

NGA URI O MATIHIKO: DIGITAL NATIVE STORIES



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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the project is to capture the worldviews of Māori digital natives and understand their ways of thinking and doing as '*ngā uri o matihiko*' – the Māori digital generation. Through exploration of their stories, the aim is to reveal the digital realities and behaviours of this generation and uncover what may be taken for granted as 'normal' in reflection of current generation worldviews. A key objective of the project is understanding the digital language of Māori digital natives through their digital routine and how it informs their thoughts and actions. This relates to the notion of digital reality and how identity can be informed by a digital culture. Through this exploration we begin to understand the digital expectations of *ngā uri o matihiko*.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The first section of the literature review surveys existing research on the *kaupapa* of digital natives and their relationship to the world in search of studies specific to *rangatahi* (Māori youth) of the digital generation. Texts by Prensky (2001) and Palfrey and Gasser (2008) are examined to understand the definition of the term 'digital natives'. Existing research specific to Māori digital natives is limited with the exception of recent studies by O'Carroll (2013) and Hoeta (2015) who investigate the engagement of *rangatahi* and social media. As this research seeks to realize the worldviews of Māori digital natives, understandings of how lived experiences and culture inform the construction of worldview are explored. The second section of the review discusses the research process and methods that will guide the project.

Digital Natives

The digital generation refers to digital natives who have been born into or who have grown up in the digital world. The following subsection focuses on texts by Prensky (2001a, 2001b) and Palfrey and Gasser (2008) regarding the term 'digital native' and existing research on how digital natives think and act. As this study focuses specifically on Māori digital natives, there is a discussion on how culture informs ways of thinking and considers how Māori digital natives are related to the global culture of digital natives.

Prensky (2001a) describes the differences between what he terms as 'Digital Natives' who are born into or raised in an environment of digital technology making them native speakers of the digital language, and 'Digital Immigrants' who are required to adapt to a

changing environment and learn the digital language. Prensky's ideas are set within an education context and explores the relationship of digital natives as students and digital immigrants as teachers or lecturers. The environment that digital natives interact with is one of instantaneity where "computer games, e-mail, the Internet, cell phones and instant messaging are integral parts of their lives" (Prensky, 2001a, p.1). Digital natives expect information to be at their fingertips, "a library on their laptops" (Prensky, 2001a, p.3) or other devices.

Recognising that digital natives "think and process information fundamentally differently" while using "toys and tools of the digital age" (Prensky, 2001a, p.1) is particularly important within an education context as it applies to the way in which digital natives acquire, learn and retain information. Prensky therefore suggests, "today's teachers have to learn to communicate in the language and style of their students" (Prensky, 2001a, p.4). The development of teaching methodologies involving the design of new methods and content requires innovation and creativity. As digital immigrants are generally in the position of educator, and as a result of the digital divide between digital natives and digital immigrants, this could create a gap in skills and ideas for the development of new teaching methodologies. Prensky (2001a) states:

...the single biggest problem facing education today is that our Digital Immigrant instructors, who speak an outdated language (that of the pre-digital age), are struggling to teach a population that speaks an entirely new language (p.2).

This problem can apply to a range of contexts and describes the potential for digital natives to fill the gap by becoming the creators and designers of methods, programmes and initiatives in their native language.

A more recent study in 2008 by Palfrey and Gasser focuses on the common differences of digital natives (as a generation) and the way that they operate. What stands out as universal is: identity expression and representation, human relationships and connections, the way in which digital natives relate to information (access, creation, communication, dissemination) and fundamentally, how digital natives experience things differently – what were once physical experiences are now digital experiences. Comparing digital native experiences to those of previous generations, digital natives "read blogs rather than newspapers" and "they often meet each other online before they meet in person" (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008, p.2).

The text by Palfrey and Gasser (2008) is designed to help parents and teachers to understand digital natives and discusses the risks and opportunities associated with digital natives in the digital age. Notably, Palfrey and Gasser (2008) recognise the constant evolution of digital technologies and consequent changes in the experiences and environment of digital natives suggesting, "by the time this book is printed, it will already be out of date" (p.12). This is an important point to note when examining

existing research on this topic as behaviours and perspectives of digital natives are consequently evolving just as quickly.

Considering the digital language and environment digital natives interact with as a form of digital culture is important when studying their ways of thinking and doing. Prensky (2001b) refers to prior psychological research that shows:

...people who grow up in different cultures do not just think about different things, they actually think differently. The environment and culture in which people are raised affects and even determines many of their thought processes (p.3).

While this project focuses specifically on Māori digital natives, existing research on digital natives is relevant as they are “connected to one another by a common culture” (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008, p.2) - a digital culture. Palfrey and Gasser go on to further describe that digital natives are:

...joined by a set of common practices, including the amount of time they spend using digital technologies, their tendency to multitask, their tendency to express themselves and relate to one another in ways mediated by digital technologies, and their pattern of using the technologies to access and use information and create new knowledge and art forms (p.4).

What makes Māori digital natives unique is that while they are immersed in a digital culture, as the indigenous people of Aotearoa (New Zealand) they are connected to Māori culture including *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) and *tikanga* (customs, protocol, cultural practices). The experiences of Māori digital natives born into, raised and engaging in these cultures inform the creation of their worldview. This is further discussed in the subsection exploring the concept of worldview.

The research indicates that digital natives experience information differently in reflection of their digital language. Their reliance on instantaneity is changing the way they communicate. Immersion in this digital culture suggests that their experiences are becoming dominated by the digital rather than the physical. Constantly changing, the digital culture informs the construction of worldview influencing the behaviours and perspectives of digital natives.

Māori Digital Natives

Limited research exists specifically related to Māori digital natives with the exception of two recent studies: O’Carroll (2013) focussing on *rangatahi* engagement with social networking sites (SNSs) and a later study by Hoeta (2015).

Rangatahi and SNSs

SNSs, such as Facebook and Twitter, are common platforms for digital natives to represent their identities and engage in relationships online. O’Carroll (2013) undertook research specific to the engagement of *rangatahi* (aged 18 to 25 years) with SNSs to investigate how they express their identities, communicate with *whānau*, maintain relationships and access information on SNSs. O’Carroll’s findings reveal behaviours and perspectives specific to Māori digital natives and their engagement with SNSs.

O’Carroll (2013) describes Facebook as a platform where *rangatahi* represent themselves through status updates, by sharing and tagging photos and by interacting with other people’s shared information by liking or commenting on content. These functions allow *rangatahi* to express themselves, their personality and their identity online (O’Carroll, 2013). O’Carroll (2013) highlights the reality of public representation for *rangatahi* on SNSs in response to privacy, the control over and consequences of their online profiles. Her research revealed the level of consciousness that *rangatahi* have in designing their online presentations to manage their reputation, generally influenced by the way they believe others want to view them (O’Carroll, 2013). O’Carroll (2013) indicates that:

...young women in the study expressed that they invested a considerable amount of thought (and time) into how they might present themselves online. The creation of text, selection of photos and links to share and with which networks (which might include *whānau*, friends, colleagues, university friends, community workers and so on) to include in their profile all contributed to the person they wish to be presented as (p.50).

O’Carroll (2013) describes this as “etiquette” (p.52) and “protocols” (p.53) that *rangatahi* develop as methods to control their online activity by managing their representation and online relationships. O’Carroll states that:

More male participants appeared to think carefully about how they present themselves in SNSs in relation to possible impacts on their chances of being employed. Their concern was focused on minimising adverse impressions or consequences of sharing particular information about themselves or their activities (p.51).

O'Carroll (2013) suggests that this level of influence can be understood as *rangatahi* "conforming within the structure and architecture of SNS platforms" (p.56). This indicates that *rangatahi* behaviours and perspectives are informed by their activity on SNSs.

O'Carroll (2013) references the contradictions that occur between online and offline representations and how this influences the way *rangatahi* perceive others. A culture of "judging" the content of online profiles of others based on what is "normal" and "real life" (O'Carroll, 2013, p.52) informed *rangatahi* perception of others and potentially the online or offline relationship they have with that person. Therefore, *rangatahi* use online profiles as a method to research and investigate other people in an effort to control who they are connected to online, as O'Carroll (2013) states:

"Stalking" other people's Facebook pages was a common theme throughout this study and highlighted the notion that information about people was highly accessible and readily available for other users to access, as well as highly desirable (and of interest to this age range) (p.55).

SNSs were seen to connect *whānau* within Aotearoa and overseas, maintaining *whānau* ties and communication while also facilitating new *whānau* connections (O'Carroll, 2013). SNSs not only provide access to people but to information. O'Carroll (2013) describes SNSs as "information highways for users" (p.49) while "providing constant connectivity to social, political, cultural and topical issues that a user's networked community might be interested in (p.49). This was reflected in the participant's responses referring to SNSs as their "morning newspaper" (O'Carroll, 2013, p.55). This level of interaction confirms that *rangatahi* rely on SNSs to connect them globally to both people and information.

Hoeta (2015) explores *rangatahi* use of Facebook for cultural expression by examining the content, via selected Facebook posts, of the Facebook community groups of three *rangatahi* organisations. The key themes that emerged from Hoeta's content analysis from within the *rangatahi* Facebook community groups were *whakapapa*, *whānau*, *whanaungatanga* and *manaakitanga* (Hoeta, 2015) thus, confirming that *rangatahi* are engaging in *kaupapa* and *tikanga* Māori within their online Facebook communities. Hoeta (2015) also examines how cultural concepts and behaviours translate online while comparing and relating to the physical, traditionally '*kanohi ki te kanohi*' (face to face), experiences of such *kaupapa* and *tikanga*.

Hoeta's study indicates that *rangatahi* are using Facebook as a platform to share *whakapapa* by creating an online *whānau* and engaging in *whanaungatanga* online to promote *kaupapa* Māori (Hoeta, 2015). Hoeta (2015) observes that *rangatahi* use Facebook as a tool to facilitate offline engagement or *whanaungatanga* through the organisation and promotion of events where *whanaungatanga* (among other *kaupapa*) is experienced in person and *whānau* identities are strengthened.

However, Hoeta (2015) does raise questions about how concepts such as *manaakitanga* and *wairuatanga* are translated from physical experiences to online experiences:

But if there is a generation of Māori online and not physically experiencing *manaakitanga* how will they learn to use it? Will they be expressing *manaakitanga* in Māori ways? The data emphasises *awhi* (support), *tautoko*, and *whānau*, however the fact that virtual use does not guarantee physicality and *wairuatanga* (spirituality) leaves questions about the future use of *manaakitanga* online and its contribution to offline use (p.60).

Hoeta (2015) concludes the study by posing a range of questions. A question that stands out as being particularly relevant to this project is “What’s happening between the online and offline worlds for *rangatahi*?” (Hoeta, 2015, p.66). While *kaupapa* and *tikanga Māori* are reflected in the way *rangatahi* interact within the Facebook groups it is interesting to consider how the experiences of such Māori cultural practices are changing or evolving in a digital context. What do Māori digital natives consider as their digital *tikanga*, guiding their behaviours while interacting online? How are their experiences of *wairua* translating online? Are digital, online experiences of *kaupapa* and *tikanga Māori* becoming more dominant for Māori digital natives?

O’Carroll’s (2013) research reveals that *rangatahi* have a level of consciousness in their online engagement on SNSs that is informing their behaviours and interactions. Hoeta’s (2015) research raises questions of the experience of Māori cultural practices in digital contexts and begins to consider what makes the digital language of *rangatahi* unique. The common theme of how digital behaviours and experiences inform and relate to physical experiences is highlighted again throughout the research of O’Carroll (2013) and Hoeta (2015), thus considering how *rangatahi* digital engagement on SNSs is informed by a Māori worldview.

Worldview

As the aim of this project is to capture the worldviews of Māori digital natives, the concept of worldview must be understood. Consideration of how worldview is constructed, informed and exercised is explored through the literature of Koltko-Rivera (2004) in an effort to understand methods of identifying and articulating the worldviews of Māori digital natives from within their stories (the data).

Koltko-Rivera (2004) describes worldviews as “sets of beliefs and assumptions that describe reality” (p.3) that inform human cognition and behaviour. Koltko-Rivera (2004) defines the concept of worldview in the following statement:

A worldview is a way of describing the universe and life within it, both in terms of what is and what ought to be. A given worldview is a set of beliefs that

includes limiting statements and assumptions regarding what exists and what does not (either in actuality, or in principle), what objects or experiences are good or bad, and what objectives, behaviours, and relationships are desirable or undesirable. A worldview defines what can be known or done in the world, and how it can be known or done. In addition to defining what goals can be sought in life, a worldview defines what goals should be pursued. Worldviews include assumptions that may be unproven, and even unprovable, but these assumptions are superordinate, in that they provide the epistemic and ontological foundations for other beliefs within a belief system (p.4).

Without being conscious of this concept, worldview can be considered by individuals as their 'normal', what they consider their reality. This can affect their ability to articulate what they understand as their worldview and requires the researcher to identify unique behaviours, perspectives, beliefs and experiences of research participants that inform and build a picture of their worldview. These developments of self are informed by culture and lived experiences. Koltko-Rivera (2004) confirms that "the self emits behaviour; behaviour results in experience; experience moulds the self (and one's worldview, an aspect of the self)" (p.36). The diagram pictured in Fig. 1 visualises the cycle of worldview: influencing ways of thinking, informing ways of doing, which are reflected in life experiences, that continue to inform worldview.



Figure 1. Cycle describing worldview

A major influencing factor on worldview development is culture. The online Oxford English Living Dictionaries defines the term culture as “the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society” (Oxford English Living Dictionaries, n.d., para.1). Culture informs beliefs and guides behaviours providing a sense of identity. Artinian and McCown (1997) support this notion stating that “an individual’s worldview is shaped, probably to a very large extent (though not exclusively), by the cultures that the individual encounters” (as cited in Koltko-Rivera, 2004, p.41). Māori digital natives can be attached to a number of cultures including culture connected to *whakapapa* (indigenous or Māori culture), a digital culture, family culture, school or work culture and the culture of a sports team or Kapa Haka. These layers of culture inform a unique worldview.

Focusing on the relationship between digital culture and Māori culture helps to understand the worldviews of Māori digital natives, and by identifying their digital language, we can then comprehend how this worldview is evolving.

Māori worldview

The Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary translates the term ‘Māori word view’ to “*tiro ā-Māori ki tōna ake ao*” (Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary, n.d., para.1). It is important and natural for the researcher to consider the expression of the term in *te reo Māori* to understand and deconstruct its meaning for the purpose of this project. ‘*Tiro*’ is to look, examine, view or observe and ‘*ā Māori*’ identifies the viewer as Māori, relating the verb specifically to a Māori perspective. ‘*ki tōna*’ translates as ‘to his’ or ‘to her’, ‘*ake*’ meaning ‘very own’ or ‘personal’ and ‘*ao*’ referring to “his or her very own world”. The phrase “*tiro ā-Māori ki tōna ake ao*” highlights that a Māori worldview is specific to how Māori view their own world, from their own perspective. The inclusion of the word ‘*ake*’ differentiates this world indicating its uniqueness to Māori and from a Māori point of view connecting a sense of autonomy and ownership over the world and the view from which it is observed.

Encompassing of a Māori worldview is *Mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) which the Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary defines as “the body of knowledge originating from Māori ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives, Māori creativity and cultural practices” (Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary, n.d., para.2). *Kaupapa Māori* (purpose, objective, goals), *tikanga Māori* (processes, rules, methodology) *mātauranga Māori* (body of knowledge) and *whakapapa* (genealogy, history, refers to how and what we descend from and are connected to) – form the foundations of a Māori worldview. A Māori worldview validates these concepts and takes them for granted as part of a Māori reality. As referenced by Marsden (1992), this indicates the holistic nature of a Māori worldview and highlights the interconnectedness of layers within the cultural system that informs Māori “standards, values, attitudes and beliefs” (p.15). Royal (1998) states that:

Mātauranga Māori is created by Māori humans according to a worldview entitled 'Te Ao Mārama' and by the employment of methodologies derived from this worldview to explain the Māori experience of the world (as cited in Pihema, 2015, p.10).

The aim of the project is to capture the unique worldviews of Māori digital natives by identifying how immersion in both Māori and digital cultures informs their perspectives, behaviours and experiences.

METHOD

While this research is centred on the experiences and behaviours of Māori digital natives, a qualitative approach is most appropriate to guide the research methodology. *Kaupapa Māori* are the guiding principles in research and engagement reflected by a Māori worldview. Interview methods will reflect a storytelling (narrative) approach to understand the *kaupapa* through the experiences of the participants. This will be reflected in the analysis of the new material, highlighting individual backgrounds and stories, which inform the unique worldview of participants. Finally thematic analysis will be employed to identify themes, categories and questions, allowing the researcher to interpret the new data based on existing research and identified gaps.

Qualitative and Kaupapa Māori approach

Given (2015) states that qualitative research is a “human-focused approach to research design, which aims to delve deeply into people’s experiences, perceptions, behaviours, and beliefs” (p.2). This focus provides appropriate methods to understand the worldview of Māori digital natives while empowering *kaupapa Māori*. According to the Rangahau Website (a website exploring *kaupapa Māori* research methodologies), “for Māori, qualitative methods have enabled us to ‘give voice’ and provided an opportunity to explain phenomenon from our own perspective” (Rangahau, n.d., para. 2). Pihama (2015) deconstructs the term *kaupapa* and explains a *kaupapa Māori* approach to research methodology in the following statement:

Kaupapa relates to notions of foundation; plan; philosophy and strategies. Kaupapa Māori, therefore, indicates a Māori view of those things. It relates to Māori philosophies of the world, to Māori understandings on which our beliefs and values are based, Māori worldviews and ways of operating (p.9).

Kaupapa Māori and *tikanga Māori* are the guiding principles in this research project and cultural practices such as *manaaki* (to care for), *whakapapa*, *mihimihi* (formal greetings), *hūmārie* (to be humble and good natured), *ako* (reciprocal learning) and *kaitahi* (to share food together) are respected, practiced and acknowledged.

Recruitment of participants

The researcher is a descendant of the digital generation of urban Māori living in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) providing a network of Māori digital natives (friends, mutual friends and *whānau*) accessible from within her community.

Participants for the research will range in age from 15 to 30 years. Because the age range is across fifteen years, the participants will be divided into four age groups positioned amongst others relevant to their education group. It is predicted that a variance amongst the age groups will occur reflecting life experiences and exposure to different environments, this is in response to the discussion of worldview in the previous section. As a result, this may also inform each participant's worldview, experiences and behaviours. Labelling the organization of participants (and subsequent data) within education groups reflects this variance. The age groups have been identified as the following:

- 15 – 17 years senior secondary school students
- 18 – 21 years school graduates, entering tertiary education or workforce
- 22 – 25 years tertiary graduates, entering postgraduate education or workforce
- 26 – 30 years postgraduates, employees, managers

All participants currently live in Tāmaki Makaurau including male and female, *te reo Māori* and *te reo Pākehā* speakers. Participants will be interviewed in a focus group of three in each age bracket. A total of four focus groups including three participants each will be conducted, twelve participants in total.

Focus group interviews

Focus group interviews have been selected as the research method for this project to reflect the concepts of *hui* (to gather, meet) and *whakawhanaungatanga* (process of establishing and maintaining relationships). Lead by the direction and interaction of participants, focus group interviews will allow the interview to flow as a conversation, suggesting that the participants will feel more relaxed and comfortable in this setting. The researcher has developed a series of open-ended interview questions to guide the focus group interview in a semi-structured format (see Appendix. 3).

Focus groups interviews are an appropriate method for this project with the aim of understanding the worldviews of Māori digital natives through their experiences and behaviours, as Kitzinger (1995) explains, “The method is particularly useful for exploring people's knowledge and experiences and can be used to examine not only what people think but how they think and why they think that way” (p.299). As a subject of the Māori digital generation herself, the researcher will contribute to focus group discussions encouraging the conversation with questions and probes as directed by the discussion. While traditionally the interviewer would remain objective, this alternative approach

highlights a Māori worldview and *kaupapa Māori* approach to research methods. In her study exploring *rangatahi* perspectives of leisure, Harvey (2002) describes her role as the focus group facilitator as follows:

Contributing my stories to the discussion was intended to allow the participants to feel more comfortable sharing their stories and also to ensure that a collective story was told (p.76).

This approach will also translate to the analysis stage of the project and is further discussed in the analysis subsection.

Ethics

A participant information sheet (see Appendix. 1) was created to assist in introducing the project to potential participants including details of the researcher, the research *kaupapa* and an outline of participant contribution. A participant consent form (see Appendix. 2) was provided in support of the information sheet requesting the participant to confirm their ability to participate in the focus group based on the conditions outlined in the form. Such conditions provide the participant with the opportunity to remain anonymous within the research and request electronic copies of transcripts and/or the final report and requests permission to video and audio record the focus group discussions. In the case where a participant is under the age of 16 years, there is an additional section of the consent form requesting parental consent and support of the child to participate in the research.

Analysis

A narrative approach will be employed to reflect the stories of participants by highlighting their individual experiences and perspective through quotes that have presented in the data. Including direct quotes to express the findings acknowledges participant contribution as unique and valid. Thematic analysis will be used to organise and draw out themes occurring across the data.

Bishop (1995) explores the role of story, collaborative storytelling and narrative in research and discusses the relevance of this approach to *kaupapa Māori*. Bishop (1995) states, “Research as stories is aimed at uncovering the many experiences of the participants, emphasising complexities rather than commonalities” (p.78). The concept of ‘collaborative storying’ is explored in Bishop’s literature to understand the position of the researcher within the data collection and analysis stages of the research process. The notion of collaborative storying and its relevance to *kaupapa Māori* is an important consideration in this project where the researcher is from the generation of Māori digital natives in which the research investigates. In his thesis, Bishop (1995) considered this relationship as a “co-joint reflection on shared experiences and co-joint construction of meanings about these experiences, a position where the stories of the

research participants merged with my own to create new stories” (p.81). The concept of collaborative storytelling may naturally occur within the analysis and interpretation of the data influenced by and incorporating the researcher’s own experiences and worldview.

According to the Auckland University website, thematic analysis “suits questions related to people’s experiences, or people’s views and perceptions” (The University of Auckland, n.d., para. 4). For the purpose of this study, thematic analysis will be approached in an inductive way where coding and theme development is directed by the content of the data. The process of thematic analysis will involve: transcribing data from focus group interviews, coding of the data into categories (directed by the content), identifying and analysing themes and finally contextualising the analysis in relation to existing literature.

Guided by the data including experiences, perspectives and personal reflections of the research participant’s, analysis will draw out themes in the behaviours and activities of Māori digital natives. Gathered in a findings report, analysis of the data supported by participant’s quotes will develop a picture of the digital language and worldview of Māori digital natives living in Tāmaki Makaurau.

FINDINGS REPORT

The aim of the research is to reveal the digital realities and behaviours of Māori digital natives and uncover what may be taken for granted as 'normal' in reflection of current generation worldviews. Four focus group interviews were conducted to gather data for the purpose of understanding the worldviews and digital language of Māori digital natives. The focus group interviews consisted of 15 participants ranging in age from 15 – 30 years including the researcher who conducted the interviews and contributed to discussions. All focus group participants are urban Māori raised and living in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland). The data and findings discussed in this report represent the views and experiences of 15 urban Māori digital natives and therefore reflect an urban Māori perspective.

The report focuses on the concept of *digital language* and builds a picture of the reality and worldviews of urban Māori born or raised within the digital generation. With the aim of understanding the 'digital norm' of urban Māori digital natives (urban *rangatahi*), the various subsections identify digital behaviours specific to activity on the smartphone device and social networking sites (SNSs) and experiences of digital technology and the Internet. The following subsections describe the digital reality of urban *rangatahi* by identifying their digital behaviours. A brief introduction to the devices and corresponding activities that participants engage with is provided. The smartphone device and online activity on SNSs were two key activities identified by all four groups. The following subsections *Smartphone activity* and *Social media activity* identify common habits specific to each activity including participant behaviours and intentions. The subsection titled *Experiences of digital technology and the Internet* discusses the views and experiences of urban *rangatahi* and considers the relationship of physical and digital experiences and the role of *tikanga* within a digital culture.

Digital devices and activities

Participants identified a specific range of devices that they use. All four groups identified the following devices:

- Smartphone
- Laptop
- Television

Other devices that were identified included tablets, computers, PlayStations, a camera and a DVD player. Participants in all groups identified that the smartphone was the primary device of use. A relatively short list of devices indicates that most digital activities are conducted on the smartphone device. The range of activities has been divided into the following groups; SNSs, communication, personal organisation, entertainment, acquiring information and undertaking work. The activities are tabled below:

SNSs	Communication	Personal organisation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Facebook ▪ Instagram ▪ Snapchat ▪ Twitter ▪ YouTube ▪ Pinterest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Calling ▪ Texting ▪ Facetime ▪ Messenger ▪ Emailing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Online banking and bank applications ▪ Alarm ▪ Calender
Entertainment	Acquiring information	Undertaking work
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Netflix ▪ Watching movies or TV Series online ▪ Playing PlayStation ▪ Downloading and listening to music ▪ Playing games: PokemonGo, Kahoot ▪ Downloading and reading books ▪ Online shopping 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Google ▪ Current affairs: NZ Herald, Stuff.co.nz, Te Kaea, Te Karere, Marae ▪ Māori dictionary ▪ NZ Folk Song ▪ Archives and Library 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Google word ▪ Microsoft word application ▪ Note taking ▪ Essay writing

Figure 2. Table listing digital and online activities on devices

A limited number of contexts where the activities take place were referenced such as the home, workplace, university, school, public transport, on holiday, at Kapa Haka, in the car and in public.

SMARTPHONE ACTIVITY

This subsection identifies common habits involving smartphone activity by unpacking the behaviours of urban *rangatahi*. The mental, emotional, social and physical implications of such smartphone activity and associated behaviours are discussed to better understand the digital realities of urban *rangatahi*.

Routine

Urban *rangatahi* are conscious of their constant activity on their smartphone devices and have identified reasons why this behaviour or addiction has developed. To this generation the smartphone is considered an extension of one's body. This physical and emotional relationship with the device explains its level of priority and dominance within the everyday routines of urban *rangatahi*. Urban *rangatahi* use their devices in a variety of ways but the level of self-awareness of this activity varies from limited consciousness (age brackets 15 – 17 and 18 – 21 years) to a high level of self-

consciousness (age brackets 22 – 25 and 26 – 30 years) where participants can identify their behaviours and reflect on how they feel about them. Urban *rangatahi* start and end their day on their smartphone device, crave stimulation and to be constantly connected and updated.

Like, when I wake up...during the day...when people are talking to me...go to sleep...wake up in the middle of the night, still on my phone – Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat (laughs). (Manawhenua, 16)

And I carry it, like I make sure, consciously I pick it up, and I pick it (phone) up with me to go to the next room like it's just...but like you know, (I) take her (baby) out of bed, I take it off the side of the bed and I carry it into the lounge room, then I take it to the toilet with me, and I take it to the kitchen, and I take it outside you know...(laughs). (Anonymous, 30)

Urban *rangatahi* do not hesitate to declare the physical attachment they have to their smartphone device and understand how the device dominates their daily routine.

Multi-tasking

Expert in multi-tasking, urban *rangatahi* are performing multiple activities on their smartphone in one sitting, often engaging in multiple applications or functions at a time. They find themselves engaging in smartphone activity while performing activities in person such as watching television, playing with children or while in conversation with someone face to face. The convenience of multi-tasking and completing tasks on the device or online is attractive to urban *rangatahi* as they consider the digital language as a tool for efficiency. Urban *rangatahi* are conscious of how their digital behaviours limit time spent with family:

...if you're on your phone you're not engaging in any of that conversation, it's just yes/no answers like 'oh yea it was good' and then just like, 'just shh so I can continue looking at like, what Kim Kardashian's doing or whatever'. (Kata, 27)

...your mates five minutes down the road and yet you don't go (laughs), don't go and see them because it's easier to ring and text you know. (Anonymous, 30)

Although urban *rangatahi* rely on their smartphone device for convenience they are aware how smartphone activity impacts on the quality they gain from social engagements.

Isolation

Relatedly, urban *rangatahi* are aware of how their smartphone activity is affecting their behaviours and how these are linked to and cause consequent behaviours. Participants

identified the paralysing effect of constant smartphone activity as they confine themselves to the bedroom or home. While they are conscious of time spent on their smartphones, urban *rangatahi* consider whether this behaviour causes them to be unproductive and how this is linked to their physical and mental wellbeing.

...the last few days it's just been me at home and I've been on my phone quite a bit so, and seeing other people out doing things...it wasn't a good thing for me because it was sunny outside and like, we have a pool, I didn't go outside and sit in the pool, I stayed on my phone and then I was like, 'oh I'm tired', went to sleep, woke up, on my phone, and I wasted a whole day doing that. Like, I cannot see how that would be healthy for people who already have mental health issues as well, I mean I'm, I would say I'm pretty like, most of the time happy, like, but yea, that got me down a bit... (Eden, 23)

It seems like, it's making you less productive, like you'll just be sitting there on your phone instead of actually going out in the world and doing something. (Shaadiya, 15).

Participants in the age group 15 – 17 years use their smartphone as a distraction to remove themselves in social situations. This purposeful activity relieves feelings of awkwardness as the distraction provides a sense of security in social situations.

...like blocking yourself, like you know if your siblings are just talking to you but you don't want them to talk to you, and you just play on your phone and pretend you're not listening. (Manawhenua, 16)

When I'm on the bus I'm doing it consciously like, I just don't want random people to talk to me. (Ravin, 15)

While certain behaviour is intentional such as engaging in activity on the smartphone device as a distraction, others are a force of habit related to the addictive nature of smartphone activity (as discussed in the following subsection). Although participants are able to identify specific behaviours and relate them to negative impacts on their wellbeing, this does not necessarily translate into a change in behaviour in response to this.

Addiction

The addictive nature of the smartphone device is obvious in the digital behaviours of urban *rangatahi*. Smartphone activity drives everyday routine and those participants who were conscious of this described the addiction as dominating and testing their mind. They were not comfortable with this and make attempts to change their behaviours by limiting their smartphone activity. Participants in the age group 26 – 30 years indicated that they enforce this by removing notifications to limit the distraction

of sounds and visuals on their smartphone. Admittedly, although the desire is there it does not always translate into action, highlighting the habitual effects of smartphone activity:

Yea it's funny how we're already conscious about it, we're aware about it but we don't action it. It doesn't take much out of us to talk about it and you know, say 'oh yea I do this and I should be more disciplined bla bla bla' but then watch this, when we go home it's just as easy to fall back into the same pattern again. (Kata, 27)

One participant refers to a process of training and discipline to reverse the behaviour and to physically disconnect from the device:

Like you have to, I pretty much trained myself. I've like honestly trained myself just to get up and leave...like as soon as I wake up, like, I have to get out of bed or I won't get out of bed (referring to smartphone activity upon waking in the morning). (Amber, 23)

Although urban *rangatahi* can recognise the nature of addiction within their activity, the convenience of using the smartphone device to multi-task, entertain and access information appears to dominate their routine. Some participants are not comfortable with the effects of their digital behaviours and upon this reflection, make a conscious effort to change some of their behaviours.

Cognitive skills

Constant smartphone activity informs ways of thinking and doing and has changed methods of reading, watching and talking, it therefore has influenced the cognitive skills of urban *rangatahi*. The activities that urban *rangatahi* experience on a smartphone involve scrolling, surfing and skimming through information. Relying on certain functions or applications to calculate, track, categorise, capture, search, record and retain information replaces some of their cognitive skills. One participant made reference to the 'cash navigator' banking application:

...like it tells you how much you spend and where you spend it and it categorises it, yea so you can track (your spending). (Eden, 23)

Another participant noticed how smartphone activity has influenced her reading and comprehension skills:

...in the last couple of years I've realised that my reading habits have become so lazy I just skim everything but now when I go to read a book, um, I can't fully engage with the book because it's, it's like something that I have to sit down and

my patience is then sorta worn thin because of the whole habitual thing of just sliding through everything... (Anonymous, 30)

The smartphone allows constant access to the Internet and search engines such as Google providing unlimited access to information. This level of connectedness links to the way in which urban *rangatahi* think and are using their brain. A reoccurring habit to 'Google it' stands out in one participants behaviour:

Literally (laughs), if I don't have an answer already in my brain, I'm guna google it. (Deane, 27)

Urban *rangatahi* take advantage of smartphone functions and applications to record and store information for them. They are using smartphone applications such as calendars allowing them to take notes, make audio recordings and use the camera to photograph and video record information or experiences. This stood out in the context of Kapa Haka where participants have the capacity to audio and video record *waiata* as part of their learning process. This technological ability is affecting the way urban *rangatahi* learn and retain information:

...like put it in your actual brain instead of your phone. (Jalieca, 21)

Urban *rangatahi* have become reliant on smartphone technology, which is now informing the way that they retain information, solve problems or answer questions. These regularly used applications now dominate a lot of the independent thinking and work that urban *rangatahi* would otherwise use their core brain skills to read, learn, think and remember.

ACTIVITY ON SNSs

The focus group discussions revolved around activity on SNSs as participants described their digital behaviours and reflected on digital experiences. Activity on SNSs stood out as the central digital and online activity that urban *rangatahi* engage with. This subsection develops a picture of urban *rangatahi* views and intentions around activity on SNSs and considers how digital behaviours inform their worldview.

Purposeful activity on SNSs

All groups identified Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat as the social media applications that they routinely engage with. The purpose of activity and level of engagement between the SNSs and applications varied. Facebook was considered to have "Google capacity", a platform for entertainment, communication and education. For some participants a shift has occurred in their activity as they limit posting or sharing personal material on Facebook. Instead, they engage in the platform to gain insight into the activity of friends and updates on pages they interact and associate with.

Oh yea, I use Facebook quite a bit but I don't really post, just to see what people are doing. (Owen, 20)

I dunno, like I don't really post anything, I just look at other people's stuff but when I think about it, it's real dumb, what for (laughing). (Jalieca, 21)

The level of interest and engagement in social media applications is informed by updates and new functions. Each social media application offers a different experience for urban *rangatahi* and informs the purpose of different levels of activity. For example, some participants consider Facebook as a primary method of communication and Instagram as a platform to express themselves personally while Snapchat is considered as a fun and explorative application.

...Instagram will be like, you know, you'll follow people who inspire you and um, Facebook will be the, you know, the communicating, you know communicating with whānau, and Snapchat is like, I dunno a platform to let you know, you with your mates and kind of a funzy one, yea more informal... (Thomas, 26)

I'm involved in, with a lot of groups so um, just communicating with all different people that I work with (on Facebook) and um, Instagram sort of like is somewhere I can just muck around, I post probably more on that than Facebook...yea I'd say Snapchat just to muck around as well, just nothing really serious... (Kauri 19)

Urban *rangatahi* choose to engage in various SNSs for specific experiences and to express themselves in multiple ways. Their behaviours are evolving as new SNSs are introduced and existing SNSs develop new functions and updates.

Accessing information on SNSs

Analysis of urban *rangatahi* activity on SNSs indicates that SNSs are changing the way *rangatahi* receive and access information. For many participants the Facebook newsfeed replaces the experience of watching the news on television, updating urban *rangatahi* on current affairs and events on a national and global scale.

I feel like more socially aware of like things that are happening like throughout the world because I've seen stuff like reported, like that wouldn't be reported on the news here, like what different perspectives, like I tend to follow a lot of like Black Lives Matter um, activists... (Jalieca, 21)

Facebook is changing how information is disseminated and presented across and to the world. Your online community consisting of Facebook friends and associations determine the information highlighted on your Facebook newsfeed.

I guess if you were friends with you know, all these Chinese people like you wouldn't see a lot of like te ao Māori things. (Jalieca, 21)

For example, based on personal interests, some participants follow political or social justice groups where they access a range of information relevant to these topics.

I thought it helped heaps, um, when we were going through the TPPA thing...like well, I didn't really know what was going on until like, someone explained it to me on social media and then like, even organising all the rallies that we had, the one, the walk down Queen street that was all social media, so that was all good. It was quite good having it on there, to get involved. (Owen, 20)

Access to new information plays a role in educating urban *rangatahi* and can lead to the formation of new opinions on certain topics. Participants in the age group 22 – 25 years are critical of this new method of information acquisition and consider the validity of information, a skill credited to their university education. One participant referred to the Facebook page called 'Upworthy' and described the content of the page (videos and articles) as exploring social justice movements as follows:

But yea, stuff like that will inform my opinions on things, but I am also, because like we've been to university you know...they taught us to be critical of what it is you are watching...what it is you are reading, yea. (Eden, 23)

Facebook is used by urban *rangatahi* as a tool to search and access information on *whakapapa* by making connections with *iwi* groups.

...so for students who don't know where they're from and they're like 'I only know that we're from this area and this is my Nana's name' and they're like 'where do I go to start?' I'm like 'well go to your Facebook groups for your hapū or your iwi', like that's how a lot of people are getting connected again. (Ashleigh, 25)

Urban *rangatahi* are conscious that online networks inform the information they access on SNSs. Some participants consider the validity of information and what role this plays in their education and how it informs the development of opinions. There were particular references in the age groups 18 – 21 years, 22 – 25 years and 26 – 30 years where participants follow pages of political nature with interest in social justice. This highlights that urban *rangatahi* are engaging in SNSs to become educated around national and international politics.

SNSs as a platform for debate

As discussed in the previous subsection, SNSs are a platform for urban *rangatahi* to access information reflected by the connections and associations they make online. As public forums, SNSs also exist as a platform for debate where individuals have the opportunity to share personal views, perspectives and opinions at their discretion. While engaging in activity on SNSs, urban *rangatahi* are exposed to the views of others in the form of comments or posts and at times online debates, arguments or attacks but also have the opportunity to contribute their opinions to the debates.

Urban *rangatahi* are mindful of “keyboard warriors” as those who confidently express opinions behind the comfort of a computer screen or device. Facebook fights or debates are observed as part of urban *rangatahi* activity and at times highlight the ignorance or issues present within society. Participants avoid engaging in debates and resist sharing views on controversial topics to avoid judgement or an online attack. One participant makes reference to comments on a news article questioning whether it is appropriate to have *tā moko* visible in the workplace:

And I think it really highlights people’s ignorance and it, it does affect you because your like, yea I think that plays a big part like in our world as Māori, like you can’t educate someone that’s not really willing to change perspectives on things...like it does bring you down I think a bit mentally and emotionally as well, so I dunno, cause your not gonna have a fight on Facebook... (Jalieca, 21)

Urban *rangatahi* do not consider SNSs as a productive platform for debate and recognise the online culture of “fuelling” debate and nasty comments. Participants in the age group 26 – 30 years discuss this in the following comments:

...you see it everyday ay, the racism and it just opens up a can of worms, it allows access to negativity for everybody. (Anonymous, 30)

...like all the racism stuff, I’ll see it and I’ll probably read it but then I’m like, you know there’s always this urge in me to wana comment... (Deane, 27)

Yes! (Anonymous, 30)

But then you’re kinda like, but why... (Deane, 27)

It’s not guna help. (Anonymous, 30)

What will it do? It just fuels it, you just get in, like I never actually have commented but I always think, you know well I always start to and then I’m like, ‘like why?’, cause there’s already a hundred to two hundred comments of people

personally attacking each other um, based on this you know political issue... (Deane, 26)

Yea it becomes not about the actual issue that's at hand it becomes personal attacks. (Thomas, 26)

Face to face relationships may be impacted in the situation where Facebook friends reveal their "true colours", exposing conflicting opinions or changing the way they speak to people online. The terms of the relationship become blurred when online behaviour does not reflect what urban *rangatahi* know of the person through face-to-face relationships.

So maybe that is was people really think, like it's, it's pretty messed up, because like, obviously you know like somebody wouldn't say the things that they say on Facebook (in person). (Eden, 23)

Yea like, someone's really quiet in normal and like you know everyday and you see them on social media and they're like (laughs) 'out there' ay in their comments, your like 'oh there not, your not usually like that' (laughs). (Thomas, 26)

One participant gave an example of when she shared a link to an article that was controversial within her physical and online communities and references the confusion around comments that did not reflect her face-to-face relationship with the person who commented:

...and I know like a lot of people wouldn't have shared it because they wouldn't want to say like... (Participant)

To attack you, to attack them? (Researcher)

Yea like people in your circle being like 'oh you shouldn't have shared that', like, 'you don't know anything', like yea so...it was awkward like... (Participant)

That's quite political too (Researcher)

Yea, but it's like, yea heaps of people were like 'nah you don't know anything' but it's people that you hang out with, like you've gone partying with them... (Participant)

Urban *rangatahi* are active in observing debates on SNSs particularly content that is political in nature, but are not so active in contributing to these debates. They are conscious of the 'culture' on Facebook where freedom of speech is abused and utilised in online judgements and attacks and don't believe that engaging in this way is

beneficial or productive. While they are becoming informed of the opinion of others, they are conscious of how online behaviour translates and reflects on a person in face-to-face engagements.

SNSs as constructions of self

A number of factors inform what content urban *rangatahi* share online and the activity they engage in on SNSs. Urban *rangatahi* are extremely conscious of who is viewing their online profile and following their activity on SNSs and consider their reputation, *mana*, privacy and any related consequences before posting or sharing material online.

So how do you as an individual protect your own mana as a person by what you post online and, and what you're telling people to perceive of yourself...
(Thomas, 26)

Participants in all age brackets indicated that they actively seek to make their virtual world a positive one. Their profiles and activity on SNSs reflect personal values and they are conscious of activity and shared content being positive.

What I post I try to keep it like, not negative because I have like our teina at school, they're looking up to us so I try to be a role model for them. (Shaadiya, 15)

I think about the people that I'm friends with and the people that I look up to that are my friends and I'm like, 'do I want them to see this and if I share this will they think of me differently', so yea." (Kauri, 19)

Participants have the desire to digitally capture or document their lives and experiences sharing this with their online community. They consider their Facebook timeline and Instagram feed as their virtual and online archives and use SNSs as storage spaces to record their lives and experiences.

I wana record everything, I wana capture everything so I post everything as soon as it happens so I know when my phone runs out of memory, I've got it there.
(Anonymous, 27)

While some participants share little personal content on SNSs, others feel the need to share their experiences as a true reflection of their life experiences. Some participants have the urge to be constantly connected to their social media profiles and constantly update them with posts, photos or videos that document their activities and experiences in real life and at times, in real time (using the Facebook live function or Snapchat application). This indicates that the physical experiences of urban *rangatahi* are translating into and are connected to digital experiences.

...when I was up North and we didn't have reception it was more about social media like 'oh my god, like I'm so bored, like just sitting here doing nothing', like yea, or 'how am I going to upload my Snaps', like that was a big concern like 'people won't know that I'm having a wonderful time up here! How am I suppose to gloat about these oysters that I'm eating'... (Eden, 23)

There is a level of consciousness among some participants of how the habit of being constantly connected to social media profiles effects their physical experiences as also referred to in the *Smartphone activity* section under *Multi-tasking* in reference to social engagements. Those participants who are aware are making efforts to change their behaviour; removing the device and therefore the habit of sharing moments they are experiencing in person on SNSs. One participant considers the relationship of physical and digital experiences in the following reflection:

...like just being down on holiday down the East Coast, I like, I choose not to reflect on time there through any social media and just like...every time I had the urge to go pick up the phone to go and Snapchat the beautiful view or like you know what we were up to, I was just like 'nah, just put it away' and just like, I'm just guna be in the moment and enjoy it and I'll you know, make a conscious effort to just remember what it feels like to be in this place at this time. (Thomas, 26)

Urban *rangatahi* are conscious of their "image" on SNSs and analyse how shared content represents them. They often spend time analysing photos and captions before posting material online to consider if it is "worthy".

...you have to really think about the caption and like...internalise it (laughs). I kind of like over analyse it too, and I'm like 'oh nah I don't like that picture now so then delete it'. (Ravin, 15)

...its things like changing your profile photo, like you've thought about that real hard... (Jalieca, 21)

The concept of *tikanga* informs the ways urban *rangatahi* are engaging on SNSs and what content they share online. Relating *tikanga* to "common-sense" and ways of "mindfulness", urban *rangatahi* believe that your individual understanding and experience of *tikanga* guides your decisions around what behaviour is appropriate or not on SNSs just as *tikanga* guides your behaviour in person. *Tikanga* inform considerations around who is viewing your social media activity and whether your activity and language on SNSs is appropriate.

I think you, everyone kind of forms their own tikanga of where you're mindful of who's seeing it, like you want to keep in mind that it might be a bit inappropriate. (Ravin, 15)

One participant considered the notion of 'digital *tikanga*':

I don't think we need digital tikanga, I think that just digital tikanga should reflect your actual tikanga you do on a marae...like what you do in your whānau, all of that kind of stuff. It should reflect what your doing online. (Owen, 20)

Urban *rangatahi* consider *tikanga* to be personal to the individual where their own understanding of *tikanga* is based on their perspectives and experiences. This individual *tikanga* determines what activity is appropriate behaviour on SNSs and relates to the reputation of the individual.

Participants in all age brackets referred to the *tikanga* of other cultures with specific reference to images of *tūpāpaku* (deceased person's body) appearing on their Facebook newsfeed's. They expressed a level of discomfort with this type of content on SNSs and related this back to their Māori worldview in which they understood this activity as being inappropriate within *tikanga Māori*.

There's so many different opinions out there, different cultures always clash, never guna agree on the same thing. Like um, so you know, you know cause I'm Samoan and Māori, my Samoan family always take photos of dead bodies and stuff then plaster them all over the Internet but my Māori side's just saying 'no that's wrong, so take it off' or something but it's like two cultures just clashing all the time and you don't know what side to go with, like, what's tikanga, what tikanga do you agree with. (Owen, 20)

Urban *rangatahi* are conscious that shared images of *tūpāpaku* are appearing regularly on their newsfeed's – reflecting other cultures and their *tikanga*. Without being disrespectful, they choose not to engage in this content online and "scroll past it". This highlights the global nature of Facebook where urban *rangatahi* are exposed to a number of different cultures online (and associated *tikanga*). While all of the cultures are engaging on the same platform, in some cases they may clash. As *tikanga* guides what is acceptable or not, and *tikanga* across cultures varies, urban *rangatahi* are engaged in a discourse considering how they might deal with this on SNSs.

Urban *rangatahi* actively consider how their virtual profile reflects their identity and life experiences. They construct their online profiles based on who is viewing them and consider their reputation and *mana* in their shared content and activity on SNSs. Physical and online experiences are interconnected and although participants do not always discern the differences between the two, digital and physical experiences are constantly negotiated and translated throughout activity on SNSs. This highlights that urban *rangatahi* engage in various SNSs as a means to express themselves by linking their virtual reality and identity to lived experiences. Urban *rangatahi* have indicated that *tikanga* play a role in guiding their activity on SNSs and how they represent

themselves. For urban *rangatahi*, *tikanga* is what determines what behaviours are appropriate.

SNSs as a tool to connect and communicate

Urban *rangatahi* engage in SNSs as a tool to connect and communicate with others. They understand the power of SNSs to track, connect and reconnect people on a global scale. All participants identified with an online community, which suggest that real life communities are forming and engaging on SNSs. Urban *rangatahi* use SNSs as a platform to organise and get involved in events that take place in person and to connect with family living overseas. There is a level of consciousness among participants that suggests urban *rangatahi* take the accessibility to communicate and connect with others through SNSs for granted.

... like you'll have family in Australia and back in the days before we had social media it was such a, it was such a pleasure to talk to them on the phone now we have the opportunity to talk to them as much as we want to and we don't, it's like we're spoilt for choice now so we, we take that communication for granted sometimes. (Anonymous, 27)

Some participants specifically questioned why Māori communities are not more connected implying that online relationships do not necessarily translate to physical relationships.

(SNSs) allow you to communicate a thousand times better then you ever could in the past, so you wonder how come our communities are still disconnected, when we have this tool that's suppose to connect us like that. (Anonymous, 27)

One participant referred to a Facebook group page that she was involved in at university where *tikanga* were developed to guide how members interacted on the group page. This process was complimented by a meeting to discuss the *kaupapa* in person attaching *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) to this otherwise online engagement.

Some participants referenced how community or network news is disseminated on SNSs and identified the thrill, power and competition attached to being the first person to announce or share news on SNSs. For example, one participant related this to the news of a *tangi* (funeral) or person passing away where individuals post personal dedications to the deceased on Facebook before the *whānau pani* (bereaved family) have had the opportunity to share a statement about the *tangi* on their Facebook pages. This was also evident in significant events or occasions such as Weddings and birth announcements.

It's kinda like they (referring to the person posting) get a rush from being the first one to spread the news or spread the rumour. That's the thing with weddings as well like brides and grooms, I notice are always asking that everyone respects them

by not posting anything so that they can share their memories first. (Anonymous, 27)

A specific etiquette is developing in reflection of who, what and when it is appropriate to share news, photos or videos of these special occasions in an attempt to control who shares it and who see's it first. This begs the question as to who has ownership over moments in a digital world and connects back to the idea of physical experiences translating into digital experiences.

Relationships and SNSs

Online relationships through SNSs inform face-to-face or '*kanohi ki te kanohi*' relationships. Urban *rangatahi* engage in more relationships online then in person and some participants are aware of the social impacts. The younger age group 15 – 17 years find it more difficult to engage face-to-face and feel more comfortable communicating online. Although participants in the older age brackets 22 – 25 years and 26 – 30 years believe that *kanohi ki te kanohi* engagement is irreplaceable, they are conscious of the habitual effect of their online engagement limiting their face-to-face engagement. Relationships on SNSs do not always translate to relationships in person suggesting that there are different levels of friendship or association. For example, although urban *rangatahi* may be Facebook friends with someone, this relationship may not be on a personal level and therefore you would not approach that person in public.

I feel like I'm put on the spot. Like if I see them in real life, like at Polyfest, see an old friend and your just like twiddling your thumbs cause you don't really know what to talk about. (Ravin, 15)

However, some participants in the older age group 26 – 30 years feel more confident to approach people face-to-face as they feel more informed about that person by following and observing their social media content. Social media content is used as a "conversation starter" playing a role in face-to-face conversations. A common practice for urban *rangatahi* is to undergo a process of "de-friending" making "friend cuts" to determine who their "real friends" are. Some participants were more likely to be Facebook friends with those who they have a face-to-face connection with.

I am pretty conscious of who I'm friends with and I like, unless I engage with them on a normal face-to-face level then I don't really see much point in being Facebook friends with them. (Shaadiya, 15)

When considering their relationships on SNSs, participants in the age group 26 – 30 years felt that physical engagement with a person *kanohi ki te kanohi* is attached to *wairua* (spirit, soul). They believe that for digital relationships you are connecting on a level that is "not real" – a virtual connection where you have the ability to "tap out" or "scroll away" making you somewhat removed. This indicates that urban *rangatahi* are

conscious of different levels of experience and consider a spiritual element as fundamental and unique to their physical experiences and specifically social engagements. A discussion amongst the age group 18 – 21 years also referenced a physical level required to experience *manaakitanga* (kindness, generosity).

Do you think that we can actually experience *manaakitanga* online? (Deane, 27)

Nah... (Jalieca, 21)

Probably not. (Owen, 20)

...cause it's always guna have to end at like physical, like physically doing something, so I guess...I duno. (Jalieca, 21)

Urban *rangatahi* are aware of the differences between their online and real life relationships. *Kanohi ki te kanohi* engagement highlights physical and spiritual elements that for urban *rangatahi* do not translate to their relationships and social engagements on SNSs. Online relationships do not always transfer to physical relationships and behaviours are centred around activity on SNSs affecting whether urban *rangatahi* pursue face-to-face engagement and informing their levels of comfort around these relationships.

Wellbeing and SNSs

Urban *rangatahi* are conscious that their activity on SNSs can influence their wellbeing. Social media platforms can breed a culture of insecurity, jealousy, judging, competition and the desire to be cool. Urban *rangatahi* are aware of the culture of bullying on SNSs and how this can affect wellbeing. No participants indicated that they were involved in or experienced online bullying but have witnessed it.

I think that some of the stuff that you, ah, someone would see on social media could like make them feel insecure cause like there's beauty trends that might go around that like, they can't do. (Shaadiya, 15)

Urban *rangatahi* are interested in observing how others react or engage with their online content. There is a level of satisfaction and assurance attached to receiving likes on Facebook.

I get a lot of positive comments about her (referring to videos posted of her daughter) and um, you know people saying 'oh please keep going' like 'share more', because I feel like that this way of me putting up funny videos of her is putting you know, a bit of light in someone's day. (Kata, 27)

Social media activity evokes motivation and inspiration and participants often undergo a process of reflection with feelings of nostalgia as they look over material posted in the past. Urban *rangatahi* engagement on SNSs is connected to wellbeing and is also discussed throughout the *Smartphone activity* section.

Privacy on SNSs

Urban *rangatahi* believe that privacy does not exist on SNSs and suggest avoiding engagement completely in order to secure your privacy. Although security settings and filters are used on Facebook to control who is viewing your activity on SNSs, these are not considered to protect your privacy. Older participants were conscious of Facebook activity affecting future employment opportunities. Some participants give serious consideration to what they share of their life on SNSs and attempt to have some level of control over privacy through their activity.

...I use social media for different things like on Facebook I hardly ever really post anything on Facebook anymore like I'm still on it everyday but just looking at everyone else's stuff and going on links or watching videos, ah YouTube videos or um, but I rarely share anything of my own on there um, but then Instagram's a bit different, like, I'll share a bit more but it's quite controlled like I really consider what I put on there, and then Snapchat, another level of control.
(Deane, 27)

When posting personal content online urban *rangatahi* are conscious of allowing others insight into their lives and understand that they may receive negative comments:

I read through all the comments and it was, it was amazing like everyone's comments were so positive and then there was this one that wasn't and that upset me, so it made me, it just made me think like this is the risk you take if you wana show yourself to everyone, you have to be open to receiving comments that you don't like to read. (Anonymous, 27)

As mentioned previously in *Relationships and SNSs*, urban *rangatahi* 'filter through' Facebook friends in order to manage their privacy on SNSs and acknowledge the trust that they place on friends to respect their online content and its privacy.

I've already filtered through my friends so I guess that's the first part of my privacy thing was filtering through who's, who plays a big, who plays a part in my life whether small or big, keep them on Facebook, the rest just delete them.
(Kata, 27)

Although they agree to them when signing up to SNSs, urban *rangatahi* do not understand the privacy policies or terms and conditions of the SNSs and what impact this has on their privacy.

Yea, all full of jargon (the terms and conditions), yea it's like nemind just skip that and you don't really know what you're getting yourself into. (Thomas, 26)

Participants in the age groups 22 – 25 years and 26 – 30 years were conscious of their activity on SNSs being recorded as data but questioned where in the world their activity was recorded, by whom and for what purpose. This area of ambiguity concerned them. They were conscious of SNSs using this data to inform what they see on their social media feeds such as advertising and recommended friends or pages. Participants in this age group also discussed the lack of education around privacy on SNSs for the digital generation, specifically the younger age groups and suggested that it become part of their education at school.

Although urban *rangatahi* admittedly do not understand the privacy policies and terms of conditions of SNSs, they all still choose to interact on the platforms regardless. Some participant's were more concerned about privacy than others but the general understanding was that in making the decision to engage in SNSs, you submit your right and somewhat control over your privacy. Some participants make more of a conscious effort to sustain some control over their privacy through their activity and interaction on SNSs.

EXPERIENCES OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY AND THE INTERNET

Participants across all age groups indicated that physical experiences do not translate directly to digital experiences and have identified what differentiates their physical experiences. These experiences are not specific to activity on the smartphone device or SNSs but more generally refer to their ideas around the possibilities and opportunities that exist within digital technology and the Internet.

Physical experiences translating to digital experiences

Watching Kapa Haka such as the Te Matatini competition online or on television was a theme that all groups had in common although participant perspectives around this experience varied. While some were attracted to the convenience factor, others believed that you were missing out on the “full experience” and that you “don't feel it as much”. This suggests that the behaviours of urban *rangatahi* and the ways in which they experience things are changing as a result of the level of convenience.

...even just Te Matatini for an example you know like how now you can just stream it online, it's live, you don't have to travel 300k's you know to wherever it's hosted to, to go and watch the latest Kapa Haka, so it's accessible to you on your phone you know in real time so I suppose that's a big experience you know physical experience that you're missing out on like actually going and being apart

of the event and you know showing your physical support to that team, you'd be like 'oh nah I can just stream it now'. (Thomas, 26)

Although most participants agreed in saying that the experience of watching Kapa Haka in person offered more layers of experience, for one participant, the experience of certain feelings translated to the digital experience of watching Kapa Haka online as well:

Like when I watch Kapa Haka I always get like, like mean butterflies inside like mean as feeling...like, it's like uplifting sometimes when you listen to a song, but yea I'd, I always feel good when I listen to Kapa Haka. (Owen, 20)

Oh even online, you still get that feeling? (Deane, 27)

Yea online. Yea yea. Like sometimes I'll just like, like all the time I'll just go back and watch old videos of us. (Owen, 20)

Participants in the age group 22 – 25 years discussed the abilities of 360-degree video and images and consider such digital experiences as depriving of your senses. In reference to the “whole feeling”, participants believe senses of touch and smell are removed from digital experiences. They also discussed the possibilities of 360-video as ‘virtual *marae*’ and considered the role of *tikanga* in the transition of physical to digital. Referencing the *wairua* of physical objects/structures, one participant questioned how *tikanga* informs the process, decisions and final experiences of this translation and transition of a living *marae* to a virtual *marae*. Alluding to the *tikanga* involved during the physical *powhiri* process, the participant refers to the concept of being invited onto a *marae* for a specific *kaupapa* (purpose) and also questions whether *tikanga* is compromised through digital experiences of virtual *marae*.

One participant discussed the concept of “*he wā, te wā*” as they understood it from the teachings of Pa Henare Tate, alluding to the essence of time and presence, and the concept of the physicality or experience of time. The participant believes the physical to be attached to *wairua* in order to experience the essence of time through the living of moments:

...live the moment to be present within the presence. (Anonymous, 30)

Following from this discussion, the age group 26 – 30 years reflected on the urge to return to your *papa kāinga* (communal Māori land) relating this to a spiritual connection and calling. Participants considered the *wairua* aspect of physical experiences and questioned whether this was the component that makes certain experiences specifically ‘Māori’ – the physical attached to the spiritual. The participants in the age group 22 – 25 years also supported this notion during their discussion on virtual *marae* and state that digital experiences cannot replace physical experiences as described above.

...because feeling something when you're in the space is completely different to looking at it. (Eden, 23)

Urban *rangatahi* attach *wairua* to physical experiences and suggest that *wairua* does not translate to their digital experiences. They indicate that the *wairua* experienced as part of lived physical experiences is what differentiates the physical from the digital. Conscious of this difference, urban *rangatahi* also consider the role of *tikanga* in digital and technological possibilities that are facing *te ao Māori* (the Māori world). Their understanding and experiences of *tikanga* are what informs their perspectives around the digital possibilities to translate physical experiences of *kaupapa* or *taonga Māori* to digital experiences.

Digital experiences limiting physical experiences

Urban *rangatahi* consider how digital experiences can limit physical experiences and again make reference to Māori concepts such as *kanohi ki te kanohi* as what defines physical experiences from digital experiences. Information and content pertaining to Māori knowledge has become more accessible online. For one participant in the age group 26 – 30 years, there was a desire and expectation for more Māori knowledge to be available online, which encouraged discussion around the advantages and disadvantages of digitising what could be considered as *tapu* (sacred) information. With the realisation that some knowledge ought to be sought *kanohi ki te kanohi* direct from *kaumatua* (respected elders), *iwi* or community, some participants acknowledged the potential in digital technology to preserve Māori knowledge that might otherwise be lost.

...I see it as a opportunity to revitalise or you know keep going those protocols (tikanga), um you know a lot of urban Māori now these days that are, are detached from their marae and they don't go back to their marae like there's less and less people going, but I guess that's a, that's a pro where actually we can make sure that these urban rangatahi are still getting that exposure, access, um te mea te mea through social media... (Anonymous, 30)

Although digital technology offers new possibilities and opportunities for digital experiences, urban *rangatahi* do not believe that they have to engage or want to engage in all digital activities. One participant referred to the possibilities of virtual reality and although this technology is accessible to her, she chooses not to engage in the digital experience:

But for me, like I just think why would I put that on my head (virtual reality headset), like and look at something when I could go and visit that place or I could go and be in that place like...I just don't get it like, and I think it's dangerous like, not dangerous...like I understand like, for gaming and all that like,

it could be the extra step...but I'm not a serious gamer so I wouldn't understand.
(Eden, 23)

Similarly, some participants hold the opinion that just because the Internet demands it, does not mean that all Māori knowledge should be accessible online and still advocate for the pursuit of knowledge through physical experiences.

The role of tikanga in digital experiences

Urban *rangatahi* are conscious of the evolution of *tikanga* reflecting Māori living in *te ao hurihuri* (the ever-changing world). They consider *tikanga* to be naturally developing through online activity and engagement depending on how one perceives *tikanga*. The age group 22 – 25 years made differentiations between *tikanga* and *kawa* and suggested the potential to evolve 'digital *kawa*' for and by digital Māori. Where *tikanga* embodies common sense, some participants interpreted this as "good intentions" when engaging in online activity or in directing digital experiences.

Digital experiences such as watching *tangihanga* online are changing the way in which urban *rangatahi* culturally express themselves and in this case specifically to the *mate* (deceased person). One participant's perspective indicates that the concept of *tangi* streamed online goes against *tikanga*. Another perspective argued that it is the only way that some *whānau* are able to be present to experience the *tangi*. There were discussions around how urban *rangatahi* go about utilising the digital tools that are accessible to Māori today, and questions around why they should take advantage of those if it benefits *whānau*. It is clear that *tikanga* is at a point where it is being negotiated within technology and the digital world providing opportunities to revitalise knowledge while *kawa* and *tikanga* direct digital exchanges.

There is a relationship to *tikanga* informing what Māori knowledge should be accessible online. A participant in the age group 22 – 25 years referenced "*tikanga* battles" and posed questions involving *tikanga* in relation to what Māori information is digitised online:

Cause it's kinda like where does, where does tikanga stop, like how does it, and how, who, and who determines why, why do they get to determine it and like for who, cause you know they have this thing where all Māori are one voice but we're not one Māori, we're this Māori and that Māori, this iwi and that iwi, so and I don't even think we'll get to a one Māori point because we're not like that.
(Ashleigh, 25)

This highlights *tikanga* pertaining to knowledge dissemination and accessibility online where *tikanga* guide the process of digitising information. This discussion considers how *tikanga* might move into the digital world as *tikanga* are developed to guide the use of new digital tools.

Urban *rangatahi* actively consider and discuss concepts such as *tikanga*, *kawa* and *wairua* as part of their digital and physical realities. Although at times their perspectives on certain *kaupapa* or situations vary, they are valid and highlight the depth of experiences of urban *rangatahi*. The reoccurring theme is the notion that physical experiences are attached to *wairua* and for urban *rangatahi* this is what defines their physical experiences from a Māori worldview. This is not considered to translate to digital experiences. Urban *rangatahi* are conscious of the evolution of digital technology and consider what role *tikanga* play in guiding their thoughts, behaviours and actions around their digital activity and experiences.

FINAL CONCLUSION

The findings report is structured to present a holistic view of urban *rangatahi* digital interaction in reflection of their digital culture. This approach highlights the layers that determine the construction of worldview. Urban *rangatahi* express their worldviews through direct quotes, identifying their intentions, perspectives, experiences and behaviours to describe the culture of their reality. The report examines how digital language and behaviours are informed by digital and Māori cultures by investigating urban *rangatahi* activity on the smartphone device and SNSs.

The findings reveal the conscious and subconscious behaviours of urban *rangatahi* and describe their digital reality by uncovering what is taken for granted as routine activities. Behaviours and experiences are deconstructed to understand urban *rangatahi* perspective and worldview. Urban *rangatahi* have the ability to identify digital behaviours and consciously reflect on them, considering what informs those behaviours. The findings reveal that urban *rangatahi* give serious consideration to a range of factors that inform their digital behaviours. Specifically while engaging on SNSs, urban *rangatahi* consider their virtual selves as interconnected to their physical selves. This relationship is important to them as any manifestation of self reflects on personal reputation and *mana*. This particular finding was evident in the research of O'Carroll (2013) where she identified the level of consciousness that *rangatahi* have in designing their online presentations by developing specific "protocols" (p.53) around their activity on SNSs in order to manage their reputation. Their behaviours linked with consciousness indicate that the identities of urban *rangatahi* are informed by their digital culture.

As part of their digital reality, urban *rangatahi* engage in digital and online activity for entertainment, pleasure and convenience. The findings establish that this level of engagement is not always superficial based on the foundations of their worldview. An obvious tension between conscious and subconscious behaviours presented within the findings. Subconscious behaviours inform habits of urban *rangatahi* while they remain conscious and critical of how certain behaviours (as a result of the habit) impact on wellbeing and quality of experiences.

Hoeta (2015) raised questions of the space between the online and offline experiences of *rangatahi* with specific reference to the authenticity of the experience of *manaakitanga* in digital and physical contexts. An aim of the research was to understand urban *rangatahi* perspective on the relationship between physical and digital experiences. Two major findings are highlighted in the report in response to this relationship in reflection of urban *rangatahi* worldviews. The first identifies that the virtual and physical realities of urban *rangatahi* are interconnected. Lived physical experiences are informed and impacted by digital behaviours. The second major finding reveals that urban *rangatahi* do not consider digital experiences to be a replacement or direct translation of physical experiences. Urban *rangatahi* identify that *wairua* (spiritual element) and *kanohi ki te kanohi* (physical element) is what defines physical experiences. The experiences outlined in the report offer insight into the perspectives of urban *rangatahi* as they are lived through their digital and physical realities and are a reflection of their unique worldview.

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GLOSSARY

<i>ako</i>	to learn, teach, reciprocal learning
Aotearoa	New Zealand
<i>awhi</i>	to embrace, support
<i>hapū</i>	sub-tribe
<i>hui</i>	to meet, gather, assemble, meeting
<i>hūmārie</i>	to be humble, good natured
<i>iwi</i>	tribe, nation
<i>kaitahi</i>	to share food or eat together
<i>kanohi ki te kanohi</i>	face to face
Kapa Haka	Māori cultural group
<i>kaupapa</i>	topic, matter for discussion, purpose, subject,
<i>kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori approach, Māori topic, Māori customary practice, Māori principles, Māori ideology
<i>kawa</i>	marae protocol
<i>manaaki</i>	to support, take care of, hospitality
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity, support
<i>marae</i>	tribal meeting house
<i>mātauranaga Māori</i>	Māori knowledge
<i>mate</i>	deceased person, death
<i>mihimihi</i>	formal greeting
<i>Ngā uri o matihiko</i>	The digital descendants
<i>papa kāinga</i>	original home, village, communal Māori land
<i>pōwhiri</i>	welcome ceremony on a marae
<i>rangahau</i>	research
<i>rangatahi</i>	younger generation, youth
<i>reo</i>	language
<i>rōpū</i>	group, party of people
Tāmaki Makaurau	Auckland
<i>tangihanga</i>	funeral
<i>taonga</i>	treasure, anything prized
<i>tapu</i>	sacred
<i>tautoko</i>	to support, advocate
<i>te ao Māori</i>	the Māori world

<i>te ao marama</i>	the world of life and lights, physical world
<i>te ao hurihuri</i>	the ever-changing world, modern world
<i>teina</i>	of a junior line, younger person in a relationship
<i>te mea te mea</i>	and so on
<i>te reo Māori</i>	the Māori language
<i>te reo Pākehā</i>	the English language
<i>tikanga</i>	correct procedure, custom, practice, protocol
<i>tiro ā-Māori ki tōna ake ao</i>	Māori world view
<i>tūpāpaku</i>	deceased person
<i>wā</i>	time
<i>wairua</i>	spirit, soul
<i>wairuatanga</i>	spirituality
<i>whānau</i>	family, community
<i>whānaungatanga</i>	relationship, socialise, sense of family connection
<i>whānau pani</i>	bereaved family
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy, lineage, decent
<i>whakawhānaungatanga</i>	process of establishing relationships

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

NGĀ URI O MATIHIKO

Te kairangahau – The researcher

Ko Whetumatarau te maunga
Ko Horouta te waka
Ko Awatere te awa
Ko Hinerupe te marae
Ko Te Whānau-a-Hinerupe te hapū
Ko Ngati Porou te iwi
Ko Deane-Rose Ngatai-Tua tōku ingoa

My name is Deane-Rose Ngatai-Tua and I am a Masters graduate who was selected as a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (NPM) Summer Intern for the 2016-2017 summer period. I am assigned to a 10 week research project called *Ngā uri o Matihiko* supervised by Dr Wayne Ngata (Te Papa).

Te kaupapa rangahau – The research

The purpose of the project is to capture the worldviews of Māori digital natives and understand their ways of thinking and doing as '*ngā uri o matihiko*' – the Māori digital generation. Through exploration of their stories, the aim is to reveal the digital realities and habits of this generation and uncover what may be taken for granted as 'normal' in reflection of current generation worldviews. A key objective of the project is to understand the digital language of Māori digital natives through realization of their digital routine and how this informs their thoughts and actions. This also relates to the notion of digital reality and how identity may be informed by a digital culture.

Tō koha – Participant contribution

I am excited to invite you to contribute to this research and to reflect on your experiences as a Māori digital native living in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland). I will be conducting four focus groups with three participants in each group. The focus groups have been dividing into four age groups: 15 – 17 years, 18 – 21 years, 22 – 25 years and 26 – 30 years.

The focus group discussions will be video and audio recorded for the purpose of transcribing and analyzing of data by the researcher. The discussions will take place at a venue convenient to the participants with kai provided and will last approximately 60-120 minutes. By agreeing to participate in this project and to contribute to the kaupapa outlined above, you will be asked to read and sign a consent form.

Project contact details

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact the researcher or supervisors on the details listed below.

Researcher	Deane-Rose Ngatai-Tua dmngatai@hotmail.com 021 149 7051
Supervisor	Matariki Williams matariki.williams@tepapa.govt.nz
Supervisor	Dr Wayne Ngata wayne.ngata@tepapa.govt.nz

I hope that you will consider contributing to this kaupapa and look forward to working with you should you choose to be involved in the project.

Ngā mihi maioha,
Deane-Rose Ngatai-Tua

Appendix 2. Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

NGĀ URI O MATIHIKO

Researcher details

Deane-Rose Ngatai-Tua

dmngatai@hotmail.com

021 149 7051

Participant details

Participant Name: _____ Participant Iwi: _____

Participant Email: _____ Participant Hapū: _____

Participant Phone: _____ Participant Age: _____

Tō whakaaetanga – Participants consent

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the details of the research have been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

Please answer Y (Yes) or N (No) to the following statements:

- ☐ I agree to the interview being video and audio recorded
- ☐ I would like an electronic copy of the focus group transcript sent to me via email
- ☐ I would like an electronic copy of the final report sent to me via email
- ☐ I wish to remain anonymous in this study
- ☐ I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the information sheet

Please complete this section:

Your full name: _____

Your signature: _____

Date: _____

Parental consent for participants under the age of 16 years:

Parent Name: _____ Parent/Guardian Email:

Parent Phone: _____

I agree to the consent and terms above on behalf of my child who is under the age of 16 years (the participant) and formally provide my child with permission to be involved in this project.

Parent Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 3. List of focus group interview questions

OPENING QUESTION:

- What digital devices do you use?

INTRODUCTORY QUESTION:

- How frequently do you use them and what for?

TRANSITION QUESTIONS:

Digital “norm”

- Can you describe your digital habits?
- What do you notice about your digital habits that inform the way you think?

KEY QUESTIONS:

Physical vs. digital

- What are some examples of physical experiences translating into digital experiences?
- How do you feel about this?
- How do your digital experiences relate to your wellbeing?

Privacy vs. public

- What factors inform the content you share digitally?
- What are some of your thoughts about privacy in the digital age?

Māori specific questions

- In what ways do you engage with Māori culture and language online?
- In what ways do *tikanga* guide your digital interactions and activity?
- What experiences of *wairua* have you had in digital contexts?

ENDING QUESTION:

- Thinking about your digital expectations, can you describe any gaps in your digital or online experiences?