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**A Study of Iwi Communication Between Te Tau Ihu Iwi and
Intergenerational Diasporic Whānau**

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Masters of Māori and Pacific Development
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by

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Abstract

This study looks at the online communication methods used between Te Tau Ihu iwi and intergenerational uri who live in the diaspora. Preferences and perceptions of methods of communication utilized by both iwi, and tāngata who live in the overseas diaspora were explored. Most important are the implications for uri living away from Aotearoa, and their desire to remain connected to iwi in New Zealand. This is a mixed methods study, comprising of a survey of fifty-eight emigrant respondents living abroad, and interviews with one member of the first, second, and third generations of emigrants to the United States, with affiliation to at least one of the eight tribes who claim tāngata whenua status of Te Tau Ihu.

The implications of the findings from the study provide both iwi and tāngata the opportunity to create a synergistic relationship of communicating. Assisting iwi to develop and implement a strategy for relevant communication, and iwi members engaging in a dialogue with iwi about relevance of communication is critical in strengthening ties between iwi and future generations regardless of location. “He aha te mea nui, he tangata, he tangata.”

Keywords: diaspora, Te Tau Ihu, Māori iwi communication

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“Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini.”

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Māori Glossary

ahi kā: burning fires of occupation, continuous occupation

Aotearoa: New Zealand

hau kāinga: home, true home, home people

iwi: tribe

kanohi ki te kanohi: face to face

kaumātua: elder, person of status within the whānau

Kirikiriroa: Hamilton

Kōhanga Reo: Māori language preschool

Māori: indigenous person/people of Aotearoa

marae: open area courtyard in front of the wharenui, also used to include the surrounding complex of buildings

rūnanga: council, tribal council, iwi authority

Pākehā: English, foreign, European

tāngata: people, persons

tangihanga: funeral

tikanga: procedure, custom, protocol

tīpare: band worn around the head, headband

tūpuna: ancestors

uri: offspring, descendent, relative

waka: canoe

wānanga: conference, learning - important traditional cultural, religious, historical, genealogical and philosophical knowledge

whakapapa: genealogy, lineage

whanaunga: relative, relation, kin or blood relation

whānau: extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people

List of Abbreviations

FGI	First Generation Interviewee
SGI	Second Generation Interviewee
TGI	Third Generation Interviewee

Chapter 1: Introduction

Ko wai au? Who am I?

Ko Maungatapu te maunga

Ko Maitahi te awa

Ko Aorere te moana

Ko Ngāti Koata ko Ngāti Kuia ko Ngāti Toa Rangatira ko Ngāi Tahu ōku iwi

Ko Whakatū te marae

Ko Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka-a-Māui te whenua

My mum is a first-generation emigrant from New Zealand who grew up in Te Tau Ihu with her large whānau. For her (and now, I realize, me) foundationally vital relationships were formed there with whānau and iwi. She was the first to leave her family and home for the United States in her educational pursuits. She met and married my dad, a Pākehā American, and as they had children, decided to remain in the United States to live. We moved a number of times as a family so my siblings and I claim different birthplaces – New Zealand, the mainland USA, and Hawaii. As we grew up, my parents made it a point to return together as a family to Aotearoa for weddings, tangihanga, holidays, and other whānau events. Those were always my favourite and most formative moments – spending weeks at a time connecting and reconnecting with our huge, extended, loud, wonderful whānau made up of grandparents, their siblings, aunties and uncles, cousins, and other whanaunga.

Tīpare weaving

I returned to New Zealand by myself for the first time in my twenties to attend University for post-graduate studies. I lived in my grandparents' old home in Kirikiriroa with some of mum's whānau who live there now. One of the individuals I was closest to was my younger high school aged cousin. She had attended Kōhanga Reo and spent all of her educational career attending kaupapa Māori schools. Fascinated with her schooling and her experiences there, I would ask her questions about what she was learning and her thoughts on certain Māori

topics. One day I had expressed the desire to learn how to make a tīpare headband from the abundant harakeke growing in front of the house. She told me she learned how to make them at school and agreed to teach me. We both had some time that Saturday afternoon, so she led me out to the garden and briefly instructed me on the appropriate way to cut and prepare harakeke for weaving.

As we returned back to the front room with freshly cut flax stems in our arms, she took out her laptop computer and Googled some instructions. This was to get a quick refresher course, as she admitted she had not woven a headband in a few years. Referencing a newly found page on the Internet with a series of hand drawn diagrams, she began pointing out elements of the tīpare to me. She took the strips in hand, softening them for weaving then began folding and pressing them into a specific pattern. I looked at the screen, now placed between us, puzzled at how she understood what the drawings were outlining. From what I saw, the strips of flax were not distinguishable from one another, and the instructions were brief and unclear. My cousin pressed on regardless of my confusion, eventually picking up her pace of weaving with ease, adding more strips to her headband. I, however, was still stuck at the beginning of the process trying to prepare enough strips of harakeke for myself.

I had just started to fold the first strips when my young cousin handed me her completed tīpare. She pushed the computer toward me and told me to follow along. “It’s pretty easy,” she remarked nonchalantly then moved to the couch on the other side of the room, turning her attention to the program on television. I tried to replicate what I saw on the computer screen with the drawn diagrams and even had cuzzie’s completed project for reference, but I was at a loss of how to do it alone. Several thoughts persistently occupied my mind: “my headband looks too bulky,” “my hands are too clumsy,” “maybe I’m sitting wrong.” I moved the computer closer, switched out harakeke strips, moved from the floor to the table and back, but the process or product never quite looked close enough to the examples I had before me. Feeling overwhelmed, vulnerable and a little silly, I asked my cousin questions from across the room when I would be really stuck. She would look up, come over to tighten up a strand or re-fold a part that was crooked, but always returned back to the couch. After some time, I gave up,

leaving the harakeke and half-done tīpare in a heap and joined her to watch the movie.

Introduction

This tīpare experience is meant to introduce the topic of this thesis and illustrate a number of complex and salient issues that occur today surrounding iwi communication to those in the diaspora. Although this research will mainly focus on Te Tau Ihu iwi communication and its people, these principles also apply to other Māori. Te Tau Ihu iwi include the following eight: Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne o Wairau, Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Rārua, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Tama ki Te Tau Ihu, and Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2008) In this thesis, the author defines iwi communication as the formal and official messages sent by iwi rūnanga. With physical distance separating diasporic whānau from iwi, online mediums are used, namely emails, websites and Facebook, will be given special focus.

Obviously, my cousin and I (through my request and her subsequent willingness) wanted to achieve the same goal of making a headband. What was different, however, was how we each approached and understood the task. Although this tīpare event happened between members of the same whānau who are close in age, we were working off our own perspectives, experiences, assumptions and motives. This, therefore, led to very different outcomes that one day at grandma and papa's home in Waikato. My cousin was oblivious to my needs, as they were not necessarily hers, assuming that the diagram was self-explanatory and her directions were all that I required. However, due to my lack of experience about anything to do with harakeke weaving, I needed someone to sit by my side and guide me one step at a time, with the occasional word of encouragement. Perhaps my needs were more than just making a tīpare, but an outward manifestation of an inward desire to enhance doing something more Māori, which was previously uncommon growing up and living in the US. It was a signifier that would somewhat validate my claim to my Māori identity. On the other hand, for cuzzie it was another Saturday activity she could do before moving on to watch TV.

This illustrative vignette is representative of iwi communication among uri – my cousin representing ahi kā and myself representing diasporic whānau. For my cousin, making the tīpare was a functional, regular and natural task she previously learned and achieved. For me, it was a completely new experience, influenced by my lack of opportunity. We may have assumed some things about each other and the task at hand. Perhaps she thought that because I was older that I could easily figure it out with the diagrams and her example. For me I assumed she would have instructed me from start to end, and her responsibility as instructor was not complete until the product was finished. However, in reality, neither of us understood each other or came to a consensus of each other's needs. Official iwi organisations may view communication directly to iwi members as a way simply to send practical and useful information, providing updates or notices of events. However, amongst a large multigenerational diasporic population, iwi communication acts as the string of a kite, holding them tethered to a place and a people, allowing them to know and understand who they are in context. (Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania*, 2012) There are wide variations of experiences, motives, perspectives and needs for those within the rohe, in Aotearoa and beyond.

I will limit the focus of this study of iwi communication specifically to the eight Te Tau Ihu iwi and their people. This is a manageable and natural group to examine because they are linked historically, genealogically, geographically and socio-politically. Although they are distinct iwi, it is impossible to grasp fully the magnitude of the shared closeness given the ancestral and whakapapa links and the physical closeness in overlapping tribal boundaries and shared marae. (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2005) Additionally, resource management organisations like Tiakina te Taiao Limited (Harmsworth & Walker; Tiakina te Taiao Ltd, 2012) or business corporations like Wakatū Incorporated (Wakatu Incorporation, 2018) further link iwi in other spheres politically and fiscally. The small sizes of Te Tau Ihu also contribute to one's confidence in the claims made in the research. Moreover, myself being Te Tau Ihu tangata born, raised and currently situated in the diaspora, much of my own whānau also live and are raising upcoming generations in the diaspora. Therefore, this topic is personal and important.

This thesis asks, “How do uri o Te Tau Ihu living in the diaspora engage with iwi communication?” “What are the range of communication methods that iwi are utilising to reach diasporic iwi members?” “What are their perceptions of iwi communication?” Additionally, questions that naturally intersect the main questions are as follows: “What is a (Māori) diaspora?” “What are issues currently surrounding communication within the Te Tau Ihu diaspora?” “How might these perceptions affect current communication strategies?” and “Are there noticeable divergences in the responses to engagement with iwi communication among the generations of emigrants?”

Foundational Concepts

This thesis is situated at an intersection of several topics that will deal with diaspora, Māori diaspora, Indigenous studies, belonging, insider-outsider politics and communication. Previously, diaspora has been defined simply as a “segment of a people living outside the homeland” (Connor, 1986, p. 16) but has since had the “definition extended” (Safran, 1991, p. 83) with other researchers contributing more scholarship. Complex in nature, I point to a number of theorists to frame this conversation. James Clifford refers to diaspora as a “traveling term in changing global conditions” in which it is difficult to definitively define (1994, p. 302) claiming that the previous characteristics and qualifications outlined by Safran (1991) based on the Jewish diaspora, are not suitable for all diaspora. Namely, the desire to move back to the ‘home land’ as those in the diaspora are “constructing homes away from home.” (p. 302)

In the case of intergenerational diasporic Māori who still consider themselves as part of Te Tau Ihu iwi, the conversation naturally shifts to include the concept of Indigeneity. When comparing those groups, who then is Indigenous? When discussing the terms Indigenous and diaspora, Harvey and Thompson (2005) state that the “two concepts are often used as if they were necessarily antagonistic and antithetical to one another...” (p. 1) Offering synonyms that other researchers have typically associated with these terms - Indigenous known as belonging, rooted, natural and native while diaspora connotes disconnection, rootlessness, dispersal and alien. The contribution of these scholars is an invitation to consider Indigeneity has been about movement, and the diaspora as being located in a place

at a particular time. (Huang, 2015) Avtar Brah stated that diaspora “should be seen as conceptual mapping which defies the search for originary absolutes, or genuine and authentic manifestations of a stable, pre-given, unchanging identity; for pristine, pure customs and traditions or unsullied glorious pasts.” (1996, p. 196) There is no absolute or unchanging culture that should be propped up and held in higher regard than other points in time. This concept is consistent with other studies of history of Pacific peoples where migration wasn’t just a migration from one area and final settlement to another, but movement and mobility at certain points in time “...from Point A to Point B...[and] on to Point C and Point D, then back to Point B, and on again...” (Spickard, Rondilla, & Hippolite Wright, 2002, p. 29) Harvey and Thompson purport that Indigenous and diaspora “can be used with reference to the common human experience of dispersal, movement, and migration – an experience which frequently has happy outcomes.” (2005, p. 1) Motives for moving from the homeland are not all necessarily negative; therefore, there are added layers to the vision of diaspora studies.

At the outset of this research, this researcher attempted to sidestep the conversation of identity because of the assumption and perception that it was too complicated to address. It is impossible, however, for one to explore the concept of Māori diaspora and all of its complexities without acknowledging the inescapable themes of identity, as “the very nature of a diaspora relies on the notion that the people ‘contained’ within it identify – or are perceived to identify – with a distant homeland.” (McGavin, 2017, p. 124) Indigenous studies are most interested in the practice of connections and reconnections between people and therein informing one’s identity. Hence, communication plays a critical role in the linking between the home group and those individuals in the diaspora. That is entirely possible to achieve in a highly globalized, technology-centred society, whereby communication becomes inextricable to forming, reforming and strengthening connections, bonds and identity. (Thornley, 2015)

There are multiple kinds of Māori diaspora, depending on their proximity from tribal boundaries: those still in Aotearoa but beyond the tribal territories of the iwi and those living anywhere outside of the nation-state of New Zealand. The scope of this research will focus on overseas uri unless otherwise specified. Although

diasporic Māori communities within Aotearoa have some shared characteristics, there are unique elements to consider when working with Māori living outside of New Zealand and most especially in regards to this work, the uniqueness of intergenerational Māori born and/or raised overseas.

Three characteristics will be pointed out here in this chapter and will be woven throughout this thesis. First, we must understand and acknowledge that there is neither a monolithic nor a unilateral Māori experience – different levels of knowledge, connectivity, age and generational or emigrant characteristics come into play. These elements should be considered when communicating to uri at home and abroad. Like the tīpare experience, my cousin and I sat side-by-side wanting to accomplish the same goal, but our understanding of the “known” fundamentals like harvesting and preparing harakeke had set me back so we were not on the same “starting level”. In terms of communication, other “known” fundamentals contribute to differing levels of understanding among iwi. This list can include knowledge of te reo Māori, whakapapa, waiata, names of people, places, etc. In examining the tīpare analogy further, when we began weaving, she with confidence, pushed ahead while I was almost paralyzed at the outset of the task both overwhelmed and confused. With no one to help me navigate through the parts that I found tricky, it all became too much and I gave up.

Next, without the advantage of closeness to home, a recurrent and concerted effort is needed to remain connected between iwi and diaspora. In order to weave a headband, there was a desire on my part to reach out and learn something new. Interest was extended, the recruitment of this young cousin, time was made, and effort was done to be able to have the experience. Although she responded positively, she was limited in her level of understanding my needs. Personal connection and reciprocity with individuals within the group are necessary for communication. My cousin leaving my side and going on the other side of the room was not helpful while I was navigating through a foreign process. The examination of connection between iwi and diasporic Māori who may be intergenerational emigrants is an added dimension. Diasporic Māori are reaching out to iwi, which will be explored more fully in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 with surveys and interviews.

Finally, considering the physical distance and length of time away from Aotearoa, iwi politics experienced by Māori in New Zealand are not at the forefront of their diasporic relatives' concerns. For them, they can be unsure about where they fit into this arena regarding trusts, boards, assets and Māori politics in general. Rather, connection is seen simply as connection, not for acquiring monetary gain or status. In this new era after Treaty settlements, iwi organisations have been inculcated within the New Zealand political arena. The "Runanga Iwi Bill of 1989" allowed "legally incorporated runanga to become the administrative wings of the tribes." (Hill, 2009, p. 241) Giving rise to vocabulary and jargon now more regularly used within Aotearoa such as rūnanga, iwi board, iwi trust and trustees have been introduced into the fabric of iwi organisations, or have taken on new meanings within recent years. A prime example of this change is the word uri, meaning offspring or descendants; however, iwi now use the term interchangeably with "shareholders" or "beneficiaries." Thus separating and differentiating the term iwi as a collection of related individuals to iwi as members of a politically recognised organisation. For intergenerational diasporic Māori, this change is confusing, even for some first generation emigrants. These political nuances may be outdated and it may be difficult to access content for understanding current structures, priorities and language.

This specific study of iwi communication will benefit Te Tau Ihu tāngata and other iwi in raising their consciousness about the types of communication and content most helpful for diasporic whanaunga who desire to remain connected. It has the capability of providing a guide to formulating a nuanced iwi strategic communication plan. The insights gained of intergenerational similarities and differences will help highlight the need for connection or whakawhanaungatanga with diasporic iwi members. The consequences around this topic have the capacity to affect large groups of people collectively, and for individuals in very personal ways. Being back in Te Tau Ihu several times while living in Aotearoa, I was more than able to envision and hope for a place of belonging for myself - I experienced it. Understandably, many do not have the opportunity to return to Aotearoa. Nevertheless, if they do, are they connected or comfortable enough to participate in iwi events? The manner of communication which is exchanged from

afar plays a vital role personally for individuals and broadly for iwi, whether conscious or not, because there is a potential to form and solidify ties and links. In my experience, each visit or conversation with relatives strengthened my bond with them and theirs with me. These engagements also strengthened their connection with my entire family, both past and present. It was not uncommon at an iwi event to be introduced to a relative by my name and given the titles “Ben’s moko” or “Deb’s daughter” in the same breath. Personal connection was made and whanaunga would then remark things like “tell your mum we miss her” or “your grandma would have loved something like this.” On occasion, if mistaken for my sister, another relative would add, “no, that’s her sister,” keeping my family members in the minds of iwi through relational and ancestral ties. Critical conversations that need to be had bring us to a more fundamental, “What does it mean to belong to an iwi?” and “What will that look like going forward for intergenerational diasporic whānau?”

Finally, this topic was undertaken for the reasons encompassed in the lyrics of the song “Ehara i te mea” (Ehara i te mea, 2012) that my mum taught my siblings and I when we were younger:

Ehara i te mea	Not the thing
Nō nāianeī te aroha	of recent times, is love
Nō nga tūpuna	but by the ancestors it has been
Tuku iho, tuku iho	passed down, passed down.
Te whenua, te whenua	From the land, the land
Te oranga o te iwi	comes the wellbeing of the people
Nō nga tūpuna	but by the ancestors it has been
Tuku iho, tuku iho	passed down, passed down.
Whakapono, tumanako	Faith, hope
Te aroha te aroha	and love;
Nō nga tūpuna	but by the ancestors it has been
Tuku iho, tuku iho	passed down, passed down.

Although not physically in Te Tau Ihu, that love for whānau, tūpuna, iwi has been passed down. Ultimately, this thesis topic and question were chosen because my parents always encouraged their children to create and maintain links in Aotearoa among whānau and iwi. My parents however, provided entrée into those relationships. In thinking of the future, fear set in; what will happen to when mum and dad pass away? As our main sources of communication and connection, what is to come about for the next generation who live abroad? How will we remain connected? This thesis wants to contribute in some way to Te Tau Ihu people and others who may be wondering the same.

Chapters within the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of six chapters, with the first chapter introducing the topic of research and paramount issues such as, “What is a diaspora? What are components to consider as Te Tau Ihu iwi are communicating with uri o Te Tau Ihu living in the diaspora?” An allegory of tīpare weaving should call attention to iwi communication. These questions have great potential for all iwi, but particularly for those who live beyond the borders of New Zealand. Foundational concepts that frame the breadth and depth of the project are addressed, including a brief introduction of two important concepts, diaspora and Indigenous. Finally, Chapter 1 articulates why this study is important to Te Tau Ihu people, both those living at “home”, those in the diaspora, including the author who is Te Tau Ihu tāngata who lives abroad.

Chapter 2 offers a historical overview of the tribes defined as Te Tau Ihu iwi, including the rich intersecting connections through marriages, trade, treaties and shared migration. The reader is introduced to the specific histories of eight iwi that currently claim mana whenua as outlined on their respective websites. Information about their eponymous ancestors, land boundaries and other factors of their origination are recounted. Statistics using census data show trends of iwi movement and where many Te Tau Ihu iwi live. Although it is acknowledged that because of multiple iwi affiliation, response rates and other factors it is doubtful that the statistics are unduplicated or complete. Given this background, the broader, essential question of “Who are Māori?” is posed and responses from a multi-faceted view, including the ebb and flow of modern migration, are rendered.

Chapter 3 looks at *kanohi ki te kanohi*, the Māori value of communication, in particular by analysing the effects of face to face communication in comparison to modern online methods used by Māori. The scenes associated with Māori migration through the technology and media landscape are also discussed. The complexity of current online communication methods utilised by iwi are presented in regards to their effectiveness. An analysis of three of the most commonly used methods of communication from iwi (websites, email and Facebook) to diasporic populations is also illuminated.

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 share and analyse the voices of Te Tau Ihu diaspora. Firstly, more than three generations of emigrants from Te Tau Ihu living abroad were surveyed and the findings will be addressed in chapter four. The range and extent of iwi communication is also outlined in relationship to the preferred methods communicated by survey participants. In chapter five, three Te Tau Ihu *tāngata* were interviewed to provide nuanced perceptions of the range and preferred methods of communication. Interviewees were chosen from the three generations. One interviewee is a first generation emigrant who left Aotearoa as an adult. The second generation interviewee was born outside of New Zealand but lived in New Zealand several times as a child and adult. The last individual selected is a third generation emigrant born in the diaspora, and only visited New Zealand once as an adult to attend a family reunion.

The final chapter is an interwoven overview of the process and findings of the study. Questions that surfaced throughout the research are identified for further examination, “What will iwi look like in the near future? What constitute iwi going forward? How can younger uri in the diaspora be reached?”

Chapter 2: Who are Te Tau Ihu and Diasporic Māori? Who are Tāngata Māori?

“Māori indigeneity has always been envisaged as a dialogue between location and movement.” (Harvey, 2005, p. 132)

Introduction

This chapter will address some major events that contributed to the historical migratory patterns of tāngata o Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka-a-Māui. Although there are various versions of the same geographical history of the South Island of New Zealand, this will lay a foundation of the social and inter-tribal landscapes in the area regarding its eight iwi that currently claim mana whenua. It is clear that the most crucial part of history for Te Tau Ihu iwi and other Māori is the creation of groups based on whanaungatanga and the determined efforts to remain connected to those communicates through generations, regardless of distance. These distinct iwi groups have existed since the arrival of people to Aotearoa however, they have grown, changed and now more than ever, large members of iwi extend across Aotearoa and beyond. An added layer of complexity appears when considering diasporic Māori dispersed outside of their homelands are seeing their numbers rapidly increase. Undoubtedly, there is a rise in multigenerational foreign-born Māori who have varying levels of understanding and connectivity to iwi. Therefore, the notion of Indigeneity in relation to movement will be dissected. A brief history will be given of Te Tau Ihu tāngata in the eight iwi: Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne o Wairau, Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Rārua, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Tama ki Te Tau Ihu, and Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui and tāngata Māori on a larger scale. Although this chapter acknowledges the arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa, its impact on Te Tau Ihu communication and relations between Māori and non-Māori groups are not addressed, as it is not at the centre of focus. Understandably, this entirely separate topic warrants a closer look at another time.

Te Tau Ihu Iwi Background

The northern part of the South Island of Aotearoa is known as Te Tau Ihu o te Waka-a-Māui. (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2005; Waitangi Tribunal, 2008) Areas of the southern parts of the North Island are considered Te Tau Ihu as well. These regions have rich, complicated, complex histories of inter-iwi events including battles, intermarriages, trade and treaties. Known as the prow of Māui's canoe, Te Tau Ihu has been home to many iwi throughout history. Previously, "there was a general perception that few Maori lived in the [Te Tau Ihu] region before colonisation, and that very little was known about those who did." (Mitchell & Mitchell, 2008, p. 17) In reality, the region is rich in history, particularly in regards to the constant movement of peoples. Like the ebbs and flows of Moana-nui-a-Kiwa that brought Māori to Aotearoa, these locations were sites of migration, returning, merging, splitting and settling for many hundreds of years. The Mitchells document the groups and iwi that occupied the area; so many that they won't all be identified here. Hilary and John Mitchell have written four extensively detailed and esteemed volumes of the rohe's history in *Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka: A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough*. (2005; 2007; 2010; Nga Whanau Rangatira o Ngati Tama me Te Atiawa - The Chiefly Families of Ngati Tama and Te Atiawa, 2015) As stated by the authors, there was movement inherent in Te Tau Ihu history, far from a tidy, chronological and sequential past, which may not be the case for other iwi around the motu. They explain:

It is not easy to establish with complete confidence the precise sequence of tribal occupation of the northern South Island. There was clearly not a tidy chronological succession whereby all of the communities of one tribal affiliation were instantly replaced by incoming peoples of another tribal affiliation. At times the members of one community might be supplanted by conquering invaders while their close relatives living not far distant would escape unscathed and continue the tribal name for generations. (2005, p. 43)

As a result, in Te Tau Ihu there are overlapping, multiple iwi affiliation or whakapapa links. Many tāngata o Te Tau Ihu like my own whānau claim tangata

whenua status through tūpuna links to multiple iwi in the area. There are many competing histories about iwi, as told by those within the particular iwi and those outside. The sequence of events that allowed each of the eight iwi to occupy that region (and their continued occupation years later) are highly contested and political. As I began to sort through books, kaumātua narratives, websites and other sources, I immediately felt overwhelmed at the magnitude and extent of the stories and histories. How would a comprehensive and cohesive history for this chapter be written in which all iwi would feel accurately represented? This feat grew seemingly more impossible as my digging expanded.

Avoiding the role of gatekeeper and authority for what should be included in migratory accounts for each group, I removed myself from selecting, combining or including certain histories from a plethora of sources. The following writings come from each iwi's own website (further addressed in Chapter 3 as part of the communication analysis) listed and found under "About Us" or "Our History". This approach reflects the focus of this thesis, giving privilege to and highlighting Indigenous voices for each iwi to tell their own stories on their own terms within the political landscape. It is important to note that not only are these histories being told to their own iwi (diaspora or not) but to all who have access to the Internet and their website, Māori and non-Māori alike. To maintain the narrative purported by each iwi, the spelling, structure of paragraphs, capitalisation of words and dialectical differences were maintained as appearing online. Some histories may have been shortened here because of length, but the reader is invited to read online for themselves to distinguish if there have been any changes made since this paper was submitted. The following eight iwi currently claim mana whenua in Te Tau Ihu typically grouped by migration, by waka association and/or previous location prior to migration.

Kurahaupō waka

Ngāti Kuia

Ngāti Kuia are the first people of Te Tau Ihu. The descendants of Maui, Kupe, and Matuahautere. It was Matuahautere who was brought to this

place by the taniwha Kaikaiawaro and it was the people Matuahautere, Ngāti Kuia, who settled the land – Te Hoiere.

Ngāti Kuia gave their voice to the land which gave us a reason to speak. Through generations, Ngāti Kuia became one with the Ngāti Wairangi, the Ngāti Kopia, the Ngāti Kaua, the Ngāi Tawake, the Ngāti Whakamana, the Ngā Te Heiwi and the Ngāti Tumatakokiri. Ngāti Kuia endured the coming of Ngā Iwi Hou and Pakeha.

The challenges Ngāti Kuia face today are different from those faced by their Tūpuna, yet as Tangata Whenua the obligations to those Tūpuna, the land, and those who follow, remains. Ngāti Kuia are bound by whakapapa and guided by the principles of kotahitanga, whanaungatanga, whangai and manaakitanga and must ensure that the land continues to speak. In doing this the land, as it has always done, will protect and enhance the mana of its first people – Ngāti Kuia. (Ngāti Kuia, n.d.)

Rangitāne o Wairau

The Rangitāne story begins with the arrival of the Kurahaupō waka (canoe or migration). One of the principle chiefs aboard this waka was Whātonga. His descendants eventually migrated south from Māhia Peninsula to settle much of the lower North Island and the top of the South Island...

At first Rangitāne lived in the Heretaunga (Hastings) area. Later, they travelled south and occupied Tāmakinui-a-Rua (present-day Dannevirke), Wairarapa, Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington) and Wairau in the South Island.

This lead to the Rangitāne whakatauki: Tini whetū ki te rangi.....Ko Rangitāne ki te whenua. Like the multitude of stars in the sky....So great is Rangitāne on the earth. There are four modern day concentrations of Rangitāne – Tamakinui-a-Rua, Manawatu, Wairarapa and Wairau.

Rangitāne have resided in the northern South Island since the migration from the Wairarapa in the sixteenth century under the Chiefs Te Huataki, Te Whakamana and Tukanae. We have occupied and used resources within a territory stretching from the Waiau-toa (Clarence) River in the south to the Wairau (Marlborough), including the Nelson Lakes, and north to Kaituna and the Marlborough Sounds and west into the Whakatu (Nelson) area... (Rangitāne o Wairau, n.d.)

Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō

The eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō was Apa-Hapai-Taketake. He was the grandson of Ruatea, captain of the Kurahaupō waka, which arrived in Aotearoa sometime between the 13th and 14th centuries.

Ngāti Apa first settled in Heretaunga (Hastings) district, later migrating across and down to the west coast of Te Ika-a-Maui (the North Island). Ultimately, they came to control much of the area between Rangitikei and Raukawa Moana (Cook Strait).

From the mid-1500's Ngāti Apa made increasingly regular forays south into Te Tau Ihu (the northern South Island) and began to establish permanent communities in and around Queen Charlotte Sound.

Those Ngāti Apa who went south came to be known as Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō - Ngāti Apa of the Setting Sun. Other Kurahaupō iwi – Rangitāne and Ngāti Kuia – also made the journey south. Te Tau Ihu was at the time occupied by other iwi (Ngāti Tumatakōkiri, Ngāti Mamoe and others), but some time around 1800 the Kurahaupō iwi combined in a pincer movement with Ngāi Tahu from the south to comprehensively defeat these iwi.

Archaeological evidence and oral histories show that in the years after this major battle the three Kurahaupō iwi came to control separate but

overlapping territories stretching across Te Tau Ihu from east to west.
(Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō, n.d.)

It is notable to point out that in this section, two of the three iwi mention Kurahaupō waka and individual tūpuna by name in connection to that migration event in the recounted stories. The third chose to omit those elements in presenting their history online.

Tainui waka

Ngāti Koata

What makes us Ngāti Koata ultimately is our ability to whakapapa to our ancestress Koata of Tainui. The rich heritage and history that Ngāti Koata has is embodied in its people, its place and its taonga.

For Ngāti Koata the journey begins with the early navigator Kupe, who arrived to Aotearoa from Hawaiki c.925. Although the human face of Koata have not yet been revealed, the names, traditions and stories associated with his arrival are integral landmarks within the rohe(boundary) of the Ngāti Koata Trust.

Ngāti Koata originates from the waka of Tainui that left Hawaiki and arrived in Aotearoa c.1400. Tainui was captained by Hoturoa and was finally hauled ashore to rest between the two pillar stones of Puna and Hani in Kāwhia. (located behind the Maketu Marae)...

Peace initially dwelled amongst the people of Koata as they settled the land. Conflict began to arise around population growth, intermarriages and land boundaries leading to an exodus of people from Kāwhia in the early nineteenth century. Ngāti Koata who formed an alliance with their whanaunga(relations) Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Rārua also departed. Many Koata remained in the Kāwhia area and to this day we try to maintain strong relationships with them.

The main heke (migration) for Ngāti Koata was called ‘Te heke Whirinui’ led by our Tupuna, who were known for their military strength. They travelled down the Western side North Island and with the support of Ngāti Awa, Koata travelled through Taranaki and continued onto Te Waewae Kapiti o Tara rāua ko Rangitāne (Kapiti Island) where they had settled at Te Waiorua. Soon after, Kurahaupō tribes led an assault on the Tainui tribes on Kapiti... (Ngāti Koata, n.d.)

Ngāti Rārua

...Ngāti Rārua descend from the Tainui waka and originate from the western coast of the King Country. Their origins can be traced back to the eponymous ancestor Rāruaioio, who married Tupahau, and bore the children from whom Ngāti Rārua is derived. Tuapahau and Rāruaio’s son Karewa married Rāruatere, further entrenching the name, and the children of this marriage came to call themselves Ngāti Rārua.

The iwi came to Te Tau Ihu o te Waka a Māui in the 1820s and 1830s, as part of the great southwards migration of the Kawhia and Taranaki iwi.

Ngāti Rārua were participants in the series of tauā that came to Te Tau Ihu, and were involved in the resulting battles against the resident Kurahaupō people. These events were soon followed by Ngāti Rārua heke of occupation, whereby Ngāti Rārua established themselves as tangata whenua.

By 1840, Ngāti Rārua were resident in the Cloudy Bay and Wairau districts in eastern Te Tau Ihu. In western Te Tau Ihu, Ngāti Rārua maintained seasonal and permanent kāinga at Whakatū, Motueka, Moutere, Aorere, and West Whanganui/Taitapu. In addition, they exercised rights of occupation and resource collection down the West Coast of Te Waipounamu. (Ngāti Rārua, n.d.)

Ngāti Rārua, it seems, has two websites in which history could have been taken from, both “Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rārua” in which the above section was taken, and “Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa Iwi Trust”. The latter is a trust that, according to the home page “represents a unique group of descendants from two iwi [who] whakapapa back to one or more of our 94 Ngāti Rārua tūpuna and 15 Te Ātiawa tūpuna. These ancestors are the original landowners of our Motueka homelands.” (Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa Iwi Trust, n.d.) Even within the same iwi, we see that the histories they include on their websites are different.

Ngāti Toa Rangatira

Toa Rangatira who was the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Toa, resided at Kāwhia on the west coast of Waikato-Tainui rohe around the 17th century.

Ngāti Toa occupied the coastline from Aotea to Huikomako, about 100km south of Kāwhia.

In 1819 Te Rauparaha lead a scouting expedition to the Cook Strait. From a well known lookout point, Omere near Cape Terawhiti, Te Rauparaha noticed a trading ship passing through the Cook Strait. After identifying the strategic importance of the Cook Strait as a major trading route Te Rauparaha lead Ngāti Toa in a historic resettlement campaign from Kāwhia.

Te Heke Tahutahuahi (the fire lighting expedition) was the first stage of Te Rauparaha’s resettlement which arrived in North Taranaki. Here Ngāti Toa was joined by Ngāti Tama, and members from Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Awa.

Te Heke Tataramoa (the bramble bush) was the second heke which moved south from Whanganui to Ngāti Apa towards the Cook Strait....

By 1840 Ngāti Toa Rangatira was established as the pre-eminent Iwi dominating the Kāpiti, Wellington, and Te Tau Ihu (northern South Island) regions. Ngāti Toa held a maritime monopoly in the Cook Strait including a de facto military, political and economic power in the region

acknowledged by Māori and European settlers at the time. (Ngāti Toa Rangatira, n.d.)

From Taranaki

Ngāti Tama ki Te Tau Ihu

Ngāti Tama trace their roots to the *Tokomaru* waka from Hawaiki, and take their name from Tamaariki, one of the five co-captains aboard the vessel. Whakapapa of these rangatira and others aboard, the sagas of their journey and eventual establishment in northern Taranaki are preserved in tribal traditions. Inter-marriages between the senior lines of Ngāti Tama and other Taranaki and coastal Tainui tribes forged closed relations between these groups.

Around 1820 an alliance of Tainui and Taranaki tribes, including some Ngāti Tama under the paramount chief Te Pūoho ki te Rangi, participated in a raid to Te Upoko o Te Ika (southern North Island). By the mid-1820s these tribes had established themselves at Kapiti Island and on the mainland east and south to Cook Strait. Relationships based on trade, service provision, and marriage, were established with whalers.

Eventually the Tainui and Taranaki alliance crossed Cook Strait to Te Tau Ihu o te Waka a Maui. Te Pūoho ki Te Rangi, other Ngāti Tama chiefs, and rangatira from other iwi led the conquest of western Te Tau Ihu. After the conquest members of the Tainui and Taranaki alliance, including Ngāti Tama, established permanent communities in the northern South Island.

Ngāti Tama established pa and kainga at several localities in Te Tau Ihu and at some places in northern Te Tai Poutini (Westland). In Te Tau Ihu, Ngāti Tama's main pā were at Wakapuaka (near Nelson) and at Wainui, Takaka, Tukurua and Parapara in Mohua (Golden Bay). (Ngāti Tama ki Te Waipounamu Trust, n.d.)

Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui

Te Ātiawa stem from Toi-te-huatahi or Toi-kai-rakau, the wood eater. Toi was the progenitor of many tribes occupying a considerable stretch of country, eight generations prior to the waka migrations of the fourteenth century. Soon after Toi arrived in New Zealand with his people, he established a pa at Whakatane. In the years following, descendants of Toi moved further afield and different familial branches arose including: Te Tini o Awa, Te Marangaranga, Te Tini o Tuio, Te Tini o Taunga and Ngā Turanga....

The descendants of Awanuiarangi, the Awa people, occupied Taranaki for many generations. Te Ātiawa is sometimes referred to as the Awa tribes or Ngātiawa. Te Ātiawa connects with the three hapū, Te Kahui Tu, Te Kahui Rangi and Te Kahui Tawake. These hapū originated from the ancestor Rua Taranaki, the first man to climb Maunga Taranaki. Some of the earliest tangata whenua to have occupied Totaranui and the surrounding districts came from these three hapū.

The Awa people living in Northern Taranaki in the nineteenth century commonly used the name Ngāti Awa. Te Ātiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust recognises that the Tūpuna of all its Beneficiaries at one time came under the name of Ngāti Awa. Through the years the name of Ngāti Awa has evolved to where many of the descendants of these Tūpuna now go by the tribal name of Te Ātiawa. It is also recognised that many continue to go by the name Ngāti Awa.

Today, the manawhenua status of Te Ātiawa is recognised within the four Marae across Te Tau Ihu – Waikawa, Whakatū, Te Āwhina and Onetahua – all have Te Ātiawa interests. (Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui, n.d.)

In the quick snapshots of their online historical narratives, what emerges is the highly charged, political and contestable landscape. This is evidenced in the way

these stories are told, the language used, what is included and what is not. For example, Ngāti Kuia was one of two Te Tau Ihu iwi to not reference a waka, and referred to themselves as “the first people of Te Tau Ihu” who “became one” with other tribes in the area like Ngāti Tumatakokiri. However, what was excluded from this narrative and included in the Ngāti Apa historical synopsis, was the Kurahaupō alliance with Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne and Ngāi Tahu to displace and “comprehensively defeat” the iwi that were there previously, namely Ngāti Tumatakokiri. When comparing the histories side by side, it is apparent that some iwi refer to certain shared relationships but others do not. Another example of the contested landscape can be seen in the definitive language Ngāti Toa uses when referring to their own mana whenua as the “preeminent iwi dominating Kāpiti, Wellington, and Te Tau Ihu...regions.” Although much of the same lands and areas within that region were occupied by numerous iwi, there is still a divergence of who was “first” or “preeminent” or “tangata whenua” as recorded in these histories.

These histories can co-exist and tell different components to multiple experiences, as evidenced in the above narrations. The interconnectedness of iwi in Te Tau Ihu encourage the necessity for multiple histories, therefore, one story from one iwi deemed as the “correct” one can erase the uniqueness of other iwi. (Walker, 1990) A commonality that iwi acknowledge in their website narratives is their origination in another place - Hawaiki and/or somewhere else in the motu. This is done by making acknowledgements and connections to their waka, to other iwi, or to the whakapapa of their eponymous ancestor like Toi or Tamaariki. Another acknowledgement is their belongingness to that current place in Te Tau Ihu justifying their mana whenua status as tāngata o Te Tau Ihu. Both are important and valid parts to history and contemporary understanding. With that as a backdrop, iwi websites today offer specific historical events as its iwi history. The narratives become foundations for contemporary perspectives communicated and thereby perpetuated for the benefit of iwi members, diasporic or otherwise.

Where are Te Tau Ihu people?

Movement and migration of Te Tau Ihu people is still ongoing, we first look to Te Tau Ihu diaspora within Aotearoa as reported in the national 1991 census. This

census was the first that asked Māori to report their affiliate iwi, thus becoming the baseline for subsequent census data. Reports from 2001, 2006 and 2013 are added here to show Te Tau Ihu residency trends in their respective rohe and beyond. These help sketch a picture as to where tāngata o Te Tau Ihu live in Aotearoa and highlight the breadth and sweep of the diaspora in country. (Mitchell & Mitchell, Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2017) Statistics New Zealand, the governmental department charged with statistic collection, claim that 83 percent of people of Māori descent “reported at least one iwi” (Stats NZ, 2018)

Table 1a: Ngāti Kuia Census

The 1991 census recorded 522 Ngāti Kuia.

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Ngāti Kuia	1,224	1,551	1,794

Ngāti Kuia saw a steady rise in individuals claiming iwi affiliation with each census.

Table 1b: Ngāti Kuia - Regions of Residence

Region	Number of individuals (2013)
Nelson	315
Marlborough	261

The two areas of highest concentration recorded for Ngāti Kuia were located in the Nelson and Marlborough regions. However, numerically, these two areas only accounted for 32 percent of the iwi, or 576 of 1,794 Ngāti Kuia. The majority, or 68 percent, are dispersed throughout Aotearoa.

Table 2a: Rangitāne o Wairau Census

In the 1991 census there were only 54 individuals reported.

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Rangitāne o Wairau	756	966	1,218

By 2013, 1,218 individuals identified themselves as Rangitāne o Wairau. Iwi numbers in this case are on a steady rise.

Table 2b: Rangitāne o Wairau - Regions of Residence

Region	Number of individuals (2013)
Marlborough	282
Canterbury	219

Marlborough, which is located in Te Tau Ihu, hold the highest concentration of Rangitāne o Wairau people at 282. The next largest concentration is in Canterbury, 219. The remaining 717 of Rangitāne tāngata lived elsewhere in 2013.

Table 3a: Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō Census

There is no available data for the number of Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō in the 1991 census.

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Ngāti Apa	375	741	843

There was large jump from the 2001 to 2006 census, almost doubling the iwi population. Interestingly, from 2006 to 2013, there was only a mild increase of one hundred more Ngāti Apa added.

Table 3b: Ngāti Apa ki Te Rā Tō - Regions of Residence

Region	Number of individuals (2013)
Manawatū-Whanganui	171
Canterbury	150
Marlborough	117

The top region of highest concentration in Aotearoa where Ngāti Apa reside is Manawatū-Whanganui, located on the North Island notably in the vicinity of other

branches of Ngati Apa. An overwhelming majority, 636 people or 86 percent reside outside of Te Tau Ihu.

Table 4a: Ngāti Koata Census

In 1991 there were 390 individuals listed.

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Ngāti Koata	765	1,062	1,341

From 1991 to 2001 there was an increase in Ngati Koata by 96 percent. By the 2006 census, numbers increased by another 39 percent. An additional 26 percent increase was recorded in 2013. A nearly three-hundred-person jump occurred between each of the census for Ngāti Koata in Aotearoa.

Table 4b: Ngāti Koata – Regions of Residence

Region	Number of individuals (2013)
Waikato	270
Wellington	261

The highest concentrations of Ngāti Koata tāngata - 531 people, or 40 percent reside in Waikato and Wellington, where there are strong tribal links to Tainui. According to the census data, the rest of the 60% are scattered elsewhere in Aotearoa.

Table 5a: Ngāti Rārua Census

The 1991 census had 312 individuals self-identifying and reporting their affiliation with Ngāti Rārua.

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Ngāti Rārua	699	954	981

Ngāti Rārua saw a jump in both the 2001 and 2006 censuses, yet numbers stayed relatively steady in the 2013 census with a total of 981 individuals.

Table 5b: Ngāti Rārua – Region of Residence

Region	Number of individuals (2013)
Marlborough	228

The largest concentration, 228 people or 23 percent of the total counted as Ngāti Rārua, live in Te Tau Ihu in the Marlborough region. The remaining 77 per cent were living elsewhere.

Table 6a: Ngāti Toa Rangatira Census

Ngāti Toa Rangatira is the smallest recorded iwi in regards to iwi affiliation in the national census, with only 24 Ngāti Toa Rangatira tāngata first counted in 1991.

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Ngāti Toa	138	180	321

The 1991 census numbers appear to be severely inaccurate and calls into question the subsequent data. The biggest increase in numbers happened between 2006 and 2013 census to a total of 321 individuals recorded.

Table 6b: Ngāti Toa Rangatira – Region of Residence

Region	Number of individuals (2013)
Wellington	54

The highest concentration, or 54 individuals approximately, 17 percent of Ngāti Toa are living in Wellington. The other 83 percent were found living elsewhere in the country.

Table 7a: Ngāti Tama ki Te Tau Ihu Census

There was no recorded information for Ngāti Tama in the 1991 census.

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Ngāti Tama	393	381	375

Ngāti Tama is the only iwi of the eight that has seen a decrease in numbers between the census polls.

Table 7b: Ngāti Tama ki Te Tau Ihu – Region of Residence

Region	Number of individuals (2013)
Wellington	93

Of the 375 Ngāti Tama, one third, or 93 people live in the Wellington region and the other two-thirds live elsewhere in New Zealand. The remaining 282 people live elsewhere.

Table 8a: Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui Census

In 1991, only nine Te Ātiawa were identified in the census.

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Te Ātiawa	1,377	2,433	2,013

Te Ātiawa, of the eight iwi, have the highest recorded number as found in the latest census with a total of 2,013 people.

Table 8b: Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui – Regions of Residence

Region	Number of individuals (2013)
Wellington	408
Marlborough	366

The 2013 census indicates that 38 percent of Te Ātiawa are concentrated in two areas, one on each side of the Cook Strait – Wellington and Marlborough.

However, the remaining (1,239) or 62 percent are dispersed throughout New Zealand. The following table shows the totals for all iwi over the three census, including the totals for each of the years.

Table 9: Te Tau Ihu Census (2001, 2006, 2013)

Iwi	2001 Census	2006 Census	2013 Census
Ngāti Kuia	1,224	1,551	1,794
Rangitāne	756	966	1,218
Ngāti Apa	375	741	843
Ngāti Koata	765	1,062	1,341
Ngāti Rārua	699	954	981
Ngāti Toa	138	180	321
Ngāti Tama	393	381	375
Te Ātiawa	1,377	2,433	2,013
	2001 Total: 5,727	2006 Total: 8,268	2013 Total: 8,886

It is very interesting to note the large number of iwi members living away from their tribal regions but still in Aotearoa. This paints a picture of how large the diaspora of Te Tau Ihu tāngata within Aotearoa is. Many are living near or in the region itself, but the majority of individuals are found outside of Te Tau Ihu, meaning they are a part of the diaspora.

Although the census numbers were most likely inaccurate they reflect some trends, first, iwi are growing. Secondly, the majority of tangata affiliating with iwi are residing outside of iwi rohe, third, iwi and census data are probably disparate due to census data collection methods. For example, in the 2018 census there are two forms being used, one English and the other a bilingual form. However, the forms have a significant variation in definitions. The bilingual form asks individuals to identify which iwi and rohe they affiliate with, and the English version asks for iwi and region (Stats NZ, 2018). Although subtle to some, these definitions can have serious ramifications because of the disparate definitions. The census is trying to record the location of individuals in the New Zealand space by region according to westernized political regional councils, but iwi rohe

are not geographically defined in that manner. Another problem with using census data to identify Maori tribal affiliations may be logistics surrounding collection of census data. Mitchell & Mitchell (2017) claimed census data is significantly flawed because the numbers from the past three New Zealand censuses “refer [only] to the number of the people from the tribes listed who were resident in the Te Tau Ihu region at the time of the census.”

Other variables that may also contribute to these questionable numbers are not explicitly told through the data alone. The 2013 census “counted 97.6 per cent New Zealand residents in the country on census night...” while there were 2.4 per cent of the population who were absent, yet some 135,500 people did not complete the census. It was found that “Some population groups were more likely to be missed in the census. The net undercount rates for Māori and Pacific peoples, and young adults (aged 15-29 years), for example, were higher than the rate for the total population.” (Stats NZ, 2014) Census forms have been historically distributed by hand on paper until the most recent census in 2018 when the forms were made available online. Although the complete reports will not be released until early 2019, it would be compelling to compare how these changes impact the iwi affiliation. (Stats NZ, 2014; Radio NZ, 2018)

Who are Māori?

Ngā iwi o Te Tau Ihu are not unique in having diasporic beginnings. In the Pacific, in regards to movement and migration “change was the norm,” (Spickard, Rondilla, & Hippolite Wright, 2002, p. 3) and like other groups’ migration patterns, Māori had been driven by exploration, growth, war, and other economic factors. Māori have this reality of movement ingrained in stories, tikanga and identity as pointed out by Graham Harvey at the outset of this chapter. The origin of Aotearoa and its people can be found in histories, storied traditions, and more recently in the field of anthropologic studies. There are numerous images and stories of Māori history that are conjured up when thinking of the makeup of the creation of Aotearoa – Kupe leaving his home of Hawaiki to chase an octopus, Māui fishing up islands, and several waka laden with early Polynesian voyagers landing on its unspoiled shores. To better digest and categorize this early history of Māori migration, we look to Sir Peter Buck’s foundational work of *The Coming*

of the Maori. Each of the three waves of migration to Aotearoa is outlined by theories and stories that connect both the traditional Māori perspective and more recent studies from historians and anthropologists. In certain periods, Buck groups the Moriori and Moa hunters as the first group of migration, next, the Toi and Whatonga expedition from Hawaiki to Aotearoa in the 1100s and lastly, the Great Migration of 1350.

Although early history of Aotearoa and Māori are rich, vast, and at times complex, many mark 1350 AD and “The Great Migration (heke) from Hawaiki [as] the most famous event in Maori history.” This is most important “because all the tribes trace their aristocratic lineages back to the chiefs of the voyaging canoes which took part in conveying the third and last wave of settlers to New Zealand.” (Buck, 1925, p. 36) Neither stagnant nor unchanging in groupings, these whakapapa links are what provide the origins of Māori iwi that we know and can recognize today. Upon arrival to Aotearoa, groups from various waka began to adapt, merge, change, grow, fight and splinter. Iwi were independently moving and migrating from their ancestral homelands to new places in Aotearoa for a variety of reasons. These migrations across the new land spawned changes in group affiliations and mana whenua and Māori began forming new groupings of iwi, or tribes, these groups then began dividing into smaller subgroups called hapū (subtribes) made up of whānau (families). Varying in size, customs, dialect, and traditions according to region and affiliation, iwi commonly have in some way a history of migration.

Selwyn Katene’s doctoral thesis (2006) documents the history of Ngāti Tama, eventually splitting into three groups. He provides a “brief historical account of the people and their dealings with others including the migratory voyages from Poutama in Taranaki south to Whanganui a Tara and elsewhere.” (p. 132) Namely for reasons of new trade opportunities and land acquisition, the one unified group became three iwi over time who are now autonomous. Each of these three Ngāti Tama iwi trace whakapapa links from Tama Ariki, yet are distinct iwi today: “in Taranaki, another in the South Island, and Ngati Tama ki te Upoko o te Ika in Wellington.” Ngāti Tama referenced in this chapter in Te Tau Ihu is one of those groups. Katene continues,

While the three iwi collaborate as much as practicable through shared waka traditions and genealogical links, each is responsible for its own affairs including inter-iwi relationships within each rohe, Crown liaison, economic advancement, socio-cultural development, and claim management. (p. 132)

Although now independent iwi groups, the shared origins, history, and association continue. This can also be seen in Te Tau Ihu and for other iwi as well. Mutually beneficial, close relationships and continued connections are based on several factors including shared history, whakapapa, and marae. The eight iwi are connected in other ways too, as previously mentioned with Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa Iwi Trust comprised of a unique group of descendants from two iwi. Additionally, there are certain Te Tau Ihu iwi that have links through several modern Māori organizations and corporations based out of Te Tau Ihu like Tiakina Te Taiao Limited, “the iwi mandated resource management unit for Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Rarua and Ngāti Rarua Ātiawa Iwi Trust.” (Tiakina te Taiao Ltd, 2012) In 1977, Wakatū Incorporation was established for certain individuals from four iwi - Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Rārua, Te Ātiawa, and Ngāti Tama. These shareholders are from those iwi “who descend from the original Māori land owners of the Nelson, Tasman and Golden Bay Regions – Te Tau Ihu” (Wakatū, Inc., n.d.) and are named by the Māori Land Court in 1895. Today the incorporation refers to these descendants as owners, who own corporate shares of assets in land ownership, developments, office buildings, orchards and other entities.

Māori Communities Abroad

Diasporic Māori emigrants that include intergenerational emigrants are significant in number and cannot be ignored. “With at least one in six – and, more likely, one in five Māori living outside of Aotearoa – it is no longer tenable to ignore the implications of a growing global Māori diaspora.” (Kukutai & Pawar, 2013, p. 13) Several studies have been done in recent years to identify, quantify and understand the experiences of tāngata Māori overseas outside of Aotearoa. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012) Australia has been a particular point of interest of study

(Kukutai & Pawar, 2013; Hamer, 2007) as the Māori diaspora in this particular location is the largest outside of the country of New Zealand. Te Puni Kōkiri has done several studies, including one in 2011, which comprised of an online survey called “Every Kiwi Counts.” More than 15,000 Kiwis responded, but only 1,223 Māori. The main reasons for the survey was to assess why Māori and non-Māori moved from Aotearoa, what is their continued connection with home, and their future plans. For Māori respondents, “the prospect of economic advancement was the key motivator for living offshore” one third identified this as being the reason for leaving Aotearoa for Australia. According to the Te Puni Kōkiri study, forty-two per cent of Māori in Australia cited “economic opportunity” as a strong factor for emigrating. The study indicated that thirty-four per cent of Māori living elsewhere did so because of strong economic pull. (2012)

Movement is not new for Māori, but an ongoing process. Therefore, this invites these questions: At what point in time do we begin the conversation of Indigeneity? Who, then, is Indigenous? There is no straightforward time period of when Indigeneity turns into non-Indigeneity. Graham Harvey states,

Certainly, however, the near universal Maori citation of waka origins roots Maori indigeneity in Maori migration...Indigeneity, here at least, is already diasporic. It is the result and practice of movement and routing and of seeding and rooting communities in new locations...Furthermore, the canoe migrations are not the final movements within Maori origin accounts. (2005, pp. 125-126)

Although the New Zealand census attempts to categorically measure Māori and their iwi affiliation, it is virtually impossible to count Maori abroad. They are grouped differently depending on the country where they reside with Australia most closely in line with Aotearoa’s system. In the United States, census measures race and ethnicity into categories. For the first time the U.S Census in 2020 will include the following designations, Native Hawaiian, Tongan, Fijian, Marshallese, or “Other Pacific Islander.” (Wang, 2018) Most Maori identify as “other Pacific Islander.” To accurately identify Māori and iwi affiliation, the task will fall upon Māori iwi themselves. Each country’s government, even New Zealand’s, does not

fully recognise or acknowledge Māori Indigeneity, regardless of where they reside.

Conclusion

In reality, Māori iwi have always been in motion, which is recounted and remembered traditionally through whaikōrero, which narratives are now contemporarily perpetuated online by iwi. This chapter has shown that Te Tau Ihu Māori overwhelmingly live in the diaspora within Aotearoa and overseas as compared to those living in the rohe. Those numbers will only continue to increase, as Te Tau Ihu uri will likely remain in the diaspora where they will raise families of intergenerational diasporic Māori. Movement back and forth between Aotearoa still occurs, but ultimately, economic opportunity is a major factor for permanency overseas. In the attempt to enumerate iwi, no current technique nor government system is equipped enough to accurately ascertain the number of Māori in Aotearoa or abroad. That responsibility falls to iwi to know where their people reside to remain connected and linked to those individuals, regardless of present location.

Chapter 3: Contemporary Māori Communication

Te Matatini is a national kapa haka competition held biannually rotating to different regions of Aotearoa. In 2017, the festival held in Hastings, located on the East Coast of the North Island, included one day of preliminaries and three days of performances from 47 rōpu competing for the kapa haka championship title. An estimated 19,670 adults were in attendance at the venue Sport Park Hawke's Bay. (Angus & Associates, 2017) This particular year the festival was unique in their attempt at reaching a broader audience. Māori Television called their coverage of 2017's festival the "most extensive Te Matatini broadcast yet..." as there was "no platform unturned with the live coverage...commencing broadcast through linear and digital." (Māori Television, 2017) The broadcast each day clocked in at 11 hours and was both accessible on television across Aotearoa and streamed live online "delivering their furthest reaching broadcast yet, with unblocked internet broadcast...to Australian and American audiences." (Media Net, 2017) Because streaming previously was limited only to those within New Zealand in years past, 2017's coverage is a perfect case study for expanding and utilising media coverage for those outside of the country. In this example, the viewership reflects the landscape of diasporic Māori engaging in Te Ao Māori from afar.

The events over four days saw a significant increase in the number of views online and live streaming. In comparison, the total live stream views for Te Matatini in 2015 was 129,000 while 2017 saw an increase of over 50% to 297,886. Total video views in 2015 had 546,000 while 2017 racked up 1,133,591 views. More so, 135,000 sessions were recorded from Australia, while 10,000 sessions were recorded from the USA – most of them from Hawaii and California. (Māori Television, 2017) As reported after the events, Chief Executive Officer of Māori Television, Paora Maxwell said:

New Zealand's media landscape is dynamic and we are going through an exciting period of change to reflect changing viewer behaviour... We are

very proud of our coverage, which resulted in a cumulative engagement of close to 860,000 people. Our Te Matatini content is taking our language and culture to viewers on-air and online nationwide and as far away as Australia and the US. (Māori Television, 2017)

This extensive media coverage benefits a variety of viewers, those in the area (in this case, Heretaunga), those in country, and those abroad. Historically, challenges like time, space and financial commitment have been constrictive. However, newer technology has provided ease of access by allowing those who are not physically present to participate and feel included. Conversely, by limiting the coverage to in-person or in-country participation, the “cumulative engagement” would have been cut drastically. Unlimited coverage, coupled with the added dimension of viewing live video, was streaming the coverage through Facebook where people were able to view videos and links, but by commenting and adding dialogue. Excitement and interest was palpable, permeating through the common online comments like: “Tumeke, best to you and your roopu.” or, “Wish I was home to go to this. Love the singing and harmony like no other.” and “Ataahua.”

This illustration of Te Matatini 2017 emphasises to iwi the need for reaching out to whanaunga who are beyond the rohe. It validates the fact that there is an eager audience to be contacted. This example also shows the advancement in technology, managing and catering to different needs of audiences locally, in country and abroad is entirely possible. In fact, on a smaller scale, whānau are Skyping, group chatting, using whānau Facebook pages, Instagram, and other means to keep connected, demonstrating a definite want and need. Therefore, as landscapes change, so should the methods of communication. Even though Te Tau Ihu are small and have limited resources, the reward for both parties (like in the case of Māori Television and the online participants) is mutually beneficial.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Māori are a people on the move. Migration is not a new occurrence, but the negotiation of communication methods developed through modern technology represents new frontiers. Yet, shifts to online methods allow for the survival of culture, allowing for the maintenance of traditional cultural values. (Keegan, 2000) The Māori value of *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to

face) is impossible to ignore as it relates to these shifts in online communication. This fundamental lens will offer contextualisation and understanding of priority of face-to-face relationships within Te Ao Māori. How do these implications then affect diasporic Māori? Māori-focused and Māori-driven communication methods that are currently available, utilised, and disseminated by Te Tau Ihu iwi will be identified and examined. Taking into consideration the fact that the Internet has a dearth of rules or guidelines in regards to privacy, censorship and protection of intellectual property, caution is still warranted. (Berners-Lee, 2014; Dyson, Gilder, Keyworth, & Toffler, 1996)

This chapter focuses on several Te Tau Ihu iwi communication strategies to gauge methods in which they are investing time and effort. In an information-saturated world, Te Tau Ihu iwi audiences are no different from the rest of society constantly making choices of what communication should be consumed. (Kress, 2003; Leiss, Kline, Jhally, Asquith, & Botterill, 2005) For those in the diaspora, however, they have to make those choices far from “home” without the same context to guide those decisions. These choices and responses will ultimately determine the current and future success of iwi as measured in the vibrancy of connectivity and participation by the wider population of Te Tau Ihu tāngata.

Kanohi ki te Kanohi

The analysis of new methods of engagement is a recent point of interest for many scholars, particularly regarding online communication. (Claypoole & Payton, 2012) Social media (Muhamad-Brandner, 2010; Waitoa J. H., 2013; Waitoa, Scheyvens, & Warren, 2015) and how it affects core principles of Māoritanga is at the forefront of the conversation. (Lemon, 2001) Concern has been expressed over kanohi ki te kanohi, “face-to-face communication” being curtailed because of the adaptation of alternative communication methods. Explained as “a facet of human behaviour. It is indeed a key principal of being and doing as Māori.” (Ngata, 2017, p. 178) Formal kawa on the marae, pōwhiri, mihimihi, whaikōrero, hongi are dependent upon kanohi ki te kanohi, being face to face, and interacting as such. In that environment, there are also informal kanohi ki te kanohi interactions between whānau, friends and whanaunga that is also attributing to “being and doing as Māori”. Therefore, if “being and doing as Māori” hinges on this all-

important principle of *kanohi ki te kanohi*, this should be considered when we speak of digitised, electronic, and remote communication. We must ponder, what is implied about those *tāngata Māori* both in Aotearoa and abroad who are undoubtedly using these online methods to become and remain connected? Are they viewed as being less Māori (by themselves and others) because they are not “being and doing” what is currently defined as *kanohi ki te kanohi*?

Shifts that occur in communities, physical or otherwise, require appropriate responses in order for people to form or maintain important links. There are many case studies around the globe in which ethnic communities come together online to connect with one another to define and explore their own identity without being in that particular country. For example, orphan adoptees after the Vietnam war used the Internet to create an “e-heritage” as they were raised away from Vietnam, (Williams, 2002) Eritreans utilising a website especially created for diasporic individuals while living away from their homeland, (Bernal, 2008) and the use of media in the construction of Chinese identity within the diaspora. (Shi, 2005) For Māori, it is important to “reconnect and re-energise” with available digital tools. (Ngata, 2017, p. 180) *Te Aitanga a Hauiti*, an *iwi* from the North Island of Aotearoa were on the cutting edge in 2006 by live-streaming a *tangihanga* for *whānau* overseas and those in Aotearoa. Spearheaded by their arts group *Toi Hauiti*, they are continuously using technology to find ways to include those who are not physically present. There are many other ways in which Māori already utilise technology, namely the creation of *waiata* databases (Ka‘ai-Mahuta, 2012) or learning *te reo Māori* online. (Ferguson, 2008; Jeurissen, 2015)

The effects of social media, establishing a “virtual *ahikā*” and the subsequent effects of the Internet on the Māori principle of *kanohi ki te kanohi* is central to a fascinating and timely article based on the PhD thesis of Acushla O’Carroll. She claims *kanohi ki te kanohi* is difficult to achieve because of “...the pace and pressures of work commitments, financial situations, diaspora, and family contexts...Convenience, distance, time, cost, and the reason to be face to face all affect whether or not face to face engagement is possible or sought.” (O’Carroll, 2013, p. 441) This is a large swath of reasons and we can find a variety of people to categorise into each group. O’Carroll conducted a study of Māori living abroad

for at least 12 months and how they used social media to achieve kanohi ki te kanohi. Friends, colleagues, and acquaintances of the researcher were invited to participate on online surveys and encouraged to circulate them to anyone else who met the criteria. The argument offered by O'Carroll was that social media aided individuals living abroad, and they are still able to maintain kanohi ki te kanohi digitally. The three ways of maintaining a virtual ahikā, as expressed by those surveyed were first keeping updated, second having a voice, and third koha. (O'Carroll, Kanohi ki te kanohi – A Thing of the Past? Examining the Notion of "Virtual" Ahikā and the Implications for Kanohi ki te kanohi, 2013)

This thesis departs from O'Carroll's research, as this study focuses solely on individuals who classify themselves as emigrants, those who have established permanency away from Aotearoa. The survey conducted by O'Carroll did not distinguish the ranged of diasporic experience, whether participants were yearlong expats to multi-generational emigrants. Respondents harked to an idealised, romanticised version of what they remember from home. When strictly studying emigrants, however, kanohi ki te kanohi takes on a different role. Communication and relationships maintained online provide valid virtual kanohi ki te kanohi experiences. The whakataukī "He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga mahara. To see a face is to stir the emotions" then takes on an interesting dynamic when focusing on intergenerational diasporic Māori; it is not a longing for something already established, but a construction of something from afar. These questions are relevant for Māori and will become increasingly so as technology advances and more generations of Māori are growing up overseas.

Te Tau Ihu Iwi Communication Strategies

To understand the current communication methods used at the beginning of this research, one particular individual who worked in a communication capacity was contacted. We previously met when I was visiting whānau in Te Tau Ihu, and felt comfortable in reaching out to him. He was able to provide me contact information - a matrix of emails and names of individuals that work with Te Tau Ihu iwi who could possibly help. I sent emails to each of the eight individuals, introducing myself and included an explanation of the research. Several follow-up

emails were sent to those who did not respond within a week. Some of the emails were directed to other individuals.

I ultimately received contact from three iwi (Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Apa) representatives employed by their iwi trusts whose titles include the word “communication”: Cultural and Communications Manager, Communications Officer, and Communications Support. As for Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Rārua and Te Ātiawa, employees contacted had the titles of Administrator, Board Minute Secretary, Office Manager, Office Receptionist, while one iwi, Rangitāne, provided a general email on their website without a name attached. Five iwi responded to my email inquiries, and four of the five supplied numbers of their iwi registration databases. From those four iwi, three also supplied their current communication strategies for this research, all for which I am incredibly grateful. There is a lot of work done by iwi in their communication efforts, regardless of their individual and collective challenges. Above all, it is encouraging to see the mahi that has already been accomplished. After reviewing each of the three iwi communication plans and accessing the non-traditional communication methods online, commonalities in methods is noted between them. Facebook, email pānui, physical mail, website, hui and something that one individual referred to as the “kūmara vine” are most commonly used between the three iwi. One communication officer stated,

Our trust has recognized the ease, reach and power of social media platforms and internet based forms of communication. They have recently employed [me as communication officer] to improve our communications to whanau members. We are moving to grow our social media coms and [sic] in the middle of creating a new...website. (Masters Assistance - Te Tau Ihu iwi email, 2017)

It is inevitable to employ these Internet based methods given the “ease, reach and power.” If ignored, iwi would not only be excluding large number of uri in the diaspora, as shown in Chapter 2, but would have to enlist other kinds of communication methods to get their messages out. Iwi, Te Tau Ihu or otherwise,

are on different levels. Some iwi have been functioning previously without communication officers and are just beginning now to implement regular, established strategies.

While researching the array of methods used by each Te Tau Ihu iwi, Rangitāne had one noticeable deviation by using a blog with links appearing on multiple platforms – the iwi website and iwi Facebook page. General Manager of Te Rūnanga a Rangitāne o Wairau, Nick Chin, writes a blog called “Nick’s Kōrero.” In his first post on May 7, 2018 marking his “first month as GM”, he explained,

I have asked the same question to everyone I have met, ‘What is the thing you would like me to work on and what is the thing you would most like me to change?’ The consensus has been about communication and I fully accept that this has to be a priority. (Chin, 2018)

The iwi rūnanga and Chin are based in Te Tau Ihu, and in all likelihood, he has “met” with individuals by visiting with them in person, suggesting he has asked this question to those living in or near the hau kāinga. Considering the vast number of initiatives that could be undertaken to benefit the iwi as a whole, communication is the most important action in this new General Manager’s vision in planning ahead. Therefore, if the response of iwi in the rohe has been the need for communication, this emphasises the need for an evaluation of iwi communication efforts with the diaspora. There were no specific details on how the change in communication would be done, but for Rangitāne, they are moving “towards a Communication Plan...” with the new General Manager “sending out a weekly blog on what’s happening.” (Chin, 2018) Communication acts as the foundation to initiatives that arise, linking individuals to the group.

Iwi are aware of the magnitude of their diasporic whānau but logistical struggles bubble up. Even with a recognised need for improved communication, one iwi representative stated, “like most small iwi we too have had low capacity or man power on the ground.” Another individual that works in the space of iwi communication spoke of the challenges,

With more than half of our membership living outside of the rohe, we do keep an eye on cost...and large populations of our members are older and we have on many occasions been asked to keep the physical mail out newsletter. We know although on the rise, most of our kaumatua do not interact with new technology as much as younger age brackets. (Masters Assistance - Te Tau Ihu iwi, 2017)

With the “ease” of non-traditional Internet methods come its challenges, as expressed by Te Tau Ihu iwi. The officer continued, “Some of the main challenges are correct contact and address details, members updating of contact details when moving...” which is also a point of confusion for diasporic iwi, to be discussed in chapter five. Additionally, the officer said other challenges were the “logistics of sending out mail, internal staff capacity, database strength.”

There are a lot of moving parts, seemingly endless variables, adding to the complexity of communication strategies: how to keep up with the movement of peoples, different age groups, preferred methods, and function within costs, all of which iwi need to be aware of and work with. Another iwi staff member said, “Often the best means of communication for kaumātua who prefer to receive information (such as tangi notice) via private mail.” With these electronic means, iwi communication strategies naturally include the face-to-face, interpersonal, kanohi ki te kanohi element that is crucial to Māori. Another officer stated, “Due to the fact that we are quite a close iwi and know each other from all over the place it makes things easier for our communications to get out there.” (Masters Assistance - Te Tau Ihu iwi email, 2017) It is difficult to constantly adapt and keep up with changes in technology, but these are the elements to be mindful of when communicating with diasporic whānau. It is possible for iwi to keep core principles and goals at the forefront of their communication strategy and negotiate new changes when possible.

Information Saturation

With these critical means of communication, we must explore how communication is being experienced and received by those who live in the diaspora. When taking stock of the reality of our ever increasingly fast-paced,

information-filled world, iwi are facing challenges of finding a voice amongst the overwhelming volume of information available. W. James Potter argues in his book *Media Literacy* that we refer to this space in time as the Information Age. As of 2011, 130 million books were published, while 65.5 million hours of radio and 48 million hours of TV programming were produced each year. Potter points out books, radio, television, newspapers, etc. are classified as “traditional media,” in which alarmingly large amounts of information “is relatively small compared to the amount of information produced and made available by the newer media, especially by computers and the Internet...you can start to see the truly stunning size of the flood of information.” (2013, p. 4) No longer are traditional media methods monopolising the production of information, but the Internet enabled that “flood” as “...generated each day...by ordinary people who send emails and update their Web pages and blogs.” Iwi communication, as outlined by communication strategies, falls under this definition of the “ordinary” people. Potter continues,

There are now 2 billion Internet users, and they send and receive 300 billion e-mail messages each day; Twitter has 70 million tweets per day; YouTube has more than 50,000 hours of video uploaded by users every day and Facebook reports more than 100 million photos are uploaded each and every day...YouTube was streaming more than a billion videos a day (2013, p. 4)

The booming increase of communication methods currently in place seems advantageous, but there is a worry that this can contribute to an overload of information. The daily consumption of massive amounts of media then becomes automated and becomes habitual or second nature with only certain kinds of media consumed that one prefers. (LaRose, 2010; Wood, Quinn, & Kashy, 2002) Important messages that need to be communicated outside of the automated habits that we form will not be received. Since Potter’s book was written in 2013, the numbers have increased exponentially in every category. It is difficult to imagine YouTube streaming more than a billion videos a day. But think of it: “More information has been generated since you were born than the sum total of all information throughout all recorded history up until the time of your birth.”

(Potter, 2013, p. 4) There are “traditional” and “ordinary people” sources of media that are being produced every single day, occupying our time. As mentioned previously, television is part of the “traditional” communication media along with radio, newspaper, books, magazines, films, and recordings produced and disseminated by professionals rather than the ordinary person. Therefore, “non-traditional” communication refers to Internet and computer driven methods – blogs, emails, websites, social media generated by the ordinary Internet user. (Potter, 2013) Three types of non-traditional and online methods that are currently being widely utilized by Te Tau Ihu iwi of email, websites, and Facebook, will be explained and analysed here.

Emails

According to Radicati Group Inc., a technology market research firm, projected and forecast in 2013 that “over 100 billion emails [are] sent and received per day...This trend is expected to continue, and business email will account for over 132 billion emails sent and received per day by the end of 2017.” (The Radicati Group, Inc., 2013) In the business realm, emailing is the primary form of communication. What these figures do not take into account is the volume of personal emails also being sent out daily. Inboxes are constantly being bombarded with different messages – school, work, bulletins, personal correspondence, announcements, volunteer opportunities, online shopping, deals, alerts, and newsletters vying for one’s attention. Every day there are new emails to sort through; it is hard to stay ahead of the constant stream. In actuality, at the end of 2017, statistics measured that “roughly 269 billion emails were sent and received each day in 2017...” (The Radicati Group, n.d.) The number of emails sent daily is more than double the original estimation of business emails. As stated in Chapter 1, diasporic Māori do not have the advantage of home and need to make decisions independently, wading through the constant flow of emails to their inbox. They will need to be focused in receiving the many messages sent out, sometimes several times a week, by multiple iwi.

A few months ago, I received an email from one iwi inquiring generally about interest to cater the upcoming Annual General Meeting that would take place at the marae in a few months. Obviously, many who live outside of the rohe would

not be able to attend the AGM let alone cater the AGM, given limited resources and the short notice of time. A short time later, another email was received advertising promoting a te reo wānanga a week before it took place. This was not unique, as many emails from iwi contain information that frequently relate specifically to those in the hau kāinga. This only entrenches the idea some might have that diasporic Māori are not welcomed, nor are a priority. Eventually some diasporic individuals will filter out those messages, assuming that they hold no importance. With the sheer volume of communication available, we may ask, how can iwi compete to be heard by those in the diaspora? It is imperative to receive messages that will be of relevance with proper contextualisation for the audience. Moreover, explanations of certain messages that include certain “fundamentals” like te reo Māori or history background, need to be written with diasporic Te Tau Ihu whānau in mind. If not, iwi will be sending messages with little response or reciprocation.

Iwi Websites

Each of the eight Te Tau Ihu iwi have websites available online for anyone to access, and as evidenced in chapter two, are useful in telling their own histories to iwi and non-Māori alike. Functionally different in comparison from the continual receipt of emails, websites have to be sought out by the user. The most formal and static in nature, they are not typically updated as frequently as Facebook pages. In some cases, websites also have links to iwi Facebook, YouTube, Twitter or Instagram accounts. Further, applications for grants, strategic plans, calendars, galleries of photos, videos, history, past pānui issues and reports are all found in this location. With many topics in one place - Treaty settlements, environmental initiatives, information on iwi resources, trustees - unless directed for specific pieces of information, it takes time and effort to sift through the conglomeration and volumes of information, which can be intimidating. Acting as an information catchall, websites also house important and official resources like the application for formal registration as a member of the iwi. In this situation, some iwi websites have forms that are fillable online, while others prompt the individual to send the hardcopy form through the mail. There often is an explanation of “how” to register; however, the “why” of iwi registration is not included.

Facebook

Facebook is undeniably the leader for worldwide connectivity between individuals and companies with “2.23 billion active users as of June 30, 2018”. (Facebook, 2018) For New Zealand and the population of more than 4.5 million, “2.9 million New Zealanders have an active account...around 61 per cent of all Kiwis as of 2017. And those aren’t people who check it every now and then. 2.3 million Kiwis access Facebook *every day*.” (Fyers & Cooke, 2017) Of those 2.9 million Facebook users in New Zealand, the largest age group of users is the group of 25-34 year olds with 850,000 people as of January 2018 according to Statista.

Utilised quite widely among Te Tau Ihu iwi, Facebook has become a large player in their communication efforts. As one iwi employee affirmed, their iwi Facebook page “...has proved to be the most effective communication tool we have. It allows two-way, direct, instant communication.” Previously, groups were the sole option, while Pages and Business Pages were later introduced then revamped in mid-2016. That most recent change made it easier for users to interact with the brand or business. (Perez, 2016) A communication officer noted the accessibility and simplicity that Facebook affords,

We have a Business Facebook Page, so we are able to monitor age, sex, location and times of each post, and the page generally. We can also monitor the amount of likes, comments and interactions, and compare that information with other similar Pages. Facebook allows us to communicate with iwi members anywhere. (Masters Assistance - Te Tau Ihu iwi email, 2017)

For the majority of iwi, Facebook acts as the hub for the culmination of messages sent out by emails and websites. For the purpose of this section, I searched for Facebook pages as if an individual in the diaspora with limited context was in wanting to connect with iwi, done solely by searching the name of the iwi. After finding the assumed main business or group page, I went through each to note any details or patterns of how each iwi is using this platform to reach those both far and near. Depending on the frequency of posts on each page, the sheer volume of

photos, videos, comments and announcements, this study could easily spiral out of control. Therefore, the sampling of posts was set at the beginning of 2018 until the end of July 2018 – a total of seven months. If there were other notable pages relevant to the iwi organisation, like a Facebook page for the marae, they will not be mentioned unless the name of the iwi is explicitly included in the page and appeared in the Facebook search results. If the iwi's website is linked, they are mentioned and included. The following data was recorded at the end of July 2018 and into the beginning of August 2018, meaning the number of likes, photos, and other interactions that have been highlighted on each page may have since changed.

NGĀTI KUIA

“Ngāti Kuia Trust” Facebook page, created on March 29, 2016, has 1,931 people who have liked the page and 1,949 who follow the page. The profile picture is a logo that “depicts Kaikaiawaro, Ngāti Kuia tupuna and taniwha” (Ngāti Kuia Trust, 2016) which is also prominently featured on the Ngāti Kuia website and email pānui. It is an easily recognizable marker for those who are also engaged in other media platforms concerning the iwi. The About Section of the page includes the trust office location in Nelson, hours of operation, a contact email, phone number, and link to the website. In addition, there is pepeha included – “Ko Tutumapou te Maunga. Ko Te Hoiere te Awa...”

Business Pages on Facebook such as this one allow the owner of the page to post but also allows “visitors” to the page to post. So far in the year 2018, the Trust page posted 43 different “updates” or posts ranging from photos, videos, and links to articles. They span from announcements of properties for sale, event invitations for roadshows, warnings for public health concerning shellfish in certain areas, and notices of tangihanga for Ngāti Kuia whanaunga.

The most “popular” post this year was from July 15, 2018 including three photos of a waka launch wherein the event was for “unveiling the taurapa and tauihu”. The event happened earlier that same week in Motuweka (Havelock) with 210 reactions (like, love, wow), 37 shares, and 9 comments. It is a tangible way to measure the engagement and interest of those viewing and interacting with the

page. Visitor posts were minimal, with only six in the year. The post popular of those posts originated on the National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research page's page – "NIWA New Zealand" that has more than 9,000 likes. This particular post appeared on Ngāti Kuia's Trust page because they had been tagged. That post has 24 reactions (like, wow), which speaks of the organization teaming up with Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Koata and research institute GNS Science researching and taking samples on D'Urville Island regarding tsunamis, earthquakes and landslides.

There is, however, another page with the same Ngāti Kuia logo called "Ngāti Kuia ki Ōtautahi" also appearing in the Facebook search for Ngāti Kuia. It was recently created on June 5, 2018 with only 20 followers and likes. Amongst the first posts on June 5, 2018 stated "following our Ngāti Kuia Roadshows I thought it might be good to create a place where we can connect and get a bit of whanaungatanga going." (Ngāti Kuia ki Ōtautahi, 2018) This page seems to have been started for those Ngāti Kuia people outside the rohe specifically in Ōtautahi, or known by its English name Christchurch. There is not, however, a clear distinction if this is an independently run page or run by the Trust.

RANGITĀNE

The "Rangitāne o Wairau" Facebook page was created on June 4, 2015 and currently has 1,091 people who have liked the page, and 1,094 follow it. The About Section includes the office address in Blenheim, phone number, contact email, and link to the website. The profile photo is of a crane-like bird that is recognizable from the website. Their mission, according to the About Section of the page, is "To protect, promote and enhance benefits of the settlement for present and future generations." (Rangitāne o Wairau, 2018) There is an email address, website link, phone number, physical address, and name of the chairperson. Moreover, this About Section includes the "range of services: Cultural advice, Archaeological monitoring, Marae services..." etc. and information on the Rangitāne Cultural Centre and information how to make a reservation to use it.

Frequently the page posts multiple times a day with occasional lapses between the days. From January 2018 to the end of July 2018, there were 99 posts including links to articles, flyers for events, videos, photos, and job postings on elections, tangihanga notices, iwi events, and other local and national news. The most popular of the posts was a photo of a dead sperm whale posted on July 8, 2018 with 64 reactions (like, sad, love), 5 shares, and 14 comments. The post explains that Rangitāne o Wairau and “Ngāti Kuri (Ngāti Tahu) are working closely in partnership with the Department of Conservation to recover and bury the whale under agreed tikanga.” (Rangitāne o Wairau, 2018) Two other posts were close in numbers. One was a photo with the caption notifying of a tangihanga that would take place in Blenheim, and the other a link to the iwi website announcing a new chairperson on the Board of Directors.

A large feature in 2018 on this Facebook page is the weekly blog from Nick Chin called Nick’s Kōrero, mentioned earlier in the chapter. Posted originally on the iwi website, these first began on May 7, 2018, with 13 total blog posts so far this year since its inception. They have a variety of topics: highlighting certain Rangitāne individuals and information on meetings as new General Manager attended. Each entry includes photos. Unlike Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne’s Facebook page does not have an option for visitor posts, so that aspect of participation of this page is not available.

When searching for Rangitāne page, one called “Rangitāne o Wairau Ahi Kaa Inc” created on September 4, 2017 also shows up, although there have not been any posts from the page administrator since September 2017. The last visitor post there, however, was July 1, 2018 then the next most recent post was from October 2017. In glancing through the posts, it is apparent that this page is not from the Rangitāne o Wairau Trust, as discussion is around questions brought to employees of the Trust, and information concerning the Annual General Meeting.

NGĀTI APA

When searching Facebook simply for Ngāti Apa, there were two possible pages that could have matched in the results. The top result was a page called “Te Rūnanga o Ngā Wairiki Ngāti Apa”, but upon closer inspection, the location of

the rūnanga office was in Bulls, close to Palmerston North on the North Island. Obviously, with similar names of Ngāti Apa with two separate but related factions between Rangitikei and Te Tau Ihu previously united with shared whakapapa and history to some point.

There was, however, one specific page that was related Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō called “Mana Rangatahi – Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō” unlike other iwi with pages that have ‘official’ pages with the rūnanga name. The current profile picture for the page is of three smiling youth, no logos. According to the About Section, “Mana Rangatahi is a 6 day cultural leadership wānanga for Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō rangatahi aged between 12 - 18...” And as for the purpose, the page wrote, “Remember, this is a page for our rangatahi to showcase their achievements and their cultural journey and development...” and discouraged any negative or critical comments. (Mana Rangatahi – Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō, 2018) The About Section also includes the URL to the Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō website.

This page was created on July 16, 2016, with 458 people who like and 466 who follow it. Within the year 2018, the administrator on this page had four posts – once in January and three times in July. They were either videos or photos of the most recent Mana Rangatahi youth program that happened January 18-23, 2018. There was only one post by a visitor in 2018. It seems as if this page is targeted for those rangatahi who have been on this, presumably, once a year program and for their whānau who are interested in being connected. Other than the “Mana Rangatahi – Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō” page, there were no obvious or easily identifiable general pages or profiles under the name Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō for the usage of the wider iwi.

NGĀTI KOATA

Searching for the Ngāti Koata page, the top result was “Ngāti Koata Trust” with 1,220 likes and 1,257 follows. The page’s profile picture and cover match what is seen on the iwi website with the logo and photo of a tuatara and a pied shag bird. The page was created on December 8, 2015 and originally named “Ngāti Koata Trust” and changed briefly to “Ngāti Koata Trust Pānui” then changed back to the original name on April 4, 2016.

Under the “Our Story” section on the main page, posted on March 12, 2018, “The Ngāti Koata Trust is the mandated iwi authority for Ngāti Koata. The Trust supports the cultural and social well-being of our iwi to promote and protect our people, place, and taonga. The Trust also represents the iwi in political and public issues; and commercial interests.” A phone number, address, website, and hours of operation are also included on the page and easily accessible.

The admin of the page frequently posted multiple times a day. There was a total 174 posts, the most of all the iwi Facebook pages, in the first part of 2018. The posts included information and updates on work bees, the marae monthly schedule, grant and scholarship information, Matariki events, and links to email pānui. Each of those 174 posts had either photos, website links, videos, and visuals to accompany the text. The Ngāti Koata Trust notably posts often about Tiakina te Taiao along with posts about iwi events. According to a post “Tiakina te Taiao is the iwi mandated resource management unit for Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Rārua, Ngāti Tama, NRAIT and Wakatu Incorporation.” (Ngāti Koata Trust, 2018) Most notably there is a large range of engagement of the posts – spanning one or two likes, to more than one hundred. The most popular post of the year with 137 reactions (love, like, sad), 29 comments and 24 shares was a photo of a kaumātua who had recently passed away and details of the upcoming tangihanga. There were a total of 2 visitor posts in 2018.

The other page “Ngati Koata Pakeke Group” had 68 likes and was last updated in 2015 and was referred to as a “testing ground” if there was interest to create a group. With only three posts, and no further updates from the page for nearly four years, obviously this avenue was not utilized further.

NGĀTI TOA RANGATIRA

When searching for Ngāti Toa Rangatira, there were two pages that popped up that seemingly could be for Ngāti Toa – “Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira” and “Ngati Toa Rangatira Ki Wairau”. Upon closer inspection of the two pages, Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira had more details in their About section, stating they were the mandated authority for Ngāti Toa in regards to “estates and assets” with

also a link to the iwi website in this section of the Facebook page. Created on July 19, 2009, there are 1,541 people like the page and 1,531 following. The profile photo is the same black, red and white figure as shown on the website, while the cover photo is a group of Ngāti Toa iwi seated outside on the steps of a building. Posts on this page are strictly done by the admin, as there is no way for visitors to post on the page. Of the 51 posts within the allotted timeframe, 38 of them are links to the email pānui that are posted on the website. Of the other posts, there are some photos but none of specific individuals. The most popular of the 51 posts was from March 26, 2018, a notice of an iwi member passing away and the notice for arrival of the whānau within a few days to the marae. This garnered 34 reactions (sad, like, love), 8 comments and 2 shares.

The second page that appeared in the search was Ngāti Toa Rangatira Ki Wairau. There are 204 people who have ‘liked’ and 212 people following the page. The only profile picture on the page is colored artwork of “the Wairau Incident. At the bottom of the image is Te Rauparaha.” (Ngāti Toa Rangatira Ki Wairau, 2017) The current cover photo is of the Wairau Plains done after the Wairau Massacre in 1843 in the same colorized sketch style like the profile photo. As shown on the map, this group is located in Blenheim, unlike Ngāti Toa Rangatira in Porirua in the south of the North Island. The About Section is limited, only a phone number and an email address and acknowledgement of Tainui waka, Tokomaru te maunga, etc. It is unclear if this is another iwi run page or an independent page run by Ngāti Toa uri living in Blenheim.

NGĀTI TAMA

The page “Ngāti Tama ki Te Waipounamu Trust”, created on February 14, 2017, has 255 likes and 263 followers. The profile picture is the same image from the website – a forest green colored carved hook. Since the beginning of 2018 until the end of July 2018, there were 68 posts. Even though they were posts concerning job opportunities, elections, a large portion of the posts, including the most popular post of the year of the year, were around Te Waikoropupū Conservation. According to Te Karere on its news coverage on the issue, “It is said Te Waikoropupū Springs contains the purest and cleanest water in the world. But the local iwi fears the pristine nature could be at risk. John Ward-Holmes of

Ngāti Tama ki Te Waipounamu is encouraging the nation to support its bit to stop water extraction from the springs for bottling and irrigation purposes.”

This iwi Facebook page was part of that effort to encourage iwi specifically as it had been for the public to “support their submission to gain Water Conservation Order Protection for the spring and the land that surrounds it.” (Te Karere, 2018) Located in Takaka, near Golden Bay in the rohe, the spring is obviously important to Ngāti Tama ki Te Waipounamu – their cover photo is a video of the spring. The most popular post was another video from March 8, 2018. The heading stated, “Former NZ Idol Judge and proudly part of our hapū, Frankie Stevens MNZM [The New Zealand Order of Merit], shares his korero about EVERYONE UNITING both Māori and non-Māori to say “YES” and send in a submission to protect our sacred Te Waikoropupū Springs with a Water Conservation Order (WCO)...” Along with the video and the above description, included in the post was a link to the Environmental Protection Authority of the New Zealand Government fill out a submission regarding the spring. With 59 reactions (like, love), 46 shares, and 13 comments, there are a total of 4,900 views. (Ngāti Tama ki Te Waipounamu Trust, 2018) There was only one public visitor post on the entire page, which was posted in June 2017.

NGĀTI RĀRUA

As for Ngāti Rārua, there were a few pages that, at first glance, could be a page run by iwi - “Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rārua” and “Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa Iwi Trust”. The latter page has 980 likes and 973 follows, more than the former page. For the “Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa” page also was created almost two years previously, in April 2011. The profile picture is, presumably, of a tekoteko (carved figure on a meeting house) of great importance and meaning to the organization, although no description is given for the photo. The cover photo is of a group of eight individuals hiking down into a mossy, boulder-laden stream posted on May 14, 2018. There are 155 posts within the seven-month span. This page seems to be a separate entity from Ngāti Rārua iwi that also is linked in some way to Te Ātiawa, when looking at the title of the organization and page. It is difficult to determine what the page was, “Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa Iwi Trust was formed via the Ngati Rarua Atiawa Iwi Trust Empowering Act 1993. This legislative action was the

culmination of more than 140 years of complaint and grievance by the original owners and their successor's over the alienation of 918 acres of their Native Reserve lands in the Motueka district.” (Ngāti Rārua Ātiawa Iwi Trust, 2018) It is unclear where this falls into the conversation of this thesis as when referencing Ngāti Rārua and Te Ātiawa.

“Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rārua” page, created on February 14, 2013, has 539 likes and 545 follows. The profile picture is a flag with the words Ngāti Rārua and a logo waving in the wind. During the first seven months of 2018, the page admin posted 109 times, while there were no visitor posts since early 2017. Of those 109 posts, the most popular by far was the announcement and attached photos of a trustee's new job position at the Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology with 96 reactions (like, love), 17 comments, and 2 shares. There were two other posts on the Rūnanga page within this timeframe with more than 60 reactions and several shares and comments, while the remaining 106 posts had quite steady, minimal reactions. There is a variety of posts with links, photos, videos, surveys, with a diversity of subjects. There is an email, phone number, physical address of the office, and website under the About Us section as well as the mission of the rūnanga: “WHAKAMANA TE PUNI MAURI ŌRA Ō NGĀTI RĀRU, KIA KAHA PUPURI AI, MO NGA HEKENGĀ Ā MURI AKE TONU. REALISE THE WELLSPRING OF VITAL IDENTITY THAT IS NGĀTI RĀRU, AS AN INSPIRATION FOR ALL MIGRATIONS YET TO COME” (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Rārua, 2018)

TE ĀTIAWA

It was difficult to know if the right Facebook page was correctly found, as there were no results for Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui. There were, however, other pages when searching for only Te Ātiawa. “Te Kotahitanga o Te Ātiawa” was one, which according to their page, is located in New Plymouth on the North Island. Upon closer inspection, the profile picture has the word Taranaki in the photo. (Te Kotahitanga o Te Ātiawa, 2017) The assumption here is that at one point these groups were together, as Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui became a separate group after migrating to Te Tau Ihu. The other page was “Te Ātiawa ki Kāpiti”. This was difficult to discern if this was Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui

that claim mana whenua, or if this a separate group. When researching the kinds of Te Tau Ihu run Facebook pages on the social media platform, it was difficult to pinpoint official iwi operated pages across the eight iwi that should be used by iwi members.

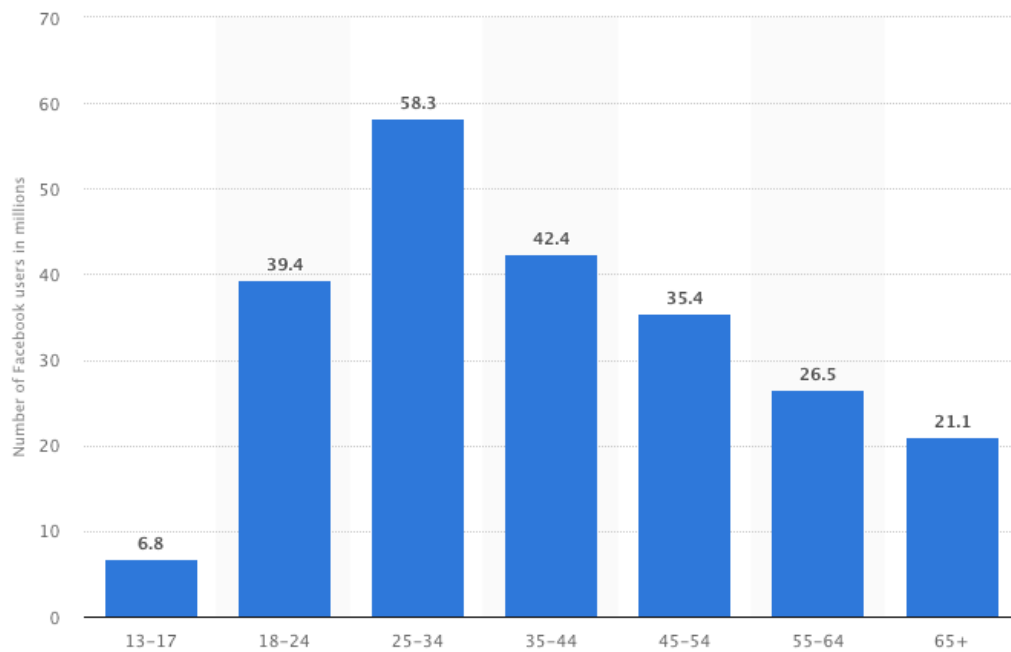
Te Atiawa Iwi Open Forum, unlike a Business page that other iwi use is a closed group created 4 years ago with 1,428 members for “open and frank discussion for Te Atiawa Iwi members. All posts are welcome as long as they have something to do with Te Atiawa Iwi and or Rohe.” Because I am not a member of this group, I am unable to see specific posts, but what I could see was that there were 11 posts in the last 30 days, which recorded on August 1, 2018. (Te Atiawa Iwi, 2018)

Facebook Findings

The hundreds of posts delved into in just these few pages highlight the overwhelming messaging available, speaking to Potter’s arguments about saturation earlier in the chapter. Other pages were not included, as iwi may have other kinds they curate, including marae or other trust-based groups or pages with separate messages. Most conspicuous of all eight iwi pages were the post themes, as they were for the majority location-based, and therefore, people-based and at times, politically centred. These varied anywhere between funeral notifications or photos of recent iwi rūnanga events to success stories of whānau. For the Facebook pages, there is switching between a formal or informal tone between posts. An information overload leads to “social media fatigue” (Goasduff & Petty, 2011) that overwhelms users, “making it impossible to pay attention to most messages”. (Bright, Kleiser, & Grau, 2015) Considering the affiliation of multiple iwi in Te Tau Ihu, this volume of information can be magnified for whānau.

Because these iwi Facebook pages are also available to those in the diaspora, it is important to know the composition of Facebook users elsewhere outside of New Zealand. As found on Statista, Facebook users in the United States, as of the beginning of 2018, totalled to 214 million. There is a bell curve of users as categorised according to their age group.

Figure 3.1: Age Groups of Facebook Users in the United States



Age Group	Total number of users in the US
13-17	6.8 million
18-24	39.4 million
25-34	58.3 million
35-44	42.4 million
45-54	35.4 million
55-64	26.5 million
65+	21.1 million

Most notably, the 13-17 year-old demographic in the United States has a significantly low number of users compared to the rest, while the largest demographic would be 25-44 year olds. (eMarketer, & Squarespace, n.d.) Although Facebook started exclusively for college students, the attitude and perception that has developed over the last few years is that Facebook is for old people. (Cuthbertson, 2018) This will be expounded on more in Chapter 4.

Although Facebook began in 2004 and grew exponentially to more than 2 billion users, more recently scandals have proven that the media platform is not perdurable. In March 2018, a third party data mining company called Cambridge Analytica based in the UK was given access by Facebook to harvest sensitive personal data like phone numbers, political views, education, work history, religious views of more than 87 million Facebook users. That company then took that information and used it in targeting individuals for political reasons, proving to be a huge scandal for the social media giant in 2018. (Lapowsky, 2018; Rosenberg, Confessore, & Cadwalladr, How Trump Consultants Exploited the Facebook Data of Millions, 2018) Since that came to light in March 2018, Facebook has lost footing with some audiences (Hsu, 2018) and lawmakers have called into question the credibility of the platform – particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom. (Rosenberg & Frenkel, Facebook's Role in Data Misuse Sets Off Storms on Two Continents, 2018; Omara-Onyanga, 2018) Users have been deleting their pages and Facebook saw their stock plummet in July 2018, which “wiped more than \$100 billion from the company's market value.” (Bogost, 2018) Social media is already volatile, as evidenced in the long defunct platform of Myspace, which was the most popular site between 2005 and 2008. This then becomes difficult once the site is defunct, the information and history archived online will be lost, becoming inaccessible and useless for the next generations. If Facebook is heavily relied on by iwi and has become central to communication strategies, perhaps it is time to look for alternative platforms to reach the diaspora.

Conclusion

Māori are willing to implement new methods of communication in order to adapt to changes in their communities. Online-based communication methods afford iwi the ease of reaching whānau around the world. Other diaspora peoples are no different, they utilise the Internet and social media sites to construct and/or maintain relationships with individuals and groups from afar. There is almost an unending source of information in the world in which attention of an individual is being pulled in many directions. This is a consuming task, and for diasporic Māori, iwi communication is competing with many factors. This chapter highlights methods used in iwi communication strategies, pointing out

characteristics of three platforms: emails, websites and Facebook pages. The content embedded in Facebook, websites, email were briefly reported, showing little consideration of what iwi communicates with those outside the rohe or Aotearoa.

Chapter 4: Range of Communication – Survey and Results

“Not sure what my role is being outside of NZ. Would love some ideas from iwi in their communications as to how ‘outsiders’ can help and/or feel attached.”

-Second Generation Survey Respondent, 2018

Introduction

In an interview with Radio New Zealand, Alice Te Punga Somerville introduced the imagery of manu aute and asked this critical and poignant question, “What if we think about the Māori diaspora as the kite flying?....I would think about the idea of distance and closeness and how the manu aute, despite its distance, its trajectory and its ability to move is shaped by its relationship to the ground, and who is holding on to it, and the strength of the rope.” (Te Punga Somerville, 2015) The rope can be interpreted in different ways and contexts in reference to the Māori diaspora but for this thesis, it represents iwi communication. The ideal situation is that the rope is strong enough, taut, devoid of fraying to anchor the manu aute kite comfortably as it flies in the air. The rope is vital to keep oneself and whanaunga who are living outside of Aotearoa anchored to iwi, as they are influenced and shaped as Māori by this connection. If the rope is unsteady or breaks - alluding that meaningful communication is not clearly established - the manu aute loses lift and direction.

In the quote at the beginning of this chapter, the second generation emigrant living away from Aotearoa articulated in the survey a clear desire for attachment, direction, and inclusion from the formal iwi group. Other respondents of the distributed survey for this thesis expressed similar thoughts. A first generation emigrant respondent said, “I would love to feel more connected to my iwi and whanau in Aotearoa, how I can get more involved and stay connected to my roots.” Another second generation emigrant stated, “I think most of us living outside of NZ would still love [to] feel like we are *part of our own* and we would like to know what’s going on...” (emphasis added) Some individuals feel like outsiders, distanced because of citizenship, current physical distance away from

New Zealand, or generational distance. Those who feel like “outsiders” however may still feel a connection to Aotearoa transcending political and national borders. What is most compelling in this study is the translation of the desires, ideas, feelings and perceptions of multigenerational diasporic Maori. This is seen in a second generation respondent’s words, “The feeling of belonging is at the essence of it all. It affects our identity. I see it affecting how my sons 13&16 [years old] feel about their Maoridom. They feel like they are not Maori...It would be great to feel important to those groups.”

This chapter identifies the range and extent of iwi communication with Māori living abroad and presents trends of preferred communication between iwi and members of more than three generations are presented. Specifically, the survey focuses on individuals who affiliate with one or more of the eight iwi from the Te Tau Ihu region and the information on demographics of respondents, their preferred methods of communication and the perception of iwi communication that diasporic whānau are engaged in. The study is a combination or a mixed methods research approach (Creswell, 2014) comprised of a quantitative survey in this chapter and the qualitative interviews in Chapter 5. This quantitative instrument allows for an examination of the relationship between variables, such as age, gender, generation, method of communication and commentary on preference. The interviews of respondents from various generations provide nuanced understanding of their experience regarding iwi communication is a qualitative research approach. The major reason for a mixed method approach was that it is pragmatic and fosters greater understanding by collecting different types of data. (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 1990)

Survey and its Participants

The survey was designed to take a sampling of individuals who affiliate with Te Tau Ihu iwi and obtained a glimpse of their collective perspectives. A beta test of the survey was conducted on two individuals, one male and one female, over the course of two days. This was to ensure clarity of language and effectiveness of the instrument prior to distribution to a wider audience. Google Forms was used because it is user-friendly and accessible on both computer and cell phone. The

survey was intentionally disseminated through some of the same methods that the majority of Te Tau Ihu iwi utilize to communicate with iwi members. As seen in the previous chapter, many iwi consider Facebook as a highly effective main point of contact. The survey was first posted on my personal Facebook page and began to spread to a number of other personal pages, whānau pages, a Māori community group Facebook page for Māori based in the US, and several Te Tau Ihu iwi Facebook pages.

Further, the survey was shared with a number of iwi communication officers from Te Tau Ihu iwi. Two of these officers linked the survey in their next iwi email pānui. Additionally, text messages and phone calls were placed and in-person contacts were used to add to the variety of methods to reach and create a snowball effect. Given the small size of the iwi groups, the goal at the outset was to receive 50 responses, which is both a realistic and manageable number. A total of 58 individuals participated. The complete survey is found in Appendix 1: Te Tau Ihu Iwi Communication Survey.

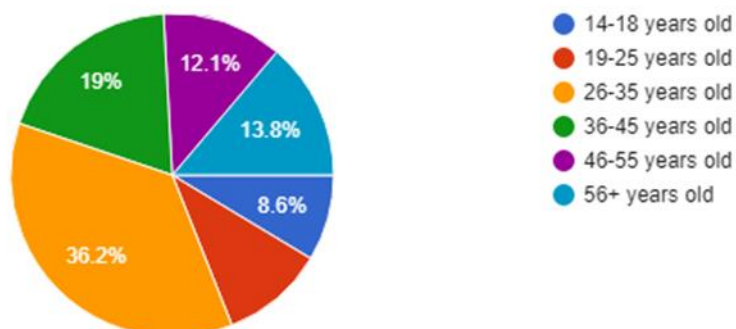
Results of Survey

This section contains the results of the survey. Several compelling findings will be highlighted in this chapter.

Question #1

What is your age?

58 responses



14-18: 5 participants (8.6%)	36-45: 11 participants (19%)
19-25: 6 participants (10.3%)	46-55: 7 participants (12.1%)
26-35: 21 participants (36.2%)	56+: 8 participants – 13.8%

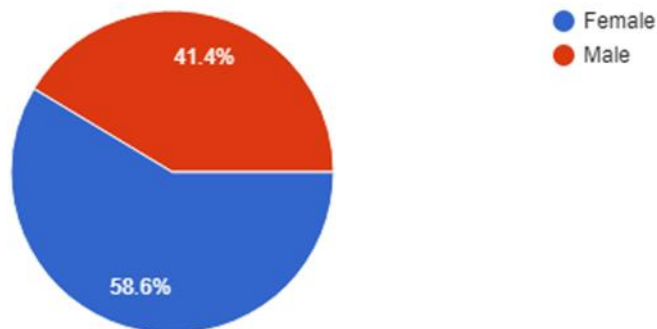
The highest group of respondents were 26-35 year olds. This may be due to the method of circulation that was through Facebook pages, popular within this age range. Surprisingly was the high participation of older age groups between 36-45, 46-55, and 56+. They notably had many more respondents to the survey than the younger groups of 14-18 year olds and 19-25 year olds. Typically, it is assumed that younger people are more comfortable with social media. Research shows that teens in New Zealand depend spend more than several hours a day consumed online on multiple social media platforms and see it necessary to utilise those resources online. (Pacheco & Melhuish, 2018) Young Māori, in fact, utilise and depend on social media not only as a way of connecting with others, but in defining their own identity. (O’Carroll, An Analysis of How Rangatahi Māori Use Social Networking Sites, 2013) Although this particular survey was not explicitly targeted to New Zealand-based Māori, it is important to recognise the role that these platforms play in the lives of many Māori.

In the United States, “45% of teens say they are online on a near-constant basis.” (Anderson & Jiang, 2018) These trends are seen generally across the world however, teens in the case of this survey, were least to respond. There could be a number of reasons for the low response. Firstly, they may be the least emotionally connected to the subject, or it may not be a priority or seem relevant to them. In addition, online useage does not necessarily translate to being comfortable with taking surveys. Alternatively, the methods of communication in which the survey was sent are not popular for this age group. While Facebook was heavily relied on, this strengthens the points made in chapter three of the platform’s typical age demographic, as the popularity with the 14 to 25 year olds range is seriously lacking. (eMarketer, & Squarespace, n.d.)

Question #2

What is your gender?

58 responses



34 Female participants – 58.6%

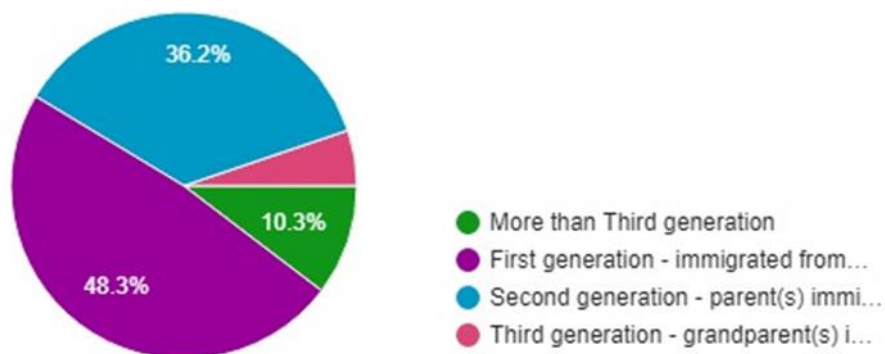
24 Male participants – 41.4%

Although more females responded to the survey, there was a good mix of male and female respondents. This was important to get as much of a balance as to bring a variety of perspectives in the outcomes, from both men and women.

Question #3

What generation of emigrant outside of New Zealand are you?

58 responses



First generation – emigrated from NZ

28 participants (48%)

Second generation – parent(s) emigrated
from NZ

21 participants (36.2%)

Third generation – grandparent(s) emigrated from NZ	3 participants (5.2%)
More than Third generation	6 participants (10.3%)

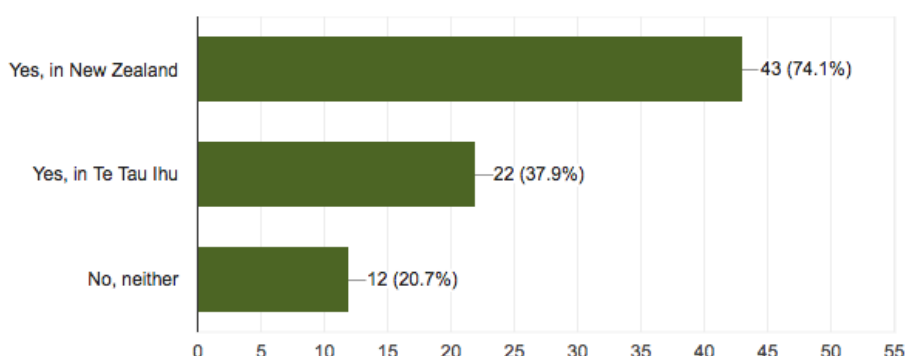
The largest respondents were first and second generation emigrants. These individuals are most likely to have a personal connection to iwi and individuals in Te Tau Ihu, and would be interested in completing a survey of this kind. Unexpectedly though, was the response from the “More than Third generation” group being double in size to the “Third generation” with number of survey respondents at six and three respectively of the 58 participants.

The “More than Third generation” group was most fascinating, as these six individuals were incredibly diverse. There were both male and female, their ages spanned from the youngest age group to the oldest age group. Some had previously lived in Aotearoa and some had not. This group would be interesting to study further in to assess their experiences as individuals whose great-grandparents emigrated from Aotearoa.

Question #4

Have you ever lived either in New Zealand or in Te Tau Ihu (bottom of the North Island/top of the South Island of New Zealand)? Check all applicable boxes.

58 responses



43 participants (74.1%) – have lived in NZ
22 participants (37.9%) – have lived in Te Tau Ihu

12 participants (20.7%) – have not lived in NZ or Te Tau Ihu
--

This question allowed respondents to check all applicable boxes – which were, ‘have lived in NZ’, ‘lived in Te Tau Ihu’, or ‘neither’. Those who ‘lived in Te Tau Ihu’ should have also checked the ‘have lived in NZ’ box by default, but when totaling the figures, they did not correlate. The majority of participants indicated they had lived in New Zealand, although respondents of the survey consider themselves emigrants. Beyond the 28 participants who are first generation emigrants who left New Zealand (as recorded in Question 3), an additional 18 of the remaining 30 participants who span second, third and beyond generations have also lived in New Zealand at one point. To a lesser degree, 22 participants, or 37.9% of the group have lived in Te Tau Ihu for some period. Only 12 participants have not lived in New Zealand. These results show that those Te Tau Ihu emigrants surveyed are not static; they move back and forth between Aotearoa and the diaspora. Although it was not addressed in this survey, it would be interesting to explore how people define “lived in New Zealand.”

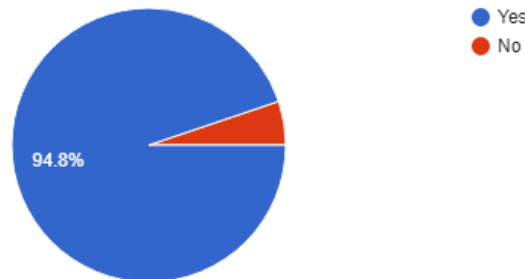
This survey does not explore the reasons of living in or leaving New Zealand or Te Tau Ihu but there are studies that have previously attempted to measure them. The “Every Māori Counts” survey referred to in Chapter 2 from Te Puni Kōkiri (2012) delved deeper into the reasons for the initial movement from Aotearoa in the first place, namely for economic purposes. That survey’s results also included “Less than one quarter of Māori (23%)...overseas stated they were living in New Zealand five years ago.” When asked of plans to return to Aotearoa, “Almost one third of overseas Māori...were unsure about their future plans. A further one in four said they were likely to return to New Zealand to live, but that they were also likely to move somewhere else in the future.” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2012)

This thesis attempts to identify ways participants are fostering a continuing connection with iwi in regards to communication while living in the diaspora. Obviously, there are varieties of experiences amongst diasporic Māori, which have contributed to a more complete survey.

Question #5

Have you had personal experiences with other iwi members (ie, participated at whānau or iwi events) in New Zealand?

58 responses



94.8% Yes – 55 participants	5.2% No – 3 participants
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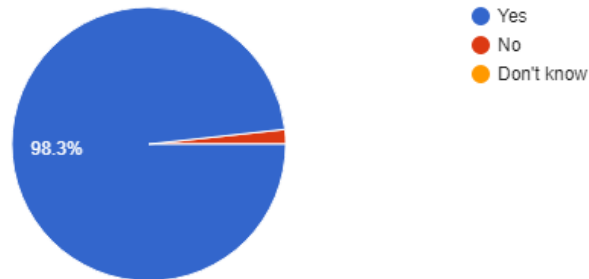
This question allows respondents to answer to the importance of kanohi ki te kanohi with whānau and iwi in Aotearoa. The results show diasporic Māori outside of New Zealand go “home” to participate in both whānau and iwi events. This undoubtedly involves planning, sacrifice and making financial commitment to return to Aotearoa to connect and reconnect. Only three of the 58 respondents have not participated in these events. This is line with another finding from the Te Puni Kōkiri (2012) study, “Half of the overseas Māori surveyed return to New Zealand at least once a year, with one sixth making more than one return trip.”

Regrettably, a follow up question was not included to glean more details about the respondents’ participation in whānau, iwi, or Maori events attended outside of Aotearoa. There was, however, an “Other” option where individuals could have filled in whānau or iwi events elsewhere, but it was not explicitly indicated. It would have been valuable to measure how many individuals participate in these kinds of events in the diaspora, it would have provided a nuanced understanding of where vital connections are being made and provided a more complete view of the experiences of diasporic whanaunga.

Question #6

Do you know which Te Tau Ihu (bottom of the North Island/top of the South Island of New Zealand) iwi you belong to?

58 responses



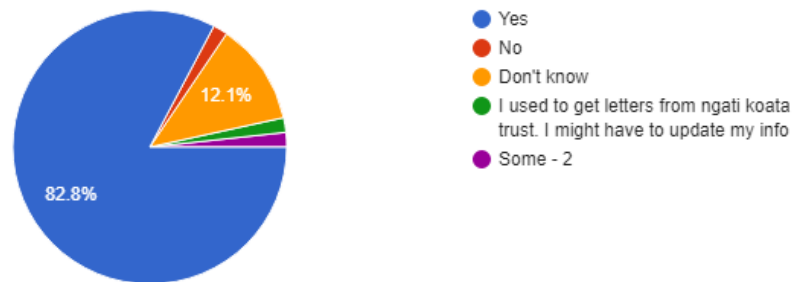
98.3% Yes – 57 participants
1.7% No – 1 participant
0% Don't Know – 0 participants

The results garnered by this question were very interesting. Only one respondent did not know to which iwi they specifically belong. I assumed there would be more applicants who would have indicated “Don’t Know” or “No”, as there are many respondents from the second, third generation and above (a total of 30 individuals) who may not have known their iwi affiliations. This, however, was not the case. Almost all respondents knew a Te Tau Ihu iwi to which they belong. Within Te Tau Ihu, there are most likely overlapping affiliations among several iwi. It would have been interesting to deep dive into this question to establish if individuals could indicate the number of all the iwi and their names to which they belong. Although this outcome could have been because of the way, individuals were recruited to participate in the research via snowball method.

Question #7

Are you registered with your iwi?

58 responses



82.8% Yes – 48 participants
1.7% No – 1 participant
12.1% Don't Know – 7 participants
1.7% “Need to update info” – 1 participant
1.7% Some – 1 participant

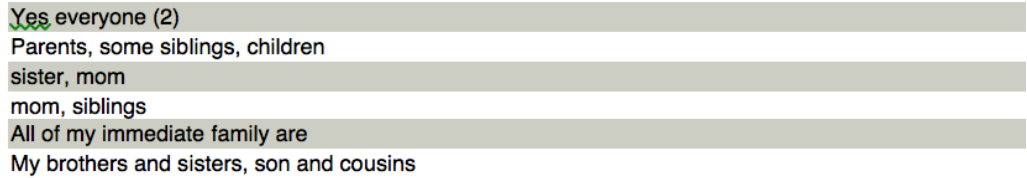
This question allowed individuals to choose from Yes, No, Don't Know, or Other as options, which would allow them to type in another reason. Almost 83% of respondents are registered with their iwi, which means they are part of the iwi database. They are likely to receive some type of communication directly from iwi as databases include contact information of registrants like an email address and a physical address. About 15.5% (“Don't Know” with 7 participants, “Need to update info” with 1 participant, and “Some” with 1 participant) were unsure of their current status with one or more of their iwi. One participant said they were not registered. It seems significant that these Te Tau Ihu people are very aware of their affiliation to iwi, as shown in the previous question, but are somewhat less aware of their registration status with iwi.

There could be many reasons as to why this question differed from the results of the Question 6 (Do you know which Te Tau Ihu iwi you belong to?). Chapter five illuminates one common circumstance: parents register young children but once those kids grow to adulthood are unsure if they have been officially registered. There may also be a confusion of how to check on your status, of either who to contact, or any online resources.

Question #8

Is anyone in your family registered with your iwi? If yes, who?

58 responses



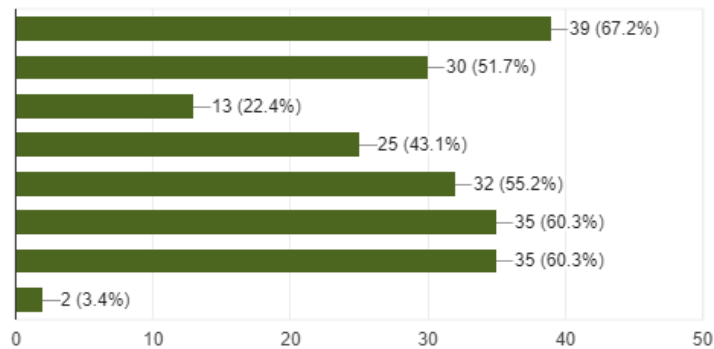
Yes everyone (2)
Parents, some siblings, children
sister, mom
mom, siblings
All of my immediate family are My brothers and sisters, son and cousins

Question 8 was open-ended and called for written answers. Participants listed “parents” or “siblings” also being registered with iwi, while other participants listed their specific family members by name. Almost all could identify individuals from their own whānau who were registered with their iwi. Only seven people who took the survey out of the 58 respondents (12% of the participants) said “no” or “I don’t know.” The data reflects that if one person in a whānau is registered with their iwi, it was more than likely that other family members are also registered. Perhaps a large motivation for registering with iwi comes from whānau influence, if results from Question 7 are also considered. Answers ranged from “mom, siblings” or “everyone” without knowing if the following generation of emigrant is registered. With a multi-generational diaspora study, this question could have been more purposeful in focusing on specific generations.

Question #9

Check all boxes of communication methods that you currently receive concerning your iwi

58 responses



Email pānui (newsletters)	39 Participants (67.2%)
Letters in the mail	30 Participants (51.7%)
Iwi website	13 Participants (22.4%)
Iwi Facebook page	25 Participants (43.1%)
Whānau Facebook page	32 Participants (55.2%)
Word of mouth from whānau members face to face	35 Participants (60.3%)
Word of mouth from whānau members electronically	35 Participants (60.3%)
None	2 Participants (3.4)

This question was a checklist for individuals to choose as many or as few communication options they currently receive concerning iwi. Included in the survey are the most common three methods, as pointed out in chapter three: email, website, and iwi Facebook pages. One other popular method of iwi communication physical letters in the mail was included in the survey. It also includes word of mouth from whānau (discerning between face-to-face or by electronic means), or whānau Facebook pages as valid and important as a support of iwi communication efforts. Distinction was not made from the formal iwi communication in order to allow for a wider view of the kinds of information being received. Traditional methods of books, radio, television that iwi might be engaged in which are not readily available by diasporic iwi are not included here. Only two respondents said they did not receive or engage in any form of communication concerning iwi. Overwhelmingly, however, the majority of

respondents receive contact in some form, including electronic, through the post, and personal communication about iwi matters. Because receiving information typically depends on formal iwi registration, as Question 7 may be a clue as to why several respondents may not be receiving emails or letters in the mail.

There is an even spread among the types of communication received by iwi members when analyzing the graph. However, surprisingly, the least used of the methods were iwi websites (13 participants – 22.4%) and iwi Facebook pages (25 participants – 43.1%). These were two of the three most popular methods that iwi utilize and are highlighted in the previous chapter. As mentioned in chapter three, iwi websites are the more formal, seemingly static platform. This group of individuals heavily relies on email pānui in regards to iwi communication and communication from their own whānau.

Question #10

“Are you interested in receiving more communication from your iwi? If yes, what kinds of information would you want to receive?”

Yes	37 responses (63.8%)
No	18 responses (31.0%)
Unsure	3 responses (5.2%)

As this question was an open-ended, short answer format, participants’ responses coalesced around general reactions – yes, no, or unsure.

Sixty-three percent of respondents, 37 individuals, indicated wanting more communication with iwi. In this category, there was a variety of answers when it came to specifying the kinds of information that would interest them. See a sample of answers recorded in the list below:

- “Information relevant to me who don’t get back often”
- “Yes, wananga and other activities I can participate in”
- “What our end goal is. What do we want to accomplish together? And how can iwi outside of NZ help in that process?”

- “wananga, hui, tangi, accomplishments of fellow iwi members, grants, scholarships, opportunities to support other iwi members”
- “Update on all hui”
- “Yearly updates of what the iwi has accomplished in Aotearoa and overseas. Future goals the iwi has and how we can help achieve those goals.”
- “Anything really. I love learning more about my culture”
- “scholarships for continuing education, for us outside of NZ”
- “Australia based events”

Iwi rūnanga or trusts could argue that most of this kind of information is already available and disseminated through the current methods such as Facebook or emails. After all, Question 9 indicates that there is a large range of communication received by respondents, so perhaps what Question 10 illuminates is not the volume or amount of communication increasing, but having the relevant messages reaching distinct individuals and/or groups in regards to their current location, experience, and understanding. This question asks if respondents would like to “receive more communication” from iwi, many responded positively, but based on the written responses, individuals specified the type of communication they desire, “information *relevant to me*” or “wananga and other activities I can participate in.” Even though participants want more communication, if there is a lack of relevancy there is a possibility the communication will be ignored. According to Potter (2013) an oversaturation of information and messages that are not relevant to the receiver will eventually deter the individual from reading them, training the receiver to filter out any subsequent messages automatically.

Suggestions from respondents about what kinds of communication is relevant to then is summed up by one respondent stating, “Yearly updates of what the iwi has accomplished in Aotearoa and overseas. Future goals the iwi has and how we can help achieve those goals.” Not just “updates” are wanted, but a plan that they can be part of. “What is our end goal?” another individual wrote. A reciprocal style of communication is sought after in this case.

By contrast thirty-one percent, 18 of the total 58 individuals, felt they did not need any additional communication, although their reasons varied. Including “no” or “I get enough” or “I am well-informed”. Three individuals, or five percent of the respondents, were not committed either way. “Don’t know” or “Maybe” or “Don’t mind either way” were ways these individuals responded. For some there is a possibility they do not know what the benefits for them are in communicating more with iwi.

Question #11

“Rate the communication methods from #1 as best preferred to #8 as the least preferred.”

Question 11 asked individuals to rank from the list of eight methods from most preferable to least preferable. The table below shows how many individuals indicated a particular ranking for each method of communication. Highlighted in blue are each ranking with the highest number of votes.

Rank	Email pānui	Letters in mail	Iwi website	Iwi FB page	Whānau FB page	Word of mouth (face to face)	Word of mouth (electron- ically)	Other
#1	19	4	2	8	9	10	2	2
#2	8	3	8	14	10	5	7	0
#3	6	3	11	8	9	8	4	0
#4	3	4	4	10	11	3	8	0
#5	5	8	6	2	6	8	4	2
#6	4	1	8	4	3	7	12	2
#7	4	12	5	0	0	6	7	3
#8	2	9	1	1	0	1	3	15

Clearly, the majority of these respondents prefer email, with 19 individuals. This is also reflective of the results from Question 9 that asked which methods individuals are currently receiving, with 39 of the 58 participants indicating they

receive emails. To a lesser degree, word of mouth (face to face), whānau Facebook and iwi Facebook were chosen. In a descending order of preference, electronic word of mouth (personal electronic contact) and iwi website joined the preferred modes of communication. These methods and numbers could change from group to group, from year to year, and they may even become arbitrary in the coming years as technology changes rapidly. However, most importantly, the graph shows that there is a range of preference when dealing with diasporic iwi members – there are varieties of methods available that can and should be utilized when communicating with them. As pointed out in Chapter 3, kaumātua prefer written notices to online communication. However, when looking at the results, physical letters in the mail among the diasporic Te Tau Ihu tāngata are of low preference.

Then, further breaking down each of the surveys by generation and the preferred method, the hope was to find if unique patterns surfaced according to each generation. Isolating the 28 individuals from first generation, below are their answers to the survey. Blue indicates the most votes for the method in that particular rank, while purple indicating the runner up(s).

First Generation Emigrant

Rank	Email pānui	Letters in mail	Iwi website	Iwi FB page	Whānau FB page	Word of mouth (face to face)	Word of mouth (electron- ically)	Other
#1	8	4	1	4	3	5	2	1
#2	5	1	4	6	4	2	4	0
#3	0	2	3	5	5	5	2	0

In comparing the first table of the total cumulative, the 19 people who indicated email as #1 preferred method, eight of those were from the first generation survey participants, which was the highest number. The other two significant methods that first generation gravitated to for the best method – word of mouth (face to

face with whānau) and posted mail. The #2 preferred method was iwi Facebook page at six of the 14 total. For first generation emigrants #3 preferred method were tied at five individuals each for iwi Facebook page, whānau Facebook page, and word of mouth (face to face).

Members of the second generation, with 21 participants, were more inclined to prefer online methods: email as #1, iwi Facebook page at #2, and iwi website as #3 as indicated below.

Second Generation Emigrant

Rank	Email pānui	Letters in mail	Iwi website	Iwi FB page	Whānau FB page	Word of mouth (face to face)	Word of mouth (electronically)	Other
#1	7	0	0	3	5	4	0	1
#2	2	1	4	6	4	1	2	0
#3	3	0	6	1	3	3	1	0

The trends for second generation are similar to the first generation responses. Again, the most preferred method of iwi communication is email. The second preference varies slightly from the first generation's second preference, which is a tie between iwi Facebook and iwi website. One notable pattern for second-generation respondents was a preference for online communication.

Third and Third+ Generation Emigrant

Rank	Email pānui	Letters in mail	Iwi website	Iwi FB page	Whānau FB page	Word of mouth (face to face)	Word of mouth (electronically)	Other
#1	4	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
#2	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	0

#3	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	0
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Due to low number of respondents in the third and third plus generation groups, their results were combined in the above table. Separating the results proved difficult with only three and six individuals responding respectively. Aside from email pānui, there was no obvious preference of iwi communication methods stipulated.

Question #12

If “other” was chosen in the above question, please specify.

The outlier category of “other” preferred forms of communication was used to elicit suggestions of modes or methods of communication. Only a few individuals gave specific “other” forms of communication they preferred, indicating a desire to receive texts or phone calls. This probably would not be a possibility for the iwi organisation given certain limitations of cell phone and landline costs and the practicality of needing to disseminate information both quickly and broadly across iwi. These methods may also contribute to the oversaturation of information as well.

Question #13

“How did you hear about this survey?”

This question assessed how iwi communication dissemination influenced the respondents. An unexpected pattern emerged among the open-ended responses. Respondents fell into three groups. The table below shows that 24 respondents identified that they heard about the survey through a method of communication such as email pānui, whānau Facebook, or iwi Facebook. The second group of 23 identified a person with whom they have a relationship (aunty, cousin, etc.) as the means of hearing about the survey. The third group of 10 individuals heard about the survey from both a person they know and through a formal communication method.

Method	24 individuals
Individual	23 individuals
Combination of Method / Individual	10 individuals

The majority of the respondents (33) received information from someone they know. A big part of communication for Māori is linking to other individuals and developing relationships. It seems apparent that Te Tau Ihu tāngata living in the diaspora know each other and may have influenced individuals to participate in the study. These ideas will be addressed more in Chapter 5.

Question #14

“From your experience as someone living outside of Aotearoa, please add any thoughts/suggestions/questions on Maori communication that you’d like to share”

These responses to this question were heartfelt, personal, and introspective. Twenty-six out of the 58 individuals chose to answer this optional question, and responded with a range of thoughts and suggestions for iwi regarding their own experiences and observations.

It would be nice to feel like my Iwi are inclusive and want contact with me and my whanau who live abroad. Sometimes it feels like they are scared we "want something" from them, rather than the importance for my children to feel connected to their relatives, whanaunga, Iwi, culture.
I think some webinars/podcasts would be awesome. Having some of these video taonga of our whanau talking about experiences in NZ and stories that our older whanau have, would be great to have to listen to and see
Support group in places outside of nz where we can meet up with, more owing contact so can meet extended family, like to have annual whanau/iwi huis that can help us all get to know each other better
Not sure what my role is being outside of NZ. Would love some ideas from iwi in their communications as to how "outsiders" can help and/or feel attached.
A news letter for Maori living abroad
Whanau Facebook page is effective for me because I get so many emails they can get lost. But Whanau Facebook page I will always open.
It would be great to be able to view video, photos read/listen to the experiences of those of our whanau who are able to attend wananga and other significant events that some of us may not be able to participate in but would appreciate learning more about our whanau connections, about our whenua, etc.
I think iwi communication is very important, for those that are living outside NZ. It's a way of staying connected to your people
It is important to maintain connections, contact.
I would love to feel more connected to my iwi and whanau in AOTEAROA, how I can get more involved and stay connected to my roots
I think there is a lot of ways of communication, I think I could put a bit more effort in of using those ways of communication. I think it's just a bit harder over here because a lot of people over here don't have much culture, especially Maori culture so it's hard to regularly think about it and try and use it in the States.

I think it would be nicer if they kind of broke things down for the people outside of NZ because sometimes I feel like I'm lost.
Like to know more
Better communications and updates all around. I think most of us living outside of the NZ would still love feel like we are part of our own and we would like to know what's going on. I feel like knowledge on current and past events will keep our heritage strong, even when we can't be there physically.
Regular contact from the iwi help to keep us 'connected'... it's great to keep communication channels open and know what the whanau is up to and enable me to share with my children who their whanau is and how they are 'connected'
Social media seems to be best
Would love a Kohanga in Laie for my tamariki
The feeling of belonging is at the essence of it all. It affects our identity. I see it affecting how my sons 13&16 feel about their Maoridom. They feel like they are not Maori. I digress. It would be so awesome to have Centre's in Poihakena, Brisbane, Melbourne and Perth. Or even just one on Sydney. It would be great to feel important to those groups. You know you are. Important. But somehow, you don't. I say this with total acceptance and I hard feelings. Just sharing deep feelings ive noticed. I hope this helps your research somewhat.
I think Facebook and emails the way to go
A stronger louder emphasis on our original identity Taangata whenua in writing as well as verbally. an the true stories of how when where who and why that word Maori was implemented into our culture hoki Mai ano a drive to encourage all to drop Maori an be proud of Tangata whenua as not only an identity. but as mark of respect toward a taatou tupuna who fought the white dogsto retain our identity. kia Ora raaa
I've been in USA for 22 years, I love to see hear and touch and share breath with those from home, I am and will always be connected, for I am a daughter of Aotearoa, my birth place, and the birth place of my ancestors.
I think its great that Iwi are looking to contact members overseas, as many who live outside Aotearoa do not know where to start in making connections
Being outside of NZ the best form of comms is electronic. I like emails and FB
More Australia based events would be amazing.
Communication from my iwi are an important for me to maintain connections back home and can also be applied when living in Aotearoa but in a different region to my iwi.
Financial assistance to hold wananga...i applied and no reply given...

There were some similar thoughts shared in response to this question. Many see communication from iwi as a way to be “connected”, to maintain “connections”, to “keep in contact” when away from Aotearoa. This then contributes to being “involved”, “included”, and “affect[ing] our identity”. There were also several comments that named specific location sites: the USA, Laie in Hawaii, places in Australia like Melbourne or Sydney. The results from this question warrant an in-depth look and can be found in the next section.

Findings and Themes

Several findings emerged from this survey and were addressed throughout the chapter, and because of the limited scope of this thesis, only a few themes will be explored. This survey provides overwhelming evidence that uri o ngā iwi o Te Tau Ihu are open to communication and are actively participating in a variety of ways. Even though the survey could draw inferences that a significant number of Te Tau Ihu tāngata in the diaspora are receiving communication, this particular group surveyed is still hungering for connection with iwi. This group is highly engaged, yet Question 9 (“Check all boxes of communication methods that you currently receive concerning your iwi”) reveals that formal iwi communication methods - particularly the iwi website and iwi Facebook page - lag behind those of the whānau-based communication. Although email pānui is both the most utilized and preferred of the methods, Question 11 (“Rate the communication methods from #1...to #8...”.) other results do not necessarily correlate with what is currently being received. Singling out the lowest employed method from iwi communication, iwi websites only were used by 13 out of the 58 individuals. Yet, when analyzing preference results, it ranked considerably higher with two individuals selected it as the #1 preference, eight for the #2 preference and 11 for #3 preferred method. Even though this was not evaluated by the study, many factors can explain the dissimilarities one of which is being unaware of the resource.

The better part of this section is dedicated to examining the answers rich with insights, varied and specific to what people are willing to share from Question 14. An open-ended format allowed any “thoughts/suggestions/question” to be recorded. Responses from 26 individuals will be grouped in three general categories in order to grasp the significance of those responses: affirmations, suggestions, and the longing to belong. There are some instances where responses can overlap in these categories.

The first group of four respondents relayed affirmations and confirmation of certain kinds of media in which are currently being engaged by the survey. As pointed out previously, given its accessibility and user-friendly characteristics, “social media seems to best.” Another said, “I think Facebook and emails the way to go” with another recording similar ideas, “being outside of NZ the best form of

comms is electronic. I like emails and FB [Facebook].” Electronic communication cannot be ignored, given the physical distance of iwi from rohe. Another participant, however, diverged from the others in this group by stating the preference of whānau communication stating, “Whanau Facebook page is effective for me because I get so many emails they can get lost. But Whanau Facebook page I will always open.” Affirming what was previously stated, a constant stream of emails can easily get “lost” among the rest of the messages, but the commitment to whānau messaging can take precedence.

The next grouping of eight individuals gave suggestions for iwi. Some can be accomplished through online methods that are already utilized in some iwi including “newsletter for Maori living abroad,” or “webinar/podcasts” or “video taonga of our whānau.” Other suggestions in this group are outside of the typical communication approach as outlined in this research, but can still be beneficial for Te Tau Ihu diaspora. Several spoke of “wananga” or “more Australia based events” or “centers...in Australia.” These could act as, another participant said, “support group in places outside of nz where we can [meet] up...like to have annual whanau/iwi huis.” Participants want more communication that is relevant to them, they want to be involved and engaged where they are, rather than outside observers. According to one second generation emigrant’s comment recorded in Question 14 of the survey: “I think it would be nicer if they kind of broke things down for the people outside of NZ because sometimes I feel like I’m lost.” There is evidence from survey responses that there is room for iwi to adapt to the needs of the diasporic group.

The majority of responses, 14 of the 26 who included their thoughts for this question, fall into the category of connection and wanting to belong. One individual explained, “Regular contact from the iwi help to keep us ‘connected’...it’s great to keep communication channels open and know what the whanau is up to and enable me to share with my children who their whanau is and how they are connected.” It is not only important for the individual to see what iwi are “up to,” but communication can also identify the “who” iwi are and “how” iwi are connected. It is also important, in this case, for this person’s children to know and understand those elements as well. For another individual, they spoke

of eventually returning back to Aotearoa and communication is “important for me to maintain connections back home and can also be applied when living in Aotearoa in a different region to my iwi.”

Conclusion

In this study, many of the Te Tau Ihu Māori surveyed reported they received from iwi a wide range and differing variety of communication. Although individuals seem remarkably connected, they desire a deeper connection to identity and people, which can be provided by iwi communication. There seems to be something missing currently, as participants expressed the desire to connect in a number of ways: emotionally, culturally and intellectually. The theme of connection and reconnection emerged, regardless of the generation of emigrant. For some emigrants, whānau play a significant role in supplementing or replacing iwi communication, which will be addressed further in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Generational Interviews

“For my purposes, I feel connected with iwi. I think the next generation, meaning my kids, I think that the iwi would need to reach out now so that there is more of a connectedness, that there is a feeling of belonging.”

-First Generation Interviewee

“I don’t know what it means to be registered...I know that we are all one group that we are all related, but I don’t understand the purpose or goal [of being registered].”

-Second Generation Interviewee

“My own kids, they’re fourth generation which is even more so further away from where my grandparents are from...I want them to know more than what we were taught when we were young. It’s not too late to keep learning, but...”

-Third Generation Interviewee

Introduction

To enrich the discussion of iwi communication with whanaunga living outside of New Zealand, introduced by the survey findings, it is necessary to contextualize and ground the discussion within the lives of those who live the experience. This chapter provides a venue for Te Tau Ihu tāngata emigrants outside of Aotearoa to give voice to their perspectives, desires, concerns and confusion brought about by their unique and common experiences with iwi communication. One person from the first, second and third emigrant generations were interviewed and themes that emerge are identified and discussed.

Māori concepts of titiro, whakarongo and kōrero during the interview phase was principle in a semi-structured conversational style allowing for unimpeded self-reflection and validation of experience of “watching, listening, learning and waiting until it is appropriate to speak.” (Pipi, et al., 2004) Several main questions were posed to each of the interviewees, but ultimately the conversation unfolded according to the experiences of individuals while other follow up questions were

asked. (Merriam, 2009) She points out that the purpose of qualitative research “is to achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, delineate the process of meaning-making, and describe how they interpret what they experience.” (p. 14) For Merriam, an advantage of qualitative methodology is that the approach allows participants of the study to focus on their own process and personal insights. Patton (1990; 2002) echoes Merriam’s position when stating qualitative research assumes “reality as being socially constructed” and that there are multiple realities and interpretations depending on the perspective and position of a particular participant.

An advantage of qualitative research is that the researcher is seen as fundamental to the research process and there is no attempt to eliminate their “biases” or “subjectivities.” (Peshkin, 1988) Offering further insight, Peshkin explains the role of the researcher as having a distinct contribution because of the researcher’s personal qualities, the interplay with the individuals involved in the study and the data collected coming out of their exchanges. This was the case in this research process, as the researcher is a diasporic Te Tau Ihu tangata, and did not attempt to create a sterile environment devoid of any “influence.” Rather, recognition that the relationship between researcher and participant is central to outcomes, in fact, enriches those outcomes. According to Patton (1990) another advantage of qualitative research is that it affords working with a small number of participants. Given the small number of Te Tau Ihu tāngata, and even smaller number of them living abroad, a qualitative component in this thesis is valid. What follows gives context and reflections by interviewees.

Interviewees

All three interviewees responded to the initial survey and were then subsequently contacted and invited to participate further by being interviewed. It was crucial at the outset that these individuals self-selected the emigrant generation they identify with in order to have each generation represented. In this case, the third generation interviewee (TGI) identifies as being a third generation emigrant “one more step removed,” whereas her older sibling, who has had more personal experiences with relatives in Aotearoa, had identified himself as a second generation emigrant in the survey. The interviewees are all between the ages of 26 and 45 years old,

which was also the largest group of survey respondents in this study. Interestingly, a 2011 survey from Te Puni Kōkiri also found that of the 1,223 Māori respondents living abroad, “more than half of Māori overseas were aged between 26 and 45.” (2012, “Age and Gender,” para. 1) Although the ages of the interviewees coincide with the largest group of respondents in both surveys, there is no attempt here to assume they represent all experiences and perspectives of the entire group within that age range of Māori living abroad. However, their reflections, given their experiences and perspectives, provide an opportunity to identify and discuss themes about iwi communication that emerged organically throughout their interviews.

Currently residing in the United States, all interviewees consist of two females and one male. The male and one female live in communities where other Māori live within reasonable proximity, and both interact with their Māori community to varying degrees. However, the third interviewee neither lives near Māori, nor has face-to-face interactions with other Māori regularly except her whānau through digitised means. The interviews with each person took place one-on-one in a comfortable and private environment as previously agreed upon by the interviewees. Two interviews were held face-to-face and one was conducted electronically, as preferred by the individuals. Prior to starting the conversation with each individual, the purpose of the interview and broader study was reviewed. Permission to record the interviews was obtained, and each was informed that the recordings would be transcribed and a copy of the interview transcript could be obtained if requested. There were no changes to the transcription of their words, except when interjecting clarifications that did not carry over from previous sentences. The differences between the interviewees’ backgrounds and experiences became evident as the conversations progressed.

First Generation Interviewee

The first generation interviewee (FGI) is a male in his forties. He grew up in Waikato and lived, to a lesser extent, in Te Tau Ihu in the South Island. His intent in leaving New Zealand was to pursue education and has since earned a master’s degree. FGI would return to New Zealand during his university years but has since immigrated to the United States permanently when he married an American

woman. The FGI has eight children, with all but one born in the United States. The child born in New Zealand was born during a year when FGI relocated his family back to help care for his aging parents. Recently FGI sent his oldest daughter, a teenager, to a cultural wānanga in Te Tau Ihu with the hope she “has a better sense of who she is, making sure she’s well-grounded...in [her] tūrangawaewae...”

FGI has personal connections and resources he easily identifies and relies on, yet he worries those connections and relationships are not transferring to the next generation. In spite of FGI’s resources and personal connections, having been raised and lived in Aotearoa, he expresses distance between himself and iwi as a formal entity, “That’s the thing, do I know that there’s a table? Yeah. But I haven’t been invited to the table, per-say.”

Second Generation Interviewee

The second generation interviewee (SGI) is a woman in her early thirties who was born and raised in the United States. She is a mother to three young children and is married to an American who had no previous connection to and little knowledge of New Zealand. The SGI has lived in New Zealand at different times in her life; first as a child in primary school for a year, and secondly for several months while completing an internship requirement for her university degree. When asked why she chose to complete an internship there she said, “Because even though I don’t live there, I am connected to New Zealand.” The SGI, like many Māori and Te Tau Ihu tāngata, phenotypically looks Pākehā. Growing up, with the reactions others had to her auburn hair and fair skin, she felt she had to “prove” she was Māori.

SGI felt a disconnection between iwi and her little family. She expressed a desire to have contact with iwi with the hope that it would inform the development of her children’s identity living in the United States. For her, the current iwi communication she receives seems to assume that the audience have the same reference point and understand what it all means. She pointed out “hoping that the next generation knows the same things, especially living outside of New Zealand, isn’t plausible.”

Third Generation Interviewee

The third generation interviewee (TGI) is a female in her early thirties, married with two young children. She was born and raised in the United States in a community where her extended family also lives. Her grandparents immigrated to the United States with some of their children while some of the older adult children chose to remain in Aotearoa. In referring to the siblings and their families who did not emigrate with her grandparents, TGI said, “We call them the New Zealand half [of the family] and they call us the Hawaii half.” After several decades of living in the United States, her grandparents retired and returned to New Zealand to live permanently, they subsequently visited their children and grandchildren in the United States on vacations.

TGI’s reference to things Māori settled in her consciousness after her first visit to New Zealand a few years ago for her grandmother’s eighty-fifth birthday. Explaining that experience, “I just want to learn more and I want to take my kids there too, before my nan passes. I loved being [there].” Although TGI’s whakapapa links her to more than one Te Tau Ihu iwi, she was only taught about one iwi. She expressed concern that because her children do not have similar experiences that she had as a child with her own grandparents or mum, they will not know anything about their Māori side. TGI would like her children to know more about what it is to be Māori, even though she does not feel like she knows much about it either.

Intergenerational Perspectives on Communication

During the interviews, feelings of desire, frustration, confusion and urgency became apparent for these diasporic individuals from each generation about communication between iwi and themselves and their whānau. For FGI when asked if iwi communication was important for him, he said, “It’s important, it doesn’t affect everyday life, but it is important.” In the next sentence, he continued and referred to his own children, “When we think about what’s happening from one generation to the next, in that aspect, it’s important.” As for SGI, she said of communication from iwi, “I like receiving it! I don’t open half the emails anymore. I used to open all of them, but they don’t make sense to me,

because...they don't apply to anyone outside of New Zealand." Her enthusiasm has waned over time as she repeatedly attempts to engage with iwi communication. This was due to not understanding or seeing the relevance of the content being communicated. TGI does not receive any iwi communication at all - solely communication from whānau electronically or in-person. She was eager to receive anything from iwi going forward. Several themes that emerged are closely interconnected and build upon one another brought up by each individual with varying emphases: confusion over politics, desire to contribute from afar and concern for the next generation.

Politics/Iwi Registration

Politics was a main point of apprehension and confusion for each interviewee in regards to iwi communication. Each individual was asked at some point if they were registered as an iwi member. Both FGI and SGI said they were, but their responses were unique. While FGI was positive about his own registration status, when asked about his children's statuses, he said, "I actually don't know. Not sure. So, probably not if I'm not sure about it." Meanwhile, SGI when asked if she herself was registered said, "I think? I don't know." It was not until later on in the interview that she remembered her mother completed the registration for her when she was a child. When SGI was asked about her own kids' registration, she said, "Probably not. I don't know." TGI, on the other hand, however, was unsure of her own registration status expressing, "I think I am. I don't know how to check, though." Her mum had previously registered TGI and her siblings when she was in high school for one particular iwi and she received "letters and stuff" from them in the mail, but that stopped after a time. She was unsure if she had to re-register but was unsure "how to check." Her children are not registered with any iwi.

The difference in attitudes around this topic between the generations was apparent. FGI was the only one that knew with certainty of his own status and did not say anymore on the topic of registration. After acknowledging his own children's incomplete registration with iwi, no follow up questions were asked. Presumably, he would know how to register his children in the future if they

chose to do so. SGI was most candid and specific in voicing her opinion as a follow up to the question, saying,

I don't know what it means to be registered... I know we're all a group and that we're all related, but what are we doing? I don't understand the purpose or goal. I think it'd be helpful to have a common goal. And maybe there is a common goal, but I feel like it doesn't include people that are not there.

She was confused as to why registration would be an essential occurrence for iwi. For TGI, she said she was interested in registering with her iwi, and after the interview, was shown the iwi websites and how to do so, as directed online.

Each interviewee spoke of iwi belongingness as being tied to a common ancestor and lineage rather than formal iwi membership. For these diasporic Te Tau Ihu tāngata would refer to iwi as a group of related individuals with ties through an ancestor, not as a formal organisation associated with having an office, employees, trustees that exist among the structures of policies, charters, by-laws, board of trustees, and beneficiaries. Those elements were mentioned at times but were not the principle focus in the interviews. This caused some confusion for SGI about her belonging to her iwi. She had difficulty understanding the difference between someone who is a registered member of an iwi, or just a "member" by blood. This was a very emotional topic in SGI's interview. She spoke openly of the perplexity she experiences when receiving notices to vote on iwi matters, specifically on Board of Trustee elections. She wishes iwi would provide basic information about the role of the Board of Trustees. Information that is, from her point of view, helpful for her to truly engage in the process. Currently she feels that she is expected to obtain pertinent information on her own, but is overwhelmed of how to do so. Consequently, SGI feels she is used by her whānau for her vote, particularly when a whānau member is running for a position. Although a list and short biography of candidates is typically provided, she usually does not know the candidates so family members often contact her to tell her whom she should vote for.

When asked about the communication received by iwi, FGI immediately referred to his preference of reading Annual General Meeting reports that come from iwi once a year. He points out that he, along with other iwi members, are informed of iwi “resources” and “assets,” finding this type of report beneficial for him to get “a quick snapshot” of “revenue.” FGI used other words throughout his interview like “trust,” “board,” “voting member” in regards to the Annual General Meeting. At no other point of the interview did he refer to iwi in a political sense. These same concepts mentioned by FGI, however, are points of critique by SGI. She does not understand the overall goal or purpose of registration. Politics is noticeably absent in the TGI discourse, only wanting to connect and learn more about her tūpuna.

Contribution from Afar

Another theme that emerged from the interviews was a desire to contribute to iwi. Contribution, or “reciprocity is an integral part of Māori custom and philosophy...” (Durie, 2003, p. 21) As O’Carroll labelled it in her research, “koha” - was brought up by each interviewee. (Kano hi ki te kano hi – A Thing of the Past? Examining the Notion of "Virtual" Ahikā and the Implications for Kano hi ki te kano hi, 2013) Although sometimes thought of as monetary contributions, this can relate to the principle of reciprocal communication that diaspora Māori are looking for. Assisting and giving back to iwi was something mentioned repeatedly by each interviewee, regardless of their current situation and connection with iwi. Yet, all were unsure how or what they could do in order to contribute. FGI kept returning to this topic of contribution multiple times during his interview. He was most clear about how he could contribute to iwi in regards to his formal education and work experience in mental health and substance abuse. “With the experiences that I’ve had, I think that I could potentially be an asset to the iwi...” He voiced an interest in participating in possible iwi initiatives “given the high rates of suicide in Aotearoa among Māori.” FGI continued, “I haven’t posed that to the iwi.” In speaking about the importance of giving back to the iwi he said, “If you don’t have people that are serving people, there really isn’t much of a buy-in to their community.” SGI expressed a similar desire to contribute to iwi:

I can't be there. I'd love for my kids to be there but they can't...Iwi can communicate 'these are our goals, how can you help?...If you don't live in New Zealand, maybe do this, and do this.' I don't know. What do you expect from us and what do we expect from you?

TGI said, "Even though I'm far away I want to know more. And I'm proud to be Māori and proud to be descendant from New Zealand. And I can't wait to learn more and teach my children." She asked herself, "what can we do to help what's going on over there from over here?" Just like the survey respondents in Chapter 4, diasporic tāngata are looking for cues from iwi as to how they can participate and contribute. SGI believes that if iwi broaden their focus to include uri beyond the local area there would be a host of benefits, including "a stronger iwi."

The next generation

Regardless of generation, the interviewees strongly expressed the desire to foster Māori identity in their own children. In doing so, these parents expressed firstly a desire to learn more for themselves in order to share aspects of Māori culture with their children. FGI expressed his sentiments that it is important to for iwi to have a presence with the next generation, albeit electronic, in order to influence the development of their identity as Māori. When asked about the next generation maintaining links with iwi, FGI stated,

It gives them a sense of identity of who they are...Being raised here now in the States, I just have to be a lot more deliberate and it falls even more so on my shoulders. And you can only share what you know...I'm not a fluent te reo speaker but I do pass on what I do know.

For his children who are pre-teens and teenagers, his desire is that "the iwi would need to reach out *now* so that there is more of a connectedness...a feeling of belonging." The ages or development of his children and their early connection to their iwi is an important factor on how they feel connected to and part of their iwi. FGI felt that his experiences of growing up in New Zealand helped and benefitted him because connecting with iwi was "very natural" as iwi issues were "part of the everyday conversation."

SIG articulated similar thoughts to FGI's when she spoke of transmitting knowledge to her own children, "I feel if you don't have the tools to do it, you can't. I'd like to teach my children things. I don't know a ton of stuff. I wish I did. I teach them stuff what I kinda know." She was very specific about what she hoped to learn from iwi, offering practical suggestions of the communication formats she thought helpful. For SIG, waiata, whakapapa, haka, karakia and ancestral stories are what she called "meaningful and applicable connections..." and are quantifiable Māori treasures that she can pass on to her children. More importantly, she spoke of "the meaningful and specific iwi things" that are unique to Te Tau Ihu "instead of just general Māori things." When asked about what would be helpful for her and her young family, SIG expounded:

Using technology and having specific things of what you are going to do with it...is so cool because modern technology isn't a one-way thing. You can upload a YouTube video and leave it, but you could also have people teach a song and then have others video their own performance and upload it.

For her, she said, "I would rather have less communication that is meaningful, than emails every week that don't apply to me." She went on to describe the emails she has received from iwi as "events and updates, rather than something applicable you can teach your kids, or something for you to learn..." She wished iwi could assist in that as she continued, "if your kids and the next generations are supposed to know about language, culture and context without any help, to me that doesn't make any sense."

TGI was clear that she wanted to learn from iwi in order to teach her children. "I just want to know a little about our ancestors...I want to look into that – genealogy." When talking about what she hoped that her children would gain, it was evident she did not know what iwi offered, stating "anything... like scholarships to help them go to school...anything...really anything." She could not articulate specifics of what type of communication she preferred or desired, but added that although she was eager to learn, she felt inadequate to teach her

children about their ancestors, and her iwi specifically. For TGI, although unsure about what to teach, receiving anything from iwi would be accepted eagerly. Her underlying desire culminated in a comment she made, “next time I go [to Aotearoa] I won’t feel so foreign, I’ll be from there.”

Location-Specific Communication

When talking about the content of iwi communication, many messages are location specific, such as mārae cleaning, pōwhiri, wānanga held next week, Waitangi Tribunal resolution meetings, etc. FGI said, “Sometimes you don’t get it by just reading it... so from time to time I might call [my brother] or another family member...you kind of have to have an informant to be aware of those nuances, because it’s not effective just reading it on paper.” FGI was the only one to identify specific people - siblings in this case, located in or near Te Tau Ihu, who he reaches out to in order to decipher information received through formal iwi communication.

One major difference singled out and disclosed by SGI was the frustration of iwi communication appearing to be location-focused and event-based, targeting mainly the hau kāinga group. SGI was the most vocal of the interviewees to address this issue, while survey participants also shared her sentiments about this. Iwi communication she receives is not inclusive of herself or her family’s experiences in the diaspora. When asked of her experience of communicating with the iwi inside verses her experience from outside of Aotearoa, SGI said, “I get all the same emails. They’re random and I don’t think they apply to me at all...I feel like the communication is only for certain groups within the iwi.” She went on and gave examples of recent emails she had received, advertising certain events happening in the rohe and said, “I don’t think any of the emails really apply for those who don’t live there.” She said, “I think it would be beneficial if there’s someone [in the iwi organization] that has that role, where they are a liaison where they fill people in and help them understand.” Each interviewee dealt with their unfamiliarity of what was being communicated by iwi pānui, whether receiving them like FGI and SGI, or TGI that is not at all receiving them.

Suggestions

FGI offers a suggestion to enhance communication to expand the use of technology to reach Te Tau Ihu tāngata. He was impressed by some Te Tau Ihu iwi who are developing apps that are “available to iwi members talking about sacred sites”, mapping them throughout Aotearoa. He also noted he would like to see video conferencing for Annual General Meetings and other significant tribal events. SGI recommends that iwi specific information, waiata, history, traditions, and crafts are made available to iwi tāngata in the diaspora. Her suggestion is that these endeavors are offered in a way that they could become integrated in to everyday life, applicable to herself as an adult but also to her little children. Communication from iwi should include knowledge about iwi “like ‘here’s a little write up of the history of something important to us’ or ‘here is a craft, like weaving, that you can do’ or the meaning of a moko someone had...something that is meaningful.” TGI said she would benefit from “the networking of people close to us.... [to] keep in contact with those who are here that can share more information about being from New Zealand.” For her, who has not been to Aotearoa until she was an adult, this is something she can do at home among the large Māori population in her community.

Te Tau Ihu iwi may need to come to a realization that Te Tau Ihu tāngata are dispersed to many locations. Therefore, iwi will find it critical to develop a strategic plan specifically focusing on teaching those who live away from the rohe. Distinct factors - namely age and generation of emigrant - will need to be taken into account. Communication for these certain groups can include basic information about te reo Māori, history, information on places and people, whakapapa, waiata and iwi traditions. This is an extra step in setting a background to current communication that ahikā enjoy.

Whānau Relationships

Insight from these interviews point to how important relationships with whānau are for Māori in the diaspora. Additionally, those in the diaspora validate the significance of having relationships with whanaunga who live in Te Tau Ihu and beyond. When asked about their own connection to iwi, the interviewees first established the reality of relationship with close family members and how that was what took up most time and energy. Not only can this be seen in the previous

chapter from the survey's Question 13 with the identification of individual whānau members, but also among interviewees. FGI explained, "I'm keeping in contact with whānau throughout the world through FaceTime. We don't inherently talk all the time about iwi matters, but those relationships continue on. This affords me the opportunity to maintain those relationships." Although physical closeness is not a reality, technology allows him and his family the way to keep close with family members. SGI stated essentially the same as FGI, "Family is easy to stay connected with. Immediate family - phone calls, texts, email, seeing them in person, all of that. For extended family, Facebook I think is most commonly used." The ease and familiarity of connecting with and remaining in contact with family members is clear. When TGI was asked if she has had much connection with iwi within an iwi setting, she stated she had not but keeps in touch "mostly with my immediate family. All our cousins that are still in New Zealand, we keep in touch through Facebook and Instagram." Each of these interviewees acknowledged the reality of the distance with whānau and their willingness and delight in maintaining those personal relationships.

We see from this that whānau relationships for Māori in diaspora will continue, even if relationships with formal iwi organisations are absent. If iwi do not want to take into consideration suggestions from the surveys and interviews of diasporic Te Tau Ihu uri, they will be limiting contribution or exchange from a considerably large population, as evidenced in Chapter 2. This connection between the rūnanga and iwi in the diaspora will only be mutually beneficial.

Conclusion

Several suggestions for iwi emerged from the interviews based on the perspective and experience of three generations of Te Tau Ihu emigrants. Namely, the desire for livestreaming of iwi events and hui (like the Annual General Meeting or wānanga), an iwi liaison as a diasporic resource and establishing a network of Māori nearby. As evidenced in the interviews, Te Tau Ihu tāngata living beyond the borders of New Zealand desire to connect with, learn about and contribute to their iwi. Yet there are obstacles to these wishes for intergenerational emigrants: knowledge of the New Zealand and/or iwi political landscape, background about iwi and current location-specific and unrelatable content from iwi. Māori in the

diaspora desire an invitation to be part of iwi through communication, which for them conveys aroha, interest and belonging regardless of distance. The desire to be linked to iwi is more about identity (for themselves and the next generation) and less about political and economic issues. As mentioned in this chapter, reciprocal relationships between diasporic uri and the iwi rūnanga are valuable and advantageous.

Chapter 6: Lessons from Toi and Whatonga

The story of Toi and Whatonga speaks to diasporic Māori communication, connections and their ramifications. There are many versions of this narrative, but Sir Peter Buck provided considerations of other versions previously told and integrated them into one account in *The Coming of the Maori*. (1925) In the lagoon at Pikopikoiwhiti in Hawaiki approximately 1150AD, there was a race amongst the younger men, one of them named Whatonga. A storm arose and several of Toi's grandsons, including Whatonga, disappeared beyond the reef. Toi was "determined to set out himself to search for his grandsons...He reached Rarotonga but found no trace of [them]. He then said, 'I will go on to the land discovered by Kupe in the expanse known as Tiritiri o te moana, the land that is shrouded by the high mists.'" (Buck, 1925, p. 23) Other texts claim that Toi sailed to Rarotonga and on to Samoa, eventually landing in Tamaki in Aotearoa.

Unbeknownst to those home in Hawaiki, Whatonga found shelter on an island nearby during the storm and returned back in some time. Upon learning about his grandfather's rescue expedition, Whatonga trekked across Moana-nui-a-Kiwa to find where Toi had gone, finally arriving in Aotearoa. Once in the new and distant land, Whatonga "went ashore to make inquiries from the local settlers." (p. 27) After encountering each group, they eventually directed Whatonga to the east coast where "grandfather and grandson were reunited and the long search happily ended." (p. 27) Toi and Whatonga remained in Aotearoa, married local women, and raised children whose descendants continued to grow in size, split and eventually migrated to other parts of that new land. Notably, Te Ātiawa in Te Tau Ihu trace their whakapapa to Toi, who first established himself at Whakatane. (Te Ātiawa o Te Waka-a-Māui, n.d.)

This story affirms that regardless of motive, Māori anciently and contemporarily travelled the great Pacific. Traversing the expansive Moana-nui-a-Kiwa is nothing new for our islander ancestors, as it was their highway leaving, coming and going, and returning back to place. (Hau'ofa, 1993) They crossed vast physical distances between islands all without the ease and aid of modern modes of transportation or

communication technology. The experience of Toi and Whatonga invites us today, with the help of the Internet and other technology, to cross the distance and expanse to link Māori, so as individuals and groups can connect. Paramount to this history is the connection maintained between individuals and whānau, which will have profound intergenerational impact of tāngata Māori and the future of iwi. This thesis does not encourage communication for communication's sake, but draws attention to the larger significance of how communication facilitates connections. The success of this story of grandson and grandfather is due entirely on the willingness of both parties to travel to reach one another. If physical distance alone had deterred either Toi or Whatonga from reuniting, the history of their descendants and Aotearoa would have been drastically different.

The Māori intergenerational emigrant group is growing exponentially. For Kupe, Toi and Whatonga (and the large population of diasporic Māori today), homes and families are established in new places and movement can continue to and from new lands. As seen through this study, most diasporic Te Tu Ihu tāngata surveyed have some kind of contact through formal iwi communication or with relatives (both in person and online), tethering them to their links to Aotearoa in varying degrees. The way iwi communication is received and responded to is influenced by a variety of factors such as time in and away from Aotearoa, physical distance or closeness to iwi, age, and generation of emigrant status. These are aspects that can affect connectedness or belongingness of those in the diaspora.

Outcomes of the Study

Both the survey and interview participants in Chapters 4 and 5 presented several suggestions in regards to iwi communication. Responses from the survey show these individuals, although highly engaged with current communication methods, are petitioning for iwi to look more expansively to allow diasporic whānau to engage in and connect with iwi like those in the rohe. These include “what kind of benefits we are entitled to and how to gain access to them” or “wananga and other activities I can participate in” and “yearly updates of what [iwi] has accomplished in aotearoa and overseas. Future goals that the iwi has and how we can help to achieve those goals.” These sentiments were also shared by Tau Ihu interviewees in Chapter 5 who advocated for other recommendations such as the livestreaming

of important iwi hui like the yearly Annual General Meeting and wānanga. The overall encouragement was for better use of technology to teach and invite cooperation and collaboration with iwi through mutual exchange. Another approach was for an iwi liaison for diaspora, and regular iwi hui in the diaspora where in-person kanohi ki te kanohi connections can be made. These opinions and ideas that were shared should encourage a shift in iwi communication to include uri in diaspora.

Given the difference in Māori experience as supported by the research presented, distinct communication audiences should be defined in regards to communication strategies. It would be a mistake to think of diasporic Māori, even those within the same iwi, as a homogeneous group. We must challenge the tendency to generalize Māori in the diaspora as having identical experiences. Although the size and scope of this study was limited, it was a good foray into Māori diaspora studies. Avenues for further investigation arose for the researcher than the questions originally posed. The academy may see burgeoning research in the area of Māori diaspora studies, in particular intergenerational emigrant studies, as Māori researchers in the diaspora attempt to capture their experiences. For example, the study of a group of 14-year-old Māori in the diaspora will be limited if the study does not take into the account the participants' characteristics and experiences as third, second or first generation emigrants.

Additionally, further study should be done to compare results based on the countries in which Te Tau Ihu Māori live. These characteristics of locations could have affected some of these findings made in this study. For example, Australia's closeness to Aotearoa could contribute to a more frequent movement of people back and forth (whether to live or visit), compared to those living elsewhere. Perhaps the smaller Māori diaspora living in the mainland United States would have different issues and perspectives from their Australian cousins. While Hawaii's unique considerations have the potential to influence the diasporic Māori population in the context of the location's large cross-section of Pacific Islanders. These are some of the many important pieces to dissect so as to better understand a more complete picture of the growing diasporic Māori population.

Reflections of the Study

There are many groups that are impacted from this study of iwi communication – diasporic whānau, iwi as a whole, iwi rūnanga, and academia. Firstly, because diasporic Māori are the focus of the research, those ramifications seem most obvious. These issues directly affect them and the subsequent generations of Māori, some of whom may not return to Aotearoa but remain abroad. Complex implications intersect through the topic of iwi communication, particularly identity as it seemed inextricably linked and referred to repeatedly when speaking to whānau about communication. Although there is not enough room in this thesis to address this all in depth, it is important to point out that communication indeed impacts Māori identity, especially among those who live in the diaspora. Most touchingly, parents in this study referred to the desire to have their children connect with iwi and see themselves as Māori. This study shows they need assistance in accomplishing these goals for themselves and the next generations.

Next, repercussions will be seen by iwi as a whole. Iwi, like those from Te Tau Ihu with comparatively smaller populations, will undoubtedly see a decrease of individuals as whanaunga leave, have children, and those children do not return. Not only will participation at events and numbers in iwi databases decrease, but the overall vitality of iwi will be affected. Whānau are communicating with diasporic uri, (knowingly or unknowingly) supporting them in their journeys to discover who they are like Whatonga. In his search, he went ashore to find his grandfather and was directed by those who knew Toi and the land. With their assistance and guidance, Whatonga eventually discovered where Toi settled and went there to rejoin him. Without those additional supports, iwi communication will not be accomplished to the extent it currently is. The results of this study can aid iwi in what it means to diasporic uri to belong and how they can assist their whanau abroad.

There were many suggestions as outlined specifically for iwi rūnanga, but this study can also have other impacts. One of the crucial findings included in Chapter 5 shows that individuals in the diaspora are looking for ways to contribute and collaborate with iwi from afar. As iwi rūnanga are tasked with governing and undergoing initiatives for the larger group, diasporic Māori are more than willing

to assist in some way. Some whānau leave Aotearoa for educational or professional opportunities, therefore, iwi have a large group of resources to draw on. Māori diaspora surveyed are not only looking for assests from iwi, but want to be part of a reciprocal relationship with their own iwi. There may be a need for a database of talent and expertise expanded into the diaspora so as to draw on. Additionally, if this study is taken into consideration, iwi will need to investigate present communication methods and messages engaged. Perhaps separate audiences need to be clearly defined and location-specific messages are to be sent to them. This, however, necessitates further study not included in this research. Other questions naturally arose from the study but fall outside the scope that also need answering: What is an iwi today? What constitutes iwi going forward? What is the future of iwi? How are younger generations of diasporic Māori being reached? How can that be achieved?

Finally, the potential for impact on academia is seen from this study. The term ‘diaspora’ has become a proliferated and generalised term used in many contexts since its introduction into academia decades ago (Brubaker, 2005). Originally used to acknowledge the exsistence of displaced individuals beyond a home country, it has taken shape and expanded into other studies. Now that there is a clear establishment of the exsistence of diaspora, this research invites a closer look and exploration of nuances of diasporic Māori through further research into specific emigrant generations or specific diasporic communities. There is a sparceness of available scholarship in this realm, as noticed while conducting this study. Although we see a large (and growing) population of diasporic Māori away from Aotearoa, if intergenerational Māori no longer identify to the Māori or specific iwi group in the “distant homeland,” they are no longer considered as part of the diaspora. (McGavin, 2017) This research is a small move into the wider development of diasporic Māori studies in different avenues as mentioned previously in this chapter. Therefore, there is a sense of urgency for more of these studies to be undertaken before the diaspora shrinks with this risk increasing as time passes.

Moreover, these conversations and research can also contribute to the broader studies being done throughout the Pacific in regards to diasporic and

communication studies. (Gershon, 2007; Nishitani, 2014) These are important, as our affiliations and connections to each other across the vast ocean were unfettered previous to colonisation. (Lopesi, 2018; Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania*, 2012) We can cross those divides to one another, located on different islands and continents, to learn from one another and the experiences of living in a globalised, highly saturated information world.

Conclusion

There are many lessons learned from Toi and Whatonga's separation and impressive attempts to cross physical distances to find one another. Diasporic Māori are in the act of doing that each day, with every email read and every click on a Facebook post, they are crossing a physical distance attempting to join together and reunite with iwi. They are looking for reciprocation on the other end, which will inform their own belonging and identity. Further study is essential when observing intergenerational diasporic uri in these aspects.

Sometime last year I signed up to Kupu o te Rā, an automatic daily email with the purpose to teach individuals Māori words and phrases. In July 2018 I received one of the many emails to my inbox with an unfamiliar whakataukī. The words flashed on my screen in large green letters, "He kura te tangata! We are all precious!" The explanation (which is also posted on the website) states, "This whakataukī is related to both the preciousness of the individual, and the contribution of the individual to the well-being of the group as a whole." (Kupu o te Rā, n.d.) Our tūpuna used this saying to dictate our actions that indeed, each person, regardless of current location, is precious to iwi. If this is a cherished and embraced proverb for Māori, iwi communication for diasporic Māori should reflect that belief.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Te Tau Ihu Iwi Communication Survey

This survey and its responses will be compiled as data to aid a Master's thesis on effective Māori Iwi Communication. This thesis will focus on the experiences of Te Tau Ihu (bottom of the North Island/top of the South Island of New Zealand) iwi members living away from Aotearoa.

If you whakapapa (have lineage linking you) to one or more Te Tua Ihu iwi listed below, and are living away from Aotearoa, please complete this survey. Ngā mihi.

- Ngāti Kuia
- Rangitāne
- Ngāti Apa
- Ngāti Koata
- Ngāti Rārua
- Ngāti Toa Rangatira
- Ngāti Tama
- Te Ātiawa

Question #1. What is your age?

- a. 14-18 years old
- b. 19-25 years old
- c. 26-35 years old
- d. 36-45 years old
- e. 46-55 years old
- f. 56+ years old

Question #2. What is your gender?

Male or Female

Question #3. What generation of emigrant outside of New Zealand are you?

- a. First generation – emigrated from New Zealand
- b. Second generation – parent(s) emigrated from New Zealand
- c. Third generation – grandparent(s) emigrated from New Zealand
- d. More than Third generation

Question #4. Have you ever lived either in New Zealand or in Te Tau Ihu (bottom of the North Island/top of the South Island of New Zealand)? Check all applicable boxes.

- a. Yes, in New Zealand
- b. Yes, in Te Tau Ihu
- c. No, neither

Question #5. Have you had personal experiences with other iwi members (i.e. participated at whanau or iwi events) in New Zealand?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Other:

Question #6. Do you know which Te Tau Ihu (bottom of the North Island/top of the South Island of New Zealand) iwi you belong to?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't know
- d. Other

Question #7. Are you registered with your iwi?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't know
- d. Other

Question #8. Is anyone in your family registered with your iwi? If yes, who?

Question #9. Check all boxes of communication methods that you currently receive concerning your iwi.

- a. Email pānui (newsletters)
- b. Letters in the mail
- c. Iwi Website
- d. Iwi Facebook page
- e. Whānau Facebook page
- f. Word of mouth – from whānau members
- g. Word of mouth – from whānau members
- h. None
- i. Other

Question #10. Are you interested in receiving more communication from your iwi? If yes, what kinds of information would you want to receive?

Question #11. Rate your preferred communication method – The best preferred as #1 and the least preferred as #8

- a. Email pānui (newsletters)
- b. Letters in the mail
- c. Iwi Website
- d. Iwi Facebook page
- e. Whānau Facebook page
- f. Word of mouth – from whānau members
- g. Word of mouth – from whānau members
- h. Other

Question #12. If other was chosen in the above question, please specify.

Question #13. How did you hear about this survey?

Question #14. From your experience as someone living outside of Aotearoa, please add any thoughts/suggestions/questions on Māori Communication that you'd like to share.
