. Page moderating is an unpaid and busy job but in order to maintain the connections and interest within the group the moderators need to regularly update the page and promote opportunities for users to interact with it. Likewise, they need to stay vigilant and keep on top of inappropriate behaviour such as people using the sites to sell raffle tickets or any other activity outside the kaupapa of the page.

The Tino Rangatiratanga or political empowerment section reflects the objectives of the Mana Party's social media strategy and objectives of the Mana ki Manawatū branch moderators which were largely achieved. They facilitated access to political information and raised awareness of political issues as well as providing different perspectives from the mainstream media. The pages were utilised successfully as tools to encourage online political activity and also to organise offline action. The only condition of (dis)empowerment was the lack of ownership of the medium and content in the commercial environment of Facebook. It is also less secure in regards to privacy and concerns of government or corporate surveillance. The 'free' aspect of Facebook is an absolute benefit but it is important that the other 'costs' are also considered.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the fieldwork results in relation to empowerment and Kaupapa Māori theory as well as examples from the literature review. The discussion was framed against the original research questions and highlighted the objectives of the Mana Party's social media strategy and the degree to which the Facebook pages achieved them. In addition, analysis of information from Chapters Two, Three and Five showed the ways in which social media was in alignment or conflict with indigenous values, particularly tikanga Māori. The discussions provided the basis for a framework showing empowered indigenous social media spaces adapted from Friedmann's (1992) model of (dis)empowerment. The Mana Party Facebook presence was then observed within the framework and on the whole found to provide empowering social media spaces.

The following chapter concludes the thesis and discusses the implications of this framework followed by recommendations of how to utilise it in practice.

Chapter 7: *Hei tikitiki*

Concluding remarks

Ko te manu e kai ana i te miro, nōna te ngahere.
Ko te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga, nōna te ao[44].

The aim of this study was to investigate the role social media plays in encouraging political engagement among Māori. This chapter summarises the main findings of the research and recommends how to create social media sites that enhance indigenous development by being empowering and culturally responsive spaces for indigenous people. It will also express my personal thoughts and reflections on the research journey and the possibilities for future research.

Summary of chapters

E tipu positioned the study within a social and historical context and introduced associated topics and concepts. The research questions and objectives were provided alongside the justification for the study. The theoretical background of Kaupapa Māori theory (Bishop, 1999; Cram, 2001; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999) and empowerment theory (Freire, 1970; Friedmann, 1992; Longwe, 1991; Rowlands, 1997) was established and the background of Māori people and New Zealand colonial history presented. The concept of Māori development was described (Durie, 1998; 2003) followed by a discussion on Māori political participation which then introduced the case study of the Mana Party. The concepts of social media (Solis, 2009) and Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2005) were defined and then examined in relation to development (Heeks, 2008; Thompson, 2008) and political engagement (Ellison, 2007; Norris & Jones, 1998).

E rea investigated the sources of literature found on the uses of social media for indigenous development. It defined the 'digital divide' (Adam & Kreps, 2006; Akca et al., 2007; Cooper, 2006; Millward, 2003) and noted its presence in the New Zealand context (Greenbrook-Held & Morrison, 2011). Examples of social media use for the empowerment of indigenous youth were provided (Kral, 2011; Singleton et al., 2009) and indigenous development was further grouped into the categories of: social media and identity politics (Goodwin, 2011; Lumby, 2010); language revitalisation and cultural preservation (Arobba et

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[44] Translation: *"The bird that partakes of the miro berry reigns in the forest. The bird that partakes of the power of knowledge has access to the world."* This whakataukī reiterates for me the empowering abilities of education to enlighten people of their potential.

al., 2010; Huaman & Stokes, 2011); activism (Joseph, 2012; Soriano, 2011); knowledge management (Greyling & Zulu, 2010; Maina, 2012); networking and collaboration; and business and marketing (Te Kupeka Umaka Māori ki Araiteuru, 2013). Lastly, the potential negative implications of social media use for indigenous people were also discussed (Belarde-Lewis, 2011; Dyson, 2004).

Ngā rā o tōu ao examined the theories the thesis has drawn upon. It defined critical theory and introduced empowerment theory and the ideas of Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) and John Friedmann in *Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development* (1992). Kaupapa Māori was presented as the principles on which the thesis is based, and defined in relation to the theory and methodology of the study (Bishop; 1999; Cram, 2001; Smith, 1997).

Ki ngā rākau described the methodology and methods used in the study and justified the choice of Kaupapa Māori and empowerment theory. It illustrated how the research was approached and how it was designed. The research process was discussed including the limitations within the research journey. It also outlined the ethical considerations of the study as per the Massey University Human Ethics Committee guidelines, considerations of Internet-based research (Alfred et al., 2007; Flicker et al., 2004; Hookway, 2008), and the ethics of conducting research with Māori participants (Cram, 2001; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999).

Hei oranga presented the findings of the fieldwork which included interviews with the Mana Party president Annette Sykes; two Mana Party Facebook page moderators from Mana ki Manawatū; and 10 users of the Mana Party Facebook pages – Te Mana, Mana ki Manawatū, Mana ki Wairarapa and Mana Rangatahi. The interviews determined the objectives of the Mana Party's social media strategy as well as local branch objectives and outcomes. Whether or not social media aligns with tikanga Māori was also discussed.

Ngā taonga integrated the results within the literature on indigenous development and social media and the concepts introduced in the theory chapter. Framed by the research questions it discussed the Mana Party's social media objectives and outcomes and investigated where the themes from the findings and the literature have converged and where they have deviated. Finally, a (dis)empowerment framework based on Friedmann (1992) was introduced to identify empowered social media sites for indigenous development. The Mana Party Facebook sites were then examined within this framework.

Hei tikitiki provides a summary of thesis – the introduction, literature review, theoretical position, methodology, fieldwork results and analysis of findings. It also presents three overall conclusions and offers recommendations for undertaking social media initiatives with indigenous people. This concluding chapter then offers personal reflections and finally outlines possibilities for future research.

Overall conclusions

From the findings of this research three main conclusions have been reached. These conclusions highlight the significance of e-whanaungatanga as a virtual network for facilitating Māori development; the importance of integrating online activity with offline action; and the need to evaluate the empowering and disempowering consequences of social media spaces for indigenous development, given their scope for potential harm.

1. E-whanaungatanga

For social media to be of greatest value to Māori, it should be approached from a perspective which sees it as e-whanaungatanga, as this situates Māori within their broader social and cultural context. E-whanaungatanga acknowledges the importance of connectedness and relationships for Māori (Mead, 2003; Metge, 1995). It is the strength of these relationships that will influence the success of any social media initiative that involves Māori individuals, whānau, hapū or iwi. Regardless of its purpose, whether that is education, language revitalisation, building and maintaining connections, art, business or research, these new spaces must foster meaningful relationships. E-whanaungatanga encourages Tino Rangatiratanga, that is, **Māori** social media networks and spaces, not merely social media networks and spaces that Māori use. That means 'naming and claiming' these spaces (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999) in order to transform the (virtual) world (Freire, 1970).

2. Integrated strategies

Social media is not a panacea for indigenous groups seeking to enhance political engagement among their populace. However, used carefully it can assist with reaching particular segments of the population such as rangatahi who are generally less politically engaged (Tawhai, 2007; 2011) but more connected to social media platforms than their older counterparts (Kral, 2011; Singleton et al., 2009). It also has potential for reaching the Māori diaspora which is growing increasingly large yet also becoming increasingly connected to home through social media such as Facebook (O'Carroll, 2013). While kanohi ki te kanohi engagement can never be replaced by social media, it is a valuable tool for communication

and networking across geographical distances. Similarly, there are possibilities to increase awareness and facilitate participation but its potential is only fulfilled when online activities are synthesised with offline action (Harlow, 2012). To be truly effective, political engagement strategies need to be integrated to allow online and offline interaction will all sections of the Māori population regardless of age or location.

3. Empowering spaces

An empowerment model which recognises the potential for social media to enhance, or undermine possibilities for psychological, social and political empowerment, is a useful tool which could guide other indigenous groups in the development of appropriate strategies for using social media to advance their own goals. Any positive intentions can be easily undermined by online spaces which do not promote cultural sensitivity or appreciate the value of indigenous culture and diversity of indigenous peoples. Through the model 'Empowered Indigenous Social Media Spaces' outlined in Chapter Six, I have proposed a framework on which social media initiatives with indigenous groups could be examined. Consequently, their potential for psychological, social and psychological empowerment of indigenous people can then be evaluated.

Empowering indigenous people to build the capacity of their communities is integral to advancing indigenous development (Durie, 1998). Social media can facilitate empowerment by providing a platform from which indigenous groups can: influence the presentation of indigenous issues, create communities of indigenous solidarity, teach and preserve indigenous languages and cultures, or foster and promote indigenous identity. Indigenous people have long been marginalised by colonisation and other incarnations of Western hegemony (Maaka & Andersen, 2006). However, utilising Western tools such as ICTs to build the capacity of indigenous communities allows them opportunities for self-determination that have previously been denied.

Recommendations

Through analysis of the literature on social media and indigenous development alongside the results from the fieldwork, I propose the following recommendations for any social media initiative that seeks to work with indigenous people. The first recommendations are based on the 'Empowered Indigenous Social Media Spaces' model that was introduced in Chapter Six. These points will outline how to ensure culturally safe online spaces for indigenous people to advance indigenous development. Finally, more general

recommendations for promoting e-whanaungatanga (inclusive and responsive social media interactions with indigenous groups) are then addressed.

Recommendations for empowered social media spaces

To enhance Mana Tāngata / Psychological empowerment:

- Promote use of indigenous language.

- Encourage participation by all language levels from learners to fluent speakers.

- Encourage ideas and discussion from all users.

- Specify guidelines about appropriate behaviour including culturally appropriate customs. For example, no images of the deceased for Māori.

- Ensure that guidelines are followed and take appropriate action if not. For example, warn then block users who don't follow the guidelines.

To enhance whanaungatanga / social empowerment:

- Reach out through existing networks to connect with potential group members.

- Encourage engagement with page by regularly posting to the site. For example, posting images, information, asking questions.

- Encourage users to also share information and post on the site.

- Encourage all ages of people to engage with the site.

To enhance Tino Rangatiratanga / political empowerment:

- Whenever possible, use software that is developed specifically for indigenous purposes. For example, Mukurtu Content Management Software[45] .

- Share information from varied news sources and political perspectives.

- Encourage all users to share their political opinions and contribute to discussion.

- Share links to online political activities. For example, online petitions or campaign hashtags.

- Share information about offline political actions. For example, political party meetings or protest action.

Recommendations for promoting e-whanaungatanga

1. While it is easy to start a Facebook page, Twitter account or YouTube channel, any social media presence should be a considered and calculated undertaking.

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[45] As noted in Chapter Two, Mukurtu CMS is free, mobile and open source platform built with indigenous communities to manage and share digital cultural heritage.

Consultation with the community you want to engage with is paramount – that includes all generations.

2. Social media is used to maintain relationships and create connections with those who have been geographically (through emigration) or spiritually (through loss of whānau connections) distanced from their native homeland. It should however be used ultimately to facilitate them coming back. Social media forums can never replace the marae.

3. Social media needs to facilitate engagement with kaumātua. For this they need to learn how to understand and use the various tools and functions of social media. This could be funded by rūnanga or local councils through community learning initiatives on the marae or public library.

4. Digital and cultural literacy must be integrated. Indigenous and non indigenous individuals or organisations should undertake training on how to use digital technologies with indigenous groups in culturally sensitive ways. For example, adherence to the 'Empowered Indigenous Social Media Spaces' model.

5. Wherever possible, an online presence should be partnered with offline action. An integrated strategy is necessary to effectively achieve results. This is particularly significant for social media spaces with political objectives.

6. In accordance with the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi – protection, participation, partnership - any initiative should reflect protection of indigenous knowledge, encourage full participation of indigenous people and include partnership and collaboration (when indigenous control is not possible) with indigenous groups.

7. Policy - Legislation for protecting traditional intellectual property in the digital age needs to be responsive to the unique issues facing indigenous people online.

Further research

In terms of my investigation of how social media can facilitate political engagement among Māori, I believe I have accurately covered this enquiry and offered some useful recommendations for creating social media spaces that empower indigenous people and respect their cultures. What is needed from here is an investigation on how to engage

rangatahi in political processes. Since it is a platform they are proficient in I believe that social media is the key, however, like any initiative it needs to be an integrated strategy alongside offline activity in order to provide real benefits. What needs to be investigated is why young people are turning away from politics. Once that is determined, an exploration of how social media can increase rangatahi political engagement could be a major part of the strategy in getting them back.

In relation to implications of social media and Māori development (or e-whanaungatanga), it would be interesting to target a larger number of participants with a survey through the various whānau, hapū and iwi Facebook pages and question them about their experiences of using social media for whanaungatanga. There is concern by some that social media will replace the traditional kanohi ki te kanohi interactions of the marae. However, it would be of particular interest to see if people did view social media as a substitute for going home or if it instead strengthens whanaungatanga and in fact facilitates people to go home because they have made whānau connections via social media. Rather than technology to be wary of, social media could be the bridge back home for those who were previously afraid to take the first step.

Personal reflections

I have attempted to determine the advantages of using social media to facilitate political engagement among Māori. On more general grounds I wanted to determine the advantages of using social media to facilitate indigenous development. It was not far into the investigation that I also found there were a number of disadvantages of using social media for indigenous people. In no way does this mean they should not be used but like any new technology they need to be approached with caution and evaluated within the best interests of the community.

There are increasingly more news stories about the negative effects of social media, particularly for young people, due to the increase in cyber-bullying among other concerns. However, the positive uses of social media to raise the global profile of local issues can not be overstated. The 'Arab Spring' showed the power of social media to organise and mobilise people to protest for democracy (Ghannam, 2011; Joseph, 2012). The Turkish occupation of Taksim Square to protest government developments was not covered by the Turkish media however the rest of the world knew all about it because of Twitter. The hashtag associated with the protest action was tweeted 1.8 million times in three days (Taştan, 2013).

Social media cannot create a movement on its own, it needs the will of the people – that is why it is working for the Mana movement because the party seeks to empower the disempowered through both the medium and their message. The user generated medium empowers through wider access to diverse political comment and providing a platform for voices that are usually unheard. Similarly, it is the Mana movement's message of 'seeking rangatiratanga for the poor' that reflects the party's desire to empower the disadvantaged and transform New Zealand into a fairer society.

Social media is not expected to cure the ills of the world, however, there is immense potential for social media to transform online spaces and advance indigenous development, as e-whanaungatanga proposes to do. It might be optimistic to expect social media will contribute to a more politically conscious Māori population in future, however as Paulo Freire asserts, "cultural action for conscientisation is always a utopian enterprise".

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Approval letter for low risk ethics application

Appendix 2: Information Sheet

Appendix 3: Participant Consent Form

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule – Mana Party President

Appendix 5: Interview Schedule – Mana Facebook page moderators

Appendix 6: Interview Schedule – Mana Facebook page users

Appendix 7: Mana Party Social Media Policy

Appendix 8: Tiriti o Waitangi

Appendix 9: Treaty of Waitangi

31 May 2012

Joanne Waitoa
42 Solway Street
MASTERTON 5810

Dear Joanne

Re: E-whanaungatanga: The Role of Social Media in Māori Civic Engagement

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 16 May 2012.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

John G O'Neill (Professor)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)

cc   Prof Regina Scheyvens   Mrs Mary Roberts, HoS Secretary
        School of People, Environment and Planning   School of People, Environment and Planning
        PN331   **PN331**

Ko Hikurangi te maunga
Ko Waiapu te awa
Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi
Ko Ngāti Putaanga te hapū
Ko Putaanga te marae
Ko Joanne Waitoa ahau

Massey University
Te Kunenga ki Purehuroa

E-whanaungatanga:
The role of social media in Māori civic engagement

Information Sheet

Tēnā koe

I am doing my Master's research in Development Studies at Massey University and am interested in exploring how social media like Facebook can affect awareness and participation of Māori in political processes.

The aim of my research is to investigate the role of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook page as a social media site in encouraging civic engagement amongst Māori. As a member of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook whānau I would like to invite you to share your thoughts on this kaupapa.

I would like to conduct taped informal interviews at a venue of mutual convenience with a range of members of the Mana ki Manawatū Facebook whānau. I hope to identify different levels of engagement with the page and any effect its membership may have had on offline political action. I would also like to hear your opinions on the implications of social media tools in developing Māori political engagement.

If you decide to participate in the research your identity and any kōrero you share will be strictly confidential. You have the right withdraw from the research at any time prior to publication of results and to ask any questions at any time. You will also be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is finished.

Please don't hesitate to ring me on 0273216863, email jojowaitoa@hotmail.com or find me on Facebook if you would like to take part or have any other questions. My supervisor Professor Regina Scheyvens can also be contacted for information on (06) 356 9099 ext. 2509 or at r.a.scheyvens@massey.ac.nz .

In acknowledgement of your contribution to this research project I would like to offer you a food voucher for your time and kōrero.

Ethics Statement
This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researchers named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researchers, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Massey University
Te Kunenga ki Purehuroa

E-whanaungatanga:
The role of social media in Māori civic engagement

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read the 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.

I understand that if I give my permission, the information at the interview will be voice recorded by the researcher. Alternatively, the researcher can take notes. I retain the right to ask for the recorder to be turned off at any point during the interview phase.

- I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the information sheet. ☐

- I agree to the researcher contacting me if there are any follow up questions necessary. ☐

Full Name – printed:…………………………………..

Signature: …………………………………………………..

Date: ………..

Interview questions – Whāea Annette Sykes

1. **Te Mana social media strategy**

    a. To what degree has Te Mana Party utilised social media (Twitter, YouTube, Facebook etc)?
    b. What were the specific objectives of Te Mana Facebook pages? (both main page and regional, roopu pages).
    c. Where there any specific objectives in regards to Māori political engagement?
    d. What were your observations on the page's ability to engage members?
    e. What are the positive implications of using the medium of Facebook to achieve your desired objectives?
    f. Are there any potentially negative implications of using Facebook? If so, what?
    g. From your experience of the social media campaign during the 2011 General Election , is there anything you would do to improve your approach for 2014?

2. **Alignment with indigenous/ Māori cultural values/practices**

    a. Do you think social media appeals to Māori over traditional mainstream media? Why/why not?
    b. If any, which aspects of social media do you think align with Māori practices and values?
    c. If any, which aspects of social media are in opposition to Māori practices and values?

3. **Digital Divide**

    Census information shows that Māori have lower levels of internet access than tau iwi?
    a. Do you think it is an issue for Māori populations?
    b. Are Māori disadvantaged politically by having less access to the internet?
    c. Why is internet access important to Māori?
    d. Has having access to the internet affected your level of political engagement?
    e. Is a lack of internet access for some Māori an issue for the Mana movement?
    f. How have Mana mitigated this issue?

Interview Questions – Mana Party Facebook Moderator

1. **Political engagement**

   a. Why did you become a moderator of the Mana Facebook page.
   b. What were its specific objectives of the page in regards to political engagement?
   c. What were your observations on its ability to engage members and further outcomes of that engagement?
   d. What are the positive implications of using the medium of Facebook to achieve your desired objectives?
   e. Are there any potentially negative implications of using Facebook? If so, what?
   f. From your experience during the 2011 General Election , is there anything you would do to improve your approach for next time?

2. **Alignment with indigenous/Māori cultural values/practices**

   a. Do you think social media appeals to Māori over other forms of media? If so, why?
   b. If any, which aspects of social media align with tikanga Māori?
   c. If any, which aspects of social media are in opposition to tikanga Māori?

3. **Digital Divide**

   Census information shows that Māori have lower levels of internet access than tau iwi?
   a. Is internet access an issue for your whānau?
   b. Do you think it is an issue for the broader Māori population?
   c. Are Māori disadvantaged politically by having less access to the internet?
   d. Why is internet access important to Māori?
   e. Has having access to the internet affected your level of political engagement?
   f. If so, how?
   g. Do you think you would have been as involved in the Mana campaign if you didn't have internet access?
   h. Is a lack of internet access for some Māori an issue for the Mana movement?
   i. How have Mana mitigated this issue?

Interview Questions – Mana Party Facebook page users (Pilot)

1. **Ownership**

   a) Who controls this social media site?
   b) What is your understanding of the nature of ownership of this social media site?
   c) What are the positive implications of the ownership of this social media site?
   d) What are the negative implications of the ownership of this social media site?
   e) What are your thoughts on the nature of ownership of this social media site as a tool for political interaction?
   f) Would you like the ownership of this site to be improved/altered? If so, how?
   g) Are you concerned by privacy issues and Facebook?
   h) If so, what are your concerns?
   i) Would/do you make any considerations posting on the Mana FB page?
   j) If so/not, why/ why not?

2. **Online behaviour**

   a) What was your interaction with the Mana FB page – "like", "commented on posts", "posted", "followed posted links to other sites i.e. news articles".
   b) Why did you like the Mana FB page?
   c) When you liked the Mana FB page do you recall what level of engagement you thought you might have with the movement?
   d) Have you ever –
   • Signed an online petition
   • Made an online submission

3. **Offline behaviour**

   a. Has your interaction with the Mana FB page led to any offline political behaviour?
   b. If so, what behaviour?
   c. Did you attend any Mana ki Manawatu hui?
   d. Did you vote in the 2011 General Election ?
   e. If not, why not?
   f. Have you ever –
   • Signed an offline petition
   • Made an offline submission
   • Joined a protest/hīkoi – if so which issues.
   g. Which issues are most important to you right now?

4. **Alignment with indigenous/Māori cultural values/practices**

   a) Do you think social media appeals to Māori over other forms of media?
   b) If so,why?
   c) If any, which aspects of social media align with tikanga Māori?

d) If any, which aspects of social media are in opposition to tikanga Māori?

5. **Digital Divide**

    a) Census information shows that Māori have lower levels of internet access than tau iwi?
    b) Why do you think this is?
    c) Are Māori disadvantaged politically by having less access to the internet?
    d) Why is internet access important to Māori?
    e) Has having access to the internet affected your level of political engagement?
    f) If so, how?
    g) Do you think you would have been as involved in the Mana campaign if you didn't have internet access?

(Oral introduction)
"Kia ora
I'm Jo Waitoa and I'm Ngati Porou living in Masterton with my fiancée and 10 year old daughter.
Thank you for taking part in this research, feel free to ask any questions at any time or decline to answer any questions if you wish. You are not obligated in anyway and can leave the research if you wish to do so.

This research is towards my master's thesis in Development Studies at Massey University. I think awareness of political issues is key to Māori development as we need to understand how larger political decisions are affecting everyday people and their livelihoods. A lot of people think there is no point which is proven by the million people who didn't vote in the 2011 General Election .

I'm interested in investigating how social media can enhance awareness and participation of Māori in political processes, whether it be voting, submission making, petition signing or protesting.

I'm using Te Mana ki Manawatu FB page as a case study to see if I can identify how social media can or has been used and its effect on Māori civic engagement.

Would you prefer to have karakia before we begin? (If yes, recite karakia timatanga)

My first set of questions are around Te Mana ki Manawatu FB page and your involvement with it"

Te Mana ki Manawatu
6. How did you first come across the Mana ki Manawatu FB page?
7. Why did you "like" the page?
8. What has been your level of interaction with the Mana FB page – "like", "commented on posts", "followed posted links to other sites i.e. news articles", "shared", "posted".
9. When you "liked" the page, what level of involvement did you think you would have with the page/movement?
10. Did you expect to have more, less or the same interaction with the page when you first "liked" it?
11. Were you exposed to information you would not have otherwise seen because of your membership of the page? If so, please explain further.
12. Has your interaction with the Mana FB page led to any change in your thinking? If so, please elaborate.
13. Has your interaction with the Mana FB page led to any change in your offline political behaviour e.g. attending hui about political issues, attending protests, voting. If so, please elaborate.
14. Did you attend any Mana ki Manawatu hui? Can you explain why?

"The next set of questions are about Māori and social media in general."

Māori & Social Media
15. What is your opinion on how TV, newspapers deal with Māori issues?
16. Do you think social media appeals to Māori over other forms of media? Please explain further.
17. If any, which aspects of social media align with tikanga Māori?
18. If any, which aspects of social media are in opposition to tikanga Māori?
19. What implications can you see, positive or negative, in the use of social media for political engagement amongst Māori?

Census information shows that Māori have lower levels of internet access than tau iwi.
20. Is this an issue for you and your whānau?
21. Do you think it is an issue amongst the broader Māori population?
22. Are Māori disadvantaged politically by having less access to the internet? Please explain further.
23. Has having access to the internet affected your level of political engagement? If so, how?
Can you think of any examples of online political engagement you have had? Have you ever
- Signed an online petition
- Made an online submission
- Commented on a political blog or article
24. Do you think you have had the same level of involvement in the Mana campaign if you didn't have internet access? Please explain further.

"*My next set of questions is about your own political engagement*".

Offline political behaviour
25. Did you vote in the 2008 General Election ? Please explain reasons.
26. Did you vote in the 2011 General Election ? Please explain reason.
27. Can you tell me about your own level of political engagement?
28. Has your level of political engagement changed over the past four years? Please explain further.
29. Have you ever –
- Signed an offline petition
- Made an offline submission
- Joined a protest/hīkoi – if so which issues (*probe further about why*)
30. Which issues are most important to you right now?
31. Can you see social media affecting any of these issues?

"Thank you for your time, it is very much appreciated. Do you have any questions at this point? Feel free to contact me if you do, I will provide a summary of my findings to you once I have analysed the data".
(Recite Karakia whakamutunga if participant agrees).

Mana Party Social Network Policy

OUR SOCIAL NETWORKING POLICY

We expect those using Te Mana's Facebook pages to treat each other with respect. We encourage vigorous debate and passionate discussions of all things related to the Movement.

Whānau - This is an OPEN FORUM, any comments that might be seen to bring the Mana Movement into disrepute will be deleted and the author's name noted for follow up.

This page is NOT monitored 24/7 - when issues arise, they will be dealt with as soon as possible (but this may not happen immediately)

Our first preference is to not ban people for the behaviour detailed below but action will be taken without consultation if the admins of the page deem it appropriate.

We will delete posted comments that contain personal and unwarranted attacks. If you post comments that make unsupported accusations these too will be deleted.

We reserve the right to amend or modify our social networking use policy at any time to ensure it remains relevant and consistent with its intended purpose.

Ngā mihi nui me Mauri ora!

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

KO WIKITŌRIA te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki ngā Rangatira me ngā Hapū o Nū Tīrani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a rātou o rātou rangatiratanga me tō rātou wenua, ā kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a rātou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tētahi Rangatira – hei kai wakarite ki ngā Tāngata Māori o Nū Tīrani – kia wakaaetia e ngā Rangatira Māori te Kāwanatanga o te Kuini ki ngā wahikatoa o te wenua nei me ngā motu – nā te mea hoki he tokomaha kē ngā tāngata o tōna Iwi Kua noho ki tēnei wenua, ā e haere mai nei.

Nā ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kāwanatanga kia kaua ai ngā kino e puta mai ki te tangata Māori ki te Pākehā e noho ture kore ana.

Nā kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nāwi hei Kāwana mō ngā wāhi katoa o Nū Tīrani e tukua āianei āmua atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia ki ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nū Tīrani me ērā Rangatira atu ēnei ture ka kōrerotia nei.

Ko te tuatahi

Ko ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kāwanatanga katoa o ō rātou wenua.

Ko te tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngā Rangitira ki ngā hapū – ki ngā tāngata katoa o Nū Tīrani te Tino Rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua o rātou kāinga me ō rātou taonga katoa. Otiia ko ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o ērā wāhi wenua e pai ai te tangata nōna te Wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e rātou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mōna.

Ko te tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tēnei mō te wakaaetanga ki te Kāwanatanga o te Kuini – Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani ngā tāngata Māori katoa o Nū Tīrani ka tukua ki a rātou ngā tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki ngā tāngata o Ingarani.

(signed) William Hobson, Consul and Lieutenant-Governor.

Nā ko mātou ko ngā Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nū Tīrani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko mātou hoki ko ngā Rangatira o Nū Tīrani ka kite nei i te ritenga o ēnei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e mātou, koia ka tohungia ai ō mātou ingoa o mātou tohu.

Ka meatia tēnei ki Waitangi i te ono o ngā rā o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wā te kau o tō tātou Ariki.

Treaty of Waitangi

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favor the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands –

Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the first [Article 1]

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.

Article the second [Article 2]

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the third [Article 3]

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

(signed) William Hobson, Lieutenant-Governor.

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified. Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.