



Universitat
Pompeu Fabra
Barcelona

The appropriation of Māori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand

An attempt to understand how cultural identities are self-constructed, planned and projected for specific communication purposes

Jasmin Séra



Manual

for reading the doctoral thesis:

The appropriation of Māori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand

An attempt to understand how cultural identities are self-constructed, planned and projected for specific communication purposes

Dear reader,
this manual serves as a guide through the numerous Māori words.
Please find below instructions for the print version and PDF version.
Best wishes and enjoy reading,
Jasmin

Print version:

You will find every Māori term in *italics* with a footnote¹ explaining its meaning the first time it appears in every chapter. In the footnote, there is an indication of the page in the glossary where a proper explanation of the specific term can be found.

In the chapter of the results (chapter 5), the explanation of every Māori term takes place twice: in the self–image section and throughout the planned and projected Māori identities sections.

PDF version:

In the PDF version you will – additionally to the elements of the print version – be able to *click* on all the Māori terms which leads you directly to their explanation in the glossary.

In the glossary you can find the page reference where the specific Māori term appears and you will be able to return to the appearance of the Māori term by just *clicking* on it.

e.g. *Ngāti Awa*¹ – *Footnote: [Māori tribe]*. See explanation of Ngāti Awa in the glossary p. 273.

The appropriation of Māori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand

An attempt to understand how cultural identities are self-constructed, planned and projected for specific communication purposes

Jasmin Séra

TESI DOCTORAL UPF / May 2020

Thesis Supervisors

Dr. José Fernández-Cavia

Department of Communication, Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Dr. Krushil Watene

College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Massey University

Fe de errata

Name: **Jasmin Séra**

Title of the thesis: **The appropriation of Maori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. An attempt to understand how cultural identities are self-constructed, planned and projected for specific communication purposes.**

**Department of Communication
Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona**

P. 7

It says: Although Aotearoa New Zealand became independent from the British colonial power in 1852, ...

It should say: Although Aotearoa New Zealand embarked on a journey towards independence from the British colonial power in 1852,...

P. 125

It says: The interpretation of the results from the SimilarWeb analysis can be found in the chapter *results* in the subsection of the Website Analysis.

It should say: The interpretation of the results from the SimilarWeb analysis can be found in chapter 4: Website Analysis.

P. 125

It says: The interpretation from the results can be found in the chapter *results* in the subsection of the Wordtracker Scout.

It should say: The interpretation from the results can be found in chapter 4: Website Analysis.

Dedication

I want to dedicate this thesis to all individuals affiliating to the Māori tribe Ngāti Awa which is situated at the Eastern Bay of Plenty in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This thesis is an attempt to tell a story by the community and to give its members the acknowledgement and honour they deserve. I am very grateful for all the support I have received from affiliates of Ngāti Awa and by dedicating this thesis to its members I attempt to demonstrate the respect and gratefulness I have for them.

Acknowledgement

This thesis is the work of *many*.

First of all, I want to thank my professor and the supervisor of my thesis, Dr. José Fernández-Cavia from the Department of Communication at Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona. He has accompanied my path from the very beginning when I was doing my Master's thesis and started to think about doing a PhD project. José always supported me with my ideas and gave me the space to grow and develop throughout my thesis. I am deeply thankful for all the support I received from his side throughout the last years.

I also want to thank my co-supervisor, Dr. Krushil Watene from the College of Humanities and Social Sciences at Massey University in Auckland, who I met by pure coincidence in Vienna in January 2018. Although she joined the project almost at the end of my PhD journey, she helped me to identify significant threads throughout my data. Krushil supported me in approaching my data from a Tangata Whenua perspective and I consider myself very lucky to have met her.

I want to thank the entire Department of Communication at the Pompeu Fabra University and the Secretariat of the Department of Communication, in particular Gemma Gonzalez Herrera. Gemma was always available whenever I had questions regarding the PhD thesis. I want to thank my research group CAS (Communication, Advertisement and Society) and 'J-FRY' which started out as a study group organised by José, but turned out to be close friends. I want to thank Sara, Beatriz and Lorena for their support and steady belief in me and my project. I also want to thank Roberto and Julio for always encouraging me with my vision.

A special thank goes to Simon Mark, Senior Lecturer at Massey University in Wellington, who helped me a lot to find the right contacts for my expert interviews. He is an outstanding person from whom I have learned very much.

I want to honour Patu and Erena Hohepa who invited me to stay with them in Northland when I first arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand. My special gratitude goes to Tekani Wharewera for his outstanding engagement to help me with the informal interviews and having me as a guest for such a long time at home. I also want to thank Robyn and Walter Harawira who supported me so much during my time in Whakatāne and who always made me feel at home.

I further want to thank the entire Hokowhiti Marae in Whakatāne for welcoming me with their open arms to their home and made me feel like a family member. I want to express my deepest gratitude to all the participants of my interviews whose names will not be mentioned for confidentiality reasons. I very much appreciate their time and support throughout the research, many of them have become friends along the way. A special thanks also to Vai and Ihaka. I will always feel connected to Tangata Whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand.

My biggest appreciation and gratitude goes to my family. Thank you for all the hours of discussing, debating, questioning, but most of all supporting my PhD project. Without the endless love and support from my parents and my sister I would not be in this place. I

also want to mention my grandfather who has given me the motivation to do a PhD in the first place, he truly is a *one-in-a-million* person.

I want to thank my parents for encouraging me to become the person I am today who dared to start this project, although it seemed impossible at some points. Thank you, Mum, for the mental support, the food catering, the endless phone calls when being 20,000 kilometres away from home. Thank you, Dad, for all the discussion sessions, but also for walks I needed to ground myself again. It is for you both that I chose this path and was able to finish it. I also would like to thank my outstanding sister Carmen who is always watching over me. I cannot put in words how much the support from my family has strengthened me to keep walking this path. This research has changed me as well and has opened my eyes to see the blessing of having a well-working and loving family.

I want to thank all the other people in my environment, in particular my extended family and close friends who were part of my research journey. I especially want to mention the great support I have received from my friends Chiara and Yaos who hosted me so many times throughout my visits in Barcelona.

My thanks also go to Chris who has helped me so many times when having questions concerning Overleaf and Latex. It is only due to his help that I was able to finish this thesis using these programs.

This thesis has had such a tremendous effect on my life and I am very thankful that I was able to go on this journey including all its experiences. Studying identity for so many years I have realised the incredible treasure of having a family, which enables a person to have a grounding and roots in life. One person once told me, "You can go anywhere in the world, if you know where your home is."

Aroha Nui,

Jasmin

Abstract

This interdisciplinary research investigated the construction of cultural identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. On the example of New Zealand's indigenous population, the Māori, this study examined convergences and divergences of the self-image which describes the construction of cultural identity from Māori perspectives with the planned and projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels.

Ethnographic methods like participant observation and informal interviews with members of the Ngāti Awa tribe were conducted based on Kaupapa Māori theory which is a theoretical framework developed by Māori. This data was contrasted with expert interviews with representatives from governmental institutions, diplomatic representations, cultural tourism operators and cultural or art institutions.

Results of this research show that the construction of planned and projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels and the self-image of members of Ngāti Awa coincide to some extent. In Nation Branding, information about Māori is often simplified and Māori are presented as one single entity. On the contrary, the information about Māori offered by Public Diplomacy is more profound and approaches by Māori shaping their representation could frequently be observed. Increased efforts to shape the representation of Māori in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy by Māori could be detected.

This thesis demonstrates various examples, such as touristic and cultural experiences offered by the Māori community or the self-promotion of Māori tribes to foreign publics in diplomatic functions.

This 'bottom-up' construction of cultural identities enables Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy to create a unique differentiation to other nations directly constructed from the community. It provides a stronger identification for the members of a nation with Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy and produces a more authentic and credible image of the nation to foreign audiences.

Preface

Coming from a background of mixed cultural heritage I have always been wondering about identity and how identity is constructed.

Attending the classes of Dr. José Fernández-Cavia about Public Diplomacy during my Master studies in 2015 and seeing how cultural identity is used for commercial and promotional purposes caught my attention. I could not stop wondering what people think about their identity and how much that coincides with the image that is presented about them abroad.

Nevertheless, my connection to Aotearoa New Zealand started much earlier.

My first contact with Aotearoa New Zealand was in 2012 when I made an exploratory trip with my mother. We spent about eight days at Uluru (Ayers Rock) in Australia and then moved on to Aotearoa New Zealand. After having seen the situation and treatment of Aborigines in Australia I was surprised when we arrived in New Zealand. I saw Māori being very engaged in revitalising Māori culture, having their TV channel and radio, having street signs and names in Māori or being active in politics.

From that moment on I knew that there is something special about Māori other people including myself could learn from.

After coming back home, I started studying Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna and focused on lectures on Oceania and Polynesia. During my studies, I was frequently wondering about the representation of indigenous peoples in the 21st century on a public level which to me often seemed outdated.

In 2013, I met a group of Māori in Vienna, Austria through my mother who had attended an educational workshop about Māori culture. We have been in contact since, meeting again in 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019.

In my Master's thesis I already focused on Māori Cultural Branding, but I wanted to get to the bottom of the problem, which is why I started the PhD project in October 2016 at the Department of Communication at the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona. After knowing about my research interest, the Tohunga¹ of the Māori group I had met before offered me his support.

Throughout my first field stay in Aotearoa New Zealand from September until December 2017, these contacts were essential to enable this research. The original idea of this thesis was a Cotutelle thesis between the Department of Communication at the University Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona and the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna. After complications with the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology in Vienna, we decided to drop the Cotutelle project with the University of Vienna.

At this time I met Dr. Krushil Watene from Massey University in Albany, Aotearoa New Zealand at a lecture she held at the Department of Philosophy at the University of Vienna in January 2018.

¹[Expert, Leader]. See explanation of *Tohunga* in the glossary p. 282.

Looking for an insider perspective and support for my thesis, I reached out to Krushil who happily became the co-director of my thesis. We met up in New Zealand in February 2019 at the Massey Campus in Auckland as well as in September 2019 in Barcelona where Krushil and José met in person as well.

Having both Dr. José Fernández-Cavia and Dr. Krushil Watene on my team I made sure to involve both the communicational as well as the community-based perspective into my thesis.

Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Topic and research problem	1
1.1.1	Overview of the research topic	1
1.1.2	Relevance of research	3
1.1.3	Research problem	3
1.2	Scope and research aim	6
1.2.1	Scope of the research	6
1.2.1.1	Aotearoa New Zealand	6
1.2.1.2	History of Aotearoa New Zealand	6
1.2.1.3	Demography	8
1.2.2	Research Aim	13
1.2.3	Objectives	15
1.2.4	Research question	16
1.2.5	Structure of the thesis	17
2	Literature review	19
2.1	Identity	19
2.1.1	Introducing the topic of identity	19
2.1.2	Defining identity	23
2.1.3	Forms of identity	27
2.1.3.1	Cultural Identity	28
2.1.3.2	Indigenous Identity	32
2.1.3.3	Māori identities	34
2.1.3.4	Place identity	37
2.1.4	From Concepts of Identity to Nation Branding	39

2.2	Nation Branding	43
2.2.1	Introduction to Nation Branding	43
2.2.2	Development of Nation Branding	46
2.2.3	Defining Nation Branding	50
2.2.4	Integrated Disciplines of Nation Branding	57
2.2.5	Actors of Nation Branding	58
2.2.6	Tasks of Nation Branding	61
2.2.7	From Nation Branding to Public Diplomacy	66
2.3	Public Diplomacy	68
2.3.1	Development of Public Diplomacy	68
2.3.2	Defining Public Diplomacy	70
2.3.3	Forms of communicating Public Diplomacy	73
2.3.4	Actors of Public Diplomacy	74
2.3.5	Tasks of Public Diplomacy	75
2.4	Cultural Diplomacy	77
2.4.1	Development of Cultural Diplomacy	77
2.4.2	Defining Cultural Diplomacy	80
2.4.2.1	Cultural Diplomacy <i>versus</i> Public Diplomacy	80
2.4.2.2	Approaches of defining Cultural Diplomacy	81
2.4.3	Actors of Cultural Diplomacy	84
2.4.4	Tasks of Cultural Diplomacy	85
2.5	State of the Art	87
3	Methodology	91
3.1	Research Strategy	91
3.2	Research Design	92
3.2.1	Theoretical Framework of the Methodology	95
3.2.2	Kaupapa Māori Theory	96
3.2.2.1	Kaupapa Māori Principles	96
3.2.2.2	Kaupapa Māori Practices	97
3.3	Research Methods	101
3.3.1	Literature Review	101

3.3.2	Fieldwork	102
3.3.3	Participant Observation	104
3.3.4	Interviews	106
3.3.5	Website Analysis	118
4	Website Analysis	133
4.1	Website Traffic	133
4.2	Keyword Search	138
4.3	Content Analysis	144
4.3.1	Tourism New Zealand	144
4.3.2	All Blacks	145
4.3.3	Air New Zealand	146
4.3.4	Ministry of Culture and Heritage	146
4.3.5	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	147
4.3.6	Ministry of Māori tourism	148
4.3.7	Te Papa	149
4.3.8	Te Matatini	150
4.3.9	Tamaki Māori Village	151
4.3.10	Mataatua	152
4.3.11	Distribution of categories	159
4.3.12	Conclusion of the Content Analysis	162
5	Results	164
5.1	Self-image	164
5.1.1	Whakapapa	165
5.1.1.1	The importance of Whakapapa	166
5.1.1.2	Expressions of Whakapapa	170
5.1.1.3	Colonial legacies and their responses	173
5.1.2	Marae	180
5.1.2.1	Communal lifestyle	180
5.1.2.2	The significance of the Marae	182
5.1.2.3	Challenges of identity building	185
5.2	Planned Māori identities	191

5.2.1	Opinions about the <i>planned Māori identities</i> in selected Nation Branding channels of Aotearoa New Zealand	191
5.2.1.1	Using Māori culture as a resource of uniqueness	192
5.2.1.2	Focusing on <i>Māori tourism</i> in Aotearoa New Zealand	193
5.2.1.3	Different approaches to planned Māori identities on the example of Māori tourism	196
5.2.2	Opinions about the <i>planned Māori identities</i> in selected Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand	200
5.2.2.1	Māori culture as a gateway for diplomatic debates	201
5.2.2.2	(Self-) representation of Māori diversity and appropriation of cultural representation	202
5.2.2.3	Enabling political and economic opportunities for Māori	203
5.2.3	Opinions about the <i>planned Māori identities</i> in selected Cultural Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand	205
5.2.3.1	Demonstrating Māori culture as an element of uniqueness	206
5.2.3.2	Showcasing Māori culture as a way to provide relationship building	208
5.2.3.3	Using Māori culture as an element to engage strategically and push its global presence	209
5.3	Projected Māori identities	209
5.3.1	Opinions about the <i>projected Māori identities</i> in selected Nation Branding channels of Aotearoa New Zealand	210
5.3.1.1	Discrepancy with reality?	210
5.3.1.2	Increasing knowledge about Māori culture	214
5.3.1.3	<i>Tourism</i> , a component of Nation Branding, as a possibility to perpetuate Māori culture	218
5.3.2	Opinions about the <i>projected Māori identities</i> in selected Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand	219
5.3.2.1	Proper education on cultural topics	219
5.3.2.2	Cultural appropriation	222
5.3.2.3	Emphasising iwi self-representation	223
5.3.3	Opinions about the <i>projected Māori identities</i> in selected Cultural Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand	225
5.3.3.1	Māori self-determining their representation	225
5.3.3.2	Demonstration of Māori relevant topics by various actors	230

6	Discussion	234
6.1	Self-image	234
6.2	Planned Māori identities	237
6.3	Projected Māori identities	241
7	Conclusion	249
7.1	Answering the research questions	249
7.2	Future outlook	257
7.3	Limitations of the study	258
7.4	Final words	258
	Glossary	276
8	Appendix	i
8.1	Websites Analysis Codebook	i

List of Figures

1.1	Place Branding model by José Fernández-Cavia	4
1.2	Estimated Māori population by June 2015	9
1.3	Teo Reo Māori use at home in 2013	10
1.4	Proportion of all Māori (aged 15+) that have been to their ancestral Marae in the last 12 months, June - August 2013	10
1.5	Distribution of Māori paid employees (industry vs. wages)	11
1.6	Māori median weekly income, all sources 2006-2015	11
1.7	Custodial sentences 1996-2004 by ethnicity (%)	12
1.8	Research areas	13
1.9	Description of the Mataatua region	14
1.10	Regions or districts of the local authorities	14
2.1	Traditional understanding of constructing identity	20
2.2	Changes influencing the construction of identity	21
2.3	Sources constructing identity	21
2.4	Elements influencing the individual construction of identity	24
2.5	Construction of identity including the element of difference	25
2.6	Relevant forms of <i>identity</i> for this research	28
2.7	Defining cultural identity	31
2.8	Different perceptions constructing the image of a nation	40
2.9	Branding versus Nation Branding	42
2.10	Linking the research subject to selected concepts	44
2.11	Globalisation and its effect on nations	45
2.12	Objectives of nations	46
2.13	A conceptual map of Nation Branding research	49
2.14	The origins of Nation Branding study	51

2.15	Related terms of Nation Branding	52
2.16	Forms of place brands	53
2.17	Nation Branding as political versus commercial tool	55
2.18	Actors of Nation Branding	59
2.19	Five critical influencers of Nation Branding	60
2.20	Targets of Nation Branding	61
2.21	Levels constructing Nation Branding	64
2.22	Cultural expressions in Nation Branding	65
2.23	Nation Branding versus Public Diplomacy	67
2.24	Relationship between Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy	67
2.25	Foundation of Public Diplomacy	69
2.26	Interdisciplinarity of Public Diplomacy	70
2.27	Ways of communicating Public Diplomacy	74
2.28	Main tasks of Public Diplomacy	76
2.29	Assets of Soft Power	77
2.30	Public Diplomacy <i>versus</i> Cultural Diplomacy	78
2.31	Disciplines researching Cultural Diplomacy	82
2.32	Actors of Cultural Diplomacy	85
3.1	Interdisciplinarity of the research	92
3.2	Relationship between research areas and research methods	93
3.3	Ethnicity of interviewees	109
3.4	Sex ratio of the interviewees	109
3.5	Different sectors of interviewees	110
3.6	Ethnicity of participants of informal interviews	111
3.7	Sex ratio of participants of informal interviews	111
3.8	Average age of the interviewees according to their ethnicity	112
3.9	Example of the f5 transcription software	116
3.10	Research steps based on Meuser and Nagel's expert analysis	116
3.11	Coding process of an interview using MAXQDA	117
3.12	Extracts from selected coding sheets	117
3.13	Different selected channels related to the research interest	120

3.14	Example of an analysis conducted with SimilarWeb	124
3.15	Overview SimilarWeb Analysis	124
3.16	Example of an analysis conducted with Wordtracker Scout	126
3.17	Example of the levels investigated given the example of TNZ	128
3.18	Example of excluding keywords (in red) in the footer and sitemap (Ministry of Māori Tourism)	129
3.19	Example of excluding keywords (in red) from the header and animated link (Ministry of Culture and Heritage)	129
3.20	Color pattern of the categories	130
3.21	Example of a coding sheet (Tourism New Zealand)	131
4.1	Showcasing average visit to websites (in millions)	134
4.2	Average visit duration (minutes)	135
4.3	Amount of visited pages (number of pages)	136
4.4	Comparison of organic versus paid traffic (in %)	136
4.5	Comparison of origin of traffic to websites	137
4.6	Results for TNZ from the WordtrackerScout	138
4.7	Results for ABR from the WordtrackerScout	138
4.8	Results for ANZ from the WordtrackerScout	139
4.9	Results for MCH from the WordtrackerScout	139
4.10	Results for MFAT from the WordtrackerScout	140
4.11	Results for MMT from the WordtrackerScout	140
4.12	Results for TP from the WordtrackerScout	141
4.13	Results for TM from the WordtrackerScout	141
4.14	Results for TMV from the WordtrackerScout	142
4.15	Results for MAT from the WordtrackerScout	142
4.16	Tourism New Zealand distribution of categories	145
4.17	All Blacks distribution of categories	146
4.18	Ministry of Culture and Heritage distribution of categories	147
4.19	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade distribution of categories	148
4.20	Ministry of Māori Tourism distribution of categories	149
4.21	Te Papa distribution of categories	150
4.22	Te Matatini distribution of categories	151

4.23	Tamaki Māori Village distribution of categories	152
4.24	Mataatua categories	153
4.25	Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "General Information" . .	160
4.26	Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "Customs and Beliefs" . .	160
4.27	Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "History"	161
4.28	Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "Politics and Economy" .	161
4.29	Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "Tourism and Attractions"	162
5.1	Construction of Māori identities from a Ngāti Awa perspective	166
5.2	Wairaka Marae, Whakatāne	168
5.3	Weaving Harakeke outside of Hokowhitu Marae	184
5.4	'Te Tira Hou or New Generation'	187
5.5	Roadblock of Māori land	188
6.1	Discussing the <i>self-image</i>	234
6.2	Construction of Māori identities from a Ngāti Awa perspective	236
6.3	Discussing the <i>planned</i> Māori identities	238
6.4	Discussing the <i>projected</i> Māori identities	242
7.1	Conclusion of this research	249

List of Tables

1.1	New Zealand total population (ethnic groups)	8
1.2	Prosecutions undertaken in 2004 by offence class and ethnicity - % of all prosecutions	12
1.3	Selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels	15
2.1	Relationship of national identity, nation branding and nation's image . . .	43
2.2	Institutions promoting destination tourism products	54
2.3	Contrasting Nation Branding as a political or commercial tool	56
2.4	Integrated Disciplines in Nation Branding	57
2.5	Similarities and Differences between traditional Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy	71
2.6	Differences between <i>traditional</i> and <i>new actors</i> of Public Diplomacy . . .	74
2.7	Definitions of Cultural Diplomacy	82
2.8	Definitions of Cultural Diplomacy related to <i>culture</i>	83
3.1	Phases of the research related to the research methods	94
3.2	Timeline of the research	103
3.3	List of all conducted interviews	107
3.4	Overview of the expert interviews	114
3.5	Selected websites	120
3.6	Date of data collection of selected websites	121
3.7	Overview of SimilarWeb Website traffic	125
3.8	WordtrackerScout Analysis	126
3.9	Results from the Content Analysis	131
3.10	Continuation of the results from the Content Analysis	132
4.1	Occurrences of keyword related to categories	144

4.2	Occurrences of keywords: Tourism New Zealand	144
4.3	Occurrences of keywords: All Blacks	145
4.4	Occurrences of keywords: Ministry of Culture and Heritage	146
4.5	Occurrences of keywords: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	147
4.6	Occurrences of keywords: Ministry of Māori Tourism	148
4.7	Occurrences of keywords: Te Papa	149
4.8	Occurrences of keywords: Te Matatini	150
4.9	Occurrences of keywords: Tamaki Māori Village	151
4.10	Occurrences of keywords: Mataatua	152
8.1	Selected websites and URLs	i
8.2	Selected websites and website codes	ii

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Topic and research problem

This PhD project investigates the construction of cultural identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of *Aotearoa*¹ New Zealand with regard to its indigenous people called *Māori*. This introduction aims at giving an overview of the research topic, justifying the relevance of the research and explaining the research problem.

1.1.1 Overview of the research topic

Throughout history, countries have been fighting for attention (Melissen, 2005; Anholt, 2007). The main reasons behind the competition of countries might have been power struggles or attempts to improve social, political or economic relationships with other countries. The terms relating to this behaviour have changed with time; when during the First and Second World War the term propaganda was used (Aronczyk, 2013), during the Cold War it was Public Diplomacy that was talked about (Fan, 2006; Kim, 2017; Nelson and Izadi, 2009).

Various forms of promotion of a place or nation have developed since. Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy are two related concepts. Whereas scholars still discuss the relation between Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding (Szondi, 2008), the differentiation in this thesis is clear.

Public Diplomacy is anchored in political communication and related to political goals, whereas Nation Branding focuses stronger on influencing foreign publics with a commercial intention (Anholt, 2008a; Szondi, 2008). Although in the beginning both terms could be differentiated by its actors, throughout the last years and especially through globalisation these lines have increasingly been blurred. The civil society becomes more and more engaged in both concepts (Melissen, 2005; Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013).

Different scholars describe the approach of nations to distinguish themselves from others by promoting their unique elements and resources (Dinnie, 2008; Govers and Go, 2009;

¹[**Land of the long white cloud**]. Māori term for New Zealand. See explanation of *Aotearoa* in the glossary p. 276.

Olins, 1999; Kladou et al., 2017; Morgan and Pritchard, 2005; Yang et al., 2016; Johnsson, 2012). Frequently, attributes of the nation such as landscape, flora and fauna, history, politics, economy or cultural heritage are named as components used for the promotion of a nation (Govers and Go, 2009; Pomeroy, 2013; Morgan et al., 2004).

As to Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), it is highly significant for the image of a nation to coincide with reality. One specific element nations use to promote their images is *culture*, which according to Yang (2011) has increasingly become important. Related to that, Dinnie (2008, 69) names some examples for the promotion of contemporary culture such as music, film, literature, language or sports.

Culture might be understood as the main subject of anthropologists who define culture as changeable meanings, understandings, processes, but also as rules to facilitate the order of a social unit of people (Sunderland and Denny, 2007; Gellner, 1995; Whitehead, 2004). As Gellner (1995) states, a *community* defines the limits of a culture in which cultural behaviour takes place. Usually, members of the same community use the same language or linguistic tokens (ibid).

Du Gay et al. (1997) define culture as a particular way of life which has certain meanings and inherited values. As the authors explain, commonly shared characteristics could be typical meanings, values, behaviour, rituals, institutions, narratives or religious beliefs which are produced and circulated within the society (ibid).

Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011) suggest to understand a nation's own people and community also as the origin of the social and cultural construction of a nation brand. The authors (ibid) call this process a 'bottom-up' co-creation of a nation brand. Kavartzis and Hatch (2013) confirm that the different cultural understandings a population has about a nation need to be considered in the reflections of the place identity.

In this thesis, there is an understanding that the formation of place identities takes place in social interaction and people's meanings, memories and actions which undergo a filtering process produced by social structures and socialisation (Hague and Jenkins, 2005). The process of developing a consistent Nation Branding is disturbed if the population of a nation does not share the same opinion considering the image of a nation (Kavartzis and Hatch, 2013).

Therefore, it is necessary to involve the population of the nation into the planning processes to ensure that they have the chance to participate in the process and offer them information about the images a nation projects abroad (Aronczyk, 2013). As Widler (2007) states, the citizens of a nation are the most important elements of Nation Branding because they are the most influential brand channel in the long run.

In this PhD project, the citizens of a nation are the research subject who will be called cultural identities. Cultural identities will be understood as self-determined social constructs about the self that are consciously or not-consciously produced in the interaction with others.

1.1.2 Relevance of research

Various scholars stress the importance of involvement and participation of citizens in the discussions around Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy (Aronczyk, 2013; Kavartzis and Hatch, 2013; Widler, 2007; Pomeroy, 2013). According to Kaneva (2011), most frequently the citizens of a nation are not homogeneous, which is why the representation of branding narratives is a delicate undertaking and might have consequences for subnational and transnational identities.

Especially events such as colonialism have caused the formation of fragmented and marginalised parts of the society, which is why it is difficult to include all of the different fragments into the Nation Branding (Pomeroy, 2013).

Globalisation processes and increased mobility of people show decreased cultural products and distinctiveness of places, but also affect the construction of identities which are more likely to change through globally occurring social, political and economic changes (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; Pawłusz and Polese, 2017). It is because of these ongoing processes that the genuine representation of cultural identities becomes a challenge for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy.

On that occasion, it becomes clear that there is a necessity to integrate the different social parts of a nation into the planning and projecting processes of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy. Only by giving the citizens of a nation a voice to express their social and cultural characteristics, one can make sure to have established an authentic and genuine Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy the population of a nation also identifies with.

1.1.3 Research problem

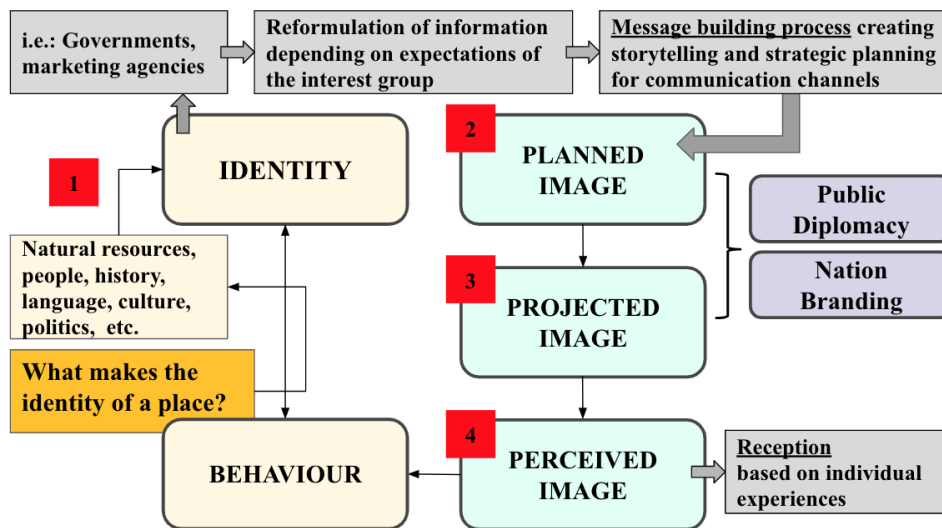
Knowing that Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy use culture and cultural identities as an element to stand out and compete with other nations (Govers and Go, 2009; Dinnie, 2008) and bearing in mind that cultural identities are constantly changing (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; Gingrich, 2005; Bhabha, 1994) the question arises how Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy manage these processes and developments?

Finding that a nation does not consist of a homogeneous group of people (Kaneva, 2011), but rather multiple cultural or even marginalised identities who are in transition, this further leads to the problem of how to involve the different groups into one aligned image of a nation. It also raises the question *how* cultural identities themselves imagine their representation and *how* this self-image of cultural identities actually coincides with their current representation in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels. Related to that, Kühschelm et al. (2012) argue that the attempt to profoundly grasp people's diversity in depth for commercial purposes is missed out on a regular base.

The subsequent Place Branding model² by Dr. José Fernandez-Cavia visualizes the role identity plays for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy (See Figure 1.1).

²The concept of Place Branding will be explained in the chapter *Nation Branding*. Relevant scholars in this field are Simon Anholt, Keith Dinnie, Wally Olins, Ying Fan or Nadia Kaneva.

Figure 1.1: Place Branding model by José Fernández-Cavia



Source: Author's elaboration based on José Fernández-Cavia (Personal communication, 2017)

1. Based on natural resources, the population of a nation, the history, language, culture or politics a *national identity* is created.
2. As demonstrated in the model, governments, marketing agencies or other actors from private institutions, NGOs or even individuals refine this information into a *planned* image of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy.
3. The information is edited and customised to the specific story a nation wants to tell which in the next step is *projected* to different communication channels.
4. Foreign publics *perceive* this image and might change their behaviour as a consequence in favor of the nation, which is the main task of both Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy (Fan, 2006; Szondi, 2008).

The research objectives of this thesis root in this model as will be explained later.

For a long time, an essentialist view of identity prevailed. Identity was rather ascribed by others than self-determined by oneself (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992; Bhabha, 1994) and was understood as something fixed, as an attribute which persisted throughout a lifetime (Woodward, 1997). This study rejects any essentialist view of identity. Identity is understood as a subject of constant change and transformation (Hall, 1996) and as a subject produced by an individual in interaction with others (Bhabha, 1994).

For this reason and because in the past definitions and the representation of cultural identities were often made by *others* (Weaver, 2001), this research focuses on how cultural identities construct their identity themselves.

This study attempts to understand the construction of cultural identities *bottom-up*, directly from voices of the Māori community, and puts these voices in analogy with planned

and projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels. This thesis questions how far the representation of cultural identities in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy overlaps with or differentiates from the self-image these cultural identities have. It investigates how the different Māori identities (self-image, planned and projected) constructed by different actors coincide. To demonstrate the construction of cultural identities in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy the country New Zealand³ was chosen.

Aotearoa New Zealand not only is a “super diverse country” consisting of many different ethnicities (Cain et al., 2017, 36) but also has an indigenous population, the Māori, which will make the central research subject. The following part is a short introduction to Aotearoa New Zealand as a nation and Māori. An attempt will be made to justify why Māori were chosen as the case study of this study.

Excursus to the term ‘appropriation’

As defined in the title of this thesis, this study investigates the appropriation of Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand. In this context, it seems necessary to define the understanding of the term ‘appropriation’ for this thesis.

The word ‘appropriate’ derives from the Latin word *appropriare* meaning to “make one’s own” (Merriam-Webster, nd). As defined in the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the word ‘appropriate’ can either mean to “take exclusive possession of” or to “take or make use of something without the authority or right”(Merriam-Webster, nd).

In this thesis, the term ‘appropriation’ as used in the title of the thesis is mainly understood as a critical questioning of the different forms of usage of Māori identities for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy purposes in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Throughout the conducted interviews, a related term, the so-called ‘cultural appropriation’, was mentioned by a few interviewees, even though it was not a specific scope of this thesis and no attempt was made to particularly investigate legal documents or cases regarding cultural appropriation of Māori identities. There is an understanding that investigating cultural appropriation in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand would be another study.

Nevertheless, the term ‘cultural appropriation’ will now be explained for a better understanding. Cultural appropriation focuses on the violation of the property rights of members of a specific culture by different actors belonging to another culture (Young and Brunk, 2012).

According to Rogers (2006, 474) the so-called ‘cultural appropriation’ can be defined as “the use of a culture’s symbols, artifacts, genres, rituals or technologies by members of another culture regardless of intent, ethics, function or outcome.” As the author (ibid) further explains, cultural appropriation is inevitable when different cultures come in contact,

³In this thesis, the terms *Aotearoa New Zealand* and *New Zealand* are used interchangeably.

whether that happens virtually or representationally. However, Cultural appropriation is an active process, which means that it retains the meaning of taking and not only being exposed to another culture (Rogers, 2006). The purchase of properly authorised objects of another culture does not count as cultural appropriation (Young and Brunk, 2012).

The authors Young and Brunk (2012) stress the importance to be aware that cultures have a variety of views on what is right and wrong. A certain sensitivity is therefore needed in order to avoid discrimination of members of a certain culture (ibid).

In order to avoid any cultural appropriation throughout this thesis, the so-called 'Kaupapa Māori Theory', a theoretical framework developed by Māori to conduct research about Māori, was applied as will be explained in the methodology chapter. Also, it was made sure that Māori oversaw the culturally sensitive parts of the thesis.

1.2 Scope and research aim

1.2.1 Scope of the research

1.2.1.1 Aotearoa New Zealand

New Zealand calls itself a constitutional monarchy which has a parliamentary democracy. That means that Elizabeth II. is the Queen of New Zealand and also the head of the state. Jacinda Ardern is the Prime Minister of Aotearoa New Zealand who became globally renowned for her supporting reaction after the terrorist attacks in Christchurch in March 2019. The official languages of Aotearoa New Zealand are English, Māori and sign language. In the following, a short introduction into the history of Aotearoa New Zealand will be presented.

1.2.1.2 History of Aotearoa New Zealand

The Pacific's diverse people originated in mainland Asia around 50,000 to 25,000 BC from where voyagers were heading to South-East Asia and Australia eventually (Irwin, 2006). Around 1,200 BC migration to remote Oceania consisting of Melanesia south-east of the Solomons, Micronesia and Polynesia began. By 600 AD, voyagers had reached Hawaii and the Easter Islands (Irwin, 2006; Walker, 2004). Skilled navigators with accumulated experience in sophisticated canoes even made it to South America, from where they brought the *Kumara*⁴ back to the Pacific islands (Irwin, 2006).

In 1300 AD, the first Polynesian seafarers and ancestors of Māori arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand (Anderson et al., 2015). In Māori society there are different mythological understandings explaining the origin of the world, such as the creation myth of *Rangi-nui*⁵, Father Sky and *Papatuanuku*⁶, Mother Earth (Walker, 2004). Another myth describes that

⁴[Sweet potato]. See explanation of the *Kumara* in the glossary p. 278.

⁵[Father Sky]. See explanation of *Rangi-nui* in the glossary p. 280.

⁶[Mother Earth]. See explanation of *Papatuanuku* in the glossary p. 280.

the Polynesian voyager called *Kupe*⁷ discovered Aotearoa New Zealand (King, 2012). According to the *Great New Zealand Myth* the great fleet of seven canoes arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand from the islands of Polynesia in 1350 AD (King, 2012). There is an understanding that the migration took place from *Hawaiki*⁸, which is a celestial destination from which Māori originated and also returned to at death (Anderson et al., 2015).

The existence of Māori and the resulting population growth lastingly changed the flora and fauna in Aotearoa New Zealand (Anderson et al., 2015). Māori lived in chiefdoms, where chiefs were determined to have various qualities which set them apart from the general society (ibid). The Māori society was formed on the base of the *Iwi*⁹ [tribes] which consisted of different *Hapu*¹⁰ [clans or descent groups] and each one of these is made up of one or more *Whanau*¹¹ [extended family] (Taonui, 2006). Population growth and pressure for resources such as crops, fish, rivers, lakes and sea fishery led to constantly evolving new groups (ibid).

The arrival of British colonists and Europeans in the early 18th century had a massive impact on the life of Māori (Walker, 2004). The first contact between Māori and Europeans took place in 1642 with Abel Tasman (ibid). When Captain James Cook arrived at the Poverty Bay in 1769 Europeans started to claim ownership of Aotearoa New Zealand and started to inhabit the country (Anderson et al., 2015). The first Europeans who arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand were whalers, sailors and traders (Harris, 2012).

Although Europeans traded with Māori for goods and lands, the enforced displacement of Māori from their lands and conversion changed the life of Māori permanently (Walker, 2004). In 1882, 1884, 1914 and 1924 Māori even travelled to England attempting to negotiate with the English monarchs (Drahos and Frankel, 2012).

In 1840, the *Treaty of Waitangi*¹² was signed between 500 Māori chiefs and the English Crown. As there was an English version and a Māori version of the Treaty, the vocabulary that was used did not have the same meaning, which led to the English Crown having full sovereignty in the English version, but only the governance in the Māori version (Anderson et al., 2015).

One can imagine how this mismatch influenced the situation in the country after that. From 1843 on, violent debates started to happen with Māori losing their power, autonomy and lives. Colonial takeover had a forever changing demographic, economic and political impact on Māori such as losing *Te Reo Māori*¹³ and children were taken away from their parents and put into boarding schools (King, 2012).

Between 1843 and 1872 the Māori wars between the English Crown and Māori took place. Although Aotearoa New Zealand became independent from the British colonial power in

⁷[Mythological figure]. See explanation of *Kupe* in the glossary p. 278.

⁸[Mythological origin of Māori]. See explanation of *Hawaiki* in the glossary p. 276

⁹[Tribe]. See explanation of *Iwi* in the glossary p. 277

¹⁰[Sub-tribe]. See explanation of *Hapu* in the glossary p. 276.

¹¹[Family]. See explanation of *Whanau* in the glossary p. 283.

¹²[Treaty of Waitangi] = Tiriti O Waitangi. See explanation of *Tiriti o Waitangi* in the glossary p. 282.

¹³[Māori language]. See explanation of *Te Reo Māori* in the glossary p. 282.

1852, the oppression of Māori continued (Harris, 2012). As a consequence, in 1862 the Act of Parliament and 1865 the Native Land Act were dismissed, to which as a reaction Māori protest movements were launched in the 1870s (ibid). Although there were several attempts of self-determination such as the *Kotahitanga*¹⁴ Parliament in 1888, the situation of Māori worsened (ibid). In 1909, another Native Lands Act was dismissed which led to more land loss for Māori (Harris, 2012).

For that reason it seems incomprehensible that Māori voluntarily joined the First and the Second World War in the famous 28th Māori Battalion (Binney and Harris, 2015). Harris (2012) calls the 1970s until the 1980s the high time of Māori protest with starting claims of land rights, the revitalisation of Māori language and emphasizing Māori rights of *Tino Rangatiratanga*¹⁵, which means self-determination and autonomy.

Around that time, many important changes happened, such as the development of the Māori Council in 1962, the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 or the Māori Language Act in 1987 (Harris, 2012). Only until 2011, Māori relationships with the land and environment were thematised in a report from the Waitangi Tribunal which triggered discussions about giving Māori more control and rights, such as the waterways (Drahos and Frankel, 2012).

Māori still fight for equality today and claim their rights of the Treaty of Waitangi. Outcomes of the Waitangi Tribunal show attempts to give back justice to Māori. The goal of the Waitangi tribunal is to settle the grievances of the Iwi and to achieve co-governing the country as equal partners of the Crown (Drahos and Frankel, 2012).

1.2.1.3 Demography

In 2017, Cain (2017, 36) names Aotearoa New Zealand a “superdiverse country” which had developed as a settler society, attracting migrants from the United Kingdom for a long time. Since the immigration policy changed in 1986/1987 the flow of immigrants contributing to the economy with skills or capital has not stopped (Cain, 2017). Jacinda Ardern (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2019), Prime Minister of Aotearoa New Zealand states, “We are a proud nation of more than 200 ethnicities, 160 languages and amongst that diversity, we share common values”.

Stats NZ (2015) published the 2013 Census¹⁶ with the number and percentage of Aotearoa New Zealand’s population identifying with the top five ethnic groups which are as follows (See Table 1.1):

Table 1.1: New Zealand total population (ethnic groups)

European	Māori	Asian	Pasifika	Others ¹⁷
74%	15%	12%	7%	1%

Source: Author’s elaboration based on Stats NZ (2015)

¹⁴[Unity, Solidarity]. See explanation of *Kotahitanga* in the glossary p. 278.

¹⁵[Self-determination, Autonomy]. See explanation of *Tino Rangatiratanga* in the glossary p. 282.

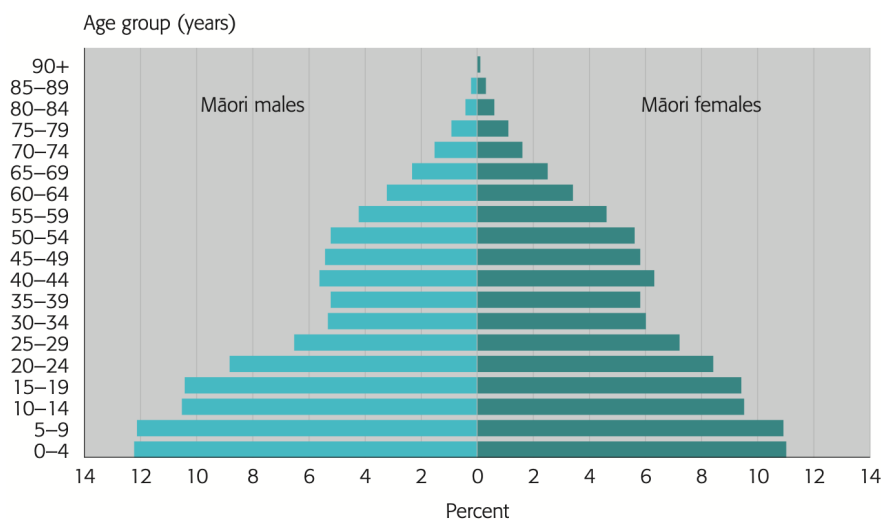
¹⁶The deviation from 100% might be due to some double identifications (Stats NZ, 2015),

¹⁷Middle Eastern, Latin American and African

Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand

According to Stats NZ (2015), 15% of the total population in Aotearoa New Zealand can be identified as Māori. Stats NZ (2015) describes a 6 % increase in identification with Māori since 2006. The median age of people who identify with being Māori lies at 23,9 years (ibid). 48,2% of Māori are male and 51,8% are female (Stats NZ, 2015). Te Ao Mārama 2016 (Stats NZ, 2016) which was the updated version of the survey with numbers from 2015 already showed an estimated population of Māori at 16% with a total amount of 712,000 Māori. See Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2: Estimated Māori population by June 2015



Estimated resident population, June 2015

Māori population	712,200
Total New Zealand population	4.6 million
Estimated Māori proportion of total New Zealand population	16%

Source: Stats NZ (2016)

Te Kupenga 2013 (Stats NZ, 2014) which is a survey from Aotearoa New Zealand Statistics on Māori well-being which was conducted in 2013 states that 55% of Māori adults indicated having some ability to speak Te Reo Māori, whereas only 11% of Māori adults stated to speak Te Reo Māori very well. See Figure 1.3.

Results from the Te Ao Mārama 2016 report further showed that in 2013, less than 5% of Māori households used Māori as the main language at home, but more than 23% of Māori female spoke regularly Māori at home (Stats NZ, 2016).

In 2013, 70% of Māori adults stated that it was at least somewhat important for them to be involved in things to do with Māori culture and 89% of Māori adults knew their Iwi (Stats NZ, 2014). The graph below also shows that with increasing age people are more interested in going to the *Marae*¹⁸ (Stats NZ, 2016). See Figure 1.4.

¹⁸[Cultural meeting centre]. See explanation of *Marae* in the glossary p. 279.

Figure 1.3: Teo Reo Māori use at home in 2013

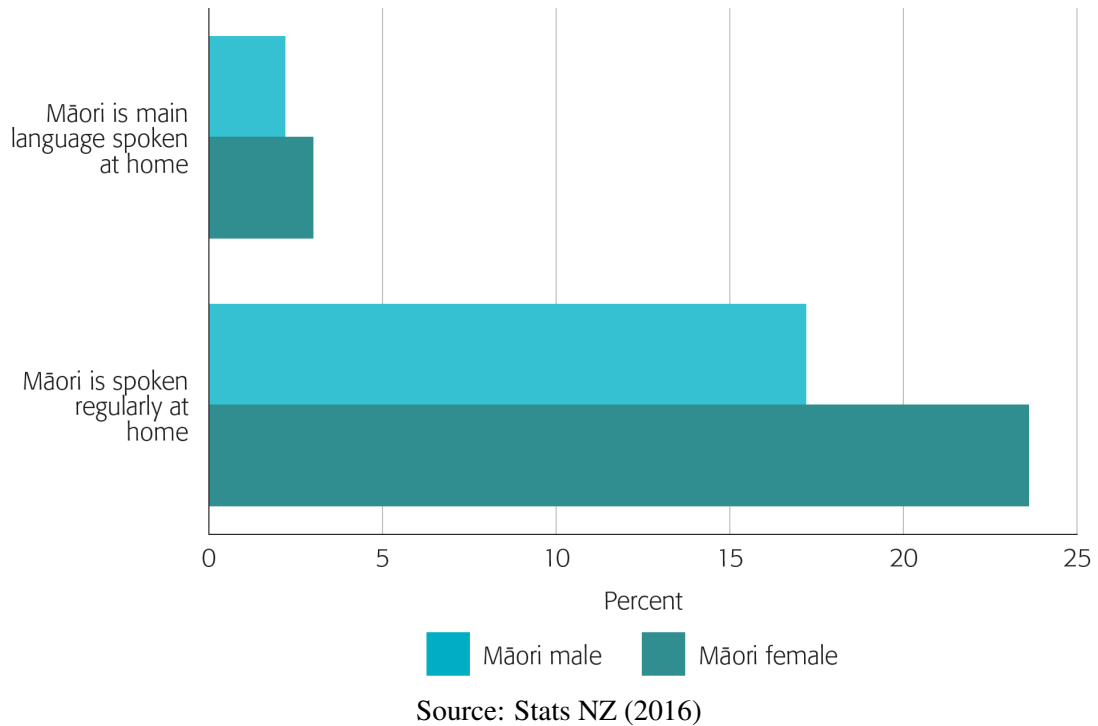
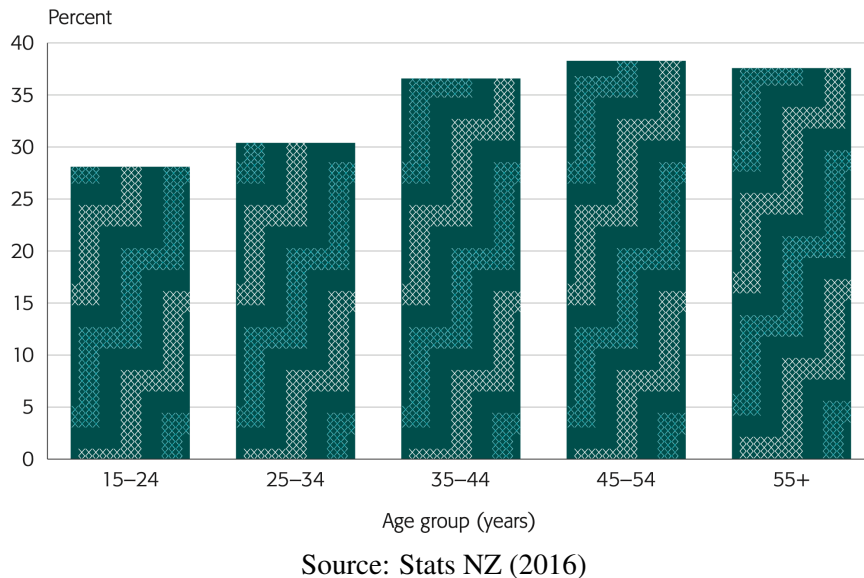
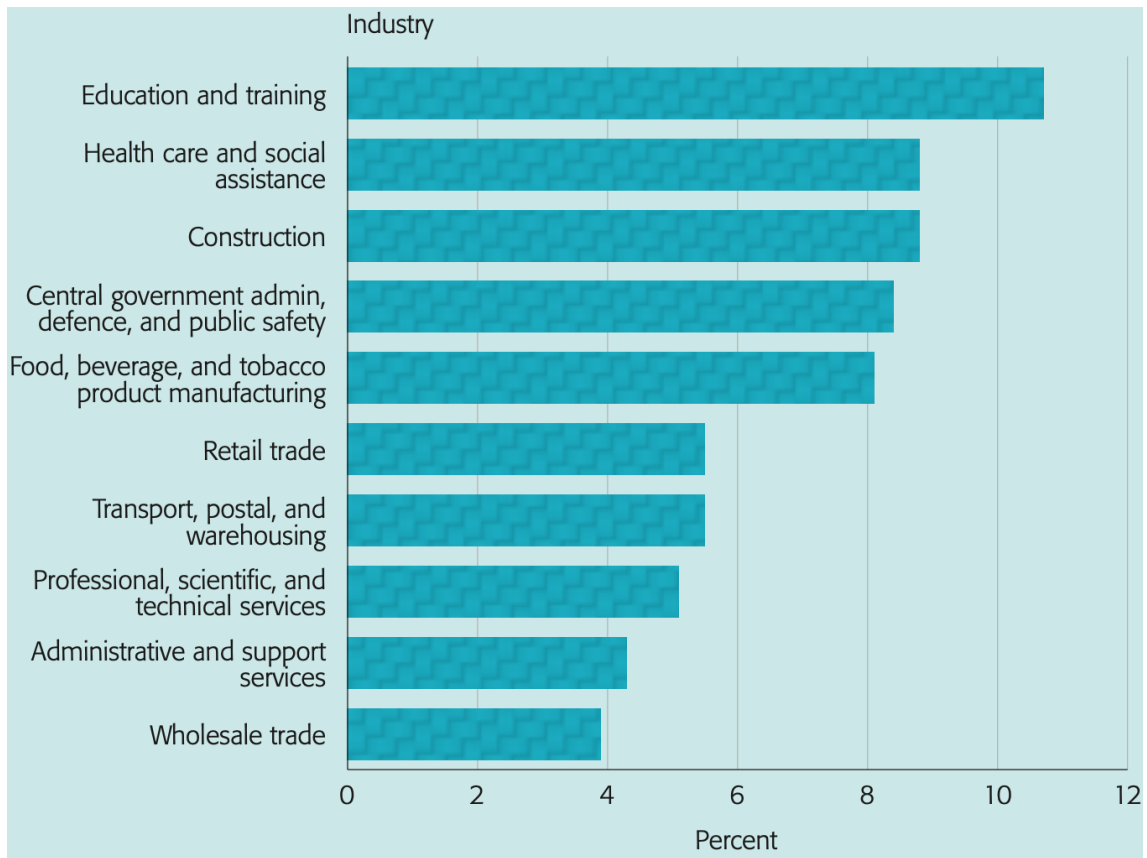


Figure 1.4: Proportion of all Māori (aged 15+) that have been to their ancestral Marae in the last 12 months, June - August 2013



Data from the Te Ao Mārama report (Stats NZ, 2016) also show that in 2014 most Māori were employed in the education and training sector (>10%), followed by the health care and social assistance sector (~9%) and the construction sector (~9%). See Figure 1.5.

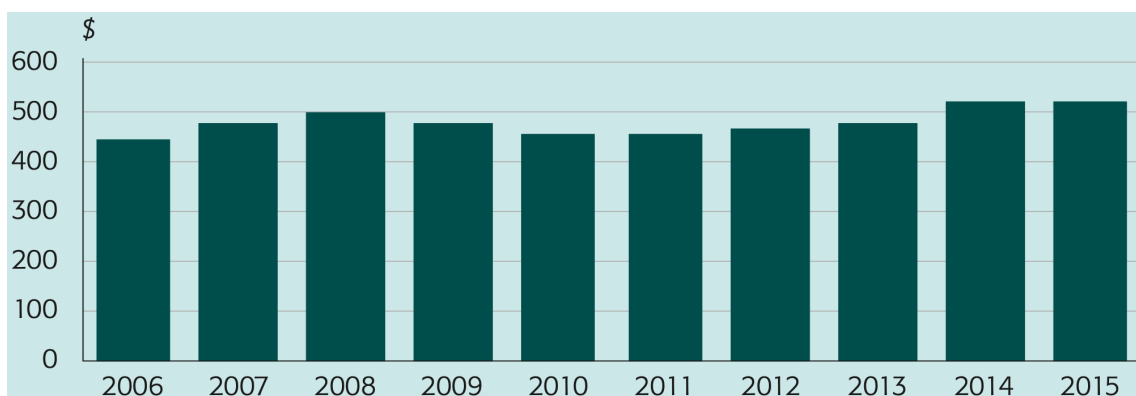
Figure 1.5: Distribution of Māori paid employees (industry vs. wages)



Source: Stats NZ (2016)

The Te Ao Mārama 2016 report (Stats NZ, 2016) further demonstrates that after a decline in weekly wages for Māori between 2010 and 2012, an increase can be observed again since 2013. See Figure 1.6.

Figure 1.6: Māori median weekly income, all sources 2006-2015



Source: Stats NZ (2016)

The high number of Māori in prisons is a frequent topic. In an exploratory report from 2007 by the Department of Correction (Policy et al., 2007) the disproportionate representation of Māori in the criminal justice statistics of Aotearoa New Zealand is described as alarming. The report discusses possible harsher consequences for delicts by Māori and early life social and environmental factors which put Māori at higher risk of ending up with patterns of adult criminal conduct.

In Table 1.2 the percentage of prosecutions (% of all prosecutions) related to different categories¹⁹ of offence were compared between Europeans and Māori over the same amount of time. As the numbers show delicts related to violence and dishonesty (which means theft, fraud, car conversion and burglary) are higher for Māori than Europeans (Policy et al., 2007).

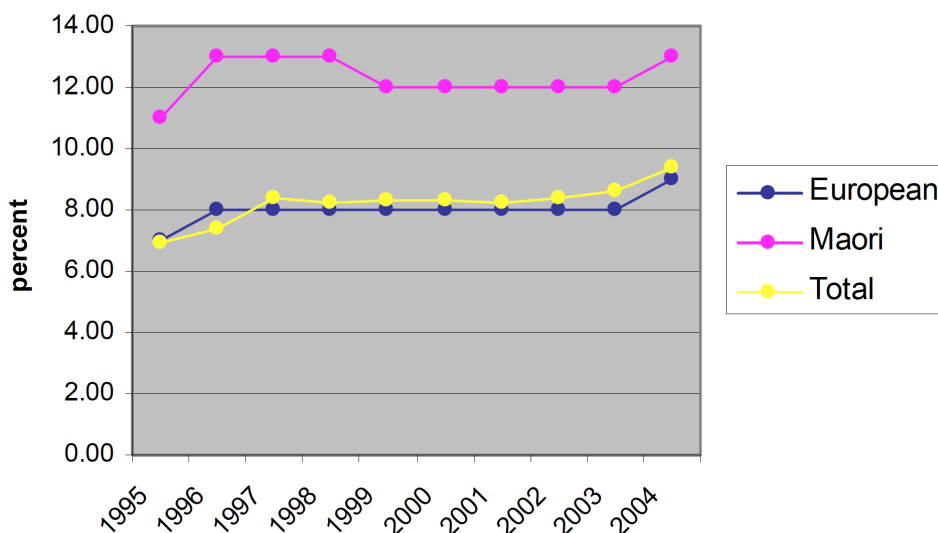
Table 1.2: Prosecutions undertaken in 2004 by offence class and ethnicity
- % of all prosecutions

	Violence	Sex	Drugs, antisocial	Dishonesty	Property	Admin
European	38	48	48	43	47	38
Māori	45	31	35	46	42	50

Source: Author's elaboration based on Policy et al. (2007)

Another chart from the same report (Policy et al., 2007) shows that when comparing custodial sentences between 1996 and 2004 Māori are much more likely to be given a custodial sentence than Europeans. See Figure 1.7.

Figure 1.7: Custodial sentences 1996-2004 by ethnicity (%)



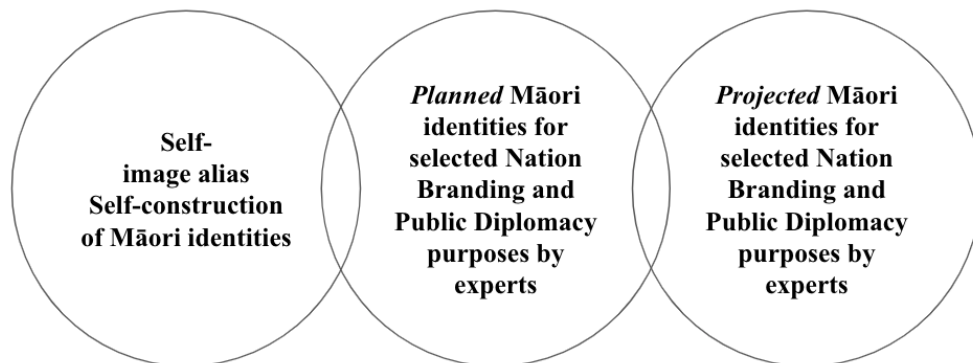
Source: Policy et al. (2007)

¹⁹The different categories are described in a report from Police Statistics (Policy et al., 2007)

1.2.2 Research Aim

This study aims at examining the areas of the *self-image* alias self-construction of Māori identities and the *planned* and *projected* Māori identities for specific Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy purposes by selected experts. See Figure 1.8.

Figure 1.8: Research areas



Source: Author's elaboration based on a theoretical approach by José Fernández-Cavia

In order to investigate the *self-image* one has to consider that there are more than 100 Iwi²⁰ in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, it was clear that this research needs to focus on one area or Iwi. This study focuses on the tribe Ngāti Awa to investigate the self-image. As Te Puni Kokiri, the Ministry of Māori development describes, Ngāti Awa belongs to the area of Mataatua where several Iwi are located (Te Puni Kokiri, nda). See Figure 1.9.

The Iwi *Ngāti Awa*²¹ is located at the Eastern Bay of Plenty on the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand and consists of around 22 Hapu. *Te Runanga*²² o Ngāti Awa is the Iwi organisation of Ngāti Awa and its Regional Council is the Environment Bay of Plenty and the Territorial Authority is the Kawerau District Council and the Whakatāne District Council (Te Puni Kokiri, ndb). See Figure 1.10.

The tribe Ngāti Awa was chosen as it caught attention due to several Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding activities.

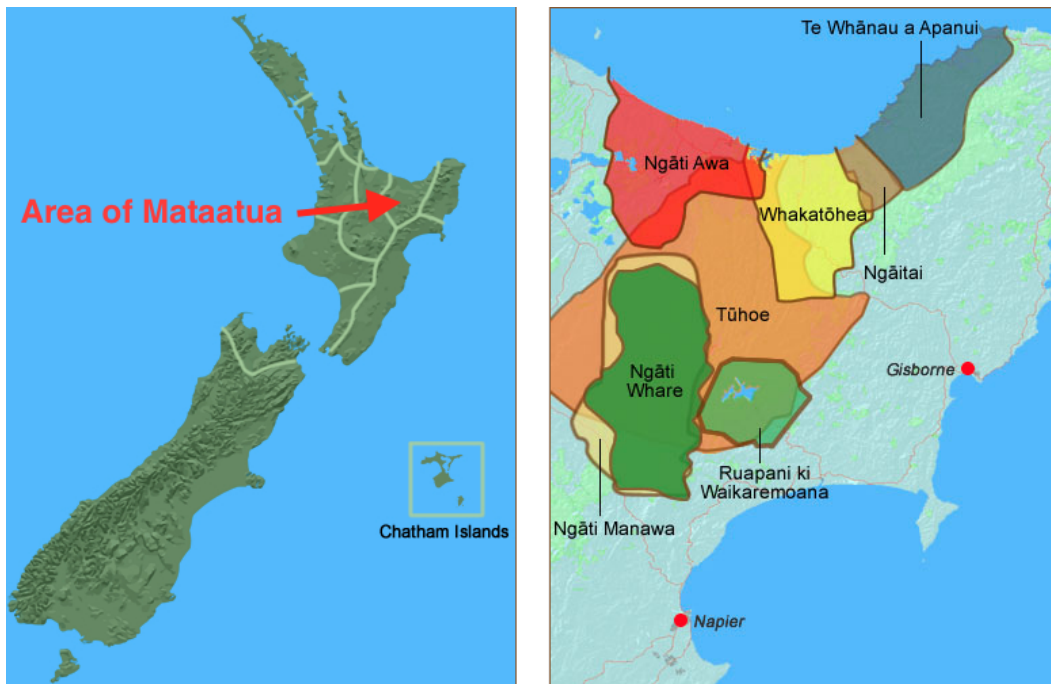
One example is the Mataatua house which was built in the 1870s by the Ngāti Awa community as a gift of goodwill for Queen Victoria. The government at that time recognised its promotional value and sent it to the International Exhibition in Sydney, Australia in 1879 from where it toured around Australia until it arrived in London in 1881, where it was stored until it was re-erected for the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, London in 1924. Although the Mataatua house returned to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1925, it was not until 1996 that the house returned to its owners (Mead et al., 2017).

²⁰The word *Iwi* is both singular and plural in Te Reo Māori.

²¹[Māori tribe]. See explanation of *Ngāti Awa* in the glossary p. 280.

²²[Organisation of tribe]. See explanation of *Runanga* in the glossary p. 281.

Figure 1.9: Description of the Mataatua region

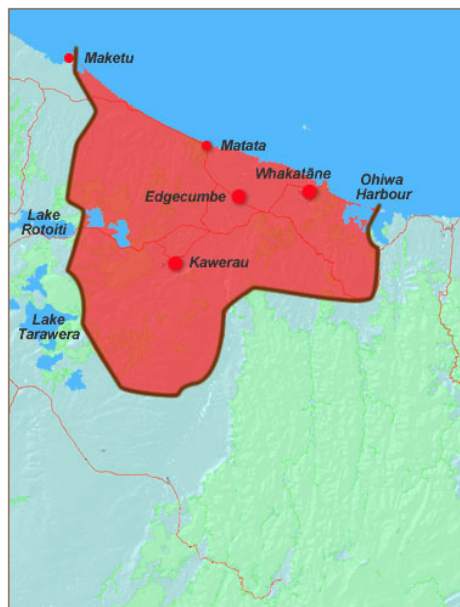


(a) Area of Mataatua

(b) Iwi of Mataatua

Source: Te Puni Kokiri (ndc)

Figure 1.10: Regions or districts of the local authorities



Source: Te Puni Kokiri (ndb)

Another example is the case of White Island. In 2017 the Ngāti Awa Group Holdings which is the commercial arm of the Te Runanga o Ngāti Awa bought White Island Tours™ (White Island, 2018) in order to boost tourism in Whakatāne and to establish tourism based on the community. White Island or *Whakaari*²³ is a small volcanic island around two hours out of Whakatāne. As demonstrated, there are various examples of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy conducted by Ngāti Awa, which will be discussed in detail throughout the study.

In order to investigate the *planned* and *projected* Māori identities for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy purposes by selected experts in Aotearoa New Zealand specific institutions were targeted as demonstrated in Table 1.3.

Table 1.3: Selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels

Nation Branding	Public Diplomacy
The All Blacks	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Air New Zealand	Ministry of Culture and Heritage
Tourism New Zealand	Ministry of Māori Tourism
Te Papa	Ministry of Māori Development (Te Puni Kokiri)
Te Matatini	New Zealand Embassies
Tamaki Māori village	Individual actors from the arts sector

Source: Author's own elaboration

This study aims at detecting overlaps and differences between the constructions of cultural identities from a Māori perspective and the representation of Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand. This study aims at detecting areas of strong consistency of the different approaches and areas where consistency is not yet established.

After giving an overview about the research aim, the research objectives will now be presented in detail.

1.2.3 Objectives

There are three research objectives in this doctoral thesis which are as follows:

1. First Objective: Attempt to understand the *self-image* of Māori identities

The first objective of this research aims to understand how individuals from the Ngāti Awa Iwi (*tribe*) in the Bay of Plenty, East Coast of Aotearoa New Zealand, understand and construct their identities.

2. Second Objective: Attempt to understand how selected experts construct the *planned* Māori identities

The second objective of this research aims to understand how selected experts from

²³[Whakaari]. See explanation of *Whakaari* in the glossary p. 283. — This thesis pays tribute to the people who lost their lives during Whakaari's last eruption on December 9, 2019.

Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels construct the *planned* Māori identities. Part of this objective is to understand *how* and *by whom* public representation regarding Māori identities is determined.

3. **Third Objective: Attempt to understand how Māori identities are *projected* by selected experts**

The third objective of this research investigates how Māori identities are *projected* by the selected experts of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels. Part of this objective is to analyse the existing Māori content in the selected channels and also *who* the involved actors are.

For future research it could also be interesting to investigate *perceived* Māori identities.

1.2.4 Research question

The main research question of this doctoral thesis is:

How does the construction of Māori identities from Māori perspectives coincide with the planned and projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand?

The following questions should be answered throughout the research:

1. **First Objective:** Understand the **self-image** of Māori identities
 - How do Māori construct their identities?
 - Which characteristics and elements do Māori link to being Māori?
2. **Second Objective:** Understand the construction of **planned Māori identities**
 - How do selected experts construct the planned Māori identities for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy purposes?
 - Who is responsible for the construction of planned Māori identities for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy purposes?
3. **Third Objective:** Understand the construction of **projected Māori identities**
 - How do selected experts construct the projected Māori identities in specific Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels?
 - Who is responsible for the projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels?

After dealing with the scope and research aim of this study, the structure of this thesis will be presented in the next step.

1.2.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis attempts to follow a logical structure, consisting of the foreword, introduction, literature review, state of the art, methodology, website analysis, results, discussions, conclusion and finally the bibliography and the appendix.

- **Foreword:** The foreword plays a pivotal part as the personal motivation and the background of the researcher are highlighted. This is important to showcase the intentions of the researcher and dissociate the study from any essentialist or down-grading viewpoint.
- **Introduction:** The introduction aims at presenting the research subject, the research relevance and the research problem. In this part, the scope of the research and the research subject are discussed in detail before the research aim and research questions are presented.
- **Literature review:** The literature review serves to give an overview of the ongoing understanding of the concepts of identity, Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy. This is not only done to put the reader on the same level of understanding the different terms, but also to highlight the origins and developments of the concepts. The literature review is the base of the thesis and will be important when comparing results from the data gathering with ongoing academic debates in the chapter of the discussion.
- **State of the Art:** In the State of the Art ongoing academic discussions around the construction of cultural identities in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy with a particular focus on Aotearoa New Zealand will be presented.
- **Methodology:** The methodology part first discusses the theoretical framework *Kaupapa Māori theory* which builds the foundation of the methodology of this research. After that, the different methods which were applied in this research will be presented in detail. The methodology part informs about the way the literature review, the fieldwork in Aotearoa New Zealand, the participant observation, the informal and expert interviews and the website analysis were conducted.
- **Website Analysis:** This chapter presents the outcome of the three conducted website analyses and discusses the results from the Website Analysis related to the research interest.
- **Results:** In this chapter, the results from the three research objectives will be presented. The results from the *self-image*, *planned Māori identities* and *projected Māori identities* in Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy will be demonstrated.
- **Discussion:** In the discussion part, the results from the conducted research will be put into the context of theory and ongoing discussions in the field to summarize the most important outcomes of the thesis.

- **Conclusions:** The conclusion sums up the main results of this thesis and also highlights possible limitations of this research. The conclusion also includes open questions for future research.
- **References:** The referenced literature is listed in this part.
- **Glossary:** The glossary includes Māori terms with their explanation.

Chapter 2

Literature review

In this chapter, the theoretical framework of this thesis will be discussed.

The theoretical framework of this research is built upon the concepts of identity, Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy, which are included in the three research objectives. In this thesis there is an understanding that it is necessary to discuss the different concepts first, in order to understand the empirical research which builds upon them.

The literature review will start by demonstrating ongoing definitions and understandings of identity from social sciences and anthropology before looking in depth at the concepts of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy¹ which are obtained from communication studies.

Starting from the same theoretical understanding concerning the concepts is essential for the reader to put the following empirical research into the right context.

2.1 Identity

2.1.1 Introducing the topic of identity

The central research topic of this thesis is *identity*. Whereas the first research objective investigates the self-construction of identity from Māori perspectives, the second and third research objectives examine the opinions of experts regarding the *planned* and *projected Māori identities* in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels.

For many centuries scholars have developed definitions of identity, but given to the complexity of the topic there is no single understanding of identity until today; also, it is questionable if there will ever be one. An explanation of this phenomenon might be the fact that there is no unique and similar identity, but infinite variations of identities, almost as many as there are individuals in the world.

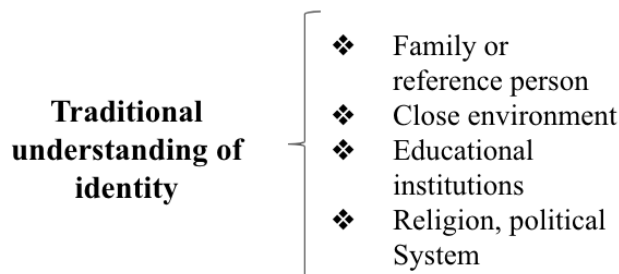
According to Woodward (1997), existing definitions of identity have not been unified and there are contradictions within them. Various approaches to understand and define

¹Throughout the research it became clear that it is necessary to discuss Cultural Diplomacy separately from Public Diplomacy.

identity have taken place and will be explained in depth in this chapter. After discussing existing definitions an attempt will be made to develop a working definition of identity for this thesis.

Assumptions exist that the understanding of identity changes with the given time frame and that identity is “subject to changing historical connotations” (Erikson, 1968, 15). Especially, religion and the current political system were great influence factors on identity building. Traditionally, identity was understood as constructed in concentric circles, such as from the family, the closer neighborhood, educational institutions or the direct environment (Bausinger, 1999). See Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Traditional understanding of constructing identity



Source: Author’s elaboration based on Bausinger (1999)

Since the end of the twentieth century discourses around identity increased (Jenkins, 1996). In the late 1990s, scholars noticed growing influence on the construction of identities by political, social, economic and technological changes occurring on a global and local level (Bauman, 1996; Woodward, 1997; Castells, 1997). See Figure 2.2. The influence of these changes and globalisation on the construction of identity has been a steady research interest since, such as by Houkamau (2010) on the example of Māori women in *Aotearoa*² New Zealand or Bornman (2003) on the example of South Africa.

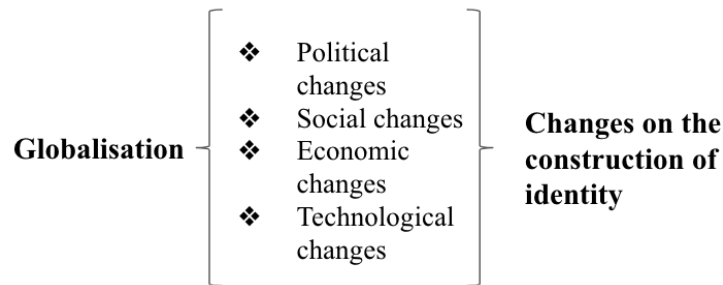
There is an awareness of the difficulty to identify and frame one’s identity through changing environments, as stable group memberships might break up or dissolved sense of belonging might occur (Bausinger, 1999).

As to Woodward (1997), the changing environments are rooted in capitalism which led to the detachment of individuals from the collective community and increased the focus on national and local identities. Jenkins (1996) adds that this phenomenon is caused by combining population growth and the development of communication technologies. As the author explains, globalisation and the hybridisation of cultures have made identity a popular and controversial topic (ibid).

Hall (1996) points out that processes of *reconceptualisation* take place due to the fact that identities increasingly question their historical past or culture. Searching for one’s identity might include feeling rootless or feeling isolated from the society (Gleason, 1983).

²[**Land of the long white cloud**]. Māori term for New Zealand. See explanation of *Aotearoa* in the glossary p. 276.

Figure 2.2: Changes influencing the construction of identity



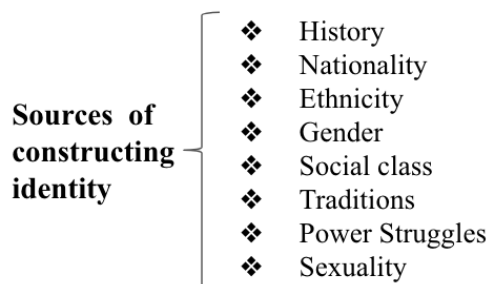
Source: Author's elaboration based on Woodward (1997), Bauman (1996) and Castells (1997)

There is an understanding in this thesis, that in our society a general perception exists that not having an identity is something *negative*. In this context, Erik Erikson, a German-American developmental psychologist and psychoanalyst coined the term of the *identity crisis* (Erikson, 1968).

A weaker version of an identity crisis is called an *identity disorder*. Identity disorder might be caused by various reasons, such as illnesses, unemployment or the break-up of a relationship (Woodward, 1997). Contrary to that, an assumption is made in this research that being aware of one's identity and 'knowing who you are' is related to power as suggested by Woodward (1997).

This thesis builds on Bhabha's (1994) suggested sources constructing identities such as nationality, ethnicity, social class, gender and sexuality, which were extended by elements like history, traditions or power structures (Abes, 2009; Torres et al., 2009; Andersen and Hill Collins, 2007; Jenkins, 1996) and Hall (1996). See Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Sources constructing identity



Source: Author's elaboration based on Bhabha (1994), Abes (2009), Torres et al. (2009), Andersen and Hill Collins (2007), Jenkins (1996) and Hall (1996)

The rupture with an accustomed environment might cause conflicts for the individual and might lead to feeling conflicted between different parts of one's identity. Related to that, the term of *fragmented identities* describes the process of an individual who might feel related to different identities.

In this context, Bhabha (1994) mentions countries with different communities regarding language, ethnicity and religion which especially struggle to create one clear national identity. The author (ibid) suggests a *fluid identity* creation which understands identity as the re-creation of the self during processes of migration and movement of people.

In 1996, Jenkins (1996) already noted that not only intellectuals have started to be interested in questions of identity, but also politicians, journalists and the advertising industry have learned to take advantage of identity for their interests.

Jenkins (1996) names the example of right-winged and left-wing politicians. Whereas right-wing politicians stress the element of primordiality of identity in relation to the nation, left-wing politicians focus on involving marginalised identities into the discourse. Another example that the author states are women fighting to establish more equal and self-determined definitions of gender. Also, indigenous peoples have begun to organize themselves as political actors and to distance themselves of old fashioned definitions of their identity which were written by other political actors who often had certain political or economic interests (Woodward, 1997).

From these examples in this thesis an assumption is made that the construction of identity is a *political* process and a strategy which aims at promoting the personal views, categorising the marginal groups and defining the opponents as suggested by Morris (2005) and McIntosh (2005).

Understanding identity from an anthropological perspective

Understanding identity from an anthropological point of view is essential for this research because it builds the base for ethnographic methods which will be applied in this research.

Anthropology is part of the social sciences and has developed from different concepts and disciplines of cultural and social studies. Also the anthropological understanding of identity derives from other disciplines such as philosophy, literature, critical theory and cultural studies (Gingrich, 2005).

Within social sciences the term identity came up first in the 1950s, whereas in cultural studies discussions around identity emerged since the 1980s and 1990s. Since then, concepts of identity have become the framework for increased intellectual debates (Gingrich, 2005). Theorists from a variety of disciplines such as sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, psychologists, geographers, historians or philosophers have participated in the discussions (Jenkins, 1996). Identity is not only attractive in academic discussions but also as a subject of discussions in everyday life. As Sökefeld (2012) states, identity is an interesting, but demanding and complex topic.

According to Gingrich (2005), anthropology faces significant problems when it comes to debating concepts of identity. Firstly, this can be observed due to overlapping influences from fields of humanities and social sciences. As a consequence of these influences, an increased number of references to these fields can be observed. Also, there are ongoing debates about a clear anthropological understanding of identity.

In this thesis it is assumed that there is no single and uniform understanding of identity, but a variety of beliefs which have complementary relationships to concepts of culture and society (Sökefeld, 2012). These definitions will be presented in the next part of this section.

2.1.2 Defining identity

The term *identity* is without doubt among the most important concepts of this thesis. Because of that, understanding its different meanings and specifications of it is highly significant for this research. The following section will deal with the different definitions of identity, but before they will be presented, the term identity first needs to be separated from other related terms.

Overlaps between *identity* and related terms

It might happen that the terms of identity and subjectivity are used as synonyms as they show overlaps. Subjectivity includes a particular sense of the self, with conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions which create our sense of *who we are* and feelings related to different positions within culture. Subjectivity involves people's most personal feelings and thoughts (Woodward, 1997).

There is a strong awareness of the so-called *subject positions* which Bhabha (1994) explains as characteristics such as race, gender, the specific generation, institutional and geopolitical locations or sexual orientation. Back in 1994, Bhabha (1994) already described these characteristics as the basis of identity in the modern world.

Neither are identities synonyms of roles. Contrary to identities, norms which are given by institutions and organizations of the society define roles (Castells, 1997). As the author (ibid) explains, identities are stronger than roles, because they involve self-construction and individuation. Castells (1997) contrasts identities which organize meaning of individuals, whereas roles coordinate the functions.

After determining the boundaries of the term identity to other related terms, selected definitions of identity will be presented and discussed related to the research interest.

Defining *identity*

As mentioned before, various attempts have been made to explain and define identity. The concept of identity is frequently described as complex and controversial. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight the different historical views of identity to understand why the self-construction of Māori is not self-evident and why ascriptions of identity about others need to be taken very critically.

The term *identity* derives from the latin word 'idem' which means 'the same' (Woodward, 1997). According to Jenkins (1996), a common-sense perspective understands identity as the self-determination of an individual or collectivity.

Identity is a form of self-expression which is shaped in interaction with others (Capie and McGhie, 2005; McIntosh, 2005). Related to that, Cashmore (2008, 94) defines identity as the “conception one individual has about himself or herself” whereas Hall (1996, 3) describes identity as a “strategic and positional concept”.

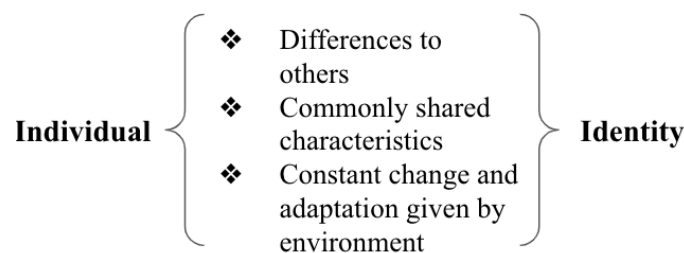
For a long time, an essentialist view dominated the anthropological understanding of identity. Particularly the Primordialists who are representatives of classic anthropology supported essentialist approaches of identity (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). From an essentialist perspective identity is understood as fixed and intrinsic. In this tradition of thinking, identity is inherent to people and does not change. All the members of a society share the same authentic set of characteristics which do not alter over time (Woodward, 1997).

Throughout an extended time period, Woodward (1997) argues that identity was understood as internal to people which persists through change and is slightly shaped and modified in interactions of individuals with their surrounding.

As the author further explains it was especially political movements which benefited from the essentialist view of identity. Political movements claimed a particular biological basis for the affirmation of identity through a fixed truth of shared past or biological facts (Woodward, 1997).

Bhabha (1994) links the concept of fixity of identity to colonial discourses and the construction of ‘otherness’. According to him (ibid), fixity of identity stresses cultural, historical and racial differences in the discourse of colonialism. This approach was strongly criticized by various scholars, such as Stuart Hall. Hall disapproved to see identity as *unchangeable*. He suggested to understand identity as a subject of constant change and transformation (Hall, 1996). See Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4: Elements influencing the individual construction of identity



Source: Author’s elaboration based on Hall (1996)

Contrary to these essentialist beliefs of identity, today the ongoing consensus is that identity is not a passive process and does not depend on material conditions of life (Bausinger, 1999).

A non-essentialist understanding of identity has been established which focuses on differences between individuals and commonly shared characteristics between societies (Woodward, 1997). Bhabha (1994) argues that identity is not pre-given, but an image which is produced by a subject.

Scholars agree that identity is a dynamic and flexible process which constantly changes due to the given conditions and circumstances. The process of identity creation never ends, but is active in constantly developing and adapting to new situations, such as to a new environment, a new partner or a new job.

Individuals handle these processes differently, whether consciously or subconsciously, but they do have an impact on people's lives (Bausinger, 1999). One individual can even have a number of identities, with some of them being in conflict with each other (McIntosh, 2005). The theoretical opinion of the so-called 'optionalists' or 'interactionists' even believes that individuals can remove parts of their identity consciously.

From a sociological perspective, there is a clear agreement that identity is socially constructed. There are different processes of socialisation which influence the construction of identity. One primary socialisation process is determined by the history, geography, environment an individual is surrounded with (Jenkins, 1996). Capie and McGhie (2005) add that important influences come from domestic sources, customs, institutions, myths or norms and rituals.

In this context, scholars suggest to understand identity as a *relational* concept which is carried out actively by an individual (Woodward, 1997; Jenkins, 1996). Identity is constructed by a direct or indirect interaction between individuals by finding similarities or differences with one's environment (Woodward, 1997; Jenkins, 1996). See Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5: Construction of identity including the element of difference

$$\mathbf{Individual} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Difference} \end{array} \right\} \text{Others} \equiv \mathbf{Identity}$$

Source: Author's elaboration based on Woodward (1997) and Jenkins (1996)

Jenkins (1996) calls this an *internal-external* relationship and describes people's urge to identify themselves to others or to be identified by the people of their surrounding. People construct their identities in relation to other identities, including and excluding their elements to themselves, to the 'outsider' or the 'other', which is in relation to what they are not (Woodward, 1997; Hague and Jenkins, 2005; Morris, 2005).

As Jenkins (1996) states, people need information about themselves and their counterparts in order to make sense of their identity. Through this interaction values and characteristics can be integrated into one's identity.

The construction of identities most commonly appears in *binary* oppositions (Woodward, 1997). Such oppositions are for example the ones of man versus woman, black versus white or straight versus gay (ibid). Individuals arrange, rearrange and process this information due to social determination and cultural influences which are rooted in the individual social structure and time and place frame (Castells, 1997).

Hall (1996) confirms that elements, such as a common language, origin or other characteristics shared with another individual or group create feelings of solidarity and allegiance.

Identity is constructed by subjective meanings which individuals give based on internal and external interactions or reflections (Jenkins, 1996). Meaning can be understood as the identification with a process or purpose of action by a person (Castells, 1997).

In this context, Castells (1997, 6) defines identity as follows:

Identity is people's source of meaning and experience. It is the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or related to a set of cultural attributes that are given priority over the sources of meaning.

The notion of *difference* is necessary to understand how identities are constructed.

The difference can be built negatively through the exclusion and marginalization of elements intrinsic to the 'others', but can also highlight the importance of diversity, heterogeneity, and hybridity (Woodward, 1997). Related to the element of difference, individuals' identities depend on being differentiated from others and mark themselves by the differences to other identities (Grossberg, 1996).

As Woodward (1997, 38) further states:

Difference is marked by symbolic representations which give meaning to social relations, but the exploration of difference does not tell us why people invest in the positions they do nor why there is such personal investment in difference.

As to the very author (Woodward, 1997), some differences seem more important than others, such as ethnic groups, especially in particular places and times. Bhabha (1994, 2) calls it the "articulation of cultural differences" which he understands as in-between spaces to elaborate one's 'selfhood'. As the author (ibid) explains, in these spaces the overlaps and displacement of differences are discussed.

Identity can only be authentic when the social actor internalizes it and further constructs their meaning around this internalization (Castells, 1997). To make identity work people have to take up their positions and identify with them. Gingrich's definition of identity includes various elements that have been mentioned before.

According to Gingrich (2005, 6) identities are:

Personas and collective identities as simultaneously including sameness and differing. [] Identities are multidimensional and contradictory and include power-related, dialogical ascriptions by selves and others which are procedurally configured, enacted and transformed by cognition, language, imagination, emotion, body and (additional forms) of agency.

Although the author Gingrich (2005) manages to include elements such as differentiation and political interest in the construction of identity, he does not focus on the element time, but rather speaks about a procedural transformation of identity.

At the same time, Gupta and Ferguson (1992) explain that due to the expanding and faster mobility of people a loss of territorial roots as well as a refusal of cultural products and decreased distinctiveness of a place can be observed. Transnational flow of cultures and mass movements of people define today's world. These processes also have a profound impact on the construction of identities as they become less fixed than static as they explain (ibid).

Bauman (1996) claims that identity has always been an individual process of 'escaping from uncertainty'. He argues that identity is important to those who are not sure of where they belong to, for those who are not sure how to place themselves among the evident variety of behavioral styles and patterns and how to ensure people's support around them. Furthermore, individuals depend on expert guidance to tell them 'what identities could be acquired and held' (ibid).

After presenting several definitions of identity a working definition of identity was developed for this thesis. Therefore, in this thesis identity will be understood as:

Identity is an active and self-determined process of an individual positioning oneself in a local and global environment, whether this is done consciously or unconsciously. The construction of identity is a never-ending, ongoing-process, which constantly receives influences and impacts throughout lifetime. Influencing factors can be personal experiences, the close environment and surrounding individuals, the community or bigger groups but also social, political, economic factors, as well as new technologies and globalisation. Identities are multidimensional and contradictory and can include sameness and difference to other individuals at the same time.

This definition will build the base for understanding Māori identities. Having defined the understanding of identity in this thesis, the forms of identity which are relevant for this thesis will be explained.

2.1.3 Forms of identity

There are different forms of identities. One can differentiate between social identity, cultural identity, indigenous identity, gender identity, national identity, racial identity, ethnic identity, collective identity or place identity, to name some examples (Morris, 2005).

The different forms have different specifications, such as social identity which according to Jenkins (2005) looks at characteristics or properties of individuals as social beings. The author (ibid) highlights social identity as the process of distinguishing individuals and collectives in their relationship with each other.

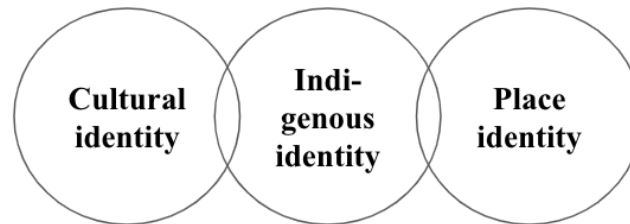
Also, there are differences between individual identities and collective identities, however this is not to be understood as an *essentialist* view on identities in this research. Individual identities are related to persons, whereas collective identities represent the entire society (Jenkins, 1996).

Castells (1997) roots the development of collective identities in the technological development. He (ibid) states that "collective identities are multiple, highly diversified and

follow the contours of the very culture and have historical sources for the formation of each identity” (Castells, 2008, 2). According to him (ibid), collective identities might also challenge and transform processes of globalisation.

For this research the concepts of *cultural identity*, *indigenous identity* and *place identity* are significant and will be explained in depth in this chapter. See Figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6: Relevant forms of *identity* for this research



Source: Author's own elaboration

An assumption is made in this thesis that identity is an individual process, but there are linking elements between them which can be understood as collective identities.

2.1.3.1 Cultural Identity

Understanding concepts of culture

Before the term *cultural identity* which is the main research subject in this thesis related to Māori identity can be defined, the term 'culture' and its meaning for this research needs to be discussed. Culture is the main subject of anthropology, but even there it is very vast and broadly defined. Similar to identity, the concept of culture has been the subject of investigation and has caused strong disagreement among specialists.

For a long time culture was determined having an inferior role in society contrary to economic and political processes. There was an understanding that culture dealt with less tangible things as Du Gay et al. (1997) determine such as signs, images, languages and beliefs. Only with the reflexive turn in anthropology in the 1970s, culture became increasingly important. In this context, Gupta and Ferguson (1992) state that by removing essentialist thinking from culture, culture could start investigating the production of difference in a cultural, social and economical way and the interconnectedness and interdependence of spaces.

Recently, concepts of culture have played an increased role in the business and economic world. Large companies offer so-called cultural change programs to promote the organization's efficiency, effectiveness, and profitability (Du Gay et al., 1997).

Traditionally in anthropology, it was widespread to limit culture to culturally unitary groups, such as tribes (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). With the increased development of nationalism culture was stronger related to the specific cultures of nations and periods (Du Gay et al., 1997).

In this context, Gellner (1995) suggests to define the community, which is a group of individuals, as the element to define *who* is sharing culture. However, this culture is transmitted in a 'non-genetical' way and cannot be reproduced. The community defines the limitations and boundaries of the culture, within which the reproduction of the cultural behavior takes place. Members of a community use the same language and linguistic tokens (ibid).

Furthermore, Gellner (1995) argues that a community is a 'sub-population of a species' which does share genetically transmitted traits with the species, but is characterized by additional characteristics and elements. Sunderland and Denny (2007) suggest to understand culture as not limited to any geographical location but as a distinct characteristic to divide people from others.

Several attempts were made to define culture; some of these which seem pivotal to this research will be presented now.

Some scholars focus on explaining culture as a process such as Gellner (1995, 45) who defines culture as a "non-genetic mode of transmission located in an ongoing community". Here, culture is understood as a series of certain traits, which are semantically transmitted and reproduced by the behavior of individuals (ibid).

Whitehead (2004, 9) focuses stronger on culture as providing rules and routine and states that culture aims to "facilitate the order of people, regularity, familiarity and predictability in people's things, ideas and behaviors". As the author explains, people construct and communicate their realities around the meaning they give to their own culture (ibid).

Culture is an element of constant change; as Sunderland and Denny (2007, 49) explain culture is "changeable, modifiable and combines meaning, understanding, explanation, and processes which point out symbolic significance and practices constituted by humans". As the authors further state, culture becomes apparent on a social level of observation (Sunderland and Denny, 2007).

For this thesis, DuGay's approach will be used to understand culture.

Du Gay et al. (1997, 12) developed a working definition of culture in which they describe culture as a "particular way of life which inherits certain meanings and values". The authors (ibid) name meanings, values, norms, human behavior, rituals, institutions, myths, religious beliefs and art as examples for shared characteristics of a culture.

According to Du Gay et al. (1997) culture is the production and circulation of meaning which are constantly constructed by cultural beings. As they (Du Gay et al., 1997, 14) further state, "cultural meanings are not existent in things, but are results of social discourses and practice which construct the world meaningfully". Meaning might change over time - some meanings are widely accepted and are taken 'literally', whereas others appear remote and metaphorical (ibid).

Understanding the meaning of culture built the base for understanding construction of cultural identities, such as in the case of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In the next subsection, the developing of cultural identity and definitions of cultural identity will be presented.

Developing Cultural Identity

Since the 1980s increased reflection of concepts of cultural identities came up in sociology and anthropology (Bausinger, 1999).

As to the author (*ibid*) this was the time when there was a great movement of migrant workers in Europe. There were ongoing discussions whether migrant workers would preserve their own culture or create new cultural identities adapted to their new working conditions. The results showed that binary descriptions such as old identity versus new identity were not sufficient. So-called "in-between positions" which means individuals with parts of different identities occurred (Bausinger, 1999, 17).

The understanding of cultural identity by Stuart Hall plays a significant role in this thesis as he addresses the construction of identities that underwent colonial processes similar to Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Hall (1994), born and raised in a lower-middle class family in Jamaica, as he described himself, sharply questions the postcolonial influences on identities of descendants from African slaves in Jamaica.

Through colonization in the New World, Europe had significant impact on the individuals living there (Hall, 1994). The New World became a space of creolization, assimilation, and syncretism. Contrary to Aotearoa New Zealand, Hall describes that the majority of the people who nowadays live there originally did not belong there.

Hall (1994) further states consequences of the colonization processes which are similar to Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, such as the displacement and decimation of indigenous populations, slavery, colonialism and conquest, as well as diaspora, diversity, hybridity and difference in the long run.

The author stresses the understanding of diaspora as a recognition of heterogeneity and diversity, an understanding of identity which lives through differentiation and transformation (Hall, 1994).

Only since the 1970s, there was a consciousness of Afro-Caribbean identity within Jamaica and abroad. This was when people started to emphasize the connection of their African ancestors with the slavery in the Americas and they started to discover being 'black' (Hall, 1994). As Hall (1994) explained the original Africa does not exist anymore, feeling 'African' has transformed as history is irreversible.

On the example of black Caribbean identities Hall explains their identity being framed on two axes: the first one, the axis of similarity and continuity and the second one, difference and rupture (Hall, 1994, 237). The two axes stand in a dialogic relationship to each other, with the first one symbolizing the past and the second one standing for experience as a 'profound discontinuity'.

In 1996, Bausinger (1999) mentioned cultural identity being confronted by economical and technical globalisation. As to him (*ibid*), increased globalisation processes lead to decreased cultural diversity, whereas decreased globalisation effects help maintain cultural identity.

In this context, Bausinger (1999) criticizes the use of the world 'global' as most processes are limited to intermediary units. The author rather uses descriptions, such as 'transnational', 'intercultural needs', 'steps' and 'developments' (Bausinger, 1999). He also questions the understanding of globalisation as a natural and neutral process of diffusion (Bausinger, 1999). According to him (ibid), globalisation is always related to influence, power and wealth.

Throughout globalisation processes, things and meanings are modified, but things happen in an intertwining of cultural experiences with other political, economic and technical ones (Bausinger, 1999). According to Bhabha (1994), the world is defined by a transit where space and time cross and produce complex figures of difference and identity. Related to that dichotomies of past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion become more important, which will be particularly highlighted throughout this research.

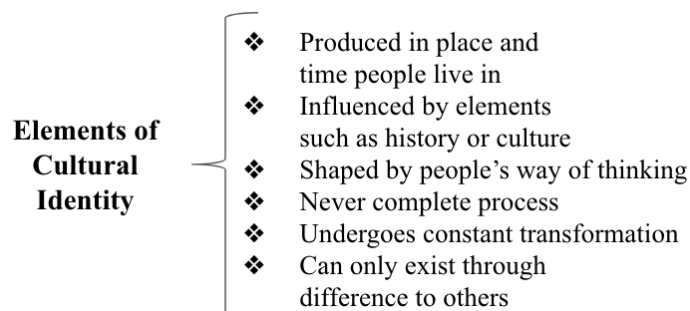
Defining Cultural Identity

As being mentioned before, Stuart Hall's understanding of cultural identity will be the main view of cultural identity in this thesis.

In his definition of cultural identity, Hall (1994) refers to the earlier mentioned *differentiations of identity*. He supports that the understanding of cultural identity as collective and shared by individuals through elements, such as a common history or shared cultural codes, is overcome. According to him (ibid), it is not acceptable anymore to see cultural identity as something fixed which cannot be changed and which holds together people by shared history and ancestry (Hall, 1994).

Hall suggests a rethinking of cultural identity. According to him, cultural identity is produced in the place and time people live in, from elements such as their history and culture. Cultural identities retell the past by their perception which Hall calls *positioning*. As to Hall (1994), people's experience and opinion will never be identical with the subject which is spoken of but will be shaped by their way of thinking. See Figure 2.7.

Figure 2.7: Defining cultural identity



Source: Author's elaboration based on Hall (1994)

Hall (1994) claims to understand identity as a never complete process and production. The author (ibid) explains that through the intervention of history individuals undergo a

constant transformation so that this method is not limited to the past, but transcends place, time, history, and culture.

As the author (Hall, 1994, 236) states, “Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.”

He (ibid) further explains that through colonization regimes individuals were made to feel different as *others*. The author concludes that cultural identity is not “a fixed essence”, but lies apart from history and culture (Hall, 1994, 237).

According to the author (ibid), there are no fixed origins, but memories, fantasies, narratives, and myth told through history which have an influence, but which lie in the past. Identity can only exist through difference to something else. The *diaspora identities* as Hall (1994) calls them, continually produce and reproduce themselves by processes of transformation and difference.

2.1.3.2 Indigenous Identity

Another sub-form of identity is indigenous identity. This sub-form of identity is the main research subject of this thesis because Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. It is therefore necessary to understand indigenous identity and to address elements and definitions of indigenous people.

There are estimated 5,000 different indigenous groups worldwide and around 350 million indigenous people around the world. Together, the different indigenous peoples speak around 4,000 different languages (Tryon, 2019).

Various scholars criticise that the definitions about indigenous identity are often made by others than indigenous peoples. Weaver (2001) explains that the definitions about indigenous peoples are influenced by political access and resource allocation, which is why sometimes indigenous identity is defined by policies, laws and conventions. The author (ibid) even speaks of a so-called 'external' identification of indigenous peoples.

Scholars (Corntassel, 2003; Weaver, 2001) further claim that there is a repetition of specific terms within various definitions of indigenous peoples, such as the self-determination, the (shared) historical experience or the traditional homelands. There is an understanding that only tribes should have the right to determine their definition of indigenous identity (ibid).

According to Weaver (2001) it is misleading to think that indigenous people experience cultural identity the same way, because they were born into the same context. As the author explains, “Identity can be multilayered. For some, a sub-tribal identity such as clan affiliation is primary. For others, identification with a tribe or a region [] is most meaningful” (Weaver, 2001, 243) .

Therefore, Weaver (2001) suggests that indigenous identity is a combination of self-identification and perception of others; some people with indigenous identity do not appear phenotypically whereas others with heritage know little about their culture. The

author (ibid) argues that cultural identity is developed throughout lifelong processes of cultural awareness and understanding.

International organizations, non-governmental organizations and academics often make their definitions about indigenous peoples. The International Labour Organisation has an official definition included in the ILO Convention No. 169 (ILO, 1989), which states that indigenous peoples are:

- “Tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations” (Article 1.1.a).
- “Peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.” (Article 1.1.b).
- “Self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply.” (Article 1.2).
- “The use of the term peoples in this Convention shall not be construed as having any implications as regards the rights which may attach to the term under international law” (Article 1.3).

In 1981, José R. Martínez Cobo wrote a study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations in which he also offered a working definition of indigenous communities, peoples and nations.

In his working definition, he characterised traits indigenous peoples have in common, such as the connection to ancestral land, the common ancestry with the original occupants of the land, their culture and specific manifestations, the language, residence of a particular part of the country, etc. (United Nations, nd).

The IWGIA (2019), which stands for the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, explains that in many cases indigenous peoples are *aboriginal* or *native* to the lands they live in and descendants of people who had inhabited the territory before the colonisation and the formation of the state. The IWGIA (2019) further states that indigenous peoples might be described as having their distinct language, cultures, and social and political institutions.

Often, indigenous peoples suffer from the exclusion of society and deprived rights, although they are citizens of the state and should have the same rights as any other citizen. As part of their self-determination, they preserve, develop and transmit to their future

generations their ancestral territories and the ethnic identity to insist on their right of self-determination (IWGIA, 2019).

As Weaver (2001) says, sometimes asserting indigenous cultural identity is related to resisting assimilation. As the author (ibid) explains, some individuals identify with their indigenous identity as a form of resisting the domination of the white community, although they have a limited connection to their culture.

After explaining what the term of indigenous identity means, a closer look will be made at Māori identities, as the construction of the identities of Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous people is the main research subject of this thesis. Various attempts have been made to investigate the construction of Māori identities. In the next chapter, a summary of ongoing understandings related to the construction of Māori identities will be presented.

2.1.3.3 Māori identities

Historical events have significantly influenced the construction of Māori identities (McIntosh, 2005). Māori were politically organised and lived in clear social structures when the Europeans arrived. Their identities were long-lastingly changed and shaped through British colonialism (Pearson, 2005; Capie and McGhie, 2005).

As Pearson (2005, 24-25) describes, British colonialism transformed Māori identities into a “relatively powerless indigenous minority” by taking away people's lands, economy, socio-political ideas and cultural practices. This had a precisely massive impact on the construction of Māori identities because Māori have a profound spiritual connection to the land as Morris (2005, 252) describes in the following quote:

The relationship to the land, at the heart is relationship to land and each other, articulations and re-articulations of who we are and where we come from, the spiritual texts of our identity, Aotearoa is the ground of our individual and collective life, it gives us our being and connects us to each other and our future, we do not live on the land but literally of it, [] this land is where we come from and where we die [].

According to Pearson (2005), the colonial heritage gave Māori a minority position in Aotearoa New Zealand, which became part Māori, part British and New Zealand citizens. Also, Warren et al. (2017) state that Māori sense of belonging and cultural identity were long lastingly reshaped through layers of dispossession of land, diseases, assimilation politics, the world wars, urbanisation and the loss of the language.

In Māori society, social standing is linked to having a place in a geographical sense and tying oneself to the community through marriage or blood. As McIntosh (2005) explains, genealogical lines establish the place and home for Māori, which caused alienation for Māori who are not connected to their homes. Māori identities became marginal identities in Aotearoa New Zealand through political struggle who now seek to redefine themselves under their term (ibid).

As Pearson (2005) further explains, it was in 1967 with the Immigration Act that Aotearoa New Zealand's society changed to a more heterogeneous and temporary form of society. As a consequence of that, a revived tribal and pan-Māori politicisation took place which put pressure on the state to address visible Māori economic and social inequalities. Since the formation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, Māori received the legal right for self-determination (Houkamau and Sibley, 2013). As the authors Houkamau and Sibley (2013, 10) state, today there is a “focus on reversing the effects of Māori assimilation and colonialism by encouraging Māori to heal their cultural identity by immersion into their own culture”.

Today, Māori are part of the multicultural society in Aotearoa New Zealand, but still have a unique position as Treaty partners of the Crown (Pearson, 2005).

Houkamau and Sibley (2013) describe today's Māori identities having a variety of cultural and social features. Therefore, the attempt to understand Māori identities is considered a challenge. They (ibid) further state that the diversity of the Māori population makes it more difficult for policymakers to understand Māori identification when aiming to implement Māori development or support (Houkamau and Sibley, 2013).

There are significant variances in understanding what being Māori means (Warren et al., 2017) and also different ways of being Māori (Houkamau and Sibley, 2013). Being Māori may mean something different for male or female, young or old, Māori living in an *Iwi*³ or outside of it, Māori living in Aotearoa New Zealand or abroad (Warren et al., 2017).

According to Borell (2005), the conceptualisation of Māori identities regularly causes ongoing political, social and cultural debates. Also, calling oneself Māori comes with responsibilities and obligations to participate as a member of the community (McIntosh, 2005). As to Borell (2005), the conventional approaches to determine Māori identities reflect the imperatives of the time.

In the past, Māori identities were often understood as fixed identities, which means that to be Māori people were required to know their *Whakapapa*⁴ or speak *Te Reo Māori*⁵ (McIntosh, 2005; Pearson, 2005). Borell (2005) states that it is problematic to understand Māori identity based on criteria of speaking *Te Reo Māori* or knowing one's *Tikanga*⁶. As Houkamau and Sibley (2013) confirm, any Māori who self-identifies with Māori and has Māori ancestors is Māori. Borell (2005) suggests understanding Māori identity as having some collective unity, which in some approaches to Māori identity connects stronger with this experience than others.

³[Tribe]. See explanation of *Iwi* in the glossary p. 277

⁴[Genealogy]. See explanation of *Whakapapa* in the glossary p. 283.

⁵[Māori language]. See explanation of *Te Reo Māori* in the glossary p. 282.

⁶[Customs, Practice]. See explanation of *Tikanga* in the glossary p. 282.

Several scholars have developed Māori classifications. In 1994, Durie (1994) distinguished between:

1. The cultural Māori, people who know their Whakapapa and who are familiar to speaking Te Reo Māori and understanding about their Tikanga.
2. The bicultural Māori, those people who live in the Māori and *Pākeha*⁷ world.
3. Marginalised Māori, who do not identify with Māori or Pākeha culture at all.

In 2000, also Williams (2000) developed a Māori typology. His typology consists of:

1. The traditional Māori, who is fluent in Māori and English.
2. The primarily urban and bicultural Māori.
3. The unconnected Māori who is biologically Māori but has no knowledge.
4. The Māori who cannot be differentiated from Pākeha anymore.

According to Houkamau and Sibley (2013), various scholars have dealt with determining the central elements which constitute Māori identity.

They name the centrality of traditional Māori values and social organisation investigated by Moeke-Pickering (1996), associations with *Whanau*⁸, *Hapu*⁹ and Iwi, the centrality of kin groups investigated by Rangihau (1975), *Whanaungatanga*¹⁰ observed by Pere (1979, 1988), the ability to speak Te Reo Māori examined by Karetu (1993), understanding Tikanga Māori and the engagement in Māori organisations and activities, as well as the *Wairuatanga*¹¹, Māori spirituality observed by Barlow (1991) and finally self-awareness as relevant to Māori identity.

Houkamau and Sibley (2013) developed their proper multi-dimensional model of Māori identities. They named six dimensions which together build Māori identity, namely: group membership evaluation, socio-political consciousness, active identity engagement, spirituality, self-concept and authenticity beliefs. According to the authors (Houkamau and Sibley, 2013), these different elements together build Māori identities; still, the various features vary strongly from one individual to another.

Today there is an understanding that Māori identities are fluid and dynamic (Warren et al., 2017) and that they are shaped by the socio-political realities they are embedded in (McIntosh, 2005). There is an awareness that Māori identities are not fixed but rather in process and that they adapt to or totally reject cultural markers (ibid). An increased approach to identify Māori using self-determination can be observed (Borell, 2005). Houkamau and

⁷[Non-Māori New Zealanders]. See explanation of *Pākeha* in the glossary p. 280.

⁸[Family]. See explanation of *Whanau* in the glossary p. 283.

⁹[Sub-tribe]. See explanation of *Hapu* in the glossary p. 276.

¹⁰[Relationships to family]. See explanation of *Whanaungatanga* in the glossary p. 283.

¹¹[Interaction in meaningful ways]. See explanation of *Wairuatanga* in the glossary p. 282.

Sibley (2013) suggest understanding being Māori as a subjective experience and identification with cultural engagement.

Furthermore, the authors Houkamau and Sibley (2013, 12) advocate the following definition for Māori identities:

Māori identities are a multidimensional construct involving feelings, attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, behaviour and indirect association with being Māori in everyday practice and social representation.

As McIntosh (2005) explains, Māori identities include elements such as gender, class, sexual orientation, age, familial location, familial occupation, religious affiliation, political tendencies or intellectual interests. Based on the mentioned different influences, Māori identities always shape, reshape and change themselves.

After having discussed ongoing debates about Māori identities, it became clear how important *place* is for Māori, but it also builds a base for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy that aims at promoting this place identity. Therefore, in this research a closer look at concepts of place and place identity is considered necessary to understand the processes that lead this research.

In the following section the understandings of place, the development of place identity and definitions of place identity will be discussed.

2.1.3.4 Place identity

Understanding the concept of a place

A place is a multifaceted phenomenon which consists of different elements. The physical realities of a place are probably the most distinct attributes to identify a place, even if they are latent (Relph, 1976; Hague, 2005).

Places are not static constructs, and therefore, it is not enough to understand a place only through its location and appearance (Relph, 1976). Similar to social identities, places change through human activity or natural impact and are not fixed entities (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013).

According to Jenkins (2005), *places* are relational concepts. As the author (ibid) explains, people perceive a place through a so-called 'cultural filter', which Relph (1976) defines through experience, emotions, memory, imagination and intention.

Hague (2005) confirms that emotions people relate to a place impart values and meanings which are socially learned through a mediated process with their environment. The experience people have of a place is shaped by the stories they have heard and filtered by the characteristics of their socialization (ibid).

According to Relph (1976), because of this cultural filter, one particular location might be understood in different ways. Therefore, one place can have different place identities. As he (ibid) explains, places have the function of giving people an existence.

Developing Place Identity

The idea of place identities goes back to the rise of nation-states during the nineteenth century (Hague, 2005). Around 100 years ago, also spatial planners started to deal with issues of place identity (Jenkins, 2005).

Since then, place identity has become an essential political tool (Capie and McGhie, 2005). Especially nations that became independent from their colonial forces (Dahbour, 2001), but also newly emerging nations after the two World Wars (Anderson, 1983) focused on creating a new place identity.

In this context, Anderson (1983) speaks about the so-called 'imagined communities' - imagined as members of a nation whose infinite amount of members they will never be able to meet. Imagined communities co-live with the image of communion. As the author (ibid) explains, imagined communities do not replace religious communities or dynastic realms, but because of the decline of sacred communities, languages, and lineages *thinking of a nation* is developed (Anderson, 1983).

According to Dahbour (2001), this development has been counterproductive for the survival of group cultures and has harmed the self-development of individuals. Also, Capie and McGhie (2005) confirm that nation-states support the creation of one official culture. Morris (2005) even states that patterns to constitute the identity and boundaries of society are mainly communicated by states. Nevertheless, Jenkins (2005) describes national identities in the post-war period as strong and unquestioned.

Economic depression and the rapid evolution of social and cultural structures during the 1960s and 1970s led to the questioning of existing perceptions of place identities (Jenkins, 2005). So-called *sub-nationalism* occurred within old nations and questioned established structures (Anderson, 1983). Secularism and diversity led to multicultural nations which face challenges of creating a national identity which is not only based on race, religion or culture (Barber, 2001). Barber (2001) suggests to include characteristics such as gender, class, ethnic origins, geography, and economics into the discussions of place identity.

With the change of traditional role allocation, today's governments aim at increasingly including the civil society and the private sector into the management of a place (Barber, 2001). Jenkins (2005) suspects reasons for the increased interest in strategic place management and the place identity in economic change and globalisation (ibid).

Lately, traditional place identity has been challenged by flows of increasing mobility of people (Smith, 2005). Globalisation can have positive and negative effects on the image of a nation. Whereas place-marketing or tourism contributes positively, decreased investments can harm the nation (ibid). In this context, Castells (1997) points out that globalisation has led to a nationalist resurgence and constructing place identity by shared nationality.

After engaging with understandings of a place and the development of place identity, different definitions of place identity which are considered essential when approaching topics related to place identity will be presented in the following section.

Defining Place Identity

Similar to *social* identities, the element of differentiation is also essential for place identity. In this context, Relph (1976, 45) understands the identity of a place as something that makes a “place individual and distinct from other places”.

As mentioned before, place identity combines the visible appearance of a place with an individual’s relationship with the place. Therefore, everybody’s perception of a place is different because place identity is a social construct (ibid). Also, Hague (2005) states that the identity of a place is given by the interpretation and narratives of individuals which transform a space into a place. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) even call the identity of a place a *cultural construction* by a community or locality.

Relph (1976, 47) defines three essential elements of place identity, which are (1) the static physical setting, (2) social activities and (3) social meaning. According to him (ibid), social activities and meaning of a place are rooted in human influence.

Similar to a place, also the formation of place identities takes place through feelings, meanings, experiences, memories and actions which partly undergo personal filters as well as filters of social structures and socialisation (Hague, 2005). Place identities are also relational; the formation takes place in interaction with others such as people, places, other identities (ibid).

Jenkins (2005) describes that place identities change through socio-cultural patterns, such as family units, globalised culture. Processes such as migration even affect both countries, the nation people emigrate from, and the nation people immigrate to. Processes of migration might even create plural place identities (Woodward, 1997).

Similar to social identities, place identities are also defined through similarities and differences. Joining elements could be shared experiences, cultures, tastes, and histories (Hague, 2005). Only through contrasting the differences to one’s environment, individuals can be aware of their identity (ibid).

2.1.4 From Concepts of Identity to Nation Branding

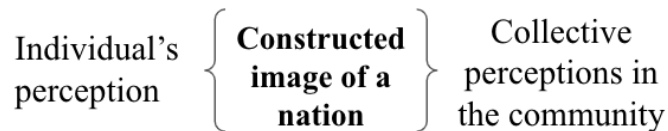
In the previous sections, different concepts of identity were discussed in depth. Another form of identity is *national identity*, which similarly to social and cultural identities depends on meanings and interactions of the population of a nation. National identity will not be explained in this thesis, as this research focuses on multiple cultural identities rather than one national identity. Nevertheless, the terms nation, brands and branding which are necessary to understand Nation Branding will be discussed next.

The social construction of a nation

In the tradition of social constructionism, the concept of a nation is understood as a social construct equal to other social constructs such as gender, race or class.

According to Widler (2007), social concepts are reproduced and reconstructed daily by individuals, institutions or the media. Also, Aronczyk (2013) confirms that the nation is an ongoing project of constant creation and re-creation. According to her (ibid), various actors such as local or extra-local agents, individuals or collectives *produce* the nation. See Figure 2.8.

Figure 2.8: Different perceptions constructing the image of a nation



Source: Author's elaboration based on Aronczyk (2013)

Also, O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy (2000) confirm that a nation can only be understood in the context of its people and culture. As Fan (2010) arguments, people define a nation's image by their perceptions, which show influences of stereotyping, media coverage or the personal experience.

Govers and Go (2009) argue that the place image consists of different projections and perceptions which are constructed either by individuals or in the community. People might have different intentions depending on the particular time and space, such as economic or political interests (Aronczyk, 2013). See Figure 2.8.

Olins (2002) argues that brands can help to create an identity of belonging, just like a nation does. The process of defining a national identity is complicated (Fan, 2006). Anholt (2007) states that branding plays a pivotal role in the process of identity formation. Therefore, now, there will be a closer look at brands and branding.

Brands and Branding

Scholars agree that there is not one single definition of a brand, but a variety of different definitions, which makes it challenging to measure brands (Keller, 2002; Kapferer, 2008). It is clear though, that a brand differentiates in its dimensions from a *product* (Keller, 2012).

Furthermore, there are various theoretical approaches related to branding, for instance the psychology-based approach, the economics-based approach and the sociology and biology-based approach which are based on consumer psychology, economics, biology, or sociology (Keller, 2002). Traditionally, brands were also linked to advertising, graphic design, promotion, public relations or propaganda (Anholt, 2007).

Various scholars describe a *brand* related to its perception by the consumer, such as Moilanen and Rainisto (2009, 6) who state that a "brand is the impression a client has about a product or a service".

Also, Keller (2012, 36) confirms that a brand is:

Something that resides in the minds of a consumer. A brand is a perpetuate entity rooted in reality but is more than that; it reflects perceptions and perhaps even the idiosyncrasies of consumers.

Consumers can decide from a wide range of competing brands, which is why brands need to stand out from others by being unique and different from their competition. (Keller, 2012).

In this thesis, there is an understanding that a brand is a sum of all experienced elements in the consumer's mind, and as Keller and Lehmann (2006, 740) state, "Brands reflect the complete experience customers have with the product". This quote justifies why it is crucial to include the customers in the process of creating a brand. According to Ryder (2004), by adding people's perception into the evolution of a brand, they include ideas about the people involved, products, services or companies. Also Keller (2012) confirms that people project their self-images into brands.

However, in this thesis there is an understanding that brands also have an orientation giving function to society in times of information overload as a consequence of globalization. As van Ham (2008, 130) explains, "brands are a guide for consumers and citizens facing complexity and information overload". Ryder (2004) argues that people filter the information they receive about a brand through their sensations first.

Keller (2002) points out that a brand consists of different brand elements, which are used to identify and differentiate the brand from others. The very author (ibid) names brand names, logos, symbols, characters, slogans, jingles, or packages as some examples. The strength of a brand depends on the amount of positive associations the audience has about a brand through marketing activities, personal perception, communication and advertisement (Keller, 2002).

As to Kapferer (2008), brands create emotional assets for their clients such as the beliefs of exclusivity and superiority, as well as emotional bonding. He (ibid) states that these emotional assets aim to produce benefits for the consumer over a long period.

During the last decades, *branding* has become an essential management tool for organisations as they understood the potential brands have for them (Keller, 2002). Govers and Go (2009, 12) describe branding as an "experience of all senses" and mean that all the senses of the customers are addressed in the process. This is done to increase the memory of customers related to a brand. As Keller (2012, 36) defines,

Branding creates mental structures and helps consumers to organise their knowledge about products and services in a way that clarifies their decision making, and in the process provides values to the firm. The key to branding is that consumers perceive different images among brands in a product category.

As to the understanding of this thesis, branding often has a rather *superficial* reputation (Olins, 2002). Kavartzis and Hatch (2013) even argue that the communication-based

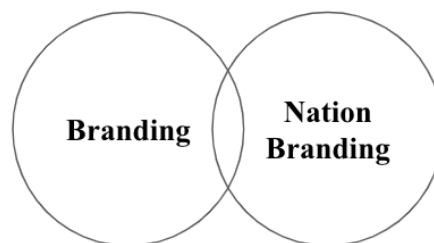
approach to Place Branding, which is the main approach of this thesis, has a limited understanding of *what* branding is.

After discussing the term *brand*, the relation between the terms *branding* and *Nation Branding* will be highlighted in the following part.

Branding and Nation Branding

Branding not only relates to products but also to other services such as *places* (Fan, 2006). While the branding of products mostly has an economic interest, Nation Branding is not limited to increasing the economy of the very nation, but focuses on a country's image as a whole (Fan, 2010). As will be explained in the part about Nation Branding, this includes a variety of interests such as thematising topics of tourism and residents, attracting talents and foreign investments as well as increasing exports to the very nation. See Figure 2.9.

Figure 2.9: Branding versus Nation Branding



Source: Author's own elaboration

There is a common understanding that a traditional brand differs significantly from a place brand (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009). Although nations, regions and cities usually have a brand image, it is not possible to brand them the way products, services and companies are branded (ibid).

In this context, Olins (2002, 247) states that:

Brands are understood as cheap, transient, crass, commercial trivia which are superficial and insignificant, whereas the nation is permanent, profoundly significant and has an enormous emotional and spiritual connotation.

Various scholars also mention the similarities between the two concepts. Olins (2002) states that branding and Nation Branding use similar techniques, while van Ham (2008) detects similarities between the two concepts as both are build on trust and customer satisfaction. Also, Dinnie (2008) states that often there is a superficial interpretation of Nation Branding similar to product promotion. In this context, Anholt (2007) even calls the branding of countries, regions and cities the *selling* of a country.

Contrary to product branding, a nation cannot control what is done with its name and image as anybody can make use of it (Fan, 2006). In this context, Quelch and Jocz

(2005) argue that it seems more accessible for a corporate brand to find support within its employees than it is for a nation brand with public and civil servants. According to the authors (ibid), within Nation Branding there are strong controversial opinions and it is difficult to control the information flow.

Similar to a place, the reputation of a place is constructed by meaning and this meaning influences and organizes both the actions of its visitors as well as the conception of the residents themselves (Govers and Go, 2009).

Table 2.1: Relationship of national identity, nation branding and nation’s image



Source: Author’s elaboration based on Fan (2010)

As demonstrated in the figure (See Table 2.1) by Fan (2010), the national identity builds on the *self-perception* of a nation which is translated into the *Nation Branding identity* by communication and marketing specialists. When people outside of this nation perceive this identity, it is called a *nation’s image* which reciprocally influences Nation Branding again. According to Fan (2010), Nation Branding is the result of mixing influences from national identity and the nation’s image.

It is necessary to understand that Branding and Nation Branding are closely related, particularly when it comes to their techniques, but at the same time one might not forget that the branding of an entire nation is far more complex than the one of any product.

2.2 Nation Branding

2.2.1 Introduction to Nation Branding

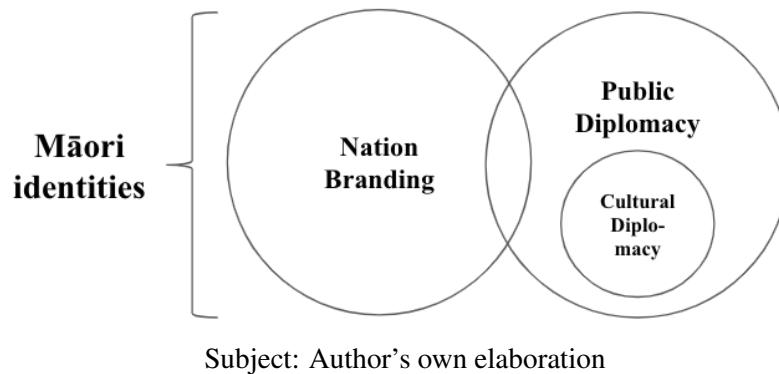
After having discussed recent understandings of identity and determined the understanding of identity for this thesis, the significance of self-constructing one’s identity becomes clear. An assumption is made that within the concepts of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy the topic of identity is frequently addressed when communicating to and with foreign publics. For this reason, this thesis investigates the construction of cultural identities, in particular Māori identities, in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand.

As determined in *Objective 2* and *Objective 3*, this research examines *how* Māori identities are constructed in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand and *who* the main actors of the selected concepts are. For a better understanding Cultural Diplomacy will be discussed as an autonomous part, although in this thesis it is understood to be a sub-part of Public Diplomacy.

Before addressing the research questions of *Objective 2* and *Objective 3*, an overview of the concepts of Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy is made

to understand the background of these concepts and to make clear their importance and understanding in relation to this research. See Figure 2.10.

Figure 2.10: Linking the research subject to selected concepts



As discussed before, throughout the last decades the world was characterised by technological development. The invention of the internet or social media is probably amongst the biggest recent achievements. Advances in technology, as well as globalisation and the increased movement of people, ideas, and capital, have significantly changed society (Castells, 2008). Conventional forms of communication have evolved with the speed of communication and information flow, which nowadays seems to be independent of time and place (ibid).

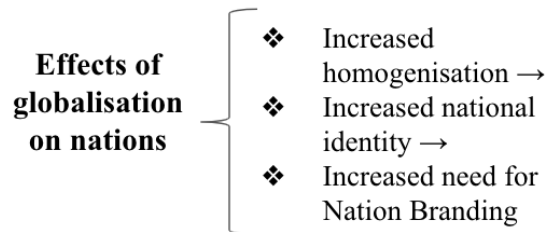
According to Dinnie (2016), as a consequence of globalisation an increased homogenization of markets can be observed. In this context global companies lose their ties to national roots and move and manufacture across borders (Olins, 1999). However, as Widler (2007) explains, through globalisation the boundaries of nations have become more relevant again rather than being dissolved. Dinnie (2016) confirms that an increased sense of national identity can be observed. Although Olins (1999) state that major airlines which traditionally grew up as national flag carriers nowadays increasingly focus on their global personality. In this thesis there is an understanding that they equally focus on their national characteristics for branding purposes as well.

Dinnie (2016) explains that through the increasingly globalised economy it has become a challenge for nations to distinguish their product offerings from competing nations. Aronczyk (2009) confirms that it is difficult for nations to construct a unique reputation when there are many equal players and Kotler and Gertner (2002) describe the attempt of a nation to stand out of the crowd a demanding task. In this context, Widler (2007) argues that it is because of globalisation that concepts like Nation Branding have increased their significance. In this context, Ashworth et al. (2015) say that Place Branding can be understood as a tool to compete for financial, human or cultural resources.

According to Aronczyk (2009), it is the task of experts and Nation Branding consultants to create and communicate a particular form of the national identity. This specific national identity contributes to making the nation matter to the audience and helps to fight

the competition (Ashworth et al., 2015). There is an understanding that states with an effective branding strategy have better chances to gain international recognition, to improve economic and political prospects and international relations (Ahn and Wu, 2015). See Figure 2.11.

Figure 2.11: Globalisation and its effect on nations



Subject: Author's elaboration based on Dinnie (2016), Aronczyk (2009), Widler (2007) and Ahn and Wu (2015)

As another consequence of globalisation and technological development, mass information can be accessed publicly and globally. However, there is no safety in knowing the correctness or objectivity of the offered information, especially when talking about the branding of nations (Anholt, 2007). In the context of places, Govers and Go (2009) confirm that often information that is offered about places is influenced by power struggles. The authors (ibid) describe that it might happen that politicians influence the construction of the identity of a place in their interest.

This idea seems particularly important for this thesis as it deals with investigating who constructs Māori identities and in which way Māori identities are constructed in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, it will be taken into consideration that the information that Nation Branding offers needs to be revised critically, as it might contain certain intentions or hidden agendas. In this thesis an assumption is made that the construction of cultural identities, in particular Māori identities and their representation to foreign publics might be driven by certain interests. An attempt is made to uncover specific intentions in the construction of Māori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Nevertheless, in this thesis it is assumed that people often already have a certain image of a nation. Kotler and Gertner (2002) argue that the images people have of a country influence the way they interact with the country, in particular when it comes to decisions of purchasing, investing, moving or travelling to the very country.

In 2008, Dinnie (2008) describes an increased competition between nations to attract attention, respect or trust. In this context, also a growing effort of Nation Branding to fulfill trade, investment and tourism objectives could be observed since (Dinnie, 2016). The promotion of a place or nation is used as a tool of differentiation and recognising the entity of the specific location (Florek et al., 2006), but also to manage and control the right image to attract the right kind of investment, tourism and trade to the nation (Aronczyk, 2008).

As displayed in the chart (See Figure 2.12), nations globally seek attention for similar reasons (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009).

Figure 2.12: Objectives of nations



Subject: Author's elaboration based on Dinnie (2008), Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), Morgan et al. (2011) and Govers and Go (2009)

Morgan et al. (2011) mention the attraction of workforce, foreign investments, business, tourism or new residents as some examples for the objectives of nations. Addressing international students or skilled workers abroad, aiming at attracting trade or making export opportunities are also listed as possible objectives (Govers and Go, 2009; Dinnie, 2016). As Govers and Go (2009) explain, attracting potential investors, temporary migrant workers (such as expatriates) or professional travellers who identify trade opportunities are as important for nations as attracting tourists. Dinnie (2008) also names a range of interest groups to be addressed by Nation Branding, such as investors, tourists, consumers, donors, immigrants or foreign governments. According to Aronczyk (2009), Nation Branding attempts to bring value to anyone who could contribute with economic, symbolic or human capital to one's country rather than to another.

After giving a short overview of the aims of Nation Branding, it seems further pivotal for this research to highlight the origins and several definitions of Nation Branding which can be linked to the research objectives of this thesis. In the next subsection relevant developments and definitions of Nation Branding for this thesis will be presented.

2.2.2 Development of Nation Branding

There is an understanding that the application of branding techniques and terminology to nations is a new phenomenon (Dinnie, 2016); however, there are assumptions that Nation Branding has existed in earlier forms before. The origins of Nation Branding can be traced back to earlier attempts of place promotion using techniques from the commercial sector to gain power and prestige (Anholt, 2007; Olins, 1999).

In this context, the concept of *place selling* might also count as one earlier form of Nation Branding, which has similar aims, such as transferring images of geographical locations to a target audience.

Also, *place marketing*¹² may be understood as a predecessor of Nation Branding as it focuses on putting attention to the place's internal markets and resources (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009). According to Gertner (2016), place marketing and Place Branding are not new phenomena as they were practiced for centuries, but the theoretical interest in the concepts is rather recent. Govers and Go (2009, 19) define place marketing as the "traditional segmentation, targeting and positioning approach to the promotion of a place, which includes the network decisions and product development". Although earlier image building activities existed, Morgan et al. (2011) locate them stronger on a national level.

Kaneva (2011) regards Nation Branding as a remake of earlier terms and highlights its links to propaganda, public relations or public opinion. As the author (Kaneva, 2011) further explains, traditionally nation-states have used forms of persuasion to foster their political, economic and cultural agenda. As an early form of Nation Branding Aronczyk (2013) names world fairs and international exhibitions, which started taking place in the early 19th century. However, Szondi (2008) understands these earlier attempts of Nation Branding as rather tactic than strategic ones.

According to Olins (1999), France is the trendsetter of Nation Branding and was one of the most influential countries when it comes to the branding and rebranding of the nation. Starting from the late 18th to the early 19th century, an increased amount of nations followed the example of France (Olins, 1999). As the author (ibid) further explains, the combination of the French revolutionary nationalism and the German Romanticism were the starting points for self-conscious and self-aware nations which emerged throughout the 19th and 20th centuries in Europe. Given the example of France, Olins (2002, 243) says:

The reason why nations continue both explicitly and sometimes implicitly shape and reshape their identities, or if you prefer explicitly and implicitly rebrand themselves, is because their reality changes and they need to project this real change symbolically to all the audiences, internal and external with whom they relate.

In particular the element of reality change mentioned by Olins (2002) plays an important role for this research, considering the demographic changes and historical impact Aotearoa New Zealand has been through especially since the beginning of British colonialism and the development of a multi-cultural nation throughout the 20th century.

Especially after the Second World War corporate and state leaders began to notice the importance of understanding the nation brand as a resource to compete with other nations for international investment, trade and tourism (Aronczyk, 2013). As Olins (2002) explains, from former British or Indian colonies new countries such as Sri Lanka, Ghana, Zimbabwe or Indonesia emerged which needed a redefinition and reimagining away from their colonial past. Aotearoa New Zealand which became independent from Great Britain in 1947 can be counted as another example. Olins (2002) describes that there was a

¹²In 1993, the authors Rein et al. (1993) published the seminal work "Marketing Places. Attracting Investment, Industry and Tourism to Cities, States, and Nations" in which the necessity for places to become attractive products by effectively communicating their assets to their target markets is highlighted.

need to create a unitary state with connecting elements, such as uncovered or invented pre-colonial heritage, a new national anthem or language to create a feeling of national identity for all those living in the new nations.

In 1996, Simon Anholt coined the term *Nation Branding* as an attempt to summarise the new developments under one term (Szondi, 2008). However, as public scepticism occurred around the term *Nation Branding* (Fan, 2010), Anholt later invented the term *competitive identity* (Anholt, 2007). According to him, the national image has more to do with national and regional identity as well as politics and economics of competitiveness rather than branding, which refers to commercial content (ibid).

This thesis supports the idea that Nation Branding can be located in different areas of identity rather than only having a commercial intention. It is assumed that Nation Branding is concerned with much deeper parts of the society than only the ones related to economic interest.

As Govers and Go (2009) state, the branding of places has changed profoundly through the last couple of decades, which can also be observed in Nation Branding. As mentioned before, especially the cyberspace and the Internet present new opportunities for the global market, organizations, consumers, and citizens (ibid). According to Merckelsen and Kjærgaard Rasmussen (2016), during the past two decades in particular, Nation Branding has become the preferred strategic communication framework to target public foreigners.

Govers and Go (2009) further describe that a move away from fixed channels distributing information about Nation Branding to a more dynamic and interactive process has taken place. As a consequence of that, the visibility of new actors as well as their participation in the discourse have increased over the last years (Kotler and Gertner, 2002). In the past, national governments were mainly involved in Nation Branding. Today, branding consultancies and marketing experts are amongst the leading players (Aronczyk, 2013). Not only the actors engaging in Nation Branding have changed, but also the channels of communication (Anholt, 2007). Especially the Internet has become of undeniable importance in the promotion of places (Florek et al., 2006).

The actors of Nation Branding will be explained in detail further on in this chapter as they are understood as having the chief responsibility for the construction of cultural identities in Nation Branding.

Approaches to Nation Branding

In the following, an attempt will be made to explain the understanding of Nation Branding in this thesis. In order to do that, Kaneva's conceptual map from 2011 was considered appropriate for this study. This approach was chosen as it thematizes the topic of essentialism in relation to Nation Branding. The understanding of Nation Branding in this thesis is that the concept often entails various characteristics of the different suggested orientations by Kaneva (2011) as will be presented next.

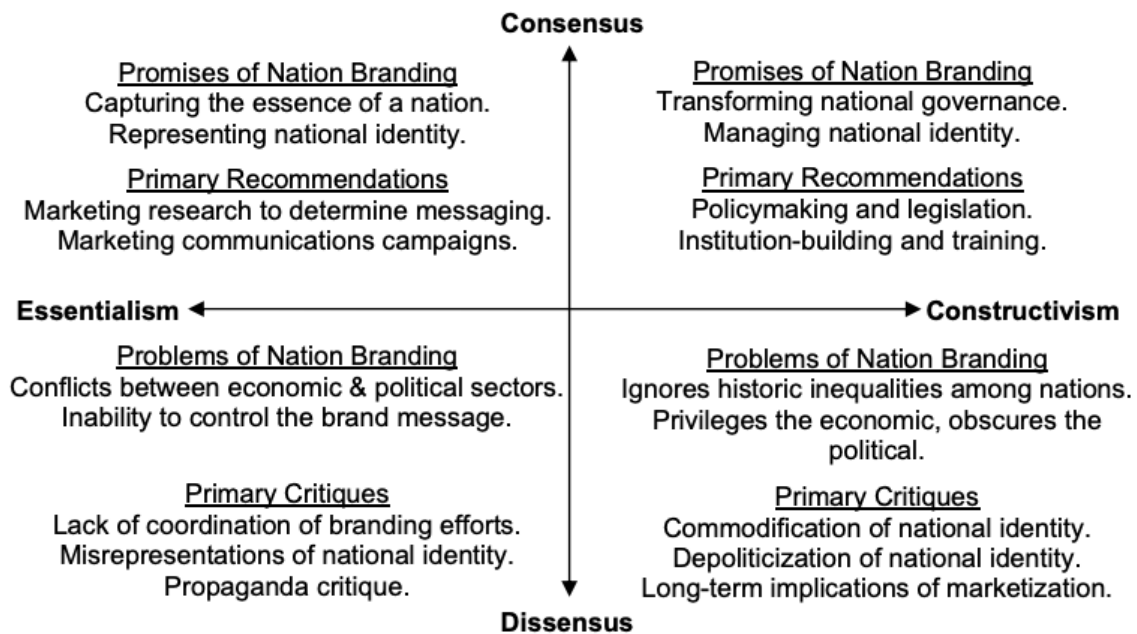
Kaneva (2011, 129-131) proposes a conceptual map with four different views on Nation Branding research. She organises the map along two conceptual continua which she at-

tributes to ontological assumptions.

The author (ibid) inscribes the Y-axis as the “underlying position of the research toward processes of marketization”, which she labels *consensus/dissensus*. Kaneva (2011) states to have borrowed the idea from Deetz (1996) and defines the consensus-orientated research on Nation Branding as naturalising marketization. Contrary, the dissensus-oriented research defines Nation Branding as problematic.

Regarding the X-axis, which Kaneva (2011) describes as defining *essentialism/constructivism*, the essentialist-oriented research understands national identities as more or less fixed essences to be discovered or represented, while the constructivist-oriented research defines national identities as active and continuously being reproduced by various agents. See Figure 2.13.

Figure 2.13: A conceptual map of Nation Branding research



Source: Kaneva (2011, 130)

The author (ibid) differentiates between:

- *Consensus/Essentialist orientation*: This orientation understands Nation Branding as a form of persuasion using marketing tools to represent national identities to a specific audience.
- *Consensus/Constructivist orientation*: This orientation understands Nation Branding as a post-political, technocratic function of policymaking and statecraft.
- *Dissensus/Essentialist orientation*: This orientation sees private/public partnerships to ameliorate imperfections of market mechanisms and minimize conflict between

the economic and political sector. This approach wants to portray the essence of the nation and points out the difficulty to correctly portray the essence of a nation.

- *Dissensus/Constructivist orientation*: This orientation examines how Nation Branding implicates relations of social power, discusses strategies and practices of historically-situated agents which are associated with Nation Branding - and is concerned with the commodification of national identities that Nation Branding implies.

Elements from several orientations offered by Kaneva (2011) overlap with the view of Nation Branding in this thesis. This thesis understands Nation Branding as a political function of policymaking, governance and statecraft (Consensus/Constructivist) but even more as a tool of marketing communication to represent national identities to specific audiences (Consensus/Essentialist). Furthermore, this thesis questions if Nation Branding is able to correctly portray the 'essence' of a nation and if there even is such a thing as an essence of a nation. Furthermore, it stresses the difficulty to control a nation brand's message (Dissensus/Essentialist). Furthermore, there is an understanding that political struggles and negotiations through which national identities are produced are often hidden and not displayed transparently. Nation Branding is further understood as a fluid and constantly changing concept as well as a complex and subjective picture-of-the-moment of a nation.

2.2.3 Defining Nation Branding

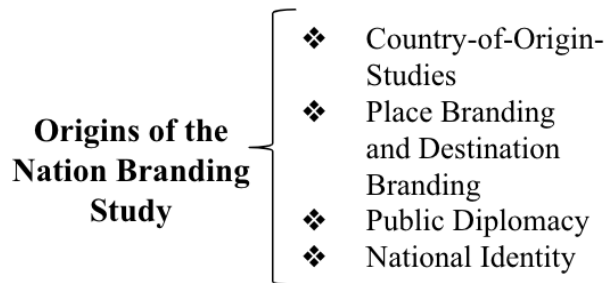
Introduction

Understanding the development of Nation Branding contributes to the critical approach of this thesis. In the following subsection, a selection of definitions of Nation Branding which are relevant for the understanding of the concept in this thesis will be presented.

Only since the 1990s scholars have observed growing interest and increased activities in the field of Nation Branding (Govers and Go, 2009; Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009; Fan, 2010). Prior to that, Fan (2010, 98) locates the origins of Nation Branding study in country-of-origin studies, Place or Destination Branding, Public Diplomacy and national identity as displayed in the following chart (See Figure 2.14).

Particularly the field of communication studies focuses on the investigation of Nation Branding (Wu, 2017). Merckelsen and Kjærgaard Rasmussen (2016, 99) list authors from a variety of disciplines addressing topics of Nation Branding, such as *Hocking (2015)* and *Cull (2008)* from diplomatic studies, *Kotler et al. (1997)* and *Olins (2002, 2005)* from marketing, *Kaneva (2011)* and *Aronczyk (2013)* from intercultural communication, *Szondi (2010)* and *Fan (2010)* from Public Relations as well as *Kavaratzis (2007)* from a more general field of Place Branding. The authors further name *Simon Anholt*, *Keith Dinnie* and *Wally Olins* as the leading figures of Nation Branding research (Merckelsen and Kjærgaard Rasmussen, 2016).

Figure 2.14: The origins of Nation Branding study



Source: Author's elaboration based on Fan (2010)

In 2006, Fan (2006) describes Nation Branding as a growing academic field, however lacking theory due to the *novelty* of the phenomenon. In 2011, Kaneva (2011) confirms disagreement on the meaning and scope of Nation Branding. Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011) justify the growing research on Nation Branding by the increased competition of nations. In 2013, also Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) note an exponentially increasing number of publications of Nation Branding and also Place Branding studies. In 2015, Ashworth et al. (2015) explain the lack of theory in Nation Branding by the *multidisciplinarity* of the term to which Merckelsen and Kjærgaard Rasmussen (2016) agree in 2016. Furthermore, Ashworth et al. (2015) register increased funds from local, regional and national authorities for Place Branding activities.

Related to the argument that there is not sufficient theory when it comes to Nation Branding research, Kaneva (2011) criticises that there are also significant gaps in the research of Nation Branding. She (ibid) gives the example of studying political and cultural consequences of Nation Branding which according to her are understudied. For this reason, Kaneva (2011) suggests to study economic, cultural and symbolic elements in relation with the production of Nation Branding.

Following Kaneva's suggestion, this research focuses on cultural elements in the production of Nation Branding and by doing this attempts to contribute to a growing awareness in the field and also to enable new insights into cultural elements in the production of Nation Branding. In this context an assumption is made that in Nation Branding research the construction of culture often is directly linked to a specific case study or nation. Furthermore, there is a lack of research about a more general approach to the construction of culture in Nation Branding, which is why this thesis aims at contributing with knowledge to fill this gap.

Defining related terms of Nation Branding

Regarding the definition of Nation Branding, there are a few terms, which need to be explained first to make their separation from Nation Branding clear. See Figure 2.15. In the following, the terms (1) nation brand, (2) national brand, (3) place brand, (4) Place Branding and (5) Destination Branding will be discussed to show the differences to Nation

Branding. Although there are overlaps between several terms and Nation Branding, this thesis exclusively focuses on Nation Branding.

Figure 2.15: Related terms of Nation Branding



Source: Author's own elaboration

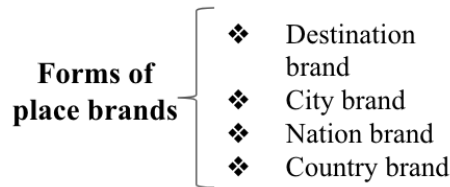
In this thesis, the (1) *nation brand* will be distinguished from Nation Branding by understanding the nation brand as the foundation for the practice and activities of Nation Branding. Similar to Nation Branding, Aronczyk (2009) describes a (1) *nation brand* as an attempt which aims at representing a nation's distinct and unique values to foreign publics. A nation brand is not a real product or service (Fan, 2010), but consists of multi-dimensional elements which provide the nation with culturally grounded differentiation (Dinnie, 2008). As examples for multi-dimensional elements Fan (2006) names the natural resources, the people, history, culture, language, political and economic system, social institutions, infrastructure or public figures of a nation. This elements will be discussed in detail related to Nation Branding later on in this section.

The *nation brand* also needs to be differentiated from the *national brand*. As Fan (2010) states, contrary to the nation brand, a (2) *national brand* refers to a particular product or service, which is distributed or available nationwide.

In the following, the (3) *place brand* will be defined. In this thesis the place brand will be understood as an umbrella term which consists of different sub-terms, such as the *destination brand*, *city brand*, *nation brand* or a *country brand* (Frig and Sorsa, 2018). Given by their name, the different sub-terms have a specific focus, e.g. the *destination brand* refers to a specific destination, the *city brand* to a specific city, the *nation brand* to a specific nation and the *country brand* to a specific country and its assets (Fan, 2006). See Figure 2.16.

One can differentiate the nation brand from a *place brand* by its focus on a specific place and geographic specification (Widler, 2007). Similar to the nation brand, the place

Figure 2.16: Forms of place brands



Source: Author's elaboration based on Frig and Sorsa (2018)

brand aims at evoking positive associations in the minds of people who encounter a place (Kavaratzis and Hatch, 2013). Both concepts share the goal of competing for attention, resources, people, jobs and investment (Morgan et al., 2011).

In this thesis, an assumption is made that Nation Branding is a sub-category of Place Branding because it makes use of elements of Place Branding. This is particularly interesting when looking at the tasks of Place Branding. According to Govers and Go (2009), they include portraying the genuine identity of a place, which is a main focus of this thesis. When being successful, the *place brand* creates loyalty, awareness and a reputation of quality amongst its target groups (ibid). The place brand enables creating a favourable image internally to its citizens but also externally to visitors (Govers and Go, 2009).

Similar to the *nation brand* and *Nation Branding*, in this thesis there is an understanding that the *place brand* and *Place Branding* are based on the same foundation but differentiate by its practice. Related to (4) *Place Branding*, Ashworth (2009) defines it as an instrument of place management. Govers and Go (2009) name all interactions of a place with its environment, politics, outside investment, trade, immigration or media issues as examples of Place Branding.

In this context Moilanen and Rainisto (2009, 1) name the following elements as the main tasks of Place Branding, which in this thesis are also understood to be tasks of Nation Branding:

- Influencing the attractiveness of companies and investments
- The promotion of objectives of the tourism industry and Public Diplomacy
- Supporting the exporting industry
- Strengthening the citizen's identity and self-esteem

Whereas Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) criticise that Place Branding lacks marketing knowledge and expertise, Ashworth et al. (2015) understand Place Branding as a strategic guidance for place development. As the authors (ibid) further elaborate, Place Branding might also provide the basis for stakeholder cooperation or solutions for practical or functional place-related problems (Ashworth et al., 2015).

There is another related term to Nation Branding called (5) *Destination Branding* which needs to be divided from Nation Branding for a better understanding of the term.

Compared to Place Branding, *Destination Branding* is strongly connected to the tourism sector (Govers and Go, 2009). Nevertheless, Destination Branding addresses country, region or city branding, similar to Place Branding.

As the following chart shows, contrary to Place Branding, Destination Branding focuses on addressing actors from tourism promotion or destination marketing organisations, the ministries of foreign affairs, convention bureaux or chambers of commerce (Govers and Go, 2009). Destination branding targets specific markets, which include public or private actors. See Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Institutions promoting destination tourism products

Tourism promotion boards or Destination marketing organizations	Export agencies	Trade or Investment agencies
Ministries of Foreign Affairs	Chambers of Commerce	Financial institutions
Convention Bureaux	Larger cooperations	Trade associations

Source: Author's elaboration based on Govers and Go (2009, 68)

In this thesis there is an assumption that both concepts, Destination Branding and Place Branding overlap in addressing export agencies, co-operations, trade or investment agencies and associations or financial institutions.

In this thesis, Nation Branding is understood to be built upon the nation brand and place brand which are the foundation for the practice and application of Nation Branding activities. Nation Branding is strongly linked to Place Branding in this thesis, always having in mind the different focuses of the two concepts. As discussed before, Nation Branding is a sub-term of the umbrella term Place Branding which is why elements of Place Branding show profound overlaps and similarities with Nation Branding.

Regarding the demonstrated terms, various similarities could be detected. Similar to the nation brand, Nation Branding consists of multi-dimensional elements derived from a nation's resources and also focuses on the people's perception, as discussed in the context of the place brand. In this thesis, Nation Branding understands tourism as a part of its interests, but not the main one as in the case of destination branding. One of the main tasks of Nation Branding for this thesis is to demonstrate the genuine identity of a nation, which is an element all of the mentioned terms aim to achieve. In the following subsection, the mentioned elements will be discussed.

Allocating Nation Branding

According to Fan (2006), there is no single definition of Nation Branding, but several definitions of Nation Branding have been developed. In the following, two contrasting

views will be presented as both play an important role in the understanding of Nation Branding in this research. The understanding of Nation Branding as a political tool and commercial tool will be contrasted. See Figure 2.17.

Figure 2.17: Nation Branding as political versus commercial tool



Source: Author's own elaboration

Some debates focus on Nation Branding as a political phenomenon which aims at influencing and dealing with political decisions of foreign publics (van Ham, 2008). Representatives of this orientation criticise that Nation Branding is too complex to fit into a simplistic branding recipe and that the use of Nation Branding as a commercial concept in a political context is problematic (Merkelsen and Kjærgaard Rasmussen, 2016). In this context, Anholt (2008b, 23) understands Nation Branding as “a component of national policy” and also Merkelsen and Kjærgaard Rasmussen (2016) define Nation Branding as a form of public governance. Olins (1999, 5) states that “the concept of Nation Branding is one of the most contentious political ideas of our times”.

In the context of Place Branding, van Ham (2008, 127) locates “Place Branding (as a) part of a wider spectrum of postmodern power, where soft power and Public Diplomacy have their place”. The author (ibid) understands Place Branding as an alternative discourse of collective identity construction as a modern form of nationalism. Related to this, the thesis questions if Nation Branding not only is linked to the political sphere but also contributes to nationalist thinking. Independently of this thought, Szondi (2008) describes Nation Branding as a strategic approach of a nation aiming to create reputational capital in the nation and abroad for economic, political or social issues.

An assumption is made that the majority of scholars understand Nation Branding as a commercial strategy rooting in marketing (Dinnie, 2016). In this context, Kaneva (2011, 118) defines Nation Branding as “a compendium of discourses and practices aimed at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and branding paradigms”. Fan (2006) confirms that “Nation Branding concerns applying branding and marketing communication techniques to promote a nation’s image”. Related to that, Dinnie (2008) even calls Nation Branding an extension of tourism marketing.

Zavattaro and Fay (2019) explain that both approaches use marketing materials to communicate the brand identity to their stakeholders. Aronczyk (2013) agrees that Nation Branding uses techniques and expertise from corporate brand management to communicate national identity with political or commercial intentions.

As demonstrated in the chart above (See Table 2.3), the understanding of Nation Branding as a political tool overlaps with the understanding of Nation Branding, as a commercial tool, as in aiming at creating reputational capital for the promotion of the nation and using marketing materials and techniques to distribute this information, even if that happens for

Table 2.3: Contrasting Nation Branding as a political or commercial tool

	Political tool	Commercial tool
Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aiming at creating reputational capital to promote nation abroad - Using marketing materials, as well as tools, techniques and expertise from corporate brand management as vehicles to communicate national identity to stakeholders 	
Differences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aims at influencing foreign publics for political decisions - Understanding Nation Branding as too complex to fit into simplistic branding recipe - Defining Nation Branding as component of national policy or form of public governance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discourses and practices aiming at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and branding paradigms - Applying branding and marketing communication techniques to promote nation's image for various reasons

Source: Author's elaboration based on van Ham (2008), Merkelsen and Kjærgaard Rasmussen (2016), Anholt (2008a), Kaneva (2011), Fan (2006), Zavattaro and Fay (2019), Aronczyk (2013)

different purposes. Whereas the understanding of Nation Branding as a political tool limits itself to political purposes, the understanding as a commercial tool seems to have a broader spectrum of interests.

This thesis understands Nation Branding mainly as a communication strategy with mainly commercial and economic intentions. Nevertheless, there is a need to constantly have in mind that often also commercial and economically-driven interests are controlled by politics, whether this is done openly or not.

Defining Nation Branding

Aronczyk (2013) suggests a provisional definition of Nation Branding which will be taken as the foundation of understanding the concept of Nation Branding in this thesis. The author (ibid) focuses on both commercial and public interests of Nation Branding and includes the communication about national priorities to local as well as foreign publics. Aronczyk (2013, 16) defines Nation Branding as following:

The result of the interpenetration of commercial and public sector interests to communicate national priorities among domestic and international populations for a variety of interrelated purposes.

Frig and Sorsa (2018) also address the domestic and international audience of Nation Branding as mentioned in Aronczyk's definition. As the authors (ibid) explain targeting domestic audience aims at influencing the meaning and experiential reality of the national identity and the nationhood. Frig and Sorsa (2018) further state that Nation Branding

addresses the international audience to boost the nation’s soft power, to improve the credibility of a nation and to increase the political influence and international partnerships in order to enhance the advantages for economy and politics (Frig and Sorsa, 2018).

Whereas some authors stronger focus on Nation Branding aiming at influencing its audiences, Wu (2017) suggests to focus on Nation Branding attempting to create and establish relationships with its target audiences.

According to the understanding of Nation Branding in this thesis, the definition contributed by Aronczyk (2013) lacks concrete examples when referring to ‘interrelated purposes’. For this reason, it will be extended by the element of altering the image of a nation, such as Fan (2010, 100) suggests when stating that Nation Branding is “the process by which a nation’s images can be created or altered, monitored, evaluated and proactively managed to enhance the country’s reputation among an international target audience”. Also Szondi (2008) confirms to understand Nation Branding as the process of changing or maintaining the nation’s image in favour of a nation abroad.

To sum up, in this research Nation Branding will be understood as the communication of both the commercial and public sector to domestic and international audiences to proactively manage a nation’s image and direct it into a specific direction.

2.2.4 Integrated Disciplines of Nation Branding

Today, Nation Branding is frequently determined as a multi- and cross-disciplinary field. According to various scholars, Nation Branding crosses multiple disciplines, which is why the integration of several studies of the area is necessary to understand the application of branding to places and nations (Dinnie, 2008). See Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Integrated Disciplines in Nation Branding

Academic disciplines integrated in Nation Branding		
Urban Studies	International Relations	Sociology
Cultural, Economic and Political Geography	Political Science	History
Marketing	Policy Making	Cultural Anthropology

Source: Author’s elaboration based on Kavaratzis (2009) and Dinnie (2008, 2016)

As Kavaratzis (2009) explains, academic disciplines such as urban studies, tourism, cultural and economic geography, and marketing are integrated parts of Nation Branding. Dinnie (2016) adds disciplines such as international relations, political science, sociology or policy making to this list. In this research, Nation Branding will be focused on an anthropological viewpoint to understand the local perspectives of the construction of Māori identities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

According to Kaneva (2011), through the commercialisation, corporatisation and commodification of the nation, Nation Branding has been sharply criticised as not being sufficient to grasp the different elements of the society. For this reason, this thesis focuses

on understanding the different elements and actors of constructing Māori identities in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Aronczyk (2013) describes a shift of attention which has taken place recently. Whereas earlier there was a focus on promoting political and military identities, a shift to the promotion of cultural elements can now be observed (Aronczyk, 2013), which is also a central topic of this research. The next subsection deals with investigating the actors of Nation Branding, but also questions how in particular the society is involved in the Nation Branding process.

2.2.5 Actors of Nation Branding

As specified in *Objective 2* and *Objective 3* of this research, it is pivotal to understand *who* the actors of Nation Branding are as in this thesis an assumption is made that they might have a certain influence on the construction of Māori identities for Nation Branding purposes.

Throughout this research there is an awareness that the construction of cultural identities, in particular Māori identities, in Nation Branding might be driven by certain intentions or hidden agendas, such as politically driven ideas. In this thesis this assumption is understood to be very problematic, which is why it is necessary to understand who the different actors are which are involved in the processes of constructing cultural identities in Nation Branding. The following section will demonstrate relevant actors in this context.

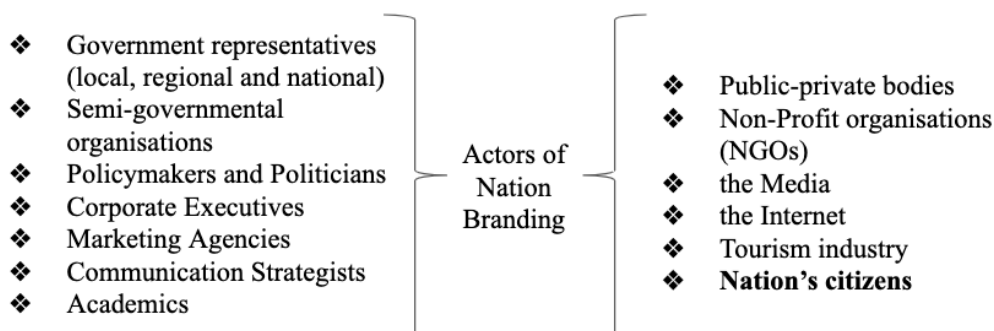
Results from the literature review showed that a great variety of actors is involved in the construction of Nation Branding. Throughout the investigation it turned out that apart from rather conventional actors which will be explained next, there is a growing tendency for citizens to become involved in the processes of Nation Branding. This development seems particularly interesting for this research.

Frig and Sorsa (2018) argue that the earlier as rather *conventional* described actors of Nation Branding often constitute a collaboration between state-owned and private organisations. As the authors (*ibid*) further explain, often these collaborations are based on governmental programs. According to Govers and Go (2009), frequently *local, regional and national* governments are involved in these processes. See Figure 2.18.

In this context, Aronczyk (2013) names governmental representatives, bureaucrats, corporate executives, communication strategists, journalists, policymakers and academics as the leading players of Nation Branding. Govers and Go (2009) add that also marketing agencies are regular actors of this concept. See Figure 2.18.

Van Ham (2008) particularly highlights politicians as significant actors of Nation Branding. As the author states, they not only advocate the attraction of foreign publics as well as the promotion of resources of the very country by establishing relationships abroad. They also engage the citizens of the specific nation to create a sense of belonging and self-concept of the very nation (*ibid*). This idea seems highly pivotal for this research, because by doing so politicians not only address foreign politics to engage with the specific nation, but also the people and community of the nation itself.

Figure 2.18: Actors of Nation Branding



Source: Author's elaboration based on Aronczyk (2013), Ashworth (2009), Govers and Go (2009), Zavattaro and Fay (2019), Dinnie (2008), Anholt (2007) and Moilanen and Rainisto (2009)

By calling these actors *conventional* at the beginning of this section, this thesis does not attempt to make their importance any smaller. On the contrary, there is an awareness in this thesis that these actors are highly significant targets in order to investigate the construction of Māori identities as described in *Objective 2 and 3*.

In this context, Anholt (2007, 2) names five critical influencers in the process of the production of Nation Branding that partly overlap with the actors mentioned before, but in this thesis are further understood as a relevant specification.

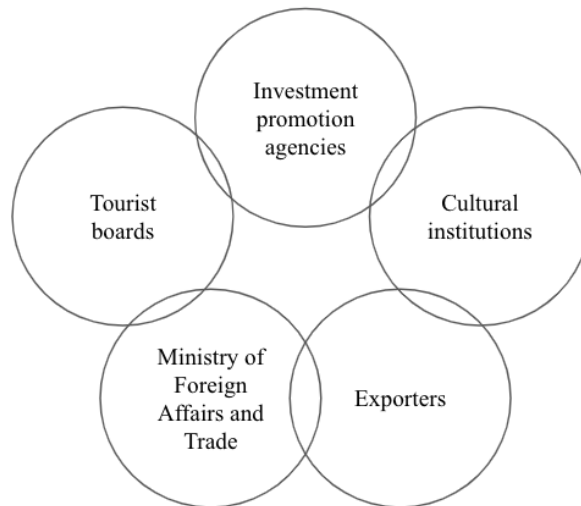
As the author (ibid) explains the *tourist boards* are important in the promotion of the country to holidaymakers and business travellers. According to Anholt (2007), *investment promotion agencies* play a significant role working with foreign companies and investors. He (ibid) further explains that *cultural institutions* contribute to the relationship building with other countries and the promotion of a country's cultural and educational products and services. As the author (ibid) concludes, the country's *exporters* enable the development of goods and services abroad, whereas the *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade* is essential in the representation of the country abroad while intending to manage the country's reputation (Anholt, 2007). See Figure 2.19.

However, this thesis further assumes that through processes of globalisation changes among the actors have taken place and that some actors have evolved in a way which nowadays has become more and more important as will be discussed further on. Particularly, non-governmental and non-profit organisations, but also social media and the *nation's citizens* who represent the main actors of this research, have strongly grown in significance (Zavattaro and Fay, 2019). See Figure 2.18.

In this thesis, there is an awareness that these actors are essential for this research as the construction of Māori identities in Nation Branding frequently is influenced by them or elaborated in collaboration with them. These actors also play an important role in determining the targets for the expert interviews of this research as will be explained in the methodology chapter.

As suggested by Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) in this thesis, there is an awareness that

Figure 2.19: Five critical influencers of Nation Branding



Source: Author's elaboration based on Anholt (2007, 2)

all parts of society should be involved in the construction of Māori identities in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand. In this context, Quelch and Jocz (2005) state that the involvement of citizens, and particularly the local community, in the construction of the image of a nation not only contributes to successful Nation Branding, but also to a solid partnership between public and private institutions of the very nation.

Also in the context of Place Branding, Kavaratzis (2009) stresses the importance of involving local communities. According to him, it is the community which expresses the local culture which might be understood as the most factual basis for the expression of the place brand (ibid).

In this thesis, there is an assumption that also for Nation Branding actors, such as the local people and communities play a pivotal role in expressing endogenous characteristics and views of the nation. As this research focuses on the perspective of the local communities, in particular the *Ngāti Awa*¹³ tribe on the East Coast of Aotearoa New Zealand, this understanding will be further investigated in the following chapters of this thesis.

To conclude this section, the great amount of different actors involved in the construction of Nation Branding (See Figure 2.18.) brings light to the challenges occurring, in particular when thinking how diverging ideas might be and what immense difficulty it might be to make all the involved parties share the same idea.

Already in 1999, Olins (1999) suggests a collective and collaborative work among the different actors of Nation Branding. This idea will be investigated throughout the following chapters.

¹³[Māori tribe]. See explanation of *Ngāti Awa* in the glossary p. 280.

2.2.6 Tasks of Nation Branding

In the following section, the different tasks of Nation Branding will be presented. Related to this, it seems essential for this research interest to focus also on knowing about the inside and outside perception people have about a nation. In this thesis, this is understood to be relevant in order to achieve goals of Nation Branding and equally crucial to determine elements of differentiation to other nations when constructing Nation Branding as will be discussed.

Various scholars understand the tasks of Nation Branding as supporting the nation-state in the competition for investment for international capital, such as in the areas of tourism, foreign investment, exports, and trade as well as highly skilled education and labour (Aronczyk, 2013; Dinnie, 2016). Morgan et al. (2011) add to that Nation Branding attempts to influence people abroad to live, work or study in the very nation. In this context, the importance of fostering the experiences and engagement with visitors, citizens and members of international businesses becomes clear to increase future collaborations and investments (Knott et al., 2013). See Figure 2.20.

Figure 2.20: Targets of Nation Branding



Source: Author's elaboration based on Aronczyk (2008), Dinnie (2016), Morgan et al. (2011) and Knott et al. (2013)

At this point, it is necessary to know *how* people abroad and within the nation think and talk about the specific nation and which image they have about the nation in order to attract people and address their wishes and needs (Anholt, 2007).

Achievement of goals on the basis of the inside and outside perception

Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) argue that the image of a place is created based on the combination of emotions which are created from the interaction of a person's self-images,

the group identity and information existing about the place. People respond to images of places according to their previous experiences, opinions, impressions and personal characteristics (ibid).

In this thesis, it is assumed that this also takes place for a nation, which is why an attempt is made to understand people's perception about a nation as suggested by Olins (1999). The author (Olins, 1999) suggests to measure the perception about a nation by its people by conducting a consultation with opinion-leaders to look for national strengths and weaknesses and by comparing internal and external studies to find out the image of that nation.

However, as Fan (2006) further explains, a country might have different images depending on the audience and the context. The image people have does not necessarily coincide with the location itself (ibid). Related to this, also Widler (2007) argues that pre-existing stereotypes, generalisations or even prejudices might contribute to the image people have about a location. Also, the entertainment industry and the media shape people's perceptions of a place, which is why it is a challenge to attract visitors, especially when there are negative views as Morgan et al. (2011) conclude.

According to Fan (2006), people have a perception of a nation whether or not the nation has a nation brand. People's perception of a nation influences their behaviour and actions towards the nation (Anholt, 2007). In this context, scholars explain that it is a difficult task to change people's minds about a place when having pre-existing opinions (Morgan et al., 2011; Anholt, 2007). Attempts are made to change people's understandings and pre-existing meanings about nations through different strategies such as advertising, brochures, websites, competitive tenders, beauty parades (Anholt, 2007).

In the process of changing the image of a nation which was damaged before, it might take lot of time and other resources to let stereotypes disappear (Olins, 1999). However, Fan (2006) says that Nation Branding is a tool that could help reducing stereotypes, which contributes to developing mutual understanding, improving international relations and particularly to increasing the attraction of tourists.

In the context of Place Branding, Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) explain that there is an attempt to understand *who* the customers of a nation are, *what* their wishes are, and *how* value might be added to a location in order to attract tourists. This thesis understands similar processes of evaluation as necessary for Nation Branding in order to be successful to attract tourists to the nation.

According to Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), a strong nation brand contributes to a profile of increased importance of a nation within its target markets, but also to attracting new markets. Also Morgan et al. (2011) confirm that having a strong nation brand leads to benefits on the domestic market, increased access to regional trade areas, improved education of the population, as well as tax incentives or growing skilled labour.

In this context, Anholt (2007) argues that the decisions about the building of factories, setting overseas operations, marketing of products, outsourcing industrial processes or customer services, investments of foreign aid budgets by governments, international sports bodies and other events - they are all affected by a nation's image.

The competition for investment and exports abroad has become a challenge for nations (van Ham, 2008) which is why they often refer to Nation Branding strategies to strengthen their inward investment and exports (Dinnie, 2016). As Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) state, there are directly measurable impacts between the reputation of a country and its political and economic engagement with other countries.

There are many countries which do not manage their brand on purpose, but still, people have a perception and image of these countries (Ashworth, 2009; Kotler and Gertner, 2002). Images and stereotypes of places arise from associations people have (O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy, 2000). Many countries suffer because of the weak or negative reputation they have, while others still benefit from the right image they had acquired a long time ago (Morgan et al., 2011).

Places which have a positive reputation find it easier to receive attention and resources which they need to establish economic relationships abroad (Morgan et al., 2011). Small nations which do not have an established reputation yet might have more significant troubles to create a working Nation Branding (Olins, 1999).

Notably, so-called 'new nations' struggle to define who they are and what makes them unique in the world. Such nations could benefit from established basic techniques and approaches of Nation Branding and adapt them to their needs. However, according to Anholt (2007), for countries which are little known it is hard to develop a successful Nation Branding. The kind of reputation a nation has influences its chances of trade and export and shows the importance of its Nation Branding globally.

Striving for the element of *differentiation*

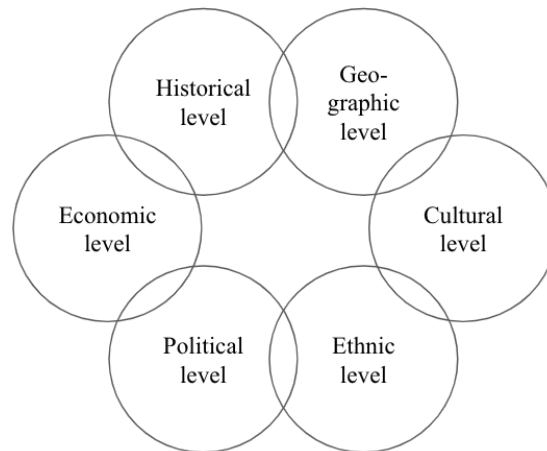
In this thesis, there is an understanding that a nation needs to know *if* and *how* people inside and outside of it think about the nation. In this context, the element of *differentiation* to other nations plays a pivotal role to stick out of the mass and to receive more recognition for the nation.

In this context, various scholars name the importance of attracting foreign publics by establishing points of differences and uniqueness compared to other nations (Dinnie, 2008; Ashworth, 2009; Florek et al., 2006). As Widler (2007) states, the idea seems to be that every country has intrinsically unique characteristics, so-called *core competencies*.

In this context, Ahn and Wu (2015) highlight the difficulty of identifying the unique values of Nation Branding as they involve a complex web of factors at multiple levels. A nation has multiple images which is why the task of choosing the right core image can present a challenge (ibid). As the authors further explain, Nation Branding needs to be constructed from different levels, such as from a historical, geographic, cultural, ethnic, political and economic level (Ahn and Wu, 2015). See Figure 2.21.

The image of a place or nation is based on resources which can be found on a *historical* level such as through history or religion; on a *geographic* level, such as the natural environment, the climate, wildlife or landscape; on a *cultural* level such as by arts, architecture or design; on an *ethnic* level through focusing on local cultural expressions; as

Figure 2.21: Levels constructing Nation Branding



Source: Author's elaboration based on Ahn and Wu (2015)

well as on a *political* level and on an *economic* level (Govers and Go, 2009; Olins, 1999; Pomeroy, 2013; Fan, 2006). See Figure 2.21.

Florek et al. (2006) further name characteristics, such as the importance a place has in the world, the image, the local entrepreneurial climate, skills and talents of citizens, as resources for a nation to differentiate it from others. In this context, Dinnie (2008) describes these resources as the *essence* of a nation. However, as mentioned before, in this thesis any essentialist thinking is strongly criticized.

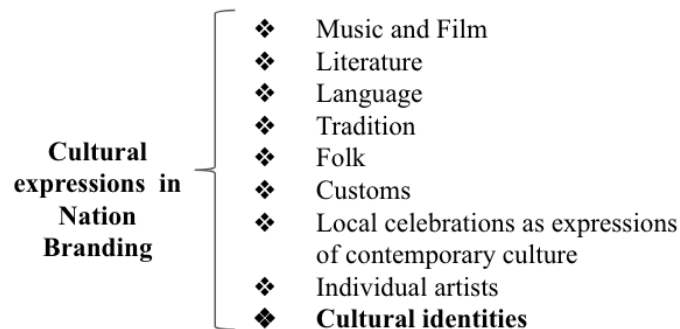
Having in mind that nations aim at highlighting their points of difference, in this thesis there is a conviction that focusing on one element is not enough to grasp the entire picture of a nation (Chavez, 2016).

Therefore, in this thesis there is an understanding that nations should aim at creating a diverse image of the nation by focusing on a combination of different elements. One way to express differentiation is to focus on a nation's culture and cultural diversity. Some examples of culture might be the music, film, literature, language, tradition, folk, customs and local celebrations as expressions of contemporary culture determining a country's image (Dinnie, 2008; Florek et al., 2006). See Figure 2.22.

As Ashworth (2009) states, individual artists are also elements of uniqueness, as some can be instantly attributed to a particular location, even if they are not exclusively linked to the place. In this thesis, the understanding of culture is expanded by the *cultural identities* of a nation, which means the population, diverse ethnicities or minorities living within a nation. See Figure 2.22.

It has been elaborated before that the element of differentiation and highlighting characteristics that differentiate nations from each other is essential for Nation Branding. In the context of culture, places which compete on a global market increasingly stress cultural identity as an attribute that makes them *distinct* and *contrast* them from their competitors (Aronczyk, 2013).

Figure 2.22: Cultural expressions in Nation Branding



Source: Author's elaboration based on Dinnie (2008), Florek et al. (2006) and Ashworth (2009)

In this context, Ahn and Wu (2015) explain that emphasizing arts and culture in Nation Branding not only leads to a more diverse image but also is able to improve social cohesion, strengthen the national and community identity as well as the cultural standing and the economy of the nation.

In this context, Widler (2007, 147) says:

Differentiation between nations is difficult, but differentiation is what competition is all about, and it is what branding is all about. Based on the assumption that every nation is different from all the other nations in the world, the demanding task Nation Branding imposes on itself is to identify the unique characteristics of a nation and to display them comprehensively, without being reductive. The task is all the more demanding since social diversity not only comprises the different spheres of a nation such as history, culture, politics, business or sports - it also means diversity regarding *people*. In the sample of published information material, diversity regarding people is a *central* theme.

In this quote, Widler (2007) mentions the importance of focusing on the *diversity of people* when it comes to portraying the different spheres of a nation, which is the central focus of this research interest.

Showcasing the *cultural identities* of a place as an element of uniqueness in Nation Branding

As discussed earlier, in this thesis there is a conviction that local citizens should be involved in Nation Branding. Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011) call this approach a *bottom-up* Nation Branding which means that nation brands are socially constructed and culturally dependent, starting with a nation's people and community. This seems highly significant for this thesis, because there is an understanding that local citizens express cultural features and the local culture which are essential to construct Nation Branding (Kotler and Gertner, 2002).

At this point, it needs to be highlighted that in this thesis there is an awareness that national communities are *not* homogeneous and that their representation in branding narratives has consequences for subnational and transnational identities (Kaneva, 2011).

In this context, Kavartzis and Hatch (2013) highlight the importance to reflect on the different cultural understandings within a nation and embed them into the reflection of identity conversations. Also Aronczyk (2013) confirms that it is crucial to include the national population into the planning processes to make sure that they can participate and that they know the images which are projected abroad (Aronczyk, 2013).

Various scholars mention the difficulty of constructing Nation Branding which all parts of the society can identify. In this context, Kavartzis and Hatch (2013) argue that it is hard to develop a consistent Nation Branding if the people of a nation are not aligned. Even if the citizens of a nation have different views of the nation, it is necessary that the citizens share some characteristics and intentions to establish a consistent Nation Branding (Widler, 2007).

As a consequence, Fan (2006) argues that there is great necessity that the image of a nation not only needs to be relevant but also needs to be credible. Promoting a *real* experience in the Nation Branding helps the strategy to coincide with the image in the long run (Moilanen and Rainisto, 2009), which is another interest of Nation Branding to create long-term campaigns (Dinnie, 2008).

Scholars share the opinion that there cannot be a gap between the images used for Nation Branding and the reputation a nation has abroad. Scholars agree that the messages which are sent by the country abroad to reach its target audience must show a consistent picture and set clear goals for the country's economy, society, political and cultural relations to and with other nations, which is why this research focuses on how these different approaches overlap (Dinnie, 2008; Anholt, 2007; Quelch and Jocz, 2005).

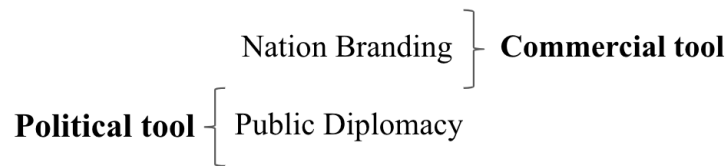
2.2.7 From Nation Branding to Public Diplomacy

As determined in the overall research question, this thesis investigates the construction of cultural identities, in particular Māori identities, in the concepts of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy. After presenting ongoing understandings of Nation Branding and its importance for this research, the next subsection will focus on the concepts and detailed explanation of Public Diplomacy.

Before entering into profound discussions of Public Diplomacy it is necessary to understand how Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy differentiate from each other, but also resemble each other. In this transition part, an attempt is made to make clear why Public Diplomacy was chosen to contrast Nation Branding in this thesis.

To start with, in this thesis Nation Branding is understood as a communication strategy with mainly commercial and economic intentions (as explained on page 56), in comparison to Public Diplomacy which is understood to be a political tool, mostly used by governments and governmental units. See Figure 2.23.

Figure 2.23: Nation Branding versus Public Diplomacy



Source: Author's own elaboration

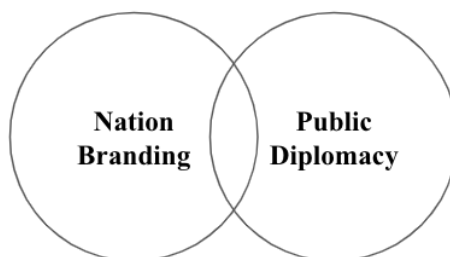
The relationship between Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding is a popular topic of discussion of scholars. In general, Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding can be either differentiated as being distinct, but related to each other (Gilboa, 2008; Szondi, 2008) or can be understood to be essentially the same. In this context, Szondi (2008) lists five different views on the relationship between Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy.

The author (Szondi, 2008, 14-15) names:

1. "Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding are distinct spheres."
2. "Public Diplomacy is part of Nation Branding."
3. "Nation Branding is part of Public Diplomacy."
4. **"Both concepts are distinct, but overlapping."**
5. "Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy are the same concepts."

For this thesis, the fourth view *"Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy as distinct, but overlapping concepts"* advocated by Melissen (2005) will be used. This view was chosen as there is an understanding that both concepts generally have an overlapping interest to promote the nation's image to different target audiences. However, as both concepts do have different approaches and interests which lead the promotion of a nation's image, they are also considered distinct in some perspectives as will be the topic throughout the entire research. See Figure 2.24.

Figure 2.24: Relationship between Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy



Source: Author's elaboration based on Szondi (2008)

This transition part aims at summarising differentiating points between the two concepts. Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy have different geographical origins. Public Diplomacy can be traced back to the United States, about 40-50 years before the idea of Nation Branding was developed in Europe in the 1990s (Anholt, 2008a).

Public Diplomacy focuses on international relations and international communication, whereas Nation Branding concentrates more on economic interests. Regarding the content, Public Diplomacy builds its information on the history and culture of the nation coming from a background of foreign affairs and international relations, whereas Nation Branding deals with questions of perception by applying marketing and advertisement techniques (Anholt, 2008a; Szondi, 2008). Traditionally, Public Diplomacy was organised by governments and Nation Branding by external branding or marketing agencies, however, lately a shift in the organisation of both concepts can be observed (Szondi, 2008).

Nowadays, boundaries of actors of both Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy are blurred. An increased influence of governments on the work of Nation Branding takes place (Szondi, 2008). Also, the two concepts have different target groups. Nation Branding targets both domestic and foreign citizens, whereas Public Diplomacy stronger targets well-defined foreign publics (Szondi, 2008). As Anholt (2007) states, Public Diplomacy is the *master discipline* of international relations for developed and prominent countries, just as Nation Branding is potentially the *master discipline* of economic development for emerging and less well-known countries.

Contrasting Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy makes clear that both concepts have very different approaches *how to* and *whom to* target. These similarities and differences are pivotal as they play an important role in understanding the construction of Māori identities in Aotearoa New Zealand's Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy. In the following, a closer look will be taken at Public Diplomacy.

2.3 Public Diplomacy

2.3.1 Development of Public Diplomacy

This thesis investigates the construction of Māori identities in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. In order to link the research interest to Public Diplomacy, it is necessary to have a closer look at the concept starting with its development in this subsection.

Scholars agree that promoting the name of a nation or government is not a new phenomenon as the idea can be traced back to ancient times (Melissen, 2005). In Ancient Greece or Rome practices of international relations were carried out as well as in Byzantium and during the Italian Renaissance where diplomatic activities to foreign publics were conducted (ibid). Mainly since the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, communication was addressed to international audiences (Melissen, 2005). For an

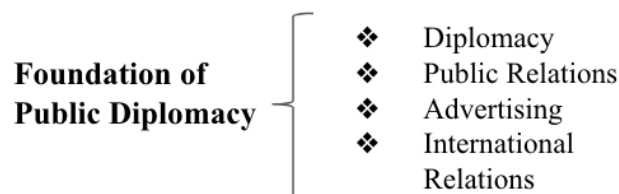
extended timespan, nations have targeted foreign audiences to foster their own economic and political interests (Nelson and Izadi, 2009).

Historically, Public Diplomacy was a tool from Foreign Policy units which grew in importance in times of increased conflicts and tensions between nations and other actors (Nelson and Izadi, 2009; Szondi, 2008). Taylor (2009) assigns Public Diplomacy as the most debated field in international communications since the technological development in the 1970s and 1980s.

Already during the First World War and the Cold War, Public Diplomacy became an essential tool of propaganda (Kim, 2017). During the Cold War the United States used Public Diplomacy to influence the behaviour of targeted audiences to endeavour and increase a better understanding of the United States among foreign audiences (Armstrong, 2008). Apart from the United States, it took some time for Public Diplomacy to be established in other nations as well (Cull, 2009).

There are different perspectives on Public Diplomacy which are united by the persuasion industries of public relations, advertising or international relations (Snow and Taylor, 2009; Kim, 2017). See Figure 2.25.

Figure 2.25: Foundation of Public Diplomacy



Source: Author's elaboration based on Snow and Taylor (2009) and Kim (2017)

As Szondi (2008) states, it is the history and culture of a particular country that influence the contextualisation of Public Diplomacy. When earlier Public Diplomacy was frequently linked to its US heritage, nowadays Public Diplomacy aims at moving its methods and practices into a more global context (Snow and Taylor, 2009). According to various scholars, the European perspective of Public Diplomacy focuses on managing the national image or the reputation of the country (Gilboa, 2008; Snow and Taylor, 2009; Wang, 2006; Leonard et al., 2002; van Ham, 2005, 2008; Kim, 2017).

Also the development of new technologies and new communication channels such as the Internet, global networks, social media or broadcasting have massively influenced Public Diplomacy. They offer unprecedented opportunities for promoting cross-cultural collaborations, dialogue and monologue communications as well as interactions and a global network (Cowan and Arsenault, 2008; van Ham, 2005).

Riordan (2005) explains that as a consequence of the new technological development radical reduction of cost, but also increased speed of communication could be observed. These developments also influence Public Diplomacy. Nowadays, people often show better knowledge about key policy issues and geopolitical developments than governments

and officials (ibid). According to Nelson and Izadi (2009), it is due to the rise of mass communication and globalisation that governments show an increased interest in direct and continuous communication regarding their own population, but also foreign audiences.

Not only the technological development, but also events such as 9/11 have made it more challenging to achieve Public Diplomacy (Kim, 2017; Taylor, 2009). Scholars argue that Public Diplomacy has increased its popularity since the 9/11 attacks and the war in Iraq (Melissen, 2005; Kim, 2017; Snow and Taylor, 2009). As Kim (2017) states, since then Public Diplomacy was strongly developed as an instrument for mutual understanding and two-way communication. As the author (ibid) further explains, after 9/11 the so-called New Public Diplomacy was developed by European scholars to put more weight on normative aspects (Kim, 2017).

Additionally to the effects globalisation had on Public Diplomacy, today's Public Diplomacy shows interdisciplinary influences in its theory, such as from international relations, strategic studies, diplomatic studies, public relations, communication studies and propaganda (Gilboa, 2008; Szondi, 2008; Gregory, 2008). Also, there is an increased influence from marketing, Place and Nation Branding or network communication theory (Cull, 2009). See Figure 2.26.

Figure 2.26: Interdisciplinarity of Public Diplomacy



Source: Author's elaboration based on Gilboa (2008), Szondi (2008), Gregory (2008) and Cull (2009)

2.3.2 Defining Public Diplomacy

Traditional Diplomacy versus Public Diplomacy

Before presenting different definitions of Public Diplomacy, it is necessary to differentiate Public Diplomacy from traditional Diplomacy.

As displayed in Table 2.5, Public Diplomacy differentiates from traditional Diplomacy by attempting to manage the international environment through the engagement of an international actor with foreign publics, non-official groups, organisations or individuals.

Contrary, traditional Diplomacy attempts to engage with international actors or representatives of states (Cull, 2009; Melissen, 2005). Traditional Diplomacy is determined by government to government relations which do not emphasise public opinion (Snow and Taylor, 2009; Signitzer and Coombs, 1992).

Table 2.5: Similarities and Differences between traditional Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

	Traditional Diplomacy	Public Diplomacy
Similarities	- influencing will of an actor by anticipating and affecting responses of person related to event, image or message - both want to control the discourse	
Differences	-attempts to engage with int'l actors or representatives of states - government to government relations	-attempts to manage int'l environment through engagement with foreign publics, non-official groups, organisations and individuals

Source: Author's elaboration based on Cull (2009), Snow and Taylor (2009), Armstrong (2008), Melissen (2005) and Signitzer and Coombs (1992)

According to Armstrong (2008), overlaps between traditional Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy can be observed in that both concepts involve elements of persuasion, discussion, coercion and rewards. As the author further explains, traditional Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy both aim at influencing the will of an actor by anticipating or appropriately affecting the psychological response of the person related to an event, image or message. Armstrong (2008) further emphasizes the importance of both concepts to control the discourse, rather than limiting themselves to telling the story or managing the narrative.

As a result of globalisation, Castells (2008) declares Public Diplomacy as the Diplomacy of the public opinion, stating that the local opinion has shifted to a global one. Also, Kim (2017) reports an increased impact of public opinion on foreign policy decision making. However, as Vela and Xifra (2015) state, Public Diplomacy still includes dimensions of classic Diplomacy and international relations. An example given by the authors (ibid) is that governments still manage the public opinion in foreign countries or the interaction of private interest groups between different countries.

Defining Public Diplomacy

Various scholars attempted to find an adequate definition of Public Diplomacy. Some definitions focus on the element of influencing opinions and publics, such as Malone (1985, 199) who names Public Diplomacy a “direct communication with foreign peoples aiming to affect their thinking and government” or Frederick (1993, 229) who defines Public Diplomacy as “activities which are directed abroad (...) to influence foreign governments by influencing citizens”. Also, Gilboa (2008) confirms that states and non-state actors

use media and other channels of communication to influence public opinion in foreign societies.

Other definitions of Public Diplomacy stronger address the elements of engaging communication or foster understanding with foreign publics, such as Tuch (1990, 3) who describes Public Diplomacy as “a government’s process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and policies” or Cull (2009, 12) who explains Public Diplomacy as “an international actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public”.

Furthermore, there are definitions of Public Diplomacy which stress the promotion of political or economic interest such as in Szondi (2008, 11) where the author describes Public Diplomacy as “a political and economic interest promotion to create a receptive environment and positive reputation of the country abroad”. Also, Nelson and Izadi (2009, 34) define Public Diplomacy as “the process which is to promote the national interest and the national security through understanding, informing and influencing foreign publics and broadening the dialogue between citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad”. Gilbert et al. (2016, 4) even focus on improving the state’s image when they say that Public Diplomacy is about “improving a state’s image and improving its relations to other states by influencing the internal and external audience’s opinion”.

Due to the number of definitions of Public Diplomacy, McClellan’s definition from 2004 was selected as the definition to be used in this paper. According to him (McClellan, 2004, 23-24), Public Diplomacy happens when:

An advocate country is strategically planning and executing the informational, cultural and educational program to create a public opinion environment in a target country or countries that will enable the target country, political leaders, to make decisions supporting the advocate country’s foreign policy objectives.

This definition was chosen because it includes various important elements of Public Diplomacy which are considered important for this thesis such as the strategic planning, the distribution of information on cultural or educational programs, but it also highlights the importance of influencing and changing the behaviour and opinion of foreign publics or politicians that are considered important for this thesis.

The New Public Diplomacy

Scholars state that after the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center a new form of Public Diplomacy was established. This latest development of Public Diplomacy is called *New Public Diplomacy*.

Kim (2017) explains that whereas Public Diplomacy focuses on creating public information and establishing relations, the New Public Diplomacy concentrates on shared objectives with foreign publics and on developing credibility.

The author (Kim, 2017, 302) defines New Public Diplomacy as:

A government effort to achieve credibility, trust, mutuality, through two-way communication to deal with public opinion between the government and foreign or global publics by engaging with non-state actors and fostering partnerships as means of embassy foreign policies with soft power.

New Public Diplomacy is determined by a strong focus on engagement between nations and establishing mutual understanding (Kim, 2017). Kim (2017, 301-302) names six characteristics of New Public Diplomacy which seem pivotal for the understanding of the tasks of Public Diplomacy in this thesis.

They are as follows:

- New Public Diplomacy pursues soft power.
- New Public Diplomacy is concerned with international credibility of the nation-state.
- New Public Diplomacy is determined with two-way communication and symmetric communication in the information age.
- New Public Diplomacy focuses on collaborations for common goals.
- New Public Diplomacy interacts with non-nation state actors and multi-stakeholders.
- New Public Diplomacy is interested in a favourable diplomatic environment for nation-states in world politics.

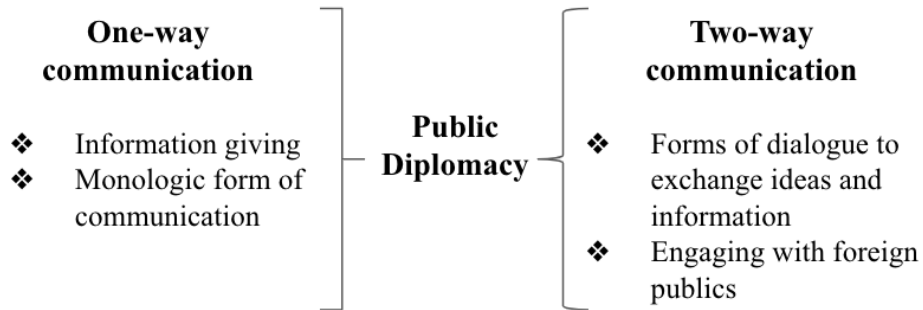
2.3.3 Forms of communicating Public Diplomacy

When it comes to different approaches of communicating Public Diplomacy, one can differentiate between *one-way* and *two-way* communication (Cowan and Arsenault, 2008). Understanding the differentiation between the two approaches is pivotal for this thesis. See Figure 2.27.

One-way communication of Public Diplomacy is understood as information giving and a monologic form of communication (Cowan and Arsenault, 2008). Snow and Taylor (2009) state that especially the old understanding of US Public Diplomacy can be linked to one-way communication as a one-way exchange of information about the United States to the rest of the world.

However, in this thesis the two-way communication of Public Diplomacy is supported. Two-way communication is understood as a form of dialogue in order to exchange information and ideas (Szondi, 2008). Cowan and Arsenault (2008) add the element of collaboration which they describe as initiatives in which people work together, as another

Figure 2.27: Ways of communicating Public Diplomacy



Source: Author's elaboration based on Cowan and Arsenault (2008) and Szondi (2008)

approach of engaging with foreign publics. Nelson and Izadi (2009, 343) link two-way Public Diplomacy to certain ethical standards, such as the commitment to truth or value-based leadership. Related to this, Riordan (2005) confirms that there is an awareness and efforts that Public Diplomacy is about real ideas and values and that often the outcome of Public Diplomacy activities is unpaid auxiliary help for states, NGOs, international organisations or corporations (Cull, 2009).

Apart from one-way or two-way communication, Szondi (2008) also distinguishes between an *engaging approach* and *explaining approach* of Public Diplomacy. The engaging approach describes the engagement of domestic citizens into foreign policy formulation, whereas the explaining approach stands for the explanation of foreign policy goals and diplomacy to the domestic public (Szondi, 2008). This thesis investigates which approach is used in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.3.4 Actors of Public Diplomacy

This thesis also investigates the actors of Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand as defined in *Objectives 2 and 3*. As Table 2.6 shows, a development regarding the actors of Public Diplomacy can be observed which is similar to Nation Branding.

Table 2.6: Differences between *traditional* and *new actors* of Public Diplomacy

Traditional actors of Public Diplomacy	New actors of Public Diplomacy
- traditionally elite-orientated	- focus on specific target audiences
- PD as the communication between governments and specific state actors	- understanding PD as people to people communication
- defined publics include cultural and political elites, opinion leaders	- defined publics include non-governmental organisations, non-state actors and the global civil society

Source: Author's elaboration based on Szondi (2008), Cull (2009), Riordan (2005), Cowan and Arsenault (2008) and Vela and Xifra (2015)

Traditionally, Public Diplomacy was described as elite-oriented. The defined publics included cultural or political elites, opinion formers or opinion leaders in foreign publics (Szondi, 2008). Public Diplomacy was understood as the communication between governments and specific political actors of other states (Szondi, 2008).

In 2005, Riordan (2005) explains that the government's role of Public Diplomacy has changed and even was *reduced*. As Riordan (2005) further elaborates, nowadays the government's role of Public Diplomacy is limited to the coordination and planning of activities and strategies as well as to engage with interest groups and to offer technical and financial support. Although Public Diplomacy is still understood as the language of prestige and international image, it has changed from an actor-to-people to a people-to-people communication (Cull, 2009).

Melissen (2005) explains that through globalisation information directed at domestic audiences also started to reach foreign publics. Public Diplomacy started to reach out for non-political or non-governmental actors (Cull, 2009), whereas the influence of governments on Public Diplomacy decreased (Szondi, 2008).

Nowadays Public Diplomacy interacts with a new range of actors. An increasing number of subnational governments, globally presented NGOs, less formal groupings of citizens as well as private groups and actors increasingly engage in the implementation of foreign policies (Riordan, 2005; Cowan and Arsenault, 2008; Vela and Xifra, 2015). According to Riordan (2005), non-governmental actors are attributed with more credibility and are more critical to governments.

As Hocking (2005) explains, nowadays the emerging global civil society may operate through or even independently of national governments. Also, Melissen (2005) confirms that both supranational or subnational players develop Public Diplomacy.

Universities and individual academics, schools and colleges, journalists and political parties, citizen groups, youth movements or sports clubs are also highly effective as Public Diplomacy agents (Riordan, 2005). It is pivotal that the different actors have access to multiple channels of communication and the media in order to spread Public Diplomacy activities and messages (Anholt, 2007).

In this context, Anholt (2007) stresses the importance to follow one common strategy when different actors such as embassies, cultural bodies and trade or tourist offices interact to promote trade, tourism investment or culture.

As Cull (2009) explains, although Public Diplomacy could reach target mass audiences today, it focuses still on selected target audiences which are influential to a broader community. Understanding who the actors of Public Diplomacy are is necessary to target the appropriate experts for this thesis.

2.3.5 Tasks of Public Diplomacy

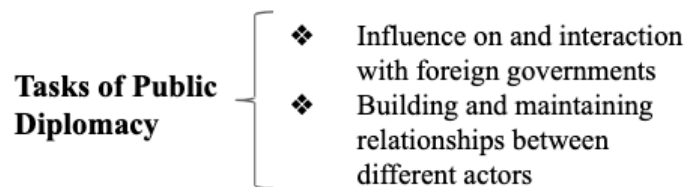
In order to understand the construction of Māori identities in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand, it is necessary to know about the general tasks and aims of Public

Diplomacy. This is pivotal to learn about the intentions of certain actions and behaviours of the actors of Public Diplomacy to know why cultural identities, in this case Māori identities, are constructed in a certain way.

Public Diplomacy does not aim at creating immediate effect, but rather focuses on long-term interest (Cull, 2009; Szondi, 2008). Related to this, it is necessary to clearly state the goals and objectives of Public Diplomacy (Anholt, 2007).

As demonstrated in the chart below (See Figure 2.28), various scholars agree that the main objective of Public Diplomacy is the influence on as well as the interaction with foreign governments. Most actors of Public Diplomacy have a specific interest in mind and achieve this interest by engaging with foreign citizens or foreign publics (Cull, 2009; Szondi, 2008; Melissen, 2005; van Ham, 2005).

Figure 2.28: Main tasks of Public Diplomacy



Source: Author's elaboration based on Cull (2009), Szondi (2008), Melissen (2005), van Ham (2005) and Nelson and Izadi (2009)

Another main task of Public Diplomacy is the building and maintaining of relationships (Cull, 2009; Szondi, 2008; Nelson and Izadi, 2009). Public Diplomacy aims at building relationships between (1) non-state actors and a foreign audience, or (2) two audiences which are foreign to each other, as Cull (2009) explains. Establishing relationships between these interest groups aims at creating awareness of policies and can only be done by establishing a genuine dialogue (Nelson and Izadi, 2009). It is important to include domestic publics into Public Diplomacy actions (Kim, 2017).

Using Soft power

Another term which needs to be explained related to Public Diplomacy is 'soft power', which was coined by Joseph Nye in 1990 (Snow and Taylor, 2009). Public Diplomacy is an essential instrument of soft power (Melissen, 2005).

According to Snow and Taylor (2009), it is not a new phenomenon that countries such as Germany, Italy, France or the United Kingdom have used its resources to benefit their national image. The value of soft power was recognised in political and diplomatic practices before debates around Public Diplomacy occurred (Melissen, 2005; Nye, 2004).

Similar to Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy, soft power became popular after the Cold War when actors attempted to succeed in an international environment because of their attractiveness, rather than because of their military or economic power (Cull, 2009). The foundation of soft power can be rooted in the US initiative to create more popularity

for its nation abroad (Nelson and Izadi, 2009). Hollywood movies, music and other mass-produced cultural products were used to promote the American way of life and its values and practices (ibid).

For a clear understanding in this thesis, the term 'soft power' needs to be explained in detail. Gilbert et al. (2016, 4) define soft power as the “non-coercive use of culture, political values and foreign politics to appeal, attract and co-opt action or support”. Scholars describe soft power as an attempt to change the behaviour of others to one’s liking (Nye, 2004; Snow and Taylor, 2009). Being a role model and leading by attraction might influence people’s behaviour and convinces them of one’s values. As the author (Nye, 2004) further explains, soft power consists of assets, such as attractive personality, culture, political values and foreign policies or moral authority. See Figure 2.29.

Figure 2.29: Assets of Soft Power



Source: Author’s elaboration based on Nye (2004)

Soft powers use tools, such as trade, diplomacy, foreign aid and the spread of values, to convince and persuade its targeted audiences. They focus on educating the general public as well as present and future decision-makers to “think favourably about the country whose cultural offerings they are enjoying” (Nye, 2004, 11). The main goal of soft powers is to develop a stronger international profile, but can also work through diplomacy in areas such as human rights, concern for the environment, disaster relief, overseas aid and development and the potential dangers of climate change for future generations (Hurn, 2016).

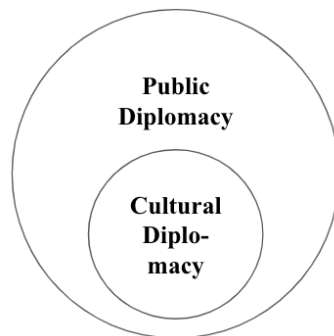
One must differentiate between soft power and hard power. Contrary to soft power, military and economic power are called hard power (Nye, 2004). Whereas hard power can be related to military strength, economic power and technological infrastructure, soft power relies more on the attractiveness of a country’s values or culture (Gilboa, 2008; Gilbert et al., 2016). According to Kim (2017), soft power has become more important than hard power. However, as Snow and Taylor (2009) explain, culture and ideas need to match with the global norms in order to be successful.

2.4 Cultural Diplomacy

2.4.1 Development of Cultural Diplomacy

Although in this thesis it is assumed that Cultural Diplomacy is a *sub-part* of Public Diplomacy, it is explained separately for a better distinction. See Figure 2.30.

Figure 2.30: Public Diplomacy *versus* Cultural Diplomacy



Source: Author's own elaboration

When looking at the development of Cultural Diplomacy, in this research there is an understanding that Cultural Diplomacy has existed as long as Public Diplomacy.

Some authors date back the beginning of Cultural Diplomacy to the Bronze Age when cultural activities were conducted to foster better understanding and communication between different communities (Kim, 2017; Arndt, 2005). Meanwhile, other scholars trace the beginning of *modern* Cultural Diplomacy to the 16th century when cultural exchanges started between the British and French or the Spanish and Italians (Gienow-Hecht and Donfried, 2010; Feigenbaum, 2002).

In 1974, Haigh's belief was that the forerunners of Cultural Diplomacy developed between the 17th and 18th century and originated in France (Haigh, 1974). According to the author (*ibid*), the French language expanded all over Europe due to France's military successes and became the first spoken language in European courts and cultural aristocratic institutions. As Haigh (1974) further states, Germany established Cultural Diplomacy shortly after France. To him, both French and Germans developed departments within their Ministries of Foreign Affairs to encourage cultural activities in foreign countries and sent cultural institutions abroad (Haigh, 1974).

According to Kim (2017), throughout the 19th century, private institutions increased cultural interactions and exchange to foreign publics as a consequence of the ease of transportation. Also, schools and churches interacted more with foreign publics to foster cultural exchange (Haigh, 1974).

Similar to Public Diplomacy, the success of Cultural Diplomacy was quickly recognised, even if it did not happen for a good cause.

Throughout the 20th century, Cultural Diplomacy was frequently misused as a propaganda tool (Arndt, 2011). As Schneider (2005) explains, during the First World War the English used Cultural Diplomacy to promote their nation, whereas during the Second World War the Nazi Party made use of Cultural Diplomacy to spread their ideology. Also later, between the 1950s and the 1970s, when the Cold War took place Cultural Diplomacy was applied to spread the ideas of the United States of America.

In this context, Paschalidis (2009) argues that the US State Department division of cultural

affairs propagandized the United States of America to foreign publics in order to make American culture more popular. Different cultural activities such as the Fulbright Programme, American literature, music, arts and science abroad or the academic exchange were highlighted abroad (Gienow-Hecht and Donfried, 2010; Feigenbaum, 2002; Schneider, 2005).

In 2010, Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010) point out that Cultural Diplomacy still shows practices of manipulation, but since the Cold War times, Cultural Diplomacy practitioners have tried hard to distance themselves from this focus. Emerging powers have understood the importance of Cultural Diplomacy for their external relations and have actively developed Cultural Diplomacy in their foreign policies (Bound et al., 2007). As to Ang et al. (2015), Cultural Diplomacy has succeeded to expand its importance and has considerably broadened over the last couple of years.

As private institutions started to decline throughout the 20th century, independent cultural institutions became more involved in Cultural Diplomacy (Kim, 2017). One example is the British Council which was founded in 1934 by the British Government (Cull, 2009).

In 2009, Mark (2009) explains that Cultural Diplomacy has increasingly emphasized the nation's image having in mind the impact of globalisation and its influence on the engagement of countries internationally. However, similar to Public Diplomacy, discussions around the practice of Cultural Diplomacy increased after the 9/11 attacks (Kim, 2017).

Discussing the development of Cultural Diplomacy shows many similarities to the one of Public Diplomacy, in particular when it comes to the frequent manipulation and misuse that has taken place. Given the frequent usage of Cultural Diplomacy for the wrong reasons in the past, such as for the promotion of political ideas, this thesis wants to highlight the importance of having these practices in mind when discussing the concept of Cultural Diplomacy.

When thinking about where Cultural Diplomacy can be situated now, Paschalidis (2009, 277-286) suggests four different phases of historical development of Cultural Diplomacy. Starting in the 19th century until now the author (ibid) divides between:

1. 1870-1914: *Cultural nationalism*
2. 1914-1945: *Cultural propaganda*
3. 1945-1989: *Cultural Diplomacy*
4. 1989- present: *Cultural capitalism*

According to Paschalidis (2009), the time of *cultural capitalism* is prevailing now, which is defined through the rise of new nations participating in external cultural policy, which has produced a new system of international and intercultural relations.

With regard to the actual phase of Cultural Diplomacy, the *cultural capitalism* supports the critical approach of this thesis which questions if the use of culture in Cultural Diplomacy is mainly dominated by political or economic intentions and misuse.

After having understood the development of Cultural Diplomacy the next subsection will look at selected definitions of Cultural Diplomacy which are considered relevant for this thesis.

2.4.2 Defining Cultural Diplomacy

2.4.2.1 Cultural Diplomacy *versus* Public Diplomacy

Before presenting a variety of selected definitions of Cultural Diplomacy, there is an understanding in this thesis that it is necessary to know about the relationship between Cultural Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy first.

Frequently, Cultural Diplomacy stands in the shadow of Public Diplomacy and has received little scholarly attention as a consequence. However, in 2010 Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010) describe that during the last 15 years a growing body of studies on Cultural Diplomacy could be observed.

Among various scholars there is a tendency to understand Cultural Diplomacy as a *tool* of Public Diplomacy (Kim, 2017; Mark, 2009). Multiple authors from public relations and international relations name Cultural Diplomacy an *activity or subset* of Public Diplomacy and international cultural relations (Signitzer, 2008; Leonard et al., 2002; Schneider, 2005).

The term *Cultural Diplomacy* is frequently used interchangeably or as a synonym of terms like Public Diplomacy, international cultural relations or propaganda (Topić and Rodin, 2012; Gienow-Hecht and Donfried, 2010).

There is a general tendency among scholars to think that Cultural Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy overlap. Related to this, Topić and Rodin (2012) argue that it is difficult to distinguish where issues of Cultural Diplomacy end and issues of Public Diplomacy begin. Also Szondi (2008) explains that Public Diplomacy is often translated as Cultural Diplomacy, because its activities are also directed abroad to fields of information, education and culture.

However, according to Mark (2009), contrary to Cultural Diplomacy there are elements of Public Diplomacy which do not include a state's culture such as organising the media. The author (*ibid*) further states that both concepts are *not* synonymous. Contrary to Public Diplomacy, there is historical evidence that Cultural Diplomacy has been stronger associated with implementing cultural agreements between foreign nations (Mark, 2009).

According to Kim (2017), there are four different views on the relationship between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy.

Kim (2017, 303) names them as follows:

1. Engagement diplomacy
2. Contemporary diplomacy
3. Cultural Diplomacy as grassroots of Public Diplomacy
4. New Cultural Diplomacy and New Public Diplomacy as tools for foreign policies to enhance soft power

In this thesis, Cultural Diplomacy will be understood, according to the fourth suggested view by Kim (2017), as a sub-part of Public Diplomacy which similarly to Public Diplomacy engages as a tool for foreign policies enhancing soft power.

Scholars also argue that the division and relationship between Cultural Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy are related to an understanding of the specific countries. Different countries have different meanings of the concepts (Mark, 2009), which will be investigated in this thesis on the example of Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.4.2.2 Approaches of defining Cultural Diplomacy

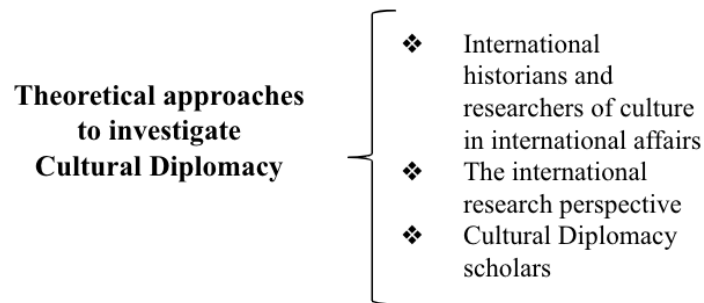
According to various scholars, defining the term *Cultural Diplomacy* seems as difficult as defining the term *Public Diplomacy* (Bound et al., 2007; Topić and Rodin, 2012; Ang et al., 2015). There is a general understanding that there is a gap in the theoretical research of Cultural Diplomacy. This phenomenon might be caused due to the lack of clarity of the term (Kim, 2017).

As to Mark (2009), scholars who investigate Cultural Diplomacy are *multidisciplinary* and not only from traditional international relation theories.

Kim and Kuljis (2010) list three theoretical approaches to investigate Cultural Diplomacy: (1) International historians and researchers of culture in international affairs, (2) The international research perspective, such as the role of culture in world politics and (3) Cultural Diplomacy scholars. See Figure 2.31.

As to Kim (2017), so far most research on Cultural Diplomacy was done by historians. This thesis adds communication and anthropological studies to it as explained in the methodology.

Figure 2.31: Disciplines researching Cultural Diplomacy



Source: Author’s elaboration based on Kim and Kuljis (2010, 303)

Selected definitions of Cultural Diplomacy

According to Cull (2009), historically Cultural Diplomacy was understood as a country’s policy to facilitate the export of examples of culture. Nowadays, it focuses on the export of culture and on promoting cultural resources and facilitating cultural transmissions abroad (ibid). In this thesis, Cultural Diplomacy is understood to be a tool of *soft power* as demonstrated in the following definitions. See Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Definitions of Cultural Diplomacy

Bound (2007, 15)	”[Cultural Diplomacy as] one facet of international relations and as one soft aspect of co-living rather than a hard aspect such as laws, treaties, multilateral organisations and military capability”
Kim (2017, 306)	”[Cultural Diplomacy is] promoting peace and international education among countries, investing in infrastructure and individual foreign institutions for friendly exchanges and communication channel with foreign publics”

Source: Author’s elaboration based on Bound et al. (2007) and Kim (2017)

Given by its name, the role of *culture* in Cultural Diplomacy needs to be explained.

According to Kim (2017), culture is used as the main element of Cultural Diplomacy to transmit certain ideas of one nation to another. Especially in the context of foreign policy, culture plays a pivotal role as it is “used as a tool to describe what cannot be easily explained or described” (Kim, 2017, 307).

Related to this, Mark (2009, 1) states that Cultural Diplomacy is “the deployment of a state’s culture in support of its foreign policy goals or diplomacy”.

When defining Cultural Diplomacy, the elements of cultural transmission frequently come up. The following definitions of Cultural Diplomacy should point out the importance of the element of culture for the concept. See Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: Definitions of Cultural Diplomacy related to *culture*

Cull (2009, 19)	”[Cultural Diplomacy as] the actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by making cultural resources and achievements known overseas and facilitating cultural transmission abroad often with exchange”
Arndt (2011, 7)	”[Cultural Diplomacy is] working with international relationships which involves ideas, minds, values, science, art and thought culture”

Source: Author’s elaboration based on Cull (2009) and Arndt (2011)

Other definitions focus on creating understanding for cultural differences by Cultural Diplomacy. The Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2000) of Aotearoa New Zealand defines Cultural Diplomacy as:

The international presentation of cultural activities by a state to improve understanding of its cultural life and to create a favourable image in order to facilitate improved diplomatic and trade relationships.

The definition of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage is considered highly significant for the understanding of Cultural Diplomacy in this thesis. Also, Kim (2017) focuses on values such as creating credibility, trust and mutuality when doing Cultural Diplomacy. The author (Kim, 2017, 317) defines Cultural Diplomacy as [the]:

Cultural actor’s attempts to cultivate cultural understandings through international cultural relations in line with a government’s concerted efforts to achieve credibility, trust, and mutuality with normative values and shared goals beyond national interests.

This definition will be understood as the working definition of Cultural Diplomacy in this thesis as it involves elements of culture, self-determination, relationships between different actors, values and national interests, which are all relevant for the research interest.

At this point, it needs to be highlighted that understandings of Cultural Diplomacy are heavily influenced by the location of the specific nation (Kim, 2017). As the author (ibid) explains, in Western European countries, for example, Cultural Diplomacy is woven into a broader concept of international cultural relations. For this research, it is pivotal not to generalise the definition of Cultural Diplomacy, but to specifically focus on Aotearoa New Zealand.

Similar to the earlier discussed *New Public Diplomacy*, scholars also see the development of a *New Cultural Diplomacy* after the 9/11 attacks in 2001 (Schneider, 2005). In this thesis, this term is defined through a new form of Cultural Diplomacy which attempts to create dialogues and relationships to foreign audiences taking into consideration the new environments and changing conditions of the specific nation.

Characteristics of Cultural Diplomacy

Leonard et al. (2002) state that Cultural Diplomacy differentiates from other practices because of the timeframe of its objectives which are focused on establishing long-term

relationships. In this context, L'Etang (2009, 610) explains that Cultural Diplomacy is constituted to be *long-term* aiming to develop emotional bonds with overseas domestic publics to “gain their identification and sympathy, for example, exchange of persons and overseas arts tours and exhibitions”.

Mark (2009) inscribes Cultural Diplomacy idealistic purposes, such as establishing mutual understanding and combating ethnocentrism or stereotyping to prevent conflicts. As the author (ibid) explains in order to observe the impact of Cultural Diplomacy it is necessary to develop forms of *measurement* of Cultural Diplomacy activities. However, as to Mark (2009), it is difficult to measure the long-term impact Cultural Diplomacy has on the behaviour of the targeted audience.

In this context, Aronczyk (2013) mentions a report from 1992 which shows that apart from hard powers which affect the performance of a nation, also less easily measurable facts such as motivation, education, attitudes and values play an important role. According to the report, these so-called 'cultural impacts on competitiveness' often are rooted in tradition, history and value systems, which according to Aronczyk (2013) can be described as *culture*. This report was only the beginning of measuring the effects of Cultural Diplomacy whose tools still need to be developed profoundly (ibid).

After discussing relevant understandings and definitions of Cultural Diplomacy, the next subsection will have a profound look at the actors of Cultural Diplomacy, being essential elements for this thesis as written in *Objective 2 and 3*.

2.4.3 Actors of Cultural Diplomacy

According to Topić and Rodin (2012), the administration and application of Cultural Diplomacy can be organised by government ministries and departments, independent and private agencies, non-profit foundations or non-governmental foundations. Governments are directly or indirectly involved in Cultural Diplomacy by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and on a sub-national level through international relations (Mark, 2009; Ang et al., 2015). See Figure 2.32.

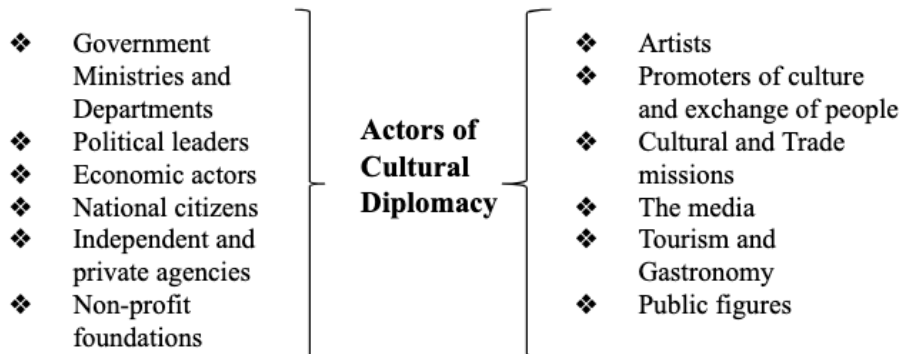
Aronczyk (2013) adds that traditionally, sources of national power, political leaders, economic actors or national citizens have engaged in different ways to express their cultural specificity as a form of Cultural Diplomacy.

Mark (2009) further explains that also diplomats support Cultural Diplomacy, but the application of Cultural Diplomacy has low priority to them. As diplomatic services deal with shorter time frames and tighter budgets, the human, time and financial resources for Cultural Diplomacy are often not available (ibid).

However, Mark (2009) points out that Cultural Diplomacy can also work without the help of governments. Related to this, Kim (2017) explains that Cultural Diplomacy includes independent agencies and private initiatives, especially from the arts and culture sector, which are particularly interesting targets for this research.

Therefore, as suggested by Mark (2009), the main targeted actors of Cultural Diplomacy in this thesis are artists, singers, different manifestations of artistry, promoters of culture or

Figure 2.32: Actors of Cultural Diplomacy



Source: Author's elaboration based on Aronczyk (2013), Topić and Rodin (2012), Kim (2017), Mark (2010) and Hurn (2016)

exchange of people and academics. Hurn (2016) adds elements such as language, cultural and trade missions, broadcasting, social media, tourism, national airlines, promoting arts, gastronomy, science and technology to high profile and well-known public figures which were considered relevant influencing elements of Cultural Diplomacy for this research. See Figure 2.32.

There is an awareness in this paper that similar to Public Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy works in the country and abroad - *abroad* in order to overcome audience suspicions of official messages and providing substance to national reputation and *domestically* by contributing to national social cohesion and targeting minority ethnic groups (Mark, 2009). The author (*ibid*) explains that Cultural Diplomacy is not limited to high culture and is less viewed as produced only for the elite. In this context, Bound et al. (2007) see a chance for Cultural Diplomacy in changing the focus from being primarily concerned with elites in a traditional cultural setting to a setting where culture is a medium between people on a mass-scale. The authors (*ibid*) call Cultural Diplomacy a *many-to-many* Cultural Diplomacy. Also Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010, 15) state that cultural communication is not “government-to-government interaction”, but the “communication between the government and foreign publics”.

After discussing the main actors of Cultural Diplomacy, the following subsection will look into the specific tasks of Cultural Diplomacy.

2.4.4 Tasks of Cultural Diplomacy

Having in mind the specific tasks of Cultural Diplomacy is necessary in order to know where the construction of Māori identities in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand takes place.

However, according to Mark (2009), there is no general agreement on all the different objectives of Cultural Diplomacy. As the author (*ibid*) elaborates, in general Cultural

Diplomacy has the potential to contribute to foreign policy goals, diplomacy and a government's domestic objectives.

Assuming in this paper that Cultural Diplomacy is a *political* tool, its objectives include the facilitation of economic activities and value exchange, which in the long-run can effect better co-operations between states (Kim, 2017). Cultural Diplomacy tries to receive increased commercial and political influence outside of a country's border (ibid). Showcasing ideas, information, aspects of culture to other nations and citizens are conducted to fostering cultural understandings (Cummings, 2009).

In this thesis, Hurn's suggestion (2016) regarding the tasks of Cultural Diplomacy is very much supported. Hurn (2016, 80) points out that Cultural Diplomacy is pivotal in "attracting inward foreign investment and promoting export sales" as well as "developing a mutual understanding of shared cultural values". As he further explains, Cultural Diplomacy tries to create awareness about the cultural attributes from its home culture abroad by developing interactions through cultural activities (ibid).

In this research there is also an awareness of the importance of establishing two-way relationships between the different actors as another objective of Cultural Diplomacy (Mark, 2009). As the author (ibid) explains, doing Cultural Diplomacy determines which parts of the culture want to be identified with the nation image. Nevertheless, it is necessary to manage, consider and present the national image in a strategic way (Mark, 2009). As to the author (ibid), the nation not only focuses on the cultural distinctiveness or vitality, but also on the economic and technological achievements.

The following ten sectors developed by Mark (2009, 10) were the main threads for this thesis to investigate the construction of Māori identities in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. The author (ibid) names:

1. Educational scholarships
2. Visits of scholars, intellectuals, academics, artists in the country and abroad
3. Visits of cultural group performances, artist performances and exhibitions
4. Seminars and conferences
5. The operations of libraries
6. Festivals abroad and support for festivals in other countries held domestically
7. Establishing and maintaining professorships and chairs in universities abroad
8. The commissioning of busts, statues and portraits of national leaders
9. The presentation of books and musical instruments to visiting dignitaries
10. Diplomatic missions abroad
11. Sports

As to Mark (2009), the core elements of cultural relations, which in this thesis are understood to build the base for Cultural Diplomacy, are the advancement of trade, political, diplomatic or economic interests; the development of bilateral relationships overseas, which include economic, trade, political and diplomatic elements; to connect groups abroad which are important to the Cultural Diplomacy practitioners (also diasporas) and to help maintain bilateral relationships in times of terror.

In this context, Kim (2017) confirms that cultural exchange programs; cultural activities such as multicultural events, arts exhibitions, arts performances, concerts, cultural arts, international festivals; but also literature, films, music and other cultural products are within the operating range of Cultural Diplomacy and therefore also were targeted for this research.

To sum up, in this thesis there is an understanding that although Cultural Diplomacy is a sub-part of Public Diplomacy, a constant focus on topics related to culture could be noted. This idea is particularly interesting for this research and will build a main thread throughout the next chapters.

After having discussed the main concepts of this thesis, consisting of identity, Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy, the next section of this thesis will look into ongoing discussions around the construction of identity in the mentioned concepts.

2.5 State of the Art

This section aims at demonstrating the current status of academic investigation which can be related to the research interest of this thesis.

Although in this paper, there is an understanding that there has not been conducted research specifically about *how* Māori identities are constructed in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand, there are related topics which have already been investigated and which will be presented in the following section.

Māori culture has been addressed in various literature sources about Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand. In most cases, there was no specific focus on thematising Māori, but it was considered a relevant element by multiple authors. There is a clear understanding of the great significance Māori culture has to position Aotearoa New Zealand and show its uniqueness in the world.

One example is the article “*Destination branding and the role of the stakeholders: The case of New Zealand*”, written in 2003 by the authors Nigel Morgan, Annette Pritchard and Rachel Piggott. In this article, the authors focus on the context and creation of the New Zealand brand and highlight the importance to involve Māori into the strategy and positioning of New Zealand’s Nation Branding. In this context, the authors conclude that showcasing Māori as ‘aggressive warriors’ is not sufficient anymore, which does play an important role for the research interest of this thesis.

Another example of literature in which Māori culture appears in the context of Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand, in particular in the 100% Pure New Zealand cam-

paign, is in Nick Lewis' article "*Packaging political projects in geographical imaginaries: The rise of nation branding*", which was published in 2011 as a chapter of the monograph "Brands and Branding Geographies", edited by Andy Pike.

However, in this thesis the portrayal of Māori culture in this article is considered very limited and a strong simplification.

In most cases, investigating Māori culture in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand is addressed in the context of the *Tourism New Zealand*, which is a marketing agency responsible for the international promotion of Aotearoa New Zealand as a tourism destination. Related to that, multiple scholars such as in Ryan and Zahra (2004); Morgan and Pritchard (2005); Morgan et al. (2011); Rigby et al. (2011); Yang et al. (2016) name Māori culture as a special 'asset' of Tourism New Zealand. Again, the research interest of this thesis aims at deepening this understanding.

A very essential article for this research, which was written in 2011 by Colleen Rigby, Jens Mueller and Andrew Baker named "*The Integration of Maori Indigenous Culture into Corporate Social Responsibility Strategies at Air New Zealand*" describes *how* Air New Zealand, which in this thesis is considered an important actor constructing Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand, includes indigenous cultural values into its business and corporate social responsibility initiatives.

In this context, the authors (ibid) conducted a survey with employees from Air New Zealand to investigate the level of understanding about Māori culture. The results from the survey also included how employees of Air New Zealand were taught about Māori culture which was considered an important addition of information for this research.

Although there is a reasonable number of literature which mentions Māori culture in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand, there is an understanding in this thesis, that these discussions have not yet focused enough on understanding *how* Māori identities are constructed for purposes of Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand. Contrary, in this thesis an assumption is made that there is a tendency to describe how Māori culture 'benefits' actors such as Tourism New Zealand.

There is a report called "*Indigenous Branding – Creating a point of difference to the New Zealand Primary Sector*", written in 2015 by Stephen Thomson, in which the author investigates how branding Māori culture can contribute to add value to exports of Aotearoa New Zealand. This report focuses on different elements of Māori culture which are used for branding purposes and therefore was considered significant for this research interest.

Even though gaps investigating the construction of specific cultural groups in Nation Branding could be detected in the literature, there is a clear understanding among various scholars¹⁴ that there is great benefit for Nation Branding when using culture as an element to showcase the uniqueness of a nation. In this context, the authors agree that when making culture a topic in Nation Branding, there might occur difficulties, such as

¹⁴Multiple scholars such as Morgan et al. (2003); Morgan and Pritchard (2005); Johnsson (2012); Kavartzis and Hatch (2013); Rigby et al. (2011); Pomeroy (2013); Pawłusz and Polese (2017) have written about the importance of culture for Nation Branding.

through the intent of branding the particular culture of a community or the inhabitants of a nation. This argument has been central for this research interest.

On a bigger scale, relevant literature could be detected related to the branding of indigenous identity for purposes of Nation Branding.

One example is the article “*Indigenous Identity in the Nation Brand: Tension and Inconsistency in a Nation’s Tourism Advertising Campaigns*” from Alan Pomeroy, written in 2013, in which the author investigates the branding of the indigenous people of Australia, the Aborigines, in a specific tourism campaign. In this article, Pomeroy also establishes a connection to Māori and highlights the difficulty of doing justice to culture, which is constantly evolving, as an element of Nation Branding.

Also Daphne Zografos Johnson’s chapter “*The Branding of Traditional Cultural Expressions: To Whose Benefit?*” from 2012, which appeared in the book “*Indigenous Peoples’ Innovation. Intellectual Property Pathways to Development*”, edited by Peter Drahos and Susy Frankel, was consulted for this thesis. Herein, the author addresses topics around the unauthorised use of so-called ‘traditional cultural expressions’, which means Māori imaginary and text for branding purposes. This chapter was particularly interesting in order to approach topics related to cultural appropriation.

Also, the introduction of the mentioned book¹⁵ written by the authors Peter Drahos and Susy Frankel offered more information as to *how* Māori approach the determination of cultural resources and cultural obligations.

While the investigation of culture in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand frequently addresses Māori culture, - even if that happens not in the specific context of this research interest -, far less literature could be detected related to Māori culture in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. If some information could be detected, it was in the context of sports events, such as the All Blacks, as an element of Public Diplomacy. At this point, there is even an understanding in this thesis that the representation of Māori culture in the Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand is frequently missed out.

The academic journal article “*Sports Diplomacy: New Zealand’s Hardest Soft Power?*”, written in 2016 by Steve Jackson, Mark Gilbert and Jim McLay, demonstrates the importance sports play for the diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. The authors (ibid) refer to the important role the All Blacks Rugby team plays for the country. This idea is interesting for this thesis, because the All Blacks are strongly related to Māori culture given by the performance of the Haka.

A much stronger focus on addressing Māori culture in the literature of Cultural Diplomacy could be detected.

Probably the most important expert in the field is Simon Mark, who focused on the Cultural Diplomacy in New Zealand in his PhD thesis called “*A comparative study of the cultural diplomacy of Canada, New Zealand and India*” published in 2008, as well as in

¹⁵Drahos, P. and Frankel, S. (2012). *Indigenous Peoples’ Innovation and Intellectual Property: The Issues*. In *Indigenous Peoples’ Innovation. Intellectual Property Pathways to Development.*, pages 1–29. ANU Press, Canberra.

an article called “*Rethinking cultural diplomacy: The cultural diplomacy of New Zealand, the Canadian Federation and Quebec*” which was published in 2010. The author (ibid) is very clear about the importance Māori culture has for the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand and names various travelling exhibitions in this context. At this point of the thesis, it also needs to be highlighted that Simon Mark has strongly contributed to making this research possible.

Furthermore, the Master thesis called “*Expression and Emotion: Cultural Diplomacy and Nation Branding in New Zealand*”, written in 2011 by Katherine MacDonald at the Victoria University of Wellington, needs to be mentioned. In this Master thesis, MacDonald describes how culture is used in the Nation Branding and Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand and also focuses strongly on activities by Tourism New Zealand and travelling exhibitions. This thesis is understood as a starting point for this research as it brings up the importance of Māori culture for the Nation Branding and Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.

After having presented the ongoing academic discussions related to the research problem, the next chapter will focus on the concrete methodology of this research.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology of this PhD research. This PhD project started in October 2016 at the Department of Communication at the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona. It is the enhancement of the student's Master thesis titled *Māori Cultural Branding. Indigeneity in the Cultural Branding of New Zealand with the example of the Māori culture* (Séra, 2016). The Master thesis was written at the Department of Communication at the Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona supervised by Dr. Carlos Scolari. Results from the Master thesis showed that Māori culture was frequently used for selling package tours or tourist experiences. This observation raised the question if and how Māori themselves think about their representation in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of *Aotearoa*¹ New Zealand.

3.1 Research Strategy

This PhD project aims to deepen the information acquired through the Master thesis by developing new knowledge in the research field. There is an understanding that the construction of cultural identities, in particular Māori identities, in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy is understudied. For this reason, new ways of investigating this specific issue were sought.

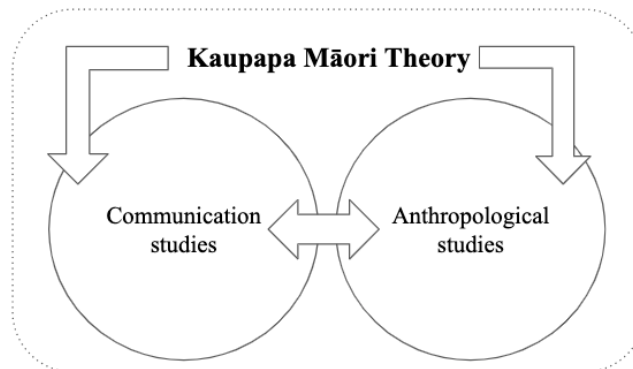
Given the academic background of the researcher this PhD project attempts to introduce an interdisciplinary way of thinking and working into communication studies by relating it to anthropological studies. However, throughout the research it became clear that only using anthropological studies to investigate the research interest is not sufficient. In particular because a lot of harm was done to indigenous peoples throughout history by anthropologists and descriptive approaches by third parties.

For this reason, an appropriate research methodology from indigenous peoples studies was sought. It was found in the so-called *Kaupapa Māori Theory*, which in this thesis is considered part of indigenous peoples studies.

The following figure describes the interdisciplinary relationship between *communication studies and anthropological studies* with *Kaupapa Māori Theory*. See Figure 3.1.

¹[**Land of the long white cloud**]. Māori term for New Zealand. See explanation of *Aotearoa* in the glossary p. 276.

Figure 3.1: Interdisciplinarity of the research



Source: Author's own elaboration

3.2 Research Design

As explained before, for this study a research design was developed which combines methods from communication studies, anthropological studies with Kaupapa Māori Theory in order to investigate the three objectives of this research. In this section, each method will be explained and justified related to its objective.

The following figure (See Figure 3.2.) demonstrates a summary of all methods that were applied in this research related to the specific research objectives. Some research methods were used to answer more than one research objective, which is visualized in the overlap between the two circles in this figure.

In the following, each research method will also be explained in detail.

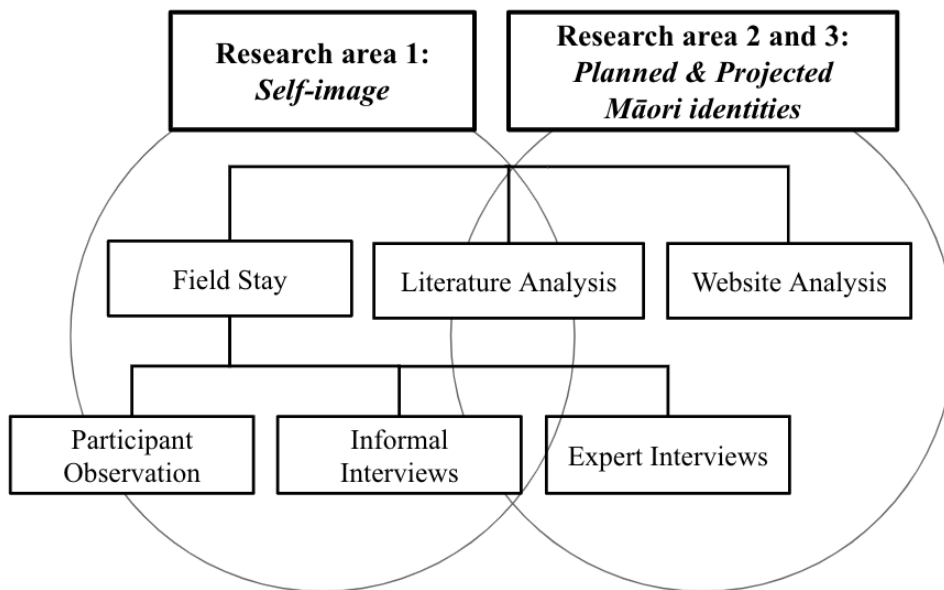
- Objective *Self-image*

In order to answer the first research objective which investigates the construction of Māori identities from the perspective of individuals affiliated to *Ngāti Awa*², a combination of ethnographic methods was chosen. In this context, it is necessary to explain that whereas anthropology is understood as the subject, ethnography is understood as the overall research method of anthropology.

For this thesis, ethnography was chosen because of the researcher's background as well as the focus on the human being which seems pivotal for this study. There is an awareness that human beings consist of multiple realities which are complex, multifaceted and continuously transform themselves (Whitehead, 2004). This idea is particularly important as this thesis attempts to understand the construction of the self-image of Māori identities. Ethnography further attempts to give voice to people in their local context and to interpret the observed behaviour in a culturally relevant and meaningful context (Fetterman, 2009; Sunderland and Denny, 2007).

²[Māori tribe]. See explanation of *Ngāti Awa* in the glossary p. 280.

Figure 3.2: Relationship between research areas and research methods



Source: Author's own elaboration

For this study, the ethnographic methods of participant observation and informal interviewing were chosen and found appropriate, as they consider the information of every individual as a significant contribution and allow the observation of social behaviour in its natural context (Alasuutari, 1995; Sunderland and Denny, 2007).

- Objective *Planned Māori identities*

The second research objective investigates how the construction of Māori identities is planned in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand. In order to understand the planned Māori identities, expert interviews were chosen as they enable the members of the selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels to present the official view on the construction of planned Māori identities.

- Objective *Projected Māori identities*

The third research objective investigates how the construction of Māori identities is projected in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand. Also for this objective the conduction of expert interviews was chosen as interviewees are able to give practical and real life examples directly from the working field. In order to avoid biased answers from interviewees, an additional website analysis of the selected channels was conducted.

Stages of research

This study was determined by five main research phases which were divided by two field stays in Aotearoa New Zealand. The following list demonstrates these five research phases related to the given time frame:

- **Phase 1: Pre-Field Stay 1** from October 2016 until August 2017
- **Phase 2: Field Stay 1** from September 2017 until December 2017
- **Phase 3: Transition Field Stay 1 and Field Stay 2** from January 2018 until January 2019
- **Phase 4: Field Stay 2** in February 2019
- **Phase 5: Post-Field Stay 2** from March 2019 until February 2020

These research phases were necessary to determine the condition and necessity to apply the specific research methods.

In the following table, the applied research methods will be portrayed related to the specific research phase. See Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Phases of the research related to the research methods

<i>Research Phases</i>	<i>Research Methods</i>
Phase 1: Pre-Field Stay 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Literature review
Phase 2: Field Stay 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participant observation ● Informal interviews ● Expert interviews
Phase 3: Transition Field Stay 1 and Field Stay 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Transcription and analysis of interviews ● Literature review
Phase 4: Field Stay 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Analysis of interviews
Phase 5: Post-Field Stay 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Analysis of interviews ● Website analysis ● Literature review

Source: Author's own elaboration

As explained before the different research methods were overlooked by the theoretical framework called *Kaupapa Māori Theory* (KMT) which was considered essential when doing research about Māori culture. *Kaupapa Māori Theory* can be understood as a guideline to conduct research about Māori and was developed by Māori as will be discussed in the next section.

3.2.1 Theoretical Framework of the Methodology

The search for knowledge is prevalent in all cultures. However, there are differences in *what* counts as knowledge, *why* knowledge is sought and *how* knowledge can be sought. In this thesis, there is a comprehension that these questions are interrelated and that the purpose of searching for knowledge influences its methods.

As this study investigates the construction of Māori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand, it is necessary to understand *why* research is important for Māori.

This thesis supports the criticism presented by Smith (2012) who describes that throughout history research methodologies have been used as colonising tools to determine and frame knowledge about indigenous peoples and especially Māori in a particular way. Because of that, this thesis not only questions the knowledge presented about Māori in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand but further immediately raises the question of *who* decides on what this knowledge is.

This thesis is also a critical approach to understand *how* and *why* knowledge about Māori is produced for Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.

According to the understanding of this thesis, the representation of indigenous peoples or in particular Māori in the past has predominantly taken place through the eyes of the Western World. Until recently, indigenous peoples were rather disconnected from theory which again was considered a Western-dominated concept (Pihama, 2017; Smith, 2015). In this context, Smith (2012, 185) explains that “Research [on Māori] is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories that have dehumanized Māori and in practices that have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture.”

This idea can be supported by the fact that even the term Māori is a European invention and only came up after James Cook’s arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1769 (Smith, 1999). This makes clear that the knowledge of Māori which had existed for more than 800 years was overruled by the European colonisers and that their entire existence was renamed under new conditions.

In this study, there is an awareness that frequently Māori have not been in the position to define and represent themselves and that research has largely contributed to that. As a consequence, the significance for Māori to determine knowledge as well as why conducting research according to terms and principles determined by Māori becomes obvious.

This research could also have been undertaken *only* by investigating the planned and projected Māori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, by doing this, this research would have only looked into the official representation that is presented about Māori without questioning *who is responsible* for it and *why exactly this information is presented*. There would have been a particular danger that the knowledge that is presented does not even include a Māori perspective, but rather a representation of Māori from an outsider perspective.

Considering the history of research about Māori the importance to build up the research from a Māori perspective including various perspectives of individuals was clear from the beginning of this research.

When discussing *how* research should be undertaken, the concept of self-determination of Māori and the representation of Māori through the eyes of Māori is defined as the foremost rule. It was supported by the UNDRIP [i.e., United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples] which was adopted by the General Assembly in 2007, defining also the self-determination of indigenous peoples. There is a clear understanding in this thesis that Māori have to determine what it means to be Māori. In the context of this research interest this means that the conditions to present and represent Māori in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand need to be established by Māori and not by any foreign entity. Furthermore, there is an understanding that Māori should determine the ways research is conducted on Māori.

As a consequence, this research is determined to follow research methodologies that were developed by Māori. For this reason, Kaupapa Māori Theory was chosen, a theoretical framework, which is an approach of empowering Māori to participate in the scientific discourse (Pihama, 2017; Smith, 2015). It is also a critical intent to question the intentions behind the information presented about Māori.

3.2.2 Kaupapa Māori Theory

3.2.2.1 Kaupapa Māori Principles

There is a common understanding that Kaupapa Māori Theory can be linked to processes of decolonisation and decolonising methodologies (Smith, 2012). Contrary to postcolonial studies, Smith (2012) explains that decolonisation embraces the time before colonialism, the so-called 'pre-colonised time' and the 'colonised time' as well as new challenges such as globalisation and concepts of the so-called 'New World' which all together challenge indigenous peoples today (ibid).

Kaupapa Māori Theory results from a strive for empowerment and self-determination of indigenous peoples by using participatory methods to connect with Māori. It aims at using research and research methods in ways that are useful for Māori to determine their own spaces and purposes. In this context, Smith (2012) further explains that decolonisation does not mean a total rejection of all theory and research of Western knowledge. Related to Māori Smith (2012, 41) states that "it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspective and for our own purposes".

As mentioned before, out of the critique on research about indigenous peoples which was influenced by colonial thinking a need for research directly developed by the communities arose. Although the roots of Kaupapa Māori Theory can be traced back hundreds of years ago, Māori actively developed Kaupapa Māori Theory during the last 30 years, especially in the education area (Smith, 2015). Since then it has evolved into broader discourses such as areas of health, social welfare, employment or education (Smith and Reid, 2000).

One of the most central characteristics of Kaupapa Māori Theory is its distinctiveness to Aotearoa New Zealand. That means in particular that Kaupapa Māori research is an obvious and transparent approach of highlighting the subjectivity to Aotearoa New Zealand and Māori culture. It does not intend to hide this relationship to the public sphere and it is very clear about the cultural and identity kind of places for its theoretical base (Pihama, 2017). There is a clear understanding that Kaupapa Māori Theory is based on ontologies derived from Māori-lived realities and experiences (Smith and Reid, 2000; Pihama, 2015).

It is important to understand that within Aotearoa New Zealand there are many ways of being Māori and that Kaupapa Māori Theory is influenced by the varieties of Māori identities in Aotearoa New Zealand (Pihama, 2017). Therefore, there are multiple ways of defining what Kaupapa Māori Theory should resemble (Pihama, 2017). As a consequence Kaupapa Māori Theory is not a fixed concept but focuses on the reassessing and recreation of its continually evolving theoretical framework (Pihama, 2017; Smith, 2015). This theory cannot be understood as one single way of doing things but is open-ended, ethical, systematic and accountable (Smith and Reid, 2000; Smith, 2015).

Some scholars define Kaupapa Māori Theory as the ground rules, customs or right ways of doing things, in particular research, according to Māori. Others call it the conceptualisation of Māori knowledge (Smith and Reid, 2000). It is a way of thinking and explaining the world from a Māori context (Pihama, 2015, 2017) and also creating space for researching in ways and reasons appropriate to Māori communities.

Kaupapa Māori Theory is a commitment of Māori not only to expand this knowledge intergenerationally but to enhance and advance this knowledge (Pihama, 2017). Based on a well-founded fear of losing intellectual and cultural knowledge because of frequent abuse of indigenous culture, Kaupapa Māori Theory is an attempt to tell an alternative story of history and the need to move out of places of marginalisation (Smith, 1999). This includes creating research which is based on Māori language and belief as well as the epistemological foundations of Māoridom (ibid).

3.2.2.2 Kaupapa Māori Practices

In the following, an attempt will be made to explain *how* Kaupapa Māori Theory can be applied in research. One cannot separate Kaupapa Māori principles from Kaupapa Māori practices, and therefore one has to stress Kaupapa Māori principles with an ongoing relationship to practice (Smith and Reid, 2000).

According to Smith (2012) there are culturally specific ideas which she describes as parts of Kaupapa Māori principles. They are not a prescribed code of conduct for researchers but tend to be prescribed for Māori researchers in cultural terms. As Smith (2012) further demonstrates, these principles are the values and qualities of being a good person (ibid). As she further explains these values emphasise personal integrity and collective responsibility in the research and engagement with people. Furthermore, a respectful, reciprocal, genuine relationship builds the foundation in contact with the community life and community development (Smith, 2012).

Smith (2012, 124) lists the following seven principles:

1. *Aroha ki te tangata* which means "having respect for people".
2. *Kanohi kitea* which means "conducting research face to face and presenting oneself to the people, the community".
3. *Titiro, whakarongo, korero* which means to "look, listen, speak".
4. *Manaaki ki te tangata* means to "share and host people, to be generous" and ensures that the research benefits the community, to be generous with your time by listening for example.
5. *Kia tupato* which means "to be cautious" and refers to the role of the researcher.
6. *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* which means "not to trample over the mana of other people" and to acknowledge the hierarchy of the community.
7. *Kia mahaki* which means "not to flaunt your knowledge", but being humble.

Apart from Smith there is an extended amount of scholars such as Fiona Cram, Leonie Pihama, Margaret Mutu, Margaret Kawharu, Marama Muru-Lanning or Fiona Te Momo working with Kaupapa Māori Theory. There are Māori research ethics guidelines, such as the *He Ara Tika* guidelines for Māori Research Ethics or the *Vision Mātauranga* by the New Zealand Government. The latter represents research with Māori communities and is expected to comply with these values.

Unlike some mainstream methodologies which make communities vulnerable to research agendas, this one places the community in a position of power. The community decides if they wish to work with the researcher and to continue to do so. The researcher is accountable to the community following the principles as they set out expectations about the relationships that guide this research and the way in which this research should be conducted.

Before discussing the listed elements contributed by Smith (2012) and before describing concrete examples of this research, another important point needs to be discussed.

The idea of focusing on the Māori tribe Ngāti Awa resulted from an invitation of members of Ngāti Awa. Throughout the entire research, there was Māori guided support and shared *Tikanga*³. Nevertheless, I was very aware of my role as a non-Māori researcher being born in the Western world. Because of that limitation I put high emphasis on finding a Māori scholar for my supervisor team who I luckily found in Dr. Krushil Watene.

From the beginning of this research, I had very clear intentions. I communicated to everybody that I had no interest in defining or controlling the research, neither to develop any categorisations or definitions which could contribute to a non-Māori based image. Contrary, I made sure that I was allowed to work with Kaupapa Māori Theory and that I

³[**Customs, Practice**]. See explanation of *Tikanga* in the glossary p. 282.

understood my role as researcher rather as a *listener* being allowed to enter a new sacred space of learning. Also when presenting the results of the research I had absolutely no interest in interpreting the statements but intended to reproduce them in the most objective way possible.

In the following, I will demonstrate *how* I applied Linda Tuhiwai Smith's principles throughout my research.

Referring to Smith's first principle *Aroha ki te tangata*, I showed highest respect towards my environment and *Tangata Whenua*⁴ first. I treated all participants of my interviews equally as well as their opinions for my research.

I held back my personal opinion and thoughts to fully concentrate on the information that was presented to me. Even when I was confronted about not being a Māori researcher and it was questioned if I had the right intentions, which only happened twice, I respected and accepted this opinion and attempted to step back to give people the space they needed. I have always been grateful for the experiences I was able to make and pay highest respect to all Tangata Whenua who have given me their time.

Regarding Smith's second principle *Kanohi kitea*, throughout my entire research I attempted to be very transparent and open about my study but also me as a person. Many people asked me why I chose Māori as a case study and which intentions I had to come to Aotearoa New Zealand, especially as an anthropologist, which I always attempted to answer as honestly as possible.

Throughout the entire research I always aimed at meeting my interviewees in person in order to conduct face-to-face interviews. Only in a few cases it was not possible to meet my interviewees in person, due to absence or working hours and the interviews were conducted via telephone. Conducting the interviews in person also meant to build up a relationship of trust and respect with the interviewees. In some cases I even conducted follow-up interviews, or interviewees came back to me and mentioned more ideas that have come up to them after the interviews.

Referring to Smith's third principle *Titiro, whakarongo, korero*, I attempted to let Tangata Whenua tell me their stories, while stepping into the background of the storytelling. It was very important to me to let my participants feel comfortable especially because they are touching very sensitive topics. I had very positive reactions to this approach.

Regarding Smith's fourth principle *Manaaki ki te tangata*, I always intended to follow the protocols when conducting an interview. This included having some food alias *kai* at the beginning of the interview in order to remove the *Tapu*⁵, but also to respect manaakitanga with all my participants.

Throughout my research, but in particular throughout my research stays I attempted to give back and reciprocate the help and support that I had received from Tangata Whenua. This meant respecting the protocols, such as helping out at the *Marae*⁶, cooking dishes

⁴[**People of the land**]. See explanation of *Tangata Whenua* in the glossary p. 281.

⁵[**Taboo**]. See explanation of *Tapu* in the glossary. p. 281.

⁶[**Cultural meeting centre**]. See explanation of *Marae* in the glossary p. 279.

for Tangata Whenua or supporting Tangata Whenua with attentiveness throughout daily life. The reciprocal obligation has always been my first priority and when part of Tangata Whenua came to Europe I engaged deeply to make them feel at home as much as they had helped me in Aotearoa New Zealand. The people who I have met along the way of this research not only helped me to conduct the investigation but - more important - have become companions of my life. I was able to establish relationships which not only are limited to the research but have become whanau.

Referring to Smith's fifth principle *Kia tupato*, I intended to step back and read between the lines to make nobody feel uncomfortable during my stays or my investigation.

Regarding Smith's sixth principle *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* again I tried not to make any comments about people's statements but rather tried to show respect for their individual opinions and experiences.

Referring to Smith's seventh principle *Kia mahaki*, I constantly tried to be humble and not to step into the spotlight when it came to sharing my opinion. I focused on learning rather than exposing my thoughts and opinions until I was explicitly asked for them.

Looking back I am convinced that applying Smith's principles to my research helped me to receive a much deeper and more honest insight into my research interest. Not only am I grateful for all the help and support I received from Tangata Whenua for my research, but also on a more personal level I was able to get to know Tangata Whenua and Māori perspectives from Māori which I really appreciate. I was able to establish relationships with Tangata Whenua that are not limited to this research. I really do believe that using Kaupapa Māori Theory for my research methodology has changed and influenced positively the results that I have received and has made a more local perspective possible.

People's reactions to this research were predominantly positive, many even gave recommendations for further interesting insights or contacts. Some individuals offered me to actively contribute to the research by helping with transportation and establishing contacts. There were some individuals that mentioned that they learned a lot from listening to the informal interviews. Even people who were not from Aotearoa New Zealand were really interested in the research and expressed the wish to learn Te Reo Māori. Almost nobody had a negative reaction to the research or refused giving a statement.

3.3 Research Methods

In the following chapter, the different research methods consisting of literature review, fieldwork, participant observation, interviewing and website analysis used for the collection and the analysis of the data of this research are presented.

3.3.1 Literature Review

Throughout the process of gathering empirical data a literature review was conducted.

As Ridley (2012) states, the literature review is the part of a thesis in which existing references and literature related to the field of the thesis are presented. The literature review aims to position the opinion of the researcher based on the existing source text. It is necessary to classify existing information related to its own research (ibid).

As Petticrew and Roberts (2006) also explain, the method of the literature review is essential for the researcher to know which data has already existed and also to make sense of the massive amount of existing information such as breaking it down to the research interest.

In order to investigate the topic of identity, books and articles from social sciences and especially anthropological studies were addressed. Anthropological encyclopedias were used to look up scholars who have investigated topics of identity and cultural identity. An attempt was made to compare understandings of identity in social science and in anthropology to widen the perspective of identity in the discourse.

In order to investigate the topic of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy, mainly books and articles from communication studies were addressed. Also, the reading lists offered by the *Place Brand Observer* were consulted to find the main sources in the research area⁷. Furthermore, the bibliography of encountered books and articles was addressed to find related literature.

In order to find books and articles related to the research interest, the database of the University of Pompeu Fabra, the University of Vienna and Google Scholar were addressed. Also Google was consulted as it offers information about the highest ranked keyword entries as well as further links and even online resources.

When keyword searches were conducted, they primarily included the name of the key concept and important related terms as will be demonstrated now.

When searching for literature the following keywords were searched:

- **Identity:** identity, social identity, cultural identity, place identity, construction of identity, development of identity.

⁷The Place Brand Observer offers a reading list for Nation Branding and one for Public Diplomacy: <https://placebrandobserver.com/?s=reading+list> and <https://placebrandobserver.com/nation-branding-reading-list/>

- **Nation Branding:** Nation Branding, Place Branding, development Nation Branding, actors Nation Branding, tasks Nation Branding, identity in Nation Branding, cultural identity in Nation Branding.
- **Public Diplomacy:** Public Diplomacy, development Public Diplomacy, actors of Public Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy, identity in Cultural Diplomacy.

Also, both thesis supervisors were frequently consulted for literature recommendations.

During the two field stays in Aotearoa New Zealand, the University libraries (University of Massey in Wellington and Auckland) were visited to add literature which derives directly from the field. Furthermore, additional research was executed in book shops which specialise in Māori history and Māori customs.

Many ideas and inputs for this thesis also came from Facebook and Instagram where I followed the different institutions and public figures to keep updated with ongoing events and ideas from the research field.

After explaining how literature was gathered, the following list demonstrates how the literature was organised:

1. Creating reference in Mendeley and investigating the background of the source.
2. Reading and highlighting important ideas and concepts and paraphrasing ideas and referencing quotes.
3. Putting down notes in specific folders in Mendeley (e.g. identity, Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, state of the art) including sub categories (e.g. characteristics, tasks, actors).
4. Organising similar ideas in specific files.
5. Adding more ideas and writing text.

The literature review was constantly evolved throughout the research process and attempts were undertaken to show an overview of different understandings and main voices regarding the main concepts.

3.3.2 Fieldwork

As mentioned before, the main data of this research was conducted during two field stays. Field stays build the base for conducting fieldwork, which is the primary ethnographic method. According to Eriksen (2010), ethnographic fieldwork is the most significant source gathering new knowledge about society and culture.

The founder of modern fieldwork and participant observation was Bronislaw Malinowski who conducted fieldwork on the Trobriand Islands in the 1920s. Malinowski was the first to record his fieldwork and participant observation systematically (O'Reilly, 2005).

Fieldwork usually means to leave one’s natural environment to research another setting or surrounding. The aim of fieldwork is to develop the most profound understanding of an investigated phenomenon (Eriksen, 2010).

The length of a stay may vary from a few months up to several years. Fieldwork demands more personal effort and time of the researcher throughout the data collection than for example conducting laboratory studies. However, the outcome of data is more rewarding too as it aims to see the world through the lenses of the local (Fetterman, 2009; Eriksen, 2010).

Being in the field, the researcher is exposed to different challenges, which may be given by the environment, finding access to the community and data collection or even behaving appropriately to name some (Eriksen, 2010). When being in the field, the researcher takes part in local life and applies different techniques of data collection.

Often formal methods are combined with participant observation (Eriksen, 2010). The entire fieldwork is led by a research question which shapes the selection of the place or people studied. It is necessary to adapt the research question to the accessibility of the specific setting and also to accept occurring limitations (Fetterman, 2009; Kozinets, 2010; Brennen, 2013).

Fetterman (2009) suggests that after deciding on the sample of the research using a big-net approach first which means to ask everyone one meets. At this point in the study, it is beneficial to have an intermediary or facilitator who helps to create access to the group; otherwise, the researcher needs to *walk into* different settings. After that, the researcher needs to narrow down the specific population which is under study and also needs to keep their independence in the field in order not to get directed into a particular way of thinking (Fetterman, 2009).

Within the frame of this PhD research two field stays in Aotearoa New Zealand took place, the first one from September until December 2017 and the second one in February 2019. Fieldwork was conducted throughout the first field stay as highlighted below. See Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Timeline of the research

Field Stay	Dates	Place	Activity
1	09/09/17 to 28/09/17	Northland	• Preparation of fieldwork
	28/09/17 to 31/10/17	Whakatāne, East Coast	• Fieldwork • Participant observation • Conducting informal interviews
	31/10/17 to 04/12/17	Wellington	• Conducting expert interviews
2	31/01/19 to 19/02/19	Auckland	• Analysis and discussion of interviews

Source: Author’s own elaboration

The fieldwork took place in Whakatāne, which is situated at the Bay of Plenty on the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Throughout my fieldwork in Whakatāne I stayed with

two Māori families. The fieldwork consisted of participating in daily life and activities of the family members. I had two contacts that facilitated my work by helping me to organise interviews and get around the area.

During the second field stay in Aotearoa New Zealand no data was gathered which is why it is not counted as a field work. The purpose of the second field stay was to exchange opinions on the data with my co-director Krushil Watene.

3.3.3 Participant Observation

One technique of data collection throughout fieldwork is participant observation. Participant observation can be determined as an informal field method and is crucial for establishing effective ethnographic fieldwork (Fetterman, 2009; Eriksen, 2010; Alasuutari, 1995).

Participant observation aims to learn about people's lives through their lenses. The researcher attempts to understand daily routines, conversations and social life from people's own experiences by observing and participating in their social, cultural, political or economic field and asking questions related to these experiences (O'Reilly, 2005; Eriksen, 2010; Fetterman, 2009; Bernard and Ryan, 2009).

Before conducting participant observation, the researcher needs to communicate their intentions to people who are affected by the research (Eriksen, 2010). Fetterman (2009) explains that ideally the ethnographer learns the local language and stays as much time in the field as they can to see patterns of behaviour over time, but also can understand central principles, beliefs and expectations of the community. At the same time, the researcher needs to keep a professional distance to be able to observe and record the data adequately.

Throughout the observation process, the researcher needs to be reflective about influences such as gender, age, race, class of the researcher but also theoretical orientation and academic training (Eriksen, 2010; O'Reilly, 2005). The researcher needs to stand back from their own culture and aims at reaching objectivity and reflexivity throughout the research process (O'Reilly, 2005). For the ethnographic process, it is necessary that the researcher goes into the field being free of presumptions and prejudice to let theory emerge from the data (O'Reilly, 2005).

Participant observations require close, long-term contact between the researcher and the community; however, it can also take place in several stages and over an extended period (Fetterman, 2009; O'Reilly, 2005).

Similarly to fieldwork, difficulties might occur throughout participant observation. Therefore it is crucial that the researcher continuously adapts their research to the given circumstances (O'Reilly, 2005). Also, taking field notes is useful when writing down all the information relevant to the investigation. O'Reilly (2005) even recommends to write them down daily using a small notebook or quotes with details about names or dates. Taking notes helps to be more reflective about the research and more explicit about the research questions (ibid).

As O'Reilly (2005) says for ethnographers interviewing and listening takes place all the time, and there might not even be a distinction between participant observation and interviewing as the ethnographer continually needs to seize opportunities of listening, asking questions or observing individuals and groups (O'Reilly, 2005).

As Fetterman (2009) states, the combination of participant observation and interviewing enables the ethnographers to generate and answer basic cultural questions about the social group.

The following part explains *how* the participant observation was conducted and what this observation consisted of and how data was collected. Given the challenge to summarise the experience of three months, five elements were selected which constitute the participant observation. These elements are **observing, talking, participating, visiting and experiencing**, which will be described in detail in the following paragraphs:

- **Observing**

The participant observation took place throughout the entire first research stay. An attempt was made to record any information that seemed relevant to the research. Observing the environment included taking pictures of cultural symbols and Māori paintings that appeared in public spaces or public buildings and trying to figure out their meaning. When travelling through Aotearoa New Zealand observation included the habits of people related to the specific area.

During the time spent in Whakatāne, I observed people's behaviour throughout the day. This included people's behaviour in public spaces such as streets, when doing grocery shopping, at the laundry and in more private spaces such as the Marae or at home. During my living together with Māori I observed daily activities and routines, conversations about beliefs and customs and consumption habits.

At this point, I want to confirm that I always communicated my research interest when being in a private environment. I also observed people's reaction when talking about my research and I confronted non-Māori with my research.

- **Talking**

Apart from conducting interviews an attempt was made to ask people about their experiences and opinions related to being Māori in any given situation (e.g. when taking the bus, at the bus stops, in the museum, etc).

- **Participating**

I participated in various events at the Marae in Whakatāne and was included in various activities there, such as helping out in the kitchen, attending wanangas or doing harakeke.

I also participated in various healing exhibitions conducted at the Kokiri in Whakatāne.

I also joined seminars at the Awanuiarangi university and attended the Te Toki Kapa Haka festival, which is a regional *Kapa Haka*⁸ competition.

⁸[Māori performance/war dance]. See explanation of *Kapa Haka* in the glossary p. 277.

- **Visiting**

I visited museums such as the Te Papa, the Auckland War museum, the National Art Gallery in Auckland, but also more local museums such as the Māori Battalion museum in Gisborne or the Whakatāne museum. When being at a museum I observed the representation of Māori in the museum.

Several individuals offered me guided tours through the area and showed me sacred sites while telling me the local stories. I was also invited to go to the Marae several times, and also to people's homes.

- **Experiencing**

I experienced living with different (Māori) individuals and dealing with groundbreaking differences when it comes to understanding gender and differences between women and men. I experienced people telling me about being abused or raped and then I had to deal with this information.

I experienced being deeply exhausted from many individual life stories and being told to do more interviews. I often struggled when reaching my personal limits and experienced feeling down. However, I always received help from people around me who motivated me to move on.

Throughout this time, I kept a field diary which included daily activities and impressions, notes and observations related to the research. This field diary also includes context information of the interviews. Since this field diary is very extensive, the results from it will only be summarised in the results section.

3.3.4 Interviews

The following subsection will explain *why* and *which types of* interviews were chosen as the main research method of this thesis and also *how* the interviews were conducted.

According to Fetterman (2009), the interview is the most important data-gathering technique to explain and support experiences and observations of the researcher, in particular for ethnographers. Also Dannecker and Englert (2013) state that interviews are used to profoundly understand selected aspects of the subject of study contrary to other techniques which are focused on measuring numbers.

Given the research interest of this thesis, which aims to profoundly understand the construction of Māori identities in selected channels (the self-image, planned and projected Māori identities), the interview was considered an appropriate research method to achieve this goal. By conducting interviews data and information about the situational meaning, motivation for action, self-interpretation and experiences of certain actors, such as persons, groups or organisations can be collected (Dannecker and Englert, 2013).

There are different interview types which differentiate according to their research interest, purpose, research subject, the form of questioning or topics. As Dannecker and Englert

(2013) explain, one chooses the interview type according to one's research interest, which might be informal, unstructured, semi-structured or structured interviews or expert interviews.

Throughout my first field stay in Aotearoa New Zealand, I conducted 57 interviews. Among these, 29 were informal interviews and 28 were expert interviews, the latter ones being conducted after the approach from Meuser and Nagel (2009) as will be explained.

Given by the research interest, *informal* interviews were chosen as the appropriate research method because they combine clear questions and a guide throughout the interview with flexibility in the interview situation to change the order of the questions or giving interviewees the space to add their own stories (Fetterman, 2009).

The unstructured interview was excluded as a method because it provides the interview flow with too much flexibility regarding the content and the interview could have moved away from the researcher's interest (O'Reilly, 2005).

Also the semi-structured interview was excluded, because it requires the fieldworker to comprehend the fundamentals of the community from an insider perspective which was not the case at the beginning of the fieldwork (Fetterman, 2009). However, it was considered an option because it enables comparisons between individuals and bigger groups by using similar questions (Bernard and Ryan, 2009).

The structured interview was excluded as it has predetermined questions and no room for further questions which was considered essential for this research (Fetterman, 2009). While conducting the interviews the earlier discussed principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory were followed.

Before the two selected interview types used in this research are presented, all conducted interviews will be listed divided into informal interviews and expert interviews. See Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: List of all conducted interviews

Nr.	Date	Category	Duration (h)
1	14/09/2017	Expert interview	2:19:03
	22/09/2017	Expert interview	1:18:49
2	26/09/2017	Informal interview	0:44:10
3	30/09/2017	Expert interview	0:36:23
4	30/09/2017	Informal interview	0:24:02
5	30/09/2017	Informal interview	0:22:46
6	1/10/2017	Expert interview	0:43:33
7	2/10/2017	Informal interview	0:26:39
8	2/10/2017	Informal interview	0:26:02
9	2/10/2017	Informal interview	1:03:23
10	3/10/2017	Expert interview	3:00:07
11	3/10/2017	Informal interview	0:30:02
12	3/10/2017	Informal interview	0:46:45
13	4/10/2017	Expert interview	1:07:24
14	7/10/2017	Informal interview	0:30:19
15	8/10/2017	Informal interview	0:54:15

Continued on next page

Table 3.3: *Continued from previous page*

Nr.	Date	Category	Duration (h)
16	8/10/2017	Informal interview	0:30:02
	10/10/2017	Informal interview	0:40:31
17	9/10/2017	Expert interview	1:11:06
18	10/10/2017	Informal interview	0:45:39
19	11/10/2017	Informal interview	0:40:39
20	11/10/2017	Informal interview	0:46:16
21	12/10/2017	Informal interview	1:03:26
22	13/10/2017	Expert interview	0:58:47
23	13/10/2017	Expert interview	0:41:24
24	14/10/2017	Informal interview	0:43:35
25	15/10/2017	Expert interview	0:44:55
26	15/10/2017	Informal interview	0:41:12
27	15/10/2017	Informal interview	0:37:31
28	16/10/2017	Expert interview	0:40:56
29	16/10/2017	Expert interview	0:57:23
30	16/10/2017	Informal interview	0:23:09
31	17/10/2017	Informal interview	0:49:11
32	17/10/2017	Informal interview	1:16:36
33	19/10/2017	Informal interview	0:30:02
34	19/10/2017	Informal interview	0:30:02
35	20/10/2017	Informal interview	1:00:05
36	23/10/2017	Expert interview	0:56:27
37	23/10/2017	Informal interview	0:37:03
38	24/10/2017	Expert interview	0:36:59
39	26/10/2017	Expert interview	0:59:36
40	27/10/2017	Informal interview	0:54:51
41	27/10/2017	Informal interview	0:34:01
42	31/10/2017	Informal interview	0:57:14
43	1/11/2017	Expert interview	2:10:43
44	2/11/2017	Informal interview	0:29:40
45	3/11/2017	Expert interview	1:14:64
46	4/11/2017	Expert interview	1:05:47
47	5/11/2017	Expert interview	0:59:14
48	6/11/2017	Expert interview	0:30:25
49	6/11/2017	Expert interview	1:03:28
50	7/11/2017	Expert interview	na/text
51	7/11/2017	Expert interview	0:46:49
52	7/11/2017	Expert interview	1:23:20
53	8/11/2017	Expert interview	0:43:47
54	10/10/2017	Expert interview	0:52:49
55	14/11/2017	Expert interview	0:38:77
56	16/05/2018	Expert interview	na/text
57	16/07/2018	Expert interview	0:51:53

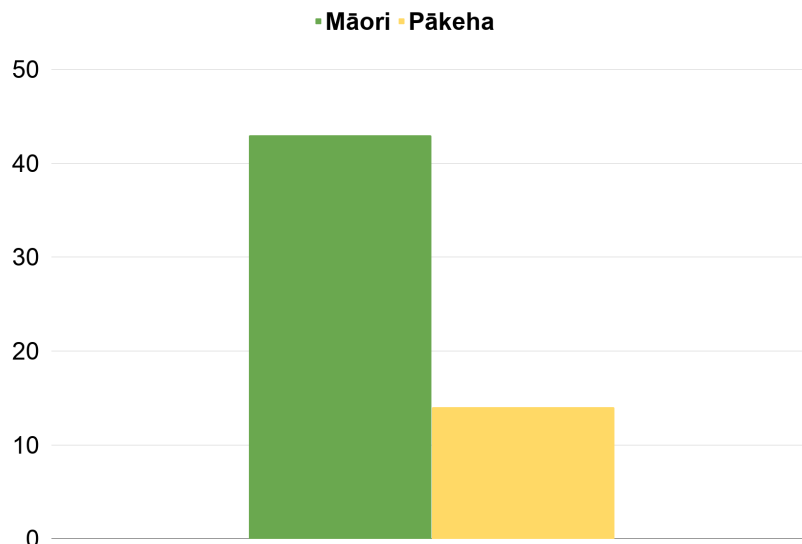
Source: Author's own elaboration

The next graphs visualise characteristics of the interviewees regarding their ethnicity⁹ (See Figure 3.3), sex ratio (See Figure 3.4) and the sector they belong to (See Figure 3.5).

⁹This graph shows the percentage of Māori and Pākeha [Non-Māori New Zealanders] participants. See explanation of *Pākeha* in the glossary p. 280.

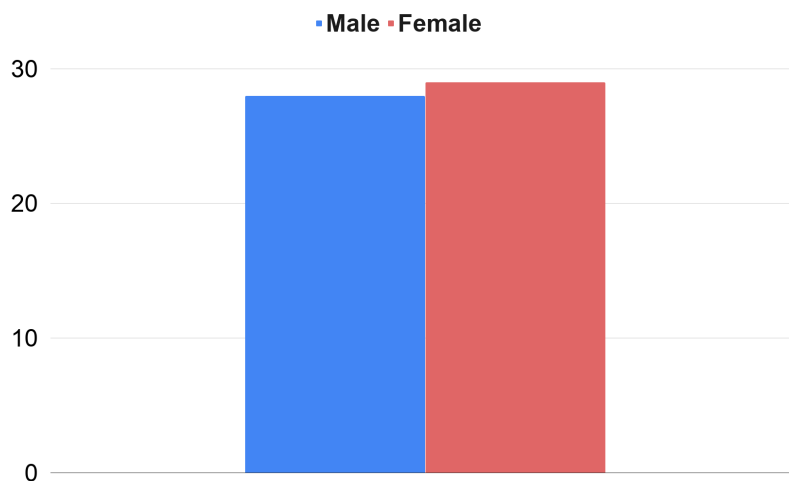
As it was not possible to find out the age of all interviewees, the comparison regarding age groups was dispensed with. Still, it was ensured that no minor of age participated. The average age of the interviewees declaring their age was approximately **51** years.

Figure 3.3: Ethnicity of interviewees



Source: Author's own elaboration

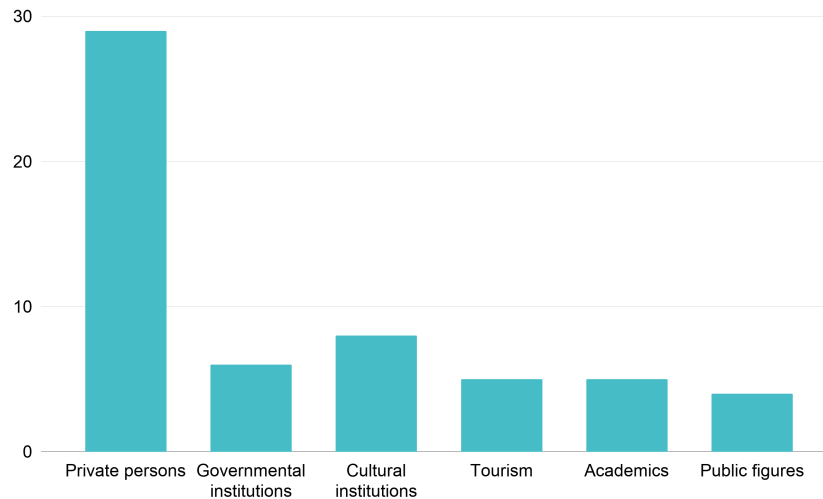
Figure 3.4: Sex ratio of the interviewees



Source: Author's own elaboration

As Fetterman (2009) suggests, I took notes about the interviewees' characteristics, as well as the formality or informality of the settings and additional context information.

Figure 3.5: Different sectors of interviewees



Source: Author's own elaboration

Informal interviews

In order to investigate the objective of the *self-image* informal interviews were conducted. As demonstrated before, in total **29** informal interviews were conducted. Among these, **24** were conducted with members of the Ngāti Awa tribe which were considered for the self-image and **5** additional ones with *Pākeha*¹⁰ from the Whakatāne area. As only members of the Ngāti Awa tribe were approached to investigate the construction of Māori identities, the results are also limited to this tribe.

The following graphs demonstrate the compilation of Māori and Pākeha ethnicity of the conducted informal interviews (See Figure 3.6.), the sex ratio of the interviewees of the informal interviews [on the left regarding Māori, on the right regarding Pākeha] (See Figure 3.7.) and the average age from all ages known (See Figure 3.8.).

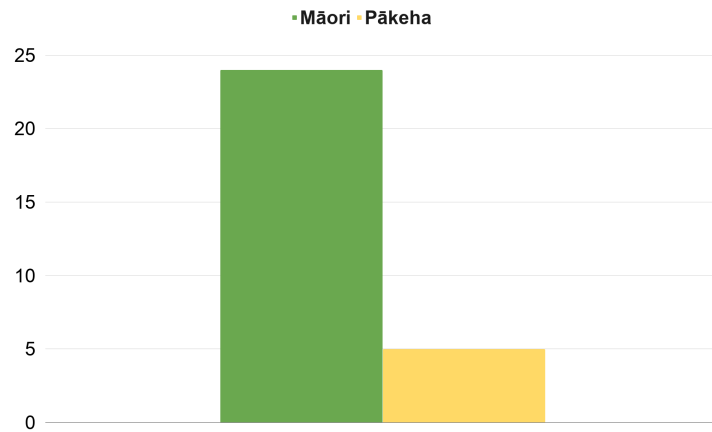
From the average ages known of participants, interviewees' ages ranged from 25 to 75 years. The average age of Māori female participants of the informal interviews was **41** years, the one of Māori male participants **52** years. The average age of Pākeha female participants was **62** years and Pākeha male participants **65** years. See Figure 3.8.

The interviewees came from the education sector, health sector, corporate and institutional sector, arts sector, tourism sector, political sector, sports sector and governmental sector. However, this information had no relevance in the edition of the information for this specific research.

Regarding the content of the informal interviews, Fetterman (2009) explains that shared values in the community can be discovered. As the author (ibid) further states, the researcher uses informal approaches to determine the categories of meaning in a culture to

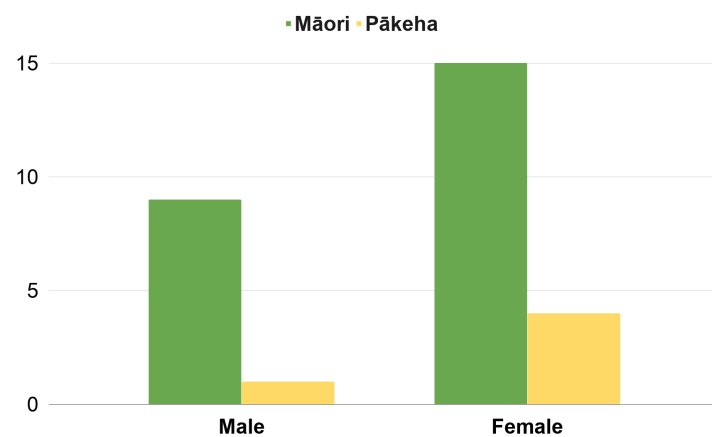
¹⁰[Non-Māori New Zealanders]. See explanation of *Pākeha* in the glossary p. 280.

Figure 3.6: Ethnicity of participants of informal interviews



Source: Author's own elaboration

Figure 3.7: Sex ratio of participants of informal interviews

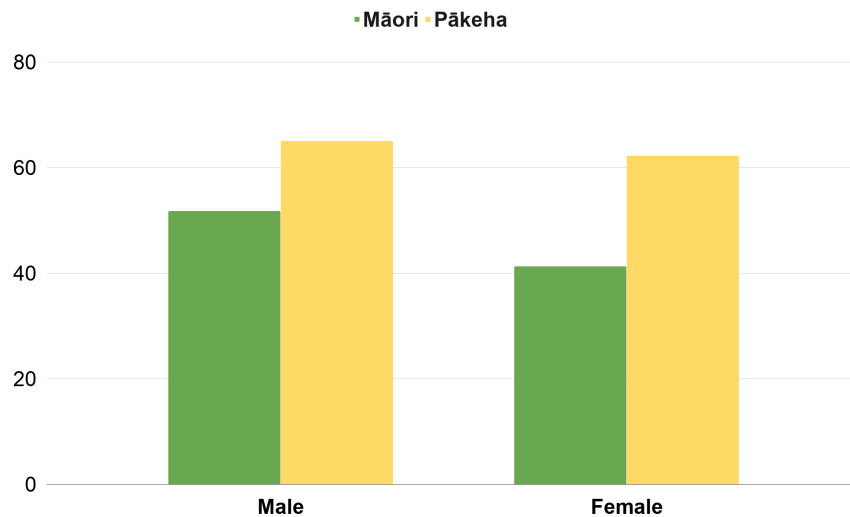


Source: Author's own elaboration

find out what people think and how one person's perception is different to another one. This idea seems particularly interesting when approaching the overall research interest of this thesis.

Informal interviews do not follow any order of questions but are developed by the participant or researcher's interest. The flow of the interview is like a natural dialogue whereas the researcher waits for the right moment to ask his or her questions (Fetterman, 2009). Throughout the conduction of the 29 interviews, the order of the topics did not play an important role as long as they were mentioned in the interview. The duration of the interviews was between 30 minutes to 2,5 hours.

Figure 3.8: Average age of the interviewees according to their ethnicity



Source: Author's own elaboration

During the interviews following topics were dealt with:

- Growing up being Māori
- Becoming aware of one's identity
- Activities related to being Māori in childhood
- Adolescence and adulthood being Māori
- Values and morals associated with being Māori
- How to embed being Māori into daily life (e.g. having children)
- The situation of Māori nowadays

Before the interview, I explained my research to the interviewees and asked them for permission to record the interview, as well as to use their data in my research. Every single interviewee permitted me to record the interview and also put their names into my thesis (oral approval first, then confirmation by email). I had prepared an ethics form, but all of the interviewees preferred to give me their permission orally. As suggested in Linda Smith's principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory, throughout the conduction of the informal interviews there was a focus on showing respect to interviewees, conducting the interviews face-to-face, careful listening and presenting oneself to the community as well as being generous and humble with people.

The results from the interviews show great variety in age, socio-economic background, education and personal opinion of the interviewees. The interviews differ in answers and

some of the interviews include parts of life histories. As Bernard and Ryan (2009) explain, life histories are case studies of people, telling the researcher about their experiences and life stages. Especially when talking about the topic of identity, it was interesting to hear also life histories of the interviewees.

Expert interviews

As discussed before, in order to investigate the construction of Māori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand expert interviews were chosen as the appropriate method. For this research, 28 expert interviews were conducted. Whereas the demographics of the interviewees from the informal interviews were considered important regarding the research, the demographics of the participants of the expert interviews were not considered relevant.

Meuser and Nagel (2009), whose analysis for expert interviews was taken as the guideline for this research, define expert interviews through the approach to knowledge or the status of the knowledge production from the interviewee (Meuser and Nagel, 2009). Contrary to the informal interviews which were explained before, expert interviews do not deal with observations of daily life, but with the knowledge of areas of information not everybody but the expert can access to (Meuser and Nagel, 2009).

When it comes to expert interviews, not the interviewed person is the focus of the research, but the person as a more significant part of the institution or the establishment. Usually, specialists of institutional, organisational or specific social contexts are interviewed (Dannecker and Englert, 2013). It is common that expert interviews deal with particular problems or solutions for a problem (Meuser and Nagel, 2009).

The expert interview is not a bibliographic interview as the expert may have responsibility and control over political, social or economic decisions. The expert interview is interested in learning about action patterns, patterns of behaviour or the functioning of a political, social or economic context (Meuser and Nagel, 2009).

Expert interviews are led by a specific structure and guideline which the researcher creates built on knowledge about the institution, company or establishment to which the expert belongs (Meuser and Nagel, 2009). In the case of this research I conducted 28 expert interviews with members of selected Aotearoa New Zealand Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy institutions while being in Aotearoa New Zealand and two more interviews while back in Europe.

In general, I attempted to find experts from these three fields, corporate Nation Branding companies, governmental Public Diplomacy institutions and community/cultural institutions. Experts for the interviews were selected due to their position in the company (e.g. Communication Manager, Cultural Manager, Strategic Planners, Management, etc.). Some experts were also chosen for earlier positions, such as for example experts previously working for Tourism New Zealand. However, throughout the interviews a great amount of interviewees asked not to mention their position within the institution or organisation because of confidentiality and to save their position within the company or governmental institution.

For this reason and to save the position of the interviewees these voices were marked with a *. For the same reason, the numbers of the expert interviews do not coincide with the actual number of the interviews but only serve for a better overview. In the following, the expert interviews will be listed. See Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Overview of the expert interviews

Nr.	Category	Institution	Position
1	Public Diplomacy	New Zealand Embassy	*
2	Public Diplomacy	New Zealand Embassy	*
3	Public Diplomacy	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	Director Maori Policy Unit
4	Public Diplomacy	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	*
5	Public Diplomacy	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	*
6	Public Diplomacy	Ministry of Culture and Heritage and Te Puni Kokiri	*
7	Public Diplomacy	Ministry of Māori Tourism	*
8	Cultural Diplomacy	Te Papa	Senior Curator Māori Former
9	Cultural Diplomacy	Massey University	Senior Advisor for Cultural Diplomacy Programme Director for New Zealand studies
10	Cultural Diplomacy	Victoria University	*
11	Cultural Diplomacy	Te Matatini	Senior Lecturer for New Zealand studies
12	Cultural Diplomacy	Victoria University	Former director
13	Cultural Diplomacy	New Zealand Arts and Craft Institute	Manager Strategic Partnerships
14	Cultural Diplomacy	Department of Conversation	Pākeha Māori Artist Management
15	Cultural Diplomacy	private person	Cultural Manager
16	Nation Branding	Independent Māori Tourism	Strategic Planner
17	Nation Branding	Tamaki Māori Village	Strategic Planner
18	Nation Branding	Independent Māori Tourism	Director of Centre for Māori and Pacific Economic Development
19	Nation Branding	Independent Māori Tourism	Māori advocate and activist
20	Experts	Auckland University	Historian
21	Experts	Tuhoe	Management
22	Experts	Canterbury University	Māori Linguist
23	Experts	Ngati Awa Group Holdings Limited	Director of Stakeholder Engagement
24	Experts	Auckland University	Former Co-Chairman
25	Experts	Massey University	Activist
26	Experts	New Zealand Māori Council	*
27	Experts	Tuhoe	
28	Experts	Bay of Plenty Regional Council	

Source: Author's own elaboration

The overall leading questions of the expert interviews were firstly how are planned and projected Māori identities in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand constructed and secondly who the actors of both approaches are.

However, I adapted the questions of every interview to the specific institution and area of responsibility as they have different thematic focuses and directions.

Before conducting an interview, I asked the experts if I was allowed to record the interview and to use their data in my research, which apart from one case everybody agreed to. Most of the interviewees allowed me to use their names in the thesis (oral approval first, then confirmation by email). However, as not everybody allowed me to do it, I decided to anonymise all of the interviews in order to follow one clear line.

Analysis of the interviews

For the analysis of the informal interviews and expert interviews, Meuser and Nagel (2009) analysis of qualitative interviews was applied. Although Meuser and Nagel focus on expert interviews, the decision to also use their analysis for the informal interviews was taken deliberately, because in this thesis there is an understanding that the members of Ngāti Awa are also experts of their knowledge about Māori identities.

Meuser and Nagel's analysis was found appropriate to investigate the research interest and applying the analysis to both interviews enables an ongoing thread throughout the research process. Whereas the expert interviews were thoroughly analysed according to Meuser and Nagel's instructions, I decided to add information about the context of the interviewees from my notes for the informal interviews. In the following, the different steps which were applied to conduct the analysis will be presented.

The first step was the transcription of the interviews which I considered relevant for this research. I transcribed the interviews manually using the software f5. The transcriptions ended up having around 900 pages from around 50 transcribed interviews. The following image is a demonstration of the transcription of an interview. See Figure 3.9.

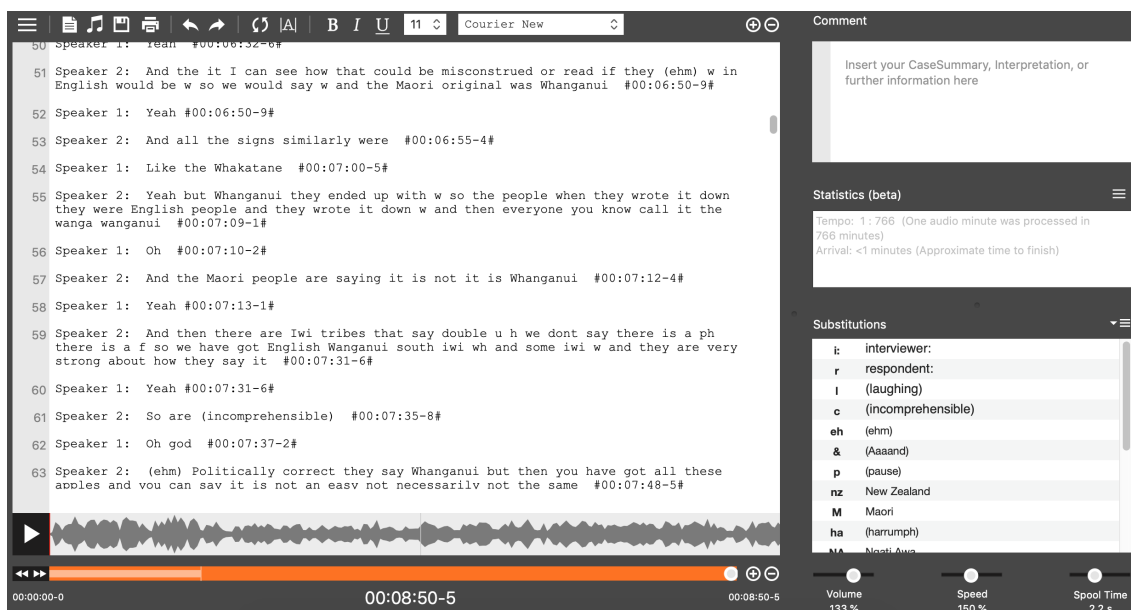
When finishing the transcriptions and having the raw text, I started evaluating the text as suggested by Meuser and Nagel (2009). See Figure 3.10.

First, I matched the interviews to the specific chapter separating them into self-perception, Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy. I quickly realised that I had to separate Cultural Diplomacy into an independent section for better understanding, although I do understand it as a part of Public Diplomacy. After that, I paraphrased the text using short keywords which later on would build the base for the categories or codes.

In the following, I gave headlines to the different paragraphs according to their different categories (Meuser and Nagel, 2009).

Then I compared the text passages related to their categories in order to conceptualise them (Meuser and Nagel, 2009). I used the software MAXQDA to create a coding list for the specific chapters and put the text passages into their codes. See Figure 3.11.

Figure 3.9: Example of the f5 transcription software



Source: f5

Figure 3.10: Research steps based on Meuser and Nagel's expert analysis

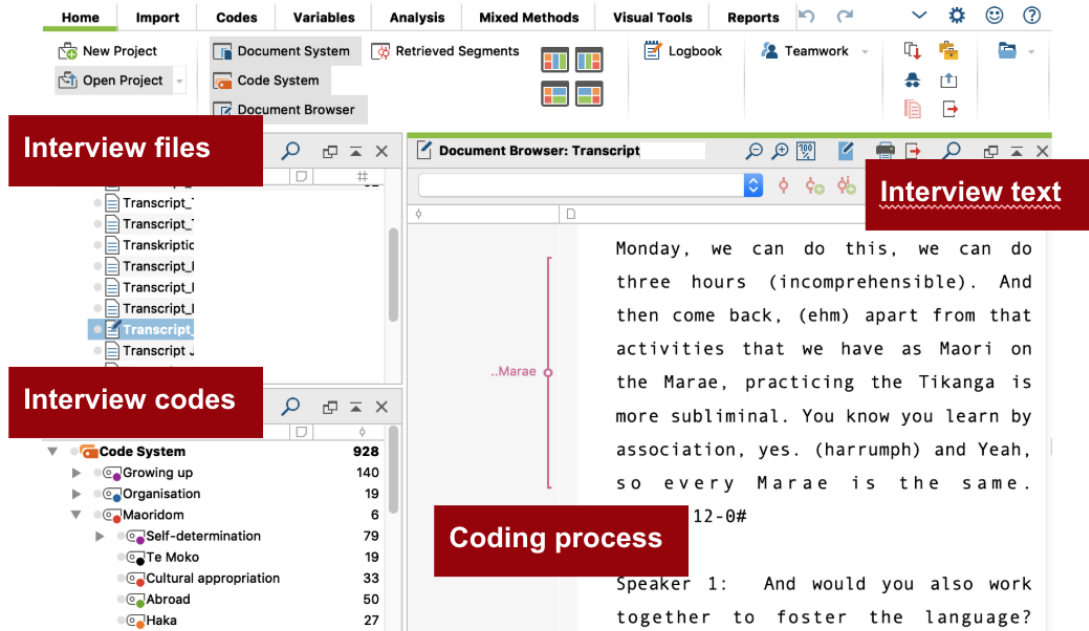


Source: Author's elaboration based on Meuser and Nagel (2009)

The following two images demonstrate examples of the categories used to organise the analysis of the self-image on the left and the planned and projected Māori identities on the right side. In order to analyse the expert interviews three different coding sheets (i.e. Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy) based on the specific orientation were created. See Figure 3.12.

After assigning the text passages to the specific codes, I started discussing the text within a category while having theory in mind in order to create a theoretical generalisation at the end of the text (Meuser and Nagel, 2009).

Figure 3.11: Coding process of an interview using MAXQDA



Source: Author's elaboration based on MAXQDA

Figure 3.12: Extracts from selected coding sheets

- ▶ Growing up
 - ▼ Maoridom
 - ▼ Self-determination
 - ▶ Organisation of tribes
 - Connection to land
 - Te Moko
 - Haka
 - Cultural appropriation
 - Being abroad
 - ▼ Consequences of colonialisation
 - Maori in Wars
 - ▶ Colonial mistreatment
 - ▼ Nowadays
 - ▼ Poverty and violence
 - Domestic violence
 - Urbanisation
- ▶ Maori in NZ
- ▼ Abroad Image of NZ
 - As cultural destination
 - As tourist destination
 - ▼ Relationship NZ abroad
 - Visitors reactions to Maori
 - Indigenous Peoples Relationship t...
 - ▼ Diplomatic cultural formation
 - Cultural Passport
 - ▼ Maori in Diplomatic Functions in NZ
 - Institutions
 - Cultural appropriation
 - New Zealand Story
 - Maori abroad
- (b) Codes *Public-Diplomacy*
- (a) Codes *Self-image*

Source: Author's own elaboration

Limitations

In this thesis, there is an awareness regarding the informal interviews that investigating the constructing of Māori identities from a Ngāti Awa perspective is not representative for all Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, the results of the self-image can only be linked to the tribe Ngāti Awa. Although there might be overlapping results with other Māori tribes in Aotearoa New Zealand, this thesis only refers to outcomes resulting from the informal interviews with members of the Ngāti Awa tribe.

One important group which I had determined for investigating Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand is missing in the interviews. I made several attempts on different channels to contact Tourism New Zealand, Air New Zealand and the All Blacks, but I was not able to conduct an interview with them.¹¹ Although I received a response from Tourism New Zealand and Air New Zealand to which I answered, unfortunately I never received a follow-up message or contact. I also contacted Miss New Zealand 2018, but unfortunately it was not possible to conduct an interview within the given time frame.

To compensate the missing interviews, I organised two meetings with high-ranking employees of the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna and Spain and decided to focus the website analysis on the ten selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy institutions (which included the missing organisations).

Also, the interviewees from the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and Te Puni Kokiri did not allow me to record the audio from the interview, which is why its representation is insufficient for this research.

3.3.5 Website Analysis

To contrast the results from the experts interviews a website analysis of 10 selected websites from Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy companies and institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand was conducted. As explained before, Cultural Diplomacy will be treated separately for a better understanding although in this thesis it is understood to be part of Public Diplomacy.

Nowadays, there is no doubt that online communication is crucial for Place Branding, and in particular for tourist destinations (Fernández-Cavia et al., 2017). Increasing prominence of online communication platforms, websites, social media and mobile application can be observed (ibid). Because of their growing importance websites were chosen as the unit of analysis for this research. This thesis agrees that the importance of the internet for tourism and destination marketing organisations has become undeniable (Li and Wang, 2010; Lončarić et al., 2013).

Several authors mention that websites are the primary channels of communication of destination marketing organisations, also called *DMOs* (Vinyals-Mirabent et al., 2019; Luna-Nevarez and Hyman, 2012; Lončarić et al., 2013; Li and Wang, 2010). As a consequence

¹¹ Various attempts to contact the three organisations took place via email, Instagram, Facebook and even in person. Unfortunately, I never heard anything back from them.

of the development of online communication DMOs have to adapt their communication strategies in order to fit in with new habits, to increase the target audiences and to maintain the output (Fernández-Cavia et al., 2017).

One example highlighting the importance of DMOs and Place Branding websites is the fact that today it is very common to address online communication when planning, booking or purchasing a trip (Fernández-Cavia et al., 2014). This pre-visit phase is a chance for online communication to offer information to potential tourists (Vinyals-Mirabent et al., 2019). According to Fernández-Cavia et al. (2014) DMOs have several tasks, such as providing information for potential or current tourists, as persuading potential and a channel for marketing tools, but also as a platform for sharing information and experiences.

Also Public Diplomacy could significantly expand its engagement to foreign publics through the development of new technologies such as the internet (Cull, 2009). Luša and Jakopović (2017) even argue that a revolutionary influence on the practices of Public Diplomacy has taken place.

By establishing official government websites, the internet has given Public Diplomacy a new channel to communicate its interests and strategies more effectively. As Luša and Jakopović (2017) further explain, the state needs to use the Internet as a source of information to keep up with the pace of the public sphere.

Cull (2009) explains that Public Diplomacy benefits through a new virtual environment which enables it to communicate with geographically remote users. Earlier rather fixed lines between domestic and international relationships were broken up by real-time and global communication (Cull, 2009). However, both websites and social media need to be incorporated into Public Diplomacy practice to enable an entirely new platform to the specific audience.

Finally, websites were chosen for this analysis because they not only reach a local audience, but an international one. After having explained why websites from Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy institutions and companies were considered the appropriate source for this analysis, the next chapter informs about the research design of the website analysis.

Research design of the website analysis

Two research questions led the website analysis. First, if information about Māori exists on the selected websites, and secondly, if there is information about Māori on the websites and which topics about Māori are addressed. Before the analysed websites will be presented in detail, a general overview will be given. See Figure 3.13.

Some of the selected companies and institutions cannot be assigned to only one field, such as just to Nation Branding or Public Diplomacy or Cultural Diplomacy. This drawing is a suggestion by the author to assign the selected institutions and companies to Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy or Cultural Diplomacy. For example the National Museum of Aotearoa New Zealand *Te Papa*, could be defined as both Nation Branding and Cultural Diplomacy and therefore both concepts overlap somehow.

Figure 3.13: Different selected channels related to the research interest

Nation Branding	Public Diplomacy	Cultural Diplomacy
❖ Tourism New Zealand	❖ Ministry of Culture and Heritage	❖ Te Papa
❖ All Blacks	❖ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	❖ Te Matatini
❖ Air New Zealand	❖ Ministry of Māori Tourism	❖ Tamaki Māori Village
		❖ Mataatua

Source: Author's own elaboration

Sample of the selected websites

Before the choice of the selected websites related to the research concept will be presented in detail, the selected websites with the code used by the researcher and the specific URL which was investigated will be demonstrated. See Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Selected websites

Organisation	Code	URL
Tourism New Zealand	TNZ	https://www.newzealand.com/int/
All Blacks Rugby	ABR	http://www.allblacks.com/
Air New Zealand	ANZ	https://www.airnewzealand.co.nz
Ministry of Culture and Heritage	MCH	https://mch.govt.nz/
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	MFAT	https://www.mfat.govt.nz/
Ministry of Māori Tourism	MMT	https://maoritourism.co.nz
Te Papa	TP	https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/
Te Matatini	TM	https://www.tematatini.co.nz/
Tamaki Maori Village	TMV	https://www.tamakimaorivillage.co.nz/
Mataatua	MAT	https://www.mataatua.com/

Source: Author's own elaboration

In the following, the date of data collection regarding the three applied analysis types (SimilarWeb analysis, Wordtracker Scout analysis and Content Analysis) will be presented. See Table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Date of data collection of selected websites

Code	SimilarWeb	WordTracker Scout	Content Analysis
TNZ	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	07/04/2019
ABR	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	10/04/2019
ANZ	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	10/04/2019
MCH	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	10/04/2019
MFAT	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	07/04/2019
MMT	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	10/04/2019
TP	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	07/04/2019
TM	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	10/04/2019
TMV	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	10/04/2019
MAT	16/03/2019	11/04/2019	10/04/2019

Source: Author's own elaboration

In order to showcase websites from Nation Branding institutions and companies of Aotearoa New Zealand, the website of (1) Tourism New Zealand (2) the All Blacks and (3) Air New Zealand were chosen for the analysis.

Tourism New Zealand is the official tourism operator in New Zealand. Although <https://www.newzealand.com/> is the web address of the website's landing page, <https://www.newzealand.com/int/> was chosen instead for the analysis as it showcases the official New Zealand travel website and not the overall New Zealand travel and business website.

The All Blacks are New Zealand's official rugby team and were chosen because sports and sporting events are frequently used as a source of Destination Branding (Kotler and Gertner, 2004; Crockett and Wood, 2004).

Lastly, the official airline of New Zealand called Air New Zealand was chosen. As Anholt (2011) states, Nation Branding most commonly is created by tourist boards, airlines and major food producers.

To present institutions from the Public Diplomacy sector in Aotearoa New Zealand, the following three websites were chosen: (4) the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, (5) the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and (6) the Ministry of Māori tourism.

Each institution might have a different focus, such as the Ministry of Culture and Heritage on the conservation of culture, history and heritage; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade on creating opportunities of relationship building and commercial trade and the Ministry of Māori tourism on creating opportunities for tourism. However, all three institutions are interested in the relationship building with other nations.

Four different websites were chosen to give some examples of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand: (7) the National Museum of Aotearoa New Zealand called 'Te Papa', (8) the National Kapa Haka Festival of Aotearoa New Zealand called 'Te Matatini' and two local ones: (9) 'Tamaki Māori Village' in Rotorua offering cultural performances and (10) the 'Mataatua' living Marae in Whakatāne which combines communal lifestyle and a museum.

At this point, it is highlighted that the websites are not aiming at a comparison between each other. This would not work because of the different sizes of the institutions and companies and because the institutions and companies have very different goals. They were chosen just to give an overview of the landscape of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy institutions and companies throughout Aotearoa New Zealand and to contrast the results from the expert interviews.

The methodology of the website analysis

The description of the website analysis needs more detailed technical description which is why it is much longer than the descriptions of the other methods. Nevertheless, the main research methods for this research are the qualitative interviews.

In the following, the different steps of the website analysis will be explained, first as an overview and secondly in detail. The websites were analysed in three distinct steps, first looking at the numbers of traffic and keywords and secondly by examining the content of the websites. As mentioned before, the leading research questions of this website analysis are:

1. Does information about Māori exist on the selected websites?
2. If there is information about Māori, which topics are mentioned?

To look at website traffic, a general analysis of the website's traffic was made using the free Website Analysis tool *SimilarWeb*. By introducing the website's main URL, this tool offers information about the website's traffic, numbers of visitors to the website per month or throughout the last three months, countries the traffic came from, the average amount of time visitors spend on the website, etc. The numbers given by the SimilarWeb tool are only estimations. This first analysis aims to detect how important this website is to visitors and the location of visitors.

Secondly, the Google extension called *Wordtracker Scout* was applied to the websites in order to know the ranking and frequency of the keywords on the main homepage of the selected websites. Applying the Wordtracker Scout aimed at highlighting if there were keywords which could be related to Māori on the main page within the first ten ranked keywords.

Thirdly, a Content Analysis was conducted. Within this Content Analysis the first two levels of the websites were investigated regarding the occurrences of the keyword 'Maori'. As the first level the entry page (1st level) was defined, and as the second level any website that can be reached with one click from the entry page was defined (2nd level). This criterion was chosen because it is assumed that the makers of the websites put the most essential information into the first two levels. As Luna-Nevarez and Hyman (2012) state, it is a challenge to capture the visitor's attention long enough to tell a story which is why the first impression needs to include all the relevant information. In case occurrences of

the keyword 'Maori' could be detected, these keywords were assigned to defined categories as will be explained in detail. In the following, there is an in-depth presentation of the three different steps of analysis.

Website Traffic

The free website analysis tool SimilarWeb (<https://www.similarweb.com/>) was used to look at the website's traffic and numbers investigation of the URL of the 10 selected websites. For the analysis of the websites, only the URL from the homepage (e.g., <https://www.newzealand.com/int/>) was used. Although the free version of SimilarWeb offers information about web traffic, for this research a free account was registered in order to receive more detailed information.

SimilarWeb was chosen because of recommendations from Professor Dr. Carlos Scolari from Pompeu Fabra University, an expert in digital media and its user-friendly surface. Also, Bekavac and Praničević stress the importance of looking at social media and web metrics including information about visitors and visitor engagement when branding a website (Bekavac and Garbin Praničević, 2015).

SimilarWeb was founded in 2007 and is a private website. As SimilarWeb (nd) states itself, the company analyses 3 million mobile device apps and 80 million websites which range from small business to big companies (SimilarWeb 2019)¹².

SimilarWeb applies a so-called methodological pluralism which means that they use different data sources (such as direct measurement data, best-in-class modelling, calibration, machine learning) and estimation algorithms¹³.

The SimilarWeb platform offers information on the website performance (global rank, country rank, total visits, traffic share, monthly visits, average visit duration, pages/visit, bounce rate), the nationalities of visitors, marketing channels or social media search¹⁴ (SimilarWeb, nd).

As SimilarWeb states, on the website existing data is transformed into estimations, the numbers which are highlighted from it can only be presented as estimations.¹⁵

In the following, two examples of the surface of a SimilarWeb analysis will be demonstrated, first by showing the overall surface of a SimilarWeb analysis (See Figure 3.14), and secondly, portraying the surface of a SimilarWeb analysis showing the geographic origins of the traffic leading to the specific websites. See Figure 3.15.

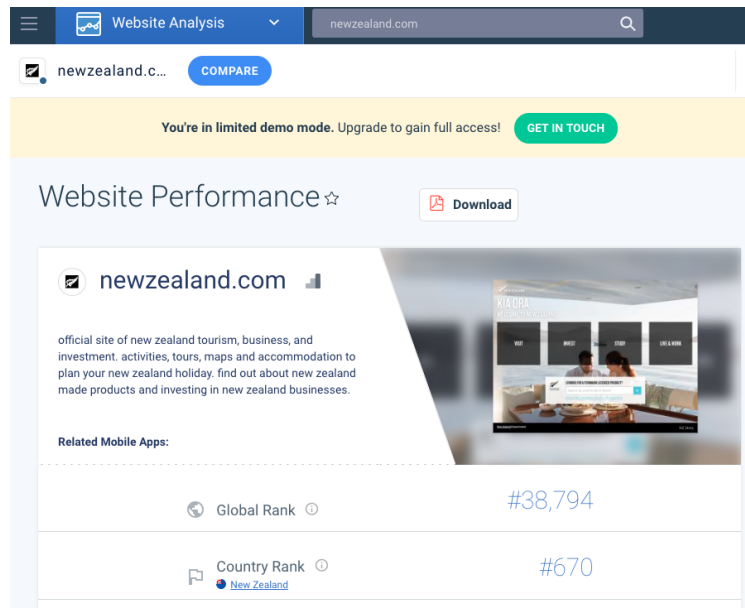
¹²SimilarWeb, retrieved April 3, 2019 from <https://www.similarweb.com/corp/about/>

¹³SimilarWeb, retrieved April 3, 2019 from <https://www.similarweb.com/ourdata>

¹⁴SimilarWeb, retrieved April 3, 2019 from https://pro.similarweb.com/#/website/worldwide-overview/allblacks.com/*/999/3m?webSource=Total

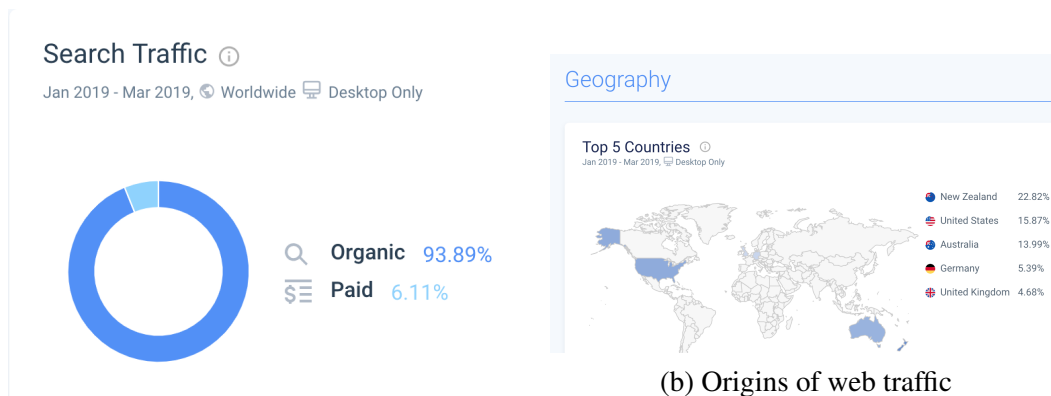
¹⁵SimilarWeb, retrieved April 3, 2019 from <https://www.similarweb.com/ourdata>

Figure 3.14: Example of an analysis conducted with SimilarWeb



Source: SimilarWeb (nd)

Figure 3.15: Overview SimilarWeb Analysis



(a) Organic & paid traffic

(b) Origins of web traffic

Source: SimilarWeb (nd)

The following table (See Table 3.7) demonstrates the numbers regarding visits of the websites, average duration of visit and average visited pages which result from the conducted SimilarWeb analysis.

Table 3.7: Overview of SimilarWeb Website traffic

Code	Visitors per month (avg.)	Visitors between Dec. 2018 & Feb. 2019	Average visit	Average visited pages
TNZ	2,199,000	6,597,000	0:02:06	2,04
ABR	212,420	637,260	0:01:48	2,89
ANZ	7,844,000	2,614,000	0:04:48	5,15
MCH	26,729	80,188	0:01:40	1,90
MFAT	384,330	1,152,000	0:04:09	3,04
MMT	1667	5000	0:01:05	1,85
TP	240,355	721,064	0:01:25	2,30
TM	57,506	172,518	0:01:55	1,89
TMV	32,748	98,244	0:01:14	2,23
MAT	1667	5000	0:01:14	3,88

Source: Author's elaboration based on SimilarWeb (nd)

The interpretation of the results from the SimilarWeb analysis can be found in the chapter *results* in the subsection of the Website Analysis.

Keyword Search

For the second analysis, the Google tool Wordtracker Scout was used. After investigating different keyword search tools, the Wordtracker Scout seemed the most effective one offering word clouds and keyword ranking directly from the homepage.

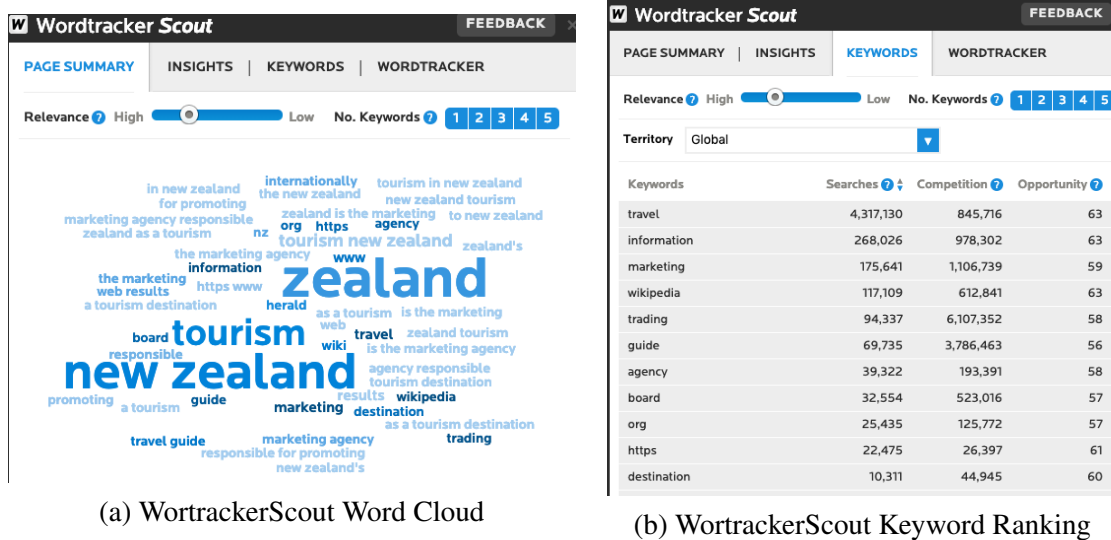
The Google Chrome extension Wordtracker Scout is a free version from the Wordtracker Keywords Tool and can directly be added to any Google browser. As described on the website from Wordtracker, the Wordtracker scout draws “big keyword data from Wordtracker’s huge database of search terms”.

As the images show (See Figure 3.16) the Wordtracker Scout creates keywords from any website, collects them into a word cloud according to the frequency and puts the keywords in a ranking based on the number of times each keyword appears in their database. The Wordtracker Scout is useful to filter specific content on first sight.

This tool was used to find any word written in Māori language (in concrete Māori place names or any words written in Māori) or the keyword *Maori*, looking at the ten most common keywords of the websites as defined by the author.

The following table (See Table 3.8) shows the detected keywords as defined in the conditions of the Wordtracker Scout analysis. The interpretation from the results can be found in the chapter *results* in the subsection of the Wordtracker Scout.

Figure 3.16: Example of an analysis conducted with Wordtracker Scout



Source: Google Extension 'WordtrackerScout'

Table 3.8: WordtrackerScout Analysis

Code	Keyword cloud	Keyword ranking	Detection
TNZ	no	no	-
ABR	no	no	-
ANZ	no	no	-
MCH	no	yes	<i>Te</i>
MFAT	no	no	-
MMT	yes	yes	<i>Maori, Māori, Porirua, Mai</i>
TP	yes	no	<i>Papa Tongarewa, Taiao¹⁶, Te Papa, Ngā, Te, Ngā Whakaaturanga, Taonga¹⁷, Wētā¹⁸</i>
TM	yes	yes	<i>Kapa Haka¹⁹, Te Matatini, Haka²⁰, Ki Te²¹, Te, Wharehuia²²</i>
TMV	yes	no	<i>Maori, Tamaki</i>
MAT	yes	no	<i>Māori, Awa²³, Mataatua</i>

Source: Author's own elaboration

After discussing the SimilarWeb analysis and Webtracker Scout Analysis, the Content Analysis will be presented in the following.

¹⁹[Māori performance/war dance]. See explanation of *Kapa Haka*

²⁰[Māori performance/war dance]. See explanation of *Haka* in the glossary p. 276.

²¹[In the process of]. See explanation of *Ki Te* in the glossary p. 278.

²²[Public figure]. See explanation of *Wharehuia* in the glossary p. 283.

²³[River]. See explanation of *Awa* in the glossary p. 276.

Content Analysis

The third step of the website analysis was the conduction of a Content Analysis.

Content Analysis is a research method which can be applied to different media (Bryman, 2012). As Neuman (2014) explains, the content of a Content Analysis might consist of words, meanings, pictures, symbols, themes or any communicated message. Text as the subject of study of a Content Analysis might be written, visual or spoken and might be found in books, newspapers, magazines, articles, films, photographs or - as relevant for this research - in websites (Neuman, 2014).

Neuman (2014) says that the method of the Content Analysis is particularly useful when analysing content which is at a distance, such as in the case of websites. Nevertheless, several authors stress that a Content Analysis needs to be conducted systematically and must be replicable (Bryman, 2012; Neuman, 2014; Treadwell, 2017; Kim and Kuljis, 2010).

As Neuman (2014) explains, a Content Analysis operationalises constructs with a coding system, which the author describes as a set of instructions or rules which describe how content from the units of study needs to be observed and recorded. As Neuman (2014) further explains, it is necessary to establish standards for the Content Analysis which explain how to categorise and classify the observations made. Also, Treadwell (2017) says that the selected units of study need to be clearly defined before a systematic and objective analysis can be conducted.

As the subject of this Content Analysis text was chosen. Based on the research questions an attempt was made to investigate if there was text related to Māori on the selected websites and if so, which topics were dealt with.

Two levels of every website were selected as the units of analysis. As the first level the homepage of the website, also called entry page (**Level 1**), was defined. As the second level the immediately following pages and directly linked websites, when clicking on any hyperlink of the first page, was defined (**Level 2**).

The examples below show the main page (Level 1) and the second level (Level 2). See Figure 3.17.

As mentioned before, the third step of the analysis served to create a clear understanding which of the ten investigated websites deal with topics related to Māori on their first two levels and which topics are dealt with in general.

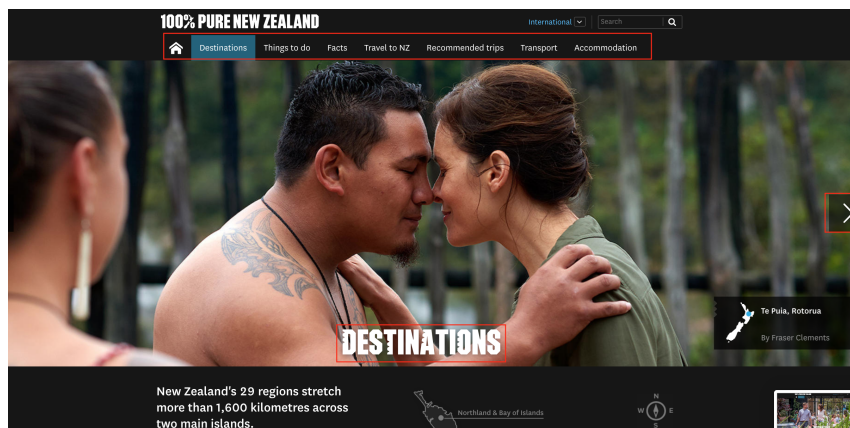
In Content Analysis, one differentiates between manifest and latent coding. For this analysis manifest coding was chosen which means, for example, that the number of times a word appears in a text was counted (Neuman, 2014). However, as the Website Analysis only serves to demonstrate whether content about Māori exists on the websites or not, a more profound analysis of the overall amount of content was renounced, which is why no comparison between the amount of occurrences of the keyword 'Maori' will be made.

Manifest coding is reliable as it gives information about the existence of specific keywords in text content, but leaves out underlying implicit meaning in the content (Neuman, 2014).

Figure 3.17: Example of the levels investigated given the example of TNZ



(a) Level 1: Homepage — Entry page



(b) Level 2 (including highlighted hyperlinks)

Source: Author's elaboration based on Tourism New Zealand (nd)

As Neuman (2014) suggests after creating the research questions and defining the units of analysis and the sampling plan, a coding sheet was developed to insert the collected information.

As defined in the coding book, the first part of the analysis consisted of searching occurrences of the keyword *Maori* on level 1 and level 2 of every website. This was done by using the keyword search function with the key combination (e.g. Command+F on a MacBook), beginning on the entry page of every website. This search only includes the visible text on the page and not the text in pictures and other graphical elements.

It needs to be highlighted that this search did not aim at counting the occurrences of the keyword 'Maori'²⁴ in relation to the total amount of words on a website. Although the occurrences of the keyword 'Maori' will be displayed, it only served to detect the units of

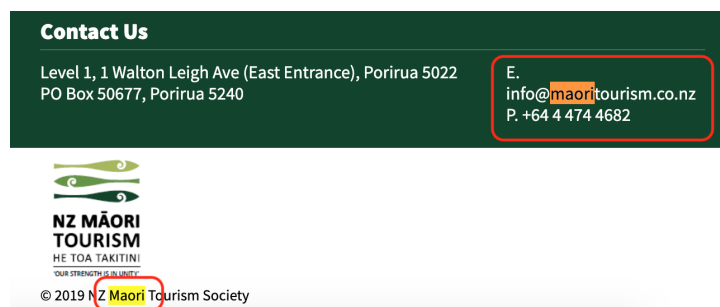
²⁴For the purpose of this research the keyword 'Maori' was selected and **not** the keyword 'Māori' as an assumption was made that there might exist more information related to the keyword 'Maori'.

analysis which then could be assigned to a defined category.

After saving the number of occurrences of the keyword *Maori*, a restriction was made. Manifest coding was conducted a second time, but all the keywords that were positioned in the header, footer, any animated link, secondary banner ad or site map were not counted as suggested by Luna-Nevarez and Hyman (2012).

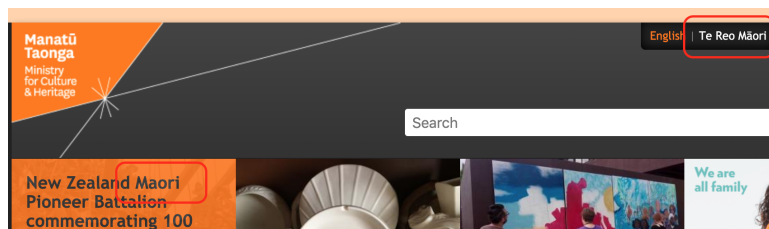
The following figures demonstrate examples of restrictions. See Figure 3.18 and 3.19.

Figure 3.18: Example of excluding keywords (in red) in the footer and sitemap (Ministry of Māori Tourism)



Source: Author's elaboration based on Ministry of Maori Tourism (nd)

Figure 3.19: Example of excluding keywords (in red) from the header and animated link (Ministry of Culture and Heritage)



Source: Author's elaboration based on Ministry of Culture and Heritage (nd)

After cleaning the list of numbers of the keyword *Maori* in the websites, every keyword was assigned to five categories which were developed by the author provided by the information given on the websites as suggested by Kim and Kuljis (2010).

In the following, the five categories (1) *General Information*, (2) *Customs and Beliefs*, (3) *History*, (4) *Politics and Economy* and (5) *Tourism and Attractions* will be presented which were developed in combination with previous knowledge of the researcher from the expert interviews.

The five categories were:

- General Information

Basic (not in-depth) information about Māori demographics, Māori names, the Māori language, Māori sites and places

- Customs and Beliefs

Information about Māori values systems, protocols, Māori cultural performances and Māori cultural activities

- History

Information related to any historical event or historical era

- Politics and Economy

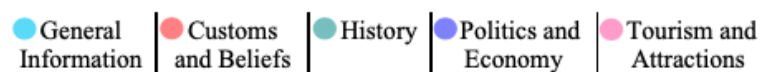
Information about topics of historical or contemporary politics, economic opportunities and trade

- Tourism and Attractions

Any promotion of touristic sites or tours and excursions or any commercial intention to inform about touristic sites to sell something.²⁵

The following colors will be used to visualise the different categories (See Figure 3.20):

Figure 3.20: Color pattern of the categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

After applying the keyword search looking for the keyword *Maori*, this information was put into the coding sheet in level 1 and level 2. If the appearance was within the *normal* text body, the appearances were assigned to the categories explained before. The information was put into the coding sheet (see appendix).

In the following, an example of a coding sheet used for the website analysis is demonstrated. See Figure 3.21.

²⁵If there are keywords which sell a tour and include information about history, customs or beliefs, etc., they are put into the category 5: Tourism and Attractions as the commercial intention is dominating.

Figure 3.21: Example of a coding sheet (Tourism New Zealand)

The screenshot shows a Google Sheets document titled 'Coding sheet_140419'. The spreadsheet contains the following data:

Page Nr.	Page ID	Page URL	Level 1 (1)	Level 2 (2)	Number of keyword "Maori"	Number of keyword "Maori" excluding page header, footer and information boxes	Category 1 (General Information)	Category 2 (Customs and beliefs)	Category 3 (History)	Category 4 (Politics and Economy)	Category 5 (Tourism and Attractions)	Comments
1	TNZ001	https://www.newzealand.com/int/	no	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
2	TNZ002	https://www.newzealand.com/int/north-island/	-	yes	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	Where to culture is
3	TNZ003	https://www.newzealand.com/int/auckland/	-	no	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4	TNZ004	https://www.newzealand.com/int/bay-of-plenty/	-	no	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
5	TNZ005	https://www.newzealand.com/int/coromandel/	-	yes	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	Thames and Min 1 Museum
6	TNZ006	https://www.newzealand.com/int/gastland/	-	yes	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	Combin meeting Europea 4 and visit

Source: Author's own elaboration

This form of Content Analysis only attempts to showcase if there is Māori content on the specific websites and which overall topics are dealt with. As the website analysis is just a support for the results from the narrative and expert interviews, it was considered enough to limit the website analysis to these two questions and these two levels.

In the following, the numbers resulting from the website analysis will be presented. The first table (See Table 3.9) demonstrates the total amount of investigated pages related to each of the 10 selected websites in the first column. It further displays the number and percentage of websites which included the keyword 'Maori' in relation to the total amount of investigated websites in the second and third column.

Table 3.9: Results from the Content Analysis

Code	Total amount of investigated pages	Number of websites including keyword 'Maori' from investigated websites	% of websites including keyword 'Maori' in relation to total amount of investigated websites
TNZ	103	30	29,13%
ABR	74	40	54,04%
ANZ	173	0	0,00%
MCH	55	54	98,18%
MFAT	83	12	14,46%
MMT	29	29	100,00%
TP	46	21	45,65%
TM	19	8	42,11%
TMV	7	7	100,00%
MAT	13	11	84,62%

Source: Author's own elaboration

The second table (See Table 3.10) first demonstrated the total appearances of the keyword 'Maori' and its time per pages, and secondly, demonstrates the amount of appearances when applying the restriction and its time per pages.

Table 3.10: Continuation of the results from the Content Analysis

Code	Total appearances of keyword 'Maori' (1)	Times per page (1)	Amount of appearances applying restriction (2)	Times per page (2)
TNZ	107	3,57	96	3,2
ABR	147	3,68	114	2,85
ANZ	0	0	0	0
MCH	258	4,78	83	1,54
MFAT	26	2,17	25	2,08
MMT	618	21,31	531	18,31
TP	113	5,38	86	4,10
TM	22	2,75	20	2,50
TMV	77	11	63	9
MAT	27	2,45	25	2,27

Source: Author's own elaboration

The results from the Content Analysis will be found in the chapter of the results.

Limitations

Due to the scope of the thesis, it was not foreseen to conduct an in-depth Content Analysis of the selected ten websites from Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy institutions and companies in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is clear that for a significant sample at least 30 randomly chosen websites must have been chosen. This can be understood as a limitation of the website analysis. However, it was chosen deliberately to enable an overview of topics related to Māori that were mentioned on the selected websites.

From the results of the website analysis (both Wordtracker Scout and Content Analysis), it became clear that the keyword search was insufficient. Many websites included information about Māori but did not mention the keyword *Maori* or used Māori names or Māori words. However, from the context it became clear that the text dealt with Māori.

For future investigations it is suggested to search for the keyword *Maori* and any word that is written in Māori. However, technically it is not clear yet how this analysis could be worked out.

Chapter 4

Website Analysis

In this chapter, the results of the research will be presented. This chapter will start first by presenting the results of the website analysis (SimilarWeb Analysis, Wordtracker Scout and Content Analysis) before it addresses the results from the interviews.

Introduction

In total, 602 webpages were investigated for the website analysis. As explained in the chapter of the *methodology*, the website analysis was conducted firstly by analysing the ten selected websites using SimilarWeb and Wordtracker Scout and secondly by investigating the content of the two levels of the ten websites applying the conditions described in the coding sheet (see appendix).

In the following, the results from SimilarWeb and Wordtracker Scout will be presented before the results from the Content Analysis will complete the results from the website analysis.

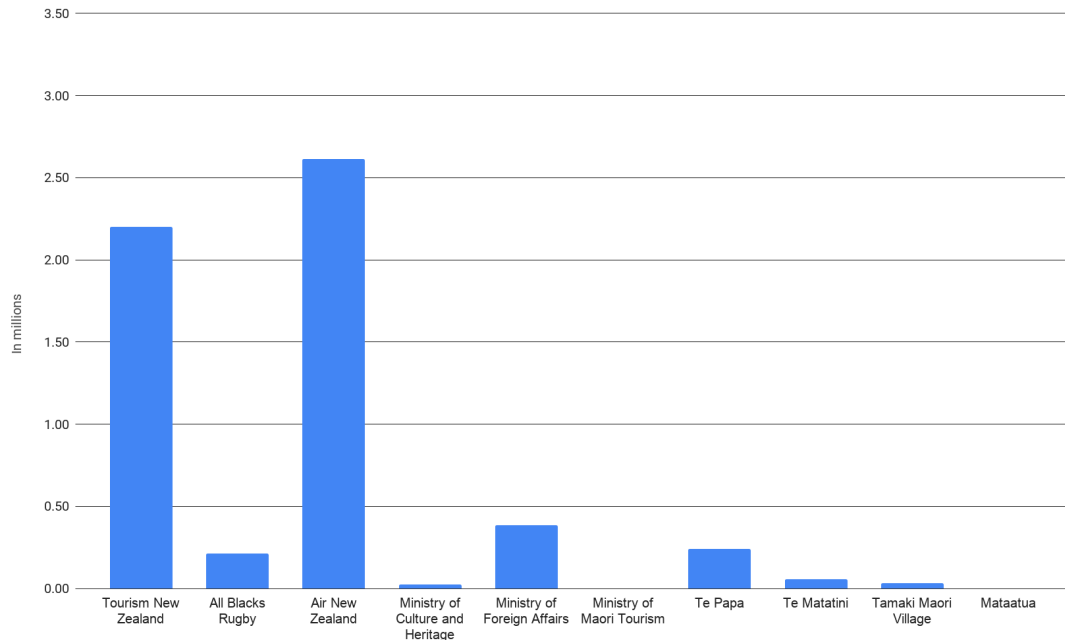
4.1 Website Traffic

In the following, the results from the SimilarWeb analysis will be presented.

As explained in the chapter *methodology* this analysis served to investigate the overall traffic to the websites, the average visit duration, the amount of visited pages, organic versus paid traffic and the origin of traffic to the websites. However, this part does not serve as a comparison between the ten websites as this is not possible due to the great divide of traffic to the websites. It shall rather demonstrate the numbers of traffic related to the specific website. Data shows that only Air New Zealand and Tourism New Zealand manage to climb higher than **2 million visitors** per month.

As the chart shows, they are followed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade which reaches only 384,330 visits per month, Te Papa with 240,355 visits per month and the All Blacks Rugby with 212,420 visits per month. The others keep under 60,000 visits per month. See Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Showcasing average visit to websites (in millions)



Source: Author's elaboration based on SimilarWeb (nd)

When comparing the average time spent on the different websites one can see that visitors spend most of the time on the website of Air New Zealand. This might be because visitors book a flight or conduct research for an upcoming trip. On the second place there is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade which might be explained due to the fact that people search for information about going abroad or moving to *Aotearoa*¹ New Zealand. The rest of the websites stay between **0:01:14** (Tamaki Māori village) and **0:02:06** (Tourism New Zealand). See Figure 4.2.

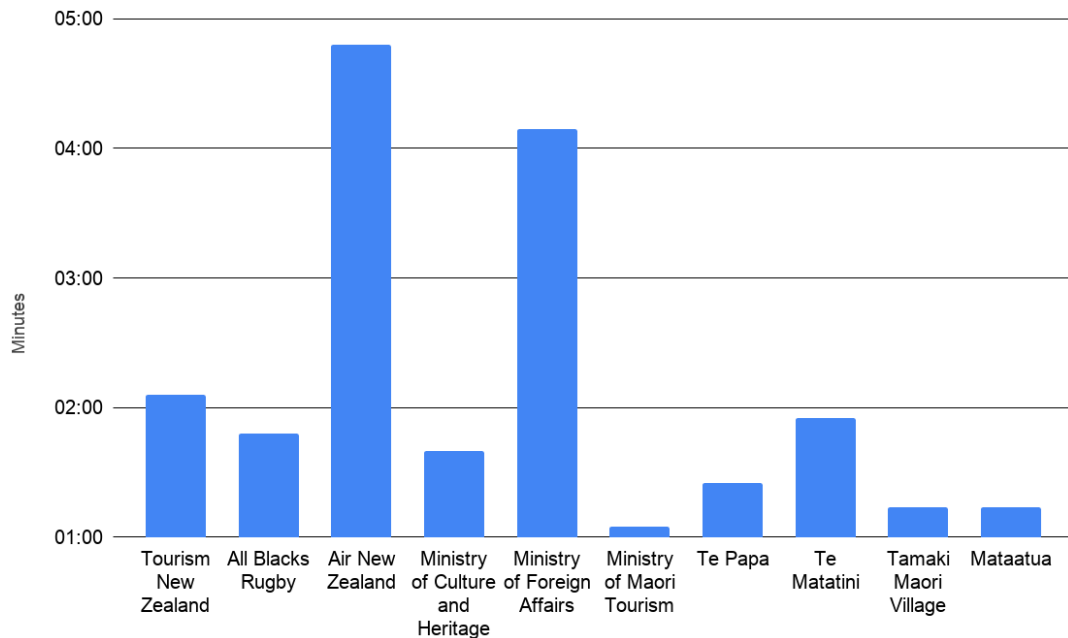
Regarding the amount of visited pages, most pages are visited on Air New Zealand's website with **5,15 average visited pages**. The rest of the websites vary between **1,89** (Te Matatini) and **3,04 pages** (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade). See Figure 4.3.

Data from the SimilarWeb Analysis also showed that only Tourism New Zealand, Air New Zealand, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Te Papa and Tamaki Māori Village work with paid traffic to the websites. However, there are great differences in the amount of paid traffic.

On the top of the list, Air New Zealand is followed by Tamaki Māori Village and Tourism New Zealand, whereas the other websites have less than 10% of traffic being referred from paid search. See Figure 4.4.

¹[**Land of the long white cloud**]. Māori term for New Zealand. See explanation of *Aotearoa* in the glossary p. 276.

Figure 4.2: Average visit duration (minutes)



Source: Author's elaboration based on SimilarWeb (nd)

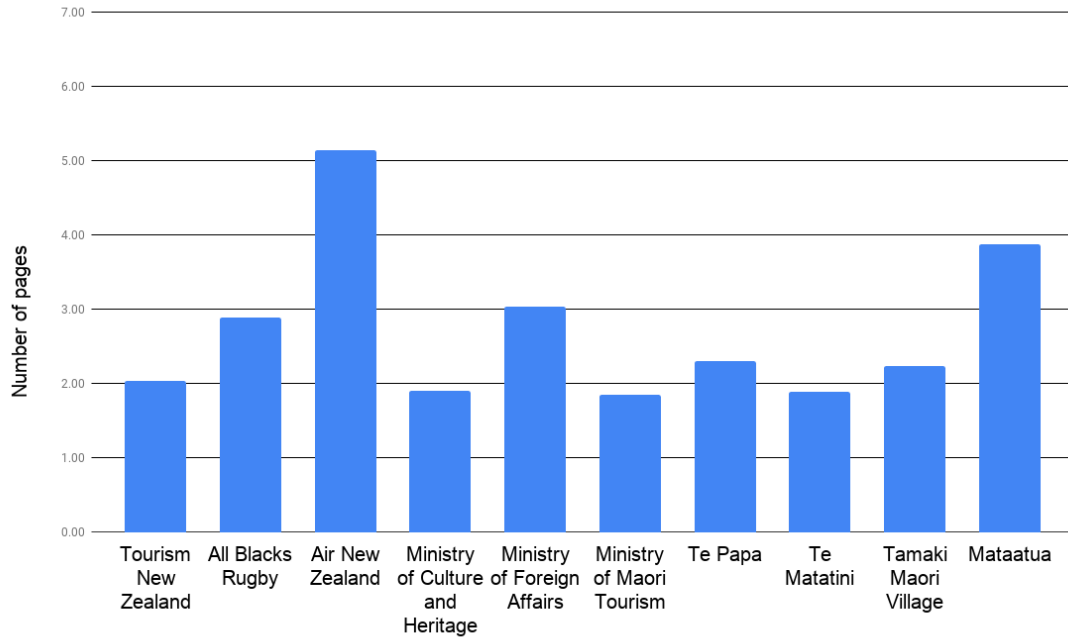
The following chart (See Figure 4.5.) demonstrates the results from SimilarWeb comparing the geographic origin of traffic going to the ten selected websites.

As mentioned before, because of the great range regarding the amount of visitors of the different websites (e.g. Tourism New Zealand has around 2,199 million visitors per month and Mataatua around 1667 visitors per month) it was not possible to make a reliable comparison between all of them. Instead, the geographic origin of all ten websites was investigated in detail.

When looking at the three most likely geographic origins of traffic arriving at the ten selected websites one can see that most visiting traffic to the websites comes from 1.) New Zealand, 2.) the USA and 3.) Australia. At this point, it is striking that the main audience of the selected websites comes directly from Aotearoa New Zealand. That means that the selected websites also communicate the specific image of Māori identities to New Zealanders and not only to foreigners as assumed before the analysis.

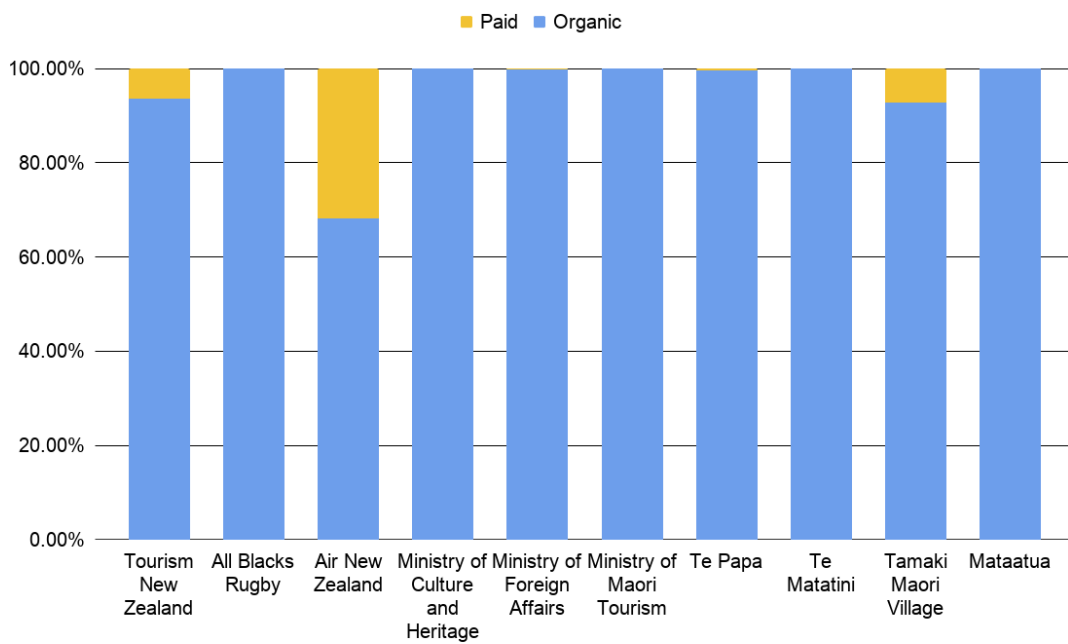
In general, geographic origin of traffic to the selected websites can be linked to countries in Oceania, North America, Europe and Asia.

Figure 4.3: Amount of visited pages (number of pages)



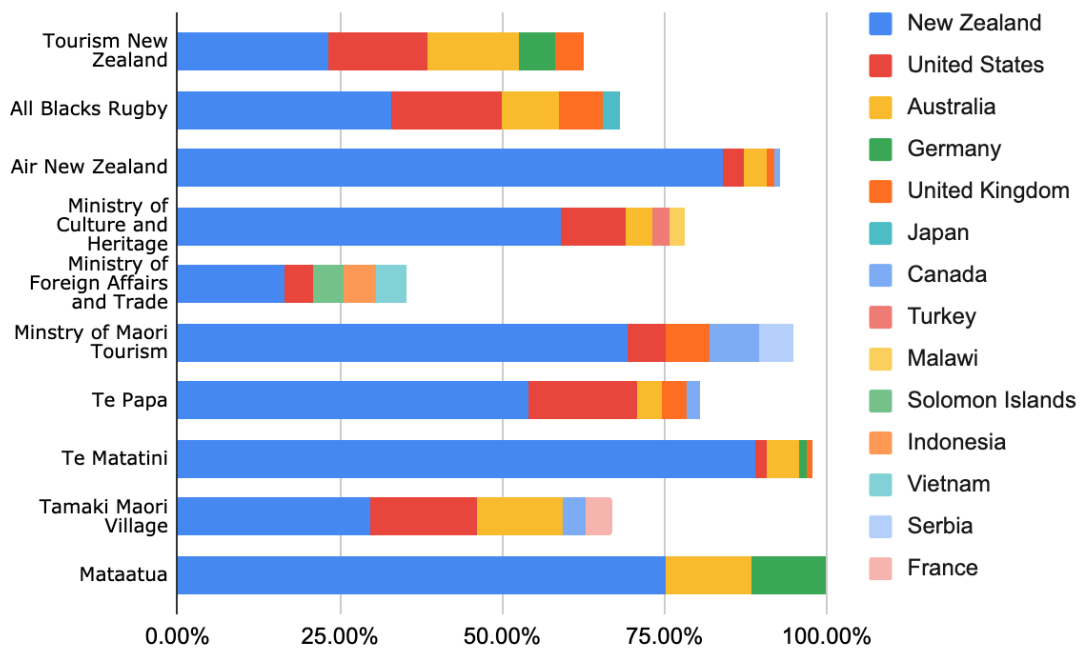
Source: Author's elaboration based on SimilarWeb (nd)

Figure 4.4: Comparison of organic versus paid traffic (in %)



Source: Author's elaboration based on SimilarWeb (nd)

Figure 4.5: Comparison of origin of traffic to websites



Source: Author's elaboration based on SimilarWeb (nd)

Figure 4.10: Results for MFAT from the WordtrackerScout



Source: Author's elaboration based on Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2019) (MFAT)

When applying Wordtracker Scout to the selected website of the Ministry of Māori Tourism, the keyword 'Maori', the word 'Māori' and 'mai' and the place name 'Porirua' could be detected in the cloud and the Māori word 'mai' in the ranking. See Figure 4.11.

Figure 4.11: Results for MMT from the WordtrackerScout



Source: Author's elaboration based on Ministry of Maori Tourism (nd) (MMT)

When applying Wordtracker Scout to the website Te Papa, several Māori words and Māori place names could be detected in the cloud (i.e. Papa Tongarewa, Taiao², Te Papa, Ngā, Te, Ngā Whakaaturanga, Taonga³, Wētā⁴, but none in the ranking. See Figure 4.12.

When applying Wordtracker Scout to the website of Te Matatini, several Māori words (i.e. Kapa Haka⁵, Te Matatini, Haka⁶, Ki Te⁷, Te, Wharehuia⁸) appeared in the keyword

²[World]. See explanation of Taiao in the glossary p. 281

³[Object of value]. See explanation of Taonga in the glossary p. 281

⁴[Insect]. See explanation of Wētā in the glossary p. 284

⁵[Māori performance/war dance]. See explanation of Kapa Haka in the glossary p. 277.

⁶[Māori performance/war dance]. See explanation of Haka in the glossary p. 276.

⁷[In the process of]. See explanation of Ki Te in the glossary p. 278.

⁸[Public figure]. See explanation of Wharehuia in the glossary p. 283.

and Heritage, the Ministry of Māori Tourism and Te Matatini use either the keyword 'Maori' or very standard Māori terms such as 'Haere mai', which in *Te Reo Māori*¹⁰ means 'welcome' or 'te' the Māori article *the*.

However, although the usage of the keyword 'Maori' or Māori words was detected to be very reduced on the selected websites, another observation could be made from the keyword search. Various times words which through the context could be linked to Māori could be detected. Within the keyword ranking of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage the word 'culture' appeared, within the keyword ranking of the Tamaki Māori Village words such as 'ancient times, warriors, village, traditions', whereas within the keyword ranking of Mataatua the word 'home' was found. Although these websites do not use Māori names or the keyword 'Maori', visitors of the websites might understand from these keywords that the content is about Māori.

¹⁰[**Māori language**]. See explanation of *Te Reo Māori* in the glossary p. 282.

4.3 Content Analysis

In the following section, the results from the Content Analysis will be presented. First, an overview about all the occurrences of the keyword 'Maori' related to the specific category based on the ten selected websites will be presented (See Table 4.1), before the detailed information regarding the distribution of occurrences of the keyword 'Maori' on the selected websites will be displayed. Finally, the content of the selected websites in relation to the categories will be presented together.

Table 4.1: Occurrences of keyword related to categories

Code	Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
TNZ	32	23	11	0	30
ABR	92	14	4	0	0
ANZ	0	0	0	0	0
MCH	6	6	59	12	0
MFAT	1	2	0	22	0
MMT	250	44	0	94	143
TP	5	66	1	0	14
TM	12	8	0	0	0
TMV	0	0	8	0	55
MAT	3	1	1	0	20

Source: Author's own elaboration

In the following the results from the Content Analysis regarding every website will be displayed, before the results will be shown related to the specific category.

4.3.1 Tourism New Zealand

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.2):

Table 4.2: Occurrences of keywords: Tourism New Zealand

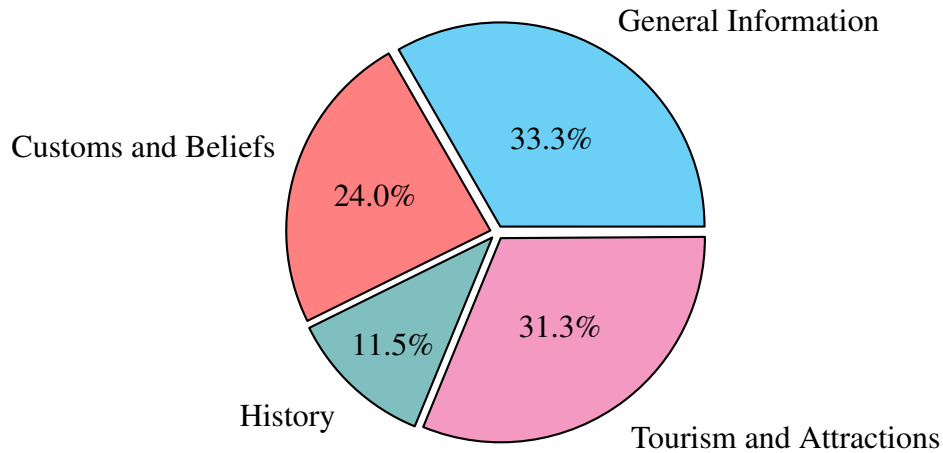
Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
32	23	11	0	30

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the website Tourism New Zealand (nd), the keyword 'Maori' was mainly mentioned in the context of General Information (category 1), Customs and Beliefs (category 2) and Tourism and Attractions (category 5). Much lower is the number of the keyword 'Maori' for category 3 which talks about the History and there was no mentioning at all

for category 4 which talks about Politics and Economy. In the following, the content of the categories will be explained in detail. See Figure 4.16.

Figure 4.16: Tourism New Zealand distribution of categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.2 All Blacks

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.3):

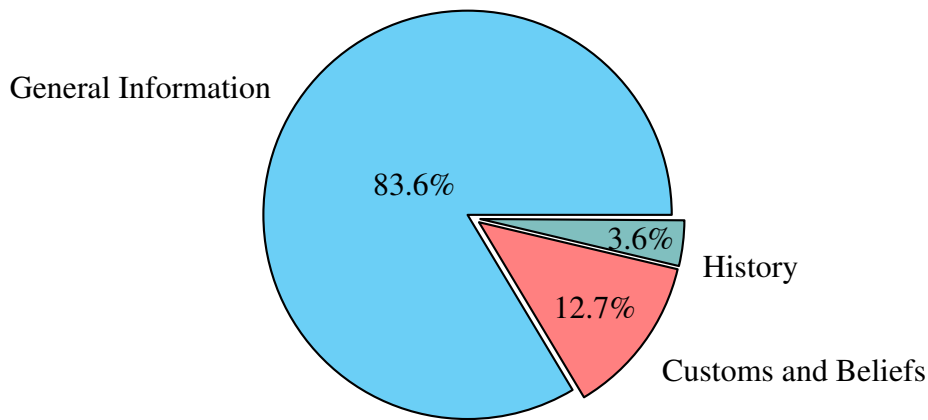
Table 4.3: Occurrences of keywords: All Blacks

Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
92	14	4	0	0

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the webpage ABR the keyword 'Maori' was mainly mentioned in the context of General Information (category 1), Customs and Beliefs (category 2) and History (category 3). Category 4 (Politics and Economy) and category 5 (Tourism and Attractions) were not mentioned once. See Figure 4.17.

Figure 4.17: All Blacks distribution of categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.3 Air New Zealand

When investigating the website of Air New Zealand (nd), a total amount of 173 webpages was investigated. From the 173 webpages that were investigated 0 webpages included the keyword 'Maori'. That is 0% of the total amount of webpages that were investigated. In total, the keyword 'Maori' was mentioned 0 times which is 0 times per page which includes the keyword 'Maori'.

4.3.4 Ministry of Culture and Heritage

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.4):

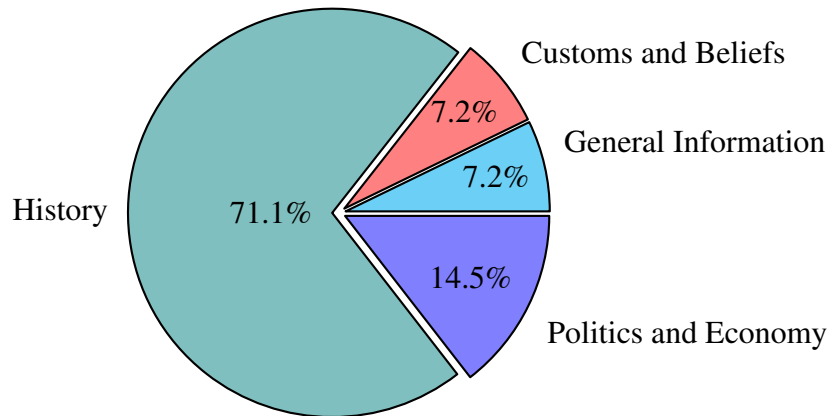
Table 4.4: Occurrences of keywords: Ministry of Culture and Heritage

Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
6	6	59	12	0

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the webpage Ministry of Culture and Heritage (nd), the keyword 'Maori' was mainly mentioned in the context of History (category 3). After that, there were several mentionings related to Politics and Economy (category 4) and a few related to the General Information (category 1) and Customs and Beliefs (category 2). There are no numbers for Tourism and Attractions (category 5). See Figure 4.18.

Figure 4.18: Ministry of Culture and Heritage distribution of categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.5 Ministry of Foreign Affairs

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.5):

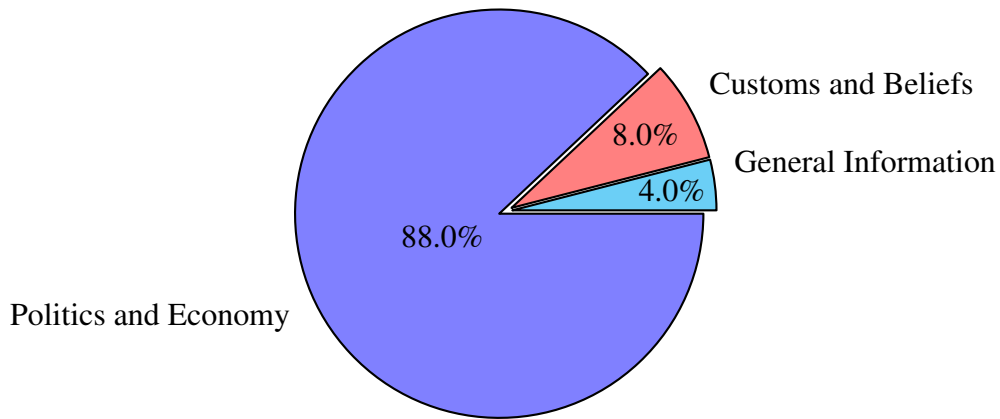
Table 4.5: Occurrences of keywords: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
1	2	0	22	0

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (nd), the keyword 'Maori' was mainly mentioned in the context of Politics and Economy (category 4), and only some minor mentioning of General Information (category 1) and Customs and Beliefs (category 2). History (category 3) and Tourism and Attractions (category 5) were not mentioned at all. In the following, the content of the categories will be explained in detail. See Figure 4.19.

Figure 4.19: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade distribution of categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.6 Ministry of Māori tourism

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.6):

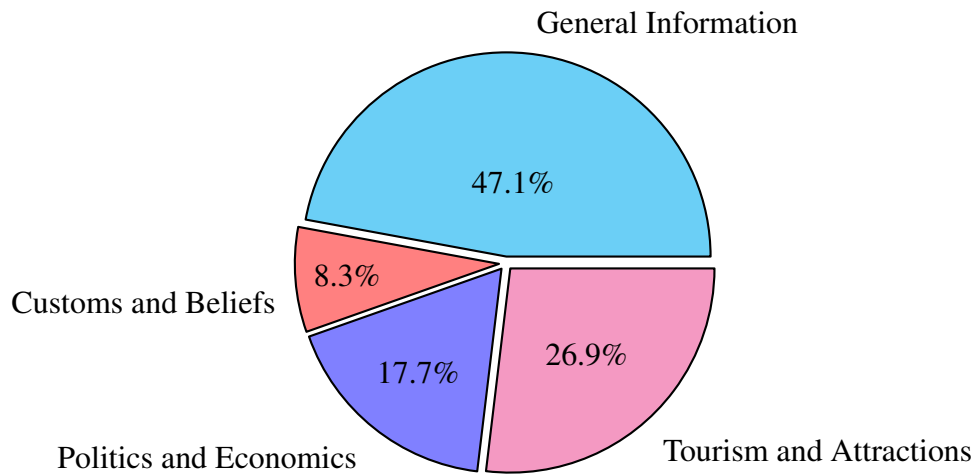
Table 4.6: Occurrences of keywords: Ministry of Māori Tourism

Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
250	44	0	94	143

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the webpage Ministry of Maori Tourism (nd), the keyword 'Maori' was mainly mentioned in the context of General Information (category 1), then in the context of Tourism and Attractions (category 5) and Politics and Economy (category 4). There was some information about Customs and Beliefs (category 2), but no numbers for the keyword 'Maori' for category 3 which talks about History. See Figure 4.20.

Figure 4.20: Ministry of Māori Tourism distribution of categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.7 Te Papa

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.7):

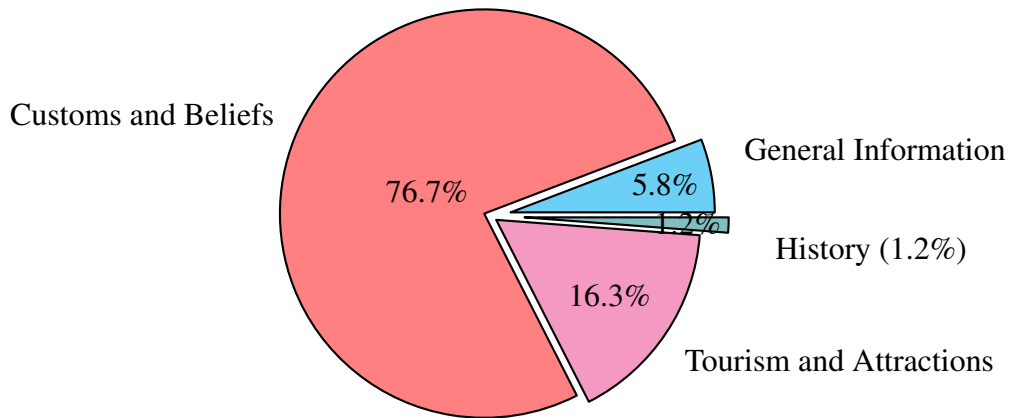
Table 4.7: Occurrences of keywords: Te Papa

Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
5	66	1	0	14

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the website of Te Papa (nd), the keyword 'Maori' was mainly mentioned in the context of Customs and Beliefs (category 2) and Tourism and Attractions (category 5). Some minor mentioning of General Information (category 1) and History (category 3) could be detected. Politics and Economy (category 4) were not mentioned. See Figure 4.21.

Figure 4.21: Te Papa distribution of categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.8 Te Matatini

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.8):

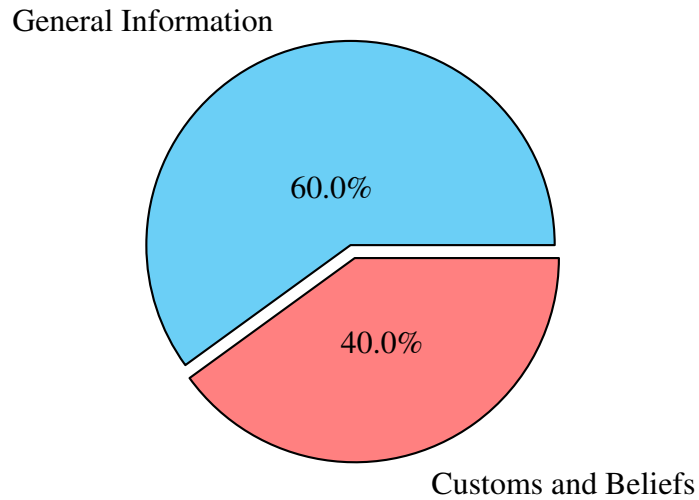
Table 4.8: Occurrences of keywords: Te Matatini

Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
12	8	0	0	0

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the website of Te Matatini (nd), the keyword 'Maori' was only mentioned in the context of General Information (category 1) and Customs and Beliefs (category 2). There was no mentioning of the keyword 'Maori' related to History (category 3), Politics and Economy (category 4) or Tourism and Attraction (category 5). See Figure 4.22.

Figure 4.22: Te Matatini distribution of categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.9 Tamaki Māori Village

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.9):

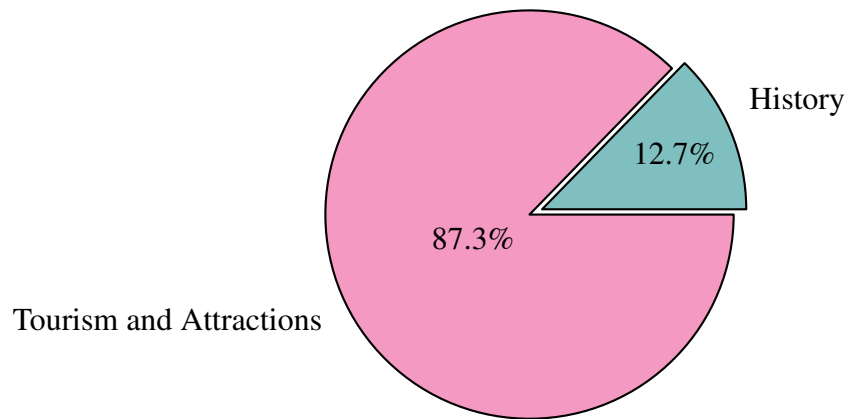
Table 4.9: Occurrences of keywords: Tamaki Māori Village

Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
0	0	8	0	55

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the website of the Tamaki Maori Village (nd), the keyword 'Maori' was mainly mentioned in the context of Tourism and Attractions (category 5) and History (category 3). There was no mentioning in the context of General Information (category 1), Customs and Beliefs (category 2) or Politics and Economy (category 4). See Figure 4.23.

Figure 4.23: Tamaki Māori Village distribution of categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.10 Mataatua

When looking at the distribution of the keyword 'Maori' regarding the five categories, the following results could be observed (See Table 4.10):

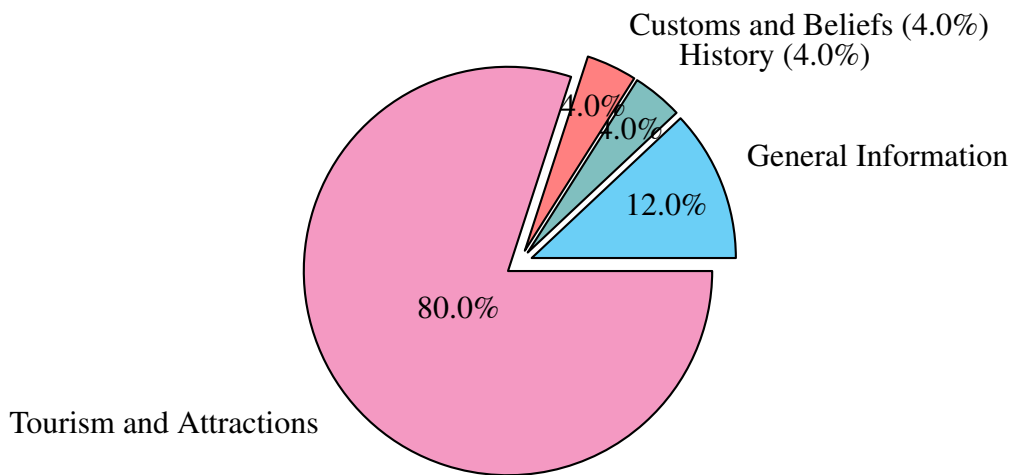
Table 4.10: Occurrences of keywords: Mataatua

Category 1: General Information	Category 2: Customs and Beliefs	Category 3: History	Category 4: Politics and Economy	Category 5: Tourism and Attractions
3	1	1	0	20

Source: Author's own elaboration

At the website of the Tamaki Maori Village (nd), the keyword 'Maori' was mainly mentioned in the context of Tourism and Attractions (category 5). There was some content related to General Information (category 1), Customs and Beliefs (category 2) and History (category 3). There was no mentioning of Politics and Economy (category 4) (See Figure 4.24).

Figure 4.24: Mataatua categories



Source: Author's own elaboration

Distribution of the categories

In this section, the content from the 10 selected websites will be related to the five categories (1) General Information, (2) Custom and Beliefs, (3) History, (4) Politics and Economy and (5) Tourism and Attractions.

General Information (Category 1)

The distribution of the keyword 'Maori' linked to category 1 "General Information" showed the following results:

When investigating the website Tourism New Zealand (TNZ) regarding content related to category 1: "General Information", content about where to locate Māori culture in Aotearoa New Zealand (TNZ001, TNZ011, TNZ048) could be detected. On the website, Māori culture is described as shaping Aotearoa New Zealand and its culture (TNZ042, TNZ048, TNZ074) and as an "integral part of Kiwi life" (TNZ048). On the investigated webpages of Tourism New Zealand, Māori place names are frequently translated into English and their meanings are explained (TNZ031). Furthermore, general information about the flora and fauna of Aotearoa New Zealand is offered on the website (TNZ071).

When approaching the website of the All Blacks Rugby (ABR) for content related to the category 1: "General Information", a high number of occurrences of the keyword 'Maori' could be detected. However, the information that was given was basically limited to the Māori All Blacks team. That means that the keyword 'Maori' was used just to mention the team name or the team activities, such as ongoing results and games (ABR006, ABR008, ABR022, ABR023, ABR027, ABR029, ABR035, ABR046, ABR048, ABR059, ABR067, ABR076).

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Air New Zealand website.

When investigating the website of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (MCH) regarding content that can be linked to the category 1: "General Information", information about the availability of the website in Te Reo Māori (MCH004, MCH033, MCH036) and access to reports (MCH046, MCH056) could be detected.

The occurrences of the keyword 'Maori' which appeared on the website of the the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade could be linked to category 1: "General Information" when describing the team of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in the context of identity (MFAT010).

Regarding category 1: "General Information" on the website of the Ministry of Māori Tourism, the website informs about demographics of Aotearoa New Zealand and provides basic information about Māori culture (MMT001). It is mentioned that Māori speak their own language, Te Reo Māori (MMT017) and there is further information about initiatives, projects and events related to Māori culture (MMT020). One webpage gives advice on how to register one's business similar to Māori tourism (MMT022) and general information about the people working at the Ministry of Māori Tourism is given (MMT026 and MMT027). Also, information about how to register a membership of Māori Tourism could be found (MMT029).

When investigating the occurrences of the keyword 'Maori' on the website of the Papa, a profound description of the Te Papa building and its importance for Māori (TP025) could be linked to the category 1: "General Information".

On the website of Te Matatini, a general description of Te Matatini as an organisation and about the festival in detail (TM002, TM009, TM010, TM017, TM018, TM019) could be linked to the category 1: "General Information".

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Tamaki Māori Village website.

When investigating the content of the Mataatua website, an introductory description of the *Mataatua*¹¹ living Marae¹² is given (MAT001) which could be linked to the category 1: "General Information".

Customs and Beliefs (Category 2)

The distribution of the keyword 'Maori' linked to category 2: "Customs and Beliefs" showed the following results:

When it comes to assigning the keyword 'Maori', which appeared on the website of Tourism New Zealand, to category 2: "Customs and Beliefs", information about the significance of the Māori greenstone, also called *Pounamu*¹³, could be found (TNZ029).

¹¹[**Canoe, Region and Marae**]. See explanation of *Mataatua* in the glossary p. 279.

¹²[**Cultural meeting centre**]. See explanation of *Marae* in the glossary p. 279.

¹³[**Greenstone**]. The *Pounamou* is a sacred *Taonga* for Māori.

Furthermore, detailed information about the *Haka*¹⁴, Māori Performing Arts, the *Marae*, the *Powhiri*¹⁵, Māori legends, the official language Te Reo Māori and Māori arts, such as weaving or carving, could be detected (TNZ048).

When approaching the content of the All Blacks Rugby regarding category 2: "Customs and Beliefs", profound information about the All Blacks Haka and the Haka in general (ABR027) could be found. Furthermore, information is given about the concept of *Kaitiakitanga*¹⁶ (ABR076).

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Air New Zealand website.

When investigating the content of the website of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, information about *Matariki*¹⁷, which can be seen during the Māori New Year (MCH027) could be related to category 2: "Customs and Beliefs".

Information about Māori values being described as very central to the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT013) could be detected as content of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade which belongs to category 2: "Customs and Beliefs".

When investigating the content of the Ministry of Māori Tourism, content about Māori music and performing arts, the *Marae* and the *Powhiri* welcoming ceremony, spiritual concepts and *Waiata*¹⁸ of Māori could be detected (MMT017), which can be linked to category 2: "Customs and Beliefs". Furthermore, information on how to order food and drinks in Māori and more detailed instructions about the Māori language could be found (MMT018). Values such as *Mana Tangata*¹⁹, *Manaaki*²⁰ or *Tino Rangatiratanga*²¹ are explained in detail (MMT025 and MMT026) on the investigated webpages.

The website of the Te Papa offers information about customs and beliefs which as part of category 2: "Customs and Beliefs" and could be related with *Matariki* during the Māori New Year or the *Tā Moko*²², the Māori tattoo (TP001, TP036, TP037 and TP041). Furthermore, online information about Māori culture, Māori language and Māori customs is offered (TP10, TP11 and TP13) on the webpage. Knowledge about taking care of Māori artefacts (TP014), about the repatriation of Māori artefacts (TP018) and further literature recommendations (TP022) could be found.

When investigating the website of Te Matatini, information about values such as bringing people together through *Kapa Haka* (TM001) and key aims and aspirations of Te Matatini (TM003) could be found, which could be linked to category 2: "Customs and Beliefs".

¹⁴[**Māori performance/dance**]. See explanation of *Haka* in the glossary p. 276.

¹⁵[**Welcome ceremony**]. See explanation of *Powhiri* in the glossary p. 280.

¹⁶[**Guardianship**]. See explanation of *Kaitiakitanga* in the glossary p. 277.

¹⁷[**Māori name for Pleiades, Seven Sisters**]. See explanation of *Matariki* in the glossary p. 279.

¹⁸[**Songs**]. See explanation of *Waiata* in the glossary p. 282.

¹⁹[**The authority, power of people**]. See explanation of *Mana Tangata* in the glossary p. 279.

²⁰[**Process of cherishing, conserving and sustaining**]. See explanation of *Manaaki* in the glossary p. 279.

²¹[**Self-determination, Autonomy**]. See explanation of *Tino Rangatiratanga* in the glossary p. 282.

²²[**Tattoo**]. See explanation of *Tā Moko* in the glossary p. 282.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Tamaki Māori Village website.

When investigating the website of Mataatua, the importance of the Mataatua Living Marae for the local *Iwi*²³ called *Ngāti Awa*²⁴ (MAT006) is stressed, which can be linked to category 2: "Customs and Beliefs".

History (Category 3)

The distribution of the keyword 'Maori' linked to category 3 "History" showed the following results:

When investigating the website of Tourism New Zealand regarding category 3: "History" information about the Pre-Māori history (TNZ030), the *Treaty of Waitangi*²⁵ (TNZ069) and the arrival of the first Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand (TNZ011, TNZ069, TNZ070) could be detected.

Looking at the website of the All Blacks Rugby, content about the history of the Māori All Blacks team could be found (ABR029), which could be assigned to category 3: "History".

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Air New Zealand website.

When investigating the website of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage regarding category 3: "History", information about the national commemoration and 250 years of the encounter of Europeans and Māori (MCH002, MCH015, MCH025), Māori in the First World War (MCH006, MCH046) and the 28th Māori Battalion (MCH014, MCH015, MCH035, MCH040, MCH042, MCH046), as well as the Coat of Arms (MCH023) and the Treaty of Waitangi (MCH034) could be found.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Ministry of Maori Tourism website.

When investigating the website of Te Papa regarding category 3: "History" information about the Māori contingent which went to Gallipoli is mentioned (TP040).

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Te Matatini website.

Looking at the website of Tamaki Māori Village regarding category 3: "History" information about the history and development of the Tamaki Māori Village (TMV002) could be found.

The content of the Mataatua website offers information about the history of the Mataatua Living Marae (MAT007), which could be assigned to category 3: "History".

²³[Tribe]. See explanation of *Iwi* in the glossary p. 277

²⁴[Māori tribe]. See explanation of *Ngāti Awa* in the glossary p. 280.

²⁵[Treaty of Waitangi]. See explanation of *Tiriti o Waitangi* in the glossary p. 282.

Politics and Economy (Category 4)

The distribution of the keyword 'Maori' linked to category 4 "Politics and Economy" showed the following results:

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Tourism New Zealand website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the All Blacks Rugby website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Air New Zealand website.

When investigating the content of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage website, information about Māori trust funds (MCH016 and MCH018), the protection of Māori goods (MCH24), the Māori flag (MCH026), the New Zealand anthem (MCH028), the protection and preservation of Māori heritage sites (MCH029), the organisation of Iwi (MCH032) and the government attempts to revitalise Māori language (MCH037) could be found which can be assigned to category 4: "Politics and Economy".

Also, the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade offers content which can be linked to category 4: "Politics and Economy". To foster relationships between partners and Māori (MFAT011), the Māori engagement strategy (MFAT017) and opportunities of Māori trade (MFAT024 and MFAT025) were mentioned. Information about travelling exhibitions promoting Māori was offered (MFAT022). Furthermore, Māori consultation (MFAT037), Māori interests and benefits (MFAT038), Māori development and Māori economy (MFAT039) were named. Also, the Māori traditional knowledge called *Matauranga Māori*²⁶ (MFAT052) and interests from the Caribbean to build relationships with the Māori economy and development of models (MFAT069) were found.

When investigating the website of the Ministry of Māori Tourism, information about possibilities of Māori funding could be detected (MMT021), as well as information about Māori business, research information, journals and reports (MMT023). There is an entire section on business support and advice for Māori (MMT028). The content of the mentioned webpages can be linked to category 4: "Politics and Economy".

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Te Papa website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Te Matatini website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Mataatua website.

²⁶[**Knowledge, Wisdom**]. See explanation of *Matauranga* in the glossary p. 280.

Tourism and Attractions (Category 5)

The distribution of the keyword 'Maori' linked to category 5 "Tourism and Attractions" showed the following results:

When investigating the website of Tourism New Zealand regarding category 5: "Tourism and Attractions" several keywords could be assigned to promote tours, such as to the Thames School of Mines and the Mineralogical Museum (TNZ005), visiting Eastland to learn about history (TNZ006), visiting some specific areas to try Māori food (TNZ008), getting to know Māori carvings (TNZ009), visiting Rotorua to learn about Māori culture (TNZ012), visiting Nelson to see Māori artwork (TNZ025). Furthermore, various times Māori place names were explained in the context of possible tours and visits (TNZ035, TNZ040, TNZ043). Further information was given about the Māori New Year (TNZ044) and Māori glowworms (TNZ084), also offering tours to visit them.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the All Blacks Rugby website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Air New Zealand website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage website.

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade website.

When investigating the content of the Ministry of Maori Tourism website for content of category 5: "Tourism and Attractions", profound information about Māori, but always with the intention of selling Māori package tours or Māori tourism experiences could be detected. The keywords had a clear commercial intention of selling tours or attracting visitors to places, but at the same time offered detailed information about history and local legends (MMT016), Māori *Tikanga*²⁷ or principles (MMT02), the explanation of Māori words and Māori heritage (MMT003), Māori food (MMT004, MMT011, MMT012), gifts or meeting houses (MMT004), the history of the first settlers (MMT006), the possibilities of homestays or music instruments (MMT007, MMT0008). The possibility of visiting a Māori jewellery shop (MMT009, MMT014) was mentioned, as well as doing walking tours or discovering Māori cloaks and weapons (MMT010).

The website of Te Papa contains content related to category 5: "Tourism and Attractions" when offering information about touring and permanent exhibitions (TP003, TP005, TP019, TP031, TP035), Māori collections (TP008), but also speeches and special events (TP033).

No occurrence of the keyword 'Maori' could be assigned to this category regarding the content of the Te Matatini website.

When looking at the content of the website Tamaki Māori Village which could be assigned to category 5: "Tourism and Attractions", topics such as bookable experiences of ritu-

²⁷[Customs, Practice]. See explanation of *Tikanga* in the glossary p. 282.

als, performances, *Hangi*²⁸ feasting, *Protocols*²⁹ and stories (TMV001, TMV003) could be found. Furthermore, several options to book experiences are mentioned (TMV004, TMV005, TMV006 and TMV007).

The website of Mataatua offers content related to category 5: "Tourism and Attractions" when informing about tours which are offered on the website (MAT009, MAT010, MAT011, MAT012), but also specialised experiences for children (MAT002, MAT008, MAT013).

4.3.11 Distribution of categories

As discussed, this website analysis does not attempt to make a direct comparison between the different websites, but focuses on each one as a separate part. The aim of the Content Analysis was not to compare the occurrences of the units of analysis, but the units of analysis served to display the keyword 'Maori'. Nevertheless, it seems interesting to look into the distribution of keywords related to each category while looking at the ten websites at the same time. This will be done in the next part of the thesis.

When looking at the "General Information" related to the keyword 'Maori', the All Blacks Rugby has the highest number of occurrences offering information. However, the All Blacks only focus on offering information about their team called 'Māori All Blacks' and not so much on the indigenous population of Aotearoa New Zealand. After that, Te Matatini offers the highest amount of "General Information" on its website followed by the Ministry of Māori tourism. Neither Air New Zealand nor Tamaki Māori Village offer any "General Information" when investigating the keyword 'Maori'. See Figure 4.25.

When looking at the category "Customs and Beliefs", Te Papa has the highest number of occurrences offering information, followed by the Ministry of Māori Tourism and Tourism New Zealand. Air New Zealand and Tamaki Māori Village do not mention the category. See Figure 4.26.

When looking at the category "History", the Ministry of Culture and Heritage is by far the website with the highest number of occurrences offering information. Te Matatini and Tamaki Māori Village offer some information, whereas the other websites offer very little historical information. See Figure 4.27.

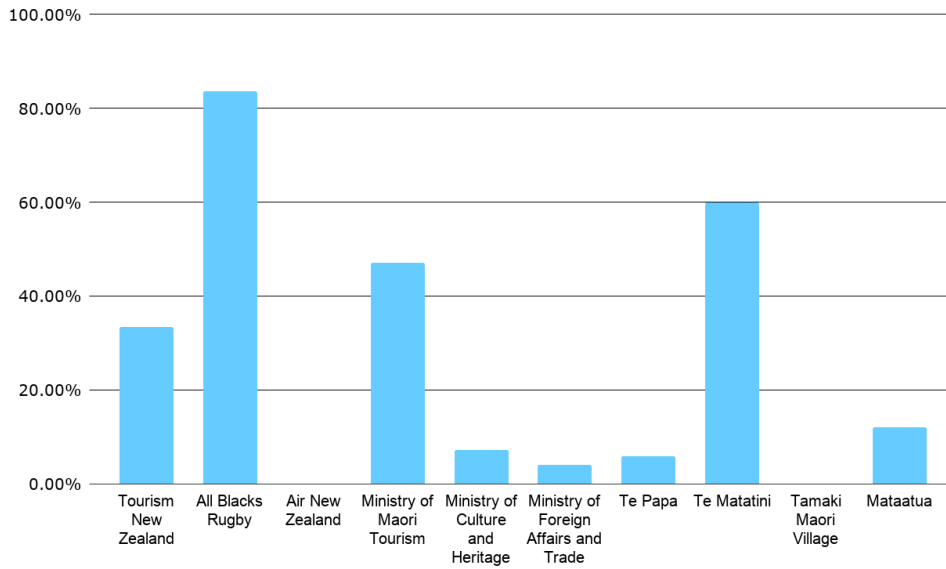
When looking at the category "Politics and Economy", the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade has the highest number of occurrences, followed by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and the Ministry of Māori tourism. All the other websites do not offer any information about the category at all. See Figure 4.28.

When looking at the category "Tourism and Attractions", the Tamaki Māori Village and Mataatua have the highest number of occurrences with a commercial interest, followed far behind by the Ministry of Māori Tourism, Te Papa and Tourism New Zealand. The All Blacks, the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and Te Matatini offer no information at all. See Figure 4.29.

²⁸[Food prepared in earth oven]. See explanation of *Hangi* in the glossary p. 276.

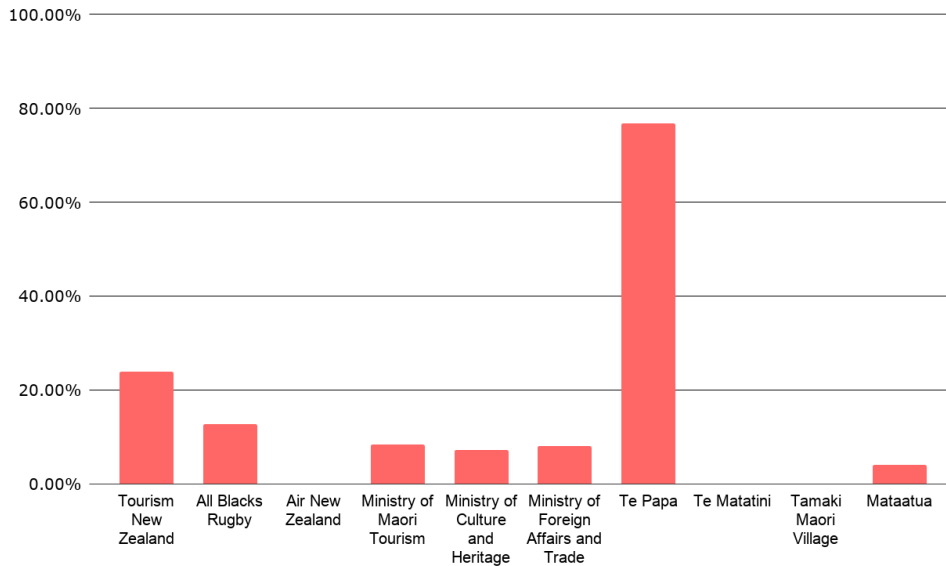
²⁹[Protocols]. See explanation of *Protocols* in the glossary p. 280.

Figure 4.25: Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "General Information"



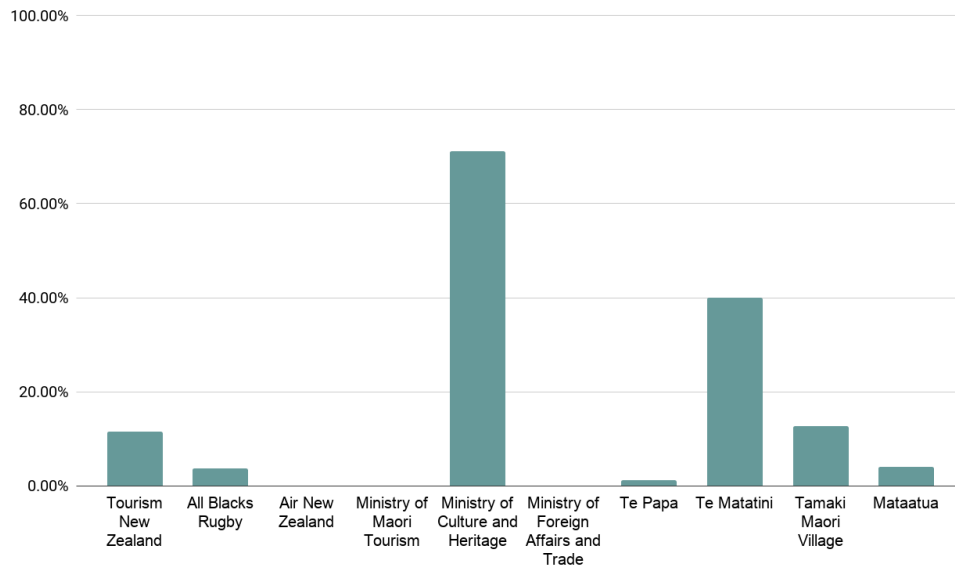
Source: Author's own elaboration

Figure 4.26: Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "Customs and Beliefs"



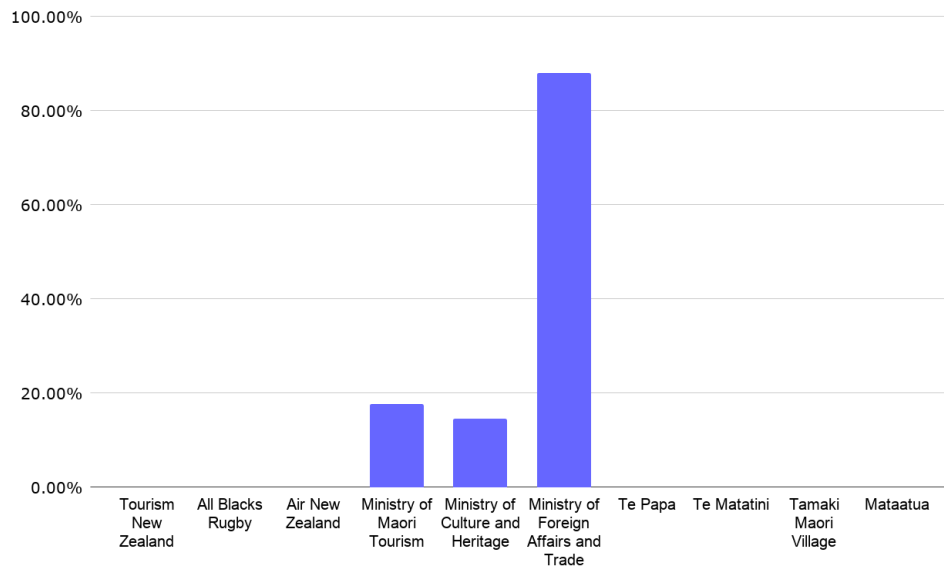
Source: Author's own elaboration

Figure 4.27: Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "History"



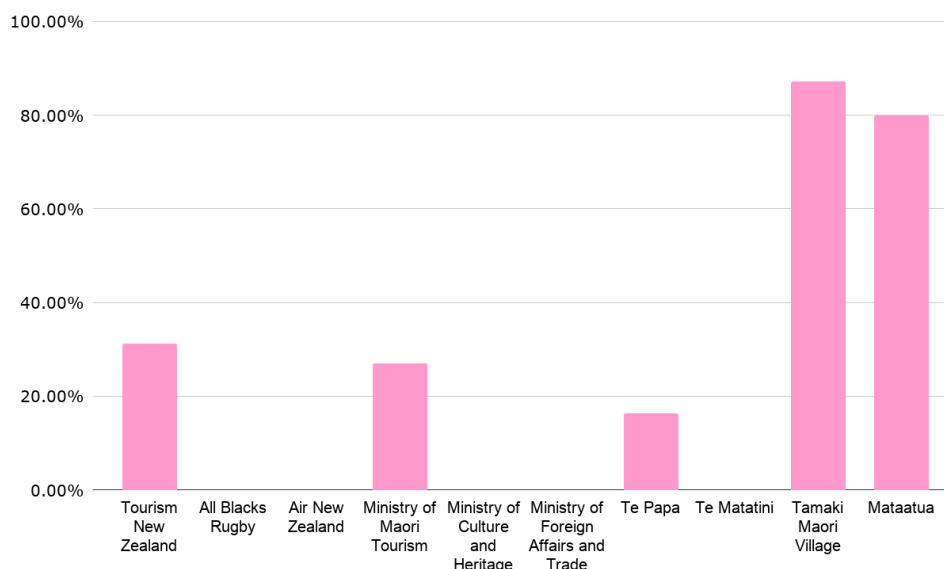
Source: Author's own elaboration

Figure 4.28: Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "Politics and Economy"



Source: Author's own elaboration

Figure 4.29: Distribution of keyword occurrences regarding "Tourism and Attractions"



Source: Author's own elaboration

4.3.12 Conclusion of the Content Analysis

Websites related to *Nation Branding*

Regarding the construction of Māori identities in the three selected Nation Branding channels *Tourism New Zealand*, *the All Blacks* and *Air New Zealand*, it is striking that Air New Zealand offers no information about Māori at all. Given the fact that Air New Zealand uses Māori symbols in its branding, such as the *Koru*³⁰ in the Air New Zealand logo and on the uniforms of flight attendants as well as the 'Kia Ora' greeting, it is astonishing that there is no mentioning of Māori on the investigated websites.

This patterns showed similarities when investigating the website of the All Blacks who use the Haka at every game they play and still have very little information about Māori. Nevertheless, the All Blacks offer some information about the background of the Haka which is considered appropriate given the fact that the Haka plays such a significant role for the All Blacks.

The content of Tourism New Zealand related to Māori is diverse, but still somewhat superficial. Although attempts are made to highlight proper Māori pronunciation and to give basic information about Māori customs and activities, there is a strong commercial intention. Also, it is questionable if the presentation of Māori by Tourism New Zealand highlights the diversity of Māori or rather presents Māori as one entity.

³⁰[**Koru**, Colensoa, Colensoa physaloides]. See explanation of *Koru* in the glossary p. 278.

Websites related to *Public Diplomacy*

Regarding the construction of Māori identities in the three selected Public Diplomacy channels *Ministry of Culture and Heritage*, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade* and *Ministry of Māori Tourism*, the Ministry of Māori Tourism offers most diversity regarding content about Māori culture. The Ministry of Māori Tourism offers very in depth information on Māori customs and includes elements which come directly from the community. Although the Ministry of Māori Tourism has content with a commercial intention, it also offers a variety of possibilities and projects for Māori to engage.

Contrary, the Ministry of Culture and Heritage mainly offers in-depth information about different relevant historical events for Māori, but there is much less content regarding General Information, Customs and Beliefs or Politics and Economy.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade puts all its focus on offering political and economic possibilities to Māori and engaging Māori to determine their own businesses and politics.

Websites related to *Cultural Diplomacy*

Regarding the construction of Māori identities in the four selected Cultural Diplomacy channels (*Te Papa*, *Te Matatini*, *Tamaki Māori Village* and *Mataatua*) it is striking how diverse the different institutions or companies handle their content. Although all of the four institutions depend on visiting people, such as visiting Te Papa Museum, attending the Te Matatini Festival, visiting Tamaki Māori Village or the Mataatua House, only the smaller ones, such as Tamaki Māori Village and Mataatua, concentrate on offering information with a commercial intention on their websites.

Although Te Papa has some content with commercial intentions such as inviting people to the exhibitions, its content on Māori Customs and Beliefs dominates.

Contrary, on the selected websites of Te Matatini no information with a commercial intention could be detected. This seems very interesting and raises the question if doing Kapa Haka in Aotearoa New Zealand is established to an extent that there is no need for advertising Te Matatini on the website.

However, as mentioned before, Tamaki Māori Village and Mataatua overlap with Nation Branding with regard to their commercial intentions on the websites, whereas the other two are more interested in offering information.

To conclude, it becomes clear that the websites related to Nation Branding have a stronger commercial intent than Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy ones. The latter two show more complex information about Māori while offering different content.

Chapter 5

Results

5.1 Self-image

Introduction

This chapter presents the results from the informal interviews which were conducted with members of the Māori tribe *Ngāti Awa*¹ situated in the Bay of Plenty on the Eastern coast of the North Island of *Aotearoa*² New Zealand.

The starting point for these interviews is the contention that cultural identities, and Māori identities in particular, can be constructed from the *bottom-up*. That is, by the members of a community to which such identities attach. This chapter provides an account of the Māori identity articulated by members of Ngāti Awa.

This chapter is grounded in the theoretical framework of the methodology of this thesis which is Kaupapa Māori Theory. It is important to mention that Kaupapa Māori Theory is not limited to the field work aspect of this research including, for instance, data gathering. It also applies to the way in which this data is presented and allows the community itself to shape that presentation.

More specifically, this chapter situates the data gathered within the community. Therefore, the analysis also begins within the community and within the self-image framing found therein. In so doing, this chapter follows the threads of narration suggested by the Māori community.

As described in section 3.2.2., Smith (2012) states that in the past research methodologies have been used as a colonizing tool to determine knowledge about indigenous peoples. Also, Pihama (2017) supports Smith's idea by saying that in the past the representation of indigenous peoples has predominantly taken place through the eyes of the Western World. As the focus of this doctoral thesis is to hand over the responsibility of self-determination and representation to the members of the Māori community themselves, it also follows the terms and principles determined by the Māori community.

¹[Māori tribe]. See explanation of *Ngāti Awa* in the glossary p. 280.

²[Land of the long white cloud]. Māori term for New Zealand. See explanation of *Aotearoa* in the glossary p. 276.

Therefore, the structure of the self-image section follows Kaupapa Māori Theory and is guided by the storytelling of the Māori community.

This chapter is framed around the two main themes *Whakapapa*³ and *Marae*⁴ and their related sub-themes which in this research resulted as the main elements for the construction of Māori identities from a Ngāti Awa perspective.

The first section called Whakapapa is divided into three parts. Its first part looks into the importance of Whakapapa and its second part into the widespread expressions of Whakapapa. The third part highlights the way that despite of colonial legacies, Māori approaches of framing self-identity remain. This subsection confirms that, even though structures of colonial legacies have been imposed on Māori, having a major impact on their lives, the reclamation of identity is still a work in progress grounded in Whakapapa. Put another way, this chapter, while acknowledging colonial legacies, does not frame self-identity principally in such terms. Instead, self-image is framed by Māori values.

The second section called Marae is also divided in three parts. This section starts by highlighting elements of communal lifestyle and the significance of the Marae for the Māori community. As the Māori community understands the Marae as the place where Māori identity has its beginning, this is also the place from which self-image begins. The third part of this section looks at the ongoing challenges that are imposed on Māori identities.

As the methodology of this doctoral thesis is based on Kaupapa Māori Theory, there is a strong conviction to determine the structure of the presented information in ways appropriate to Māori communities. Each one of the two main themes as well as their related sub-themes will be discussed in detail within this section.

The following figure (See Figure 5.1) demonstrates an overview of the themes and sub-themes which resulted from this research.

5.1.1 Whakapapa

Throughout the interviews it became clear that probably the most important element to understand the construction of Māori identities from a Ngāti Awa perspective is Māori genealogy. In *Te Reo Māori*⁵, the Māori language, genealogy is called *Whakapapa*.

The majority of the interviewees stated that they can trace back their genealogical lines for many generations. There were single interviewees who could even 'Whakapapa back' or trace back their ancestors to the mythological arrival of the seven canoes from the islands which is estimated to have been around 800 years ago.⁶

All of the interviewees made clear that knowing one's origins is essential in Māoridom. There was a general understanding that knowing one's genealogy makes clear the continuity of life which implicates respect towards the ancestors, nature and the land where

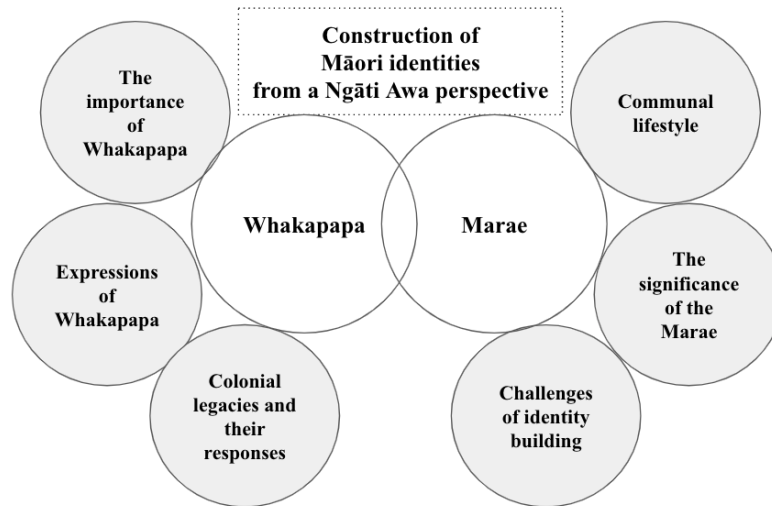
³[Genealogy]. See explanation of *Whakapapa* in the glossary p. 283.

⁴[Cultural meeting centre]. See explanation of *Marae* in the glossary p. 279.

⁵[Māori language]. See explanation of *Te Reo Māori* in the glossary p. 282.

⁶12, 3rd October 2017, 23-24

Figure 5.1: Construction of Māori identities from a Ngāti Awa perspective



Source: Author's own elaboration

people live. Several interviewees agreed that having knowledge about one's Whakapapa enables a connection to the land and a place of stability based on the genealogical lines.⁷ There was a clear understanding among all the interviewees that Whakapapa is about connections and the many forms of connections Māori have, such as to people in the past, present and future, as well as to places and to other indigenous communities.

5.1.1.1 The importance of Whakapapa

Ancestors, family and future descendants

While Whakapapa places Māori in a tribal landscape, it also places Māori in the universe through creation narratives. As one interviewee explained, there are important creation narratives which relate to the arrival of the forefathers of Māori on the seven canoes from the island of *Hawaiki*⁸, whereas others talk about the creation myth and the beginning of life on earth with the mythological figures *Rangi-nui*⁹, Father Sky and *Papatuanuku*,¹⁰ Mother Earth. Results from the interviews caused a strong understanding in this thesis that Māori mythology is strongly related to the land of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Among all of the interviewees there was an understanding that Whakapapa is not only limited to knowing about one's origin and genealogical lines. All the interviewees agreed that Whakapapa serves as a social function, which includes social roles, ethics and law.

⁷33, 19th October 2017, 249-257; 34, 19th October 2017, 187-191; 27, 15th October 2017, 49-53

⁸[**Mythological origin of Māori**]. See explanation of *Hawaiki* in the glossary p. 276 — 4, 30th September 2017, 17-26; 4, 30th September 2017, 41-43

⁹[**Father Sky**]. See explanation of *Rangi-nui* in the glossary p. 280.

¹⁰[**Mother Earth**]. See explanation of *Papatuanuku* in the glossary p. 280.

The majority of the interviewees mentioned values that are linked to Whakapapa, such as having respect towards the elders, which is fundamental in Māoridom.¹¹ Results from the interviews showed that Whakapapa also includes a constant gratitude towards the elders who have made it possible for oneself to be there, but also towards the fellow humans and future generations.

In this context, the high significance of Whakapapa for Māori was also demonstrated when various interviewees mentioned the importance of introducing themselves with their genealogical lines by telling the names of one's parents or grandparents. In this context, several interviewees mentioned the significant number of individuals who do not know their origins or only have partial knowledge about them.¹² Results from this thesis made clear that when not knowing one's Whakapapa or connections, Māori individuals suffer losses by not complying with their own standards.

Another common way of self-expression in Māoridom which was mentioned by several interviewees is by presenting one's *Pepeha*¹³. Related to that, one interviewee stated that the so-called *Pepeha* consists of naming one's mountain, which in Te Reo Māori is called *Maunga*¹⁴, the river, which in Te Reo Māori is called *Awa*¹⁵ and the tribe, which in Te Reo Māori is called the *Iwi*^{16,17}. In this context, another interviewee explained that presenting one's *Pepeha* is necessary in order to place an individual into the tribal landscape. As the interviewee further explained, Māori individuals belong to *Whanau*¹⁸, to *Hapu*¹⁹ which stands for sub-tribes and *Iwi* which as explained earlier means tribe.²⁰ According to the understanding in this thesis, at this point it is necessary to mention that not all individuals know their *Pepeha* and therefore lack information about parts of their identity as a consequence. Not knowing one's *Pepeha* might lead to severe consequences, such as identity crisis, as mentioned before.

A couple of interviewees highlighted that not knowing who one's father or mother is and not being able to trace back one's genealogical line has a tremendous effect on individuals' lives.²¹ In this context, one interviewee described feeling ashamed and embarrassed when not knowing their origin.²²

Another interviewee talked about the difficulties of being a fair, blonde Māori while not knowing her father. According to her, it is not the colour of the skin that makes somebody Māori, it is rather the knowledge you have, such as knowing your Whakapapa or speaking

¹¹42, 31st October 2017, 115-116; 7, 2nd October 2017, 211

¹²37, 23rd October 2017, 134-138; 42, 31st October 2017, 68-69

¹³[**Introduction**]. See explanation of *Pepeha* in the glossary p. 280

¹⁴[**Mountain**]. See explanation of *Maunga* in the glossary p. 280.

¹⁵[**River**]. See explanation of *Awa* in the glossary p. 276.

¹⁶[**Tribe**]. See explanation of *Iwi* in the glossary p. 277

¹⁷34, 19th October 2017, 178-182

¹⁸[**Family**]. See explanation of *Whanau* in the glossary p. 283.

¹⁹[**Sub-tribe**]. See explanation of *Hapu* in the glossary p. 276.

²⁰30, 16th October 2017, 196-204

²¹30, 16th October 2017, 4-12; 8, 2nd October 2017, 204-205

²²30, 16th October 2017, 4-12

Te Reo Māori.²³

The results from the participant observation confirmed people's strong beliefs in Whakapapa and one's ancestors. The following image demonstrates the Wairaka Marae situated in Whakatāne. See Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2: Wairaka Marae, Whakatāne



Source: Photo taken by the author (Permission granted)

Lands and waterways

From the interviews it became clear that Whakapapa not only includes the genealogy of Māori, but also includes a profound spiritual connection to the lands of one's ancestors. In this context, every single interviewee mentioned the Marae, a communal place where this connection is demonstrated, which will be dealt with further on.

One interviewee confirmed that to her being Māori describes a deep connection to the *Whenua*²⁴, which in Te Reo Māori means the 'land'.²⁵ As the interviewee further explained, this involves a sustainable and respectful contact with nature and its resources. She stated that living in balance with nature according to Māori principles is essential in Māoridom.²⁶ Also two other interviewees talked about past times, when Māori subsisted on hunting or fishing.²⁷

Results from the interviews further showed that not only is it important for Māori to connect to ancestral landscapes, but it is important to actively engage with one's environment. The relationship that Whakapapa assumes is an active relationship of mutual

²³30, 16th October 2017, 35-44

²⁴[Land]. See explanation of *Whenua* in the glossary p. 284.

²⁵34, 19th October 2017, 169-176

²⁶34, 19th October 2017, 391-394

²⁷8, 2nd October 2017, 19-23; 7, 2nd October 2017, 218

benefit. There was a clear understanding among all the interviewees that Whakapapa sets out the value and importance of relationships and the responsibilities attached to those relationships which come out in practices like *Manaakitanga*²⁸ and *Kaitiakitanga*²⁹ which will now be discussed.

One interviewee described *Manaakitanga* as the value of hospitality and looking after people.³⁰ Several interviewees explained that *Manaakitanga* is omnipresent in Māoridom, from inviting guests to one's Marae and house, giving them food and hosting them as if they were part of the family to give back support and understanding to others what one has received.³¹

Various interviewees also mentioned the value of *Kaitiakitanga* which means guardianship of a place related to Whakapapa. There was a common understanding amongst all of the interviewees that Māori are the guardians of the place which includes taking care of the land, focusing on sustainable lifestyle and avoiding exploitation of nature. Among all the interviewees there was an awareness that within the context of Whakapapa and the central idea that land and water are part of who Māori are. It makes sense to say that while the environment is unable to flourish, then the people, too, in this case Ngāti Awa, are unable to flourish.

In this context, one interviewee described the recurring importance of Māori medicine, which became popular again during the last decades.³² Another interviewee agreed that for a long time using Māori herbs and plants were prohibited by law.³³ In this context, one interviewee stated that native plants clean the land and if “you can get the land right, the people will be fine”.³⁴ As one interviewee described, the reactions from the outside world towards Māori medicine were varying - from supporters to hard critics.³⁵

Frequently interviewees mentioned concerns related to environmental issues such as the contamination of the waters and the sea in Aotearoa New Zealand.³⁶ There is an understanding that nature in Aotearoa New Zealand could be treated in a much better way and that treating nature according to a Māori approach would be of great benefit for nature. In this context, one interviewee stated that many *Pākeha*³⁷ alias Non-Māori New Zealanders increasingly take up Māori ways of living such as living from the earth and from the sea.³⁸

Results from the participant observation further showed that there is a very deep connection from people to nature, whether from looking for food and fishing *Pipis*³⁹ in the sea,

²⁸[**Hospitality**]. See explanation of *Manaakitanga* in the glossary p. 279.

²⁹[**Guardianship**]. See explanation of *Kaitiakitanga* in the glossary p. 277.

³⁰7, 2nd October 2017, 322

³¹5, 30th September 2017, 28-32; 15, 8th October 2017, 160-163; 37, 23rd October 2017, 418-422; 8, 2nd October 2017, 299-301

³²34, 19th October 2017, 398-400

³³15, 8th October 2017, 685-689

³⁴8, 2nd October 2017, 181-182

³⁵34, 19th October 2017, 696-697

³⁶7, 2nd October 2017, 287

³⁷[**Non-Māori New Zealanders**]. See explanation of *Pākeha* in the glossary p. 280.

³⁸24, 14th October 2017, 260-261

³⁹[**Specific sort of shellfish**]. In Aotearoa New Zealand this specific sort of shellfish is called *Pipis*.

to searching for watercress in the river or spending time outside in nature and taking care of natural resources.

5.1.1.2 Expressions of Whakapapa

Ta Moko

Results from the informal interviews made clear that one element that is deeply connected to Whakapapa is the Māori tattoo, the so-called *Tā Moko*⁴⁰.

In this context, several interviewees explained that traditionally the Tā Moko shows the genealogical lines and the ancestry of an individual person.⁴¹ From the results of the conducted informal interviews, there is an understanding in this thesis that the lines of the tattoo and symbols used visualise the genealogical tree of a person. Various interviewees explained that in theory people who are working with Māori tattoos can read the genealogical tree from any person.

All of the interviewees confirmed that back in time, the process of getting a Tā Moko was related to high rank and authority of a person. Several interviewees talked about the process of getting a Tā Moko, in which traditionally family members and friends participated. Throughout the majority of the interviews it was also mentioned that traditionally different tools were used to make tattoos and that the process was much more painful than when done with needles today.

The majority of the elder interviewees talked about the revival of the Tā Moko since the 1980s as a consequence of the revitalisation of Māori culture. Various interviewees mentioned the face Tā Moko, which has become quite popular amongst Māori women.

Related to that, one elder female interviewee talked about the process of getting a Tā Moko. The interviewee explained that after getting her face Tā Moko she had more pride in herself and in who she is as a Māori woman.⁴²

A variety of interviewees criticised people getting tattoos which had no meaning or no connection to Whakapapa. In this context, one interviewee stated that Ta Mokos need to have a meaning, otherwise it is understood as a disrespect to Māori culture.⁴³

The majority of the 25-45 year old interviewees mentioned that the Tā Moko is a form of self-determination and identification with Māori culture. Related to that, one interviewee stated that he would not go abroad without having his Tā Moko first, as to him the tattoo is necessary to completely feel connected to his culture.⁴⁴

From the interviews it resulted that tattoos have a rather positive reputation amongst Māori, part of it because it shows a deep connection to one's Whakapapa. However,

⁴⁰[Tattoo]. See explanation of *Tā Moko* in the glossary p. 282.

⁴¹11, 3rd October 2017, 230; 37, 23rd October 2017, 382-386; 15, 8th October 2017, 589-590

⁴²11, 3rd of October 2017, 255

⁴³37, 23rd October 2017, 388-391

⁴⁴37, 23rd of October 2017, 371

one interviewee talked about the stigma still existing when it comes to tattoos in Aotearoa New Zealand. As the interviewee explained, especially the face Tā Moko could still mean disadvantages in jobs, while the society attempts to normalise them again.⁴⁵

Results from the participant observation confirmed that today an increasing amount of people have Tā Mokos. Especially many women, having passed the age of 40+, decided to get a face Tā Moko, even if they expressed different motives for doing so.

Haka

The majority of the interviewees stated that the *Haka*⁴⁶ plays a very significant role in their lives and in determining who they are. As one interviewee explained, the Haka was traditionally used as an element from Māori warfare and is still part of everyday life which is performed at various cultural occasions to demonstrate Māori culture.⁴⁷

Various interviewees mentioned that Māori are exposed to Haka and its meaning all life long.⁴⁸ Some interviewees stated that they are members of cultural groups and train for regional competitions or the national *Kapa Haka*⁴⁹ festival in Aotearoa New Zealand called 'Te Matatini' throughout every weekend of the year.

Almost all interviewees also talked about New Zealand's national rugby team, the so-called All Blacks, in the context of the Haka. As one interviewee explained, the All Blacks perform a Haka at the beginning of every game and that has become an icon of Aotearoa New Zealand. Related to that, the interviewee further stated that there were issues of intellectual property, as the All Blacks used the performance of a Māori tribe without asking them. Nevertheless, the Haka made the All Blacks world famous.⁵⁰

All of the interviewees defined themselves as great fans of the All Blacks. In this context, one interviewee said, "the All Blacks Haka gives Māori another venue to express themselves and share their culture and go overseas".⁵¹ Another interviewee said that within Aotearoa New Zealand the All Blacks have a huge fan support and that people watch the games every weekend together.⁵²

Especially when talking about the Haka, throughout the majority of the interviews the topic of cultural appropriation arose. Related to that, one interviewee said, "the Haka I suppose is the thing the one that is the biggest commodity that everybody remembers and everybody wants to perform it and everybody wants to learn it".⁵³ Results from the

⁴⁵ 15, 8th of October 2017, 612-616

⁴⁶ [Māori performance/dance]. See explanation of *Haka* in the glossary p. 276.

⁴⁷ 24, 14th October 2017, 426-429

⁴⁸ 42, 31st October 2017, 56-57; 31, 17th October 2017, 322

⁴⁹ [Māori performance/war dance]. See explanation of *Kapa Haka* in the glossary p. 277.

⁵⁰ 11, 3rd October 2017, 358

⁵¹ 15, 18th November 2017, 540-541; 37, 23rd October 2017, 342-343

⁵² 24, 14th October 2017, 372-375

⁵³ 15, 18th October 2017, 647-649

interviews showed that all of the interviewees do support foreigners learning the Haka given the condition that they are taught properly how to do it before by Māori.⁵⁴

In the context of the Haka, another interviewee mentioned that foreigners frequently imitate Māori culture.⁵⁵ The reaction from the majority of the interviewees to that behaviour was rather positive. One interviewee even said it made him proud if people knew about the Haka and Māori culture.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, there was a clear tendency amongst all of the interviewees that it was important to them that people learned properly about the meaning and the understanding of Māori culture.⁵⁷ One interviewee stated that the line between wanting to be part of the culture and making fun of it is very thin.⁵⁸ From all of the interviewees there was a clear critique of people doing the Haka without knowing its meaning and history.⁵⁹

Te Reo Māori

Another element that through the informal interviews could be detected as having a great influence on the construction of the interviewee's identities is the official Māori language, *Te Reo Māori*.

One interviewee explained that as a consequence of colonisation, Te Reo Māori was replaced by English in almost every part of daily life. Nevertheless, he stated that there are still occasions where people communicate in Te Reo Māori such as at meetings at the Marae that are held in Māori.⁶⁰ Another interviewee explained in this context that one can even learn all the *Protocols*⁶¹ of the Marae without speaking Te Reo Māori just from watching the scenes.⁶² Nevertheless, related to that, one interviewee confirmed that using English enables a faster communication between the participants.⁶³

Most of the interviewees confessed speaking very little Te Reo Māori.⁶⁴ Whereas some few interviewees described being fluent in Te Reo Māori from childhood days on, the majority of the interviewees explained having had to learn the language throughout education.⁶⁵ Various interviewees stated that they do not speak Te Reo Māori themselves, but that they were brought up in the culture and now foster their children to learn the language.

⁵⁴37, 23rd October 2017, 290-293; 44, 2nd November 2017, 228-229

⁵⁵15, 8th October 2017, 647-649

⁵⁶37, 23rd October 2017, 311-312

⁵⁷37, 23rd October 2017, 290-293; 31, 17th October 2017, 509; 31, 17th October 2017, 511-512; 37, 23rd October 2017, 314-315; 15, 8th October 2017, 491-501

⁵⁸11, 3rd October 2017, 365-366

⁵⁹31, 17th October 2017, 482-486

⁶⁰4, 30th September 2017, 31-33

⁶¹[**Protocols**]. See explanation of *Protocols* in the glossary p. 280.

⁶²8, 2nd October 2017, 34-36

⁶³11, 3rd October 2017, 80-81

⁶⁴8, 2nd October 2017, 38-39; 24, 14th October 2017, 219-221

⁶⁵42, 31st October 2017, 38

Among the majority of the interviewees who stated not speaking Te Reo Māori there was a clear wish to learn Te Reo Māori.⁶⁶ In this context, one interviewee even said that he didn't feel complete without speaking Te Reo Māori.⁶⁷

Many of the interviewees explained that they did not appreciate the knowledge of the language until becoming adults.⁶⁸ Contrary to that, a few interviewees mentioned that it is more and more common for Pākehā to learn Te Reo Māori.⁶⁹ Also, one interviewee explained that his Pākehā co-workers frequently ask him to teach them Māori words.⁷⁰

However, the majority of the interviewees stated that in mainstream schools Te Reo Māori classes are still not very widespread. One interviewee described that at some schools Te Reo Māori language classes might take 30 minutes a week.⁷¹ There is a general perception that it would be good for every child in Aotearoa New Zealand to learn Te Reo Māori⁷², especially because there is a fear that the younger generations will lose the Māori language.⁷³ When it comes to learning Te Reo Māori at mainstream schools, most of the interviewees only remembered learning animal names, week days and numbers or Māori place names.⁷⁴ Contrary to that, there was one very young interviewee who complained that he had nobody to speak Te Reo Māori to when entering mainstream school.⁷⁵

All of the interviewees knew about different language programs to foster Māori language, especially for children. In this context, the *Kohanga Reo*⁷⁶, *Kura Kaupapa*⁷⁷ and Māori universities were frequently named.⁷⁸ Another element which resulted having a crucial impact on the construction of Māori identities is British colonialism whose impact and consequences will be presented in the next section.

5.1.1.3 Colonial legacies and their responses

Different ways of colonial legacies

As the results from the informal interviews demonstrated earlier, the concept of Whakapapa has influenced the construction of Māori identities for a long time already. There is a way of thinking about Whakapapa as the knowledge and history Māori inherit and descend from.

⁶⁶44, 2nd October 2017, 54-59; 30, 16th October 2017, 65-66; 15, 8th October 2017, 195-213

⁶⁷37, 23rd October 2017, 76-79

⁶⁸30, 16th October 2017, 37-39

⁶⁹4, 30th September 2017, 80-81; 31, 17th October 2017, 129-130

⁷⁰37, 23rd October 2017, 169-174

⁷¹37, 23rd October 2017, 41

⁷²31, 17th October 2017, 541-542

⁷³4, 30th September 2017, 53-56

⁷⁴37, 23rd October 2017, 193-201; 31, 17th October 2017, 119; 15, 8th October 2017, 229-233

⁷⁵37, 23rd October 2017, 50-54

⁷⁶[Educational institution]. See explanation of *Kohanga Reo* in the glossary p. 278.

⁷⁷[Educational institution]. See explanation of *Kura Kaupapa* in the glossary p. 278.

⁷⁸4, 30th September 2017, 64-71

Results from the interviews also showed that in Aotearoa New Zealand, a long lasting impact from British colonisation on the construction of Māori identities could be observed. This section will display how Māori understand the impact of British colonialism on their construction of identities as well as the consequences British colonialism had on their lives.

When talking about the impact British colonialism had on the lives of the interviewees, some of them mentioned the loss of the native language Te Reo Māori, the destruction of tribal structures or communal lifestyle as well as losing their native lands to incoming settlers and colonisers.⁷⁹ Two interviewees particularly mentioned the traumatising memories and experiences for Māori which came with the diminishment of land and mistreatment of nature.⁸⁰

Especially the elder interviewees talked about the sexual, physical or mental abuse of Māori during colonial times. In this context, a couple of interviewees strongly criticized that the English colonial powers wanted to push their own culture over Māori culture.⁸¹ Another interviewee confirmed this thought by saying that this massive impact permanently changed the way of thinking of Māori.⁸² From the interviews it became clear that especially the majority of the elder interviewees were taught to condemn Māori ways of doing things, while fostering Pākeha ways of living, education and language.⁸³

In this context, the example of so-called “in-between positions” was named to describe Māori who went into the First and Second World War fighting in the New Zealand army on a voluntary base. The interviewees showed different opinions on why Māori would go into a war that was not theirs voluntarily. Some interviewees said Māori were searching for adventures, while others suggested that Māori felt a duty they owned to the country and wanted to be accepted in the society.⁸⁴

All of the interviewees agreed that as a result of British colonialism, the existing cultural identities were lost and to a great amount changed forever. Related to that, one interviewee stated that it takes many generations to accept and understand these changes and to incorporate the impact mentally and emotionally.⁸⁵

Throughout the interviews, the majority of the elder interviewees also mentioned the official ban of the native language Te Reo Māori when being children, which oftentimes was enforced by violence. Various interviewees stated that in school children were beaten for speaking the native language.⁸⁶ One interviewee explained that therefore many parents started to think that speaking Te Reo Māori would be a disadvantage to their children in order to be successful. As a consequence, they forbade their children to speak Te Reo

⁷⁹12, 3rd October 2017, 282-284; 2, 26nd September 2017, 253-272; 7, 2nd October 2017, 237-238

⁸⁰42, 31st October 2017, 194-198; 7, 2nd October 2017, 277-278

⁸¹7, 2nd October 2017, 172; 25-29; 15th October 2017, 462-466

⁸²42, 31st October 2017, 194-198; 2, 26nd September 2017, 253-272

⁸³34, 19th October 2017, 144-147; 12, 3rd October 2017, 72-73

⁸⁴8, 3rd October 2017, 379-385; 14, 7th October 2017, 139-140

⁸⁵42, 31st October 2017, 251-257

⁸⁶26, 15th October 2017, 30-38; 11, 3rd October 2017, 92-93; 12, 3rd October 2017, 54-57; 15, 8th October 2017, 55-59; 42, 31st October 2017, 196-198; 2, 26nd September 2017, 5-8

Māori.⁸⁷

A few male interviewees beyond their sixties also stated in the interviews that their parents were forced to give them into missionary or re-education programs. Various elderly interviewees confirmed that they were sent away to native schools or boarding schools abroad away from their families.

During the interviews the conversion to Catholicism was mentioned by the interviewees as another impact on Māori by colonialism. There was a general understanding that the conversion from believing in the one Māori god *Io*⁸⁸ to believing in one god of Christianity was relatively easy for the colonisers.⁸⁹ The majority of the interviewees described themselves as great believers of God and they frequently go to church.

Impact on the construction of identity

The majority of the interviewees directly derived the actual status of Māori from colonialism.

One consequence of colonialism several interviewees mentioned were the resulting mixed marriages all across Aotearoa New Zealand. The concerned interviewees, who were almost all of the interviewees, talked about being exposed to difficulties such as racism, troubles of fitting into society or identifying with one's origin, resulting from these mixed marriages between Māori and Pākeha. One interviewee explained that there is a great amount of racism in Aotearoa New Zealand, whether from Pākeha against Māori, Māori against Māori or Māori against Pākeha and that oftentimes it happens rather subtle.⁹⁰

Several interviewees also talked about having received racism for not looking enough Māori. One interviewee gave the example of his Pākeha looking brother who is fluent in Te Reo Māori and a talented Kapa Haka member. He was scored down while performing Kapa Haka because of his physical appearance and not looking Māori-like.⁹¹

Although the majority of the interviewees stated that they had struggles to fit into the Māori world and Pākeha world at the same time, they also said that after intensive analysis of their identity they managed to benefit from both worlds and to pass on this feeling to their children.⁹²

Various interviewees described that in conversations with Pākeha about the experiences and the trauma of colonisation, Pākeha oftentimes got offended, ashamed or even felt guilty for what happened. One interviewee even mentioned that one Pākeha took it as a racist comment against Pākeha.⁹³ Contrary to that, various interviewees also described

⁸⁷2, 26th September 2017, 6-8

⁸⁸[God]. See explanation of *Io* in the glossary p. 277.

⁸⁹7, 2nd October 2017, 9-12; 44, 2nd November, 28-29

⁹⁰31, 17th October 2017, 72-73

⁹¹37, 23rd October 2017, 209-215

⁹²20, 11th October 2017, 140-141; 30, 16th October 2017, 152-155; 15, 8th November 2017, 357-361; 31, 17th October 2017, 23-28

⁹³31, 17th November 2017, 517-530

reactions of jealousy from Pākeha because of the financial help Māori receive from the government.⁹⁴ However, at this point one interviewee also made clear that there is also racism against other minorities in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁹⁵

Regarding the traumatic experiences Māori went through throughout colonialism, various interviewees mentioned the so-called *Mamae*⁹⁶ which in Te Reo Māori means the collective pain and stigma carried from one generation to another.⁹⁷ The same interviewees also agreed on that Māori need to move forwards and out of this feeling from the past which determines their present.

Apart from ongoing racism in Aotearoa New Zealand and a still existing collective pain from Māori, interviewees discovered elements such as ongoing poverty, domestic abuse and drug addiction as further consequences of colonialism.

The majority of the interviewees mentioned the high statistics of poverty amongst Māori. One interviewee stated that until today many Māori live in poverty.⁹⁸ Also, another interviewee confirmed that the well-marked poverty of many Māori was caused by land loss and displacement as a result of colonisation processes.⁹⁹ One interviewee referred to recent statistics in Aotearoa New Zealand which show that Māori are high in numbers of unemployment and low in numbers of higher education.¹⁰⁰

The majority of interviewees was convinced that the crimes in Aotearoa New Zealand are poverty-driven. Several interviewees referred to recent statistics saying that around 80% of prisoners in Aotearoa New Zealand are Māori and many of them are in gangs.¹⁰¹ Amongst the interviewees there was a general understanding that there is a link between low economic areas - as a consequence of colonialism - and joining gangs, such as the *Black Power*¹⁰² gang or *Mongrel Mob*¹⁰³ gang.¹⁰⁴

One interviewee stated that there is a connection between Māori losing their connection or identity related to joining a gang.¹⁰⁵ Another interviewee confirmed that it works like a vicious circle when coming from a poor family, one has no access to education and is forced into criminality.¹⁰⁶ According to one interviewee, Māori are four times more likely to go into jail than Pākeha for the same crime.¹⁰⁷ Also another interviewee confirmed that due to so-called racial profiling Māori kids are followed after in shops or put into jail just because of their physical appearance.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁴ 15, 8th October 2017, 266-267; 14, 7th October 2017, 32-34

⁹⁵ 37, 23rd October 2017, 237-240

⁹⁶ [**Collective pain and stigma**]. See explanation of *Mamae* in the glossary p. 278.

⁹⁷ 2, 26th September 2017, 412-414; 34, 19th October 2017, 312-329

⁹⁸ 4, 30th September 2017, 98-102

⁹⁹ 26, 15th October 2017, 64-67

¹⁰⁰ 44, 2nd November 2017, 177-187

¹⁰¹ 15, 8th October 2017, 300-305; 26, 15th October 2017, 71-83; 34, 19th October 2017, 431-451

¹⁰² [**Gang**]. See explanation of *Black Power* in the glossary p. 276.

¹⁰³ [**Gang**]. See explanation of *Mongrel Mob* in the glossary p. 280.

¹⁰⁴ 31, 17th October 2017, 166-167; 31, 17th October 2017, 212

¹⁰⁵ 34, 19th October 2017; 431-451

¹⁰⁶ 26, 15th October 2017, 71-83

¹⁰⁷ 31, 17th October 2017, 380-384

¹⁰⁸ 26, 15th October 2017, 90-94

Amongst the interviewees there was a clear understanding that the high numbers of domestic abuse of Māori can also be explained as a consequence of colonialism.¹⁰⁹ Various interviewees mentioned that only with the beginning of British colonialism and conversion to Catholicism domestic violence became a part of Māori daily life.¹¹⁰

Several interviewees stated that nowadays, domestic violence is a massive problem amongst Māori and the number of cases of domestic abuse and violence has risen significantly. One interviewee who worked with concerned families explained that although there are programs to help individuals to get out of the violent circle, they are very likely to go back to their violent environment.¹¹¹

Another problem which the majority of the interviewees directly explained as a legacy of colonialism is the high alcohol and drug addictions amongst Māori.¹¹² In this context, one interviewee talked about different initiatives from organisations and institutions trying to break the circle, such as the *Runanga*¹¹³ o Ngāti Awa which attempts to improve education of the community, using scholarships and grants and perpetuating the culture through improved language teaching.¹¹⁴

Related to that, ongoing health issues amongst Māori could be observed through the participant observation. Severe health issues which were frequently made a topic among the community and which could be confirmed by the researcher's observation included abuse of alcohol or nicotine as well as poor nutrition. Nevertheless, results of this research showed that the dealing with health issues depends on the individual. However, at almost every encounter invitations for coffee or food were made, people were much focused on hospitality and treating a guest well.

Results from the participant observation further confirmed that the issue of criminality amongst Māori is omnipresent in conversations. Frequently people mention the high statistics of poverty Māori suffer from as well as domestic abuse from which many of the people were affected themselves.

Responses to colonial legacies

As one interviewee explained, from the 1980s on different Māori specialised education programs for children and students were developed. Some of them are funded by the government.¹¹⁵ Related to that, one interviewee stated that there was an effort to normalise learning Te Reo Māori and to make it part of the culture again.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹42, 31st October 2017, 264-267; 42, 31st October 2017, 289-291

¹¹⁰42, 31st October 2017, 280-287; 44, 2nd November 2017, 215-218; 31, 17th October 2017, 251-253; 42, 31st October 2018, 480-494

¹¹¹8, 12th October 2017, 119-124

¹¹²31, 17th October 2017, 171-172; 15, 8th October 2017, 335-341

¹¹³[**Organisation of tribe**]. See explanation of *Runanga* in the glossary p. 281.

¹¹⁴44, 2nd November 2017, 177-187

¹¹⁵26, 15th October 2017, 61-62

¹¹⁶42, 31st October 2017, 40-42; 42, 31st October 2017, 200-208

One educational program which was mentioned by the majority of the interviewees is the Kohanga Reo, which directly translated means 'the nest of language'. As one interviewee explained, it is a program for Māori children from birth to the beginning of school.¹¹⁷ The interviewee further described Kohanga Reo like a kindergarten where children make friends, play around and learn to speak Māori.¹¹⁸ In the context of Kohanga Reo, one interviewee stated that learning Te Reo Māori in Kohanga Reo or at school is a strong indicator of Māori culture during children's upbringing.¹¹⁹

Another educational concept that was mentioned by a few interviewees is the Kura Kaupapa. As some interviewee stated, Kura Kaupapa includes different forms of Māori education for specific age groups and school types. They further explained that there are full immersion schools and bilingual schools.¹²⁰ The classes have different focus classes with Māori content, as well as basic Te Reo Māori classes and cultural activities such as Kapa Haka.¹²¹

In general, most of the interviewees very much supported children going to Kura Kaupapa.¹²² A few parents said that their children impressed them by coming home showing them Te Reo Māori words or singing Māori songs they did not even know themselves.¹²³

Several interviewees criticized that there is no proper education on Aotearoa New Zealand history at mainstream schools.¹²⁴ In this context, one interviewee explained that only when entering the university one can learn about New Zealand history, before it is all about James Cook and Christopher Columbus.¹²⁵ Exceptionally, one interviewee working in Te Kura Mana Māori said that he teaches the children about Whakapapa and the first arrival of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.¹²⁶

Several interviewees also mentioned the Māori indigenous universities, such as the Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi in Whakatāne, some of them having studied there.¹²⁷ In this context, one interviewee explained that according to law in Aotearoa New Zealand they are not allowed to be called universities, but 'educational institutions'.¹²⁸

Self-determination as indigenous peoples

All interviewees described themselves as indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand, and saw this as being part of a wider global community.

¹¹⁷26, 15th October 2017, 45-49

¹¹⁸26, 15th October 2017, 11-14; 37, 23rd October 2017, 15-20

¹¹⁹37, 23rd October 2017, 4-6

¹²⁰24, 14th October 2017, 300-303; 7, 2nd October 2017, 64-65

¹²¹24, 14th October 2017, 285-289; 2, 26th September 2017, 91-97

¹²²31, 17th October 2017, 307

¹²³24, 14th October 2017, 307-308; 31, 17th October 2017, 324-326

¹²⁴31, 17th October, 551-555; 15, 8th October 2017, 260-261; 11, 3rd October 2017, 284-285

¹²⁵15, 8th October 2017, 260-261; 15, 8th October 2017, 114-115

¹²⁶12, 3rd October 2017, 460-464

¹²⁷44, 2nd November 2017, 3; 11, 3rd October 2017, 22-25

¹²⁸4, 30th September 2017, 64-71

One interviewee explained that Māori belong to a global collective network of indigenous peoples which had experienced similar struggles due to colonialism.¹²⁹ The interviewee further stated that indigenous peoples, and in particular Māori, have a mutual understanding of the effects and meaning of colonialism, as well as the traumatic and humiliating experiences of being colonised.¹³⁰

All interviewees were aware that Māori underwent similar experiences as other indigenous peoples caused by the colonisers. However, frequently also other binding elements between Māori and other indigenous peoples were named. Various interviewees put a strong emphasis on the appreciation and protection of nature and understanding nature as a living and breathing entity.¹³¹

Similar to other indigenous peoples, the majority of the interviewees often referred to the connection Māori have to the ancestral lands, their ancestors and their native language, Te Reo Māori, and defined these features as the fundamental elements for the construction of identity.

Apart from sharing the experience of having been colonised and having a deep connection to one's ancestral lands and ancestors, a great amount of the interviewees indicated strong differences between Māori and other indigenous peoples.

Various interviewees even stated that Māori seem to be in a better situation than indigenous peoples in other parts of the world. In this context, the example of the Aborigines in Australia who live in very different conditions than Māori was frequently named.

When asking the interviewees for possible reasons, two statements were regularly listed. A few interviewees justified that Māori were in a better situation than other indigenous peoples because Māori have a warrior culture. Other interviewees reasoned today's situation of Māori rather as a political consequence which can be traced back to the *Tiriti o Waitangi*¹³² alias Treaty of Waitangi which still enables Māori being partners of the crown. In this context, one interviewee said that in comparison to other indigenous peoples it was *only* the land that was taken away from Māori.¹³³

Referring to the Treaty of Waitangi, various interviewees mentioned the ongoing discussions around recent treaty settlements and land redemption.¹³⁴ There was a general understanding among the interviewees that the act of claiming back the rights of the Treaty of Waitangi is a form of self-determination of Māori and giving up the status of being victims of colonialism.

Nevertheless, several interviewees criticized the processes of claiming back the rights Māori have as determined in the Treaty of Waitangi. Whereas one interviewee stated that the process of giving back land is very slow¹³⁵, another interviewee said that there are

¹²⁹42, 31st October 2017, 557-560

¹³⁰42, 31st October 2017, 563-565

¹³¹15, 8th October 2017, 442-445

¹³²[**Treaty of Waitangi**]. See explanation of *Tiriti o Waitangi* in the glossary p. 282.

¹³³2, 26th September 2017, 402-403

¹³⁴26, 15th November 2017, 266-281; 37, 23rd October 2017, 144-145

¹³⁵12, 3rd October 2017, 282-284

still tendencies ignoring the rights of Māori as defined in the articles of the Treaty.¹³⁶

However, not only critiques related to the Treaty were mentioned in the interviews, one interviewee also focused on the remuneration payments which had taken place for Māori organisations. The interviewee explained that normally the tribes have an organisation body which manages the resources and financial means of an Iwi and which offers financial support to its community members.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, the majority of the interviewees questioned the distribution and management of the financial means by the Iwi to the community and asked for more engagement in the process.

5.1.2 Marae

5.1.2.1 Communal lifestyle

Throughout the informal interviews, it became clear that the element of the family, in Māori called *Whanau* is another highly significant element when it comes to the construction of Māori identities. In this thesis, there is an understanding that the concepts of Whanau and Whakapapa are strongly connected as the Māori family identifies through its genealogical lines. As one interviewee explained, Whanau describes the connection and cohesion as a family, also in the sense of the continuation of one's ancestry.¹³⁸

Within the informal interviews there was a general understanding that it is very common that Māori families are very big in size. Several interviewees stated that having seven to fourteen children is within the norm.¹³⁹ In this context, one interviewee explained that she had over 300 cousins.¹⁴⁰

Throughout all the interviews the interviewees mentioned Māori having a communal lifestyle, which they described as the different generations within a family living together. One interviewee explained that one big difference between European and Māori families is that in Māori families everybody supports everybody.¹⁴¹ Several interviewees described the strong family cohesion which holds the community together.¹⁴² Related to that, one interviewee explained that “Our family [] you dropped everything for anyone”.¹⁴³

Several interviewees described the communal lifestyle as an extended family model through all generations. There was a general understanding that living with one's siblings, parents, uncles, aunts or grandparents for example had a huge impact on the construction of one's identity.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁶42, 31st October 2017, 227-229

¹³⁷4, 30th September 2017, 105-114

¹³⁸20, 11th October 2017, 27-3

¹³⁹8, 2nd October 2017, 12-15; 15, 8th October 2017, 7-8

¹⁴⁰42, 31st October 2017, 138-141

¹⁴¹20, 11th October 2017, 24-25

¹⁴²42, 31st October 2017, 138-141; 31, 17th October, 275-279; 44, 2nd November 2017, 88-89

¹⁴³8, 2nd October 2017, 273-276

¹⁴⁴33, 19th October 2019, 65-77; 31, 17th October 2017, 45-52; 31, 17th October 2017, 105-109; 42, 31st October 2017, 133-141; 44, 2nd November 2017, 231-232; 44, 2nd November 2017, 35-36

Results from the informal interviews showed that the majority of the interviewees grew up within their Māori community. When being asked about growing up as Māori in a communal environment, one interviewee described it as a conscious, but a rather natural process.¹⁴⁵ In this context, one interviewee who grew up within her Māori community described that she thought she would never be together with somebody who was not Māori. Only after she started travelling outside of Aotearoa New Zealand she opened up and changed her opinion.¹⁴⁶

Several interviewees stated that they were not aware of cultural differences when they grew up while being immersed in the Māori community and that they only became aware that they were Māori when they started to experience other environments.¹⁴⁷ Several interviewees said that it was after entering the twenties and having children that one starts searching for one's identity.¹⁴⁸

There was a common understanding among the younger interviewees of the age group 25-45 that foreigners might be overwhelmed by the extended family model of a Māori Whanau.¹⁴⁹ Related to that, one interviewee described that her non-Māori partner had problems adapting to communal lifestyle environment when moving together with her parents after getting married.¹⁵⁰

All of the interviewees agreed that it is very common that Māori children are raised by other family members, which in Te Reo Māori is called *Whangai*.¹⁵¹ Results from the interviews led to an understanding in this thesis, that these closely related relatives such as the grandparents raise the children of their relatives to support them and give the children the best possible environment to grow up. Several interviewees were Whangai and explained that being adopted by one's family members contributes to passing on the knowledge from grandparents, uncles or aunts to the children.

Whereas some interviewees who had been adopted by family members mentioned not having had any disadvantage or problems due to it, other interviewees stated issues such as anxiety and troubles building up a relationship to their natural families after being adopted.¹⁵² Especially those interviewees who had been adopted by a Pākeha family member talked about the profound changes in their culture and natural structures and habits.

One affected interviewee stated that it is very common that Māori children who had been adopted by Pākeha family members later identify stronger with their European side.¹⁵³ Although she was Māori who grew up in an English environment she had thought of

¹⁴⁵42, 31st October 2017, 35-36

¹⁴⁶27, 15th October 2017, 145-152

¹⁴⁷15, 8th October 2017, 77-89; 42, 31st October 2017, 55-63; 42, 31st October 2017, 129-131

¹⁴⁸33, 19th October 2019, 74-77; 12, 3rd October 2017, 110-114; 20, 11th October 2017, 364-372; 42, 31st October 2017, 187-189; 24, 14th October 2017, 442-444; 5, 30th September 2017, 146-149

¹⁴⁹27, 15th October 2017, 216-225

¹⁵⁰27, 15th October 2017, 187-193

¹⁵¹[**Adoption**]. See explanation of *Whangai* in the glossary p. 283.

¹⁵²20, 11th October 2017, 110-113; 15, 8th October 2017, 55-59

¹⁵³20, 11th October 2017, 273-275

her Māori husband's family as rather primitive as they went hunting into the bush or to the sea for fish without having electricity or running water. The very interviewee further explained that only by becoming an adult and having children she realised that embracing both cultures is a win-win-situation.¹⁵⁴

5.1.2.2 The significance of the Marae

Throughout the interviews it became clear that a place which is of high significance for Whanau is the Marae. In this thesis the Marae is understood as the centre of the Māori community and identity. The Marae brings together creation stories, landscapes, and people. In this context, one interviewee mentioned a specific term for this strong and powerful connection which is called *Turangawaewae*¹⁵⁵. *Turangawaewae* stands for the respect and connection to one's own ancestral lands, as well as the learning grounds for the construction of one's identity.¹⁵⁶

All of the interviewees mentioned having been to the Marae since childhood for different events such as debates, *Wananga*¹⁵⁷, birthdays, funerals alias *Tangi*¹⁵⁸ and other special occasions.¹⁵⁹

As one interviewee explained, back in the days the Marae was the heart of the community. The interviewee further stated that the Marae was the community hub and people lived around the Marae. Contrary to that, nowadays the community has become more diverse and is not as concentrated anymore, as he further explained.¹⁶⁰

All of the interviewees agree on that every Marae has different Protocols and *Tikanga*¹⁶¹ - ways of doing things.¹⁶² As one interviewee explained, the specific *Tikanga* or *Kawa*¹⁶³ depend very much on the resources a community has and the connection to the land.¹⁶⁴ The very interviewee stated that "even though we are a small country, we have different experiences in our smaller regions, in our smaller towns even".¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, another interviewee described that even though there are great differences between the different regions, there are also repeating traditions at the Maraes, such as getting the shoes off before entering the houses of the Marae.¹⁶⁶

The majority of the interviewees mentioned that they bring their children to the Marae. One interviewee explained that this is done to expose the children to the community and

¹⁵⁴20, 11th October 2017, 236-240; 20, 11th November 2017, 205-211

¹⁵⁵[Place to stand]. See explanation of *Turangawaewae* in the glossary p. 282.

¹⁵⁶8, 2nd October 2017, 376-377

¹⁵⁷[Seminars]. See explanation of *Wananga* in the glossary p. 283.

¹⁵⁸[Funeral]. See explanation of *Tangi* in the glossary p. 281.

¹⁵⁹8, 2nd October 2017, 25-29; 4, 30th September 2017, 26-29; 5, 30th September 2017, 46-52

¹⁶⁰5, 30th September 2017, 87-96; 5, 30th September 2017, 12-26

¹⁶¹[Customs, Practice]. See explanation of *Tikanga* in the glossary p. 282.

¹⁶²42, 31st October 2017, 305-311; 34, 19th October 2017, 107-118; 42, 31st October 2017, 330-336

¹⁶³[Rituals, Customs]. See explanation of *Kawa* in the glossary p. 278.

¹⁶⁴42, 31st October 2017, 330

¹⁶⁵42, 31st October 2017, 399-400

¹⁶⁶30, 16th October 2017, 116-118

teach them about Whakapapa, as there is an understanding that this plays an essential role in the identity building of individuals.¹⁶⁷ There is a general understanding that children are brought to the Marae from a very young age on to learn about the Protocols of the Marae and be the carrier of the knowledge in the future.¹⁶⁸ One interviewee explained that the Marae is also the place of debate and discussions of the community, which is why children learn from a young age about *Waha*¹⁶⁹, the capability to stand up and speak out loud.¹⁷⁰

All the interviewees highlighted the importance of the Protocols of a Marae which one has to follow while being at the Marae.¹⁷¹ In this context, several interviewees explained that Protocols include varying hierarchies at the Marae and that it depends on the specific Marae who is in charge of the different tasks. One example that was frequently mentioned by all the interviewees when it comes to the tasks of the Marae is the welcoming scene, the so-called *Powhiri*¹⁷². As one interviewee explained, there are differences in who is allowed to speak or participate during this ceremony.¹⁷³ Another interviewee stated that depending on the audience and the occasion there might be *Kaumatu*¹⁷⁴, which means elders at the Marae.¹⁷⁵

Regarding the different Protocols of a Marae, one interviewee also stated that there are profound differences regarding gender roles at the Marae and in particular in every different region around Aotearoa New Zealand. As the interviewee further explained, some Maraes support that women have the right to speak out, whereas at others not.¹⁷⁶ According to the very interviewee, women who have the Mana, which means the authority to speak on the Marae, should do so.¹⁷⁷

In the context of the Marae, the majority of the interviewees also mentioned the importance to learn about values and the earlier discussed Protocols. A great amount of interviewees talked about the task of doing dishes and helping out in the kitchen as part of it.¹⁷⁸ As one interviewee explained, learning to help in the kitchen and do the dishes is considered a strategy to learn the values of the Marae.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, both men and women are supposed to help at the Marae as one interviewee stated, but oftentimes this rule is interpreted subjectively.¹⁸⁰

Results from the participant observation showed that at the Marae, strong collaborations

¹⁶⁷ 12, 3rd October 2017, 4-6

¹⁶⁸ 37, 23rd October 2017, 100-107; 12, 3rd October 2017, 123-127; 15, 8th October 2017, 181-189

¹⁶⁹ [Voice]. See explanation of *Waha* in the glossary p. 282.

¹⁷⁰ 30, 16th October 2017, 60-63

¹⁷¹ 5, 30th September 2017, 70-82; 4, 30th September 2017, 33-36

¹⁷² [Welcome ceremony]. See explanation of *Powhiri* in the glossary p. 280.

¹⁷³ 4, 30th September 2017, 31-36

¹⁷⁴ [Elder]. See explanation of *Kaumatu* in the glossary p. 277.

¹⁷⁵ 5, 30th September 2017, 54-62

¹⁷⁶ 44, 2nd November 2017, 282-284

¹⁷⁷ 44, 2nd November 2017, 272-276

¹⁷⁸ 8, 2nd October 2017, 25-29; 37, 23rd October 2017, 113-114; 37, 23rd October 2017, 109-111; 24, 14th October 2017, 116-118; 8, 2nd October 2017, 25-29

¹⁷⁹ 8, 2nd October 2017, 294-295; 15, 8th October 2017, 157-158; 15, 8th October 2017, 160-162

¹⁸⁰ 24, 14th October 2017, 116-118

between different age groups could be observed. Nevertheless, it was obvious that there is a clear hierarchy and role allocation. A strong worship for ancestors could be detected, which could be noticed in Protocols, but also in behaviour at the Marae. Nevertheless, the hierarchy between old and young, but also male and female, could not only be noticed at the Marae, but also in everyday life where strong differences regarding gender questions could be recognised. The woman was given a more passive role and was given orders, the man was given more authority and power.

Furthermore, it could be observed that events, such as Wananga, are precisely planned, from a food plan which describes what food to serve when, to a clear structure of seminar contents. Attempts could be constantly observed to make visitors feel at home. Traditional activities such as weaving *Harakeke*¹⁸¹ (See Figure 5.3) or carving are still very popular, not only artists engage in these arts, but also private persons.

Figure 5.3: Weaving Harakeke outside of Hokowhitu Marae



Source: Photo taken by the author (Permission granted)

At the Marae various Kapa Haka trainings or *Poi*¹⁸² dance lectures with members of the cultural group could be further observed. Related to that, a massive fan community of the All Blacks could be detected among individuals throughout the participant observation.

Apart from a place for special occasions, various interviewees also described cultural activities that take place at the Marae, such as singing and meeting for *Waiata*¹⁸³ trainings, training Kapa Haka or Poi dancing, as well as weaving Harakeke.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ [Flax]. See explanation of *Harakeke* in the glossary p. 276.

¹⁸² [Dance using balls]. See explanation of *Poi* in the glossary p. 280.

¹⁸³ [Songs]. See explanation of *Waiata* in the glossary p. 282.

¹⁸⁴ 11, 3rd of October 2017, 24-25; 6, 1st of November 2017

5.1.2.3 Challenges of identity building

Earlier on, the idea of the self-determination of Māori as indigenous peoples was explained as grounded in the legacy of colonisation and the Treaty of Waitangi. Related to that, there is an understanding in this thesis that self-determination of Māori features at the global level and in relation to the transformation of indigenous rights globally. Therefore, there is a conviction of the importance of the broader indigenous identity under which Māori identity sits.

However, results from this thesis show that Māori identities are shaped both by the absence of self-determination and the value of it. This means that being Māori includes recognising the historical injustice which Māori had to face, but also the commitment of self-determination of the individual.

Self-determination as Māori on a local basis

Apart from the majority of interviewees identifying as indigenous peoples, they also identified as being Māori, whether they actively engage in being Māori or not. In this context, all the interviewees mentioned the importance to self-determine individually what it means to be Māori. Various interviewees criticized that even the term Māori was an invention from the colonisers which was used as one single term to define the various tribes of Aotearoa New Zealand.¹⁸⁵

When asking the interviewees what being Māori meant to them, results showed that there is no single understanding defining what it means to be Māori for Māori. There was a clear conviction from all the interviewees that every individual has a unique understanding of what being Māori means to them. This included the belief that identity construction is an individual process, but also a collective one, which is influenced by social, environmental, political and even global norms and histories.

In this context, one interviewee stressed that being Māori very much depends on the different experiences one has made throughout one's lifetime.¹⁸⁶ All the interviewees agreed that there are different individual experiences and different tribal ones in Aotearoa New Zealand, but at the same time Māori individuals are linked by the fact of being Māori¹⁸⁷.

When the interviewees were asked what made them feel being Māori, they gave a variety of answers. The answers ranged from the color of one's skin, being immersed in Māori culture, having a Māori last name, knowing one's Whakapapa or speaking Te Reo Māori.¹⁸⁸ Interestingly, these answers overlapped with various stereotypes mentioned by the interviewees when being asked the same question.

A variety of stereotypes was named by the interviewees related to how they imagine being Māori. One interviewee named attributes such as playing the guitar, a profound interest

¹⁸⁵ 15, 8th October 2017, 145-149

¹⁸⁶ 15, 8th October 2017, 145-149; 15, 8th October 2017, 406-427

¹⁸⁷ 42, 31st October 2017, 305-311; 42, 31st October 2017, 322-328; 5, 30th September 2017, 152-155

¹⁸⁸ 4, 30th September 2017, 11; 7, 2nd October 2017, 9-12; 30, 16th October 2017, 158-160

in Kapa Haka, wearing a Tā Moko or the gang life.¹⁸⁹ In this context, one interviewee criticised the prejudice that Māori are obliged to speak Te Reo Māori in order to be a real Māori.¹⁹⁰ His argument was supported by a variety of interviewees who stated that there are many Māori working on the *Marae* without speaking the language.¹⁹¹

Several interviewees mentioned the difficulty to deal with stereotypes towards Māori.¹⁹² One interviewee related these stereotypes coming from the media in which oftentimes Māori are portrayed as being violent.¹⁹³ In this context, another interviewee explained that her Samoan friend was afraid to meet Māori after having seen the movie *Once were warriors* which is very controversial in Aotearoa.¹⁹⁴

Within the interviews, not only stereotypes were mentioned as to how Māori should be like, but some interviewees even mentioned dialectical ascriptions from Māori about Māori. The demonstration of these ascriptions should highlight that even Māori identity is a contested site among Māori individuals.

One interviewee talked about different classifications which are common amongst Māori, such as the *potato* - a Māori who has brown skin but is *white* alias European on the inside or the *textbook* Māori, a Māori who learns all the Protocols and Waiata and shows off to other people with that. The interviewee also mentioned the *plastic Māori* - Māori performers at cultural shows such as in Rotorua.¹⁹⁵

Another interviewee contributed with the classification of the so-called *Mozzies*, a term derived from Māori Aussies, which means Māoris living in Australia or so-called *Mindians*, which stands for Māoris with an Indian ancestry.¹⁹⁶ In this thesis, there is an understanding that whereas the classifications of *potato*, *textbook Māori* or *plastic Māori* are often used in a humiliating way, using terms such as *Mozzie* or *Mindians* is used as a neutral way of describing people's origin.

Independently of what the interviewees understood by being Māori, there was a general tendency by all the participants to be proud of themselves.¹⁹⁷ Related to that, a very strong conviction to self-determine what it means to be Māori could be felt throughout all of the informal interviews.

Results from the informal interviews showed that for the majority of the interviewees one way of self-determination is to retell history. Related to that, one interviewee stated that there is a need to know Māori history and to know what exactly happened throughout colonialism.¹⁹⁸ In this context, one interviewee described the power of storytelling as an

¹⁸⁹42, 31st October 2017, 99-104; 42, 31st October 2017, 173-178

¹⁹⁰27, 15th October 2017, 41-47

¹⁹¹42, 31st October 2017, 81-88; 42, 31st October 2017, 90-92; 42, 31st October 2017, 94-96

¹⁹²33, 19th October 2017, 354-365; 44, 2nd November 2017, 184-187; 33, 19th October 2017, 428-429; 42, 31st October 2017, 159-164

¹⁹³27, 15th October 2017, 92-96

¹⁹⁴42, 31st October 2017, 585-589

¹⁹⁵20, 11th October 2017, 325

¹⁹⁶5, 30th September 2017, 87-96

¹⁹⁷20, 11th October 2017, 379-381; 33, 19th October 2017, 522-530

¹⁹⁸42, 31st November 2017, 482

art form based on traditional oral storytelling of Māori legends and myths as a form to give voice to Māori.¹⁹⁹

Several interviewees mentioned the necessity for Māori to win back their economic power and to increase the number of Māori scholars and Māori politicians.²⁰⁰ Various interviewees also stated the continuous importance of doing Māori arts such as weaving, carving, sculpturing or tattooing which is performed by individuals and in daily life.²⁰¹

Results from the participant observation confirmed that Māori symbols are omnipresent in public spaces all around the area of Ngāti Awa, although it could be observed that the symbols depended a lot on the specific place. Māori murals could frequently be found, for example, on house fronts or public buildings. See Figure 5.4. Also Māori carved statues or signs could be found in public places.

Figure 5.4: 'Te Tira Hou or New Generation'



Source: Art work by Tame Iti and Owen Dippie (Photo taken by the author)

Results of the participant observation further showed that especially in more deprived areas the Māori flag was raised. Also roadblocks as a form of protest for land loss could be detected by the researcher. See Figure 5.5.

Urbanisation and Globalisation

The results from the informal interviews further showed that ongoing processes such as urbanisation and globalisation have a deep impact on the construction of the identities of the interviewees.

¹⁹⁹ 13, 4th of October 2017, 25-34

²⁰⁰ 26, 15th October 2017, 137-140; 42, 31st October 2018, 483-494

²⁰¹ 11, 3rd of October 2017, 24-25; 33, 19th of October 2017, 582-588

Figure 5.5: Roadblock of Māori land



Source: Photos taken by the author (Permission granted)

A great amount of aged 60 plus interviewees talked about the waves of Māori who moved to the bigger cities in Aotearoa New Zealand starting from the 1950s. Many of them were not older than 15 years and left their homes as a consequence of job shortage in the countryside.²⁰²

Among the interviewees there was a common understanding that Māori who live in the cities oftentimes do not know their tribal group or do not know their directly related family members.²⁰³ Related to that, one interviewee said, “I think for the ones that leave they have a problem of who they are and the stability of knowing who they are. Giving them the sense of balance on the planet”.²⁰⁴ Another interviewee explained that nowadays it frequently happens that parents don’t teach their children their Whakapapa anymore and that there is no community support the way it was in the past.²⁰⁵

In this context, one interviewee highlighted that moving to the city oftentimes caused losing the connection to one’s homelands and losing one’s own identity, which in many cases led to alienation of the individuals from their communities as a consequence.²⁰⁶ Related to that, one interviewee explained that not knowing one’s origin and suffering from alienation to the community could cause an identity crisis and even excessive alcohol or drug consumption.²⁰⁷ Quite frequently interviewees related the idea of joining Māori gangs as a way to identify with a group when not knowing one’s Whakapapa or family.

Results from the interviews also showed that the phenomena of Māori moving away from their homelands is not only limited to national borders. Several interviewees told about their experiences living abroad, such as in Australia or in the United Kingdom, whether for a short or a longer period of time. All of the interviewees who went to live abroad de-

²⁰² 12, 3rd October 2017, 345-347; 26, 15th October 2017, 96-98; 26, 15th October 2017, 103-105

²⁰³ 2, 26th September 2017, 204-206; 26, 15th October 2017, 193-201

²⁰⁴ 2, 26th September 2017, 219-220

²⁰⁵ 44, 2nd November 2017, 206-210

²⁰⁶ 26, 15th October 2017, 96-98

²⁰⁷ 8, 2nd October 2017, 147-148

scribed a strong connection to Aotearoa New Zealand when living in another country.²⁰⁸ Related to that, one interviewee said, “If you peel a lemon, you’re still a lemon (laughing). A banana in an orange box is still a banana, you know. [] I am gonna be a Māori from the day I was born to the day I die”.²⁰⁹

The majority of the interviewees who had lived abroad stated that they were regularly seeking out for other Māori during their time abroad.²¹⁰ One interviewee even talked about organising meetings for his Iwi and having his own Marae in Sydney, Australia.²¹¹ In this context, one interviewee explained that overseas Māori are understood as Māori as an overall concept, whereas within Aotearoa New Zealand the differences between Māori such as Iwi, Hapu and Whanau are strongly highlighted.²¹²

One interviewee talked about feeling the necessity to speak Māori when living abroad, whereas back home she did not feel it as much.²¹³ Related to that, the interviewee stated, “And see you come home and don’t wear my *Taonga*²¹⁴, you know cause I’m home, like they know who I am. Weird, you don’t really speak Te Reo Māori. Because over there it needs to be protected. Over here well everyone is doing this, so we are alright. But we are not right.”²¹⁵ The interviewee described very positive reactions from people abroad when speaking Te Reo Māori in public places and that people were asking her where she was from.²¹⁶

Various interviewees who had lived abroad also described that foreigners frequently approached them to ask them about their abilities to speak Te Reo Māori.²¹⁷ One interviewee stated that she was even confronted with questions such as if Māori still wear grass skirts or live in huts without running water and electricity.²¹⁸ Several interviewees described that foreigners often had no knowledge that there are still Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

All of the interviewees, who mentioned having lived abroad, had returned and moved home after their experience abroad. The affected interviewees listed different reasons for coming back home, such as the wish to raise their children at home or to reconnect with the lands and tighten the connection to Whanau and the family.²¹⁹ Several interviewees mentioned a stronger involvement in the community when coming back to Aotearoa New Zealand.²²⁰

²⁰⁸26, 15th October 2017, 170-173

²⁰⁹26, 15th October 2017, 160-164

²¹⁰42, 31st October 2017, 537-543; 5, 30th September 2017, 117; 27, 15th October 2017, 318-322; 5, 30th September 2017, 170-180

²¹¹5, 30th September 2017, 131-132

²¹²27, 15th October 2017, 321-322

²¹³30, 16th October 2017, 64-68; 5, 30th September 2017, 146-149

²¹⁴[**Object of value**]. See explanation of *Taonga* in the glossary p. 281.

²¹⁵5, 30th September 2017, 170-180

²¹⁶5, 30th September 2017, 170-180

²¹⁷37, 23rd October 2017, 61-63; 8, 2nd October 2017, 63-65; 27, 15th October 2017, 425-431

²¹⁸8, 2nd October 2017, 406-412

²¹⁹26, 15th October 2017, 6-9; 34, 19th October 2017, 334-338; 33, 19th October 2019, 195-199; 12, 3rd October 2017, 365-366; 12, 3rd October 2017, 424-427

²²⁰8, 2nd October 2017, 165-167

To sum up this section, results from all of the interviews showed that the Marae is a very diverse place, which plays a very central role in Māoridom. Nevertheless, in this thesis there is an understanding that the Marae frequently underwent changes and adapted to the new environment and circumstances. One example was given by one interviewee who explained that whereas in the past it was common to eat a *Hangi*²²¹, the earth oven food on the Marae, nowadays it is more convenient to make roasts, cold meats and salads.²²²

Conclusion

As the results of this section show, there are two main elements relevant for the construction of Māori identities, in particular from members of Ngāti Awa, which are Whakapapa and the Marae. However, it also became clear that these two elements are built upon a variety of sub-themes which are necessary to constitute Māori identities and which can always be related back to the mentioned main themes.

After presenting the outcome of this section, it becomes clear that the interviewees who participated in this research did not romanticize Māori realities and barriers to identity. The results that were presented show very different individual perspectives from members of the Ngāti Awa tribe on the construction of Māori identities.

Another aspect that needs to be mentioned is that the construction of Māori identities is still challenged by colonial legacies which have an influence on what people think about Māori and the projected Māori identities that exist inside and outside of Aotearoa New Zealand.

It seems crucial for this thesis to have the discussions of this section in mind when attempting to understand planned and projected Māori identities. In the next section, the results from the second and third objective of this research which focused on understanding the construction of the *planned Māori identities* and *projected Māori identities* in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand will be presented.

²²¹[Food prepared in earth oven]. See explanation of *Hangi* in the glossary p. 276.

²²²24, 14th October 2017, 120-122

5.2 Planned Māori identities

After describing the results of the *self-image* (Objective 1) which discusses how members of the Māori tribe *Ngāti Awa*²²³ construct their cultural identities, this section addresses the *planned Māori identities* (Objective 2). Based on the conduction of expert interviews, this objective investigated the opinions about *planned Māori identities* in specific Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of *Aotearoa*²²⁴ New Zealand by selected experts. As throughout the research process an extended amount of information about Cultural Diplomacy evolved, in this thesis a deliberate decision was taken to make Cultural Diplomacy an *independent* chapter and discuss its results *apart* from Public Diplomacy.

5.2.1 Opinions about the *planned Māori identities* in selected Nation Branding channels of Aotearoa New Zealand

This subsection presents the results from the expert interviews related to the planned Māori identities in selected Nation Branding channels of Aotearoa New Zealand. As described in the methodology chapter, an essential target group of Nation Branding experts (e.g. Tourism New Zealand, All Blacks Rugby and Air New Zealand) could not be reached for the expert interviews. Because of that, this subsection about the Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand has a great focus on different forms of tourism based Nation Branding activities, which in this thesis is understood to be a *sub-branch* of Nation Branding.²²⁵

Apart from the earlier mentioned actors, the results from the expert interviews of this thesis showed that as actors of Nation Branding who are involved in the construction of Māori identities *governmental departments* such as the Ministry of Māori Tourism, *semi-governmental actors* such the city of Rotorua, *private institutions* such as different forms of cultural centres, for instance the Tamaki Māori village and particularly *private actors* could be detected. Furthermore, it could be found that *local, regional and national agencies* are particularly involved in the organisation of Māori tourism.

Results from the expert interviews further showed that these actors have very different approaches when constructing Māori identities for their specific purposes. Before the results discussing how the different actors approach the construction of Māori identities in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand will be presented, two elements will be discussed which could be detected throughout the different approaches.

Throughout the interviews of all the experts of Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand, it could be found that Māori culture is used as a resource of uniqueness and that there is a strong focus to conduct Māori tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand.

²²³[Māori tribe]. See explanation of *Ngāti Awa* in the glossary p. 280.

²²⁴[Land of the long white cloud]. Māori term for New Zealand. See explanation of *Aotearoa* in the glossary p. 276.

²²⁵The investigation of other areas of Nation Branding, such as exports, attracting talent or investment would have exceeded the scope of this thesis, but could be of great interest for future research.

Great differences could be discovered throughout the different approaches when it comes to the engagement of Māori into these processes, and one particular tendency could be noted. The smaller the agency or company which constructs the representation of Māori culture, the more intimate the contact between the visitor and Māori community, but also the more contented Māori are with the representation about their culture.

After discussing the two overlapping elements between the different actors of Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand, the subsequent section will present the approaches of the different actors while discussing what the aims of their attempts are and *how* and to *what extent* Māori are taken into account while doing so.

5.2.1.1 Using Māori culture as a resource of uniqueness

The results from the expert interviews showed that in the case of Aotearoa New Zealand one can distinguish between mainstream tourism and *cultural* tourism. One common example for mainstream tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand is *Tourism New Zealand*, a marketing agency which globally promotes New Zealand as a tourism destination.

All of the tourism experts described *mainstream* tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand with a strong focus on a nature-related image to attract foreign visitors and tourists to the country. There is a general understanding among all interviewees that many tourists come to Aotearoa New Zealand to see its landscapes, mountains, beaches, national parks or its flora and fauna.

In this context, the majority of the expert interviewees stated that many visitors not only come to Aotearoa New Zealand to see the landscape but also to conduct sport activities such as skydiving or bungee jumping. Nevertheless, there was a general tendency amongst the experts that tourists visiting Aotearoa New Zealand without any cultural experience do miss out on an essential part of the nation.

From the perspective of one expert interviewee, who managed his own Māori cultural experience agency, a shift in Aotearoa New Zealand's mainstream tourism could be observed over the last couple of years. When earlier the main target group of visitors coming to Aotearoa New Zealand was understood as backpackers, campers or hostel-tourists, nowadays the ongoing consensus is that it is a middle to high-budget target group who can afford to visit the country.²²⁶ In the interviewee's opinion, these new target groups care more about the experience they have while travelling through Aotearoa New Zealand than the costs of it.²²⁷

The stated opinions of the tourist experts further showed that because of this increased need for rather 'exclusive' experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand, a stronger focus was put on Māori culture within tourism which nowadays is understood to be a *unique* element and resource of Aotearoa New Zealand.

One interviewee who worked as the cultural manager of a Māori cultural village in the city of Rotorua had the impression that as a consequence of this shift in the target groups,

²²⁶22, 13th October 2017, 625-632

²²⁷22, 13th October 2017, 625-632

today's tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand is understood as a lifestyle business. The interviewee's belief was that there is a certain danger that many people in tourism expect to make a lot of money by offering experiences with Māori culture.²²⁸

One example of 'using' elements of Māori culture for mainstream tourism, that frequently came up throughout the expert interviews, was *Manaakitanga*²²⁹. According to one interviewee, the Māori value of *Manaakitanga* describes the hospitality of local people in Aotearoa New Zealand towards incoming visitors. It is regularly promoted to showcase that visitors will receive a particularly welcoming experience when visiting Aotearoa New Zealand.²³⁰ Whether or not it is communicated in mainstream tourism that this value originates from Māori culture, all of the interviewees described this element as being omnipresent in today's tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Results from the expert interviews further showed that while mainstream tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand focuses on its natural features it normally does entail at least some optional Māori experience, which in the most cases is a visit to one of the Māori cultural villages in the city of Rotorua.

All of the experts from the different branches of tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand also agreed that within Aotearoa New Zealand there is a specific tourism which particularly focuses on Māori tourism, which oftentimes is called 'cultural tourism'. When talking about cultural tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand, all of the experts referred to tourism based on Māori culture.

There is a very clear understanding from all experts working in the field of tourism that Māori culture plays a pivotal role in cultural tourism of Aotearoa New Zealand and in differentiating Aotearoa New Zealand from other countries. As to one interviewee working at a Māori cultural village, this phenomenon results "because you know our culture is unique to the rest of the world".²³¹

5.2.1.2 Focusing on *Māori tourism* in Aotearoa New Zealand

After having found that Māori culture plays a significant role in the promotion of tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand, the next subsection demonstrates the implementation of *planned Māori identities* in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand.

There was a general understanding amongst all experts from the field that Māori tourism is elaborated throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. One interviewee's impression was that there is some sort of Māori tourism all over New Zealand.²³² All of the experts mentioned the city of Rotorua in relation to Māori tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand. One interviewee pointed out that within Māori tourism Rotorua is frequently called the heart of Māori tourism.²³³

²²⁸28, 16th October 2017, 165-167

²²⁹[**Hospitality**]. See explanation of *Manaakitanga* in the glossary p. 279.

²³⁰38, 24th October 2017, 634-637

²³¹38, 24th October 2017, 631-632

²³²22, 13th October 2017, 47-48; 22, 13th October 2017, 1128-1130

²³³22, 13th October 2017, 63-66

As to the same expert, contrary to Rotorua which has been doing cultural tourism for more than 150 years now, only since the last 25 years cultural tourism has developed in other places in Aotearoa New Zealand, such as in Queenstown on the South Island or the Hokianga region on the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.²³⁴ From the viewpoint of the interviewee, there are strong attempts within Aotearoa New Zealand to draw the visitors' attention to other locations within the country and to take away Rotorua's title.²³⁵

From the results of the expert interviews it became clear that there are very different forms of cultural tourism in New Zealand, which may range from large scale and very developed Māori tourism to rather small family businesses.²³⁶ Also, various experts confirmed that there are rather divergent opinions on *how* to do Māori tourism and *what* Māori tourism means.²³⁷

When asking the experts why they think that there is no clear understanding of Māori tourism, one interviewee, who worked as an independent Māori tourism strategist, held the view that this phenomenon is caused by the constant growth of Māori tourism and resulting vagueness of its definition.²³⁸ In this context, the questioned experts had very different ideas on *how* Māori tourism should look like. Whereas some experts understood Māori tourism as presenting traditional Māori performances, others understood Māori tourism as demonstrating a more contemporary image of Māori to visitors.²³⁹

According to the opinion of one expert working in an governmental department responsible for cultural tourism, it is necessary that Māori tourism includes traditional Māori customs, such as the *Powhiri*²⁴⁰, a welcoming ceremony or the *Poi*²⁴¹, a traditional dance, which nowadays still take place at the *Marae*²⁴². Also, from the viewpoint of another expert working for a Māori tourism village, it is important to know that traditional Māori performances are not a demonstration of Māori being stuck in time, but rather demonstrates the traditions and rituals Māori hold on to.²⁴³ The expert had the impression that there is great importance to showcase Māori culture as constantly evolving with time.²⁴⁴

There was a very clear agreement of all the experts of Māori tourism that using Māori elements for tourism only to make profit is very superficial.²⁴⁵ Several experts - from governmental tourism units, from bigger cultural centres, but also private tourism agencies - agreed that creating Māori tourism is not for making big business, but rather a passion and an attempt to create jobs for the community and future generations.²⁴⁶ According to

²³⁴22, 13th October 2017, 1132-1138

²³⁵22, 13th October 2017, 1122-1125

²³⁶22, 13th October 2017, 1164-1175

²³⁷22, 13th October 2017; 28, 16th October 2017

²³⁸28, 16th October 2017, 181-188

²³⁹22, 13th October 2017; 28, 16th October 2017, 50-54; 52, 7th October 2017

²⁴⁰[**Welcome ceremony**]. See explanation of *Powhiri* in the glossary p. 280.

²⁴¹[**Dance using balls**]. See explanation of *Poi* in the glossary p. 280.

²⁴²[**Cultural meeting centre**]. See explanation of *Marae* in the glossary p. 279. — 52, 7th October 2017, 268; 52, 7th October 2017, 275-282

²⁴³38, 24th October 2017, 101-104

²⁴⁴38, 24th October 2017, 101-104

²⁴⁵22, 13th October 2017; 71-73, 24th October 2017; 52, 7th October 2017

²⁴⁶22, 13th October 2017, 313-319; 52, 7th October 2017; 38, 24th October 2017

the conviction of one expert who worked in community-based Māori tourism, the people working in Māori tourism frequently already have jobs and engage additionally to their work in Māori tourism.²⁴⁷

One goal that was mentioned by a great amount of experts from tourism was to improve the knowledge about Māori culture that visitors, but also locals have. This goal aims at developing the culture and to perpetuate the stories and traditions of Māori. It also includes engaging younger generations into cultural tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand. From the standpoint of one interviewee working in community-based Māori tourism, creating authentic Māori tourism is an essential way of making Māori culture relevant again, otherwise the younger generation would lose their knowledge and “turn to their PlayStations again”.²⁴⁸

Results from the interviews with experts from Māori tourism also showed that the earlier mentioned Māori value of Manaakitanga is priority when doing Māori tourism. As to one interviewee who worked autonomously in Māori tourism, tourists should feel like visitors in Aotearoa New Zealand. The interviewee described that attempts were constantly made to make visitors feel welcomed and comfortable as if in their own homes throughout their stay in Aotearoa New Zealand.²⁴⁹

Throughout the expert interviews it also became clear that there are strong attempts to create Māori tourism that offers an authentic and genuine experience for visitors. That included various elements that were mentioned by the experts. First, there were strong tendencies to self-determine the image that is presented to visitors by Māori.²⁵⁰ As various interviewees agreed, this representation should include addressing ongoing problems and issues occurring for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. One interviewee’s belief was that visitors will see through what is a genuine Māori cultural performance or not.²⁵¹

Another task of Māori tourism that was mentioned by a variety of experts is *Mana Motuhake*²⁵². This term means to collectively use all the skills and resources of the community in order to build up a tourism project. From the standpoint of one interviewee who already worked in community-based Māori tourism projects, self-determination in Māori tourism also means to reunite the different related *Iwi*²⁵³ and their resources.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁷22, 13th October 2017, 357-368

²⁴⁸22, 13th October 2017, 321-323

²⁴⁹28, 16th October 2017, 70-80

²⁵⁰22, 13th October 2017

²⁵¹28, 16th October 2017, 170-180

²⁵²[**Self-determination**]. According to the Māori Dictionary (nd) the term “Mana Motuhake” means “(noun) separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty, authority - mana through self-determination and control over one’s own destiny.”

²⁵³[**Tribe**]. See explanation of *Iwi* in the glossary p. 277

²⁵⁴22, 13th October 2017, 864-867

5.2.1.3 Different approaches to planned Māori identities on the example of Māori tourism

The results from the expert interviews with people responsible for Māori tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand showed that a variety of different units is involved in the construction of planned Māori identities in the Nation Branding of New Zealand. According to one expert who had worked for official Māori tourism agencies, Māori tourism might be organised by *local, regional or national* agencies. The interviewee's belief was that some tribes manage their own tourism agendas or hire Māori strategic planners to create a strategic plan for the local tribe.²⁵⁵

In the following, the tourism focused Nation Branding activities of the different units (e.g. governmental departments, private institutions or semi-governmental actors as well as private actors) will be discussed in detail.

Governmental departments

Results from the expert interviews showed that one main actor in the construction of planned Māori identities for Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand is the Ministry of Māori Tourism. One of the participants of the expert interviews worked for the Ministry of Māori tourism which is located in Wellington. As the interviewee explained, the Ministry of Māori tourism is a governmental unit which oversees the observance of Māori values while working together with other tourism operators, especially with local operators or cultural institutions.²⁵⁶ From the perspective of the interviewee, the Ministry of Māori tourism is very sensitive to topics related to Māori culture and takes the value of Manaakitanga very serious.²⁵⁷ The interviewee was further of the opinion that looking after one's own people includes also looking after one's own visitors.²⁵⁸

According to the interviewee, the Ministry of Māori tourism organises and implements the visits of international delegates coming to Aotearoa New Zealand. As he pointed out, this demonstrates the extent to which Māori are taken into account as this is a big opportunity to showcase Māori products from the community to people visiting from abroad (ibid).

In the opinion of the interviewee, there is a strong emphasis on showing people who are visiting Aotearoa New Zealand to learn how cultural tourism is done here. As a consequence, he stated that "almost all of them are coming through to see how Māori tourism operators do their thing. Because everyone has heard these visions [] of grandeur about [] Māori are just outstanding when it comes to tourism and authentic tourism".²⁵⁹

Another aim of the Ministry of Māori tourism the interviewee mentioned is to showcase Māori culture abroad in order to foster cultural fusion and cultural exchange. In this

²⁵⁵28, 16th October 2017, 141-145

²⁵⁶52, 7th November 2017, 15-19

²⁵⁷52, 7th November 2017, 33-36

²⁵⁸52, 7th November 2017, 48-53

²⁵⁹52, 7th November 2017, 29-36

context, the interviewee talked about a visiting group of First Nations from Australia coming to New Zealand to exchange ideas with Māori. The Ministry of Māori tourism organised a cultural experience at the East Coast and a series of educational classes for the visitors. Although the trip was organised by the Ministry of Māori tourism, the experience was provided by local Māori tour operators and included a visit of the Mataatua Marae in Whakatane as well as a *Powhiri* and a traditional dinner.²⁶⁰ Again, this demonstrates the involvement of the local Māori community and high extent to which Māori are taken into account in the organisation.

Private institutions or semi-governmental actors

As discussed before, some of the main actors of Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand are *Tourism New Zealand*, *the All Blacks*, New Zealand's official Rugby team and *Air New Zealand* with whom due to the given circumstances it was not possible to conduct any interviews. For this reason, this section shows a greater focus on actors related to Māori tourism.

All of the experts working in Māori tourism did mention the city of Rotorua. From the viewpoint of one interviewee who had worked for *Tourism New Zealand*, Rotorua looks back to a long history of developing local tourism and can be described as the pioneer of Māori tourism around Aotearoa New Zealand.²⁶¹

As to one interviewee who worked at a Māori cultural village, throughout the 19th century cultural tourism evolved in Rotorua developed by Māori due to geothermal activities of the region. People from abroad started visiting in order to see the white and pink terraces which back in the days were understood as world wonders. They would travel for weeks just to see the terraces and to bathe in the hot pools.²⁶²

The same interviewee was convinced that right from the beginning of tourism in Rotorua, Māori offered guided tours around the thermal pools.²⁶³ Since back then Māori guides provided the visitors with local histories and Māori storytelling combining natural resources and Māori performing talent.²⁶⁴ This example demonstrates that Māori have been involved in the organisation and execution of tourism of Rotorua right from the beginning.

Today, there is a variety of different Māori tourist sites in Rotorua offering a great variety of tourist experiences. Apart from the rather typical Māori cultural villages which offer cultural shows, one interviewee mentioned Te Puia. Although Te Puia is also a Māori cultural centre, it focuses on Māori arts and crafts and even has its own carving school which attempts to revive skills of Māori carving.²⁶⁵ By perpetuating the skills and cus-

²⁶⁰52, 7th November 2017, 55-145

²⁶¹22, 13th October 2017, 55-61

²⁶²38, 24th October 2017, 113-117

²⁶³38, 24th October 2017, 113-117

²⁶⁴38, 24th October 2017, 119-122

²⁶⁵38, 24th October 2017, 38-42

toms of Māori, the sensitive interaction with Māori culture even in a more touristic context becomes clear.

From the viewpoint of one interviewee who worked at a Māori cultural centre in Rotorua, it is very common to train children from a young age to do cultural performances. He further explained that training Māori children from young age is understood as a way of perpetuating culture.²⁶⁶

In this context, the interviewee²⁶⁷ pointed out:

By the time you are 14 you know the whole package [] you can show up to any show in Rotorua do your thing take your 30 bucks and move on to the next one [] so some of them are making 180 bucks in a day. [] So that is their profession and then at the same time because they know all the same songs when they turn up to a *Hui*²⁶⁸ and get the guitars you know the whole [] everyone knows the same songs and is used to performing because that is what they do. So the outcome the cultural outcome for them because of this tourism [] we have actually perpetuated amongst our kids this strong performing arts tradition that we have grown you know.

After presenting the results from the expert interviews discussing governmental units and bigger private or semi-governmental actors who participate in the construction of planned Māori identities in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand, the next two sections will present the results from a *bottom-up* perspective.

Private actors

Given the example of Māori tourism, there was an increased tendency and strive among the experts towards a bottom-up Māori tourism. Various interviewees described the term *bottom-up* tourism as a form of tourism based on engagement with the local community. From the point of view of one interviewee working at a Māori cultural centre there is an growing awareness that Māori tourism should be authentic and real and as close as possible to the environment people live in.²⁶⁹

In this context, one of the interviewees gave the example of his work as a cultural manager overseeing Māori performing arts at Tamaki Māori Village which is a Māori cultural centre in Rotorua. As to the interviewee, Tamaki Māori Village was only established in Rotorua about twenty-eight years ago as bottom-up approach by a Māori family.²⁷⁰

The interviewee pointed out that his main tasks were implementing new elements into the Māori performing art shows and helping to advance the show with different movements and choreographies.²⁷¹ From his standpoint the centre's aim is to offer visitors the most

²⁶⁶38, 24th October 2017, 518-520

²⁶⁷22, 13th October 2017, 329-340

²⁶⁸[**Gathering**]. See explanation of the *Hui* in the glossary p. 277.

²⁶⁹28, 16th October 2017, 49-53

²⁷⁰38, 24th October 2017, 27-28

²⁷¹38, 24th October 2017, 179-182

authentic and genuine experience of Māori performing arts. This could be ensured by involving the local community (ibid).

Related to that, the interviewee believed that Tamaki Māori village focuses on engaging members of the local community to become part of the cultural centre and to engage in tourist performances.²⁷² The interviewee held the view that this is not only done to ensure people's jobs and employment in the area, but also to foster people's awareness of the importance of Māori culture (ibid) and thereby not only take into account the community, but set the goals of sensitivity to Māori culture.

Part of Tamaki Māori village's interest is to share Māori knowledge with incoming guests. As the interviewee argued, it is part of the program to hold specialised topical seminars to international audiences.²⁷³ One example the interviewee mentioned was a seminar about Māori medicine which was attended by a group of medical doctors from elite universities in the United States and Canada. In the interviewee's opinion, the reactions from the audience were strongly positive. As to the interviewee, these seminars aim at sharing Māori culture with the world and finding similarities with other people rather than presenting Māori culture as static and dominant.²⁷⁴

Apart from the rather bigger Māori cultural centres, various expert interviews were conducted with private actors who engage in building bottom-up alias community-based Māori tourism.

Community-based Māori tourism

A great amount of the experts worked in a community-based Māori tourism. All of them described the high significance to engage with the community and let the community decide what Māori tourism should look like. These statements demonstrated that there is a high involvement of the community. One interviewee, who worked as an independent strategic Māori tourism adviser, pointed out that she mainly recommends an anti-mainstream approach to local tribes asking for a strategic plan which integrates Māori culture and cultural principles.²⁷⁵ By doing this, it can be made sure that there is a sensitive and appropriate interaction with Māori culture (ibid).

From the perspective of one interviewee who managed his own Māori tourism agency, tourism must be based on real encounters between Māori and visitors. In the interviewee's opinion there is an ancestral responsibility Māori have to ensure that every visitor leaves as a friend.²⁷⁶

The interviewee had the impression that there are strong local attempts to stand out of the mass, even when it comes to local Māori tourism.²⁷⁷ Related to that, he argued that he

²⁷²38, 24th October 2017, 372

²⁷³38, 24th October 2017, 184-186

²⁷⁴38, 24th October 2017, 201-210

²⁷⁵28, 16th October 2017, 151-188

²⁷⁶22, 13th October 2017, 712-719

²⁷⁷22, 13th October 2017, 151-157

wanted to offer an individual experience to his visitors.²⁷⁸

The same interviewee held the view that when earlier local providers intended to copy the model of Rotorua, today's approach is to develop new and authentic Māori experiences.²⁷⁹

They were the kings of it [], they were the kings of it, no-one could compete with them and that was the trap we fell into as Māori [] I think as we develop experiences and we all try to copy their model. So we need to develop a position that is built around us. How we do things, we don't perform, we don't, like the difference between over there and us is I think is that we are a lot more real. And you know that is just how we are. And what they did is not discordant to them, because what they do, is what they do. And one thing that they have taught us is that if you can if you can (ehm) get your tourism pumping you can perpetuate your traditions, because you make the culture relevant again to your kids.

The quote of this interviewee made clear how important self-determination of Māori tourism is for the community, not only to share one's traditions and customs with incoming visitors, but also to make sure the knowledge will be passed on to the future generations.

Results from investigating the planned Māori identities in the Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand showed that the more community-based and private the approach is, the more self-determined the representation about Māori culture becomes. Out of a dissatisfaction of the representation about Māori there are strong attempts to grow bottom-up Māori culture and define the representation of Māori by Māori.

After presenting the results regarding the planned Māori identities in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand, the next subsection will discuss the results regarding Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.2.2 Opinions about the *planned Māori identities* in selected Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand

This subsection presents the results from the experts interviews related to the planned Māori identities in selected Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Results from the expert interviews showed that the main actors involved in the construction of the planned Māori identities in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of Culture and Heritage and Te Puni Kokiri which unfortunately did not allow to record the interviews, the New Zealand embassies and High Commissions abroad, as well as local Iwi and tribe organisations.

Throughout the different actors very similar approaches could be detected. Results from the interviews with experts of Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand showed that

²⁷⁸22, 13th October 2017, 163-169; 22, 13th October 2017, 534-563

²⁷⁹22, 13th October 2017, 63-78

there is a tendency to let Māori represent themselves and even further to give Māori a chance and possibility to represent themselves. In general there is a very high sensitivity when it comes to the appropriate representation of Māori culture and Māori are almost always taken into account when it comes to decision-making processes.

From the interviews with Public Diplomacy experts it became clear that the planned Māori identities should be very diverse in order to enable diplomatic debates on a more general level, but also to create political and economic opportunities for Māori which will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2.2.1 Māori culture as a gateway for diplomatic debates

Within Aotearoa New Zealand there is a variety of responsible units with regard to the conduction of Public Diplomacy.

According to one interviewee working at a governmental unit, the main responsible unit for Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The expert pointed out that an important task of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade is to bring Māori culture abroad.²⁸⁰

Throughout the interviews with experts from different diplomatic units within Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad, it further became clear that there is a great emphasis on integrating Māori culture in the representation of the nation abroad and doing this in an appropriate way. As to one interviewee working at a governmental unit responsible for incoming diplomatic delegates, Māori culture is used as an element to showcase the many faces of New Zealand as well as New Zealand as a nation.²⁸¹

Also from the interviews with experts from the Embassies of New Zealand in Vienna and Madrid as well as various experts working in governmental departments who are responsible for diplomatic activities within Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad, it became clear that there is a general interest to infuse knowledge of Māori culture and language into the diplomatic committee and diplomatic work of New Zealand.

One expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna pointed out her personal opinion:²⁸²

I think it is [] something that New Zealand has that we should, well, not exploit, but we should [] take advantage of [], something unique it, is part of our value proposition, why wouldn't we embrace it and use it [] a point of distinction [], again as long as you do it well and you do it properly.

As various experts further explained, especially New Zealand embassies and High Commission units are highly involved in Public Diplomacy activities outside of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, as two different experts working at New Zealand Embassies in Europe

²⁸⁰46, 4th November 2017, 408-412; 57, 16th July 2018, 787-790

²⁸¹46, 4th November 2017, 16-19; 46, 4th November 2017, 44-45

²⁸²57, 16th July 2018, 843-847

explained, cultural events or cultural performances often are not planned on purpose. As the interviewees confirmed, there is rather an attitude to take advantage of cultural events taking place in the area, especially when it comes to smaller posts abroad. There was an understanding that more significant diplomatic posts, such as the ones in New York, Washington, London or Brussels, do have more resources for cultural events and cultural performances.²⁸³

The contributions of the experts from different governmental units showed that there are strong attempts to make Māori culture a priority in diplomatic activities, even if they depend on the resources and equipment of the specific post and unit.

Results from the expert interviews further showed that applying Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand aimed at achieving the elements of credibility, trust and mutuality of foreign governments and global publics by being honest about its problems and issues, in particular when it comes to the Māori population. Therefore, within diplomatic talks strong attempts were made to address ongoing problems of the Māori population within Aotearoa New Zealand, such as health issues.

5.2.2.2 (Self-) representation of Māori diversity and appropriation of cultural representation

From all the expert interviews with responsible persons from different governmental units it became clear that there is an awareness of the importance to adequately represent Māori culture outside of Aotearoa New Zealand.

From the viewpoint of one expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Madrid, it needs to be ensured that an appropriate representation of Māori culture takes place.²⁸⁴ There was an understanding from all interviewees that this meant not presenting Māori as one single unity.

One expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna had the personal impression that the New Zealand government does not attempt to present a single picture, but understands that Māori culture depends on where one is from and whom one is talking to.²⁸⁵ From the perspective of one interviewee working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Māori do not speak with one single voice.²⁸⁶

Another expert, who also worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, confirmed that there is an awareness that although there are specific Iwi customs, *Protocols*²⁸⁷ or even language specifications within Aotearoa New Zealand, there is a general understanding between all the different Iwi tribes. As to the interviewee, Māori from the South Island will understand Māori from the North Island, apart from slight language differences and

²⁸³ 57, 16th July 2018, 861-862; 57, 16th July 2018, 870-877

²⁸⁴ 56, 16th May 2018, 47-48

²⁸⁵ 57, 16th July 2018, 711-720

²⁸⁶ 48, 6th November 2017, 111

²⁸⁷ [Protocols]. See explanation of *Protocols* in the glossary p. 280.

regional slang. He argued that the differences between the different tribes consist of different experiences according to the specific region.²⁸⁸

From the perspective of the same expert, there is an awareness of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade to understand that Iwi have their own experiences according to the specific regions they live in.²⁸⁹ The interviewee pointed out that there is an understanding to respect the differences of the different Iwi in Aotearoa New Zealand, although there is also an awareness that “when we come together as Māori we are very much the same.”²⁹⁰

Results from the interviews with experts from different governmental units and public diplomacy departments showed that there is tendency not to present a single picture of Māori culture to incoming visitors, but to present the diversity of the Māori culture.

Related to that, all of the concerned experts stated that it is very common that the individual Iwi organisations take care of diplomatic activities and events, which includes the program they want to share with visitors or the topics they want to address. As one expert working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade argued, when it comes to diplomatic functions in Aotearoa New Zealand, often they are carried out in collaboration between governmental units and Iwi. From the perspective of the interviewee, Iwi organise their cultural and topical program themselves which is why the events take place the way of the Iwi.²⁹¹

Among all of the experts there was a very clear understanding that there is a necessity for Māori to self-determine the representation about Māori culture to incoming visitors. From the belief of one interviewee working at a Public Diplomacy unit responsible for the welcoming of incoming diplomats, “Sitting at the table is one thing. But [Māori who are] sitting at the table and having an intelligence does make a huge difference”.²⁹² At the same time, there was great awareness that when representing Māori culture, people involved need to be trained properly first.

5.2.2.3 Enabling political and economic opportunities for Māori

Throughout the expert interviews, various interviewees stated the importance to address Māori within diplomatic activities, not only to mention them, but to really open up political and economic opportunities for Māori all around Aotearoa New Zealand.

As to one interviewee working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also takes on the role of making sure Māori interests and elements are included in the diplomatic functions and that foreign publics are informed about the existence of Māori.²⁹³ Also another interviewee, working at the Ministry of Foreign

²⁸⁸ 54, 11th November 2017, 47-50, 62-64

²⁸⁹ 54, 11th November 2017, 52-56

²⁹⁰ 54, 11th November 2017, 55-56

²⁹¹ 54, 11th November 2017, 77

²⁹² 54, 11th November 2017, 551-553

²⁹³ 48, 6th November 2017, 72-79; 54, 11th November 2017, 19-20

Affairs and Trade, confirmed that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs often receives requests that are related to Māori culture.²⁹⁴

From the personal viewpoint of one interviewee working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna, within diplomatic units of Aotearoa New Zealand there is a general strategy which aims at consulting with foreign countries about topics related to trade, environment or human rights which represent the interest of Māori people.²⁹⁵

In the view of the expert, especially when it comes to conducting business and trade with foreign countries, the voices of Māori become increasingly engaged into the strategies. The interviewee held the opinion that one aim of the New Zealand government is to highlight global issues and possibilities of engagement for Māori.²⁹⁶

According to one expert working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, due to the settlement processes in Aotearoa New Zealand there are Iwi which have assets which they have invested in different economic sectors such as forestry, fisheries or dairy production. As a consequence, they are particularly interested in developing negotiations and trade abroad. From the perspective of the interviewee, the Iwi attempt to encourage all the different parts of the communities to engage in this business opportunities.²⁹⁷

One expert's belief was that there are great attempts to engage even the more critical parts of the community into business and economy.²⁹⁸ The interviewee stated:²⁹⁹

The ones who are in drugs, the ones who are committing suicide and all that sort of things and we have all these problems, so we are looking at how to address them and the government [] we are able to help them, but I think that Iwi are now saying we have to do that ourselves as well and have been looking at addressing these particular problems.

From the interviewee's belief there is a necessity of formulating clear strategies and frameworks for the next two to three years in order to benchmark the several steps of this progress.³⁰⁰

Amongst all of the experts there is a general agreement that in order to participate in discussions Māori need to work on the education and critical thinking of the community. One way of fostering education is by the implementation of Māori universities. Māori have developed specific Māori universities such as the 'Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi' in Whakatāne which aim at attracting international students and scholars from all over the world. Through advertising educational scholarships and grant systems, this is a way of supporting individuals who have come through a European school system by achieving something in a Māori way of learning, as one interviewee explained.³⁰¹

²⁹⁴ 46, 4th November 2017, 179-185

²⁹⁵ 57, 16th July 2018, 504-506

²⁹⁶ 57, 16th July 2018, 619-627

²⁹⁷ 54, 11th November 2017, 573-575

²⁹⁸ 54, 11th November 2017, 615-616; 54, 11th November 2017, 645-648

²⁹⁹ 54, 11th November 2017, 618-622

³⁰⁰ 54, 11th November 2017, 702-707

³⁰¹ 54, 11th November 2017, 573-580

After having demonstrated the results of the planned Māori identities with experts having chief responsibility for Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand or related governmental units, it became clear that there are strong attempts to engage Māori into diplomatic activities and to make sure that the self-determination is made by Māori.

The next section will look at the results from the expert interviews about the planned Māori identities in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.2.3 Opinions about the *planned Māori identities* in selected Cultural Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand

This subsection presents the results from the expert interviews related to the planned Māori identities in selected Cultural Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand. As mentioned before, in this thesis Cultural Diplomacy was handled as a separate section as the extensive results from the expert interviews showed that it was necessary to divide them from Public Diplomacy.

According to one expert working in the field of Cultural Diplomacy, the debates around the relationship between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy also take place in Aotearoa New Zealand.³⁰² In the interviewee's opinion, within Aotearoa New Zealand there is an understanding that Cultural Diplomacy is an entirely official item and independent from Public Diplomacy.³⁰³ The interviewee had the impression that Cultural Diplomacy often is described as a mixed-up concept which people use to mean whatever they want to mean.³⁰⁴

From the viewpoint of the expert who had formally worked at different High Commission posts of the New Zealand government, there is an awareness that Cultural Diplomacy is the official element or organ of a country using its culture for the foreign policy of diplomacy.³⁰⁵ Another expert, who had worked for Cultural Diplomacy activities directed from the government, shared this point of view and added that Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand aims at creating mechanisms in which culture can provide ways for building relationships.³⁰⁶

From the conviction of the Cultural Diplomacy expert, within Aotearoa New Zealand one can distinguish between *one-way* Cultural Diplomacy as the flow of communication into only one direction and *two-way* Cultural Diplomacy as:³⁰⁷

A two-way dialogue [] is about the group [] about the countries [] about us we are seeing something there and as soon as the country sends something back it becomes a dialogue.

³⁰²Scholars such as Kim (2017); Mark (2009); Signitzer (2008); Leonard et al. (2002); Schneider (2005) investigate the relationship between Cultural Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy. Frequently scholars assume Cultural Diplomacy as a *subset* of Public Diplomacy (ibid).

³⁰³49, 6th November 2017, 3-4

³⁰⁴49, 6th November 2017, 9-10; 49, 6th November 2017, 12-13

³⁰⁵49, 6th November 2017, 15-16

³⁰⁶25, 17th October 2017, 48-50

³⁰⁷49, 6th November 2017, 121-124

The interviewee's opinion was that in Aotearoa New Zealand there is an aim to conduct *two-way* Cultural Diplomacy with its foreign audiences.³⁰⁸ In this context, the interviewee named two recent examples for two-way Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand in the aid area development, such as building a new museum in Nihue or a memorial building for Cook Island soldiers.³⁰⁹

From the standpoint of the same expert, improving the relationships to Aotearoa's New Zealand's Pacific neighbours and Australia is another goal of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, as well as fostering working visa with South America for example.³¹⁰

After presenting what Cultural Diplomacy meant to the different interviewees, the next paragraph will discuss who the involved actors in processes of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand are.

Results from the interviews with experts from Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand showed that the main actors involved in processes of Cultural Diplomacy are the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (MCH), Te Puni Kokere (TPK)³¹¹ as well as semi-governmental or private cultural institutions, such as the National Museum of Aotearoa New Zealand 'Te Papa' and private persons, particularly from the arts sector.

Similar to the expert interviews with responsables from the Public Diplomacy sector in Aotearoa New Zealand results from the Cultural Diplomacy expert interviews showed a great emphasis on aiming to demonstrate Māori culture as a unique element to provide relationship building with foreign publics but also strong attempts to engage Māori strategically and push their global presence.

The outcome from the expert opinions about the planned Māori identities in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand further overlapped with the one of Public Diplomacy, showing a high significance to appropriately represent Māori culture to foreign publics and engage Māori to self-determine and self-represent themselves. The following subsections will discuss the results of the planned Māori identities in detail, focusing on the earlier mentioned elements which are used to construct Māori identities in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.2.3.1 Demonstrating Māori culture as an element of uniqueness

When asking the experts from different Cultural Diplomacy units in Aotearoa New Zealand regarding the importance Māori culture plays in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand today, there was an awareness of all the experts of its high significance.³¹²

³⁰⁸49, 6th November 2017, 78-80

³⁰⁹49, 6th November 2017, 82-104

³¹⁰49, 6th October 2017; 25, 15th October 2017, 170-174

³¹¹As mentioned before unfortunately it was not allowed to record the interviews with the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (MCH) and Te Puni Kokere (TPK).

³¹²49, 6th November 2017, 188

However, there was also a clear understanding among all of the experts that this is a rather new development. From the perspective of one expert who had engaged deeply in investigating Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, it is a rather recent development that Cultural Diplomacy in New Zealand included Māori culture in its program.³¹³

According to the interviewee, portraying Māori culture to a global audience and during diplomatic functions also displays New Zealand's uniqueness and showcases a more interesting country to the outside world.³¹⁴ From the viewpoint of another expert, using Māori culture brings many advantages to Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. The interviewee³¹⁵ further argued that “the *difference* with using Māori culture is that it is holistic and natural and therefore you can weave these things together more coherently and naturally.”

Results from the expert interviews also showed that efforts are made to foster rethinking concepts of culture and including indigenous peoples' interests in the work as part of Cultural Diplomacy. From the perspective of one expert working³¹⁶ at Te Papa:

That is our responsibility as people but also to not be just the brown face on a white mouth, no. That is the hardest thing just making sure that you don't just become the dress you know the window dressing.

Throughout the expert interviews, various actors were named being involved in demonstrating Māori culture within Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.

In this context, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was named various times having developed the Māori Engagement Strategy in 2017. There was an understanding among the experts that through the strategy the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade engages in developing Māori leadership in the Ministry as well as fostering Māori economic development.

As another actor of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, where the government works collectively across different ministries, the New Zealand Ministry of Culture and Heritage (MCH) was listed by a former governmental Cultural Diplomacy responsible.³¹⁷

The expert further argued that the Te Poni Kokere, the Ministry of Māori development, Māori defence, trade and enterprise, is another governmental institution which is responsible for Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. As to the interviewee, Te Poni Kokere works jointly together with the Ministry of Tourism and Education in New Zealand and is funded by the Cultural Diplomacy program fund. In the interviewee's opinion, Te Poni Kokere aims to foster political, economic and trade relationships of New Zealand abroad and to strengthen bilateral and multilateral relationships.³¹⁸

³¹³49, 6th November 2017, 190-196

³¹⁴49, 6th November 2017, 210-211; 49, 6th November 2017, 176-178

³¹⁵25, 15th October 2017, 179-181

³¹⁶51, 7th November 2017, 34-38; 51, 7th November 2017, 65-67; 51, 7th November 2017, 80-81

³¹⁷25, 17th October 2017, 55-57

³¹⁸25, 15th October 2017, 62-70

5.2.3.2 Showcasing Māori culture as a way to provide relationship building

From the viewpoint of one Cultural Diplomacy expert in Aotearoa New Zealand, Cultural Diplomacy is used as a communication channel to showcase itself to a global sphere and to communicate with other states for economic purposes and diplomatic access.³¹⁹

Similar to Public Diplomacy, throughout the experts interviews with members of different Cultural Diplomacy institutions it became clear that one of the purposes of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand is to provide relationship building with other foreign publics by showcasing Māori culture. The expert had the impression that Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand aims at establishing a mutual understanding with other foreign publics and to combat ethnocentrism.³²⁰

From the perspective of the expert who had worked for different posts of the New Zealand government, nowadays there is a focal point in Aotearoa New Zealand to involve Māori elements in negotiations to strengthen global ties in education, economics and tourism.³²¹ Also, there is a focus on showing Māori culture in trade shows or at diplomatic functions. According to one expert, in Aotearoa New Zealand it would be very unusual for an ambassador or first secretary overseas not thinking of Māori when doing Cultural Diplomacy.³²²

Throughout all the experts interviews there was a tendency to target foreign governments and foreign politicians, diplomats, nation's leaders, indigenous peoples or ethnic minorities, general foreign publics, tourists, scholars or academics for the purposes of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. Also there was an understanding in the interviews that Cultural Diplomacy might also be linked to private persons or private institutions.³²³

Results from the expert interviews further showed that one way of establishing long-term relationships is by showing appreciation and admiration to hosts and hosting institutions when being overseas, such as for a travelling exhibition.

One example that was named in this context throughout the expert interviews was Te Papa, the National Museum of Aotearoa New Zealand, which frequently sends travelling exhibitions abroad. In the opinion of one interviewee who had worked as a Māori curator at Te Papa, one of the main goals of Te Papa is not to repeat the harm that has been done by other museums to indigenous peoples. There are attempts to decolonise the practices within museums globally and by showcasing in Aotearoa New Zealand how retelling the history from Māori perspectives, which means to include a perspective which is not only post 1769 and the arrival of James Cook, but comes from the Māori community, can be done.³²⁴

³¹⁹49, 6th November 2017, 34-36

³²⁰49, 6th November 2017, 190-196

³²¹49, 6th November 2017, 55-57

³²²49, 6th November 2017, 217-219

³²³A wealth of Māori related documentation to Public Diplomacy - mainly focusing on economic affairs - is published on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2019) (see discussion in Chapter 4 - Website analysis). As the selected methodology of this thesis was expert interviews, a further discussion here would go behind the limits of this chapter.

³²⁴51, 7th November 2017, 101-104; 51, 7th November 2017, 287-289; 51, 7th November 2017, 372-375

5.2.3.3 Using Māori culture as an element to engage strategically and push its global presence

Results from the expert interviews not only showed that Māori culture is used in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand as an element of uniqueness or to provide relationship building with foreign publics but also to engage Māori strategically on a global sphere and to push its presence.

In this context, there was a clear understanding among the experts that using Māori culture for Cultural Diplomacy purposes in Aotearoa New Zealand creates marketing possibilities for New Zealand, but also pushes the global representation of Māori.³²⁵

From the interviews it became clear that Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand uses Māori culture to engage strategically with foreign publics to connect socially, culturally and politically with them.³²⁶ In this context, various interviewees stated the importance to portray a realistic picture of Māori to foreign publics as has been highlighted before. According to one interviewee, often people's perceptions about Māori abroad are determined by simplifications or stereotypes as a way of recapitulating complex contents into one single image or simple concept.³²⁷

Throughout the interviews, it became clear that in Aotearoa New Zealand, attempts are made to strengthen relationships with other indigenous peoples culturally, economically and also historically.³²⁸ From the perspective of one interviewee:³²⁹

A lot of the work [] involves engagement of First Nations [] in terms of dialogue about how we strengthen cultural relationships, how we can work together economically, how we can share experiences about history.

Related to that, the outcome of the expert interviews showed a strong focus within Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand to understand each other's independent indigenous experiences, as they might vary a lot from each other.³³⁰ There is an understanding that it is pivotal to show adequate behaviour when conducting cultural exchange and to avoid any form of superior behaviour from one culture to another.³³¹

5.3 Projected Māori identities

After having presented the results from the *planned Māori identities* in the Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand, the next section will address the *projected Māori identities* (Objective 3). Based on the conduction

³²⁵25, 15th October 2017, 176-181; 49, 6th November 2017, 145-147

³²⁶25, 15th October 2017, 160-166

³²⁷43, 1st November 2017, 961-962; 43, 1st November 2017, 1001-1003

³²⁸25, 15th October 2017, 108-109

³²⁹25, 15th October 2017, 106-109

³³⁰25, 15th October 2017, 112-113

³³¹25, 15th October 2017, 272-277

of expert interviews, this objective investigated the opinions of experts about *projected Māori identities* in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. Similar to the former section, also in this section the chapter of Cultural Diplomacy will be discussed as a separate part for better understanding.

5.3.1 Opinions about the *projected Māori identities* in selected Nation Branding channels of Aotearoa New Zealand

The following subsection presents the results from the expert interviews related to the *projected Māori identities* in selected Nation Branding channels of Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.3.1.1 Discrepancy with reality?

Results from the expert interviews showed that there is a general understanding that mainstream tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand is superficial. Various experts agreed that especially when it comes to the representation of Māori culture it is money-orientated and commercial.³³² In this context, all of the interviewees criticized the *100% Pure New Zealand campaign*, a marketing campaign launched in 1999 by the official tourism board of New Zealand called *Tourism New Zealand*.

Expressed by the name *100% Pure New Zealand*, the landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand, its relationship with nature and sustainable handling of the resources of the country were emphasized within the campaign, as various tourism experts further explained. The majority of the interviewees stated that they did not consider the campaign as an authentic portrayal of the country.³³³

All of the experts questioned the idea of the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign which promotes that Aotearoa New Zealand is a sustainable country. In this context, one interviewee working in tourism had the impression that in comparison to Aotearoa New Zealand, Europe was far more sustainable. From the perspective of the expert it became clear that “just all the whole recycling system, we are terribly behind the time”.³³⁴

From the viewpoint of the interviewee, Aotearoa New Zealand should rather approach sustainability through a complete environmental approach such as avoiding pesticides when cultivating crops of Kiwi fruits.³³⁵ There was a general understanding among the experts that the sustainability approach should not be limited to marketing purposes, but should be applied in everyday life.

Another criticism of the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign which came up frequently in the expert interviews was the overemphasis of Aotearoa New Zealand’s scenery and landscape. Various experts criticised that a lot of the visual material for the campaign’s

³³²28, 16th October 2017, 49-53

³³³28, 16th October 2017, 352-371

³³⁴28, 16th October 2017, 294-302

³³⁵28, 16th October 2017, 162-164

marketing purposes was mainly taken from the South Island and leaves out the North Island where most of Māori people live.

The criticism on the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign came along with a massive critique of all of the tourism experts stating that there is an under-representation of Aotearoa New Zealand's people and culture, in particular Māori culture. One interviewee working in a Māori cultural centre believed that: "It is beautiful you know and natural green [] and good-looking water, but you know it is the people".³³⁶

Another element that was frequently mentioned by all the experts was the missing historical information about Aotearoa New Zealand presented to incoming visitors.

One interviewee, who had worked for various mainstream tourism operators, held the view that the information that is offered on guided tours often misses out on appropriate historical information as well as the diversity of the people and cultural background of Aotearoa New Zealand.³³⁷ Also another expert, who had worked for a governmental tourism unit, believed that the historical information that is presented to visitors of Aotearoa New Zealand is rather scientific or post 1840 and does not include the history of Aotearoa New Zealand and Māori before the arrival of the Europeans.³³⁸

Various experts stated that the misconceptions about Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand were frequently supported by cultural shows about Māori in which Māori still wear grass skirts. From the angle of one interviewee working in a Māori souvenir shop, these shows could be understood as an attempt to strengthen the image people already have about Māori and support their pre-existing images.³³⁹

In this context, various experts working in Māori tourism frequently criticized the city of Rotorua for its cultural performing shows and for not taking Māori Protocols seriously enough. From the conviction of one expert, in Rotorua Māori Protocols are not taken strictly enough.³⁴⁰ Protocols such as that visitors have to take off their shoes at the traditional meeting house, the *Wharenui*³⁴¹ or doing a Powhiri ceremony when welcoming guests are not applied. According to the interviewee, this is a "bastardisation of Māori culture".³⁴²

The majority of experts working in bottom-up Māori tourism outside of Rotorua called the cultural performers in Rotorua *actors* and *plastic Māoris*. As to one expert, who worked in a governmental Māori tourism unit, the cultural performers in Rotorua oftentimes learn Māori songs, *Waiata*³⁴³ and Māori prayers, *Karakia*³⁴⁴ by heart. From the viewpoint of the same expert one needs to question why foreign visitors directly go to Rotorua for experiencing Māori tourism. As one interviewee believed, this phenomenon might be

³³⁶38, 24th October 2017, 593-594

³³⁷28, 16th October 2017, 61-80

³³⁸52, 7th November 2017, 162-164

³³⁹40, 27th October 2017, 303-309; 52, 7th November 2017, 248-251

³⁴⁰22, 13th October 2017, 724-726

³⁴¹[Meeting house]. See explanation of the *Wharenui* in the glossary p. 284.

³⁴²22, 13th October 2017, 733-735

³⁴³[Songs]. See explanation of *Waiata* in the glossary p. 282.

³⁴⁴[Prayers]. See explanation of the *Karakia* in the glossary p. 277.

explained due to the fact that the national tourism organisation has already focused its energies on Auckland, Rotorua and Queensland for decades.³⁴⁵

A variety of experts stated that as a consequence of these distorted representations of Māori culture there are visitors coming into Aotearoa New Zealand who have misconceptions about Māori people and Māori culture. Related to that, one interviewee, who had worked for different tourism operators within Aotearoa New Zealand, described situations with foreigners who asked to see Māori wearing grass skirts or living in huts.³⁴⁶ As to another interviewee, who had worked with smaller tourism operators, there were even tourists who wanted to see *dancing natives*.³⁴⁷

One interviewee, who worked for a governmental tourism department which focused on Māori tourism, pointed out one incident when a foreign journalist visited Aotearoa New Zealand. After a couple of days of cultural program organised by the Ministry of Māori tourism, the journalist asked if he could 'see some real Māori'. The interviewee had to explain to the journalist that he was standing next to and talking to one.³⁴⁸

Not only did the experts mention the misconceptions visitors coming into Aotearoa New Zealand had, but some even stated superior behaviour from some against Māori. One interviewee, who had worked for Tourism New Zealand and now has his own Māori tourism agency, described various situations in which foreign visitors tried to correct the information that was given by Māori tour guides. The interviewee's impression was that the information the visitors had was built upon an outdated image of Māori. In the interviewee's opinion, the tour guides perceived the situations as very distressing and offensive, but learned to accept the statements while keeping on with their own information.³⁴⁹

First excursus to the *perceived Māori identities*: Impressions about the country and people foreigners communicated to the people of Aotearoa New Zealand

Although it was **not part of this research**, throughout the expert interviews various experts talked about the *perceived Māori identities* of Aotearoa New Zealand, in particular the impressions about Aotearoa New Zealand foreigners had communicated to them. In the following paragraph, a selection of the perceived Māori identities which foreigners communicated to people from Aotearoa New Zealand will therefore be presented as an addition to the results.

Especially two experts, who worked at New Zealand Embassies in Europe, described the perception of Aotearoa New Zealand foreign publics had communicated to them.

One expert working at the New Zealand Embassy in Vienna held the personal view that on a very superficial level, the perception foreign publics described about Aotearoa New

³⁴⁵52, 7th October 2017, 215-217

³⁴⁶52, 7th November 2017, 250-251

³⁴⁷28, 16th October 2017, 167

³⁴⁸52, 7th November 2017, 241-246

³⁴⁹22, 13th October 2017, 456-476

Zealand is related to kiwifruits, sheep, the All Blacks and Lord of the Rings.³⁵⁰ According to the expert, also the scenery of Aotearoa New Zealand, such as its mountains on both the North and South Island, were frequently mentioned. From the viewpoint of the interviewee, the overall perception and associations of foreigners about Aotearoa New Zealand are positive.³⁵¹

The expert's impression was that deep conversations with foreigners about Aotearoa New Zealand are not very common.³⁵² On a more elaborated level the interviewee argued that it is elements, such as the clean environment of Aotearoa New Zealand, its high living standard, business opportunities and elaborated social values, that are the discussed topics.³⁵³

From the experience that one expert working at the New Zealand Embassy in Madrid shared, often foreigners communicated having a perception of New Zealand as an island paradise which is situated on the other side of the world. In conversations with the interviewee, many foreigners mentioned that they would love to visit New Zealand, but that the distance to their home countries holds them back.³⁵⁴

One expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna held the personal view that it might be due to the geographical distance that there is lacking knowledge about New Zealand. The interviewee pointed out that some foreigners had communicated to her being confused about the differences between Australia and New Zealand, in particular its current head of state situation.³⁵⁵

Another common topic, that was frequently communicated by foreigners to the expert, was the current prime minister of New Zealand, Jacinda Ardern. From the viewpoint of the expert, Jacinda Ardern³⁵⁶ “has [] raised New Zealand's visibility in Europe as a young female leader and a woman who has had a baby [] in office”.³⁵⁷

According to the opinion of the expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna, the perception foreigners have about New Zealand as a tourist destination is positive, but vague. The interviewee had the personal impression that the general understanding of foreigners of New Zealand is a rather crime-free and English-speaking environment.³⁵⁸

From the personal standpoint of one expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna, in general foreigners know that there are indigenous peoples in New Zealand.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁰57, 16th July 2018, 100-102; 57, 16th July 2018, 129-131

³⁵¹57, 16th July 2018, 441-443

³⁵²57, 16th July 2018, 136-145

³⁵³56, 16th May 2018, 20-21

³⁵⁴56, 16th May 2018, 5-9

³⁵⁵57, 16th July 2018, 136-139

³⁵⁶However, this might have changed after the attacks in Christchurch in March 2019. Jacinda Ardern, Prime Minister of New Zealand was globally celebrated for her reaction to the terror attacks in Christchurch. In her speech she describes helping together with Aroha (in Māori love) and Manaakitanga. Read the entire speech here (retrieved on May 16, 2019): <https://www.Beehive.govt.nz/release/pm-house-statement-christchurch-mosques-terror-attack>

³⁵⁷57, 16th July 2018, 108-110

³⁵⁸57, 16th July 2018, 159-161

³⁵⁹57, 16th July 2018, 115-116

However, according to the information that had been communicated to her, the expert described this knowledge as rather vague with misconceptions and frequently, confusion takes place when people mix up Aborigines living in New Zealand.³⁶⁰ Related to that, another expert working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade stated that “I think, they [foreign people] can’t relate [to Māori] or the history of a country, unless they have invested time to research and have a look into it”.³⁶¹

There is a general agreement amongst the experts that foreigners do not have a deep understanding of Polynesian culture and the special place Māori have in New Zealand with the *Treaty of Waitangi*.³⁶² From the belief of one expert working in a governmental unit abroad it is therefore necessary that New Zealanders and Māori adjust the knowledge about the situation in New Zealand.³⁶³

5.3.1.2 Increasing knowledge about Māori culture

As demonstrated before in the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori culture has been identified as a strong and unique element which makes Aotearoa New Zealand stand out of the crowd in the international market.

Although various actors who are involved in the creation of Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand could be detected, a general trend towards a Māori community-based approach can be observed, especially when it comes to the creation of Māori tourism attractions or Māori cultural centres.

A general trend to work with ‘community-based’ Māori tourism could be detected in the expert interviews. In this context, various experts understand the actions conducted by Māori in order to ‘re-right’ and ‘re-tell’ the Māori storytelling as a massive attempt to change existing stereotypes and prejudices from incoming visitors and also New Zealanders about Māori culture into positive attributes or profound knowledge.

From the conviction of one expert, who oversaw his private Māori tourism agency, it is necessary to share one’s culture with incoming visitors and guests in order to be successful in changing stereotypes and prejudices. As the interviewee further explained, he attempted to present a different experience to visitors by offering smaller guided tours about Māori culture. Also, the interviewee mentioned that he had developed very unique and personal experiences for visitors, such as playing golf or rugby or even visiting a farm, combined with a Māori experience.³⁶⁴

One way of increasing the knowledge about Māori culture was realised by another interviewee who offered personal Māori guided tours. Aiming at sharing Māori culture to visitors, she took them to sacred sites while telling them the local stories and the importance of Karakia. As the interviewee further explained, she wanted visitors to understand

³⁶⁰57, 16th July 2018, 296-299; 57, 16th July 2018, 302-304

³⁶¹46, 4th November 2017, 242-245

³⁶²[**Tiriti o Waitangi**]. See explanation of *Tiriti o Waitangi* in the glossary p. 282.

³⁶³46, 4th November 2017, 247-252

³⁶⁴22, 13th October 2017, 176-178; 22, 13th October 2017, 949-954

the processes behind Māori identities and that visitors left Aotearoa New Zealand feeling more aware of its stories.³⁶⁵ According to another expert working autonomously in Māori tourism, it is the responsibility of Māori as *Kaitiaki*³⁶⁶ of the land to give on the knowledge to the next generations.³⁶⁷

Related to that, various experts mentioned storytelling as a pivotal element in Māoridom, as it is in Māori tourism. According to one expert, storytelling is used to connect visitors to the land and its stories.³⁶⁸ From the viewpoint of the interviewee, who offered personal guided Māori cultural experiences, it was necessary that cultural performances, such as the *Haka*³⁶⁹, always must be performed for a specific reason.³⁷⁰

All of the experts who were involved in tourism explained that there is a growing awareness from people visiting Aotearoa New Zealand towards Māori culture. Interviewees described that people ask more questions about Māori, for example the Haka, compared to earlier when people were just watching the performances and understood Māori as rather “exotic Māori and warriors”, as one interviewee pointed out.³⁷¹

The interviewee had the impression that there is an increased interest for indigenous peoples by the visitors in general. From the angle of an independent Māori tour guide, it is very important to give the visitors a specific knowledge about Māori culture:³⁷²

I like to think that we were able to give them more insight and they are able to leave knowing that this is a beautiful culture. This is what the Māori people are like and we are starting to be, so before we were just Pacific Island, they couldn't even like tell the difference between a Samoan or Tongan, or Māori.

Examples for *bottom-up* Māori tourism

Throughout the expert interviews, the interviewees mentioned various examples of *bottom-up* Māori tourism which will be demonstrated in the following section.

One example that was mentioned various times by the experts was visitors travelling to Aotearoa New Zealand in order to see Māori Haka performances. According to one interviewee working as a cultural manager in a Māori cultural village, the Haka is world-wide known due to its performance by the All Blacks, New Zealand's Rugby team.³⁷³ Amongst the interviewees there was an understanding that there is a growing tendency from visitors to really understand the meaning of the Haka.³⁷⁴ In the opinion of one interviewee, there is high significance to demonstrate the Haka in the right context and from a

³⁶⁵28, 16th October 2017, 117-120

³⁶⁶[**Guardians**]. See explanation of *Kaitiaki* in the glossary p. 277.

³⁶⁷22, 13th October 2017, 513-521

³⁶⁸22, 13th October 2017, 270-275

³⁶⁹[**Māori performance/dance**]. See explanation of *Haka* in the glossary p. 276.

³⁷⁰22, 13th October 2017, 753-762

³⁷¹28, 16th October 2018, 358-361

³⁷²28, 16th October 2018, 363-368

³⁷³38, 24th October 2017, 434-436

³⁷⁴38, 24th October 2017, 434-436; 38, 24th of October 2017, 442-443; 28, 16th October 2017, 319-331

*Whakawhanaungatanga*³⁷⁵ perspective, which means coming from the community when being presented to visitors.³⁷⁶

Results from the expert interviews further showed that the interviewees who were involved in Māori tourism also focused on introducing visitors to other important cultural activities of Māori, such as into the meaning and practise of Poi dancing.

One interviewee working in an independent Māori cultural agency pointed out one traditional food and a very typical cultural tourist attraction called the *Hangi*.³⁷⁷ As to the interviewee, the *hangi* consists of a variety of vegetables, fish and meats which are prepared in an earth oven. Offering the Hangi experience in his own backyard should make it more real (ibid). In the interviewee's opinion, welcoming visitors to his own home is a really exclusive experience and should be called real life tourism.³⁷⁸

As the interviewee added, while preparing the Hangi he also tells his visitors about the local stories of the sweet potato, *Kumara*³⁷⁹ which is part of the meal.³⁸⁰ From the viewpoint of the interviewee, the reactions from other New Zealanders were not always positive to his invention. People described the interviewee's backyard idea as low quality.³⁸¹ The interviewee's impression was that the reactions from the Māori tourism industry towards bottom-up Māori tourism often have a negative connotation because his ideas were determined as *non-Māori standard* and *low class*.³⁸²

One interviewee listed more examples of bottom-up Māori tourism, such as Māori guided tours to the Kauri trees in Northland or the Mataatua living house in Whakatane.³⁸³ From the perspective of the interviewee, the Mataatua Marae is another good example where the community decided to open the Mataatua house to the public and to showcase the Wharenui as a living Marae to incoming visitors.³⁸⁴

When asking the experts why they put so much emphasis on showcasing Māori culture they stated that they felt pride to present their *Korero*³⁸⁵ to tourists.³⁸⁶ From the view of an expert working in a cultural centre the visitors really appreciate the sharing of knowledge and are very curious to learn more about the Haka or the Poi dance.³⁸⁷ From the viewpoint of another interviewee, this is a new way for Māori of not taking one's culture for granted, but developing one's knowledge while getting paid for working in the field.³⁸⁸

³⁷⁵[**Process of establishing relationships**]. See explanation of the *Whakawhanaungatanga* in the glossary p. 283.

³⁷⁶22, 16th October 2017, 328-329

³⁷⁷[**Food prepared in earth oven**]. See explanation of *Hangi* in the glossary p. 276.

³⁷⁸22, 13th October 2017, 252-258

³⁷⁹[**Sweet potato**]. See explanation of the *Kumara* in the glossary p. 278.

³⁸⁰22, 13th October 2017, 492-495; 22, 13th October 2017, 208-222

³⁸¹22, 13th October 2017, 666-667

³⁸²22, 13th October 2017, 686-693

³⁸³22, 13th October 2017, 1151-1153; 22, 13th October 2017, 1142-1149

³⁸⁴22, 13th October 2017, 85-86; 22, 13th October 2017, 1066-1073

³⁸⁵[**Speech**]. See explanation of the *Korero* in the glossary p. 278.

³⁸⁶22, 13th October 2017, 342-354; 38, 24th October 2017

³⁸⁷38, 24th October 2017, 345-350

³⁸⁸22, 13th October 2017, 523-526

Second excursus to the *perceived Māori identities*: Impressions about the country and people foreigners communicated to the people of Aotearoa New Zealand

As explained before, this paragraph is additional to the investigated objectives, as various interviewees talked about the *perceived Māori identities* of Aotearoa New Zealand, in particular the impressions foreigners had communicated to them.

Various experts stated that foreigners had described Aotearoa New Zealand as *exotic* because of Māori culture. From the perspective of one interviewee, who worked at the Embassy of New Zealand in Madrid, Spanish people are particularly fascinated by the Māori Haka.³⁸⁹ According to the interviewee, often foreigners talked about learning about the Haka from watching the All Blacks and even talked about trying to imitate the Haka for special occasions or because they were curious about it (ibid). As to the interviewee, many foreigners had expressed having been touched by Māori culture.³⁹⁰

From the personal impression of one expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna, many conversation partners had described a significant influence by the media on foreigner's perception of Māori. The expert mentioned the example of the movie *Once were warriors* which reached a global audience. The interviewee pointed out that in this movie, Māori were portrayed as highly criminal, violent and addictive to drugs and alcohol. She said, "That probably did give people [] a real sense of the challenges that are there in some more marginalised communities".³⁹¹

However, the expert argued that the movie had also been frequently criticised by Māori for being too stereotypical, even if this movie could be very realistic for some people's lives.³⁹² In the opinion of one expert working at a governmental unit, especially during the 1970s there was a perception of Māori as drunk, drug users or abusers which had spread worldwide.³⁹³ From the conviction of the interviewee, until today "You don't often see positive media coverage of Māori. We are always tax dodgers []".³⁹⁴ As the expert believed, there are still people in New Zealand and abroad who think Māori are like they were displayed in the movie or are confirmed in their negative opinion about Māori from the negative media coverage.³⁹⁵

According to the experts, most people who had visited New Zealand communicated not having profound knowledge about Māori, even if they stated having a neutral attitude towards Māori. A great amount of people visiting New Zealand described to people from Aotearoa New Zealand not having been exposed to the history and struggle of Māori throughout their journey around New Zealand.³⁹⁶ From the standpoint of one expert

³⁸⁹56, 16th May 2018, 17-18

³⁹⁰46, 4th November 2017, 290-295

³⁹¹57, 16th July 2018, 448-450

³⁹²57, 16th July 2018, 456-457

³⁹³46, 4th November 2017, 574-578; 46, 4th November 2017, 584-585

³⁹⁴46, 4th November 2017, 599-605

³⁹⁵46, 4th November 2017, 587-590

³⁹⁶46, 4th November 2017, 652-658

working in a governmental unit, some visitors explained to him having come to New Zealand with a negative perception of Māori resulting from the media.³⁹⁷

To conclude the additional *perceived Māori identities*, which means the impressions of foreigners communicated to people from Aotearoa New Zealand, from the perspective of one expert foreigners usually ask more general questions about Māori and would not directly address ongoing issues of Māori, such as the high number of Māori in prison.³⁹⁸

5.3.1.3 **Tourism, a component of Nation Branding, as a possibility to perpetuate Māori culture**

In the earlier discussed sections, various experts of tourism stated that participating in Māori tourism contributes to reducing stereotypes or prejudices about Māori culture that visitors might have, but also to self-determine the image about Māori that is being presented to incoming visitors. Results from the expert interviews further showed that letting the community participate in the representation about Māori tourism also supports the perpetuation of Māori culture.

From the impression of one expert working as the cultural manager of a Māori cultural village, most of his performers are associated members of their own cultural groups. He pointed out that most of them were brought up with Māori performing arts, such as the *Kapa Haka*³⁹⁹ performance.⁴⁰⁰ The interviewee further argued that oftentimes visitors think that Māori performers are actors who have to learn dialogues. In reality, they train with their own respective cultural teams every weekend, as the interviewee explained. In this context, he said:⁴⁰¹

If you wanted to come and visit the members [] you would have seen it is not a [] show [] it is not something that we have to learn, it is part of our life, it is what we do naturally, it is what we do today in our own lives.

Nevertheless, in the interviewee's opinion it might happen that performers do about four cultural performances a day for tourist attractions. As the interviewee concluded, to him this is necessary to make sure to have an excellent performance and experience for their incoming guests.⁴⁰²

Various experts mentioned the importance for children to grow up in the environment of Māori tourism in order to learn about their culture and deepen their cultural skills from an early age.⁴⁰³ From the viewpoint of one interviewee, teaching young children about Māori culture helps them to train their cultural knowledge, but also to make them aware of the

³⁹⁷46, 4th November 2017, 743-753

³⁹⁸57, 16th May 2018, 635-643

³⁹⁹[Māori performance/war dance]. See explanation of *Kapa Haka* in the glossary p. 277.

⁴⁰⁰38, 24th October 2017, 226-229

⁴⁰¹38, 24th October 2017, 234-237

⁴⁰²38, 24th October 2017, 218-219

⁴⁰³22, 13th October 2017, 859-862; 22, 13th October 2017, 828-842

fragility of their culture.⁴⁰⁴ Also another interviewee agreed that especially older Māori women engage in teaching children about performing and engaging with tourists.⁴⁰⁵

One expert, who engaged in training Māori children for tourism, had the impression that children growing up in cultural performance environment already show better rated cultural skills than adults and show a burning passion for their culture.⁴⁰⁶

Several experts talked about having grown up in cultural tourism since their childhood.⁴⁰⁷ From the perspective of one interviewee, learning about tourism from their families was a natural way of learning about their culture.⁴⁰⁸ As the interviewee further argued, he had been doing performances and shows at his local village and Marae from the age of fourteen years.⁴⁰⁹

Results from the projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding channels of Aotearoa New Zealand show great discrepancies with the planned Māori identities. Differences could be detected not only in the approaches between Māori and Non-Māori actors, but also among Māori, such as in the case of Rotorua. Although one can distinguish between the focus each actor has when it comes to the representation of Māori culture, there is a general understanding that Māori need to be taken into account into their representation and that a sensitive interaction with Māori culture is inevitable. A strong focus on creating an atmosphere of friendship and hospitality could be detected among all of the actors, but particularly the smaller actors emphasized establishing a personal relationship with their visitors.

After having presented the results from the expert interviews concerning the planned Māori identities in selected Nation Branding channels of Aotearoa New Zealand, the next subsection will look into the results regarding Public Diplomacy.

5.3.2 Opinions about the *projected Māori identities* in selected Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand

The following subsection presents the results from the expert interviews related to their opinions about the *projected Māori identities* in selected Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.3.2.1 Proper education on cultural topics

Throughout all of the expert interviews with people responsible for different units of governmental or diplomatic activities, it became clear that there is a strong tendency to offer proper cultural education for the staff that is going abroad.

⁴⁰⁴22, 13th October 2017, 799-807

⁴⁰⁵38, 24th October 2017, 89-98

⁴⁰⁶22, 13th October 2017, 828-842

⁴⁰⁷38, 24th October 2017, 47-51; 22, 13th October 2017

⁴⁰⁸38, 24th October 2017, 76-78

⁴⁰⁹38, 24th October 2017, 33-36

One example that was frequently mentioned is the cultural training the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade offers its personal staff. One interviewee working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade held the impression that the Ministry is even obligated to make sure that the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs receive a specific cultural education on Māoridom before going abroad on a post. The interviewee pointed out that “when you go overseas and represent New Zealand you need to be able to represent both parts of the partnership” [the New Zealand Government and Māori].⁴¹⁰

When talking about the cultural training that is offered to diplomatic staff of Aotearoa New Zealand, one expert explicitly talked about a very recent invention, the so-called ‘cultural passport’. As to the expert, the cultural passport is a 18-month program which consists of different cultural modules and elements, amongst it *Te Reo Māori*⁴¹¹, the history of Māori or Māori performances and related Protocols.⁴¹²

The member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade pointed out that the cultural passport was just recently upgraded to be useful for staff both in New Zealand and at posts around the world.⁴¹³ The interviewee’s opinion was that:⁴¹⁴

People will go through and do certain things that will give them (ehm) the experience and proficiency to actually represent the Māori part of the New Zealand diaspora, because they have learned all those things, we call it the cultural passport and at the moment I think we have around 200 people doing it.

From the expert interviews there was an understanding that this kind of education is necessary to deal with Māori culture properly within the country and especially when representing Māori abroad.

There were controversial opinions of the experts when it came to the question of cultural training of the diplomats when going abroad.

As to the personal opinion of one expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna, normally there is a meeting with a Māori responsible from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Aotearoa New Zealand *before* going abroad on a post. The purpose of this meeting was to get an overview of general Protocols as part of the new so-called ‘Māori engagement’ strategy.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁰54, 11th November 2017, 403-405

⁴¹¹[**Māori language**]. See explanation of *Te Reo Māori* in the glossary p. 282.

⁴¹²54, 11th November 2017, 414-416; 54, 11th November 2017, 449-455

⁴¹³54, 11th November 2017, 411-414

⁴¹⁴54, 11th November 2017, 418-421

⁴¹⁵57, 16th July 2018, 489-500

Related to the new Māori engagement strategy, the interviewee pointed out that [the Māori strategy]:⁴¹⁶

Has been identified as being weak, so now they are sort of stepping up in terms of enabling people, engaging people in learning Te Reo [Māori] or enough Te Reo [Māori] that they can do [] some kind of *Mihi*⁴¹⁷ if they need to or [] if you are comfortable on a Marae or when you are overseas, that you can sort of be a little bit of sort of authentic in the way that you introduce yourself.

Contrary, another expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Madrid argued that the cultural training the New Zealand government offers is an *ad-hoc* training rather than ongoing training. In the interviewee's opinion "there is no dedicated resource for this purpose. [] It is my responsibility to ensure Māori culture is represented appropriately".⁴¹⁸

One expert working at the diplomatic corps abroad admitted that she even felt guilty and embarrassed for not knowing more about Māori culture while being in charge of representing it.⁴¹⁹ The interviewee further argued that she was writing her own *Mihi* alias formal speeches and that although there are resources and possibilities to double-check with experts back in New Zealand, she did not feel confident about her knowledge of Māori Protocols and Te Reo Māori. From the personal viewpoint of the interviewee, there are attempts to change this in the future from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.⁴²⁰

From the impression of another expert working in the diplomatic corps, the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade provides a variety of resources to train the staff on-shore and offshore with knowledge about Māoridom. The interviewee held the view that it is the Māori Policy Unit which oversees this work in particular.⁴²¹ As to the interviewee, there are Haka classes for the staff members which take place at different occasions as one example of cultural training.⁴²²

Related to cultural trainings of the diplomatic staff overseas, various experts mentioned examples. One expert working at the diplomatic corps in Austria described one event in which the diplomatic corps traveled to Northland, Aotearoa New Zealand in order to talk with an Iwi about its drug addiction preventions. From the perspective of the interviewee, "it is one of these issues when I think be honest about it and put some some light on the issue. [] Like why is this happening in these communities [] you know [] that doesn't happen in a vacuum."⁴²³

This examples showcased that throughout these cultural trainings oftentimes ongoing issues and problems were discussed. Another topic various experts from the diplomatic

⁴¹⁶57, 16th July 2018, 495-498

⁴¹⁷[**Greeting, Acknowledgment**]. See explanation of *Mihi* in the glossary p. 280

⁴¹⁸56, 16th May 2018, 37-38

⁴¹⁹57, 16th May 2018, 754-763

⁴²⁰57, 16th July 2018, 516-518; 57, 16th July 2018, 537-540

⁴²¹56, 16th May 2018

⁴²²56, 16th May 2018, 29-30

⁴²³57, 16th July 2017, 661-670

corps mentioned was the one of Māori who are living in the cities, who are not connected to their tribal roots, but are disconnected from their language and culture.⁴²⁴ As all of the experts highlighted as a consequence, many Māori children do not know their Marae or Iwi and also do not learn Te Reo Māori.⁴²⁵

In the personal opinion of one interviewee working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna there is a general understanding that these topics are essential and public information. The perspective of one interviewee demonstrated that “I would be quite honest that [] Māori are overrepresented [] in those statistics in terms of prison population and particularly the challenges around nicotine, drugs and stuff, [] I think it is a fact and it is not something we are trying to hide, [] but a much more important conversation is what the approaches are to address these problems and to learn from others how they are dealing with these problems and to talk and say these success stories and say that things that haven’t worked and make it a meaningful conversation.”⁴²⁶

5.3.2.2 Cultural appropriation

One element that was frequently discussed amongst all the experts was cultural appropriation⁴²⁷. There was a very clear understanding among all the experts that it is necessary to adapt the representation of Māori culture - if not done by Māori - in an appropriate way according to Māori.

One example of how cultural appropriation can work is the *Korowai*⁴²⁸, a traditional Māori feather cloak, which was made explicitly for diplomatic or festive functions in Europe and Asia. From the personal opinion of one expert working at the Embassy of New Zealand in Vienna, the *Korowai* travels as part of the diplomatic corps around Europe according to the specific necessity of functions.⁴²⁹

The expert had the personal impression that wearing the *Korowai* made her feel that she had magic powers.⁴³⁰ According to the interviewee, while wearing it she would try to do a Mihi at the beginning of a public speech translating sentence by sentence for the audience.⁴³¹

However, throughout the interviews it became clear that on a regular base misuse of Māori culture abroad takes place and it is part of diplomatic discussions to prohibit this and work out a way that works for Māori.

All of the experts mentioned different examples of foreigners imitating the Haka, with the Spice Girls doing the Haka as the number one example, but also a Ginger man in a TV

⁴²⁴48, 6th November 2017, 135-136

⁴²⁵54, 11th November 2017, 398-400

⁴²⁶57, 16th July 2017, 637-643

⁴²⁷Please find a definition of cultural appropriation in the Introduction, Section 1.1.3. of this thesis.

⁴²⁸[Feather cloak]. See explanation of the *Korowai* in the glossary p. 278

⁴²⁹57, 16th July 2018, 554-557

⁴³⁰57, 16th July 2018, 565-567

⁴³¹57, 16th July 2018, 574-589

advertisement performed a Haka.⁴³²

From the standpoint of one expert working at the diplomatic corps in Madrid, oftentimes foreigners do not have the necessary knowledge to perform the Haka and that this misuse backfires on Māori.⁴³³ From the angle of the interviewee, very often the misuse and cultural appropriation of Māori elements happen in the context of branding issues or marketing purposes.⁴³⁴ Some examples that were given by the interviewee were the use of Māori culture to promote alcohol, for personal entertainment or a product advertisement.⁴³⁵

Results from the expert interviews made clear that the discussions around cultural appropriation not only take place on a *diplomatic*, but also *corporate* level.

5.3.2.3 Emphasising iwi self-representation

Throughout the expert interviews it became clear that there are strong attempts from diplomatic units within Aotearoa New Zealand to emphasise the self-representation of Māori tribes alias *Iwi* in Aotearoa New Zealand. From the viewpoint of one interviewee working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, every time foreign diplomats or related persons from the diplomatic corps visit Aotearoa New Zealand, the whole process is organised according to Māori customs and Māori Protocols.⁴³⁶

Results from the expert interviews further showed that there are different ways of doing so. One way that was mentioned by an expert working at the diplomatic lead at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was the typical *Powhiri* ceremony which was held for incoming delegates or the diplomatic corps at the Government House in Wellington.⁴³⁷ This ceremony is traditionally conducted by Māori cultural advisors (*ibid*). From the perspective of another expert working at a post of the Embassy of New Zealand one of the main goals of doing this was to share information between Māori and the visitors.⁴³⁸

Among the experts working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade there was a common understanding that the presentations of the Iwi are held about topics of identity and culture, but also included a focus on economy and trade.⁴³⁹

As to one expert, the Powhiri welcoming ceremony is regularly held by Iwi when welcoming incoming international guests. The interviewee explained that someone from the hosts will get up first and start with a Waiata, a song which addresses the visitors and to which the visiting group is supposed to respond with a song or speech.⁴⁴⁰ As the interviewee argued, this is a form of appreciating and welcoming the visiting group in an official way and showing respect and gratitude to them.

⁴³²46, 4th November 2017, 370-373

⁴³³46, 4th November 2017, 313-315

⁴³⁴46, 4th November 2017, 370-373

⁴³⁵46, 4th November 2017, 385-387

⁴³⁶54, 11th November 2017, 35-36; 57, 16th July 2018

⁴³⁷46, 4th November 2017, 207-208; 46, 4th November 2017, 54-55

⁴³⁸54, 11th November 2017, 178-184; 54, 11th November 2017, 189-195

⁴³⁹46, 4th November 2017, 99-104

⁴⁴⁰54, 11th November 2017, 90-91

In this context, one expert working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade explained that most visiting diplomats or most missions who visit Aotearoa New Zealand have cultural advisors to prepare the visit.⁴⁴¹

When asking the experts why they think that such an emphasis is put on highlighting Māori culture, there was a strong tendency amongst the interviewees that this is done in order to situate Māori in the world and to show diversity of the people of Aotearoa New Zealand.⁴⁴²

One example of Iwi self-representation mentioned by a member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was a visit of the diplomatic corps to the local Iwi. “There were three *Iwi* [add. by author] that came together and done a presentation for the diplomatic corps on [] how they were [] surviving [], building capital [] in order [] to sustain [] the economic [] status [], to sustain the tribes (ehm) business [] and trying to help their people”.⁴⁴³

The expert’s belief was that it is pivotal to figure out the Protocols of an Iwi before visiting them with the diplomatic corps.⁴⁴⁴ Various interviewees stressed in this context that there is high emphasis on not having any surprises while incoming guests are visiting and this can be as simple as shaking hands.⁴⁴⁵

Various experts mentioned that the interest to come together with Māori not only resulted from foreign diplomatic corps, but also from other indigenous peoples who sought out for dialogue and advice from Māori.⁴⁴⁶ In this context, one expert working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade gave the example of First Nations of Canada. In this context, several dialogues have taken place concerning questions such as strategy or development of First Nations. From the understanding of the interviewee, this increased interest in connecting with Māori culture was based on the fact that cultures who underwent similar experiences as Māori find it easier to connect to it.⁴⁴⁷

Results from the expert interviews showed that there is a strong emphasis to address on-going issues in diplomatic encounters not only between the diplomatic corps with incoming visitors, but also between incoming visitors and self-representing Iwi. One example one interviewee working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade mentioned was the *Whanau Ora*⁴⁴⁸, which in Te Reo Māori means family health.⁴⁴⁹

From the impression of one expert working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, to develop *whanau ora* the specific Iwi works together with the government to provide strategies to help and prevent health issues in the future. As he further explained, these strategies often are developed by the Iwi itself and not the government.⁴⁵⁰ In the inter-

⁴⁴¹ 46, 4th November 2017, 136-141; 46, 4th November 2017, 148-150

⁴⁴² 54, 11th November 2017, 211; 57, 16th July 2018, 595-598

⁴⁴³ 46, 4th November 2017, 59-66

⁴⁴⁴ 46, 4th November 2017, 74-78

⁴⁴⁵ 54, 11th November 2017, 112; 46, 4th November 2017, 92-96; 46, 4th November 2017, 129-133

⁴⁴⁶ 46, 4th November 2017, 423-428

⁴⁴⁷ 46, th November 2017, 227-228

⁴⁴⁸ [Family health]. ‘Whanau Ora’ is a combination of *Whanau* and ‘Ora’ which means ‘health, life, vitality’ (Māori Dictionary, nd)

⁴⁴⁹ 54, 11th November 2017, 653-654

⁴⁵⁰ 54, 11th November 2017, 653-666

viewee's opinion, the new foods are a cause for obesity and diabetes (ibid). Also another interviewee explained that sugar, white flour and less movement due to office jobs have fatal consequences on an individual's health and in particular the rate of diabetes.⁴⁵¹ Results from the interviews also showed that attempts were made to exchange ideas between representatives of other indigenous peoples who might have the same problems.

The outcome from the interviews with experts from Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand showed that there are strong overlaps between the planned and projected Māori identities. There are strong attempts to foster the self-representation of the Iwi, and if Pākehā represent Māori culture abroad, such as in the case of New Zealand Embassies or High Commissions, there are frequent elaborated cultural trainings and awareness about cultural appropriation.

Among all the actors that were investigated there is an understanding that Public Diplomacy plays a significant role in the self-determination of Māori and it is the place of Māori to self-determine the topics and issues that are presented.

Although Māori culture is often used as a starting point to start discussions, in most of the cases it also brings political and economic opportunities for Māori.

After presenting the results from the projected Māori identities in selected Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand, the following section will present the results related to Cultural Diplomacy.

5.3.3 Opinions about the *projected Māori identities* in selected Cultural Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand

The following subsection presents the results from the expert interviews related to the *projected Māori identities* in selected Cultural Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa channels New Zealand.

Throughout the expert interviews, one actor engaging in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand called the attention, which is 'Te Papa', the National Museum of Aotearoa New Zealand and related to that, travelling exhibitions which in many cases are also organised by Te Papa. Although throughout all the actors engaged in Cultural Diplomacy the thread to let Māori self-determine their representation could be detected, the following subsections will particularly focus on how Te Papa engages with Māori as well as how Māori are also taken into account when it comes to travelling exhibitions as essential actors of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.3.3.1 Māori self-determining their representation

On the example of *Te Papa*

Throughout the expert interviews with people responsible for Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, there was a strong conviction that Māori should determine their

⁴⁵¹46, 4th November 2017, 786-789

representation in Cultural Diplomacy themselves. This could also be confirmed by various examples that were mentioned by the interviewees.

One main actor that was mentioned in this context by various experts was Te Papa, the National Museum of Aotearoa New Zealand. There was an understanding from all of the experts that museums in Aotearoa New Zealand play an essential role in the self-determination and self-representation of Māori. According to one expert of Māori artwork in museums, contrary to art galleries, museums are strongly embedded into the local communities in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁴⁵²

As one expert who had worked in projects of Te Papa going overseas argued, Te Papa which was opened in 1998 is an independent Crown entity governed by a specific board. The interviewee had the impression that there is no direct control over the museum by the New Zealand government, but there are significant amounts of the funding coming from the government.⁴⁵³

One interviewee had worked within different projects of Te Papa going overseas. He was of the opinion that it is because of the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori being equal partners of the English Crown that there are strong attempts to encourage Māori. They include working at Te Papa and participating in its management, but also being in charge of its collections and determining the story which will be presented to its audiences.⁴⁵⁴

From the viewpoint of another expert working at Te Papa, this engagement is not only limited to Māori working at Te Papa, but also takes place when individuals contribute to the museum with cultural objects they want to share with the audience visiting Te Papa. In the conviction of the interviewee, this contribution with objects to the collection of Te Papa can be understood as a form of *identity formation*.⁴⁵⁵

As to one expert who had worked together with Te Papa regarding different exhibitions, contemporary Māori exhibitions need to present Māori stories and Māori history with both positive and negative aspects.⁴⁵⁶ Also another interviewee who had worked at Te Papa as a cultural curator collecting contemporary social history and Māori stories for more than six years, shared the opinion that there is great necessity to share stories about violence, child abuse and gang culture when portraying a realistic picture of contemporary Māori today, which is done regularly.⁴⁵⁷

From the perspective of the curator, there is great importance of contacting the owner of the artefact before displaying it publicly and also find out the history of the artefact in order to share the authority and the power.⁴⁵⁸ In this context, there was an understanding from all the experts that Te Papa takes Māori values very seriously.

One task which resulted to be a recurring theme is thematising the misuse of cultural artefacts throughout history. According to one Māori museum expert, many Māori artefacts

⁴⁵²47, 5th November 2017, 400-402; 47, 5th November 2017, 404-406

⁴⁵³43, 1st November 2017, 207-215; 43, 1st November 2017, 72-77

⁴⁵⁴43, 1st November 2017, 63-66; 43, 1st November 2017, 69-72

⁴⁵⁵47, 5th November 2017, 50-53; 47, 5th November 2017, 99-103

⁴⁵⁶43, 1st November 2017, 178-182; 43, 1st November 2017, 174-176

⁴⁵⁷51, 7th November 2017, 98

⁴⁵⁸51, 7th November 2017; 230-235; 51, 7th November 2017, 24-29

were brought to other countries, foreign museums or art collections over time.⁴⁵⁹

From the viewpoint of the curator, there are Māori human remains remaining in collections all over the world. As a consequence, the interviewee argued that the repatriation of artefacts that are native to Aotearoa New Zealand is another goal of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. Te Papa has a unit that is funded by the New Zealand government which takes care of repatriation processes.⁴⁶⁰

From the standpoint of the same interviewee, the National Museum stresses the importance of protecting and demonstrating the cultural significance of Māori human remains, but often struggles with the nation's laws. She pointed out that often diplomatic discussions around repatriation occur as a side effect of travelling exhibitions.⁴⁶¹

According to one expert, who had closely worked together with Te Papa, the welcoming ceremony called *Powhiri* takes place every time foreign artefacts arrive in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the interviewee's opinion, it is a way of appreciating and recognising the new artefacts and culture to Aotearoa New Zealand. The interviewee further explained that also when Māori artefacts go abroad, specific Māori Protocols are applied and that the artefacts are treated as living beings which are even put to sleep during transport. In the conviction of the same interviewee, there is also a specific ceremony when Māori artefacts are sent abroad.⁴⁶²

The expert also pointed out the example when once the Aztec exhibition from Mexico arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in the middle of the night. As the interviewee explained, there was a *Kaumatuā*⁴⁶³ welcoming and blessing the objects. In the interviewee's opinion, the reactions from the Mexican curators travelling with the exhibition were overwhelmingly positive. She further described that they said that they felt that Te Papa respected and valued their collections and treated them like *Taonga*.⁴⁶⁴

Results from the expert interviews also showed that treating other artefacts equally to one's own can be understood as another aim Māoridom adds to Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this context, one expert working at Te Papa argued that Te Papa does not charge its visitors any entrance fee as it is the obligation of the museum and the government that New Zealanders have access to the collections, as written in *Article 2* of the Treaty of Waitangi.⁴⁶⁵ That also includes foreign guests visiting the museum.

However, as to one expert of travelling exhibitions at Te Papa, the museum does receive money from license fees when borrowing artefacts to other museums abroad.⁴⁶⁶ Also, another expert working at Te Papa stated that Te Papa charges visitors when showing incoming international tours in order to pay its bills.

⁴⁵⁹43, 1st November 2017, 334-340

⁴⁶⁰43, 1st November 2017, 320-322

⁴⁶¹43, 1st November 2017, 361-364

⁴⁶²43, 1st of November 2017, 110-112

⁴⁶³[Elder]. See explanation of the *Kaumatuā* in the glossary p. 277.

⁴⁶⁴[Object of value]. See explanation of *Taonga* in the glossary p. 281. — 43, 1st of November 2017, 863-865; 43, 1st of November 2017, 867-872; 43, 1st of November 2017, 878-879

⁴⁶⁵51, 7th November 2017, 474-487; 51, 7th November 2017, 505-507; 51, 7th November 2017, 462-463

⁴⁶⁶43, 1st November 2017, 217-222

In the interviewee's opinion, this is done to "to bring a bit of the world to New Zealand, so that [] New Zealanders don't have to travel away to get all these amazing international experiences here."⁴⁶⁷

Apart from Te Papa engaging in Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, another relevant example of Cultural Diplomacy could be detected in the travelling exhibitions which will be presented next.

Travelling exhibitions

Throughout the expert interviews, a repeating issue was travelling exhibitions of which many are organised by Te Papa. From the viewpoint of one expert, Te Papa uses travelling exhibitions overseas as a way to create its international brand.⁴⁶⁸ As to the interviewee, travelling exhibitions increasingly address general publics abroad. The interviewee further pointed out that some travelling exhibitions are directly funded by the government which uses Te Papa as a *vehicle* for Cultural Diplomacy.⁴⁶⁹

According to the expert of Māori culture at Te Papa, from the 1980s on Māori exhibitions were touring around the world. The interviewee argued that one of the first Māori touring exhibitions was called *Te Maui* which went overseas to the United States. In the interviewee's opinion, this exhibition was essential in building an international perception of Māori as indigenous peoples and can be understood as a preceding form of representing Māori in Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.⁴⁷⁰

One expert, who had worked with Māori culture in museums, had the impression that travelling exhibitions were more likely to go overseas, whereas Iwi exhibitions were mainly presented in a local context and do not necessarily reach a foreign audience. From the standpoint of the interviewee, some of the Iwi exhibitions were more rural and traditional, whereas others were more youth-orientated with contemporary Māori collections.⁴⁷¹

One expert's belief was that the preparation of travelling exhibitions demands excellent collaborations between the collaborating museums - in Aotearoa New Zealand and the hosting country - in order to exhibit a display both parties agree to.⁴⁷² In this context, the interviewee argued that even if not organised by the state, it is very likely that the local embassy is involved in the events trying to get conversations with the visitors.⁴⁷³ In the interviewee's opinion, events which promote a museum might automatically also promote the country at the same time.⁴⁷⁴

From the standpoint of the same expert, oftentimes museums have to adapt to reduction and simplifications of marketing material required by the specific hosting country,

⁴⁶⁷ 51, 7th November 2017, 505-507

⁴⁶⁸ 43, 1st November 2017, 269

⁴⁶⁹ 43, 1st November 2017, 275-276

⁴⁷⁰ 43, 1st November 2017, 54-61

⁴⁷¹ 47, 5th November 2017, 290-292

⁴⁷² 43, 1st November 2017, 645-676

⁴⁷³ 43, 1st November 2017, 308-310

⁴⁷⁴ 43, 1st November 2017, 278-282; 43, 1st November 2017, 284-287

although they seem to be more independent cultural institutions.⁴⁷⁵

As to the interviewee, frequently there is an image of Aotearoa New Zealand as a tropical paradise by foreigners. As she argued, there was once an exhibition which went over to Tokyo and which needed to be adapted to the local Japanese taste and conditions. Although in Te Papa's point of view it was somewhat conservative, they accepted the compromise for the Japanese audience, as the interviewee explained.⁴⁷⁶ According to the interviewee, even the Māori king travelled with the exhibition, which according to the interviewee was very important on a diplomatic level, as Japan is a constitutional monarchy and the role of the king is attributed power and authority.⁴⁷⁷

Various Cultural Diplomacy experts in Aotearoa New Zealand listed examples for travelling exhibitions which had gone abroad representing Māori culture.

One expert, who was involved in the organisation of a travelling exhibition, talked about the example of a travelling exhibition which was organised by Te Papa, called *E Tu Ake*. As the interviewee explained, *E Tu Ake* was an exchange exhibition between Te Papa and the National Museums of Cultures in Mexico City which took place between 2011 and 2013.⁴⁷⁸ The interviewee's opinion was that although it was not an explicit aim of the *E Tu Ake* travelling exhibition, as a side effect of the exhibition new discussions around the repatriation of human remains from European museums back to Aotearoa New Zealand were evoked.⁴⁷⁹

The interviewee further mentioned a research project that investigated the changes of perception of visitors of the *E Tu Ake* exhibition in Mexico. From the interviewee's viewpoint, the reactions from people who worked at the museum in Mexico City, visitors and key educators were overwhelmingly positive. As she pointed out, the results of the project showed that Māori were understood as a contemporary culture that is not stuck in the past, but as active and admirable.⁴⁸⁰

The expert highlighted that the same research was also conducted in Canada where the results were similar to the ones in Mexico City.⁴⁸¹ In the interviewee's opinion, visitors also mentioned the positive impact of personal contact to the people of the exhibition and one-to-one conversations. As the interviewee further explained, visitors also talked about the positive impact of personal contact to the people of the exhibition and one-to-one conversations.⁴⁸²

Another Cultural Diplomacy expert mentioned the travelling exhibition Māori *Taonga* which had displayed Māori objects in the United States, China, Malaysia, Chile, Argentina and Brazil. According to the interviewee this exhibition portrayed artwork from

⁴⁷⁵ 43, 1st November 2017, 1013-1020

⁴⁷⁶ 43, 1st November 2017, 98-105

⁴⁷⁷ 43, 1st November 2017, 130-140

⁴⁷⁸ 43, 1st November 2017, 415-421

⁴⁷⁹ 43, 1st November 2017, 312-315

⁴⁸⁰ 43, 1st November 2017, 443-449; 43, 1st November 2017, 445-463; 43, 1st November 2017, 475-483

⁴⁸¹ 43, 1st November 2017, 596-598

⁴⁸² 43, 1st November 2018, 815-819; 43, 1st November 2018, 821-823; 43, 1st November 2018, 835-839

about 30 Māori carvers, weavers, tattooers and cultural performers.⁴⁸³

Several experts from Cultural Diplomacy institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand also mentioned the example of the *Whale* travelling exhibition which had toured around the United States of America for the last ten years. Among the interviewees there was an understanding that although this exhibition had a rather scientific focus, it also included some Māori cultural aspects.⁴⁸⁴

One interviewee talked about gifting a carved canoe to the Smithsonian Museum in Washington after an exhibition there. In the interviewee's opinion:⁴⁸⁵

Gifts are always strategic [] it is not about us, [] there is a responsibility that I am trying to continue the engagement through the gift, the engagement and I mean this in the nicest way.

As the interviewees stated, before they had only known the somewhat anthropological way of articulating other peoples' cultures when doing exhibitions. As they described it, this exhibition was very different to others, because it was a team presenting their own culture in their own terms of seeing it.⁴⁸⁶

5.3.3.2 Demonstration of Māori relevant topics by various actors

Throughout the expert interviews with members of different Cultural Diplomacy institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand, it became clear that there are strong tendencies to make Māori relevant issues a regular topic within Cultural Diplomacy.

The results from the expert interviews showed that especially the Māori art market played a pivotal role when it comes to the Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand. From the perspective of one interviewee, who is a Māori sculptor, the Māori art market in Aotearoa New Zealand is very competitive and many Māori artists, such as carvers or tattoo artists, try to make themselves a name to become globally known.⁴⁸⁷

The same expert of Māori sculptures and carvings further had the impression that there is a necessity to develop one's own unique style and to include personalised details into every single piece in order to stand out of the crowd.⁴⁸⁸ He pointed out that he was holding exhibitions at Māori sacred places in Aotearoa New Zealand at that moment, but that he would love to share his stories with other cultures overseas.⁴⁸⁹

Related to that, another Māori artist, who worked with light installations and modern sculptures which frequently were presented overseas, argued that:⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸³25, 15th October 2017, 86-89

⁴⁸⁴25, 15th October 2017, 29-36; 43, 1st November 2017, 236-240

⁴⁸⁵25, 15th October 2017, 350-353

⁴⁸⁶25, 15th October 2017, 353-365

⁴⁸⁷17, 9th October 2017, 340-347

⁴⁸⁸17, 9th October 2017, 340-347

⁴⁸⁹17, 9th October 2017, 633-635; 17, 9th October 2017, 560-562

⁴⁹⁰33, 19th October 2017, 546-549

I sort of see myself as a bridge between cultures, so I understand that there are Māori and I understand the mainstream world and I can see connections and areas that need to be balanced through my art in order to bring those worlds together.

As the expert further explained, his aims are to create an understanding of people within Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad that there are many ways of looking at the world and there is a need to open to experiencing, participating and sharing the world from a universal perspective.⁴⁹¹ In the viewpoint of the artist, doing arts is an opportunity to share a Māori perspective with the world while making other connections to find overlaps with other views.⁴⁹²

Throughout the expert interviews it became clear that Māori arts going abroad are not only limited to the rather known arts of carving or sculpturing. Another rather traditional Māori art form, which one expert presented as very popular outside of Aotearoa New Zealand, was Māori storytelling.

In this context, one expert talked about his work as a storyteller. According to the interviewee, storytelling is an essential element in Māoridom and comes from a long tradition of oral wisdom.⁴⁹³ He further argued that after having started doing storytelling in Aotearoa New Zealand, he quickly was invited to events worldwide. As the interviewee explained, since then he attended storytelling festivals, world book fairs and also visited schools all over the world to do storytelling about Māori.⁴⁹⁴

Related to his work as a storyteller, the interviewee shared the view that:⁴⁹⁵

I found out in the 36 years that I travelled is that people in Germany and Austria, or whatever it happened to be just love hearing the language. [] There is something about the [Māori] language that they love, and they love the singing.

As the expert further explained, he not only conducted storytelling abroad and at local events within Aotearoa New Zealand, but he also worked as an activist for proper Māori pronunciation within Aotearoa New Zealand.⁴⁹⁶

Throughout the interviews with experts from different Māori art sectors it became clear that not only Māori make Māori art popular abroad. One expert who is a *Pākeha*⁴⁹⁷ artist, which means that she is not Māori, but a non-Māori New Zealander, talked about becoming very successful using different techniques such as Māori traditional weaving or working with feathers.⁴⁹⁸ From the perspective of the interviewee, it frequently happened that she was confronted for not being Māori, but using Māori techniques.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹¹ 33, 19th October 2017, 575-577

⁴⁹² 33, 19th October 2017, 634-636

⁴⁹³ 13, 4th October 2017, 280-285

⁴⁹⁴ 13, 4th October 2017, 295-296

⁴⁹⁵ 13, 4th October 2017, 355-358

⁴⁹⁶ 13, 4th October 2017, 392-410

⁴⁹⁷ [Non-Māori New Zealanders]. See explanation of *Pākeha* in the glossary p. 280.

⁴⁹⁸ 6, 1st October 2017, 100-104; 6, 1st October 2017, 121-125; 6, 1st October 2017, 226-228

⁴⁹⁹ 6, 1st October 2017, 330; 6, 1st October 2017, 334-337

The interviewee further stated, “Well I think [] I certainly would have liked to have [Māori ancestry], but you get to a point where you just accept you are what you are”.⁵⁰⁰

The expert further argued that although she is not Māori herself, she shows absolute respect for Māori culture and honour for using Māori techniques. She also pointed out that her works are frequently sent offshore and sold to galleries abroad.⁵⁰¹ The artist even gave one work to Kiri Te Kanawa, Aotearoa New Zealand’s famous opera singer, who is affiliated to the Māori tribes at the East Coast of Aotearoa New Zealand.⁵⁰²

Another example of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand going abroad are Kapa Haka groups which go overseas. In this context, various experts mentioned the example of Te Matatini, which is the biennial National Kapa Haka Festival in New Zealand founded in 1972.

Various experts stated that cultural groups from all over the country perform their individually developed Kapa Haka performances for the competitions within Aotearoa New Zealand. However, various interviewees also highlighted that Te Matatini not only takes place within Aotearoa New Zealand, but also participates in cultural festivals all over the world.

Showcasing Māori arts abroad could be detected as one form of raising topics which are relevant to Māori. Another form which could be detected throughout the expert interviews with members of different Cultural Diplomacy institutions was the interaction between Māori and other indigenous peoples.

In this context, one expert, who had worked for different Cultural Diplomacy campaigns in Aotearoa New Zealand, talked about one occasion when a group of Māori artists and delegates went to Chile. According to the interviewee, it was the goal of this group to engage with cultural leaders of First Nations in Chile, missionaries and governors and to start discussions on topics such as cultural development, history and identity.⁵⁰³

The expert described one event which was set up at a cultural centre in Santiago de Chile which during the dictatorship had been used as a torture house for a lot of Mapuche.⁵⁰⁴ In the interviewee’s opinion, this location had been selected on purpose for a strong context and sensitive discussion around cultural identity and self-determination. He also mentioned that the Māori group gifted a 5-metre carving to the Mapuche (ibid).

In the interviewee’s opinion:⁵⁰⁵

They got told through arts, obviously a wonderful way of expressing liberties that say a straight forward political conversation would not have. So we were able to use these mediums to sort of start engage around sort of more difficult conversations.

⁵⁰⁰6, 1st October 2017, 343-345

⁵⁰¹6, 1st October 2017, 189-190

⁵⁰²6, 1st October 2017, 353-358

⁵⁰³25, 15th October 2017, 97-100

⁵⁰⁴25, 15th October 2017, 112-152

⁵⁰⁵25, 15th October 2017, 113-151

From the perspective of the interviewee, the Māori group also engaged with the Aymara and the Wichí people of Argentina. As to him, the Māori group requested to have a welcome in the Congress because the indigenous Argentinians had never performed or conducted any ceremonies within the Congress (ibid). The interviewee further explained that the event was recorded strongly by the media because it was the first time in the history of the native Argentinian culture that its members participated in the Congress.⁵⁰⁶

The results from the expert interviews further showed that Māori groups not only travel abroad to connect with foreign publics, but there is even one cultural group living abroad, the Ngāti Ranana tribe which is situated in London.

According to the viewpoint of one expert, who had been posted at the representation of New Zealand in London, Ngāti Ranana is an example of Cultural Diplomacy which happens outside of New Zealand.⁵⁰⁷ As to the interviewee, *Ngāti Ranana*, which in Māori means London Māori cultural group, is a local Māori community that is permanently situated in London.⁵⁰⁸

The expert pointed out that Ngāti Ranana is a group of expat Māoris who conduct cultural performances all over Europe. The interviewee gave the example of one occasion when Ngāti Ranana did cultural performances during a Māori Taonga exhibition in London and “they were really delighted to be [present] but they would have been really pissed off if they hadn’t been [] as representatives in London if they hadn’t been included in this program you know”.⁵⁰⁹

The expert’s impression was that while the New Zealand High Commissions and Embassies all over Europe ‘use’ the Māori expat tribe Ngāti Ranana for cultural performances, the group very much enjoys its involvement in cultural events and sees it as its obligation to perform Māori performing arts at important cultural events overseas.⁵¹⁰

Results from interviews with experts of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand investigating the projected Māori identities showed that overlaps with the planned Māori identities could be detected. Similar to Public Diplomacy, there are strong attempts to let Māori self-determine their representation freely with the aim to address issues which are relevant to Māori as well as to engage with foreign publics for whatever motive the specific Iwi might have.

By doing this it is ensured that Māori themselves self-determine the topics raised around them and Māori culture. If Māori are not directly engaged in their representation, there is a general tendency to get advice from the Māori community in this context or to educate and train the people concerned before representing Māori abroad.

⁵⁰⁶25, 15th October 2017, 113-151

⁵⁰⁷49, 6th November 2017, 227-232

⁵⁰⁸49, 6th November 2017, 225-228

⁵⁰⁹49, 6th November 2017, 242-244

⁵¹⁰49, 6th November 2017, 230-236; 49, 6th November 2017, 240-242

Chapter 6

Discussion

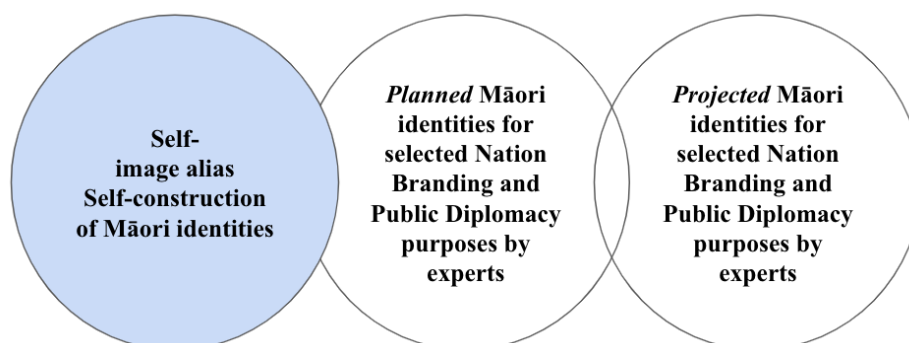
In Chapter 5, the results of this research, which investigated the self-image of Māori identities by members of the *Ngāti Awa*¹ tribe and the opinions of experts about the planned and projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of *Aotearoa*² New Zealand, were presented. In this chapter, the results of Chapter 5 will be discussed together with the results from the website analysis in Chapter 4.

This part serves to link the empirical research of the thesis to the literature review and the state of the art in Chapter 2. This is done in order to confirm or discount the statements that were presented earlier.

6.1 Self-image

In the following section, the findings from the first research objective will be discussed. (See Figure 6.1.) This research objective approached understanding the *self-image* of Māori identities, in particular from members of the Māori tribe Ngāti Awa.

Figure 6.1: Discussing the *self-image*



Source: Author's elaboration based on a theoretical approach by José Fernández-Cavia

¹[Māori tribe]. See explanation of *Ngāti Awa* in the glossary p. 280.

²[Land of the long white cloud]. Māori term for New Zealand. See explanation of *Aotearoa* in the glossary p. 276.

Given the assumption of this thesis that the representation of cultural identities, in particular Māori identities, in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand might be distinct from the self-image of Māori, this research critically reflected how Māori - using the example of the Māori tribe Ngāti Awa - construct their identities and which characteristics and elements they inscribe to being Māori.

The construction of Māori identities

As described in section 5.1.1., the results of this research demonstrate a strong conviction among Māori to self-determine their identity. There is a clear rejection of any essentialist understanding of Māori culture, which would mean that all Māori share a certain essence or understanding Māori as one entity. This research further shows a strong refusal of colonial ways of thinking, especially related to inscribing certain traits or characteristics to all Māori. This outcome confirms the statements of various scholars who denied that identity is fixed, such as McIntosh (2005), Hall (2003) or Smith (1999).

One crucial finding of this research, as portrayed in section 5.1.2.3., is that the majority of the members of Ngāti Awa confirmed to highlight being Māori externally, when being outside of the country, while stressing their tribal affiliation internally, when being in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although this outcome contradicts the earlier finding and supports the idea that externally Māori are one entity, it confirms the opinions of scholars such as Warren et al. (2017) or McIntosh (2005), describing Māori identities as fluid and constantly adapting and transforming, given the current situation and audience of the individual. Similarly, as stated by Houkamau and Sibley (2013) or Pearson (2005), the appearance of multidimensional forms of Māori identities could be detected throughout the research.

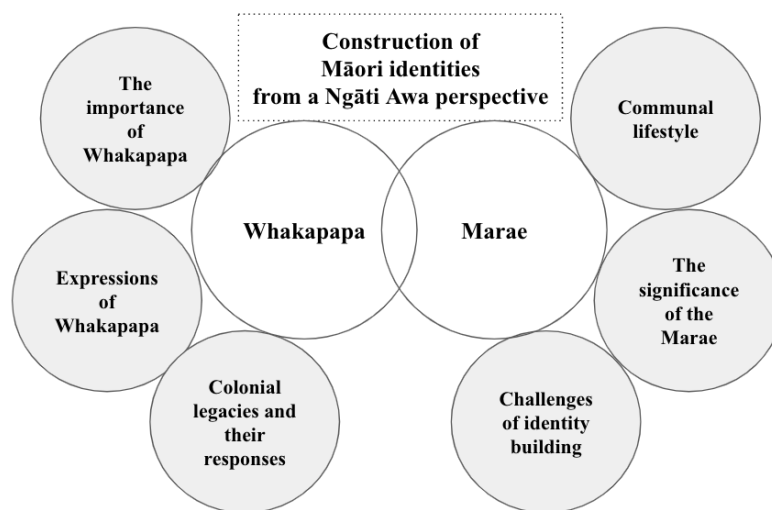
Contrary to the literature review, in which Bhabha (1994) describes identity as not pre-given, the results from this research make clear that being Māori is understood to be something one is born with (See 5.1.2.3). Nevertheless, there is an understanding that the construction of one's Māori identity is an active and ongoing process of the individual in interaction with its environment which confirms Jenkins' (1996).

The outcome of this research demonstrates that Māori identities are constructed upon multiple sources, which overlaps with the approach of McIntosh (2005). The importance of elements, such as the close environment, the place and time people live in, suggested by several authors, such as Warren et al. (2017), Borell (2005) or Gingrich (2005), could be confirmed by this research. However, from the findings of this thesis it became clear that these elements rather generalise the construction of identity and frequently lack concrete examples.

Characteristics and elements Māori link to being Māori

Through this research, the earlier mentioned elements could be further differentiated and narrowed down to two main themes with related sub-themes which show great influence on the construction of Māori identities, in particular of members of the Ngāti Awa tribe. See Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Construction of Māori identities from a Ngāti Awa perspective



Source: Author's own elaboration

These main influencing elements are *Whakapapa*³ and *Marae*⁴ which are discussed with their sub-themes further on in this section and also presented in detail in section 5.1. of this research.

The results from this study made clear that the two detected main elements influence the individual on a collective level, nevertheless, the individual is obliged to determine to which extent these elements should be integrated into one's Māori identity. This outcome confirms that the earlier described multiple sources serve rather as an orientation function to the individual, as suggested by Houkamau and Sibley (2013).

The high significance of knowing one's Whakapapa for Māori was found in this research, as presented in section 5.1.1.

Whereas any notion of Whakapapa as a fixed element in the construction of Māori identities could be denied (See 5.1.1.2.), outcomes of the research showed that Whakapapa offers information and orientation to Māori individuals, as suggested by McIntosh (2005) and Hall (1996). The importance of Whakapapa could be confirmed by various examples, such as individuals identifying with their tribe, engaging in local cultural activities and

³[Genealogy]. See explanation of *Whakapapa* in the glossary p. 283.

⁴[Cultural meeting centre]. See explanation of *Marae* in the glossary p. 279.

*Whanau*⁵, the *Protocols*⁶ or getting a *Tā Moko*⁷.

The results of this research make clear that there are appearing problems Māori individuals have due to not knowing their origin. Multiple attempts were named to learn about one's origin or identity. This observation confirmed the phenomenon of an identity crisis which was argued by scholars such as McIntosh (2005) or Erikson (1968).

Results from the research also reveal the importance which *Te Reo Māori*⁸, the Māori language plays in the identity construction of Māori individuals, as described in section 5.1.1.2. The evidence of language revitalisation confirms the importance of language as a distinct element of indigenous peoples, as highlighted by the IWGIA (2019).

A strong emphasis on Māori being indigenous peoples as described in section 5.1.1.1., which entails a strong relationship to one's ancestors' lands and nature, could be found in this research which overlaps with the definition of the United Nations (nd). However, the results from this research demonstrate that an individual's relation to nature is a very individual decision and therefore cannot be generalised for the entire community.

As described in the section 5.1.1.3., colonial legacies had a massive influence on the construction of Māori identities which confirmed statements given by Hall (2003) or Weaver (2001).

Contemporary history and consequences of globalisation, as presented in section 5.1.2.3., could be detected as having great importance on the construction of Māori identities, such as changes of the communal lifestyle (See section 5.1.2.), the increased immigration into Aotearoa New Zealand and the influx of different ethnicities. These results confirm statements put forth by Pearson (2005) and (McIntosh, 2005).

To conclude, the results of this research confirm ongoing academic discussions around the construction of cultural identities as a constantly changing and transforming process of the individual in relation to its environment. Although there is a great variety of influencing factors, such as one's genealogy, the Whakapapa, the Marae, language or colonial legacies, which show great impact on the construction of Māori identities, it is clear that it is a very individual and self-determined process when including or excluding these parts into one's cultural and multidimensional identity.

6.2 Planned Māori identities

In the following section, the findings from the second research objective will be discussed (See Figure 6.3). This research objective approached understanding the construction of *planned Māori identities* in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand by experts and also asked *who* the responsible actors involved in the processes are.

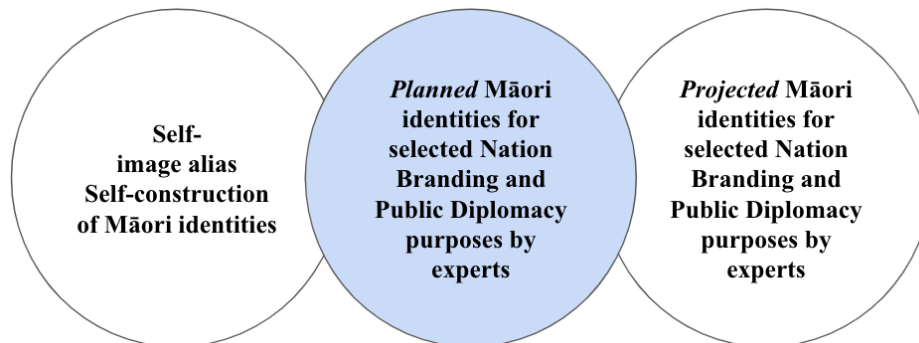
⁵[Family] [extended families]. See explanation of *Whanau* in the glossary p. 283

⁶[Protocols]. See explanation of *Protocols* in the glossary p. 280.

⁷[Tattoo]. See explanation of *Tā Moko* in the glossary p. 282.

⁸[Māori language]. See explanation of *Te Reo Māori* in the glossary p. 282.

Figure 6.3: Discussing the *planned* Māori identities



Source: Author's elaboration based on a theoretical approach by José Fernández-Cavia

Planned Māori identities in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand

As described in section 5.2.1.1., the results from this research show that within selected Nation Branding channels - in particular in the one example of tourism as a Nation Branding Nation activity - there are constant attempts to use Māori culture as an element to showcase the uniqueness of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Similar to understandings by Govers and Go (2009); Dinnie (2008) and Ashworth (2009), a clear tendency to differentiate Aotearoa New Zealand from its competitors by using a point of difference, in this case by showcasing Māori culture, could be detected.

As described in section 5.3.1.1., the outcome of this research further demonstrates that Māori are often described as one entity. This procedure strongly contradicts with the literature review, according to which a great emphasis is put on offering an authentic experience of resources of the nation to the audience, such as stated by Moilanen and Rainisto (2009). It is questionable if this is done to simplify the complexity of Māori culture in order to avoid difficulties for visitors grasping the diversity of the tribes and different understandings of being Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Scholars such as Govers and Go (2009) or Aronczyk (2013) mention a great variety of actors in the construction of Nation Branding which coincides with the results of this research. As described in section 5.2.1.3., however, there are big differences between the approaches of the different actors who are involved in the construction of planned Māori identities. In the context of this research, it was not always clear *if* and *to which extent* Māori are involved in the planning of their own representation.

The involvement of governmental programs on a local, regional or national basis, such as described by Govers and Go (2009) or Frig and Sorsa (2018), could be confirmed in this research by the work of the Ministry of Māori Tourism. As described in section 5.2.1.3., the Ministry of Tourism strongly focuses on the appropriation of Māori values and collaboration with local Māori tour operators. This finding could be demonstrated by the strong emphasis on cultural fusion and cultural exchange as one of the main goals of the Ministry of Tourism (See 5.2.1.2).

The findings of this research further overlap with scholars such as Moilanen and Rainisto (2009); Quelch and Jocz (2005) or Ashworth et al. (2015), describing private institutions and private actors as main players of Nation Branding.

Whereas in the literature review a lack of knowledge describing the specific actors involved in the construction of planned cultural identities could be detected, the outcome of the research at hand highlighted the self-engagement of Māori. As described in section 5.2.1.3., drawing on the example of Rotorua and Māori cultural centres, Māori determine the narratives and storytelling which is presented to incoming visitors (See 5.2.1.3).

Several scholars also mention the necessity of involving local citizens into the Nation Branding, such as Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) or Kavaratzis (2009). The findings of this research confirm this statement giving the example of Māori children who perform at cultural shows from an early age on.

One of the main findings of this research is that the earlier mentioned necessity to involve local citizens into Nation Branding, such as suggested by Kavaratzis (2009) or Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) is not sufficient anymore as discussed in continuation.

Contrary, findings from this research show that involving the citizens or the community of a nation into Nation Branding - using the example of tourism - has become standard and even more, citizens and members of the community create their own Nation Branding. As described in section 5.2.1.3. on the example of Ngāti Awa in Aotearoa New Zealand, there is an understanding to let the community decide what their representation should look like. Apart from a high involvement of the community, there is a strong focus on Māori culture and cultural principles from a bottom-up, community perspective. Related to that finding, the results of the thesis also show that this is done not only to offer a real and authentic experience to incoming visitors, but also in order to perpetuate the culture for one's own people.

By constructing Nation Branding bottom-up, Māori are able to align the community to the messages sent out through Nation Branding - within the example of tourism - which was presented as a main goal of Nation Branding by Kavaratzis (2009). From the understanding of this research, so far the detailed involvement of cultural identities in Nation Branding has been missed out in literature.

Results from this research as described in section 5.2.1.3. show that the smaller the actor engaged in Nation Branding is, the more real the experience for visitors becomes. In Aotearoa New Zealand, *bottom-up Nation Branding* as suggested by Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011) truly enables an authentic experience between the people of a country and its visitors. Part of this finding is the necessity to showcase both, the good and bad sides of a nation, which makes the experience more real.

Planned Māori identities in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand

Findings from this research, as discussed in section 5.2.2.1., confirm ongoing discussions of van Ham (2005) and Anholt (2007) by demonstrating that there is a focus on showcas-

ing Māori as a unique element of the country and to accompany diplomatic debates in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand.

This thesis finds that there is an awareness of people involved to adequately represent Māori culture for Public Diplomacy purposes. This includes presenting a real and genuine representation created by Māori which includes both positive and negative aspects of Māori culture as described in section 5.2.2.2. Focusing on the presentation of cultural identities in Public Diplomacy has been frequently missed out in literature so far.

In that sense, the results from this research show that contrary to Nation Branding, in Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand there are strong attempts to avoid showing Māori as one entity. Presenting Māori in their diversity and in particular looking at all the different Māori tribes leads to the idea of a real experience of the nation as suggested by Cull (2009).

Similar to ongoing debates by scholars including Cull (2009), Szondi (2008), Melissen (2005) or van Ham (2005), the outcome of this thesis demonstrates strong attempts to create political and economic opportunities for Māori as well as to enable possibilities of exchange and building relationships with foreign publics. This also includes attempts to showcase Māori culture to foreign publics in order to attract international students and highly skilled workers, such as for the indigenous Māori universities (See 5.1.5).

Ongoing discussions by Cull (2009); Kim (2017) or Riordan (2005) about the actors of Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand overlapped with the outcomes of this thesis (See 5.2.2). Results of this research show that a lot of Public Diplomacy work in Aotearoa New Zealand is done by governmental institutions, although increasing engagement of private actors, in particular the Māori *Iwi*⁹ organisations who work with the governments could be noted.

Another important actor of Public Diplomacy mentioned in the literature by Anholt (2007) are embassies, whose involvement in Public Diplomacy activities including Māori culture could be confirmed by this research. However, results from the investigation show that while *Iwi* and private actors of Public Diplomacy are actively engaged in the planned construction of Māori identities, embassies often engage rather passively and take advantage of ongoing events rather than organising them themselves.

As described in section 5.2.2.3., the outcome of this research also showcases a strong engagement of less formal groups of citizens, in this case the organisations of Māori tribes, who fit into Public Diplomacy purposes, which overlaps with Riordan (2005) and Melissen (2005).

Planned Māori identities in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand

Similarly to the other two investigated channels of Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy, results of this research found that also Cultural Diplomacy uses Māori culture as an element of uniqueness and as a strategic tool to engage with foreign publics, as suggested

⁹[Tribe]. See explanation of *Iwi* in the glossary p. 277

by Kim (2017), Mark (2009) and Ministry of Culture and Heritage (nd). The outcome of the research shows that an emphasis is put on demonstrating Māori culture by Māori to particularly overcome stereotypes and prejudices of foreign audiences.

While this doctoral thesis found a general lack of thematising the purpose of showcasing cultural identities within Cultural Diplomacy, results from this research show that focusing on Māori culture in events of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand not only aims at showing the uniqueness of Aotearoa New Zealand, but also at pushing the global representation of Māori and Māori culture. As described in section 5.3.2.3., involving Māori into Cultural Diplomacy activities of Aotearoa New Zealand attempts to give Māori a chance to retell history and engage Māori directly in ongoing debates.

Overlapping with the statement given by Hurn (2016), demonstrating Māori culture in Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand is also a way of creating relationships and mutual understanding with foreign publics, in particular with First Nations. Results from this research further demonstrate that this also corresponds with an interest to increase commercial and political influence for Māori abroad, an element that coincides with the opinion of Cummings (2009).

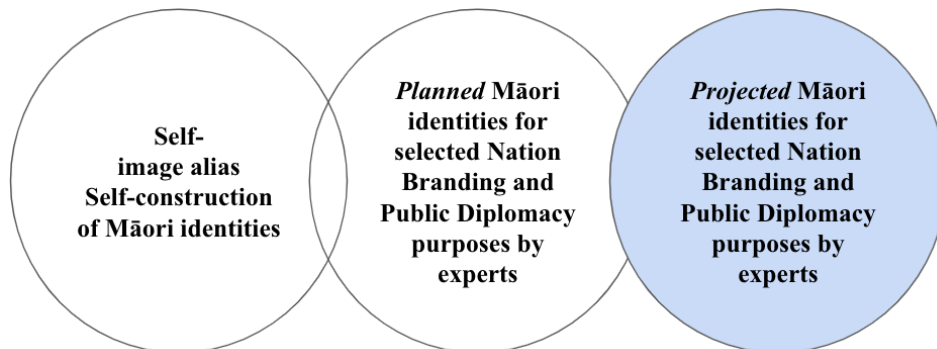
Findings further show that the actors involved in the construction of Māori identities in Cultural Diplomacy coincide with ongoing understandings in literature, such as suggested by Aronczyk (2013), Topić and Rodin (2012) or Kim (2017). Among these actors, particularly governmental players could be found as highly involved as well as private institutions, the art sector or individuals, as described in the section 5.3.3.1. While in ongoing literature a lack concerning a bottom-up approach of actors in Cultural Diplomacy could be detected, results from this research show a tendency of Māori self-determining their representation.

The results of this research overlap with ongoing academic discussions presented in the literature review, such as by Mark (2009) and Kim (2017), where it is stated that the main players of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand are museums, art performances, art exhibitions and exchange programs. However, this doctoral thesis adds the evidence that Māori do actively engage in the representation of Māori identities for Cultural Diplomacy (See 5.3.3.1).

6.3 Projected Māori identities

In the following section, the findings from the third research objective will be discussed (See Figure 6.4). This research objective approached understanding the construction of projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand by experts and asked the question about the actors involved in these processes. As explained in the methodology section, the results from the expert interviews were expanded by the conducted website analysis. The obtained results will also be integrated into the following discussion.

Figure 6.4: Discussing the *projected* Māori identities



Source: Author's elaboration based on a theoretical approach by José Fernández-Cavia

Projected Māori identities in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand

Findings from this research as presented in section 5.3.1.1. make clear that Māori culture is used as one of the main elements of uniqueness in tourism, as a Nation Branding activity of Aotearoa New Zealand. Contrary to tourism, the results from the three selected Nation Branding websites for the conducted website analysis (Tourism New Zealand, the All Blacks and Air New Zealand) are rather astonishing.

As discussed in the sections 4.2. - 4.4., Air New Zealand and Tourism New Zealand are the two most visited websites within the selected ten websites. Air New Zealand is also the website where people spent most of the time and visited most of the pages. However, Air New Zealand has no information about Māori culture on the two analysed levels of its website.

Also, the information provided by Tourism New Zealand is reduced to rather superficial information about Māori culture and mainly shows a commercial intention. Likewise, the website of the All Blacks, with a broad international audience, shows very little information about Māori culture, except for a strong focus on explaining the Haka which plays an important role for Māori culture and the All Blacks.

Findings from the analysis of the three selected Nation Branding websites show that although the websites have high numbers of visits (See Figure 4.1), visit duration (See Figure 4.2) and amount of visited pages (See Figure 4.3), the information about Māori culture ranges from very little information to no information at all. This finding offers possibilities for engagement of Māori to share information about Māori culture to a wider international audience, to which the websites are already exposed (See Figure 4.5). Including information about Māori culture in the ads of Tourism New Zealand and Air New Zealand would give a greater audience the chance to learn about Māori culture as an element of uniqueness of Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly via the paid traffic they use (See Figure 4.4).

While Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) and Anholt (2007) stress the importance of presenting an image in Nation Branding that coincides with reality, the results from this research

show that the image that is presented about Māori does not necessarily overlap with reality and that as a consequence Māori frequently do not agree with it. The representation of Māori oftentimes is limited to specific characteristics of Māori culture and lacks appropriate explanation of the culture and cultural processes (See 5.3.1.1).

This is a striking result given the understanding from literature such as contributed by Widler (2007) and Kavartzis (2009), that it is highly important for a successful nation brand that the citizens identify with it. The outcome of this research confirms the difficulty for Māori to identify with the nation brand when the representation of Māori culture is not done adequately (See 5.3.1.1).

Related to that, throughout the research an under-representation of Māori could be detected. A simplification of information as described by Morgan et al. (2011) and Widler (2007) could be found, for instance when information that is presented reduces Māori to some characteristics and simplifies the presented information about Māori in order to match stereotypes, generalisations and prejudices foreign publics have about Māori, as described in section 5.3.1.1.

This result contradicts the literature review in which it is stated that Nation Branding fosters reducing stereotypes and contributes to a better mutual understanding and improvement of international relations (Fan, 2006). The outcome of this research shows that Māori are often portrayed as one entity and diversity among the different tribes is frequently left out (See 5.2.1). This finding could also be confirmed by the results of the website analysis in Chapter 4, in particular on the example of Tourism New Zealand where Māori culture was overwhelmingly presented as one entity as well (See 4.3.1).

Related to that, findings further showcase that Māori often are not represented as individuals of the 21st century, but determined as living in the past. Although there is an understanding that Nation Branding needs to be dynamic and owned by its own people as suggested by Widler (2007), this is not always the case when it comes to the projected Māori identities in selected channels of Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand (See 5.3.1.1).

Results from the two applied research methods (expert interviews and website analysis) show that the information about Māori in selected Nation Branding channels - in particular tourism as a Nation Branding activity - is either very limited, limited but focused or did not exist. Wherever content about Māori could be detected, it was mainly dominated by a commercial intention. Although this confirms an important task of Nation Branding, which is the promotion of a nation to holidaymakers and business travellers as suggested by Anholt (2007), in this thesis there is an understanding that this does not lead to an appropriate representation of Māori culture.

A variety of actors of Nation Branding, such as the tourist board or governmental institutions named by Anholt (2007), could be confirmed through this research. From the results of this thesis it became clear that particularly the Māori community itself has an increasing role in the projected construction of Māori identities (See 5.3.1).

The findings of this doctoral thesis confirm that *bottom-up approaches of Nation Branding* such as described by Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011), Widler (2007) or Quelch and Jocz

(2005) are increasingly successful when involving the nation's people and community, in particular Māori individuals, into the representation. By taking Māori values and Māori Protocols seriously, the knowledge about Māori culture can be increased long-term, as described in section 5.3.1.2.

Academic discussions stating that locals, in this case Māori individuals, contribute with knowledge about their needs, desires and opinions to the nation brand as suggested by Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013), Aronczyk (2013), Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) and Kavaratzis (2009), were confirmed by this research. By doing this, attempts are made to display a real and honest picture of contemporary Māori life and also to create opportunities for jobs and engagement for the Māori community, as described in section 5.3.1.3.

Projected Māori identities in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand

The outcome of this research shows an emphasis in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand to portray a genuine image of Māori. Moreover, it could be noted that portraying Māori culture to foreign audiences in order to build and maintain relationships is understood as the main target of Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, as suggested in the literature review by Cull (2009), Kim (2017) and Szondi (2008).

As described in Chapter 4, Section 4.3, this outcome could be confirmed by the website analysis of the selected three Public Diplomacy websites (the Ministry of Culture and Heritage, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Ministry of Māori Tourism), even though the three websites have a very different focus. The focus of the selected websites ranges from in-depth information about Māori customs to relevant historical elements for Māori as well as political and economic possibilities of engagement for Māori.

Although the website analysis did not aim at comparing the traffic numbers between the ten different websites, findings show that the three selected Public Diplomacy websites have significantly lower numbers of visitors to their websites than the ones of Nation Branding (See Figure 4.1). Therefore, it seems interesting that all three websites offer in-depth information about Māori culture and also manage that various pages are visited (See Figure 4.3). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs needs to be emphasized because visitors stay for the second longest time among the analysed pages (See Figure 4.2) which makes it possible to provide in-depth information about Māori culture.

Through this research it could be further confirmed that putting Māori culture in the centre of Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand promotes a receptive environment and positive reputation of the country abroad in its own political and economic interest, as suggested by Szondi (2008). This overlaps with Gregory (2008) who explains that governments use Public Diplomacy to increase the awareness and understanding of attitudes and culture, in this case Māori culture, by foreign citizens. This outcome could be confirmed by the website analysis of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (See Figure 4.5) whose traffic flow resulted to be highly international, while providing in-depth information about Māori culture.

As discussed in 5.3.2.2., the information that is offered about Māori in the selected Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa is very specific and focuses on engaging Māori into public discussions as well as political debates and opportunities. Attempts are frequently made to address topics which are relevant to Māori, such as the improvement of their businesses, whether this relates to forestry, dairy production or other sectors. This overlaps with the literature review where there is an understanding that Public Diplomacy aims at creating awareness around policies and establishing relationships and dialogue to foreign publics (Nelson and Izadi, 2009) which in this case is done in favor of Māori.

In this context, Nye (2004) describes that being a role model and leading others by attraction might also influence the behaviour of foreign publics and convince them of one's values. Results of this doctoral thesis show that showcasing Māori culture to its foreign publics does support Aotearoa New Zealand's reputation abroad and gives it a unique position (See 5.3.1).

Apart from governmental actors involved in processes of Public Diplomacy, this research confirms the engagement of cultural actors and in particular artists, as suggested by Kim (2017) and Mark (2009). Particularly tribal organisations or tribal actors were discovered throughout the research as well as universities, individual academics, but also youth movements and sports clubs which overlap with Riordan (2005). The outcome of this research further confirms that in particular individual actors of Public Diplomacy are crucial, (See Hocking (2005)), and that they may operate with the help or even without the help of national governments.

Whereas in this research there is an understanding that literature lacks the issue of dealing with cultural identities in Public Diplomacy, dealing with cultural topics according to Māori standards is of high significance for the Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, as described in 5.3.2.1. Regarding the Public Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, there is a special program to educate the diplomatic corps in an appropriate way about Māori language, stories and customs. This course is developed by Māori and attempts to include different perspectives of Māori culture and tribes.

In this thesis, there is an understanding that there is a gap in literature about the involvement of cultural identities in Public Diplomacy. One main finding of this research is that in Aotearoa New Zealand, Iwi (Māori tribal organisations) are frequently involved in diplomatic visits in Aotearoa New Zealand by organising and moderating the program that is presented to foreign publics, as discussed in section 5.3.2.3.

Projected Māori identities in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand

The results of this doctoral thesis include a strong focus on representing Māori identities by Māori in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand. By doing this, an authentic expression of Māori culture is ensured which according to Leonard et al. (2002) and L'Etang (2009) enables establishing long-term relationships and an emotional bond with overseas publics.

This outcome could be confirmed by the results of the conducted website analysis of selected Cultural Diplomacy websites in Chapter 4.

As described in Section 4.3, the four selected websites (Te Papa, Te Matatini, Tamaki Māori Village and Mataatua) have different intentions and therefore also have a different focus regarding their content about Māori culture. As demonstrated in Figures 4.1-4.3, the selected Cultural Diplomacy websites have rather low numbers of visitors, visit duration and visited pages. Nevertheless, the four selected websites offer in-depth information about Māori culture to their visitors. Findings from the analysis of the websites of the Tamaki Māori Village and Mataatua also show strong commercial intentions related to Māori culture.

The element of representing Māori culture overlaps with the argumentation of Cull (2009) who names the management of the international environment by promoting cultural resources, in this case Māori culture, and achievements overseas to foster cultural transmission and exchange as one core task of Cultural Diplomacy. The results of this thesis further confirm Mark (2009) who states that the promotion of cultural resources happens on the base of advancing trade, political or economic interests and the development of relationships, which in this thesis can be confirmed to be done in favour of Māori.

Similar to Cull (2009), who states that there are Cultural Diplomacy activities happening inside and outside of the country, various examples could be demonstrated by the thesis at hand on the case of Aotearoa New Zealand. In Aotearoa New Zealand, this takes place, for example, through the National Museum Te Papa and outside of the country by the travelling exhibitions. Whereas in literature there is an understanding that the attraction of foreign publics abroad is the most important target of Cultural Diplomacy (See Gienow-Hecht and Donfried (2010); Mark (2009); Kim (2017)), this could not fully be confirmed by the research. In Aotearoa New Zealand, there is an understanding that Cultural Diplomacy happens in the form of a dialogue or so-called two way communication (See 5.3.3.1). This confirms Szondi (2008) and Kim (2017) who state that there is a strong focus on establishing relationships and networks abroad.

Results from this research further show that there are different institutions related to Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand which showcase Māori from their own perspective (See 5.3.3.2). This overlaps with Hurn (2016) who states that there are attempts to improve the understanding and awareness about culture and cultural attributes abroad. The tendency to showcase Māori culture from different perspectives could also be confirmed by the results of the website analysis as discussed in Chapter 4.

One concrete example of Māori engagement in Cultural Diplomacy are museums, e.g. Te Papa (See Section 4.3.). Individuals often donate personal items to their collections which are displayed publicly (See 5.3.3.1). Another example of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand are the earlier mentioned travelling exhibitions which manifest a variety of different approaches to Māori culture while thematising different issues of Māori, including history, artwork, but also ongoing issues such as the consequences of colonialism and problems of addiction or domestic violence.

One of the main findings of this research related to Cultural Diplomacy opens up another gap in literature which is the involvement of individual actors in Cultural Diplomacy

activities. There is also a bottom-up approach from individual actors, such as the Māori community in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand who cannot be assigned to already defined spaces of actors of Cultural Diplomacy in literature (See 5.3.3.2).

Discussing the overall research question

After discussing the findings from the three research objectives of this thesis which were: (1) the *self-image*, (2) the *planned Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels* and (3) the *projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels*, the findings of the overall research question of this thesis will be discussed. As described in Chapter 1, Section 1.2.4. of this doctoral thesis, the overall research question was, "How does the construction of Māori identities from Māori perspectives coincide with the planned and projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand?"

Taking the findings of the three research objectives into account, both similarities and differences could be found between the self-image and the planned and projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels.

One of the main findings of this research is a general tendency to include information about Māori culture in the selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels. However, there are great differences between the applied approaches and the extent of showcasing information about Māori culture by the selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels. This could be particularly observed throughout the analysis of the ten selected websites as discussed in Chapter 4.

The bigger, international websites from selected Nation Branding channels mainly pursue commercial interests and generally lack information about Māori culture. However, the smaller and more locally-based a website is, the more in-depth information it contains about Māori culture. This tendency could be found on both selected Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy websites, although it was even stronger among the Cultural Diplomacy websites. This outcome underpins great differences between the representation of Māori culture by selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels and the information provided by members of the Māori tribe Ngāti Awa.

The findings of this research confirm that attempts are made in Aotearoa New Zealand to create a credible image of the nation which includes all the dimensions of the very nation as suggested by Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) or Fan (2006).

Related to the earlier discussed findings, this doctoral research found out that although an effort is made to include information about Māori culture by the different actors, the Māori community often finds this information not sufficient or rather fragmented.

This outcome could particularly be observed when it comes to information about Māori culture that is used for Nation Branding purposes. When comparing the results from the different research objectives, this research also found out that the information that is offered publicly in the selected Nation Branding channels oftentimes only shows a rather superficial version of the extensive information about Māori culture. This finding confirms

the concerns that many scholars such as Aronczyk (2013), Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013) or Widler (2007) have raised describing the difficulty of constructing a well-working representation of a nation's population for Nation Branding if parts of the society cannot identify with it.

In this context, the findings of this thesis confirm the idea of a simplification of information as debated by Morgan et al. (2011) or Widler (2007). This phenomenon becomes obvious in information about Māori culture contributed by the selected Nation Branding channels. The outcome of this thesis further shows that this tendency could not be found to the same extent among Public Diplomacy channels or in Cultural Diplomacy channels.

Contrary to the selected Nation Branding channels, the selected Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy channels not only focused on a strong engagement of Māori when it comes to the representation of Māori culture, but also on a self-determination of Māori regarding their representation. This outcome also confirms theoretical debates such as raised by Gregory (2008), highlighting the necessity to increase the awareness and understanding of a nation's attitudes and culture by portraying a genuine image of the nation and its people.

Another major finding of this thesis is the importance to involve a nation's people into the planning and projection of the cultural identities of the very nation. This finding confirms the opinions of various scholars such as Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011), Widler (2007) or Quelch and Jocz (2005) who state that using bottom-up approaches in Nation Branding is much more successful when including a nation's people and the community.

This outcome could also be confirmed by the results from the selected Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy channels. Nevertheless, results from this thesis show that there is a tendency by Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy channels to engage a nation's citizens already to a greater extent than Nation Branding channels. The importance of individual actors for Public Diplomacy as discussed by Hocking (2005) as well as for Cultural Diplomacy as discussed by Mark (2009) could also be confirmed by this research.

The results of this doctoral thesis highlight gaps of knowledge that have not been considered in theoretical discussions yet.

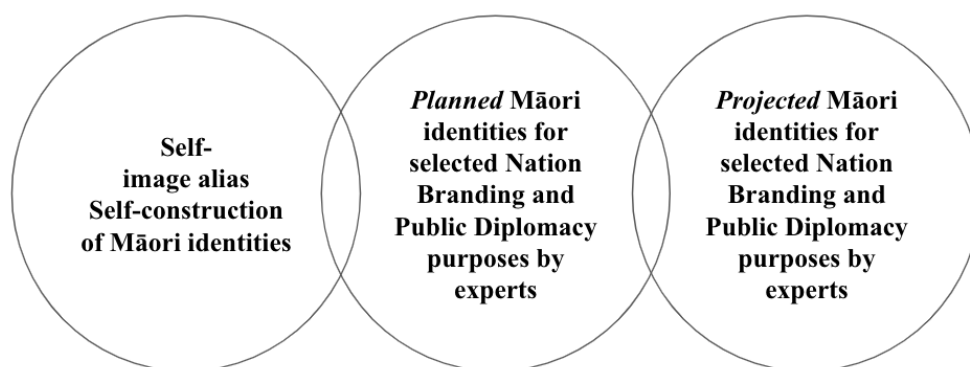
Whereas various scholars such as Kavaratzis and Hatch (2013), Aronczyk (2013), Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) or Kavaratzis (2009) stress the importance to include local citizens into the construction of the nation brand, the findings of this thesis open up the question of what happens if the local citizens take over the construction of the nation brand independently from the official public channels. This question raises new discussions for the academic world related to the empowerment of local citizens for both Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels and changes the understanding about the way how both Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy have been constructed so far.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

After discussing the findings in Chapter 6, this final section serves to answer the main research question and the research objectives of this research while concluding with the summary of the outcome. See Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Conclusion of this research



Source: Author's elaboration based on a theoretical approach by José Fernández-Cavia

Results of this research demonstrate both significant overlaps and differences between the three objectives. As a reminder, in this research coincidences between the *self-image*, the *planned Māori identities* and the *projected Māori identities* in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of *Aotearoa*¹ New Zealand were investigated.

7.1 Answering the research questions

Investigating the *first* research objective of this thesis which examined how Māori understand the construction of their identity, in particular members of *Ngāti Awa*², the following

¹[Land of the long white cloud]. Māori term for New Zealand. See explanation of *Aotearoa* in the glossary p. 276.

²[Māori tribe]. See explanation of *Ngāti Awa* in the glossary p. 280.

results could be detected. The construction of cultural identities, specifically Māori identities, is an ongoing, constant and active process by an individual which takes place in constant exchange with the environment.

From the results examining the *first* research objective which also dealt with the characteristics and elements Māori link to being Māori, a variety of elements could be found. However, results show that the elements of *Whakapapa*³ and *Marae*⁴ are the main elements in the construction of Māori identities. The outcome of the investigation demonstrates that Māori, in particular members of Ngāti Awa, construct their identities based on commonly shared characteristics with the community, such as the knowledge about one's Whakapapa or related to that colonial legacies, but this always happens in an individual interaction with the environment.

A strong awareness could be noted that Māori seem to be in a better position than other indigenous peoples, which was demonstrated by a frequent comparison between Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and Aborigines in Australia by members of Ngāti Awa. There is an understanding that not only history has treated Māori in a different way, such as by the *Treaty of Waitangi*⁵ which enables Māori today to have an equal position as Treaty Partners - at least according to the Treaty -, but Māori have also engaged in self-determining their lives. Apart from all the deprivation Māori suffered from colonial legacies, such as the language loss, land loss, loss of tribal structures and violent acts that affected Māori, they managed to get back their rights and reclaim what has been taken from them.

This can be visualised by attempts to revitalise the language, creating educational institutions such as the *Kohanga Reo*⁶, the *Kura Kaupapa*⁷ or Māori indigenous universities, also by successfully claiming back the rights from the Treaty of Waitangi and starting to build businesses and economies with the resources of the country. The keyword in this context is *self-determination* and one plausible explanation for Māori being actively engaged in their representation and globally present.

There is a common understanding that Māori construct their cultural identities in a fluid way. Māori identities are influenced by the environment, norms and history while trying not to lose the parts of oneself that are important to one. The examples that have been demonstrated throughout this research confirm that Māori aim at self-determining what it means to be Māori.

Throughout the research, constant engagement by Māori to share elements of Māori culture with incoming visitors could be noted. Probably the best example is the value of *Manaakitanga*⁸, which can be found as a thread through everyday life of Māori and which derives from values and *Protocols*⁹ individuals have learned in the community lifestyle

³[**Genealogy**]. See explanation of *Whakapapa* in the glossary p. 283.

⁴[**Cultural meeting centre**]. See explanation of *Marae* in the glossary p. 279.

⁵[**Treaty of Waitangi**]. See explanation of *Tiriti o Waitangi* in the glossary p. 282.

⁶[**Educational institution**]. See explanation of *Kohanga Reo* in the glossary p. 278.

⁷[**Educational institution**]. See explanation of *Kura Kaupapa* in the glossary p. 278.

⁸[**Hospitality**]. See explanation of *Manaakitanga* in the glossary p. 279.

⁹[**Protocols**]. See explanation of *Protocols* in the glossary p. 280.

or at the *Marae*¹⁰. Whether or not this behaviour could be called the pride of one's culture, it is a way of sharing one's values and principles with other people and giving them an opportunity to eliminate their stereotypes and prejudices and to understand the world through Māori perspectives.

The results from the investigation of the *second* research objective showed that when it comes to the construction of *planned Māori identities* in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand, on the example of tourism, attempts are made to present Māori culture as an element of uniqueness of the country and focus on Māori culture. There are great differences between the approaches of different actors involved.

Often Māori are presented as one living entity and diversity of Māori is not recognised. Bottom-up Nation Branding and tourism handle this topic differently. Although the representation of Māori also comes with a commercial intention, the motivations for doing so are different. Putting Māori in the centre of attention aims at creating jobs for the community and perpetuating knowledge about Māori culture for future generations. Various attempts could be observed to determine the representation of Māori in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand which can be related to individual approaches of showcasing Māori on a smaller scale.

At the same time, the construction of *planned Māori identities* in the Public Diplomacy understands showcasing Māori culture as a gateway for diplomatic discussions and focuses strongly on a self-representation of Māori by Māori. In this context, there is an understanding that focusing on Māori culture in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand also enables political and economic opportunities for Māori.

*Iwi*¹¹ and Iwi organisations are often included in the organisation of meetings with foreign publics and can determine themselves the program they want to present to visitors. Even if this program has a specific intention, such as to promote politics or economic possibilities of the specific Iwi abroad, in the end the representation is made directly by the Iwi. This is also the case of local tour operators which are frequently engaged in activities of Public Diplomacy in order to show a diversified image of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. The element of Māori culture is used to engage with First Nations abroad and to collectively work on solving ongoing issues and problems in the community.

As explained before, Cultural Diplomacy was dealt with separately in this thesis, as within Aotearoa New Zealand there is great focus on this concept. Examining the construction of the *planned Māori identities* in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand showed that there is a focus on demonstrating Māori culture as an element of uniqueness, as well as to 'use' Māori culture to provide ways of relationship building with foreign publics. Also, there is a focus on Māori culture in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand to engage Māori strategically and push their global presence.

Looking at the results which investigated the second research question of the second research objective, which addressed the actors involved in the different concepts, the following insight could be detected. While in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand

¹⁰[**Cultural meeting centre**]. See explanation of *Marae* in the glossary p. 279.

¹¹[**Tribe**]. See explanation of *Iwi* in the glossary p. 277

with a focus on tourism a variety of actors - from governmental institutions, to bigger semi-governmental or private cultural centres - is involved, private actors are increasingly becoming important.

A similar trend could be detected in Public Diplomacy, where the main actors are governmental institutions and departments, but they focus on a strong collaboration with Iwi organisations which are put in the centre of attention and who self-determine their representation. Results from the investigation of the actors of Cultural Diplomacy in Aotearoa New Zealand showed that also in this field private artists or private persons increasingly engage in Cultural Diplomacy activities and become equally important players to governmental departments or cultural centres.

The results from investigating the construction of *projected Māori identities* in selected channels of Nation Branding in Aotearoa New Zealand (based on the expert interviews and the website analysis) showed that although in the majority of the cases there are approaches to portray a realistic image of Māori culture, oftentimes they do not match reality. Results of this research also highlighted that there are cases where the portrayal of Māori culture is very reduced or not existent at all, such as proved by the website analysis of Air New Zealand and All Blacks Rugby.

The outcome of this research showed that frequently there was strong dissatisfaction with the construction of projected Māori identities and critiques on the simplification and reduction of characteristics of Māori culture for commercial purposes by Māori. However, at the same time increasing attempts by private actors to self-determine the construction of Māori identities in the Nation Branding of Aotearoa New Zealand, in particular in the area of tourism, could be noted. These actors do understand the construction of Māori identities in Nation Branding as a way to perpetuate culture and engage the Māori community in shaping their representation.

The results investigating the construction of *projected Māori identities* in the Public Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand showed great overlaps with the construction of *planned Māori identities*. Findings from the research show that there is a great emphasis to portray Māori culture appropriately unless Māori take over the representation themselves. This includes proper cultural training and putting Māori in the focus of global discussions in order to foster the self-representation and let Māori self-determine the topics they want to address.

Also, the outcome of the examination of the construction of *projected Māori identities* in selected channels of Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand shows great overlaps with the construction of *planned Māori identities*. There is a strong focus on the self-determination of Māori concerning their representation in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand which includes that the topics which are presented oblige the different actors involved.

Looking at the results of the second research question of the third research objective, which addressed the actors involved in the different concepts the earlier stated results could be confirmed. Although there are rather conventional actors involved in the construction of Māori identities, such as governmental institutions, departments, marketing

agencies, cultural centres, the increasing role of private actors in the construction of Māori identities for all three concepts, is one big insight of this thesis.

In the following, an attempt will be made to answer the *overall* research question of this thesis which investigated how far the construction of Māori identities from Māori perspectives coincides with the construction of planned and projected Māori identities in selected Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy channels of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Results from this doctoral thesis confirmed ongoing theoretical debates from scholars such as Govers and Go (2009), Dinnie (2008) or Ashworth (2009) stating that nations use points of difference to differentiate from other competitors. In the case of this thesis this can be proved by the example of Māori culture.

However, as the results from the website analysis also showed there are cases in which Māori culture is not used as an element to showcase the uniqueness of the New Zealand, e.g. Air New Zealand. There is an understanding in this doctoral thesis that these spaces could be used by actors of Nation Branding and Māori to self-determine the representation of the nation and its people together. Although in theoretical debates the importance to showcase authenticity is stressed, such as by Moilanen and Rainisto (2009), the outcome of this thesis showed that this is not always valid for the case of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Nevertheless, the different constructions coincide by overlapping content elements such as Whakapapa, the connection to ancestral land, the language *Te Reo Māori*¹², but also performing arts such as the *Haka*¹³, *Poi*¹⁴ dance or traditional singing.

Whereas Māori stress the diversity of Māori tribes in Aotearoa New Zealand and, related to that, different Protocols and values, this element (i.e. diversity of Māori tribes) could not be detected to the same extent in the selected Nation Branding channels. This seems rather problematic given the importance of presenting an image of the nation that coincides with the reality of the nation. This is particularly important for the people of a nation in order to identify with their nation, as described in ongoing literature, e.g. by Widler (2007) or Kavaratzis (2009). Results from the research further confirmed the simplification of information, in this case about Māori culture, as debated by Morgan et al. (2011) or Widler (2007).

Contrary to the selected Nation Branding channels, in selected Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy channels Māori were engaged to present their diversity. In that sense, the selected Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy channels manage to coincide more with the self-image of Māori than the selected Nation Branding channels, which was also reflected in the content of the selected websites.

Another example is that Māori, in particular members of the tribe Ngāti Awa, are very aware of their colonial past and understand this historical element as an influencing factor in the construction of their identities. In the selected Nation Branding channels with focus on tourism, the history of Māori is highly reduced and information about colonialism and its impact on Māori frequently left out. At the same time, Public Diplomacy makes the

¹²[Māori language]. See explanation of *Te Reo Māori* in the glossary p. 282.

¹³[Māori performance/dance]. See explanation of *Haka* in the glossary p. 276.

¹⁴[Dance using balls]. See explanation of *Poi* in the glossary p. 280.

history of Māori a topic, especially when it comes to discussions and debates with other First Nations, such as in the context of repatriation. Also in Cultural Diplomacy, Māori have space to talk about their experiences and to showcase their understanding of past events from their own perspective.

Māori stress the importance of self-determination in their lives, which can be confirmed by their struggle for reclaiming rights of land or the revitalisation of Te Reo Māori. The element of self-determination was not noticed in the selected mainstream Nation Branding channels, where the constructed representation often appeared as talking *about* Māori rather than talking *from* a Māori perspective. This outcome shows that contrary to theoretical debates by scholars, such as Moilanen and Rainisto (2009) or Kavaratzis (2009) where the necessity to include local citizens into Nation Branding is highlighted, the results of this thesis demonstrate that this is not always done in practice.

However, the element of self-determination could be detected in the bottom-up approaches of tourism, which are stronger engaged from the community. Strong attempts to showcase a real and authentic representation of Māori could be noted there. This result coincides with the understanding of bottom-up Nation Branding, as suggested by the authors Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011). This outcome confirms theoretical debates, such as by Widler (2007) or Quelch and Jocz (2005), stating that Nation Branding is more successful when the people of a nation are involved.

When it comes to Public Diplomacy, self-determination - in deciding which elements of the specific tribe to present and which topics to choose for a discussion - could be recognised. This outcome confirms the theoretical debates contributed by Cull (2009) highlighting the importance of offering a real experience of a nation in the context of Public Diplomacy. However, the outcomes of this thesis also show that this is done to promote the reputation of a nation abroad in order to foster economic and political interests, such as suggested by Cull (2009), Kim (2017) or Szondi (2008).

Regarding Cultural Diplomacy, strong attempts to engage Māori in discussions and debates can be observed directly from the responsible persons. This finding supports the theoretical contribution of Hurn (2016) who also suggested to understand Cultural Diplomacy as a way of creating relationships. In this context, Cummings (2009) stated that Cultural Diplomacy enables increased conversations between specific target groups and abroad. By engaging Māori into ongoing discussions, an authentic expression of Māori culture is ensured, as suggested in theoretical debates by Leonard et al. (2002) or L'Etang (2009).

The construction of Māori identities in the Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand is the one that probably most coincides with the self-image. Given the fact that artwork is often used as a channel to communicate rather sensitive topics - also in the case of Māori -, many artists create artwork which comes with a message or story and is directly developed by the community. This can be illustrated by Māori engaging in travelling overseas in order to share their message.

This outcome also confirms ongoing theoretical debates, such as from Aronczyk (2013), Topić and Rodin (2012) or Kim (2017) who highlight the importance of the engagement

of private actors in the construction of Cultural Diplomacy. When Māori develop their own representation, it can be ensured that the representation of Māori culture is done appropriately, such as suggested by Hurn (2016). Theoretical debates about the need for engagement of local citizens into Cultural Diplomacy practices could be confirmed by this research.

Similarities between the three objectives could be particularly found in certain elements, such as self-determination of Māori, the importance of including Māori Protocols and values, growing opportunities for Māori, perpetuating Māori culture and engaging in topics around cultural appropriation and repatriation. Differences between the three objectives could be detected both in expert interviews and on the selected websites. This included the specific content that is presented, the purpose of showcasing Māori culture and the benefit of the representation of Māori culture for Māori.

The construction of Māori identities from Māori perspectives can be understood as a role model for many other First Nations, but in general also for minorities and groups of society. A lot of work is still pending, but the first steps are made into a self-determined future of Māori whether that is in the Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy or Cultural Diplomacy of Aotearoa New Zealand or anywhere else.

The approach of Hakala and Lemmetyinen (2011) regarding a 'bottom-up' Nation Branding overlaps with the understanding of the construction of cultural identities in this doctoral thesis. By using this bottom-up approach, Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy are able to create a unique differentiation to other nations which is directly constructed by the community.

Hereby, two points which are heavily discussed in theoretical debates can be confirmed: first, there is an element of differentiating Aotearoa New Zealand to its competitors by unique elements, in this case Māori culture. Second, the story of a nation's unique elements can be told directly by the community, in this case Māori themselves.

One element that has been left out in theoretical discussions by scholars in the field is to apply local research methods to be able to present cultural identities through their own lenses and their own ways of doing things. Related to that, it seems pivotal, such as in the case of this thesis by applying *Kaupapa Māori Theory*, to use local theoretical approaches to really understand a place in all its dimensions. By doing this, a strong identification for the members of a nation with the mentioned concepts is ensured as well as the production of a more real and credible representation of the nation to foreign audiences.

After concluding this doctoral thesis, the intertwining of the three main concepts (Identity, Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy) which build the main elements of José Fernández-Cavia's Place Branding Model, becomes undeniable. According to the understanding of this thesis, identity is the foundation of both Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy which is why it is of high significance to present it as truly as possible.

Theoretical debates highlighting the importance of using elements of uniqueness for the concepts Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy could be confirmed by this research, such as by focusing on the identity of a nation. However, findings from this thesis also

support theoretical discussions stating that identity is a complex and constantly changing phenomenon. As a conclusion of this thesis, creating an "essence" of a nation, as discussed in Kaneva (2011)'s map of Nation Branding research (See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.), is not worth striving for. Contrary to the mentioned "picture of a moment" of a nation, other elements appear to be more important, as will be discussed.

After the conduction of this research, the question arises what can be done to ensure that Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy offer the closest image possible to the self-image of the people of a nation. Some suggestions can be made based on the findings of this research.

There is a strong conviction in this thesis that in order to create an authentic image of a nation strong relationships and engagement of a nation's own people must be emphasized for the construction of a nation brand. Even if the campaign, e.g. a Nation Branding campaign, is made by a foreign agency, it is of high importance to include the people of a country and the local community into the entire process.

At this point, it seems necessary to dive deep into the history of a nation to know its past, present and future. Processes of globalization and its influences on the socio-demographics also need to be taken into account, as they have massive influence on the population of a nation.

In this thesis, there is an awareness of the importance to constantly engage locals and to find out what people of the specific nation think about themselves as a nation. In this context, it seems highly necessary to know which "protocols" or ways of doing things exist among the people of a nation. There is a conviction that optionally existing local research methods, as has been demonstrated by this thesis, should be applied. They can contribute to a better understanding of the people of a nation and should be utilized with the permission of the locals.

Further findings of this thesis recommend to consistently show information about Māori which can best be achieved by inserting Māori narratives aligned to the self-image of Māori. It is not important to highlight a huge amount of information, but rather focus on information that is true and important to the people of a nation.

Related to that, it is highly recommended to constantly interact with and engage locals in order to see how they feel about the specific nation brand and if they identify with it. If there is a nation that is pluriethnic and multicultural, there is an understanding that it is necessary to interact with all parts of the society.

There is a clear understanding that it is not an easy task to create a nation brand which coincides with what the people of a nation think about the specific nation. There is an awareness that these ideas might be very diverse and also constantly transforming, which is why it is challenging to find linking elements between the different parts of society. The overall goal should be to include all parts of society into the nation brand. All this is necessary in order to ensure that the people of the nation "live" the nation brand and, vice versa, that the nation brand "reflects" the people of the nation. There cannot be a better promotion of a nation than the demonstration of a nation's values by its own people and people living the brand themselves, especially if that happens abroad.

These recommendations aim to ensure that the promotion of a nation is lived by its own people. At the same time, it enables a better understanding of the diversity of a nation by its own people which might lead to better co-living between the different parts of a society as well as a reduction of conflicts between different communities in the long run.

7.2 Future outlook

This research has only enabled a small glimpse of an increasingly important topic. Many questions could not be answered as this would go beyond the scope of the discussion.

How do other indigenous peoples construct their identity? What are the main characteristics and elements of other indigenous peoples when it comes to the construction of identity? Can other indigenous identities also be described as fluid or are there other factors which dominantly influence their identities? How do other indigenous identities see themselves represented in the national identity of their nation? Is there any representation at all? Do the different constructions of indigenous identities coincide to some extent? In order to investigate all these questions, another case study would be necessary.

It would be interesting for future research to compare the overlaps and gaps between the different constructions regarding different indigenous peoples.

Similar questions could also be asked regarding minorities in a state. Often, minorities have different backgrounds of coming to the nation, such as a consequence of war and persecution. It is questionable if minorities and indigenous peoples can be compared in any way, even if they have a similar position in the nation-state.

However, many nations consist of several minorities which represent a challenge to create a realistic and authentic representation of the population. Related to that, it would be a fascinating research to investigate how multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural nation-states deal with their population when it comes to the creation of the national image. Related to that, it would be interesting to examine if there is any correlation between the accuracy of a national identity (also in the Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy) related to the tolerance and respect between different minorities in the specific nation.

Māori have shown a way of self-determining one's identity in the public sphere. Another topic for future research would be if the strategies used by Māori could also work for other indigenous peoples or minorities. What are the conditions that are needed to be successful in the branding of indigenous peoples or minorities? Is it possible that the spoken language (English) does have an influence on the success of Māori? Are Māori that visible in the world because their main language is English and they are able to communicate their message to all the parts of the world where people are able to communicate in English? In this context, it would be interesting to examine if other indigenous peoples or minorities are able to successfully present their self-image if their first (or second) language is not English. This raises the question about the conditions which are necessary for an indigenous people or minority to be successful in representing their self-image. These examples show that there are still many questions waiting to be answered.

Another question that relates to this research is whether Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy can be tools to not only enhance the reputation of indigenous peoples or minorities, but also to improve the overall situation of indigenous peoples and minorities. Considering that every social group has a different story to tell, can Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy contribute to more tolerance and less conflicts when presenting an authentic self-image of the specific indigenous peoples or minorities?

There is an awareness in this thesis that this research has only opened doors to a completely new and increasingly important field of research.

7.3 Limitations of the study

As this is a qualitative study, this research is limited to the data that was contributed by its participants. This might include gaps that could not be filled throughout the research. As a qualitative work this thesis aimed at deepening the knowledge of a very concrete case study, the Māori tribe Ngāti Awa. Although an attempt was made to be completely transparent about the methodology, the replication of this research gaining the same results is therefore not guaranteed.

Given the main research method of this thesis which are interviews, this thesis relied on the participation of members of the Māori tribe Ngāti Awa as well as on experts from fields of Nation Branding, Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy. A limitation of this research was evoked through not being able to establish contact to other components of Nation Branding, which is why this research has a strong focus on tourism. An additional in-depth website analysis based on the same research interest would offer an alternate fruitful approach, but was dispensed with in this research due to its scope.

The outcome of data gathering in this thesis is strongly linked to the participants and therefore might not be representative for Ngāti Awa in total. There is an awareness that people's experiences were influenced by their personal views, opinions and experiences and therefore cannot be generalised.

Although the researcher made an attempt to eliminate any stereotypes and prejudices from the researcher's perspective throughout the research process, it might be that parts of the research do not coincide with Māori points of understanding. By working with Kaupapa Māori Theory and frequently discussing the content with Dr. Krushil Watene who is Māori, an attempt was made to keep bias to a minimum.

7.4 Final words

This thesis attempted to create new ways of thinking about constructing cultural identities in Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy. Out of a critique on branding of people and communities, this thesis aimed at giving a voice to the individuals. The outcome of this thesis showed that Māori increasingly engage and self-determine their representation. Following the principles of Kaupapa Māori Theory, this 'bottom-up' construction

of cultural identities enables Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy to create a unique differentiation to other nations which is directly constructed from the community. This provides a stronger identification for the community with the nation and produces a more credible representation of the nation to foreign audiences.

Bibliography

- Abes, E. S. (2009). Theoretical Borderlands: Using Multiple Theoretical Perspectives to Challenge Inequitable Power Structures in Student Development Theory. *Journal of College Student Development*, 50(2):141–156.
- Ahn, M. J. and Wu, H.-C. (2015). The Art of Nation Branding. *Public Organization Review*, 15(1):157–173.
- Air New Zealand (n.d.). Air New Zealand. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.airnewzealand.co.nz/>.
- Alasuutari, P. (1995). *Researching Culture. Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies*. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- All Blacks Rugby (n.d.). All Blacks Rugby. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <http://www.allblacks.com/>.
- Andersen, M. L. and Hill Collins, P. (2007). *Race, Class, and Gender: Anthology*. Cengage Learning, Boston, 6th edition.
- Anderson, A., Binney, J., and Harris, A. (2015). *Tangata Whenua: A History*. Bridget Williams Books Ltd., Wellington.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, London, New York.
- Ang, I., Isar, Y. R., and Mar, P. (2015). Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21(4):365–381.
- Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive Identity. The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, London.
- Anholt, S. (2008a). Place branding: Is it marketing, or isn't it? *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 4(1):1–6.
- Anholt, S. (2008b). Practitioner Insight. From nation branding to competitive identity – the role of brand management as a component of national policy. In Dinnie, K., editor, *Nation Branding. Concepts, Issues, Practice*, pages 22–23. Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, Burlington.

- Anholt, S. (2011). Beyond the Nation Brand: The Role of Image and Identity in International Relations. In Pike, A., editor, *Brands and Branding Geographies*, chapter 17, pages 289–305. Edward Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.
- Armstrong, M. (2008). Operationalizing Public diplomacy. In Snow, N. and Taylor, P. M., editors, *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, chapter 8, pages 63–71. Routledge, New York.
- Arndt, R. T. (2005). *The First Resort of Kings: American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century*. Potomac Books, Dulles.
- Arndt, R. T. (2011). Cultural Diplomacy and International Understanding. In *2011 Mestenhauser lecture on Internationalizing Higher Education*. University of Minnesota.
- Aronczyk, M. (2008). 'Living the Brand': Nationality, Globality, and the Identity Strategies of Nation Branding Consultants. *International Journal of Communication*, 2(25):41–65.
- Aronczyk, M. (2009). How to Do Things with Brands: Uses of National Identity. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 34(2):291–296.
- Aronczyk, M. (2013). *Branding the Nation: The Global Business of National Identity*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Ashworth, G. (2009). The Instruments of Place Branding: How is it Done? *European Spatial Research and Policy*, 16(1):9–22.
- Ashworth, G. J., Kavaratzis, M., and Warnaby, G. (2015). The Need to Rethink Place Branding. In *Rethinking Place Branding. Comprehensive Brand Development for Cities and Regions*, chapter 1, pages 1–13. Springer International Publishing, New York.
- Barber, B. R. (2001). Blood Brothers, Consumers, or Citizens? Three Models of Identity - Ethnic, Commercial and Civic. In Gould, C. C. and Pasquino, P., editors, *Cultural Identity and the Nation-State*, chapter 5, pages 57–67. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford.
- Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture*. Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Bauman, Z. (1996). From pilgrim to tourist—or a short history of identity. In Du Gay, P. and Hall, S., editors, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, chapter 2, pages 18–36. Sage Publications, Inc., London.
- Bausinger, H. (1999). Intercultural demands and cultural identity. In Vestergaard, T., editor, *Language, Culture and Identity*, pages 11–22. Aalborg University Press, Aalborg.

- Bekavac, I. and Garbin Praničević, D. (2015). Web analytics tools and web metrics tools: An overview and comparative analysis. *Croatian Operational Research Review*, 6(2):373–386.
- Bernard, R. and Ryan, G. (2009). *Analyzing Qualitative Data: Systematic Approaches*. SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, London, New York.
- Binney, J. and Harris, A. (2015). Part 2 Te Ao Hou: The New World. In Anderson, A., Binney, J., and Harris, A., editors, *Tangata Whenua: A History*, pages 167–311. Bridget Williams Books, Wellington.
- Borell, B. (2005). Living in the City Ain't So Bad: Cultural Identity for Young Maori in South Auckland. In Liu, J. H., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T., and Teaiwa, T., editors, *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*, pages 191–207. Victoria University Press, Wellington.
- Bornman, E. (2003). Struggles of identity in the age of globalisation. *Communicatio*, 29(1):24–47.
- Bound, K., Briggs, R., Holden, J., and Jones, S. (2007). *Cultural Diplomacy*. Demos, London.
- Brennen, B. S. (2013). *Qualitative Research Methods for Media Studies*. Routledge, New York, Abingdon.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 4th edition.
- Cain, T. (2017). Demographic diversities. The changing faces of Aotearoa New Zealand. In Cain, T., Kahu, E., and Shaw, R., editors, *Tūrangawaewae: Identity & Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand*, chapter 1, pages 33–53. Massey University Press, Auckland.
- Cain, T., Kahu, E., and Shaw, R. (2017). *Tūrangawaewae: Identity & Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Massey University Press, Auckland.
- Capie, D. and McGhie, G. (2005). Representing New Zealand: Identity, Diplomacy and the Making of Foreign Policy. In Liu, J. H., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T., and Teaiwa, T., editors, *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*, pages 230–242. Victoria University Press, Wellington.
- Cashmore, E. (2008). *Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic Studies*. Routledge, London, New York.
- Castells, M. (1997). *The Power of Identity*. Blackwell, Hoboken.
- Castells, M. (2008). The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1):78–93.

- Chavez, G. (2016). The role of culture in Nation Branding. In Dinnie, K., editor, *Nation Branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice*, chapter 5, pages 129–131. Routledge, Abingdon, New York, 2nd edition.
- Cornthassel, J. J. (2003). Who is indigenous? ‘Peoplehood’ and ethnonationalist approaches to rearticulating indigenous identity. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 9(1):75–100.
- Cowan, G. and Arsenault, A. (2008). Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1):10–30.
- Crockett, S. R. and Wood, L. J. (2004). Western Australia: building a state brand. In Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., and Pride, R., editors, *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, pages 185–207. Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, Burlington, 2nd edition.
- Cull, N. J. (2009). *Public Diplomacy: Lessons From The Past*. Figueroa Press, Los Angeles.
- Cummings, M. C. (2009). *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*. Americans for the Arts (formerly Center for Arts and Culture), Washington.
- Dahbour, O. (2001). The Ethics of Self-Determination. Democratic, National and Regional. In Gould, C. C. and Pasquino, P., editors, *Cultural Identity and the Nation-State*, chapter 2, pages 1–19. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford.
- Dannecker, P. and Englert, B. (2013). Qualitative Interviews in der Entwicklungsforschung. Typen und Herausforderungen. In *Qualitative Methoden in der Entwicklungsforschung*, pages 153–175. Mandelbaum Verlag, Wien.
- Deetz, S. (1996). Describing differences in approaches to organization science: Rethinking Burrell and Morgan and their legacy. *Organization Science*, 7(2):191–207.
- Dinnie, K. (2008). *Nation branding. Concepts, Issues, Practice*. Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, Burlington.
- Dinnie, K. (2016). *Nation branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice*. Routledge, Abingdon, New York, 2nd edition.
- Drahos, P. and Frankel, S. (2012). Indigenous Peoples’ Innovation and Intellectual Property: The Issues. In *Indigenous Peoples’ Innovation. Intellectual Property Pathways to Development.*, pages 1–29. ANU Press, Canberra.
- Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H., and Negus, K. (1997). *Doing Cultural Studies. The Story of the Sony Walkman*. Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

- Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora: Māori health development*. Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2010). *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. Pluto Press, Northampton, Chippenham, 3rd edition.
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. W.W. Norton, New York, London.
- Fan, Y. (2006). Branding the nation: What is being branded? *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 12(1):5–14.
- Fan, Y. (2010). Branding the nation: Towards a better understanding. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 6(2):97–103.
- Feigenbaum, H. B. (2002). *Globalization and Cultural Diplomacy*. Center for Arts and Culture, Washington.
- Fernández-Cavia, J., Marchiori, E., Haven-Tang, C., and Cantoni, L. (2017). Online communication in Spanish destination marketing organizations: The view of practitioners. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 23(3):264–273.
- Fernández-Cavia, J., Rovira, C., Díaz-Luque, P., and Cavaller, V. (2014). Web Quality Index (WQI) for official tourist destination websites. Proposal for an assessment system. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, 9:5–13.
- Fetterman, D. M. (2009). *Ethnography: Step-by-Step (Applied Social Research Methods)*. Sage Publications, Inc., Los Angeles, 3rd edition.
- Florek, M., Insch, A., and Gnoth, J. (2006). City Council websites as a means of place brand identity communication. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 2(4):276–296.
- Frederick, H. H. (1993). Global Communication and International Relations. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 18(4):na.
- Frig, M. and Sorsa, V.-P. (2018). Nation Branding as Sustainability Governance: A Comparative Case Analysis. *Business & Society*, (<https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650318758322>).
- Gellner, E. (1995). *Anthropology and Politics: Revolutions in the Sacred Grove*. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, 1st edition.
- Gertner, D. (2016). Place marketing, place branding and nation branding: From practice to theory? In Dinnie, K., editor, *Nation branding: Concepts, Issues, Practice*, pages 17–19. Routledge, Abingdon, New York, 2nd edition.
- Gienow-Hecht, J. C. E. and Donfried, M. C. (2010). *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*. Berghahn Books, New York, Oxford, 1st edition.
- Gilbert, M., McLay, J., and Jackson, S. (2016). Sports Diplomacy: New Zealand's Hardest Soft Power? *New Zealand International Review*, 41(2):2–5.

- Gilboa, E. (2008). Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1):55–77.
- Gingrich, A. (2005). Conceptualising Identities: Anthropological Alternatives to Essentialising Difference and Moralizing about Othering. In Baumann, G. and Gingrich, A., editors, *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach*, pages 3–18. Berghahn Books, New York, Oxford.
- Gleason, P. (1983). Identifying Identity: A Semantic History. *The Journal of American History*, 69(4):910–931.
- Govers, R. and Go, F. M. (2009). *Place Branding: Glocal, Virtual and Physical Identities, Constructed, Imagined and Experienced*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, London.
- Gregory, B. (2008). Public Diplomacy: Sunrise of an Academic Field. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1):274–290.
- Grossberg, L. (1996). Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That all There is? In Du Gay, P. and Hall, S., editors, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, pages 87–107. SAGE Publications Ltd, London.
- Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (1992). Beyond “Culture”: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1):6–23.
- Hague, C. (2005). Planning and place identity. In Hague, C. and Jenkins, P., editors, *Place Identity, Participation and Planning*, chapter 2, pages 3–19. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York.
- Hague, C. and Jenkins, P. (2005). *Place Identity, Participation and Planning*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York.
- Haigh, A. (1974). *Cultural Diplomacy in Europe*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, New York.
- Hakala, U. and Lemmetyinen, A. (2011). Co-creating a nation brand “bottom up”. *Tourism Review*, 66(3):14–24.
- Hall, S. (1994). Cultural identity and diaspora. In Williams, P. and Chrisman, L., editors, *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, chapter 22, pages 227–237. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York.
- Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who Needs ‘Identity’? In Du Gay, P. and Hall, S., editors, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, chapter 1, pages 1–17. SAGE Publications Ltd, London.
- Hall, S. (2003). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In Braziel, J. E. and Mannur, A., editors, *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader.*, chapter 9, pages 233–247. Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken.
- Harris, A. (2012). *Hikoi: Der lange Marsch der Māori*. Orlanda Frauenverlag, Berlin.

- Hocking, B. (2005). Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy. In Melissen, J., editor, *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations.*, pages 28–43. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Houkamau, C. A. (2010). Identity construction and reconstruction: The role of socio-historical contexts in shaping Māori women's identity. *Social Identities*, 16(2):179–196.
- Houkamau, C. A. and Sibley, C. G. (2013). The Multi-Dimensional Model of Maori Identity and Cultural Engagement: Item Response Theory Analysis of Scale Properties. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(1):97–110.
- Hurn, B. J. (2016). The role of cultural diplomacy in nation branding. *Industrial and Commercial Training*, 48(2):80–85.
- ILO (1989). Convention C169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169). Retrieved April 30, 2019, from https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C169.
- Irwin, G. (2006). Pacific Migrations. In Ara, T., editor, *Māori Peoples of New Zealand. Nga Iwi o Aotearoa*, pages 10–19. David Bateman Ltd., Albany.
- IWGIA (2019). Indigenous peoples lives and their rights increasingly at risk. Retrieved May 16, 2019, from <https://www.iwgia.org/en/news/3332-indigenous-peoples-lives-and-their-rights-increasingly-at-risk>.
- Jenkins, P. (2005). Space, Place and Territory: An analytical framework. In Hague, C. and Jenkins, P., editors, *Place Identity, Participation and Planning*, pages 19–39. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York.
- Jenkins, R. (1996). *Social identity*. Routledge, London, New York.
- Johnsson, D. Z. (2012). The Branding of Traditional Cultural Expressions: To Whose Benefit? In Drahos, P. and Frankel, S., editors, *Indigenous Peoples' Innovation: Intellectual Property Pathways to Development*, chapter 7, pages 147–164. ANU Press, Canberra.
- Kaneva, N. (2011). Nation Branding: Toward an Agenda for Critical Research. *International Journal Of Communication*, 5(25):117–141.
- Kapferer, J.-N. (2008). *The New Strategic Brand Management. Creating and sustaining brand equity long term*. Kogan Page, London, 4th edition.
- Karetu, T. (1993). Tooku Reo, Tooku Mana. In Ihimaera, W., Williams, H., Ramsden, I., and Long, D. S., editors, *Te Ao Marama. Regaining Aotearoa. Māori writers speak out.*, pages 222–229. Reed Books, Auckland.
- Kavaratzis, M. (2009). Cities and their brands: Lessons from corporate branding. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 5(1):26–37.

- Kavaratzis, M. and Hatch, M. J. (2013). The dynamics of place brands: An identity-based approach to place branding theory. *Marketing Theory*, 13(1):69–86.
- Keller, K. L. (2002). Branding and Brand Equity. In Weitz, B. A. and Wensley, R., editors, *Handbook of Marketing*, pages 151–179. SAGE Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Keller, K. L. (2012). *Strategic Brand Management: Building, Measuring, and Managing Brand Equity. Global Edition*. Pearson Education Limited, Harlow, 4th edition.
- Keller, K. L. and Lehmann, D. R. (2006). Brands and Branding: Research Findings and Future Priorities. *Marketing Science*, 25(6):740–759.
- Kim, H. (2017). Bridging the Theoretical Gap between Public Diplomacy and Cultural Diplomacy. *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 15(2):293–326.
- Kim, I. and Kuljis, J. (2010). Applying Content Analysis to Web-based Content. *Journal of Computing and Information Technology - CIT*, 18(4):369–375.
- King, M. (2012). *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Penguin Group, Auckland, 2nd edition.
- Kladou, S., Kavaratzis, M., Rigopoulou, I., and Salonika, E. (2017). The role of brand elements in destination branding. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 6(4):426–435.
- Knott, B., Fyall, A., and Jones, I. (2013). The Nation-Branding Legacy of the 2010 FIFA World Cup for South Africa. *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management*, 22(6):569–595.
- Kotler, P. and Gertner, D. (2002). Country as Brand, Product, and Beyond: A Place Marketing and Brand Management Perspective. *Journal of Brand Management*, 9(4):249–261.
- Kotler, P. and Gertner, D. (2004). Country as brand, product and beyond: a place marketing and brand management perspective. In Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., and Pride, R., editors, *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, pages 40–57. Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, Burlington.
- Kozinets, R. (2010). *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore.
- Kühschelm, O., Eder, F., and Siegrist, H. (2012). *Konsum und Nation: Zur Geschichte nationalisierender Inszenierungen in der Produktkommunikation*. transcript Verlag, Bielefeld.
- Leonard, M., Stead, C., and Smewing, C. (2002). *Public Diplomacy*. Foreign Policy Centre, London.

- L'Etang, J. (2009). Public Relations and Diplomacy in a Globalized World: An Issue of Public Communication. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(4):607–626.
- Li, X. and Wang, Y. (2010). Evaluating the effectiveness of destination marketing organisations' websites: evidence from China. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 12(5):536–549.
- Lončarić, D., Bašan, L., and Gligora Markovic, M. (2013). Importance of DMO Websites in tourist destination selection. *Conference Paper. 23rd CROMAR Congress, Congress Proceedings*, pages 373–385.
- Luna-Nevarez, C. and Hyman, M. R. (2012). Common Practices in Destination Website Design. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, 1(1-2):94–106.
- Luša, D. and Jakopović, H. (2017). Websites as a government tool of Public Diplomacy: Framing the issue of unemployment. *Teorija in Praksa*, 54(2):284–306.
- Malone, G. D. (1985). Managing Public Diplomacy. *The Washington Quarterly*, 8(3):199–213.
- Mark, S. (2009). *A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy*. Netherlands institute of international relations "Clingendael", The Hague, discussion edition.
- Mark, S. L. (2010). Rethinking cultural diplomacy: The cultural diplomacy of New Zealand, the Canadian Federation and Quebec. *Political Science*, 62(1):62–83.
- Mataatua (n.d.). Mataatua. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.mataatua.com/>.
- McClellan, M. (2004). Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy. In *Public Diplomacy*, volume 2004, pages 23–24. Favorita Papers, Vienna: Diplomatische Akademie, Vienna.
- McIntosh, T. (2005). Maori Identities: Fixed, Fluid, Forced. In Liu, J. H., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T., and Teaiwa, T., editors, *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*, pages 38–52. Victoria University Press, Wellington.
- Mead, S. M., Harvey, L., Ngaropo, P., and Phillis, O. (2017). *Mataatua Wharenuī: Te whare i hoki mai*. Huia Publishers, Wellington.
- Melissen, J. (2005). The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice. In Melissen, J., editor, *The New Public Diplomacy. Soft Power in International Relations*, pages 3–27. Palgrave Macmillan UK, New York.
- Merkelsen, H. and Kjærgaard Rasmussen, R. (2016). Nation branding as an emerging field – An institutionalist perspective. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 12(2-3):99–109.
- Merriam-Webster (n.d.). Merriam Webster Dictionary. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/>.

- Meuser, M. and Nagel, U. (2009). Das Experteninterview — konzeptionelle Grundlagen und methodische Anlage. In Pickel, S., Pickel, G., Lauth, H.-J., and Jahn, D., editors, *Methoden der vergleichenden Politik- und Sozialwissenschaft. Neue Entwicklungen und Anwendungen*, pages 465–479. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage (2000). The Place of Culture in New Zealand’s International Relations. Technical report, Ministry for Culture and Heritage, Wellington.
- Ministry of Culture and Heritage (n.d.). Ministry of Culture and Heritage. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://mch.govt.nz/>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2019). Statement from Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern on the Christchurch terror attacks – March 15 - New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Retrieved May 16, 2019, from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/media-and-resources/ministry-statements-and-speeches/statement-from-prime-minister-jacinda-ardern-on-the-christchurch-terror-attacks-march-15/>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (n.d.). Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/>.
- Ministry of Maori Tourism (n.d.). Ministry of Māori tourism. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://maoritourism.co.nz>.
- Moeke-Pickering, T. M. (1996). Māori Identity Within Whanau: A review of literature. Technical report, University of Waikato Maori & Psychology Unit (unpublished paper), Hamilton.
- Moilanen, T. and Rainisto, S. (2009). *How to Brand Nations, Cities and Destinations: A Planning Book for Place Branding*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, London.
- Morgan, N. and Pritchard, A. (2005). Promoting Niche Tourism Destination Brands. *Journal of Promotion Management*, 12(1):17–33.
- Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., and Pigott, R. (2003). Destination branding and the role of the stakeholders: The case of New Zealand. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 9(3):285–299.
- Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., and Pride, R. (2004). *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*. Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, Burlington, 2nd edition.
- Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., and Pride, R. (2011). *Destination Brands: Managing Place Reputation*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York, 3rd edition.
- Morris, J. (2005). The Empire Strikes Back: Projections of National Identity in Contemporary Russian Advertising. *The Russian Review*, 64(4):642–660.
- Māori Dictionary (n.d.). Māori Dictionary. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/>.

- Nelson, R. and Izadi, F. (2009). Ethics and Social Issues in Public Diplomacy. In Snow, N. and Taylor, P. M., editors, *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, chapter 28, pages 334–352. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, London.
- Neuman, L. W. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Pearson Education Limited, Harlow, 7th edition.
- Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. Public Affairs, New York.
- Olins, W. (1999). *Trading Identities: Why Countries and Companies Are Taking on Each Others' Roles*. Foreign Policy Centre, London.
- Olins, W. (2002). Branding the Nation – The Historical Context. *Journal of Brand Management*, 9(4-5):241–248.
- O'Reilly, K. (2005). *Ethnographic methods*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York.
- O'Shaughnessy, J. and O'Shaughnessy, N. J. (2000). Treating the Nation as a Brand: Some Neglected Issues. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 20(1):56–64.
- Paschalidis, G. (2009). Exporting National Culture: Histories of Cultural Institutes Abroad. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 15(3):275–289.
- Pawłusz, E. and Polese, A. (2017). “Scandinavia’s best-kept secret.” Tourism promotion, nation-branding, and identity construction in Estonia. *Nationalities Papers*, 45(5):873–892.
- Pearson, D. (2005). Citizenship, Identity and Belonging: Addressing the Mythologies of the Unitary Nation State in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In Liu, J. H., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T., and Teaiwa, T., editors, *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*, pages 21–38. Victoria University Press, Wellington.
- Pere, R. R. (1979). *Taku taha Māori - my Māoriness*. New Zealand Planning Council, Wellington.
- Pere, R. R. (1988). Te Wheke: Whaia te maramatanga me te aroha. In Middleton, S., editor, *Women and education in Aotearoa*, pages 6–19. Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Petticrew, M. and Roberts, H. (2006). *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide*. Blackwell Publishers Ltd, Malden, Oxford, Carlton.
- Pihama, L. (2015). Kaupapa Māori Theory: Transforming theory in Aotearoa. In Pihama, L., Tiakiwai, S.-J., and Southey, K., editors, *Kaupapa rangahau: A reader. A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Rangahau workshops series.*, pages 5–17. Te Kotahi Research Institute, Hamilton.

- Pihama, L. (2017). Tikanga Rangahau Webinar Series - Kaupapa Māori Theory. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4t54ZQF_nkY.
- Policy, S., Group, R., and Department of Corrections (2007). *Over-representation of Māori in the criminal justice system. An exploratory report*. Department of Corrections, Wellington.
- Pomeroy, A. (2013). Indigenous Identity in the Nation Brand: Tension and Inconsistency in a Nation's Tourism Advertising Campaigns. *Corporate Reputation Review*, 16(1):66–79.
- Quelch, J. and Jocz, K. (2005). Positioning the nation-state. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 1(3):229–237.
- Rangihau, J. (1975). Being 'Māori'. In King, M., editor, *Te Ao Hurihuri: The World moves on.*, pages 221–223. Hicks Smith and Sons, Wellington.
- Rein, I. J., Kotler, P., and Haider, D. H. (1993). *Marketing Places: Attracting Investment, Industry, and Tourism to Cities, States, and Nations*. Free Press, New York.
- Relph, E. C. (1976). *Place and placelessness*. Pion Limited, London.
- Ridley, D. (2012). *The Literature Review: A Step-by-Step Guide for Students*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London; Thousand Oaks, 2nd edition.
- Rigby, C., Mueller, J., and Baker, A. (2011). The Integration of Maori Indigenous Culture into Corporate Social Responsibility Strategies at Air New Zealand. *Journal of Marketing and Competitiveness*, 5(6):116–126.
- Riordan, S. (2005). Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy: a New Foreign Policy Paradigm? In Melissen, J., editor, *The New Public Diplomacy*, pages 180–195. Palgrave Macmillan UK, New York.
- Rogers, R. A. (2006). From Cultural Exchange to Transculturation: A Review and Reconceptualization of Cultural Appropriation. *Communication Theory*, 16(4):474–503.
- Ryan, C. and Zahra, A. (2004). The political challenge: the case of New Zealand's tourism organizations. In Morgan, N., Pritchard, A., and Pride, R., editors, *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, pages 79–111. Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, Burlington.
- Ryder, I. (2004). Anthropology and the brand. *Journal of Brand Management*, 11(5):346–356.
- Schneider, C. P. (2005). Culture Communicates: US Diplomacy That Works. In Melissen, J., editor, *The New Public Diplomacy*, pages 147–169. Palgrave Macmillan UK, New York.

- Séra, J. (2016). *Maori cultural branding. Indigeneity in the cultural branding of New Zealand with the example of the Maori culture*. Department of Communication, Pompeu Fabra University, Master thesis.
- Signitzer, B. (2008). Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Some Conceptual Explorations. In Zerfass, A., Van Ruler, B., and Sriramesh, K., editors, *Public Relations Research. European and International Perspectives and Innovations*, pages 205–218. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.
- Signitzer, B. H. and Coombs, T. (1992). Public relations and public diplomacy: Conceptual convergences. *Public Relations Review*, 18(2):137–147.
- SimilarWeb (n.d.). SimilarWeb. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.similarweb.com>.
- Smith, H. (2005). Place identity and participation. In Hague, C. and Jenkins, P., editors, *Place Identity, Participation and Planning*, chapter 3, pages 39–57. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, New York.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books Ltd, London, New York.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Zed Books Ltd, London, New York, 2nd edition.
- Smith, L. T. (2015). Kaupapa Māori Research – Some Kaupapa Māori principles. In Pihama, L., Tiakiwai, S.-J., and Southey, K., editors, *Kaupapa rangahau: A reader. A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Rangahau workshops series.*, pages 47–55. Te Kotahi Research Institute, Hamilton, 2nd edition.
- Smith, L. T. and Reid, P. (2000). Māori Research Development. Kaupapa Māori Principles and Practice. A Literature Review. Technical report, International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI), Auckland, Otago.
- Snow, N. and Taylor, P. M. (2009). *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, London.
- Sökefeld, M. (2012). Identität – ethnologische Perspektiven. In Petzold, H. G., editor, *Identität. Ein Kernthema moderner Psychotherapie - Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, pages 39–56. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden.
- Stats NZ (2014). Te Kupenga 2013 (English). Retrieved May 25, 2019, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/te-kupenga-2013-english>.
- Stats NZ (2015). Major ethnic groups in New Zealand. Retrieved May 25, 2019, from <https://www.stats.govt.nz/infographics/major-ethnic-groups-in-new-zealand>.
- Stats NZ (2016). Te Ao Mārama 2016 (English). Retrieved May 25, 2019, from http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/te-ao-marama-2016.aspx.

- Sunderland, P. L. and Denny, R. M. T. (2007). *Doing Anthropology in Consumer Research*. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek.
- Szondi, G. (2008). *Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences*, volume 112. Netherlands institute of international relations "Clingendael", discussion edition.
- Tamaki Maori Village (n.d.). Tamaki Māori Village. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.tamakimaorivillage.co.nz/>.
- Taonui, R. (2006). Canoe Navigation. In Te Ara, editor, *Māori Peoples of New Zealand. Nga Iwi o Aotearoa*, pages 19–25. David Bateman Ltd., Albany.
- Taylor, P. M. (2009). Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communications. In Snow, N. and Taylor, P. M., editors, *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, pages 12–19. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New York, London.
- Te Matatini (n.d.). Te Matatini. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.tematatini.co.nz/>.
- Te Papa (n.d.). Te Papa. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/>.
- Te Puni Kokiri (n.d.a). Mātaatua. Retrieved May 15, 2019, from <http://www.tkm.govt.nz/region/mataatua/>.
- Te Puni Kokiri (n.d.b). Ngāti Awa - Te Kahui Mangai. Retrieved May 25, 2019, from <http://www.tkm.govt.nz/iwi/ngati-awa/>.
- Te Puni Kokiri (n.d.c). Te Kāhui Māngai (Directory of Iwi and Māori Organisations). Retrieved May 15, 2019, from <http://www.tkm.govt.nz>.
- Topić, M. and Rodin, S. (2012). *Cultural diplomacy and cultural imperialism. European perspective(s)*. Peter Lang Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, Bern.
- Torres, V., Jones, S. R., and Renn, K. A. (2009). Identity Development Theories in Student Affairs: Origins, Current Status, and New Approaches. *Journal of College Student Development*, 50(6):577–596.
- Tourism New Zealand (n.d.). Tourism New Zealand. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from <https://www.newzealand.com/int/>.
- Treadwell, D. (2017). *Introducing Communication Research: Paths of Inquiry*. Sage Publications Inc, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC, 3rd edition.
- Tryon (2019). Amnesty International. Retrieved May 25, 2019, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/indigenous-peoples/>.
- Tuch, H. N. (1990). *Communicating with the World: U. S. Public Diplomacy Overseas*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

- United Nations (n.d.). Indigenous peoples at the UN. Retrieved May 26, 2019, from <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html>.
- van Ham, P. (2005). Power, Public Diplomacy, and the Pax Americana. In Melissen, J., editor, *The New Public Diplomacy*, pages 47–66. Palgrave Macmillan UK, New York.
- van Ham, P. (2008). Place Branding: The State of the Art. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1):126–149.
- Vela, J. d. S. E. and Xifra, J. (2015). International representation strategies for stateless nations: The case of Catalonia’s cultural diplomacy. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 11(1):83–96.
- Vinyals-Mirabent, S., Kavartzis, M., and Fernández-Cavia, J. (2019). The role of functional associations in building destination brand personality: When official websites do the talking. *Tourism Management*, 75:148–155.
- Walker, R. (2004). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou. Struggle Without End*. Penguin Group, Auckland, 2nd edition.
- Wang, J. (2006). Localising public diplomacy: The role of sub-national actors in nation branding. *Place Branding*, 2(1):32–42.
- Warren, T. R., Forster, M., and Tawhai, V. (2017). Tangata whenua. Maori, identity and belonging. In Cain, T., Kahu, E., and Shaw, R., editors, *Tūrangawaewae: Identity & Belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand*, pages 53–73. Massey University Press, Auckland.
- Weaver, H. N. (2001). Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It? *American Indian Quarterly*, 25(2):240–255.
- White Island (2018). White Island Tourism. Retrieved May 25, 2019, from <https://www.whiteisland.co.nz/>.
- Whitehead, T. L. (2004). What is Ethnography? Methodological, Ontological and Epistemological Attributes. Retrieved May 2, 2019, from <http://www.cusag.umd.edu/documents/workingpapers/epiontattrib.pdf>.
- Widler, J. (2007). Nation branding: With pride against prejudice. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 3(2):144–150.
- Williams, J. (2000). The nature of the Māori community. In *PSSM Conference*, Wellington. New Zealand State Service Commission.
- Woodward, K. (1997). Concepts of identity and difference. In Woodward, K., editor, *Identity and Difference*, pages 7–63. SAGE Publications Ltd, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.
- Wu, L. (2017). Relationship building in nation branding: The central role of nation brand commitment. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 13(1):65–80.

- Yang, J., Ryan, C., and Zhang, L. (2016). Impersonation in ethnic tourism - The presentation of culture by other ethnic groups. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 56:16–31.
- Yang, L. (2011). Ethnic Tourism and Cultural Representation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(2):561–585.
- Young, J. O. and Brunk, C. G. (2012). *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriation*. Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken.
- Zavattaro, S. M. and Fay, D. L. (2019). Brand USA: A natural quasi-experiment evaluating the success of a national marketing campaign. *Tourism Management*, 70:42–48.

Glossary

Aotearoa (location) North Island - now used as the Māori name for New Zealand (Māori Dictionary, nd). vii, 1, 5–9, 12, 13, 15–17, 20, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 43, 45, 47, 57, 58, 60, 68, 74, 75, 81, 83, 85–91, 93–97, 99, 100, 102–105, 107, 113, 115, 118, 119, 121, 122, 132, 134, 135, 153, 154, 156, 159, 163, 164, 166, 169, 171, 173–176, 178, 181, 183, 185, 186, 188–198, 200–215, 217–221, 223–235, 237–247, 249, 251–255

Awa (noun) river, stream, creek, canal, gully, gorge, groove, furrow (Māori Dictionary, nd). 126, 141, 167

Aymara a member of an Indian people of Bolivia, Peru, and northern Chile (Merriam-Webster, nd). 233

Black Power Black Power - a gang name (Māori Dictionary, nd). 176

Haka (noun) performance of the haka, posture dance - vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words. A general term for several types of such dances (Māori Dictionary, nd). 126, 140, 155, 162, 171, 172, 215–217, 221–223, 242, 253

Hangi (noun) hāngī, earth oven - earth oven to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones. Also as hāngi (Māori Dictionary, nd). 159, 190, 216

Hapu (noun) kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe - section of a large kinship group and the primary political unit in traditional Māori society. It consisted of a number of whānau sharing descent from a common ancestor, usually being named after the ancestor, but sometimes from an important event in the group's history. A number of related hapū usually shared adjacent territories forming a looser tribal federation (iwi) (Māori Dictionary, nd). 7, 13, 36, 167, 189

Harakeke (noun) New Zealand flax, *Phormium tenax* - an important native plant with long, stiff, upright leaves and dull red flowers. Found on lowland swamps throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. It has straight, upright seed pods. This is a general name for the harakeke leaf and the plant itself, but each different variety has its own name (Māori Dictionary, nd). xviii, 184

Hawaiki (location) ancient homeland - the places from which Māori migrated to Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to some traditions it was Io, the supreme being, who created Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pāmamao and Hawaiki-tapu,

places inhabited by atua. It is believed that the wairua returns to these places after death, and speeches at tangihanga refer to these as the final resting place of wairua (Māori Dictionary, nd). 7, 166

Hui (noun) gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference (Māori Dictionary, nd). 198

Io (personal name) supreme being - some tribes have a tradition of a supreme being, which may be a response to Christianity. However, Io occurs in a number of traditions from Polynesian islands, including Hawai‘i, the Society Islands and the Cook Islands. This suggests a more ancient tradition (Māori Dictionary, nd). 175

Iwi (noun) extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory (Māori Dictionary, nd). 7–9, 13, 15, 35, 36, 156, 157, 167, 180, 189, 195, 200, 202–204, 221–225, 228, 233, 240, 245, 251, 252

Kaitiaki (noun) trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian, caregiver, keeper, steward (Māori Dictionary, nd). 215

Kaitiakitanga (noun) guardianship, stewardship, trusteeship, trustee (Māori Dictionary, nd). 155, 169

Kapa Haka (noun) concert party, haka group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group (Māori Dictionary, nd). 105, 121, 126, 140, 155, 163, 171, 175, 178, 184, 186, 218, 232

Karakia (noun) incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation, charm, spell - a set form of words to state or make effective a ritual activity. Karakia are recited rapidly using traditional language, symbols and structures. Traditionally correct delivery of the karakia was essential: mispronunciation, hesitation or omissions courted disaster. The two most important symbols referred to in karakia are of sticks and food, while the two key actions are of loosing and binding. Individual karakia tend to follow a pattern: the first section invokes and designates the atua, the second expresses a loosening of a binding, and the final section is the action, the ordering of what is required, or a short statement expressing the completion of the action. The images used in karakia are from traditional narratives. There were karakia for all aspects of life, including for the major rituals, i.e. for the child, canoe, kūmara, war party and the dead. Karakia for minor rituals and single karakia include those for the weather, sickness, daily activities and for curses and overcoming curses. These enabled people to carry out their daily activities in union with the ancestors and the spiritual powers (Māori Dictionary, nd). 211, 214

Kaumatuā (noun) adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man - a person of status within the whānau (Māori Dictionary, nd). 183, 227

- Kawa** (noun) marae protocol - customs of the marae and whareniui, particularly those related to formal activities such as pōhiri, speeches and mihimihi. This seems to be a modern extension of the word (Māori Dictionary, nd). 182
- Ki Te** (particle) in the event of, if (Māori Dictionary, nd). 126, 140
- Kohanga Reo** (noun) Māori language preschool (Māori Dictionary, nd). 173, 178, 250
- Korero** (noun) speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, conversation, discourse, statement, information (Māori Dictionary, nd). 216
- Korowai** (noun) cloak ornamented with black twisted tags or thrums - the illustration is of the korowai, Te Whiringa Rongomaiwhiti, woven by Gloria Taituha of Ngāti Maniapoto. The feathers of the korowai are of pūkeko (dark blue) and kererū (white) (Māori Dictionary, nd). 222
- Koru** (noun) koru, colensoa, *Colensoa physaloides* - a shrubby plant found in shady areas and stream banks in Northland and on northern offshore islands. The attractive soft, dark green, large leaves are prominently veined and serrated. Deep blue, tubular flowers occur for several months from spring. The berries are also dark blue (Māori Dictionary, nd). 162
- Kotahitanga** (noun) unity, togetherness, solidarity, collective action (Māori Dictionary, nd). 8
- Kumara** (noun) sweet potato, kūmara, *Ipomoea batatas* (Māori Dictionary, nd). 6, 216
- Kupe** (personal name) an early visitor to Aotearoa/New Zealand who returned to Hawaiki (Māori Dictionary, nd). 7
- Kura Kaupapa** (noun) primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction (Māori Dictionary, nd). 173, 178, 250
- Mamae** (noun) ache, pain, injury, wound (Māori Dictionary, nd). 176
- Mana** (noun) prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by tapu and mana. Mana is the enduring, indestructible power of the atua and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the mana. The authority of mana and tapu is inherited and delegated through the senior line from the atua as their human agent to act on revealed will. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the atua, man remains the agent, never the source of mana. This divine choice is confirmed by the elders, initiated by the tohunga under traditional consecratory rites (tohi). Mana gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person or tribe's mana can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success. The

tribe give mana to their chief and empower him/her and in turn the mana of an ariki or rangatira spreads to his/her people and their land, water and resources. Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of mana and tapu. Animate and inanimate objects can also have mana as they also derive from the atua and because of their own association with people imbued with mana or because they are used in significant events. There is also an element of stewardship, or kaitiakitanga, associated with the term when it is used in relation to resources, including land and water (Māori Dictionary, nd). 183

Mana Tangata (noun) power and status accrued through one's leadership talents, human rights, mana of people (Māori Dictionary, nd). 155

Manaaki (verb) (-tia) to support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect, look out for - show respect, generosity and care for others (Māori Dictionary, nd). 155

Manaakitanga (noun) hospitality, kindness, generosity, support; the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others (Māori Dictionary, nd). 169, 193, 195, 196, 213, 250

Mapuche an American Indian people of southern Chile (Merriam-Webster, nd). 232

Marae (noun) courtyard - the open area in front of the wharenuī, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae (Māori Dictionary, nd). xviii, 9, 99, 105, 106, 121, 154–156, 165, 168, 169, 172, 182–184, 186, 189, 190, 194, 197, 216, 219, 221, 222, 236, 237, 250, 251

Mataatua (personal noun) migration canoe which landed at Whakatāne and finally ended at Hokianga before being dragged overland to Tākou. - (personal name) people descended from the crew of this canoe from Hawaiki whose territories are in Northland and the Bay of Plenty (Māori Dictionary, nd). 13, 154, 156, 163

Matariki (personal noun) Pleiades, Messier 45 - an open cluster of many stars in Te Kāhui o Matariki, with at least nine stars visible to the naked eye. The brightest star in the centre of the cluster, also known as Matariki (Alcyone), married Rehua (Antares) and is the mother of the other eight stars of the Pleiades known to Māori. The other eight stars are: Tupuārangi (Atlas), Waipunarangi (Electra), Waitī (Maia), Ururangi (Merope), Tupuānuku (Pleione), Waitā (Taygeta), Pōhutukawa (Sterope) and Hiwa-i-te-rangi (Calaeno). The first appearance before sunrise of Matariki in the north-eastern sky, in the Tangaroa phase of the lunar month, indicates the beginning of the Māori year - about mid-June - and is the cause for celebrations. Matariki disappears at the end of the Māori year and traditionally this was also a reason for celebration with some iwi. During this time when Matariki was absent from the sky, she was said to visit four places, each for seven nights, Maukahau, Tārarau-ātea, Papa-whakatangitangi and Titore-māhu-tū. Matariki is a truncated version of the name Ngā Mata o te Ariki Tāwhirimātea (the eyes of the atua Tāwhirimātea). Matariki is associated with good health and wellbeing (Māori Dictionary, nd). 155

- Matauranga** (noun) knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill - sometimes used in the plural (Māori Dictionary, nd). 157
- Maunga** (noun) mountain, mount, peak (Māori Dictionary, nd). 167
- Mihi** (noun) speech of greeting, acknowledgement, tribute (Māori Dictionary, nd). 221, 222
- Mongrel Mob** Mongrel Mob - a gang name (Māori Dictionary, nd). 176
- Ngāti Awa** (personal noun) tribal group of the Whakatāne and Te Teko areas (Māori Dictionary, nd). v, xviii, 13, 15, 60, 92, 98, 110, 115, 118, 156, 164–166, 169, 177, 187, 190, 191, 234–236, 239, 247, 249, 250, 253, 258
- Papatuanuku** (personal name) Earth, Earth mother and wife of Rangi-nui - all living things originate from them (Māori Dictionary, nd). 6, 166
- Pepeha** (noun) tribal saying, tribal motto, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, saying of the ancestors, figure of speech, motto, slogan - set sayings known for their economy of words and metaphor and encapsulating many Māori values and human characteristics (Māori Dictionary, nd). 167
- Poi** (noun) poi dance - songs performed, usually by women, in which the poi is swung in various movements to accompany the singing (Māori Dictionary, nd). 184, 194, 216, 253
- Powhiri** (noun) invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae, welcome (Māori Dictionary, nd). 155, 183, 194, 197, 211, 223, 227
- Pākeha** (noun) New Zealander of European descent - probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to Mohi Tūrei, an acknowledged expert in Ngāti Porou tribal lore, the term is a shortened form of pakepakehā, which was a Māori rendition of a word or words remembered from a chant used in a very early visit by foreign sailors for raising their anchor (TP 1/1911:5). Others claim that pakepakehā was another name for tūrehu or patu-pairehe. Despite the claims of some non-Māori speakers, the term does not normally have negative connotations (Māori Dictionary, nd). 36, 108, 110, 169, 174, 175, 225, 231
- Protocols** (noun) marae protocol - customs of the marae and whareniui, particularly those related to formal activities such as pōhiri, speeches and mihimihi. This seems to be a modern extension of the word (Māori Dictionary, nd). 159, 172, 182–184, 186, 202, 211, 220, 221, 223, 224, 227, 237, 244, 250, 253, 255
- Rangi-nui** (personal name) atua of the sky and husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku, from which union originate all living things (Māori Dictionary, nd). 6, 166

Runanga (noun) council, tribal council, assembly, board, boardroom, iwi authority - assemblies called to discuss issues of concern to iwi or the community (Māori Dictionary, nd). 13, 15, 177

Taiao (noun) world, Earth, natural world, environment, nature, country (Māori Dictionary, nd). 126, 140

Tangata Whenua (noun) local people, hosts, indigenous people - people born of the whenua, i.e. of the placenta and of the land where the people's ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried (Māori Dictionary, nd).

Tangi (noun) rites for the dead, funeral - shortened form of tangihanga (Māori Dictionary, nd). 182

Taonga (noun) treasure, anything prized - applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomenon, ideas and techniques. Examples of the word's use in early texts show that this broad range of meanings is not recent, while a similar range of meanings from some other Eastern Polynesian languages support this (e.g. Tuamotuan). The first example sentence below was first published in a narrative in 1854 by Sir George Grey, but was probably written in 1849 or earlier (Māori Dictionary, nd). 126, 140, 154, 189, 227, 229, 233

Tapu (noun) restriction, prohibition - a supernatural condition. A person, place or thing is dedicated to an atua and is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable, no longer to be put to common use. The violation of tapu would result in retribution, sometimes including the death of the violator and others involved directly or indirectly. Appropriate karakia and ceremonies could mitigate these effects. Tapu was used as a way to control how people behaved towards each other and the environment, placing restrictions upon society to ensure that society flourished. Making an object tapu was achieved through rangatira or tohunga acting as channels for the atua in applying the tapu. Members of a community would not violate the tapu for fear of sickness or catastrophe as a result of the anger of the atua. Intrinsic, or primary, tapu are those things which are tapu in themselves. The extensions of tapu are the restrictions resulting from contact with something that is intrinsically tapu. This can be removed with water, or food and karakia. A person is imbued with mana and tapu by reason of his or her birth. High-ranking families whose genealogy could be traced through the senior line from the atua were thought to be under their special care. It was a priority for those of ariki descent to maintain mana and tapu and to keep the strength of the mana and tapu associated with the atua as pure as possible. People are tapu and it is each person's responsibility to preserve their own tapu and respect the tapu of others and of places. Under certain situations people become more tapu, including women giving birth, warriors travelling to battle, men carving (and their materials) and people when they die. Because resources from the environment originate from one of the atua, they need to be appeased with karakia before and after harvesting.

When tapu is removed, things become noa, the process being called whakanoa. Interestingly, tapu can be used as a noun or verb and as a noun is sometimes used in the plural. Noa, on the other hand, can not be used as a noun. (Māori Dictionary, nd). 99

Te Puni Kokiri Ministry of Māori Development (Māori Dictionary, nd). 13

Te Reo Māori (noun) language, dialect, tongue, speech. [Māori language] (Māori Dictionary, nd). 7, 9, 13, 35, 36, 143, 154, 155, 165, 167, 168, 172–179, 181, 185, 186, 189, 220–222, 224, 237, 253, 254

Tikanga (noun) correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention, protocol - the customary system of values and practices that have developed over time and are deeply embedded in the social context (Māori Dictionary, nd). 35, 36, 98, 158, 182

Tino Rangatiratanga (noun) self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power (Māori Dictionary, nd). 8, 155

Tiriti o Waitangi (loan) (noun) Treaty of Waitangi (Māori Dictionary, nd). 7, 156, 179, 214, 250

Tohunga (noun) skilled person, chosen expert, priest, healer - a person chosen by the agent of an atua and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation. Those who functioned as priests were known as tohunga ahurewa. They mediated between the atua and the tribe, gave advice about economic activities, were experts in propitiating the atua with karakia and were experts in sacred lore, spiritual beliefs, traditions and genealogies of the tribe. Tohunga mākutu, or tohunga whaiwhaiā, specialised in the occult and casting evil spells. Those chosen to specialise in carving are tohunga whakairo, in tattooing are tohunga tā moko, in astrology are tohunga kōkōrangī, in composing songs are tohunga tito waiata, in canoe making are tohunga tārai waka, in rituals are tohunga karakia, etc. Tohunga were trained in a traditional whare wānanga or by another tohunga (Māori Dictionary, nd). vii

Tā Moko (noun) traditional tattooing - Māori tattooing designs on the face or body done under traditional protocols. (Māori Dictionary, nd). 155, 170, 171, 186, 237

Turangawaewae ((noun) domicile, standing, place where one has the right to stand - place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa (Māori Dictionary, nd). 182

Waha (noun) voice (Māori Dictionary, nd). 183

Waiata (noun) song, chant, psalm (Māori Dictionary, nd). 155, 184, 186, 211, 223

Wairuatanga (noun) spirituality (Māori Dictionary, nd). 36

Wananga (noun) seminar, conference, forum, educational seminar (Māori Dictionary, nd). 182, 184

Whakaari (location) White Island (Bay of Plenty) (Māori Dictionary, nd). 15

Whakapapa (noun) genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent - reciting whakapapa was, and is, an important skill and reflected the importance of genealogies in Māori society in terms of leadership, land and fishing rights, kinship and status. It is central to all Māori institutions. There are different terms for the types of whakapapa and the different ways of reciting them including: tāhū (recite a direct line of ancestry through only the senior line); whakamoe (recite a genealogy including males and their spouses); taotahi (recite genealogy in a single line of descent); hikohiko (recite genealogy in a selective way by not following a single line of descent); ure tārewa (male line of descent through the first-born male in each generation) (Māori Dictionary, nd). 35, 36, 165–170, 173, 178, 180, 183, 185, 188, 190, 236, 237, 250, 253

Whakawhanaungatanga (noun) process of establishing relationships, relating well to others (Māori Dictionary, nd). 216

Whanau (noun) extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people - the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society. In the modern context the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members (Māori Dictionary, nd). 7, 36, 167, 180–182, 189, 224, 237

Whanaungatanga (noun) relationship, kinship, sense of family connection - a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging. It develops as a result of kinship rights and obligations, which also serve to strengthen each member of the kin group. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship (Māori Dictionary, nd). 36

Whangai (noun) foster child, adopted child - this is a customary practice. Often a couple's first child was brought up by grandparents or adopted by one of the brothers or sisters of a parent, but almost always the foster child was a blood relation, usually a close relation. This practice continues today, but inheritance of land and property is not clear-cut. Sometimes the foster child would be entitled to inherit the foster father's property, especially if a child was adopted at birth and remained with the foster parents through to adulthood and looked after the adopted parent(s) in their old age. In this case the foster child would share the interests with any natural children. The rights of a foster child might be modified if an ōhākī (bequest) by the foster father had been made. Foster children always knew who their natural parents were (Māori Dictionary, nd). 181

Wharehuia (personal name) QSO, CNZM (1937-) Tūhoe; leader, orator, expert in Māori language and customs. Former Professor of Māori at The University of Waikato, where he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate in 2005. Formerly a commissioner

for Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. Member of the New Zealand Geographic Board, Tautoko Māori Trust, Mahi Trust and teacher for Te Panekiritanga o te Reo. He was made a Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit (CNZM) in 2012 for services to the Māori language. (Māori Dictionary, nd). 126, 140

Wharenui (noun) meeting house, large house - main building of a marae where guests are accommodated. Traditionally the wharenui belonged to a hapū or whānau but some modern meeting houses, especially in large urban areas, have been built for non-tribal groups, including schools and tertiary institutions. Many are decorated with carvings, rafter paintings and tukutuku panels (Māori Dictionary, nd). 211, 216

Whenua (noun) land - often used in the plural (Māori Dictionary, nd). 168

Wichí a member of an Indian people of South America (Merriam-Webster, nd). 233

Wētā (noun) wētā - large insects of various species found in trees and caves. There are five broad groups of wētā: tree wētā (pūtangatanga), ground wētā, cave wētā (tokoriro), giant wētā (wētā punga) and tusked wētā. They are active at night and all Aotearoa/New Zealand species are wingless. The females have a long, egg-laying spike at the back (Māori Dictionary, nd). 126, 140

Chapter 8

Appendix

8.1 Websites Analysis Codebook

Units of Analysis: The entry page, also known as a landing page or first page of the ten selected websites (Level 1) and every directly linked page that can be reached by one click from the entry page (Level 2) are the subjects of the website analysis which are being coded. One column for each unit (Level 1 and Level 2) should be completed on the coding form sheet.

Website ID: Fill in the ID number of the content being coded (e.g. the website name) as indicated on the selected Website list. See Table 8.1.

Table 8.1: Selected websites and URLs

Nr.	Website ID	Website URL
1	Tourism New Zealand	https://www.newzealand.com/int/
2	All Blacks Rugby	http://www.allblacks.com/
3	Ministry of Culture and Heritage	https://mch.govt.nz/
4	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	https://www.mfat.govt.nz/
5	Ministry of Maori Tourism	https://mch.govt.nz/
6	Te Papa	https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/
7	Te Matatini	https://www.tematatini.co.nz/
8	Mataatua	https://www.mataatua.com/
9	Air New Zealand	https://www.airnewzealand.co.nz/
10	Tamaki Maori Village	https://www.tamakimaorivillage.co.nz/

Source: Author's own elaboration

Coder ID: Indicate the number of the individual (eg. name of the individual) who coded that sheet, according to the Coder ID list.

Date of Coding: Insert the date of coding, using the format: mm/dd/yy.

Website Character and Description: Give a short description of each coded website (eg. name and purpose).

Page ID: Give each page a unique number starting with 001. Use the following codes of the websites plus the page ID (eg.: TNZ001). The numbers increase without any

Table 8.2: Selected websites and website codes

Nr.	Name of the website	Website Code
1	Tourism New Zealand	TNZ
2	All Blacks Rugby	ABR
3	Air New Zealand	ANZ
4	Ministry of Culture and Heritage	MCH
5	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade	MFAT
6	Ministry of Maori Tourism	MMT
7	Te Papa	TP
8	Te Matatini	TM
9	Tamaki Maori Village	TMV
10	Mataatua	MAT

Source: Author's own elaboration

repetition throughout the content being coded. The numbers need to be accurate and are not allowed to duplicate. See Table 8.2.

Page URL: Insert the page URL you are working on.

Level ID: Define which level you are working on putting "yes" for working on and "no" for not working on. The first level (Level 1) defines the entry page of the website and the second level (Level 2) defines any web page that can be reached by one click from the entry page.

Number of keyword: Use the search function on your computer (eg. Command+F on Apple Mac Book) searching for the keyword "Maori". Results show appearances from the keyword "Maori" and "Māori". Write down how many appearances of the keyword "Maori" are displayed per page url.

Number of keyword excluding page header, footer or information box/es (not the main menu): Exclude counting the appearances of the keyword "Maori" that are located in the header of the page, the footer of the page or any repeating information box which appears on more than one page. This needs to be done to exclude any appearances of the keyword "Maori" which are repeated elements on several units.

Category: Indicate whether the page in which the keyword "Maori" appears relates to general information (category 1), customs and beliefs (category 2), history (category 3), politics and economy (category 4) or tourism and attractions (category 5).

Introduce the number of appearances of the keyword "Maori" in cell category 1, category 2, category 3, category 4 and category 5.

Explanation of categories

1. **General information (Category 1):** If the page is used to inform about demographics such as general information about Maori such as being the indigenous peoples of New Zealand, the percentage of the entire population, Maori names, Maori language or basic information about Maori sites and places.

Examples:

- Ethnicity and race
- Education
- Professions
- Statistics
- Explaining Maori place names (eg. Stewart island)
- Explaining Maori words (eg. Pounamou, Greenstone)
- Information about Te Reo Maori (official Maori language)
- Description of the Mataatua house
- Description of Te Matatini

2. **Customs and beliefs (Category 2):** If the page is used to inform about values systems, protocols and Maori Tikanga (Maori way of thinking), but also if there is information about Maori cultural performances and common cultural activities.

Examples:

- Maori values (e.g. Manaakitanga, Mana Tangata, Manaaki Manuhiri, Rangatiratanga, Kaitiakitanga, Whanaungatanga)
- Maori protocols
- Maori music and performing arts
- Information about the Marae
- Maori spiritual concepts (eg. Matariki)
- The importance for Maori to repatriate artefacts
- Performing arts (eg. Kapa Haka or Poi dance)
- Weaving
- Carving
- Tattooing

3. **History (Category 3):** If the page is used to inform about historical events, historical phases and eras or rather contemporary history.

Examples:

- The first settlers of New Zealand and the arrival of the first Maori in New Zealand
- The Mori people Changes in flora and fauna due to the arrival of Maori and Europeans
- British Colonialism and its consequences
- The Treaty of Waitangi

- 28th Maori Battalion
- The First World War and Gallipoli
- The History about a specific company or institution
- 250 years of the first encounter of Maori and European settlers
- Coat of Arms

4. **Politics and Economy (Category 4):** If a page is used to deal with topics related to historical or contemporary politics and governmental issues, but also if economic themes or trade opportunities are addressed.

Examples:

- Fundings and Scholarships for Maori
- Maori as advisors for environmental issues and sustainability
- Business advice and support for Maori
- Negotiations about repatriations
- Discussions around the New Zealand flag and the New Zealand anthem
- Governmental responsibility to look after Maori heritage sites
- Iwi organisation and protocols
- Governmental responsibility of Maori language revitalisation
- Fostering relationships between Maori and other partners
- Maori engagement strategy
- Maori trade opportunities
- Travelling exhibitions for diplomatic purposes

5. **Tourism and Attractions (Category 5):** If a page is used with a commercial intention to promote tourist attractions, sightseeing points or tours such as package tours, day tours or other specified guided tours. **This category also applies when the keyword "Maori" appears in the context of talking about specific information (such as Maori food, Maori specific sites, Maori place names, Maori cultural performances such as the Poi dance or the Haka) BUT with a commercial intention of selling a touristic package by the provider of the website.**

Examples:

- Information on Maori food (for selling Maori food experiences)
- Information on Matariki, Maori New Year (to attract visitors to come to see it)
- Information on local legends and myths to attract visitors
- Information on Maori words to attract visitors to place
- Information on Maori healing arts in order to attract visitors to place

- Information on Maori marae and cultural practices (such as the Hangi, carvings, greenstone) in order to attract visitors
- Information on local history in order to attract visitors
- Information about rituals and Maori customs to attract visitors (eg.
- Information about ongoing exhibition to attract visitors

Comments: Place any additional and relevant information here.

