

Indigenous Connections and Social Media: Māori Involvement in the Events at Standing Rock

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Abstract

The whirlwind development of digital ICTs has had significant implications for Indigenous peoples and their movements towards social and political change. Digital ICTs facilitate global Indigenous connections, assist the rapid diffusion of information and present a decentralised outlet for Indigenous perspectives. However, for Indigenous groups, issues of access, cultural appropriation and misrepresentation remain. With the aid of digital ICTs, the Standing Rock movement successfully united Indigenous cultures across the world. This research focuses on Māori in Aotearoa (New Zealand) who expressed passionate support on social media and even travelled thousands of kilometres to stand in solidarity with the Standing Rock Sioux. The aim of this study is to determine the interest and involvement of Māori in these events via the qualitative analysis of two data sets drawn from participants; in-depth interviews and personal social media posts. Each participant was chosen for their vociferous support of the Standing Rock movement and their identification as Māori. The findings revealed that while participant interest stemmed from a number of areas, particularly pertaining to Indigenous affinity and kinship, it was social media that initiated and sustained that interest. These results indicate that there are deep connections between Māori and the Standing Rock Sioux and the role of social media in facilitating and maintaining those connections was complex. Social media was used by participants to share information, encourage involvement, post updates on the events and present Indigenous perspectives and content. On this basis, it is recommended that more specific research on social media and its uses for Indigenous connection is completed to achieve exhaustive results. This study provides a solid base that may be applied to other Indigenous groups in their movements toward change.

KEY WORDS: Indigenous, Māori, Native American, Standing Rock, connections, social media, activism, cyberactivism, self-determination, social change, political change.

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: 

Date: 05/02/2019

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Aku mihi whakamutunga ki tōku whānau, ka nui te aroha o te ngākau ki a koutou.

Intellectual Property Rights

All of the social media posts used in this study were available on public platforms, so there are no intellectual property rights issues.

Ethics Approval

This research has obtained ethical approval 17/391 from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 1 December 2017.

Glossary

This glossary provides translations for kupu Māori (Māori words) from the Māori Dictionary website at: www.maoridictionary.co.nz

Term	Translation
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Aroha	Love, compassion, empathy
Hā	Breath
Haka	War dance
Hapū	Kinship group, sub-tribe
Iwi	Extended kinship group, tribe
Kai	Food
Kanohi kitea	The seen face
Karakia	Prayer
Kaumātua	Elders
Kaupapa Māori	Refers to a research paradigm, practice and philosophy or being Māori
Koha	Donation, gift
Kōtahitanga	Unity
Mamae	Pain, hurt
Manaaki	Support, give hospitality to
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, generosity
Mana motuhake	Māori self-determination
Mana wahine	Women of strength, refers to the power and importance of women
Māoritanga	Māori culture, Māori practices and beliefs, Māori way of life
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mauri	Life force
Pā	Fortified village
Pākehā	English, European, foreign
Pono	Honest, genuine
Rangatira	Chief
Tangata whenua	People of the land
Tāonga	Treasure

Tautoko	Support
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Reo Māori	The Māori language
Tika	True, fair, accurate
Tikanga	Cultural protocol
Tino rangatiratanga	Sovereignty, autonomy, self-determination
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Wahine/wāhine	Woman/women
Wai	Water
Wairua	Spirituality, atmosphere
Wero	Challenge
Whānau	Family
Whanaunga	Wider family

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Overview

“In the spring and summer of 2016, a magnetic energy was born in Standing Rock. Native people, from hundreds of indigenous nations—some of which had been at odds with each other for centuries—had felt that energy and travelled to North Dakota” (Hayes, 2018, p. 55). It was this magnetic energy, and its far-reaching power, that intrigued me to explore the events at Standing Rock. From afar, the Standing Rock movement seemed like a simple grassroots protest in the name of Indigenous rights, not unlike the many preceding it. One might view Indigenous peoples’ historical fight for rights as a spinning wheel where only the arbitrary details are up for the choosing. As always, Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty are imperiled—this “wheel of misfortune”, spun by a powerful arm, simply decides the context and location. In 1977, it was an unlawful seizure of Māori lands at Bastion Point. Right now, the First Nations people are defending their territory from a gas pipeline in British Columbia. In April 2016, it was a proposed project ignoring the cultural and environmental interests of the local Indigenous people in North Dakota. At that, the Standing Rock Sioux tribe of North Dakota stood in opposition to the construction of an oil pipeline through tribal lands. But it was a palpable “magnetic energy” that elevated what felt like an all too familiar protest to the global stage.

Fundamentally, the movement was an opposition to the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), a potentially destructive oil pipeline that would pass through sacred tribal lands (Karpus, 2018). The Standing Rock Sioux tribe of North Dakota set up camps to halt construction and thus, the #NoDAPL movement was born (Kronk-Warner, 2016). This movement occurred at a time when social media had become an important tool for communications and political engagement hence a new avenue of communication was available for the Standing Rock Sioux to employ, one that was free from mainstream media control (Dahlgren, 2009; Johnson, 2017). The movement swiftly went viral¹ on social media and drew attention from all corners of the world (Karpus, 2018). There are many examples of formal Indigenous groups and organisations that unite differing Indigenous nations across the world to create, share, and learn, i.e. International Indigenous Film Festival, International Indigenous Youth

¹ The term *viral* refers to content that becomes popular by spreading rapidly from person to person on the internet.

Council, and International Indigenous Research Conference. The events that occurred at Standing Rock felt like a convening of Indigenous groups the world over at a grassroots level.

As a young Māori woman, I personally felt moved by the “energy” of Standing Rock. I noticed through social media that my friends felt the same way. As I began to see more and more information on Facebook, these feelings grew stronger. When I found out that friends were organising donations and fellow Māori had physically travelled thousands of kilometres to support the event, this benign wonderment turned into genuine curiosity; what made this protest so powerful that it united “hundreds of indigenous nations”? And how did its power extend over 12,000 kilometres to Aotearoa? From these questions, the idea for this research formed and prompted me to analyse in greater depth the involvement of Māori in the events at Standing Rock.

1.2 Aims of the study

This study explores Māori interest in the events at Standing Rock, through the experiences of a sample of Māori participants whose involvement was charted through social media, and online and in-person activism. The research questions that guide this thesis are:

1. What was Māori interest in the events at Standing Rock?
2. How did social media facilitate Māori interest and involvement in the events at Standing Rock?

The first research question looks at accounts of participant involvement in the events at Standing Rock to first understand why participants became engaged, and later, to understand how. The second research question seeks to identify the extent participants used social media to interact and participate in the events at Standing Rock.

The two research questions address the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis by bringing together an analysis of values and cultural imperatives that drive Māori action and how this intersects with social media, a technological innovation of networking and information sharing.

1.3 Scope of the research

A combination of in-depth interviews and qualitative social media data led to a good understanding of Māori interest and involvement in the events at Standing Rock and how social media facilitated that involvement. While social media posts are still being created surrounding the event, this thesis focuses on the posts created by participants from 2016 to early 2017, when the last Water Protector left the Standing Rock camp.

The research centres on the ways a group of Māori became involved in the events at Standing Rock, rather than Māori as a whole or New Zealanders as a whole. The focus is on the participants. There are many diverse groups within Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and this study does not attempt to generalise the feelings of all Māori. Thus, the sample of Māori within this study is not representative of a singular Māori view. However, the perspectives offered are extremely relevant and pertinent to the research and its outcomes.

1.4 Positioning of the researcher

Given the focus of the study is on Māori involvement in the protests at Standing Rock, it is important to note that I am of both Māori and Pākehā ancestry. The ability to navigate what Webber (2008) terms ‘the space between’ the two cultures places one in a competent position to undertake this research project. It would be foolish to ignore the impact that colonisation has had on my own upbringing, and how I have been molded by the resulting experiences of navigating both worlds. I will inevitably view the research through a lens born of these experiences.

The current position of Indigenous peoples in Western society drives and inspires the research. Therefore, my research position is informed by a Kaupapa Māori perspective, which acknowledges the importance of Indigenous led research and validates mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) (Smith, 1999).

1.5 Thesis structure

This thesis consists of six chapters in total. Following this introduction, Chapter two presents the literature review. This review establishes a thorough background to the research, contextualises the research, and summarises existing scholarship on relevant material to inform the analysis. Chapter three then outlines the methodological approach employed to conduct the research. This chapter details the theoretical framework and

justifies the chosen research methods. The key research findings, from both sets of data, are presented in Chapter four, and the following chapter, Chapter five, presents a thorough analysis and discussion of these findings, including two models that have arisen from the research. Finally, Chapter six articulates the conclusions drawn from the study, answers the research questions, the limitations of the study and offers recommendations for future research. The bibliography and appendices follow the conclusion.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents literature that explores key aspects of the climate in which this research has emerged. The subjects discussed are the Indigenous experience, Native American history, Māori history, Indigenous usage of social media, and activism—including activism on social media and/or by Indigenous groups. At the intersection of these five points sits Māori involvement in Standing Rock. This review of literature will hold the subsequent research in good stead, place it within the current socio-political context, and provide a solid framework for the conclusions reached.

2.2 The Indigenous Experience

To understand Indigenous peoples and the way they navigate the contemporary world, one must consider the central role identity plays. Hall (1996a, 1996b) defines identity as a combination of self-identification and the perception of others and notes that it is always based on power and exclusion; someone must be excluded from a particular identity for it to be meaningful. Indigenous populations can be described as communities that live within or are attached to geographically distinct traditional habitats or ancestral territories, who identify themselves as being part of a distinct cultural group and descended from groups present in the area before modern states were created and current borders defined (Durie, 2003; World Health Organisation [WHO], n.d.). They generally maintain cultural and social identities, and social, economic, cultural and political institutions, separate from the mainstream or dominant society or culture (WHO, n.d.). Therefore, an Indigenous person may be seen as “one who belongs to these Indigenous populations through self-identification as Indigenous (group consciousness) and who is recognized and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group)” (United Nations [UN], 2009a). While this ‘otherness’ is a defining part of the Indigenous experience, it also makes Indigenous peoples “vulnerable to being disadvantaged” (World Bank, 2003, p. 38).

Adefuin (2001) sees Indigenous identity as a kind of cultural identity that is reflected in the values, beliefs, and worldviews of Indigenous people. A common feature of Indigenous spirituality and beliefs is based in intimate and lasting connections to the lands, which are often rooted in memories, dreams and experiences (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal (as cited in Cunningham & Stanley, 2003) speaks

further to the Indigenous worldview: “Indigenous is used for those cultures whose world views place special significance on the idea of the unification of the humans with the natural world” (p. 403). The United Nations (2009a) describe one defining enactment of Indigenous identity as the resolution to maintain and reproduce ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples. An Indigenous American and Cherokee chief (as cited in Woodward, 1982) once said:

We, the great mass of the people think only of the love we have to our land for [...] we do love the land where we were brought up. We will never let our hold to this land go it will be like throwing away [our] mother that gave [us] birth. (p. 202)

Autonomy over Indigenous aspects of life, such as land, is a very important aspect of Indigenous culture, identity, and history—an aspect often misunderstood by non-Indigenous people (Stavenhagen, 2005).

The United Nations report, *State of the World's Indigenous Peoples (SOWIP)* posits that there are approximately 370 million Indigenous peoples around the world that form about 5,000 distinct groups and occupy about 20 percent of the Earth's territory (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2007; UN, 2009a). Despite the Indigenous population representing just 5 percent of the world's population, this group constitutes 15 percent of the world's poor, and assimilation policies and disadvantageous social conditions have resulted in large numbers of Indigenous peoples residing in non-Indigenous settings (UN, 2009a). The UN (2009a) *SOWIP* report further states that the situation of many Indigenous peoples the world over continues to be critical. Indigenous peoples are disproportionately poorer, illiterate and poverty stricken, are dispossessed of their ancestral lands, face systemic discrimination and exclusion from economic and political management, and are threatened with language loss which in turn affects cultural survival and further loss of cultural knowledge (Ullah, Labonte, & Ruckert, 2016; UN, 2009a, 2009b). Several countries have legislations in place to protect the rights of Indigenous peoples, yet “in most cases their rights are often violated and overruled” (Ullah et al., 2016, p. 4).

Of course, Indigenous peoples struggles cannot be grouped as a single experience—each group's ways of living and histories are immensely diverse. But differing Indigenous groups across the world do tend to have a commonality in shared historical occurrences. For example, New Zealand, Australia and Canada “share a common

creation story as now-sovereign states within the Commonwealth of Nations” (Peters & Christensen, 2016). Overall, it has been observed that Indigenous peoples across the world “inherit a huge range of their cultural patrimonies and have adopted many different kinds of social organisations. Despite their uniqueness, imposed changes have dramatically affected their wellbeing and cultural integrity” (Samson & Gigoux, 2016, p, 20).

Put simply, globalisation, spurred by the advancement of technology, is the ‘integration’ of the nations of the world (Cesarotti, 2000). Most scholars agree that globalisation has both positive and negative outcomes, particularly concerning the issue of the Indigenous peoples and their long fight to earn their rights in the time of globalisation (Ullah et al., 2016, p. 69). Tavanti (2003) describes globalisation as a double-edged sword that simultaneously makes up for the “declining capacity for collective action on the part of marginalized racial groups and classes in society” (p. 2) and generates a process of social re-articulation in the formation of new resistance strategies. The effects of globalisation are not limited to a globalised economy, it has repercussions on numerous mono-ecological aspects, many of which have unfavourable outcomes for Indigenous groups, including environmental degradation, social inequality and cultural degradation (Bambas, Casas, Drayton, & Valdés, 2000; Scholte, 2000). Slowey (2005) argues this globalised era has made it harder for Indigenous peoples to exercise self-sufficiency and independence over their lands whereas Rodriguez-Garavito (2010) acknowledges Indigenous groups have made efforts to use globalisation as a tool to reaffirm their rights to historical and spiritual ties to land and water. Regarding self-governance, Indigenous groups can now participate in decision making and regulation forming processes that have direct outcomes on them (Rodríguez-Garavito, 2010).

Recently, Indigenous peoples' have requested official status that separates themselves from civil society and adequately adheres to their right to self-determination (Gonnella, 2018). Self-determination, or the right to freely determine one's political status and freely pursue one's own economic, social and cultural development, is a right under international law but divisive views on the meaning of self-determination have emerged as more Indigenous peoples assert this right (Gonnella, 2018). While the United Nations acknowledges a need for an update to the status, the status of the United Nations must be advanced for the global community to respect the rights of Indigenous groups (Gonnella, 2018). This is not ideal as “Indigenous representatives have repeatedly

stressed that they view the recognition of their right to self-determination as essential for their survival and development and ‘the key to the implementation of solutions for their problems’” (Gonnella, 2018, p. 131).

As expressed in the literature, the term ‘Indigenous’ is very hard to pin down, not so much relating to a fixed race, religion, culture and creed but rather to ancestral lands and the inevitable history of the pre-colonial people tied to it. To be an Indigenous person is dependent in-group acceptance and perhaps most importantly, self-identification. This Indigenous–non-Indigenous dichotomy establishes an ‘us vs. them’ binary but it is useful in providing a very simple and succinct way of looking at how Indigenous people situate themselves in the world. Furthermore, the review presents a brief look at the way Indigenous peoples may interpret the world. It also acknowledges the traumatic history experienced by most Indigenous groups, a trauma that is still felt into the present day and is reflected in the living conditions, education outcomes and other socio-economic conditions that mentally and physically affect the lives of Indigenous peoples.

2.3 The Māori Experience

During early colonisation (late 1700s–1800s), Māori were described as “wild animal[s]” (Williams, 1867, p. 89) and “inhuman” (Thomson, 1867, p. 66). Prior to contact with colonists, Māori identity was rooted in tribalism and the sub-structures of iwi (tribe, tribal affiliations), hapū (sub-tribe) and whānau (family) (Mead, 2003). In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by 45 rangatira Māori (Māori chiefs) and Governor Hobson at the behest of Lord Normanby (Lee & Lee, 2007; Moon, 2010). Te Rarawa chief, Nōpera Panakareao, stated that Māori understanding of the Treaty was “the shadow of the land will go to him (the Governor) but the substance will remain with us” (as cited in Ward, 1974, p. 38). The Treaty commitments made to Māori were soon disregarded in an “illegal and dishonourable” manner (Skerret, 2012, p. 3). Less than a year after the Treaty was signed, Māori land was commandeered in a series of legislative acts to make way for British settlers (Durie, 1998). Ballara (1986) states that Māori sovereignty over land was to be explicitly recognised, yet even with the Treaty, “it was to be the concept of the wandering savage who had no rights to land that was adopted and recognised by the settler governments once self-government was attained” (p. 36). The widespread disregard for the Treaty led to the widespread disregard for Māori rights and as the Pākehā (non-Māori) settler population grew, Māori were

removed from political discussions altogether resulting in a position of disadvantage for Māori and a position of privilege for Pākehā (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

By the 1930s, Māori had ownership of less than 6 percent of the land in Aotearoa, i.e. about 3.5 million of Aotearoa's 66 million acres (Morris, 2003). Fundamentally, Māori culture and identity is built upon the reciprocal relationships formed with whānau (family) and whenua (land/place) and the mass loss of whenua compromised the intergenerational economic future for Māori as well as the wellbeing of culture and psyche (Gracey & King; King et al.; Tribunal, as cited in Reid et al., 2016). Māori challenged the Crown through court cases and petitions to resolve land grievances to no real ends; it was not until the 1975 Land March that Māori caught the full attention of the Crown during their hīkoi (march) from the top of the North Island to parliament (Derby, 2012; Dominy, 1990). This march was a significant political turning point for Māori and Māori rights (Phillips, 2012). The collective Māori statement of disapproval to the attitudes of the Crown at the time resulted in the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act which included the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal whose role is to address the grievances of Māori through treaty settlements (Orange, 2013). "The treaty settlement process is not intended to adjudicate matters of social justice or equity but to provide fair compensation for lands, fisheries, forests, and other tangible assets unjustly confiscated by the Crown" (Lashley, 2000, p. 9).

During and after the Second World War, many Māori relocated to urban centres and within 20 years around 66 percent of Māori resided in urban areas (Hill, 2012). The assimilation-like 'pepper potting' policy or the placing of Māori families among Pākehā families was the final straw that led to Māori forgoing the Māori language for English (Matamua, 2006). This policy also aimed to hasten assimilation by dismantling tight-knit communities that held Māori together and forced Māori to accept the social reality of a dominant Pākehā society (Mead, 1983; Peters, 2014). Among the newly urbanised Māori were reports of diminishing knowledge or interest in Māori culture and a dwindling number of fluent te reo Māori (Māori language) speakers due to its impractical use in a Pākehā society (Hill, 2012). In 1913, 90 percent of Māori school children could speak te reo; by 1953 that number dropped to 26 percent and by 1975 it was less than 5 percent (Bellamy, 2014; Matamua, 2006). While Māori aspire to revitalise their language, the 2013 Census Report revealed it remains in a decline (Statistics New Zealand [SNZ], 2013).

Today, Māori continue to have lower incomes, higher unemployment rates, lower educational and health outcomes, and proportionately more convictions for criminal offences, compared with Pākehā counterparts (SNZ, 2013). These statistics can be attributed to cultural deficit theories and structural inequalities in society (Bishop, 2003; Paul, 2014). The combined aforementioned events can be identified as the impetus for poverty and lower economic status for Māori as well as collective psychological suffering (Atkinson; Brave Heart; Duran & Duran; Evans Campbell; Walters et al., as cited in Reid et al., 2016).

Flags have been a focus of conflict in Māori history from Hone Heke cutting down the flagpole in 1844 to diminish its significance, to its usage in political and religious movements such as the Kiingitanga and Pai Mārire movements. Perhaps the most recognised flag, the Tino Rangatiratanga flag², originally the Māori flag, was launched in 1990. It came to be known as the Tino Rangatiratanga flag as it symbolises tino rangatiratanga (self-government, sovereignty or self-determination) which was guaranteed to Māori in the Treaty of Waitangi (Morris, 2002). Tino rangatiratanga informs modern Māori activism, life and practice, and is a point that rallies Māori claims to self-determination (Hawksley & Howson, 2011).

This section provides a historical overview of Māori in Aotearoa, briefly covering colonisation, issues encountered by Māori such as Treaty rights, urban migration, and te reo revitalisation, and movements by Māori toward social and political change, self-determination and the recognition of Māori rights. The long-standing tradition of Māori activism and protest resulted in fundamental changes to New Zealand society. These outcomes reveal that Māori support for the struggles of other Indigenous groups is a natural development, especially given the history of fighting colonial and imperial oppression in Aotearoa.

2.4 The Native American Experience

Following the American Revolution (1765–1783), the U.S. Federal government fervently encouraged Euro-American settlement on Native American lands (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). Before this, the 1763 Royal Proclamation protected Indigenous peoples from forced settlements on Indigenous lands, “making it apparent to Indigenous peoples that the British government did not approve of unregulated dispossession, while

² See Appendix B for a visual of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag.

remaining ambiguous on the state of their sovereignty by referring to ‘Protection’” (Borrows, 1997, p. 161). The Act “created the legal conditions to bind Indigenous peoples into the colonial order” (p. 77) yet the 1763 Royal Proclamation held little authority after the American Revolution (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). This impediment to squatting on Indigenous lands pushed incoming settlers westward across the United States and the mass migration of Euro-American settlers that followed provoked violent conflicts, including several massacres of Native Americans who rapidly became surrounded and displaced by land-hungry whites after a number of overland trails were established (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). Indigenous peoples were further dispossessed by the destruction of biodiversity that enabled their way of life and the 1887 General Allotment Act contributed to further reduction of the Native American land base (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). This Act restricted Native Americans to smaller areas of land in order to make room for European settlement and was intended to “destroy the customary system of collective use and occupancy of land practiced by almost all Indigenous groups, transforming them into individual landowners, farmers and ranchers” (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). As such, Native American territories were reduced from 139 million acres to 48 million acres between 1887 and 1934 (Littlefield, 2001, p. 370), and between 1936 and 1976 another 1.8 million acres of land were removed from Indigenous control by the government (Morris, 1992, p. 68). Native American groups coming under the allotment system were asked to sign treaties, and these were notable for the unequal bargaining position of the two sides (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). Moreover, communication between the tribes and government suffered the unavoidable distortion of translation: from English through Spanish to Navajo (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). A common remedy for all Native Americans who have lost lands due to the violation of laws and treaties by the United States has been to file a claim through the Indian Claims Commission, which was set up in 1946 (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). Because the Commission did not offer the return of lands, but only monetary compensation, the Western Shoshone have refused to file (Clemmer, 2009).

Like other Indigenous groups around the world, Native Americans endured assimilation policies that included taking Native American children to formal boarding schools, breaking up reservations, and relocating reservation Indians to urban centres (Dennis, Hirschfelder, & Flynn, 2016; Johansen, 2015). The 1960s and 1970s sparked a time of Native American self-determination as many Native-led legal, political and economic organisations were founded to represent the interests of Native Americans (Dennis et

al., 2016). A generation of activists, partly ignited by the civil rights movement, began to fight in the political arena for Indigenous land and water rights, and a number of legislative acts were introduced with the aim of addressing Native American land, health, education, and welfare needs (Dennis et al., 2016; Johansen, 2015). Since 2010, 30 percent of Native Americans experienced poverty compared to only 14 percent nationwide and around 23 percent of all Native American families earned incomes below the poverty line (Dennis et al., 2016). Moreover, issues such as high unemployment rates, minimal access to capital, poor physical infrastructure, lower graduation rates for high school and college students, and limited access to broadband have long troubled tribal communities (Dennis et al., 2016). Native Americans also suffer from higher all-cause death rates, much higher suicide rates, and higher rates of obesity, cancer and infectious diseases compared to their non-Native American counterparts (Dennis et al., 2016). The 2010 statistics revealed that since 1890, the Native American population has grown from around 250,000 to 5.2 million, a large portion of Native Americans now reside in urban centres, and tribal language fluency has dramatically dropped to below 25 percent (Dennis et al., 2016). Due to government policies that aimed at destroying language and cultural transmission, Native languages were in a state of emergency (Dennis et al., 2016; Johansen, 2015). The National Congress of American Indians declared that 74 native languages stood to vanish within the next ten years, and predicted that only twenty Native languages will still be spoken by 2050 (Dennis et al., 2016).

It can be seen that Native Americans have endured a similar colonial experience to Māori, e.g. loss of ancestral land, language, and cultural, economic and political power. One point of difference is they are so disparate; there are hundreds of tribes across a much bigger country. Thus, they have not experienced a long-standing history of protest and activism at a national level when compared to Māori. In this way, the events at Standing Rock are interesting as it galvanised the entire United States and became an international struggle. The Standing Rock Sioux are a part of the Sioux Nation, which was broken up by the U.S. government, their history includes fighting Custer, being led by Sitting Bull, the Wounded Knee massacre, and the more recent Wounded Knee incident (Gibbon, 2003). Like Māori, the Standing Rock Sioux have experienced a long-tradition of activism and protest and the Dakota Access Pipeline is one part of a long-standing history of their struggle for self-determination.

2.4.2 The Dakota Access Pipeline

In 2014, Energy Transfer Partners (ETP) proposed a multi-billion-dollar project designed to transport up to half a million barrels of crude oil per day from North Dakota to Illinois (Johnson, 2017; Whyte, 2017). The proposed pipeline would need to travel beneath the Missouri River, the main water source for the Standing Rock Sioux tribe (Karpus, 2018). The Standing Rock Sioux tribe are a part of the Dakota and Lakota nation that is Indigenous to central North and South Dakota areas and whose numbers are an estimated 10,000 people (Karpus, 2018; Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, n.d.). The two primary concerns of the tribe were the potential for the pipeline to leak and contaminate the tribe's water supply and the pipeline's proposed pathway through sacred Sioux burial grounds (Karpus, 2018). The pipeline is planned to run through lands and waters that the tribe never ceded to and that remain vitally significant, culturally and environmentally, to tribal members for safety and health (Whyte, 2017). The aim of DAPL business investors was to profit from the pipeline as it is considered by them to be a cheaper alternative to rail transport (Whyte, 2017). Pipeline proponents argued that the pipeline would meet the highest environmental safety standards, produce more jobs, allow the United States to become more energy independent, and boost the region's economy (Whyte, 2017). Unconvinced, the people and non-tribal supporters stood against the pipeline and for the protection of water the surrounding sacred sites (Johnson, 2017). As of 2015, a small group of pipeline protestors set up camps on land owned by ETP, in an effort to halt pipeline construction (Karpus, 2018). Around the same time, online petitioners began asking for support with some amassing over 270,000 signatures (Karpus, 2018). In April 2016, the Oceti Sakowin (Seven Council Fires) camp was established by the Standing Rock Sioux elder, LaDonna Brave Bull Allard, to serve as a centre for cultural preservation and spiritual resistance to the pipeline (Johnson, 2017). At this time, the #NoDAPL movement was created and thousands of people, led by the Standing Rock Sioux, gathered at camps near the Dakota Access Pipeline (Whyte, 2017). Since the beginning of the movement, over "three hundred federally recognised tribes have been represented within Camp Oceti Sakowin, Red Warrior Camp, and Sacred Stone Camp at Standing Rock near Cannon Ball, North Dakota, with estimates of up to five thousand camp inhabitants being reported" (Johnson, 2017, p. 158). In September 2016, a U.S. District Attorney argued against the tribe's request for a preliminary injunction against construction claiming that tribes had been adequately consulted about any risks to cultural heritage (Kronk Warner, 2016; Whyte, 2017). However, a review of the information revealed a contrary

viewpoint: there was neither sufficient time, resources nor attention given to evaluating the environmental or cultural risks (Whyte, 2017). It became evident that coordinators had relied on assessment procedures, methods of communication, and external consultants—all non-Indigenous processes that are known to lack sensitivity and accountability to the concerns, rights, and capacities of Indigenous groups' (Whyte, 2017). By excluding Indigenous interest from the DAPL consultations, the Standing Rock Sioux were denied participation on level fields with the powerful parties (Whyte, 2017).

As of October 2016, the small protests had grown from a few hundred into several thousand and the Sioux tribe sought legal action by filing a complaint against the organisation that permitted the project, the Army Corps of Engineers (ACE) (Karpus, 2018). The complaint claimed "the agency violated the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) by not considering both the cultural and environmental significance of the pipeline" (Karpus, 2018, pp. 109–110). As a result of the litigation, President Obama ordered the ACE to assemble a thorough Environmental Impact Statement regarding alternative pipeline routes, intermittently halting the project (Karpus, 2018). In December 2016, the Standing Rock Sioux peoples gained a small victory; the ACE denied the easement for ETP to complete the DAPL (Whyte, 2017). However, on January 24, 2017, President Trump officially signed the Executive Order allowing the pipeline's completion (Karpus, 2018; Kronk Warner, 2016). With this new direction and the full support for the DAPL by President Trump, the Dakota Access Company made plans to construct the last segment of the pipeline underneath Lake Oahe (Kronk Warner, 2016). This decision was met with outrage by protestors, tribal members and environmentalists alike (Karpus, 2018). The Army Corps of Engineers granted the Dakota Access Company an easement, or right to pass on someone else's land, thus theoretically providing them with the ability to continue the project (Karpus, 2018). Jamil Dakwar, the director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Human Rights Program, criticised the decision, demanding that "[t]he Trump administration should allow careful environmental impact analysis to be completed with full and meaningful participation of affected tribes" (Karpus, 2018, p. 114). Following this, the Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes sought a preliminary injunction against this easement (Karpus, 2018). This was denied forcing the two tribes to seek an emergency injunction order pending their appeal from the U.S. District Court of D.C. but again they were denied (Karpus, 2018). At this stage, ETP

moved forward with the pipeline project (Karpus, 2018). Following this decision, and in spite of continued resistance from Water Protectors, the camps were ordered to be cleared and closed on February 23, 2017 (Kronk Warner, 2016). Despite this, the tribe continued to oppose the pipeline, the Cheyenne Sioux have filed a motion and subsequent appeal against the pipeline, both to no avail (Kronk Warner, 2016). In April 2017, about 200 hundred miles away from the Standing Rock protests, a small oil leak occurred proving what protestors had feared all along (Karpus, 2018). At the height of the protests, thousands of people ventured to North Dakota to support the Sioux tribe, and not even an unreliable wireless service stopped the activation of dozens of around-the-clock Facebook live feeds but by mid-2017, active content creators had dramatically lessened (Karpus, 2018). Johnson (2017) notes that while struggles to protect their land and culture have persisted throughout Native American history, “the avenues American Indian tribes possess to communicate their struggles have evolved because of the rise of social media” (p. 158) and with it a new avenue of communication, one free from major media outlet control.

While the #NoDAPL movement may appear as a vigorous political protest, many Indigenous persons who had a hand in creating the movement insist that their resistance is simply about ceremony, prayer, and the protection of water (Whyte, 2017). English-language expressions, such as “ceremony” and “water is life” have arisen from Indigenous understandings that dictate respectful moral relations with water, land and other non-human entities as a key to ensuring human wellness and wellbeing (Whyte, 2017). Robin Kimmerer and Kathleen Dean Moore describe the Water Protectors to appreciate that “[t]he land is sacred, a living breathing entity, for whom we must care, as she cares for us. And so, it is possible to love land and water so fiercely you will live in a tent in a North Dakota winter to protect them” (Whyte, 2017, p.156). This historic gathering of “Water Protectors”, a term preferred over protestor or ‘fighter’, is the single largest gathering of Native Americans in over 140 years (Johnson, 2017, p. 158). The largest before this, the Battle of the Greasy Grass, was for a similarly environmentally and culturally based purpose in which the U.S. Army ignored treaty obligations in pursuit of natural resources (Johnson, 2017). The Battle of the Greasy Grass was particularly violent whereas today, elders insist on a peaceful, nonviolent movement (Johnson, 2017). Despite the peaceful nature of their protests, the Water Protectors were violently mistreated by law enforcement and DAPL’s private security, attacked by dogs, shot with rubber bullets, pepper sprayed, hosed with cold water during

winter temperatures, and had food supplies sabotaged (Whyte, 2017). Frustratingly, protectors also had to endure the fact that the movement attracted some insincere allies who “did not respect Indigenous knowledges, cultural protocols, and the wisdom of Tribal elders” (Whyte, 2017, p. 157). For many protectors, participation meant sacrificing personal obligations and raising money (Whyte, 2017). Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, called for the United States to stop construction and to honor the rights of the Standing Rock Sioux (Whyte, 2017). Many more acts of solidarity have been displayed by diverse groups across the world (Whyte, 2017). According to Tribal Chair David Archambault II (as cited in Whyte, 2017):

Thousands of people—from members of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, tribes across the nation and First Nations in Canada, to non-Native supporters in the United States and around the world—have stood in solidarity against the harm and destruction caused by the Dakota Access Pipeline; we have stood side by side in peaceful prayer. (p. 157)

Karpus (2018) noted the inadequacies of mainstream media coverage at Standing Rock was twofold: 1) it was very limited and 2) when it was present, it was one-sided. Eventually, independent journalists ventured to North Dakota to provide media coverage and portray the tribal side of the Standing Rock narrative through non-major news outlets like social media (Karpus, 2018). Karpus (2018) noted that similar to independent journalists, protestors used social media like Facebook and Twitter to present an insider perspective of the events. What was presented was much different to mainstream media reporting, thus Facebook and Twitter users were exposed to videos of violence by law enforcement including videos of spraying water to subdue crowds and using law dogs to intimidate and attack protectors (Karpus, 2018). Moreover, drone footage and mobile phone footage garnered thousands of Twitter retweets, “displaying not only shock over the events but also new found interests from those outside of the region” (Karpus, 2018, p. 55).

2.5 Indigenous Peoples on the Internet

Earlier technologies such as film and radio had been important platforms for Indigenous cultural media production, but it is now clear that the internet can disseminate all types of productions and to much larger audiences (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). Since the inception of mainstream internet in the mid-1990s, Indigenous peoples have worked

hard to solidify their online presence (Nathan, 2000). Indigenous utilisation of the internet “is a continuation of the Indigenous media movement that was reinvigorated in the 1980s by the introduction of satellite television and videocassette recorders” (Ginsburg; Meadows; Turner, as cited in Lindgren & Cocq, 2017, p. 133). Early on, Srinivasan (2006) noted a large indigenous online presence, particularly via the establishment of active and popular websites. More recently, the further expansion of digital media (such as the internet) has been a central feature of globalisation; “The development of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has enormously expedited global communications and is an increasingly important tool of social and cultural inclusion” (Samson & Gigoux, 2016, p. 170). Under the theme ‘Indigenous Media, Empowering Indigenous Voices’, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, as cited in Lindgren & Cocq, 2017) declared:

New information and communication technologies play a significant role in enhancing the access to, and quality of, education, science and culture. Their applications transform the way we share, preserve and transmit knowledge and languages. (p. 133)

In accordance with this assessment, it stands that individuals and communities that fail to utilise these tools effectively could be left unheard. Therefore, ICTs have become a strategic location for all social movements, including those started by Indigenous groups (Samson & Gigoux, 2016).

Nathan’s (2000) research centres on the participation of Indigenous Australians in the early growth period of the internet. Nathan (2000) identified Indigenous peoples as a group that has worked hard to solidify an online presence since the internet’s inception. Historically, Indigenous Australians have been underrepresented in conventional media and when media organisations have made attempts to report on Indigenous issues, they “have done a poor job and have in many cases perpetuated racist and erroneous stereotypes” (Rose, as cited in Nathan, 2000). Nathan (2000) described the internet as a ‘new’ form of media that holds differing commercial, distribution and aesthetic rules and thus offers a potential for the renegotiation of the Indigenous representation. Overall, Nathan (2000) argued that the internet has transformed the representation of Indigenous Australians in a positive way. Despite initial limitations, the increase of Indigenous Australian users implies an increase in the exposure of correct information regarding Indigenous values and viewpoints, thus the internet is facilitating and enhancing the link between Indigenous voices and the public (Nathan, 2000).

Delgado (2002) regarded the internet as having the power to be molded by any and all users based on these reasons: 1) the internet was relatively young, 2) it lacked both a firm hierarchy and a central hub and 3) it had a laterally spreading network of links. These aspects of the internet represented a natural tendency to facilitate democratic actions (Delgado, 2002). This allowed for inclusion of minority groups, such as Indigenous people, who have historically been misrepresented, underrepresented, or excluded from mainstream media (Dyson, 2011). Dyson and Underwood (2006) stated that Indigenous groups the world over have appropriated the medium of the internet to their own ends and have been proactive in establishing their own online content as “it is a democratic medium, free of the old power elites of print” (p. 73). Srinivasan (2006) adds that this appropriation has been displayed “in several different ways to serve their cultural, social and political visions” (p. 497). Indigenous peoples represent over 5,000 language and cultural groups and as a result “there are many Indigenous internet users and many Indigenous websites, chat rooms, and online forums around the world” (Dyson, 2011, p. 253). Thus, all sites and uses of the internet are diverse.

Despite some successful utilisation of ICTs it is evident that Indigenous groups faced many challenges with gaining access and cultivating their own, distinct voice online. Aspinall and Hobson (1997) argued that in the early days of the internet, Indigenous participation was ‘very limited’ and that the Indigenous ownership rate of individual computers was extremely low. If home and private access to the internet was thought a necessity due to its role in receiving basic services, and Indigenous organisations were not able to remedy this type of problem, the equity of access to fundamental services would be at risk (Aspinall & Hobson, 1997). Despite the potential of the internet for broad social inclusion, limitations of participation, a lack of internet access caused by poor connectivity, high cost and lack of computer skills are significant barriers for Indigenous peoples (Dyson, 2011; Dyson & Underwood, 2006). Access can be limited for a number of reasons, but access largely suffers due to complex socioeconomic, geographic and linguistic factors that affect Indigenous populations (Dyson, 2011). “Generally, poverty combined with the high cost of ICT means that Indigenous people have low computer ownership, low ICT literacy, and low connectivity to the Internet” (Dyson, 2011, p. 272). These aspects place Indigenous groups at the losing side of the “digital divide” with a lower opportunity to benefit from an information-based economy (Dyson, 2011; Meer, 2003). Samson and Gigoux (2016) caution that ICTs can have a negative effect on Indigenous communities, particularly among Indigenous youth, as

Indigenous cultures are often not represented at all on mainstream media and, when they are seen in mainstream media, they are often misrepresented or presented unfavourably (Iseke-Barnes & Darnard, 2007; Nathan, 2000). Other concerns are the misappropriation of Indigenous knowledge and culture (Radoll, 2004), the misappropriation of “new” communication technology for oppressive purposes (Hands; Morosov, as cited in Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013) and whether or not the internet “will act as a tool of further colonization and continue the process of Western enculturation of Indigenous peoples begun in the colonial era” (McConaghy, 2000 as cited in Dyson, 2011). In seeking to understand the intricate features of Indigenous engagement with the internet, the weight of historic and present-day trauma perpetuated through colonisation and post-colonialism must be considered, “The deep mistrust born of this experience has led some Indigenous communities and researchers to extend their suspicion to the Internet, seeing it as potentially another tool of Indigenous disempowerment” (Dyson, 2011, p. 271).

Contrariwise, ICTs have allowed for the growth of Indigenous self-expression and creativity and this usage of ICTs by Indigenous peoples is a direct reflection of the will of Indigenous groups to resist colonial practices and to advance Indigenous rights (Samson & Gigoux, 2016). Furthermore, this technology is a vital asset in political action repertoires irrespective of issues of access and pessimistic accounts that stress of the dangers inherent in the present techno-social development pointing to the fact that the “new” ICTs might be used for oppressive purposes (Hands; Morosov, as cited in Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013). Srinivasan (2006) describes that the interconnected nature of new media ICTs allows for sharing, identity creation, communication and publication to occur almost immediately without being restricted by the actuality of physical distance. Prins (2002) states “Clearly, the Internet provides indigenous peoples powerful new means of self-representation, but as its use expands and intensifies, so does the ‘overseeing gaze’ of encapsulating polities and transnational corporations” (p. 72). He rather cynically concludes that the absence of visual imperialism on the web may be delusive and the ‘visual performative’ alone will not transform the lower status of Indigenous groups in the political arena (Prins, 2002). The development of Indigenous websites and online platforms highlights a more democratic process by which grassroots organizations, often excluded from mainstream media, develop their own content, for example pan-Indigenous movements (like Idle No More) are instances of the global nature of politicizing information about Indigenous peoples (Samson & Gigoux, 2016).

Wellman and Gulia (1997, 1999) have found that ‘social’ uses of information systems, such as the way many Indigenous groups utilise social media, have a positive impression on the formation and sustenance of ethnic communities via the sharing of information resources and the formation of common spaces for socialising and communication. Moreover, Indigenous peoples are using the internet as a tool to revitalise and rebuild their cultures (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017). Authentic Indigenous websites can stand as reaffirmations of Indigenous identity and assertions of the right of Indigenous peoples to survive (Dyson, 2011, p. 259). “The active participation of Indigenous people on the Internet and the wide range of uses for which they have established websites support this notion of the Internet as a highly adaptive technology which can be used by Indigenous peoples for whatever objectives they choose” (Dyson, 2011, p. 274). According to this perspective, Indigenous groups have reappropriated the internet to their own ends, such as to re-establish broken lines of communication, revitalise traditions and languages, reaffirm their identity, and mobilise their people to fight for their rights as Indigenous peoples in the modern world (Dyson, 2011). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that Indigenous people are successfully utilising this medium (Dyson, 2011). Franklin (as cited in Cullen, 2005) aptly sums the Indigenous engagement with the web as, “adapting a foreign invention and making it their own” (para. 20).

The internet can function as a tool for ethnic groups to share resources and react as one to events happening across the world, thus minority views can now be presented online, bypassing traditional editorial procedures (Kwok, 1999; Srinivasan, 2006). This dynamic makes way for increasing emic (insider) perspectives compared to read-only media (media with little to no user interaction) (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017). A platform for Indigenous voices is much needed as Indigenous peoples have limited options to engage in political discourse, to influence the public in political arenas and for accessing information (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017). In a way that traditional media does not achieve, social media (such as Facebook or Twitter) are able to produce, filter and gain access to information based on the interests and needs of Indigenous peoples, including in their own languages (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017). Furthermore, “Indigenous voices may provide counter-narratives to discourses articulated from a majority’s perspective, and social media might facilitate minority self-representation in a way that is hardly possible in mainstream media” (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017, p. 135). Lindgren and Cocq (2017) do warn that the maintenance of power structures online or the overlap of online and

offline are factors that may limit online democracy and changes in power relations between minority and majority groups, thus there is a need for further investigation into the extent social media gives rise to the varying ways in which “flows of indigenous communication, information and knowledge are shaped and shared” (p. 135).

In more detail, Landzelius (2006) identifies two directional practices in which Indigenous communication operates: inreach communication practices and outreach communication practices. Inreach communication practices are about forming and arranging shared meanings within an Indigenous group, and are about community building (Landzelius, 2006). These online activities contribute to reducing the ‘distance’ between groups and making the world seem closer (Landzelius, 2006). Modern communication technologies unite people within the community bringing them closer to each other by concentrating their identity constructions (Landzelius, 2006). The intention of outreach communication practices is to connect with people that are from outside the group, to grow visibility or to correct stereotypes and misrepresentations (Landzelius, 2006). These online activities relate to increased ‘solidarity networking’ such as alliances between Indigenous groups and activist movements in environmental protection campaigns (Landzelius, 2006). Utilising the internet as a tool to weave together Indigenous groups from across the world, facilitates the sharing of common stories, and the planning of shared strategies of resistance (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017). Utilising both inreach and outreach communication on social media facilitates the articulation of perspectives from an emic viewpoint (perception of the community) in wider, potentially global contexts (Lindgren & Cocq, 2017). According to Dyson (2011), many websites utilise both inreach and outreach practices simultaneously, “offering a public face but sometimes excluding outsiders from private spaces and protected knowledge on the site through a variety of mechanisms, such as log-ins and the use of Indigenous languages only spoken by members of the community” (p. 275). A key reason Indigenous websites often focus on reaching outside the community is “to create intercultural dialogue with the outside world in order to correct misrepresentations and stereotypes” (Dyson, 2011, p. 275). Landzelius (2006) adds that Indigenous usage of social media specifically implies that members of these groups transfer information to outsider audiences as well as articulate their perspectives and share insider knowledge that can then reach out to allies as well as political bodies, news media and policy makers. Therefore, the internet and social media can be utilised to eliminate old boundaries, as well as create new ones. Furthermore, it can be used to

create new forms of imagined community (Landzelius, 2006), imagined as in one may never meet the majority of community members “yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson, 1983, p. 49).

From the above literature one can see that Indigenous groups have kept up with the rise of digital media into the 21st century. As evidenced, Indigenous groups had an active and successful start on the internet and this has only grown and strengthened. Dyson and Underwood (2006) surmise that while ICTs are still emergent, and ever-adapting, the Indigenous presence online has rapidly accelerated and amplified with groups utilising the web for purposes ranging from recreation to information-gathering to networking. However, limitations and threats remain, and this includes the ‘digital divide’ and the globalised nature of new media that threatens the integrity of Indigenous property and culture. While early limitations, such as ICT literacy and lack of access, may seem less impactful due to the sheer number of active online participants in the present day, one can argue the cost of internet and smart devices still pose barriers to those of a lower socioeconomic background—which is typical of Indigenous peoples. This also introduces the argument of device quality and/or variation and how this affects engagement. Despite these factors, Indigenous groups have thrived on the internet and over the past 20 years have engaged with it in innovative ways. The utilisation of new media such as social media gives marginalised groups a political voice that is not represented in mainstream media, and at the same time it breaks down physical barriers of communication with other groups across the globe. In this way it is clear that the internet is an effective tool of self-representation and community building for minorities. The utilisation of ICTs is now a logical step in the activist playbook in regard to reach and message—reach a lot of people and in your own words.

2.6 Activism

Activism and the role of the activist are conceptually fluid and subject to a variety of interpretations (Bott, Chavez, Clark, Dwyer, & Sontz, 2016). According to Barker (2003), an activist is “an individual who brings about social change” (p. 5) and according to Yang (2009), activism is the action to bring about political, social, cultural or naturalistic change. The expansion of ICTs and the role of ICTs in activism conflicts have attracted further discussion among theorists, especially in the last decade (Olabode, 2018). This section explores activism as it has evolved in the digital age and

how digital technologies are being utilised in activists' movements towards social change.

Over the years, conflict movements (such as social movements, and militant movements) have incorporated ICT tools into movement activities producing numerous terms including technological activism, digital activism, online activism, cyber protests, and cyberactivism (Olabode, 2018). These terminologies are used to imply that conflict movements are facilitated by the use of ICTs, the internet and other social media networks (Olabode, 2018). Digital activism can be defined as political actions that are dependent on the internet as activists now use new technologies and the web to achieve their traditional goals (Vegh, as cited in Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013). Additionally, researchers have claimed that the use of the internet and social media within the spheres of politics and autonomous social movements has altered the vocabulary of activists and also the image of activism: digital "activists have not only incorporated the Internet into their repertoire but [have also] changed substantially what counts as activism, what counts as community, collective identity, and political strategy" (McCaughey & Ayers, 2003, pp. 1–2). It is clear that in some cases the use of digital technology and social media can indeed support the production of political groups and arenas within which activists can engender alternative public spheres, raise awareness to their certain interests, and produce critical counter-images in relation to dominant paradigms (Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013). Various studies have indicated that, in some cases, political activities performed online do not just support or multiply political activities performed offline, they can indeed create them (Wojcieszak; Harlow, as cited in Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013).

Dahlberg-Grundberg's (2013) digital activism-focused work aimed to better understand how certain political actors comprehend and relate to social media and the internet for political purposes. Respondents in Dahlberg-Grundberg's (2013) study described social media as a tool that "adds immediacy" (p. 75), "gets the word out a lot quicker to more people who are starting to get involved anyway" (p. 74) and is "like a democratisation regarding flows of communication... [that] creates an opportunity for people to, for example, reach out with information to people without having to go through [established] channels, such as classic media" (p. 74). Dahlberg-Grundberg (2013) interprets the penultimate quote as a claim that social and political movements are not built on connections established through the media, but rather the media is used by the

movements after the connections have been formed; this social media presence is described as largely a matter of circulating messages and garnering information. Dahlberg-Grundberg (2013) also found that due to the diffusion and technological progression of social media and the internet, information can be easily shared between individual political actors and is not just distributed by large media networks to the wider public, thus activists can now challenge the mainstream media. Dahlberg-Grundberg (2013) found that scholars also note the speed in which online activism can mobilise and connect actors, proliferate struggles and diffuse information as an asset over offline activism. If the political use of social media primarily adds immediacy, the here and now aspect of politics is amplified (Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013). From this it can be said that the internet facilitates the open diffusion of information, supporting an increasingly 'even playing field' in politics but, this development may turn on its head if "prevailing power structures continue to exert a wide influence" (Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013, p. 75). Furthermore, one respondent stresses that the simultaneous use of online and offline activism strategies are complementary: "You can't not be on Facebook, 'cause you'll just miss all this information" (Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013, p. 77). While the activists in the study are working to redefine the atmosphere of media production and distribution to generate democratic and decentralised ways of obtaining and publishing information and political agendas, they remain forced to rely on established media because of the need to be able to affect political procedures (Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013). Overall, Dahlberg-Grundberg (2013) found that political activity on the web should be complementary to traditional activism as well as something that is 'original' to offer, the two are to be viewed as hybrid relations rather than mutually exclusive (Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013). Rather than replacing traditional activism or merely supplementing aspects of offline politics, digital advancements simply add new dimensions and actions to the activist's repertoire (Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013).

In their study, Örestig and Lindgren (2017) aim to enhance the understanding of how locality is manifested in social movements that emerge in today's networked world. Örestig and Lindgren (2017) do this via their case study of a locally rooted campaign against a limestone quarry in the Ojnare forest in Sweden. This movement framed its cause via translocal social media (Örestig & Lindgren, 2017). In recent years, protest movements have moved toward social media to the point where 'local context' can no longer be clearly pinpointed (Örestig & Lindgren, 2017). "Digital media in general and social media in particular enable locally based, resource poor and geographically

immobile social movements to create and take part in forms of resistance that stretch beyond the local setting” (Della Porta & Rucht; Sassen, as cited in Örestig & Lindgren, 2017, p. 885). Overall, Örestig and Lindgren (2017) argue that the success of the Ojnare movement lies in the fact that it adopted communication technologies in efficient ways. In one way, activists had the capacity to establish global networks for engaging in transnational political work and deploying strategies allowing for new strategic alliances between subaltern groups such as movements by Indigenous peoples (Örestig & Lindgren, 2017). In another way, by establishing a base in the Ojnare forest, activists could initiate direct contacts with the local community, demonstrate to outsiders that it was a broad and inclusive movement with ties to the place, and convince locals that they were a trustworthy ally with their best interests at heart (Örestig & Lindgren, 2017). The aim of the activists who communicated through social media was to mobilise pressures that would influence participants within influential groups (with opinion formation and decision-making rights) to act in accordance with the movement demands (Örestig & Lindgren, 2017). A key strategy to form pressure on decision-makers was to mobilise local, national and global opinion through the use of Facebook and Twitter (Örestig & Lindgren, 2017). These two social media platforms do not appear to have been used to any significant extent for organising internal strategic and tactical debates; they were mostly used to collect, distribute, amplify and debate information and articles from mass media outlets and information available at the websites of the involved organisations (Örestig & Lindgren, 2017). This then, was about pulling information in from regional, national and globally more centralised sources, to once again broadcast it out towards the world (Örestig & Lindgren, 2017).

The focus of Taylor’s (2005) study was the potential for cultural and political empowerment of the Sami people of Finno-Ugric countries, and other Indigenous peoples, through their representations online, weighed against the perils of such representation. Taylor (2005) notes that the Nordic countries of the Sami are not historically known as activism hubs, although the Sami did stand for many years against the proposed damming of a local river. This led Taylor (2005) to imagine the outcomes of that protest had the internet been present during the protest. Despite the fact that Sami youth once had a small cyberactivism presence regarding the exploitation of their Indigenous culture, he remains uncertain if this would occur again, possibly due to Western countries or colonising cultures of certain countries linking activism to terrorism: “terrorism is whatever the government wants it to be” (Cassel as cited in

Taylor, 2005). In a separate instance in South America, Klein (as cited in Taylor, 2005) states that "...[t]here are attempts across the continent to paint the indigenous-inspired movements as terrorist. Not surprisingly, Washington is offering both military and ideological assistance" (p. 21). According to Taylor (2005), the integrity of the government and the freedom of the media makes the internet a potentially dangerous place for activists and cyberactivists. The risk of being 'tapped', though not an issue for the Sami people should they utilise modes of cyberactivism in the future, is something to be seriously considered by cyberactivists in other parts of the world (Taylor, 2005). As with other Indigenous people, it is extremely important for Sami activists to help their people acquire the full knowledge of their rights and opportunities open to them (Taylor, 2005). While this study presents a measured view, with pros and cons to political involvement online, there is a more careful tone regarding cyberactivism and warnings of the dangers that may occur in any event.

In Dyson's (2011) opinion, ICTs are far from a colonising force. Indigenous peoples have utilised ICTs as a powerful tool for fighting colonisation and resisting oppression from post-colonial forces. Dyson (2011) states that Indigenous cyberactivism "represents a highly targeted form of intercultural dialogue and affirmation of identity for political ends" (p. 278). For example, in Chile, the Mapuche have utilised the internet to debate Indigenous issues such as assimilation and environmental protection (Dyson & Underwood, as cited in Dyson, 2011). In their case, the internet has challenged and replaced traditional mainstream media and communication, both of which have largely ignored Mapuche problems due to its political and military governance (Paillan, as cited in Dyson & Underwood, 2006). The development and usage of websites by the Mapuche has provided a means of communication and mobilisation for the Mapuche people as well as built "a counter-hegemonic discourse that has started to impact the public sphere" (Salazar, 2007, p. 23, as cited in Dyson, 2011). Furthermore, Dyson (2011) states:

[the] Internet has been instrumental in forging new Indigenous identities beyond those of individual nations. Its ability to connect people over vast geographic distances has allowed the creation of regionally based and international pan-Indigenous movements and organizations which would not have been possible before. These allow collective action based on the commonality of Indigenous peoples' struggles for human rights. (p. 277)

Duarte (2017) covers the Idle No More movement in their treatise on Indigenous uses of social media in the pursuit of social change. The web campaign for this movement was targeted at Indigenous activists and environmental justice supporters through the use of Facebook groups and Twitter hashtags thus “allowing activists in many different places around the world to re-post, share, re-tweet, and index Idle No More” (Duarte, 2017, p. 5). The rapid and far-reaching dissemination of all information regarding Idle No More enabled educators and journalists to pen media narratives independent from the mainstream (Duarte, 2017). Facebook and Twitter accounts revealed a string of protests through late 2012 to early 2013 but mainstream media outlets had not picked up on the reach and intensity of the protests until long after activist groups had self-organised into diffuse action-ready coalitions (Duarte, 2017). Furthermore, support for this movement, what Duarte (2017) terms digital solidarity, emerged through Māori-led Facebook groups, Indigenous feminist groups and in many other places far from the origin of the movement. Duarte’s (2017) analysis of the movement revealed how Indigenous activists and their supporters “in many different places and social positions orchestrated assemblages of SNS, devices, various web platforms, and independent media channels to organise quickly and effectively; circulating messages, memes and actions that destabilised colonial efforts across First Nations lands” (p. 6). Duarte (2017) concludes that “Indigenous activists, entrepreneurs, educators, and many other leaders must effectively and strategically push however they can from whatever digital/social/political position they hold, the embodiments of decolonisation and perpetual performers of radical change” (p. 10).

In their study of Rotuman identity and online activism, Titifanue, Varea, Varea, Kant and Finau (2018) found that Rotumans innovatively incorporated social media to reinvigorate their culture and inform and educate Rotumans, both local and based overseas, on two legislative bills that affected their cultural wellbeing. An interesting point of this study is the fact that compared to Indigenous nations like Canada or Australia, Rotuman colonial history is much less traumatic (Titifanue et al., 2018). Like other Indigenous groups, Rotuman islanders suffered through the ‘digital divide’ in the early days of the web, but Rotumans abroad have appropriated the internet to create multiple websites (Titifanue et al., 2018). As mobile technology developed, Rotuman islanders began to access mobile internet at a cheaper rate, and although this only covers half of the Rotuman island, they work hard to maintain an active online presence (Titifanue et al., 2018). One of the larger platforms for Rotumans on social media is the

‘Rotumans on Facebook’ Facebook group (Titifanue et al., 2018). The group comprises a large proportion of the Rotuman people and is used to rekindle familial ties, share cultural content and more recently, reassert Rotuman identity, inform Rotumans on current political happenings and mobilise Rotumans for offline action (Titifanue et al., 2018). Unfortunately, the fact that a large proportion of Rotuman people live overseas means that there have been negative effects on Rotuman knowledge, culture and cultural practices (Titifanue et al., 2018). The two bills that threatened Rotuman culture inspired the Rotuman people to action; they made concerted efforts to become more involved in their culture and social media provided an integral platform for the Rotuman people to achieve this (Titifanue et al., 2018).

Olabode’s (2018) work presents a comprehensive analysis of the role of ICTs and digital media usage in conflict/dissident movements across the globe from 2006-2014. The study highlighted an evolving digital culture in the uses of media by non-state actors in society (Olabode, 2018). Regarding the Occupy Nigeria protests, ICTs had a positive impact and were primarily utilised to mobilise, plan and coordinate the entire protest (Olabode, 2018). Participants in the study noted the low cost of ICT use coupled with the multimedia capabilities of ICT platforms led to increased participation levels (Olabode, 2018). ICTs were used to create awareness of the plight experienced by the people “by putting out information on social media, blogs and audio-visual materials on the internet. As a result of the awareness that was created, more individuals joined the protest, and the protests eventually became multinational and transnational” (Olabode, 2018, p. 219). Furthermore, Olabode (2018) found that many different ICTs “were harnessed by dissidents to further their objectives of broadcasting information to the global community and Nigerians at home” (p. 219). During the protests, dissidents used multiple ICT tools in concert with physical occupations of strategic locations, such as the internet, social media, blogs, mobile phones, iPads and computers and in collaboration, these tools were essential for the activities of the movement to achieve their goal of creating global awareness and mobilisation (Olabode, 2018). Overall, Olabode (2018) found that “ICTs mainly served as an alternative platform in line with the notion of bypassing traditional mainstream media” (p. 221) and “have encouraged a political culture of citizen participation” (p. 224). However, Olabode (2018) does warn that becoming overly dependent on ICT tools can eventually lead to socio-political demobilisation and issues such as the digital divide or lack of access and literacy can limit ICT use. Olabode (2018) also tells of the ability of government officials and

authorities to deploy new technological tools for propaganda and the real possibility of impeding ICT use by blocking networks, enacting legislation to impose ICT restrictions or coercion. Dynamics such as these “pose significant issues and challenges for dissident movements” (Olabode, 2018, p. 100).

Digital activism has drastically changed in the last decade in the wake of rapid increases in social media development and popularity. It is clear that the way social media is being used in activism movements is multifaceted, complex, and wildly varied from case to case as is the role it may play for minority groups such as Indigenous peoples. Just as the role of the activist is conceptually fluid so too is the role ICTs play in activism—it varies movement to movement, but what is clear is that it can be used to enhance translocal communication, build movements and in the case of minorities, it can be used as an emancipatory force to challenge mainstream media and present minority-led content. An interesting note made across most of the literature presented here is the notion that cyberactivism does not replace offline activism but rather enhances it: “Online communication doesn’t replace offline politics, but it gives additional instruments to former disadvantaged social groups, including ethnic communities” (Gribanova & Nevzorov, 2017, p. 82). Delgado (2002) reinforces this notion, stating, “indigenous peoples do not see cyber-communication as a substitute for traditional organising, but rather as a catalyst to it. It will still be important to bring people into the streets [...] and the Internet can help bring them here” (p. 51). Ayers (2003) concurs, “an online social movement group must have some level of activism in the ‘real’ world if the changes it seeks politically are to go beyond the realm of the Internet itself” (p. 162). Harlow (2012) adds that activism “simultaneously is both online and offline, and not one or the other” (p. 13). Furthermore, “the networks created via online technologies extend into the offline realm, meaning that information generated and disseminated online is not restricted to a virtual reality” (Harlow, 2012, p. 13). It is clearly important for a movement to have firm groundings in both realms.

2.7 Summary

This chapter presented a thorough review of literature across numerous topics that provide valuable insight into the events at Standing Rock and where Māori and social media may be positioned within them. Looking at both the Native American experience and the Māori experience, one can see many historical parallels, e.g. loss of lands, struggles with systemic oppression, high poverty, mortality and incarceration rates, and

loss of language. These historical parallels point to a simple fact—trauma caused by colonisation hurt and this hurt persists into the present day (i.e. it is generational). Though these similar struggles were experienced on separate continents, the Native American-Māori kinship prevailed, and this speaks to the larger Indigenous experience.

One part of the current Indigenous experience is that many Indigenous peoples are now finding their voice on the internet. Where mainstream media failed them, the internet (and its relative lack of hierarchy and ease of access) is bringing Indigenous voices to the fore. While not having access in non-Indigenous numbers, there is a clear increase in Indigenous users. Indigenous activist movements are co-opting the ICTs available to them (such as social media) in their quest to regain rights previously lost and to participate in conversations they were historically excluded from (or worse, purposefully misrepresented in). Digitalisation has also changed the way Indigenous cultures approach many aspects of cultural organisation. The rapid development of the internet and social media breaks physical barriers of distance making it easier for Indigenous peoples across the world to engage and communicate politically and otherwise. Perhaps most importantly it allows Indigenous groups to tell stories from their own perspective.

All of these points—the Māori, Native American, and wider Indigenous experience, activism and the DAPL, and ICTs such as social media—converge on Māori people and their involvement in the events at Standing Rock. Each section provides important and necessary historical, ideological, socio-political and technological context to the events at Standing Rock and not only stands me in good stead for the discussion of my findings but will allow the reader to better understand the conclusions reached.

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology and methods chosen and applied in the investigation of Māori interest in the events that took place at Standing Rock, and how social media facilitated this interest and subsequent support.

3.2 Kaupapa Māori

This study is underpinned by Kaupapa Māori Research, which is a research paradigm that has been evolving in Aotearoa New Zealand over the last thirty years (Pihama, Cram, Walker, 2002; Smith, 1997). By, with and for Māori, this approach to research employs values of Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) as methodological and ethical principles (Smith, 2012). A commitment to Te Ao Māori allows for Kaupapa Māori methodology to emerge as a philosophical and ontological framework for the research and its outcomes (Henry & Pene, 2001).

Kaupapa Māori is a Māori-centric philosophy and worldview based upon a number of Māori concepts, such as tika (truth), protocols (tikanga), whanaungatanga (kinship), kotahitanga (solidarity), and wairuatanga (the spiritual dimension) (Henry & Wikaire, 2013). These traditional values hold continual importance in contemporary Māori society and thus will provide an extremely relevant base to this narrative. Kaupapa Māori can be regarded as a methodology that is shaped by assumptions on what is ‘real’ and what is ‘true’. In this case, methodology is not separating ‘qualitative’ from ‘quantitative’ but recognising that Kaupapa Māori is a paradigm for understanding what is real for Māori, how Māori live according to tikanga, and how knowledge can be shaped from this (Henry, 2012). Furthermore, Henry and Wikaire (2013) state, “the Kaupapa Māori paradigm embraces traditional beliefs, whilst incorporating contemporary resistance strategies that embody the drive for ‘tino rangatiratanga’, self-determination and empowerment for Māori people, as opposed to the subjugation wrought by the colonial experience” (p. 56).

Henry and Wikaire (2013) describe a set of Kaupapa Māori principles that contribute to the protection and enhancement of Māori:

- By, with and for Māori;

- Validating Māori language and culture;
 - Empowering Māori people;
 - Delivering positive outcomes for Māori people, language, culture and society
- (Henry & Wolfgramm; Smith as cited in Henry & Wikaire, 2013, p. 1).

Prominent Māori leaders have doubted the ability of Western research methods to provide positive, accurate outcomes for Māori and have argued the capability of Western paradigms within a cultural context (Durie, 1998; Smith, 1999). The sense of inadequacy regarding Western research practices stems from the Western interpretation of Māori reality, which in the past has continually misrepresented Māori in what Seuffert (1997) has described as ‘epistemic violence’ that has “claimed universal applicability across disciplines, cultures and historical periods” (p. 98). The notion of validity and reliability which underpin Western methodologies and philosophy have privileged the lens of the observer and have failed to accurately portray the true experiences of Māori (Smith, 1999). This discontent has led to the establishment of a paradigm in which Māori may draw their own conclusions through their own epistemology (Smith, 1999).

It is of the utmost importance to carry myself in a way that maintains the integrity of the research. In utilising this theory, I, like many before me, am able to both utilise and create a safe space for Māori research within academic scholarship. This paradigm gives Māori researchers autonomy over their research without having to conform to Western expectations as the Kaupapa Māori framework develops on and enhances Western practice to fit Māori ideals and values (Hollis-English, as cited in Moyle, 2014). Walker (1996) does warn that a certain level of knowledge and understanding is required regarding tikanga and other aspects of Māoritanga; just being Māori is not enough. I believe that my upbringing and tertiary experience has placed me in good stead for conducting this research. As an informed and experienced student of Māori ancestry, I am competent to utilise this paradigm to carry out respectful Māori research. The importance of principles such as tika or being true, pono or being honest and aroha or showing compassion have been with me from a young age and have been expressed in my studies and will continue to be throughout this journey.

In conducting Māori research, there are a set of Māori research guides, posited by Henry (2012) that should be adhered to. These are outlined and adapted below:

1. Conduct research by, for and with Māori

This research is being conducted by, for and with Māori

2. Conduct 'culturally safe' research (involves support from Māori mentors, is culturally relevant and appropriate, and is conducted by Māori)

There will be no specific kaumātua support available for this project. However, there will be guidance and support from experienced and esteemed members of the Māori academic research community at AUT University. Additionally, all participants will consent and the researcher will vow to treat all information with respect, thus fulfilling this culturally safe aspect.

3. Possess a desire to revive and re-establish mātauranga Māori

The proposed study will gather data and knowledge specific, but not limited, to Māori culture. The aspiration of this is to add research and knowledge of value to the scholarship that is by Māori and for Māori.

4. Kaupapa Māori must address the needs of Māori and/or provide full acknowledgement of culture and values

The study is founded and designed on Māori culture and value systems.

This Kaupapa Māori approach emerged as an effort of Māori academics to achieve tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) with transformative research, whilst retaining control and autonomy over knowledge considered relevant and legitimate to Māori (Ratima, 2001; Smith, 1999). It is a uniquely Māori, Indigenous approach to research and as with all Indigenous approaches to research, Kaupapa Māori is designed to explain the experiences of Indigenous people from the perspectives of Indigenous people. A Kaupapa Māori approach allows for a research space that affords Māori researchers the opportunity to find solutions to Māori issues that will benefit our future.

<i>Aroha ki te tangata</i>	Showing compassion to participants
<i>Kanohi kitea</i>	Being seen in person
<i>Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero</i>	Looking, listening, speaking with care
<i>Manaaki ki te tangata</i>	Giving hospitality to participants
<i>Kia tūpato</i>	Being cautious and careful
<i>Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata</i>	Not trampling on the mana of participants
<i>Kaua e māhaki</i>	Not being offensive

Table 1: Selected principles of Kaupapa Māori research (source: Henry, 2012, p. 26)

This study is shaped by the abovementioned principles and values. The overarching paradigm for the study is Kaupapa Māori Research, the broad term used to “refer to any particular plan of action created by Māori, expressing Māori aspirations and certain Māori values and principles” (Royal, 2012, p. 1). However, this paradigm also shares similar ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations with qualitative research.

3.3 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research, or naturalistic inquiry, refers to a type of research that concentrates on the varying ways that researchers design, collect, interpret, and perceive information and make sense of their world and experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2004; Malterud, 2001). A qualitative approach is utilised to understand the meaning of peoples’ social reality as experienced by the people themselves, as individuals, groups or cultures (Holloway, 1997). Furthermore, qualitative research “involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2004, p. 2). The research focuses on “meaning in context” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p.2). It is the goal of the qualitative researcher to understand “how people interpret their

experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 6). This approach allows for the inductive exploration of the complexity of relational and contextual factors that influence people, and provides a rich description of the individual and shared themes of their lives (Creswell, 2014). In this study, I hope to understand how participants make sense of their experiences with the events at Standing Rock.

Conducting one-on-one semi-structured interviews is an appropriate qualitative method that allows the voice of the participant to be heard. In coordination with Kaupapa Māori conduct, the interviews will give participants autonomy over what they want to share. Rewi (2014) defines whanaungatanga as the sense of familial connection or a relationship through which a sense of belonging develops as a result of shared experiences. The process of whakawhanaungatanga (the act of building a connection) is likened to the consultation stage with potential participants. When recruiting for this study, in aligning with Rewi’s whakawhanaungatanga principle, I have built a safe, welcoming environment conducive to respectful interviews. Moreover, collecting social media posts created by participants is an appropriate qualitative method. The posts were created by participants at the time of the event and therefore provide a contextual background to the thoughts and ideas of participants thus presenting a rich description of their involvement in the events.

3.4 Thematic Analysis

Once collected, the data must be analysed in a rigorous and reliable manner, whilst also taking account of Kaupapa Māori principles. One such approach is thematic analysis. For Aronson (1995), “The ethnographic interview is a commonly used interviewing process employed by research clinicians. Thematic analysis focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behavior” (p. 1). This idea is extended by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), who state:

Thematic analysis is a search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon [...] The process involves the identification of themes through careful reading and re-reading of the data [...] It is a form of pattern recognition within the data, where emerging themes become the categories for analysis. (p. 82)

It allows the researcher to more easily arrange qualitative data into manageable themes using a method of coding to truncate the data for analysis (Tuckett, 2005). Braun and

Clarke (2006) detail a six phase non-linear method for thematic analysis. These six phases are: (1) familiarising oneself with the data, (2), coding the data, (3) searching for meaningful themes in the data, (4) reviewing the themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and finally, (6) writing up and developing a coherent presentation of the data with relevant literature (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To adhere to Kaupapa Māori values, the themes that emerge from this research will be explored and tested through consultation with Māori who are knowledgeable in this field of study.

3.5 Research Design

This study will draw on in-depth interviews with Māori who are known to have supported the protests at Standing Rock, through the information they have shared online and publicly. These interviews will be complemented by their social media posts. Potential participants will be contacted through their social media. At the time of this study, only a small group of Māori were known to have travelled to the United States to support the protest, and another small group were equally vociferous in their support for the protestors online. Therefore, this group are the pool of potential participants.

The purpose of this study is to investigate Māori interest in the Standing Rock protests. Therefore, the population of relevance includes those who identify as Māori, who publicly demonstrated their interest in and support for the protestors at Standing Rock, and who consented to participate in the study.

This study draws on a qualitative methodology that allows for the collection of in-depth data from a small sample. The participants will share the stories of their involvement in events at Standing Rock in one-on-one semi-structured interviews and the narrative woven will thence be augmented by the one they shared in real time on social media. Because the ‘main’³ component of the event began in 2016 and ended in 2017, although arguably it is still ongoing, the social media data gathered will be from within this date range. Moreover, only the social media data that is deemed relevant to the Standing Rock event will be analysed.

To operationalise both sets of data, though difficult due to the abstract nature of this study, will be achieved by placing the participants’ answers within relevant literature and will be achieved through the application of a Kaupapa Māori approach and a

³ Loosely defined by the time increased numbers of supporters occupied camps at Standing Rock.

dedication to messages communicated, whatever the form. The lens through which I am viewing this research—Kaupapa Māori led and informed by my own worldview as a young urban Māori—will inform my critique, but also allow me to make informed, true-to-life conclusions. I am bolstered two-fold by naturalised advantages and learned critical points of view, 1) being a digital native helps me to interpret social media posts and 2) being Māori helps me to interpret the participants' feelings and rationale.

3.6 Summary

This chapter presents a description of the methodological design of this research. The study is grounded in Kaupapa Māori theory, and the set of principles that guide Kaupapa Māori research—which are essential to ensuring that the research is carried out appropriately. Interviews provide qualitative data about the participants involvement in the Standing Rock event and social media data offers further qualitative insight into the role of social media as well as participant involvement in the event. Both sets of data are analysed according to the thematic analysis theoretical framework with the goal of discovering meaningful themes and patterns.

4.0 Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data drawn from the participants through in-depth interviews and their relevant social media posts. This will be presented in the form of cases to better understand the differing experiences of each participant. Themes that have emerged from this analysis will inform the conclusions. The cases present the accounts and perspectives of the participants in regard to their interest in and support for the Standing Rock Water Protectors as well as their usage of Facebook leading up to and throughout the event. Each section within this chapter begins with the retelling of participants' responses to the interview questions, followed by relevant findings from the participants' social media posts. Further explanation of these findings will be examined in the Discussion chapter.

4.2 Participant 1

Participant 1 (P1) is a member of parliament in Aotearoa. She has a long history of publicly supporting Indigenous movements and is very passionate about Indigenous rights. She did not travel to Standing Rock to provide direct support, her support was heavily driven by her highly active social media presence.

4.2.1 Interview

P1 considers Indigenous solidarity a huge priority having previously supported other Indigenous movements such as the Idle No More and Occupy Wall Street⁴ movements in recent years. P1 found that the Occupy Wall Street movement failed to acknowledge that Wall Street was already on occupied Indigenous land and that the issues being fought for were issues that Indigenous people had already been fighting for many years. Because of this experience, when the Standing Rock event began to unfold, P1 felt a responsibility to participate and support the movement to ensure that people were aware that first and foremost it was Indigenous-led. P1 felt it was important to impart that those at Standing Rock were fighting the same colonial and imperial forces that Indigenous people had been fighting for centuries. P1 observed that other issues, such as environmental issues, began to emerge at Standing Rock, but she wanted to ensure that

⁴ Specifically the Indigenous component of the Occupy Wall Street movement.

the protestors were primarily fighting for Indigenous rights and self-determination—in this case the right to choose whether the pipeline could cross their tribal lands.

As a regular supporter of social justice movements, P1 states that it is never a hard choice to stand up for ‘controversial’ issues like Standing Rock and that in these cases “it’s even more important because if no one else in powerful and influential positions does this, then who is going to?”. As a person in an influential position, she feels privileged to have been able to support Standing Rock against the exploitation of their resources and environment by powerful corporate and government forces. As a public political commentator with a large social media platform, P1 felt a strong duty to utilise her social media platforms to: 1) ensure higher powers knew what was happening on the ground in North Dakota, 2) continually raise awareness to the event, and 3) drive people to utilise any resources available to join and collaborate with the Standing Rock movement. Regarding parliamentary action, P1 penned a direct note to the American ambassador urging for action at Standing Rock and was one of the first parliamentarians in the world to use the House of Representatives to bring the Standing Rock issue into a government institution.

In describing the effect of Māori support on the campaign, including her own, P1 was confident that Māori support from Aotearoa was significant:

“They saw it, they felt it, we [Māori] had people who went there. We had a number of people who went there to represent all of us but we had haka and these went viral, and our social media response, to make sure that they knew we were there supporting them. It meant a great deal to them and they heard and felt it deeply and it was an incredible part of their campaign and they were quite humbled by it. We were one of many groups from around the world who gave support but I think the sustained and multi-layered support, from myself in parliament to whānau (family) around the country putting up a sign and taking a photo. People were doing little things that they could to add to our sustained ongoing Māori support”.

Also, P1 felt a significant connection to the wāhine (women) leadership component of the Standing Rock campaign. She identified the role of women as essential and admired the women on the ground at North Dakota that were leading prayer circles and cultural practices and participating in the frontline action. These types of things in particular, are aspects of an Indigenous campaign that P1 continually tries to highlight. P1 regularly

situated the fight against the pipeline in a cultural context, looking beyond the actual function of the protests (to stop the construction of the pipeline), and focusing more on how it became a microcosm of Indigenous cultural and value expression.

Moreover, in her personal experience, the connections between Māori and Native Americans have deepened and strengthened. She adds that all Indigenous peoples share a common experience in terms of colonisation, imperialism, and historical trauma, and described many resistance movements in Māori history, such as Parihaka, Raglan Sands, the land marches, and Orākei, as having similarities to the Standing Rock campaign. P1 states that, essentially, these movements are about:

“resisting the sales and theft of our lands and it brought people together... and they continue today to be about the resistance to theft, colonisation, and are about upholding Indigenous sovereignty over our land and people and they’re all about Indigenous rights”.

P1 goes on to say that these comparisons and commonalities with the Standing Rock movement are why Māori were so moved by the event, saying: “that’s why Māori got it, immediately. That’s why it took us less than a second to understand exactly what was going on and put ourselves there”.

A huge component of P1’s involvement with the protests at Standing Rock was social media. She explained that she first found out about the event via the social media activity surrounding it. In particular, she recognised the role of her connection to a specific online group of wāhine (women) in raising her awareness to the event. This group has Indigenous links across the world that notify each other immediately should any sort of Indigenous movement arise, Standing Rock being one such. Once informed, P1 felt the need to utilise her own social media as a platform for distributing Standing Rock information and informing followers. She quickly recognised the importance of constant use of social media:

“We took the opportunity to get my voice out there as much as possible and I wrote a letter to the American ambassador and again linked that to social media to continually make use of my air time and platforms to show support and to encourage other people to support the movement”.

This idea resulted in a sustained usage of social media across the event that included frequently posting articles, videos, status updates and sharing links with the goal of keeping followers up to date and increasing the scope of the movement. It was very

important for P1 to highlight the mistreatment of the Indigenous peoples at Standing Rock, highlight their peaceful resistance, and state that this event is to uphold Indigenous rights.

Following the campaign, P1 was very passionate about Indigenous usage of social media and its future potential. She adds that in Aotearoa, Māori are using and mobilising social media and now campaigns have the potential to attract international collaboration, similar to Standing Rock:

“Social media has become a tool for Indigenous people to connect with each other. It’s accessible for us. We’re tech savvy and our Indigenous people all around the world are innovative and resourceful because we’ve had to be and we know how to take on board technologies and adapt them and use them well and so the social media movement allowed people around the world to be more informed because the media, this is the other critical purpose for social media, is that mainstream media only reports a very narrow and biased perspective of what was happening. When we are able to control our own media, we are able to tell our own accurate, truthful story. And the main purpose is it allows us to connect. It allows us to be immediately informed and it allows us to tell a more truthful story”.

4.2.2 Social media

P1 has a very active Facebook page. Her page has 28,920 likes and 29,100 followers. Throughout the duration of the Standing Rock event, P1 was very active on social media. Her posts were interacted with hundreds of times with the farthest-reaching post receiving 2,000 likes, 1,200 shares and 42,000 views.

Highlighting the event

Throughout the duration of the protests at Standing Rock, P1 consistently used her social media page to highlight the event’s importance, and to raise awareness about the event.

We should ALL be land protectors. This movement is strong and good and I support it fully.⁵

⁵ Social media posts are verbatim and are not corrected for grammar in this research.

Such an important issue that I'm keeping a close eye on. Indigenous leadership protecting the planet for all humans. Thanks to Shailene for using your voice and your platform for good. Those of us who can, must. #NoDAPL #WaterIsLife #IndigenousSolidarity

[Post with video] Support for Standing Rock is coming from everywhere. #NoDAPL

[Post with shared video of Māori support at Standing Rock: HAKA FROM THE FRONTLINES] This was taken a few days ago. A reminder of how strong our indigenous warrior spirits are. S/O to our Maori relatives. #NoDAPL

Furthermore, many of the posts created by P1 encouraged followers to engage with Standing Rock movement either by signing petitions, participating in rallies, or encouraging followers to stand in support and find out more about Standing Rock.

Hey everyone. What is happening at Standing Rock is really really important. I encourage everyone to find out what is going on. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribes are holding their peaceful front-line resistance on behalf of our planet, for all humans, against corporate (aided by State) abuse of power and earth and water and people. We have to be thankful to these earth protectors right now. #NoDAPL

On the first weekend of September, Indigenous movements around the world will rally in solidarity with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and their fight against the Dakota Access Pipeline.... To everyone in Aotearoa, New Zealand, join us on Sunday September 4th 10am, outside the U.S Consulate in Auckland to Stand with Standing Rock in solidarity. #NoDAPL #WaterIsLife #WaterIsSacred #StandWithStandingRock #IndigenousSolidarity

Standing Rock have called for an international day of action on 15 Nov. Our support for them is needed. #NoDAPL

We need to send a strong global message that this is not acceptable. We don't want this to happen to them, to us, to anybody. Here is a link to a donation page also: <http://sacredstonecamp.org/faq/#howtohelp> #NoDAPL

[With link to petition] Every show of support helps - you are welcome to sign with me. #NoDAPL

Often highlighted in the social media posts was the support shown by Māori.

Te Rōpū Pounamu Māori members of the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand sending our full support to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe protectors and their fight against a big oil pipeline. #NoDAPL #WaterIsLife
#StandWithStandingRock #IndigenousSolidarity

Very proud that our Māori members of the Green Party were able to organise a solidarity action for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe who are protecting their sacred land against destruction and protecting water sources and climate for everyone! I've been very vocal for years that the global indigenous movement against dirty fossil fuels is an essential one for our planet. #NoDAPL
#WaterIsLife #IndigenousSolidarity

Our action in the city today to support Standing Rock. All our strength and aroha to those protecting earth, water, climate and humanity for us all. #NoDAPL

P1 was passionate about ensuring everyone recognised the importance of Indigenous rights and that people supported the movement for the right reasons, not just because of environmental factors.

"Yes, everyone should be talking about climate change, but you should also be talking about the fact that Native communities deserve to survive, because our lives are worth defending in their own right — not simply because “this affects us all.”

So when you talk about Standing Rock, please begin by acknowledging that this pipeline was redirected from an area where it was most likely to impact white people." Justice for indigenous and colonised nations everywhere. #NoDAPL

These arrests are unethical, immoral and make a fool of the law. I stand with with First Nations peoples of Standing Rock who are protecting their lands and waters against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline that will carry 470,000 barrels a day of crude oil across over 1100 miles of land. Enough of this backwards thinking already! And as always, my thanks to the indigenous protectors stepping up for all humans. #NoDAPL #IndigenousSolidarity #EarthProtectors #Kaitiaki #WaterIsLife

We must keep the pressure and awareness up. Let's get rid of this pipeline and the violent aggression towards the water protectors for good! #NoDAPL

Water canons, rubber bullets, flares, concussion grenades! Against people who are peacefully protecting water and sovereignty over their own land. This is a monumental stand and I fully support them. #NoDAPL

P1 highlighted that Māori understand just why Native Americans feel the way they do about land and water, as Māori have similar feelings about and relationships with nature.

[Facebook post] Our Tangata Whenua/indigenous group of the Green Party sent our support to Standing Rock a couple of months ago at the start of September. We understand only too well that water not only is life, water is us. Ko wai au. #NoDAPL

Mainstream media

Also, P1 noted that the mainstream media was often silent on the Indigenous issues at Standing Rock.

Really useful. And I would add keep talking and sharing the story to combat the media silence. Thank you to those news outlets who are reporting on Standing Rock. #NoDAPL

My heart is with you Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. These voices need our support to be raised and uplifted above the propaganda and media silence. And

especially in the face of abhorrent increasing violence against the peaceful and rightful landowners protecting their land and water. #NoDAPL

Use of social media tools

P1 often posted videos to their Facebook page to either update their followers, post live updates at solidarity events, or post political efforts such as speeches from parliament. These videos generally garnered hundreds of likes, comments, shares and views with a few gaining thousands of likes and shares and up to 42,000 views.

Also, like so many other social media users at the time, P1 utilised many hashtags. These included: #NoDAPL, #StandWithStandingRock, #MāoriInSolidarityWithStandingRock, #HakaForStandingRock

4.2.3 Data Summary

From this interview, we have found a prominent Māori who has used her voice to support a number of pro-Indigenous and Māori causes on numerous occasions. Her support for the Water Protectors at Standing Rock is an example of how her values are reflected in the activism she promotes and is prepared to speak publicly on in her role as a politician. This is also reflected in her very active social media presence. It is clear that her passion for Standing Rock has not waned into the present day.

4.3 Participant 2

Participant 2 (P2) is a music manager with a passion for mental and spiritual health. She has a long history of participation in Indigenous events and movements, including organising action, and is very dedicated to Māori and Indigenous rights.

4.3.1 Interview

P2's involvement began after an Indigenous friend sent her a message on Facebook. The message detailed how a friend was in strife trying to protect their river. She was asked to show support in the form of a letter which she penned and eventually uploaded to Facebook, to spread the word amongst their communities. She also tagged⁶ multiple people in the post, to help boost the reach of the post.

⁶ To *tag* is to link a person or multiple people into a post so that they will view it.

Elaborating on the effect of Māori support on the campaign, P2 described that *The Haka With Standing Rock* Facebook group, formed after an appeal from Water Protectors for support in the form of haka, earned a reputation amongst Water Protectors. She explained that by the time they arrived at Standing Rock, the haka were viral: “people knew who we were, they knew we were Māori. There already was this vibe about the Māori and the haka and how it uplifts their spirits”. Furthermore, she noted that “people were quite blown away that we travelled from so far away”, and because of this and the ongoing Māori support, a lot of people said, “you’ve come all this way to support us, when you need us, we’ll come and support you too”.

Upon arrival in the United States, P2 described heading to a local gym outside Standing Rock to help with wounded and traumatised people cast from the frontlines. The group helped in the form of buying and preparing kai (food) for these people, sitting with them, talking, listening, getting the guitar out, “just tried to do... manaaki (care, look after)”. She said it helped settle the group to know they could contribute in a healing role and that they “didn’t have to put our bodies on the frontline and get shot by rubber bullets”. The following day, P2 arrived at camp with a mission to “connect with the people of that land”, to mihi (pay tribute/thank) to them and ask how to be of service. From there, she was introduced to ‘aunty and uncle’ whom she invited back to their campervan for a meal. The couple’s children and moko (grandchildren) were out on the frontlines and Water Protectors constantly looked to the pair for help and as a result they “weren’t getting any sleep or kai (food) so I thought well that’s the least we can do”. From then on, looking after them became their way of helping; simply making sure they were well-rested and fed. P2 and the group also helped at the Standing Rock school site by drawing moko (cultural tattoos) on the kids’ faces and singing waiata (songs). P2 said a significant part of the experience was the connection with other Indigenous women. As the campaign grew and lines blurred, a lot of women started to reach out to each other for support to develop their own ‘wāhine activism’ strategies. She found this very empowering. She adds that one of the main Standing Rock leaders was inspiring and that after the events they connected on social media and became close, despite never having met in person, “it’s that easy, social media just, really does it for us”.

P2 felt that the protests at Standing Rock were the most intense protests she had ever experienced. This is no small statement, for at protests against the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) in Aotearoa, she felt the power of the people and of

whīkoi (marching) in protest. Also, during a domestic violence campaign, while on a smaller scale, she felt the power of social media in mobilising groups to take a stand.

Like Māori, P2 felt that Native Americans are deeply connected to land and water, “we place it above ourselves”. She also mentioned that both cultures are still healing from past trauma and are actually still in trauma: “it’s really obvious that it’s the same pain and that’s why we connect to each other so well I think, because the pain is exactly the same”.

Interestingly, P2 described that while Te Reo Māori is the most important language, until Standing Rock they did not understand the importance of English and its role as a bridge in connection with other Indigenous cultures.

P2 described using social media in a number of ways during the Standing Rock campaign, most notably through GoFundMe,⁷ t-shirt sales, koha (donation) collections and the Love Letters for Standing Rock kaupapa (idea). Facebook was used as an outlet to promote these kaupapa, “I would just plonk the link onto a [Facebook] page and boom, sales! So it was just really incredible to see how social media helped generate more exposure of Standing Rock”.

Regarding the power of controlling internet access, P2 noted that obstructions such as internet blockages can significantly harm the cause. When restrictions to access occurred, P2 often wondered if it was government controlled and if so, the goal of creating anxiety within the camp was achieved. When access became available after a period of blockage, P2 found it hard to discern earnestly created content coming out of Standing Rock from fake stories. Furthermore, P2 learned that nowadays the internet is almost a necessity and the cause can be weakened without it.

4.3.2 Social media

P2 has a very active Facebook page. Her posts are shared with over 1,500 friends and 600 followers. She also helped to run the *E Tū Stand With Standing Rock* Facebook page that has over 1,400 likes. Throughout the duration of the Standing Rock event, P2 was very active on social media.

⁷ A crowdfunding website.

Highlighting the event

A large portion of P2's posts encouraged followers to engage in the Standing Rock movement. P2 passionately encouraged followers to take a stand, get informed and help grow the movement.

STOP THE PIPELINE!!! Kia ora FB whanau, last week my good friend [...] of the Moapa Paiute tribe in Nevada U.S.A, contacted asking if I could give support to this pressing kaupapa, and let others know about it too to help unite indigenous people across the world and all people together in this stand for Papatūānuku.

Our whānau have written and emailed the support letter in this photo to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, so please read it to get a sense of what this kaupapa is about. If you are in a position to, you can also put together a support letter like ours from your entity, sign the petition, give koha, post on the Facebook page (links below) - Wiremu has also asked that if anyone is able to sing a waiata tautoko and upload a video of it, that would lift the spirits of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and whānau even further to hear from our people through this means. Currently, there are over 2000 people occupying the whenua by way of (peaceful) protest, and they are receiving all messages of support that come in so please know that whatever you do can and will make a difference.

JOIN THE STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIBE FACEBOOK PAGE and get informed on the kaupapa - [https://www.facebook.com/Standing-Rock-Sioux-Tribe-402298.../...](https://www.facebook.com/Standing-Rock-Sioux-Tribe-402298.../)

JOIN THIS PAGE -

<https://www.facebook.com/CampoftheSacredStone/?fref=ts>

WRITE A LETTER OF SUPPORT and email it to sittingbear@standingrock.org

SIGN THIS ONLINE PETITION - <http://petitions.moveon.org/sign/arrest-dakota-access.fb52...>

GIVE KOHA VIA PAYPAL - <http://standingrock.org/.../standing-rock-sioux-tribe--dakot.../>

Awesome whanau, thank you for your time and attention to this, please spread the word also... #KoAuKoTeAwaKoTeAwaKoAu #NoDAPL
#REZpectOurWater

In the above post, P2 encouraged followers to engage in the Standing Rock movement in a number of ways, including joining Facebook pages to become informed, writing letters of support, signing petitions and giving koha (donations). P2 also encouraged followers to boycott corporations with ties to big oil and join in at local rallies.

WHANAU, PLEASE HELP TO PUT PRESSURE ON KIWI BANK TO
DITCH USING CITIBANK TO PROCESS INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS
UNLESS THEY STOP FUNDING THE DAKOTA ACCESS PIPELINE!!!

Gig to support Standing Rock in Tamaki Makaurau - Dec 15th whanau..!

P2 was very passionate about the protection of Indigenous lands and waters. She posted numerous exclaiming the value of Indigenous lands and waters.

Ko au ko te awa, ko te awa ko au! (I am the water and the water is me!)

Stand with Standing Rock! Indigenous family and friends across the planet, join hands.. for our whenua, our moana, our children, our future! #AMO #AIO

SIGN THIS WHANAU! My message is 'How dare you put financial wealth as paramount over the land and waters that sustain our very existence?'

Water Protection is our birthright! (Updated with cover photo of Haka With Standing Rock group holding the tino rangatiratanga flag).

Mni Wiconi.. WATER IS LIFE!

Often mentioned in or with these types of posts, and accompanying images or photos, was tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and the Tino Rangatiratanga flag.

Tino Rangatiratanga!

[With image] Māori presence. Māori independence. Māori resistance. (Added photo of group holding the tino rangatiratanga flag at Standing Rock).

Also, P2 frequently brought the mistreatment of Water Protectors at Standing Rock to the attention of her followers. These posts often included visuals, such as videos or photos, of the mistreatment.

[With shared video] THIS IS HAPPENING NOW WHANAU!! SHARE PLEASE SO THE WORLD CAN WATCH! These are UNARMED PEACEFUL PEOPLE being maced, blastered with water in below zero temperature. Concusion granades used.

They have surrounded them and even if they could they cannot leave We are safe, don't worry about us.. but we are an hour away its FREEZING here, these tactics are designed to destroy!!!

[With shared video] Mahi kino e (Acts of abuse)

[With shared video] P*kokohua!! Mahi kino e!!! #NoDAPL #MniWiconi #KoAuTeWaiKoTeWaiKoAu

[With shared post] Conspiracy to Endanger with Fire... Engaging in a Riot... Criminal Trespassing.....? No. All Lies. PROTECTION OF NATURAL RESOURCE... PEACEFUL STAND AGAINST CORRUPTION... GUARDIANSHIP!!!

Indigenous women

Another prominent feature of P2's social media postings was the strength of Indigenous women and their role within the movement.

...'Mana wahine' refers to sacred feminine power which is inherent in women, handed down from our ancestor Mother Earth, Papatūānuku, the all encompassing one we are here to protect. Standing Rock is named for a woman, a female ancestor who endured personal trauma but stood her ground. I see you our sisters who are there right now as you continue to hold that same space. The police will move in today, they will arrest our people. water protectors - sisters, brothers, elders, children at Cannon Ball North Dakota. While today is the inevitable, this final act of 'power' from the enemy is by no means the end. There are other inevitables to come, such as our own

continued ancient responses. True 'power' comes from within and the space you continue to hold today has served the entire globe as a portal of critical awakening. Standing Rock is a sacred training ground, a wānanga and every one who was there was present to receive specific tools and knowledge presented to them only for that time only.

The two dynamics of this resistance go hand in hand - physical and spiritual. Water is life and our Maori word for water is 'wai'. Our word for spirit is 'wairua' - two waters. Those of you who are holding it down on site for water are the key conduits and connectors for both these two waters to flow.

My heart is with you.. stand your ground today, in prayer. Hold up the walls of our whare wānanga until they can not be held up any more. Know that the flow on effects of the stand you continue to make are true and they are real.

Know that no matter what the US police and US law defines you as - around the world, those of us who need to know - we all know the TRUTH.

Remember there are now thousands of graduates of Standing Rock all around the world who are standing with you. You will always have allies wherever you go, whenever you need. There is much more work to do.

I pray for you today. I see you, I thank you, I honour you and I love you. See you on the other side xxx

While this post touches on many things, it begins with 'mana wahine' and Pāpātūānuku (earth mother), who P2 likens to her native 'sisters' on the frontline. Another post references the courage of the women of Standing Rock, and how it continues to inspire P2:

Sister [...] was one of the last standing women at Standing Rock.. last month, when police came in to clear out the camps, the women stayed in the protection of sacred wānanga, and released [...] to advance to face the officials on her own, on their behalf.

Her and so many other women and girls who have the courage to stand and speak out against violence and oppression are true wahine toa and I raise up prayer every day in your honour. Because of you and my own networks of support I am encouraged to use my own voice.

Her message and her posts on FB often speak what is exactly in my heart, despite that we are thousands of kms apart.

[...] thank you for your inspiration for today sister, to you and all who are struggling to breathe, I rise up to stand with you, I see you, I feel you and I love you too. As our collective voice becomes stronger, so too does our stand xxx
#IRiseUp #IdleNoMore #SilentNoMore #ICanStand #ICanWalk #IHaveAVoice
#TruthCourageFaith

[With video of haka wāhine] The area of Standing Rock was named thus after a chiefly woman, who when her husband told her he wanted to move to other grounds with her and his other wife, she refused to go and stood her ground with her baby on her back.

Our small group of First Nations women in this video both witnessed and experienced an imbalance of energy both at the camp and on the frontline. Water protectors and warriors often approaching the enemy in an aggressive, angry, uncontrolled manner and this is a weakness. We also saw how prayer on the frontline can be misinterpreted by the enemy as a weakness due to eyes being closed or to the ground or sky.

We didn't go to the frontline that morning with the intention of performing this haka. Ko te tino kaupapa a tō mātou whikoi i taua ata ko te mahi tiro makutu...we went to pass on the timeless, powerful and successful intentions of our ancestors by staring them in the eye.. and the haka is what took place within that action. Our advance both forwards and back was very slow and very intentional. By the time we performed the haka, all of DAPL had come down from the urupā at the top and were watching.

Mana Wahine - it is the integrity, the potency and the power that belongs to women and women alone. The ancestress of Standing Rock herself embodied this and as women we can tune into and draw strength from this. Our greatest weapons are our eyes, the intentions behind them.. our minds.. our hearts.. and our hips.

This is a call to the First Nations women of Standing Rock.. WĀHINE MĀ.. SISTERS! Continue to link arms together, strategise and take quiet action under the guidance of the Lakota women, elders and people of Standing Rock who stand for Mana Wahine. This is a manmade war, stemming from mans' struggle for power and control and as the bearers of mankind we as women have the inherent ability to affect the required change. Look to the stories of your ancestors, be they male or female and the answers lie within..

TAANE MĀ... BROTHERS - we need you also - please have the courage and humility to support our women in their stand...!


WAHINE AHU ONE E...I KIA TŪ TEITEI KIA TŪ HĀNGAI TIKETIKE TŌ
MANA TUKU IHO NO MUA RĀ ANŌ E...I

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/435902853464544/>

This post compares the role of women and men and describes the passionate haka by women on the frontline.

Indigenous connections

While at Standing Rock, P2 frequently posted with and about the connections they had made. Often they referred to these connections as family, i.e. aunty, uncle, brother, or sister.

Aunty [...] and Uncle JR 

Native brothers..

Love these women... it was a powerful spiritual connection and mahi we shared that night...

P2 made deep connections with many people throughout their stay in Standing Rock. One in particular was with a young male prayer warrior.

[With photo] This is [...], a beautiful resilient young warrior who we were lucky to spend a bit of time getting to know. He was on the frontline in the Sunday attack, sprayed by firehoses for 7 hours, dodging canisters of tear gas and mace, protecting others from being shot.. but in the end was shot by rubber bullets while trying to protect an elder. He suffered pain from his injuries and also hypothermia but his resilience is admirable and he was back out to the frontline again not long after. When he was presented with this 'love letter' from home, his first response was disbelief, and then tears came to his eyes when he realised it was true, that someone (tēnā koe (thank you) [...]) had taken time to write a letter especially with the intention of it going to a Male Prayer Warrior such as him. Arohanui [...], to you and all the recipients of our love letters.. we stand

with you in solidarity and truly love you all xxx #son #nephew #grandson
#brother #uncle #father #grandfather #ourmenonthefrontline

[With photo] [...] helping to make the adjustable knots on some pendants..

Cultural support

Many posts by P2 featured methods of support in line with Māori culture such as aroha (love), kai (food), haka (cultural performance) and tāonga (gifts, treasures).

Kia ora whanau, I'm heading over to Standing Rock so if you have any small taonga you'd like us to take or other tokens of aroha to give to the whanau over there, please let me know.

If you're an old romantic like me, then the whakaaro (theme) of this "event" is for you.. please write a love letter to our whanau at Standing Rock and I will personally hand-deliver it for you.. check out the event info for more details xxx

Furthermore, these methods carried over with P2's arrival at Standing Rock and these methods of support were regularly documented on social media.

We have safely arrived at 2am to Cannonball gym after a long journey. Our brave relations are coming in from the frontline in dribs and drabs. We have made them a kai (food) and are giving lots of cuddles to lift their spirits. The tears are flowing between us all and very healing. They are happy and grateful to see us because they know we bring you all... and we are happy and grateful to finally be with them. Thank you whanau (family), they love you very much
XXXXX

[...] passing his pounamu (greenstone) around for us all to add mauri to before he gifts it to his hoa (friend) [...]... #long #black #hard #rubyournoseonit

Our brothers ability to calm the heart and soothe the soul with his gift of voice and of humour... #herongoatewaiata (#musicismedicine) #herongoatekatakata (#laughterismedicine)

It was so cold at night the best place to be was in our lil whare (house) with as many brothers and sisters as we could cram in.. sharing food, stories, laughter, love, gifts and song..

These kowhatu (rock) and pounamu (greenstone) on their way to the sacred fire where they now remain...

Many of P2 posts consisted of live updates. P2 regularly updated followers with content as it unfolded at Standing Rock.

[With shared live video] Live feed from Standing Rock as police move into camp... #NoDAPL #TreatyRights| #FUTrump

Happening now! Militarized police, guns, helicopters, armed vehicles, tanks surround 7 teepees placed on NATIVE TREATY LAND.. #POKOKOHUA #War #SendPrayers #LiveFeed #ETuStandWithStandingRock

Live at 11.56am NZT...

[With shared video] E tū! Stand with Standing Rock! Check out this inspirational kōrero from [...] 🦊 The revolution against racism, sexism, greed, corruption and ignorance continues to rise!! #NoDAPL #WaterProtectors #NativeResistance #FUTrump

Use of social media tools

P2 utilised many hashtags in her social media posts. These included: #NoDAPL, #ETuStandWithStandingRock, #NativeResistance, #TreatyRights, #MniWiconi, #WaterProtectors, #KoAuKoTeAwaKoTeAwaKoAu

4.3.3 Data Summary

The interview data revealed that this participant is a well-connected person who has used many means to support pro-Indigenous and Māori causes both in person and on social media. Her lengthy support for the Water Protectors at Standing Rock on the ground is an example of how her values are in the actions she undertakes in her fight for Indigenous rights. The social media data reflected an invigorated passion for

Indigenous rights and the rights of her Standing Rock ‘family’. This passion extended across the height of the event and right up until the end. The passion for Standing Rock continues into the present.

4.4 Participant 3

Participant 3 (P3) is a professional in the broadcast media industry. She is an advocate for Te Reo Māori (Māori language) revitalisation and is very passionate about Māori and Indigenous rights.

4.4.1 Interview

P3 was introduced to the event after seeing posts on her social media feed. As P3 saw the Standing Rock movement unfold on social media, she “couldn’t quite believe that this stuff was still happening in this day and age”, especially the violence shown toward Water Protectors. This compelled P3 to take a stand. She was also motivated by the fact that her iwi (tribe) had just been through a similar issue, but on a much smaller scale. “Our land was at threat and I know how that feels and I also know how it feels to not be supported by the people [authorities] we should be supported by”.

P3 travelled to Standing Rock and mostly spent time talking with elders in the camp. Her main goal was to just be present, “to show support”. P3 was enamored by the first-hand cultural experiences the camp afforded and described the camp wairua (atmosphere) as beyond words. She was extremely thankful for the experience.

In describing the effect of Māori support, P3 described that “any new faces, any support, spiked the positivity again”. It was as simple as “just being able to share the load, just by turning up”. Furthermore, P3 felt the support had a great effect due to the consideration of Aotearoa and Māori in the sacred spiritual fires journey. These fires are lit at the beginning of a fight and extinguished at the end, and in this case seven ashes were sent to seven corners of the world. P3 stated that the last one was taken to Aotearoa, which was a huge honour “that strengthened our hono (connection) with our Native American cousins”.

Interestingly, P3 compared the Standing Rock movement to the Foreshore and Seabed protests in the way that it was “all these different people gathering over the one thing, and it was the same kaupapa (issue) too, it was water”. Also, the sustained peaceful

resistance at Standing Rock reminded P3 of the stories of Tohu and Te Whiti of Parihaka and their encounters with peaceful resistance.

P3 noted that Māori and Native Americans share many cultural similarities: “we’re really the same, same whakaaro (ideas), same connection to land, our karakia (prayers) are the same—different language, [we have] been through the same stuff”, and “we’re all people of the land, people of the ocean, people of the environment, so we all fight for those kaupapa (ideas)”. Regarding the main Standing Rock slogan, Mni Wiconi or Water is Life, P3 noted “those sort of whakatauki (sayings) really sit with us here in Aotearoa”.

Upon returning home, P3 had many reflections of her time at the event. She described that the trip, while important and astonishing, made her fearful for the future in Aotearoa. P3 said she felt:

“worried for our people (Māori) and our fights and for our environment... because all [of] those companies that are in our whenua (land) are those same people, they’ve all got shares in the same companies. What’s stopping them from coming here and doing that?”

These fears are why P3 wanted every iwi (tribal) leader to experience the movement first hand, so they may also understand the gravity of what was occurring, and thus be better prepared should any similar situation occur in Aotearoa. In this way, P3 also returned to Aotearoa stronger and ready to fight, “but not in the way that we normally fight. When I say fight, it’s like screaming around, throwing stuff, riots. No, it was done in peace, and to learn that you can succeed being peaceful that was life changing”. P3 was fed up with corporate bullying and was committed to upholding Indigenous rights over land and water. Also, she strongly felt the need to return ‘home’ (to her hapū region) and share the experience and learnings with whānau, hapū, iwi, and even teach the next generation and older generation of what could happen. “I went back to the coast and told them what was out there because this could happen to us... I felt the need to teach our kids about this thing, I felt the need to teach my uncles and aunties”.

Regarding social media, P3 stated, “thank God for social media or we wouldn’t have known any of that [the goings-on at Standing Rock]”. She noted that the mainstream media was not giving Standing Rock much attention and those at Standing Rock were reliant on social media for any news: “Nobody was listening, the news weren’t coming

and those things that were supposed to protect their people weren't. So going to social media was their best bet". Furthermore, P3 mentioned the tampering with social network connections, so Water Protectors were unable to post live updates. "There used to be [data] coverage all over that whole area and you know, it had been cut off so you could only get coverage in one particular area so that sort of made it hard for things like live feeds... like if you were on the frontline you weren't able to do a live [video]".

4.4.2 Social media

P3 has an active Facebook page. Their posts are shared with over 1,000 friends. Throughout the duration of the Standing Rock event, P3 was very active on social media.

Encouraging engagement and support of Standing Rock

Many of P3's posts encouraged followers to take action and become involved in the Standing Rock movement, asking followers to sign petitions, travel or take a stand.

[With link to petition] Hainatia! Sign this e hika mā!

If you are near Dakota or can get there - GET THERE!

We must support our peeps now more than ever!

Take action.

As the campaign was experiencing a lot of unfavourable outcomes, such as the Federal Grand Jury not co-operating and the continual mistreatment of Water Protectors, P3 shared multiple updates with messages of support. These posts were often shared alongside articles and videos for followers to read, view and engage with the content and therefore engage with the current Standing Rock happenings. Interestingly, in many of these posts P3 refers to the Native Americans and Water Protectors at Standing Rock as cousins.

Kia kaha cousins.

#waterislife - keep going cousins.

Feeling helpless!! Kia kaha cousins..we stand with you.

[Image] I Stand with the Standing Rock Protectors. By sharing this I am publicly voicing my opposition to the theft and destruction of ancient Native American lands and burial sites.

The Tino Rangatiratanga flag also made a feature in P3's social media postings. One post was shared with an image of P3's workstation which held a poster that read: We Stand With Standing Rock #NoDAPL #KoAuKoTeWaiKoTeWaiKoAu (I am the water, the water is me). Furthermore, this script was on a Tino Rangatiratanga flag, a prominent symbol of Māori sovereignty and self-determination. Also, posts created by P3 on the ground at Standing Rock featured the flag hoisted in the background, with groups posed in front.

Additionally, many of P3's posts highlighted the injustice of the entire situation at Standing Rock and the consistent and unlawful mistreatment of Water Protectors.

[With shared video of mistreatment] Feeling helpless!! Kia kaha cousins..we stand with you.

Tirohia ki te tamaiti nei! Kua timata katoa tana ao i waenga i te whawhai engari ka whawhai na runga i te aroha o tona whenua me ona tikanga. Kia kaha koe e tama.. (Look at this child! His whole world is amidst this fight, but the fight is for the sake of his land and culture. Keep strong, young man!)

Once at Standing Rock, P3 began to describe her feelings and reflections about the experience to followers in real time.

It's surreal here e hika ma (friends). I can't describe the wairua (atmosphere). There's just no words #standingrock

A few more photos from Standing Rock. It's been a truly humbling experience. If they haven't already, I hope our iwi (tribal) leaders come and observe what's going on here. These DAPL peoples are part of many oil and gas explorations across the world. The elders here talk about a prophecy long ago of the black,

the red, the white, and the yellow coming together and now it is happening at Standing Rock as you can see with all the flags.

Heading home now. Wish we could stay at Standing Rock for longer but kei te karanga mai a Aotearoa (Aotearoa is calling). Lots of aroha (love) and respect to all the warriors, children and elders out there still and everyone who looked after us.

Use of social media tools

P3's postings often included links to articles, or videos. These articles and videos often had current information about the happenings at Standing Rock and what the stand meant for Indigenous peoples and their future as well as footage of the mistreatment of Water Protectors.

P3 also utilised many hashtags. These included: #NoDAPL, #StandingRock, and #WaterIsLife.

4.4.3 Data Summary

This interview displayed that this participant is a strong, thoughtful person who was enraptured by the Native American struggle at Standing Rock. P3's dedication to Indigenous rights led to support on social media and eventually in person. Her support is an acknowledgement to her whānau, hapū and iwi connections, who were consistently on her mind throughout the process. Her actions for the rights of all Indigenous peoples display her dedication to the betterment of the rights and self-determination of her whānau in Aotearoa and Indigenous peoples across the world. Furthermore, the data showed that P3 was very compassionate towards the Water Protectors of Standing Rock, many of whom she formed strong family-like relationships with. Her passion and compassion was reflected in her social media postings and fervent encouragements for support of the Standing Rock campaign.

4.5 Participant 4

Participant 4 (P4) is a former I.T professional. He is dedicated to the advancement of his whānau and community. He is very passionate about Māori and Indigenous rights.

4.5.1 Interview

P4 came to learn about the Standing Rock event through the social media postings of his Indigenous friends overseas. The intensity of some of the content and seeing the mistreatment of Water Protectors inspired him to begin circulating news regarding the event. This motivated P4, along with Indigenous rights, protecting environment and the fact that Standing Rock drew great similarities to events that occurred in his hapū (tribal) region years ago: “it was the same battles, sovereign rights, fighting for the environment, Indigenous sanctity of the first peoples, all of those things”. Specifically, P4 likened Standing Rock to the Tūranga Wars of the early 19th century that occurred in his own whenua (lands). Essentially, the wars started “because of oil, because of the greed of corporations”. His tūpuna were branded rebels so land could be confiscated. And this history underpins his whenua, so when he heard that oil companies were going into Treaty lands in North Dakota, he thought “this is our fight”. He felt the wairua (spirit) moving and felt the need to take a stand.

After realising it might be possible to stop in Standing Rock during a pre-planned conference visit to the United States, P4 arranged to present Water Protectors with a hapū (sub-tribe) and a Tino Rangatiratanga flag (an unofficial Māori flag that represents self-determination) as a form of saying, “we’re here in support”. After arriving in the United States and hearing from Indigenous activists and Native lawyers at the conference, P4 began to realise that the “same battles Māori fight are the same battles, of course, that they’re fighting and so it was easy for us to connect very strongly”. Tensions were high when he arrived at Standing Rock, and Water Protectors immediately questioned the group and their motives but as soon as they said they were Māori, P4 said they were told, “It’s ok! They’re Māoris! Come on in”. He noticed that word had spread fast that a Māori family was coming to support, “word spreads quickly, and on social media, especially amongst the Indigenous networks”.

The following morning, P4 began to meet Water Protectors:

“[We] just started to share our korero with each other and listen to their stories and listen to their cause and also we shared a bit of ours. We talked about our fight for our whenua (land), for our Treaty rights, and we recognised that we were one. It was the commonality of our stories”.

In the short time P4 was at Standing Rock, he made deep connections with fellow Water Protectors. P4 stated, “I became closer to Water Protectors that day, than friends I’ve

had my whole life”. At this stage, P4 felt it was very difficult to leave the Water Protectors to their fight, but he presented the hapū and Tino Rangatiratanga flags, performed mōteatea (traditional songs) and haka (cultural performance), and made sure that those at Standing Rock knew that Māori were there standing with them before he left.

As P4 was travelling back to Aotearoa, he was asked by the *Haka With Standing Rock (HWSR)* group if he wished to go back again, so plans began to be made. Having experienced Standing Rock once, P4 was aware of what to expect going a second time. Despite better understanding the physical dangers and potential run-ins with law on the frontline, P4 was keen to return. In the four weeks between trips, P4 noticed that haka really started to gain traction on social media. A haka of support from a Te Tairāwhiti/Gisborne group was filmed and posted on both the Gisborne Herald website and Facebook page and gained millions of views. Also at this point P4 felt a duty to carry out interviews with New Zealand media and talk about what was happening at Standing Rock from a Native perspective because no one in the United States knew what was going on: “more people in New Zealand knew what was happening at Standing Rock than in America and that’s because our social media got the word spreading fast”.

P4 felt a strong connection to those at Standing Rock. The social aspects of camp, how they “live” their beliefs, “it’s just us. Same feeling of manaakitanga (care, generosity), awhitanga (helping), all of these things. There was an easy recognition of each other because of those values”. “The way we treated each other, the way we feed each other. It was opened up like the same at home”. A significant conversation for P4 was with a local teacher who revealed that since the duration of the Standing Rock campaign, there was not one suicide at the school, which for that area is unheard of. The teacher described the kids felt pride, unity and strength in their tribe and culture. This resonated with P4 who felt that those raw issues are something “we’re all too familiar with here [in Aotearoa]. The same issues, the same feelings... we understand the same challenges that they understand. We’re dealing with the same attitudes and racism and prejudices, so that’s what unifies us”.

P4 described that Water Protectors were really excited about Māori support “because they love the haka, they love the warrior spirit”, and they were sharing anything to do

with Māori and haka on social media because it showed they were not alone, “there were other Indigenous peoples that were ready to stand with them”. Moreover, the *HWSR* group and Māori-led videos went viral and spread amongst the Native American community and “it strengthened them, it really emboldened them”. Everyone P4 encountered was “blown away... about the level of commitment of Māori to support them”. “We didn’t just share stuff, we were doing stuff, doing haka, donating, actually putting our culture into practice to support”. P4 noted the strength of Indigenous women and their support at Standing Rock:

“the sisters were out there all the time. There was a lot of inspiration, the strength and the support of mana wāhine (power of women) on the frontline was an encouragement and strength to the mana wāhine Natives over there as well, and I think that’s natural, because it’s wāhinetoa (brave, strong women) and there’s wāhinetoa there”.

Upon departing Standing Rock, P4 had many reflections on his time. In particular, his “wairua (spirit) has changed”. He felt that once you stand for water, the trip transforms from a weekend visit to lend a hand to a life-changing experience: “what I’ve learnt most from all of that is it carries on. We don’t stop standing for these things, we have to stand even more”. Furthermore, P4 learnt the value of networks, relationships, culture, tribes and peaceful resistance—what he called, “the power of prayer and ceremony, not of fist and arm”.

P4 found that at the start of the Standing Rock campaign, it was difficult to find information about what was going on, to the point where he had to contact Indigenous friends for more information. Once information began to flow more regularly, P4 began to regularly share content on his own social media page. On his first morning at Standing Rock, P4 looked around camp and “realised the extent of what it was we were experiencing”. At this point, he began to share posts and experiences to update followers so they could see what he was doing. Once on the frontline, P4 immediately thought to use his phone and data to record and send content “back home”. Interest from the posts picked up and Māori Television began to ask for footage and interview times. When P4 went to Standing Rock for the second time, he noted there were internet blockages that prevented live posting, which were difficult to bypass and relay information. P4 adds this is when the *HWSR* Facebook page began to rapidly grow. It became a “third party for communication” that Native Americans could utilise to get

information that they could not get from media outlets in the United States. They could not get a regular newsfeed and news agencies were not covering their stories, “it was all social media based” and that is why new Indigenous networks like *HWSR* began to spring up and grow: “there were plenty of Māori and New Zealanders [using the *HWSR* page], but it was still equal 50/50 Native Americans using *HWSR* as a channel of information”. P4 maintained that Māori social media usage was successful because “it’s our nature, we care enough to kōrero [communicate] regularly” and Māori are independent and did not self-censor what was posted on social media—as an independent third party it was easier for Māori to speak frankly.

4.5.2 Social media

P4 has a highly active Facebook page. His posts are shared with over 4,500 friends and over 600 followers. Throughout the duration of the Standing Rock event, P4 was very active on social media.

Highlighting the movement

P4 posts often highlighted the Standing Rock movement and encouraged followers to support. His posts gave a background to the movement and provided further information on what was going on and ways to take a stand and get involved.

Kia ora whanau and friends, just wanted to update whanau on some background to the Dakota Access Pipeline and the \$\$ interests behind it and how it relates in Aotearoa interests.

Here in Aotearoa, I live in the most beautiful place in the world, a small village called Whatatutu, on the East Coast. The big oil industry have identified shale oil under our tribal lands. TAG OIL have sought permits to frack our lands. The banks behind TAG OIL are the same investing in the Bakken Shale Fields (North Dakota). Our fields are the back up plan to the Bakken fields. It is the same monster eating its way across the globe. Additionally, Goldman Sachs has invested US\$243,937,500 (that's 243 Million) into the Dakota Access Pipeline. And guess who was the NZ servant of Goldman Sachs in NZ...the NZ Prime Minister John Key. Is there a concern with TPPA eroding democratic rights? A concern with corporate sovereignty dictating and controlling national sovereignty? Is there a concern that #waterislife is a universal issue not just a Standing Rock issue - it is all connected and we are needing to decide if we are

pawns or players. Standing with Standing Rock is to Stand for Whatatutu. The needs of our whenua are not lost in this, they are enhanced and provide clarity that Standing Rock is everywhere that injustice and corporate greed bulldozes indigenous rights and human rights. #istandwithstandingrock #nodapl #standingrockiswhatatutu#waterislife #killtheblacksnake

[With GoFundMe link] If you really want to make a difference. Think about supporting this gofundme 🙏🙏🙏

I've just received a private message from a friend on the frontline right now: "[...] the water protectors are being pepper sprayed right now pray for them." Can we all send power through karakia (prayer), mindfulness, arohanui (love) to those in the frontline.

To all my water protectors, 7th generation futurists, Idle no more warriors, haka rockers, Grandmother Spider's rainbow nation and all hopeful humans everywhere. We were brought together from all over the world. We stood. We were sent back to all the world prepared. Now we stand together with power in every corner of the four quarters to lift our hands and voices. Standing Rock anointed us. The challenge is to do our bit to lift the world. Stand where you are and be counted. #BlessUp #PrayersUp #MarchonDC10thMarch #RainbowProphecy #7thGeneration #Woke #StillStanding #LookWithin#GloballyMindedLocallyActive #DisruptPower #OutWithTheOld #HeOraTeWai#MniWiconi #WaterIsLife

A frequent feature of P4's posts was the importance of protecting land, water, and Indigenous rights. Furthermore, the Tino Rangatiratanga flag often made appearances in these types of posts.

"I am a water protector and land defender. If I dont stand for Standing Rock today, my children will have nothing to stand on tomorrow!" - [...] (Oct 2016 - Standing Rock, North Dakota)

[Post to the Haka With Standing Rock group with images of him at the Standing Rock camp with the tino rangatiratanga flag] Tino Standing Tanga!!!! [2,300 likes]

P4 often highlighted the mistreatment of Water Protectors at Standing Rock to his followers.

[With shared video] Riot police showed up to this peaceful event in Bismark as Native communities gathered to discuss recent court rulings and updates on the Dakota Access Pipeline. Tension was high at first and then this happened that changed the tone. Support the camps at SacredStoneCamp.org & nodaplsolidarity.org

Today's Standing Rock Updates: <https://www.justice.gov/.../joint-statement-department-justic...> via We Are The Media // Chas Jewett #nodapl #waterislife

Two of there sacred horses were shot and killed today :(

[With images] This is a rubber bullet that was shot at the bro sitting next to me. The mask is for two reasons, its cold, and he prefers not to be identified. The rubber bullets, leaves bruises to the body, but amongst many injuries, one girl was shot in the eye with it and risks losing sight.

In the midst of extreme violence and ill-treatment at Standing Rock, P4 maintained the importance of peaceful and prayerful resistance in his social media postings.

You dont stand a chance, against our prayers.

We crossed our hastily made bridge with power, righteous indignation, hurt and retaliation (because of last sundays atrocities) in our hearts and heads....but something happened there. On that island. The Creator tore out our vengence and drowned us with love, united us in prayer and gave us a new sacred native ceremony. A miracle happened on Turtle Island today...the Creator joined our side. The Creator is building a new world and he is visiting at Standing Rock!

Dismantle the razor wire! start taking back the bridge. reclaim Turtle Island!
serve notice on DAPL. Direct action in Bismark! TELL EVERYONE. Reclaim
the sacred sites! Erect Tipi on them! Start moving DAPL back, destroy Energy
Transfer Partners share price, call out the Sherriff....time to push back now!
while Morton county and DAPL are stunned - they give us natives an inch....we
take a mile! - but remember...stay peaceful and prayerful!!

P4 often posted about their action to support Standing Rock. Often these posts drew
considerable engagement from followers.

[With video] Bro [...] spraying my office front in support of Standing
Rock....and #nonstatoil!! [...] #nodapl #waterislife
#mniwiconi#hakawithstandingrock (665 likes, 563 comments, 399 shares,
13,000 views)

P4 also posted many photos of his Hīkoi (Walk) For Water in Aotearoa. P4 travelled
across Aotearoa during the time of the Standing Rock campaign, taking photos at
various rivers and lakes, holding signs that read, “WaterIsLife #ETūStandingRock, and
posted them to his Facebook page.

Posts from Standing Rock

P4 posted to his Facebook page frequently during both trips to Standing Rock. P4
consistently posted about current happenings, events that occurred during the day as
well as upcoming plans. Often posts encouraged followers to share or circulate
information and become engaged.

We just arrived at the Sacred Stone Camp. We have had a pm with [...] who has
requested the haka. We will get him to join this group. Tautoko whanau
(Support this, family and friends)!! It's all real here in North Dakota. We had to
go through a full on police stop, and we met the warriors at their frontline
barricade. It is intense. Mauri ora! — at Sacred Stone Camp

We're frontline. Somethings about to go down. Share this post whanau (family).

After his first experience in Standing Rock, P4 posted recaps and reflections of his time.

[With images] We have left camp safely to head home...for now. They need reinforcements there! Today's actions are not the end. They are they beginning. I wear my war paint to my temple with pride. To my new whanau at Oceti and Standing Rock, to the bravest warriors i have ever met at Sacred Camp and Red Warrior Camp - KA WHAWHAI TONU MATOU – AKE AKE AKE (The neverending fight [against non-Indigenous ideas])!!!

If its ok, id like to share my feelings about camp Standing Rock. Im in the RV heading home though North Dakota, from standing with the water protectors on the frontline. There are a number of camps there. Standing Rock is the Sioux reservation across the Cannonball river. The elders hold down the support from there. The main protector camp is Oceti Sakowin (on the pipeline side of the river) and is on US Army Corp land (the army have not opposed the camp). It has a council fire, army tents for kitchens, a refridgerated trailer, a media center, lots of teepees, hundreds of tents of protectors old and young. It has a tent called the school. It has the avenue of nation flags and is protected by tribal security. It also holds the famous horses and the brave riders.

Further up the road toward the DAPL construction site is the Red Warrior camp (now abandoned) which was the scene of some of the first confrontations. Up the road about another 1km is the scene of the bulldozing of the sacred burial ground. It is beside the main road and is the direct path of the pipeline. It stops about 200 metres from the road.

Exactly across from here the protectors set up the frontline Sacred Site Camp a few days ago. It is where my pictures are mostly from. Sacred Site camp. This is where the police and national guard have come in today brutally sweeping it clear with compression granades, mase and tear gas, LRAD (long range audio devices) which blast deafening high pitch sounds. Further up the road is the protector barricade which was destroyed today.

Yesterday the police were about to clear Sacred Site camp until Jesse Jackson and Mark Ruffalo (the Hulk) came in support. Instead the police waited till today. Yesterday afternoon when we knew it was safe i got to spend time with the protectors at Sacred Site Camp. We had sandwiches made by a wonderful chef and defender [...] who has set up a tent kitchen. I talked with a Sioux Elder who

talked about the old days on the land before it was taken against 'treaties of protection'. I talked with young people passionate to protect the river and water #waterislife - i talked with young men who had war paint and bandanas and had been arrested in the previous days but were on fire with love for the land and the cause - thier chant: "KILL THE BLACK SNAKE!!! BLACK SNAKE KILLAZ!!". When i told them i was Maori they were excited and kept talking about how cool Maori were and they all knew about HAKA and felt the power of it. They alllllll talked of how they all wanted to come visit! For a second they were teenagers again. I talked with older dignified women, native kuia, who were ready to be arrested if need be for this cause. I talked with braves on horses who inspired me as they stood as sentinels on the hills while buffalo ran around them! Everyone was ready to die for this cause. This wasnt a holiday. It was, and is life. They were ready to sacrifice for it. All the petty talk back home was put into perspective for me. Talk is cheap. Action is mana.

They shared of how, never in native history had so many tribes come together as one. But, it was primitive. In no way can the protectors match the money and weapons of the DAPL security or the national guard. BUT, the most beautiful and powerful thing i saw was AROHA!!!! was CEREMONY!!! was MANA!!! They circled around drums and chanted as one in powerful medicine. I shed tears as we ate and talked. The Sioux elder shed tears. The sisters shed tears. When it was time to return to Oceti camp, we sang waiata to them. More tears. Then warrior chief [...], one of the leaders sang a native song to us. Then another japanese protector sang "Stand by me" (out of tune lol) and on a four stringed guitar. Everyone joined in. It was a seminole moment in my life. I was proud to stand with standing rock. I was proud to be Maori. I made a promise right then. I would stand. I would return. I would bring others. The fight of Standing Rock is ours too. Im leaving my friends briefly. Some are now in jail, arrested for protecting water. The Sacred Site Camp is in ruins, but Oceti and Standing Rock are growing daily. The protectors are ready to fight on. We need a powerful group of Maori warriors to go and strengthen them. We need to draw on the mana of our ancestors and take our place beside our relatives. They requested it of me. They asked if I would tell 'The Maori' if they would join them. I am asking you all to do what you can. Whatever you can. And for those with the means - join me as i return back to Standing Rock.....November!

During the second trip, P4 continued to update followers with day-to-day happenings that often included images and videos.

Here. Rest. Work. Protect water. That's the plan.

[With images] Oceti Sakowin camp has grown. Much bigger, lots more people. Lots of rainbow people. Though it looks pretty in these shots, there is a lot of hurting today, but there is resolve also. Yesterdays actions by the police were insane and mad overkill. It was also a sign that DAPL and the police are losing it and resorting to more ludicrous actions. As do all who become desperate. Oceti is active and determined. #waterislife#nodapl #beatonetworkmorewillrise

Cant sleep. No sleep. Hard night. The worst. The worst. Prayers for the injured. Just waiting for the dawn to go to Oceti camp...is this real right now

Indigenous connection

A large feature of P4's posts included connections he had formed at Standing Rock. These connections were referred to fondly, often referred to as family.

[With images] My good friends and soulfully beautiful people [...] and [...] have been frontline protectors the whole time!! And will be till the end! Pray for them please.... #ocetisakowin #nodapl#istandwithstandingrock

[With images] The flag, and a coupla random 'Maweeez' standing with our native Navajo relations!!

[With video] We crossed to Turtle Island and i was proud to stand on the right side of history with my new family 🙏🙏🙏 #takingtheisland
#beagoodancestor#unitedinwater #waterprotectors
#yourestandingonourburialground#powerofprayer #miracleatOceti

[With images] In support of Standing Rock, a sacred Council Fire to be lit in Aotearoa. In solidarity with the sacred council fires of Standing Rock, Sacred Stone and Oceti Oyate, my family and I, with the awesome support of the

HAKA WITH STANDING ROCK!!! crew, will be lighting a Sacred Council Fire to burn consecutively and perpetually in Aotearoa, New Zealand.

This fire will stay lit until the black snake with its many heads around the world are all killed. We will be lighting the fire in prayerful sacred ceremony, according to our customs, on the 2nd of January 2017 at 7pm. This coincides with the end of the first day of 2017 in Standing Rock. The keeper of the fire will be my father and Kaitiaki o Nga Ariki Kaiputahi – [...].

The name of the Sacred Council Fire will be "Te Ahi Kaa o Toka Tu - The Continuous Fires of Standing Rock." The location of Te Ahi Kaa o Toka Tu is on the tribal lands of my people, and in the ancient pa site of my ancestors called Te Pakake o Whirikoka. Our traditions tell us that the great Chief Whirikoka had a pet seal called Kekeno, who died in the blazing sun, and Kekeno's black blubber melted into Papatuanuku (Mother Earth) and became oil. We are the keepers of Kekeno and while the fire burns in our hearts, no one will ever take Kekeno from the ground.

We are committed to standing with Standing Rock, and also, we stand here in our own land with prayerful and sacred water protectors and land defenders all over Aotearoa and indeed across the beautiful World we share. We stand for indigenous rights, clean rivers, healthy lands, and healthy whanau. We stand with our traditions, our ancestors, our mountains and 7 generations. We stand for our Creator and all his rainbow warriors.

If you feel the call to come support, then you will know right now, so act now.
Nau mai haere mai.

Cultural support

A prominent aspect of P4's postings was the haka. Often posts regarding the haka included videos and links. These videos were extremely popular and some went viral gaining thousands of likes, views and comments.

[With video] Wahine Toa (Strong, warrior women)! Haka with Standing Rock frontline! (3,500 likes, 323 comments, 3,700 shares, 188,000 views)

[With video] Haka for Standing Rock - Tairawhiti. (1,500 views)

[Post to the *HWSR* group] How a frontline ceremony at Standing Rock, awakened a million haka on the other side of the globe.

It's hit me like a tonne of bricks today. How can an environmental cause, a half a world away, get so many Maori to respond so quickly and so powerfully? If we added up the views of all the haka videos so far, we are well over 2 million views. And that's just within 14 days. The Tairāwhiti haka has had 1.1 million views in 2 days alone. That's 7 times a second since it was uploaded. On top of that 'Haka with Standing Rock' has grown at a phenomenal rate up to 30,000 in just 2 weeks. Why are we so committed to this kaupapa?

https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=1149234385158768&id=112027595546124

Well, I think I have some idea. This amazing man is [...]. A frontline water protector and keeper of great healing medicine. He is one of hundreds of powerful souls that have been drawn to Standing Rock, to make a stand....but instead of pitting weapons against police, he wields a prayer stick in his hand. Instead of violent outbursts, the protectors sing ceremonial chants of peace. Instead of countering the batons of riot police with anger and retaliation, the water protectors beat ceremonial drums...and verbally forgive the angry lines of helmeted riot squads. I was actually shocked at the importance the leaders placed on ensuring that violence was to be met with ceremony. I was amazed at men, women, old and young maintaining such dignity in the face of rubber bullets. I saw a sweat lodge of men project the power of love toward the armed troopers.

But then, to my untrained eye, it seemed like a hopeless effort. The chants, the prayers, the cries of forgiveness were just beaten out of the protectors. The police seemingly have no hearts, as the armoured trucks smash the teepees and the valiant but hopeless barricades. It was all in vain I thought as I sadly saw my friends and 'relatives' dragged to jail and thrown in dog kennels, made to strip and numbered like cattle.

And yet, day after day, the water protectors and land defenders keep dancing around the sacred council fires. Kept offering up prayer to the creator. Kept countering hate with love...with seemingly little impact.

And then too soon, I came home to Aotearoa. And heard a rumble. Ruaimoko was moving in the hearts of our people. I saw the growth of Haka with Standing Rock. I saw posts and messages of support. I saw haka springing up here and there....and then torrents - torrents of posts from around the world. Legions of indigenous peoples all stepping up to stand with Standing Rock. [...] put the call

out to the maori relatives to show solidarity by performing haka for Standing Rock...and we responded. Oh did we ever respond.

It was today that it all made sense to me. Those harmless prayers on the frontline of standing rock werent for the brutish police. They werent even just pleas to the creator, although the meesages wouldve gotten reception im sure. The protectors were sending out a call to the indigenous rainbow people of the world (as the elders had prophecised would happen) to awaken and stand up. Those prayers were sanctified by the beatings against the ones offering them. They were imbued with power to lighten up the world, to search out the meek of the earth...for it was they, a good book has said, who were promised would inherit the earth. So, to me my question was answered. How do so many people feel their very souls open up in strength and commitment to stand for a cause, half a world away?

Because if you have felt this drawing power to stand with standing rock...then you are one of those rainbow people the elders foretold would come in the last days to save the earth. Brother [...], sent his prayer out. It was to you. And it is our awakening to stand where we can, and demand that now is the time to inherit our mother earth and restore that good world we feel inside should exist, but had just about given up hope for. So in my mind, if you Stand with Standing Rock, then stand with all you have. At stake, is the entire earth...and each of our souls. (1,400 likes, 243 comments, 399 shares)

[With video] Full Haka - Haka with Standing Rock! [...] represent frontline

👊👊👊 - [...]

Words:

I defy the authority that have made my people a slave to the treaty of Waitangi
I do not believe my ancestors would have signed the treaty had they known that the treaty will one day be turned against us...

...and continues to batter the descendants of those who had signed it...

White man speaks with fork tongue...

Tis the treaty that:

- allows the plunder of our lands
- allows my ancestral posessions to be sold
- allows my customs to be trampled
- allows my spirit to be totally and utterly disrespected

And here we are like dogs forced to lick the festering scabs of the treaty. (6,200 likes, 6,300 shares)

Use of social media tools

Across the Standing Rock campaign, P4 often shared videos. These were either videos shot by P4 or videos shared from other sources. The videos included live updates at camp and numerous support haka.

In his many social media postings, P4 used a number of hashtags. These included: #NoDAPL, #MniWiconi, #WaterIsLife, #StandWithStandingRock, #ETūStandWithStandingRock, #StandingRock, #KillTheBlackSnake.

4.5.3 Data Summary

From this interview and social media data it can be seen that this participant was completely changed and transformed by the Standing Rock event. A passionate advocate for Māori rights turned fully-committed Water Protector, but not just for Standing Rock, for all Indigenous groups. His passion for all things Indigenous led to sustained support but his physical experience at the event had awakened his drive for rights further. His support is an acknowledgement to his whānau, hapū and iwi, and is an example of his commitment to upholding Māori values—all of which guide him in his actions.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has presented the participants' individual experiences with the Standing Rock event to demonstrate the reasons for their interest as well as how and in what ways they became involved in the event, including the role of social media in facilitating their involvement. The participants presented diverse interactions with the events at Standing Rock. Their experiences prior to the event greatly shaped their actions and led to considerable and variable contributions to this non-Māori cause. The next chapter develops the themes found among participants and relates the research findings to literature to present an in-depth interpretation of the data and findings.

5.0 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings, focusing on the ways in which the data informs the research questions; which are to investigate Māori interest in and support of the Water Protectors of Standing Rock, and how social media facilitated that interest and involvement. The discussions in this chapter are supported by the interview and social media data, and by relevant literature.

The discourse in this chapter is presented in six sections or themes. These themes are based on the main findings as identified;

1. The importance of culture and identity;
2. The importance of whānau/family and kinship connections;
3. The importance of Indigenous sovereignty;
4. The significance of shared histories;
5. Critical self-reflection;
6. The relevance of social media.

5.2 The Importance of Culture and Identity

The interviews revealed that much of the participants' support was grounded in Māori values and cultural practices often referred to as tikanga (customs). Māori culture is underpinned by tikanga that guide the Māori way of life. Participants demonstrated that manaaki (hospitality), aroha (love, empathy), mana (prestige), kanohi kitea (being present and visible), representing one's iwi (tribe) and haka (traditional dance form) were some of the key values and practices that guided them in their support for those at Standing Rock.

It was important to all of the interview participants to help with concrete actions as well as moral support at Standing Rock. For example, one participant helped to design, promote (via social media) and sell t-shirts with profits going to the Standing Rock Water Protectors. This individual also asked online for tāonga (treasures) in the form of anonymous, morale-boosting letters and messages of support to the Water Protectors at Standing Rock. The participant later said:

“one significant one [letter] I gave was for a young male prayer warrior and he came into our campervan, [...], and we became quite close after that and he’s since come over and he’s connected with a lot of people here in Aotearoa” (P2).

The idea of asking people to write short messages of support was a clear example of an approach that can be seen as a reflection of the Māori values of aroha (empathy), manaakitanga (generosity), and koha (a gift and a form of reciprocity). This approach showed that the support at the event was not solely a demonstration of Māori opposition to the pipeline; participants strived to make sure that their Indigenous counterparts were psychologically and physically well, and they helped to provide the Water Protectors with the strength needed for their continuing struggle. The famous phrase uttered by Rewi Maniapoto, chief of the Māori tribe Ngāti Maniapoto, “*Ka whawhai tonu mātou, ake, ake, ake!*” which translates as “*We will fight on against you for ever and ever!*” has come to describe the position of Māori-as-Māori towards non-Māori (Henare, 1990; Jones, 2007). Because of the long-lasting struggles of Māori against non-Māori in Aotearoa, participants understood that the Standing Rock struggle would be of a similarly enduring nature. Thus, their help was directed by this experience and understanding. The gifts of aroha and manaaki aroused a strong emotional response from those at Standing Rock given that one recipient has since travelled to Aotearoa to show reciprocity and kotahitanga (unity). This shows a completion of a journey that began with social media, spurred those in the Māori community to action, and led to a cross-national connection that spanned the length of the event and even further into their post-event lives.

As is customary at traditional Māori events, participants demonstrated manaakitanga (generosity) through the preparation of kai (food), and being hospitable to ‘guests’ at Standing Rock. During large occasions or events at the marae (traditional Māori meeting house), hosts are expected provide meals and “take good care of their visitors” (Mead, 2016, p. 80). Participants described that supporting Water Protectors included listening to their stories, preparing kai, singing songs and telling jokes to lift morale. In their patronage, participants took it a step further from simply voicing disdain for the wrongdoings at Standing Rock. The participants combined traditional values commonly seen at the marae and put them into practice at Standing Rock. These smaller acts of support (as compared to the more evocative statement that is standing alongside the Sioux people on the frontline) may seem less significant, but participants felt these

contributions underpinned the movement. These perhaps less obvious ways to support the Water Protectors at Standing Rock ultimately became very central and important as it reflected a truly Indigenous way of fellowship. This type of assistance is a prime example of support that stems from the struggles of Māori and their natural understanding of the Standing Rock situation.

Additionally, particular Māori cultural nuances were noticed such as being present in person and representing one's iwi. One participant noted, "new faces brought new energy into the camp. So, it definitely contributed to their fight, and like any Māori hui (gathering) too if you show face, they're gonna come and show face at your hui" (P3), and another said,

"It felt like we were just the bodies and the faces of a whole lot of others behind us. That whole thing of tūpuna [ancestors] and representing your iwi, and so when your there it's almost like you don't have to do a lot except just be tau, be chill and serve" (P2).

In Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) importance is placed on showing your face at events as well as being a representative of your iwi (tribe) or hapū (subtribe) at events. Smith (2012) describes this as *kanohi kitea* or the 'seen face', which in essence is being visible to the people. Smith (2012) adds that acts such as "showing your face, and turning up at important cultural events cements your membership within a community in an ongoing way and is part of how one's credibility is continually developed and maintained" (p. 51). While participants noted that it was completely understandable that many Māori supporters did not show their face via direct support, they also noted that being present felt important. Mead (2016) further described this concept in reference to attendance at *tangihanga* (traditional Māori funeral), "nothing can really replace the fact of a relative or visitor actually being seen at the tangi" (p. 106). In regards to *whanaungatanga* (relationship building), Mead (2016) describes that people need to be seen to nurture and strengthen relationships and bonds, and most of all *kanohi kitea* can enhance all aspects of *tikanga*-led support such as *haka*, *manaaki* and *koha*; being present in person enhances the entire process. These acts are considered respectful but are also indicative of having great *mana* (prestige) and showing genuine care. The participants' act of travelling to Standing Rock and being present and visible to those in need was a show of their deep commitment to and support of their cause. While social media initiated the connection, *kanohi kitea* was a factor that turned the participants from online supporters

to frontline Water Protectors—to directly support the cause but to also set a future example to the next generation of their iwi (tribe). Travelling to Standing Rock built upon the relationship with the Standing Rock Sioux, and entirely enhanced their whole support campaign. Their direct support at Standing Rock, showing face, not only supported the immediate event but also laid the groundwork for an enduring relationship with both their new Sioux brothers and sisters and importantly, with their own next generation and iwi. Furthermore, *kanohi kitea* allowed for the physical meeting of participants with Standing Rock Water Protectors and thus facilitated the new connections made on the ground. Connections that participants treasured and identified as some of the strongest connections of their lives.

Another large component of cultural support at Standing Rock was the haka. Most often referred to as a ‘war dance’, haka is a complex physical and spiritual expression that can be exhibited in many forms with many purposes such as ceremonial practices or message transmission from a Māori worldview, thus haka is inextricably linked to the identity of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2010; Matthews, 2004). Armstrong (1964) states that within *Te Ao Māori* (the Māori world) the haka is the paramount instrument of message transmission:

It is disciplined, yet emotional. More than any other aspect of the Māori culture, this complex dance is an expression of the passion, vigour and identity of the race. It is, at its best, truly a message of the soul expressed by words and posture. (p. 119)

Armstrong (1964) considers haka the combination of language, posture and passion to form an expression, an expression that reflects the identity of the entire Māori culture. Haka conveys “a message ignited by the *kā*, the spark and fueled by the *hā*, the breath which is the actualization of *mauri*, the life force” (Smith, 2003, as cited in Smith, 2017, p. 12). Marsden (as cited in Wiri, 2001) describes *mauri* as a life force in which all things are bound together in nature. It is *mauri* that fuels haka and enlivens each movement of the performers body, thus when haka are performed aptly, one may feel the *wairua* (spirit) of the performer; the haka is spirit-in-action. In this regard, the act of Māori utilising haka to demonstrate their support of Standing Rock, a non-Māori movement, was much more than a ‘war dance’ performed for effect. It was a deeply meaningful and spiritual expression that connected Māori directly to the spirit of the Sioux.

Haka was also contemporarily utilised by Māori supporters to disseminate messages and opinions related to the Standing Rock event as it was occurring. Many Māori were introduced to the event when a Water Protector at Standing Rock asked for a haka to be filmed and performed to show that the Standing Rock Sioux were not alone in their struggle but that a separate Indigenous culture was willing to support; this haka of support is an example of one such message. Another example, is the message sent through the lyrics of a haka that translate as, “The challenge has been laid down/The call of invitation received/The Māori people are rumbling here!/Yes, yes, bring it on! Bastard oil pipe! Bastard acts of abuse!”⁸ (Dunlop, 2016, para. 34). Through these lyrics we can see the way in which Standing Rock was interpreted by Māori—it was seen as a *wero* (challenge), and the main way Māori respond to (and issue) challenges is through haka. Ka’ai-Mahuta (2010) explains that haka are emotive and bring forth feelings that speech and text are unable to invoke. This gives haka a certain power and makes them perfect for a cause such as Standing Rock. Haka provide protesters an outlet to vent their true feelings and voice what they believe in (Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2010). In the case of Standing Rock, Māori utilised haka to voice their disdain toward those opposing the Standing Rock Sioux and engage the world in the Standing Rock issue.

The initial haka of support sparked additional support haka and once Māori arrived at the Standing Rock event many more were performed in person. Numerous videos were made of these haka and many of these videos went viral garnering millions of views on social media. The viral nature of these videos further widened the reach of Standing Rock and encouraged greater interaction with the event, pushing it closer to broad public visibility and increasing the scope of the event. O’Reagan (as cited in Ka’ai-Mahuta, 2010) notes that haka “composition has been one of the ways that we’ve been able to articulate ourselves and inspire our fellow tribe’s people, our fellow Māori. So, it’s been a way of engaging people in the issues” (p. 188). Not only did these haka engage Māori in the Standing Rock issue, they engaged people all over the world.

In the case of Standing Rock, the haka was performed as a strong, forceful show of solidarity that was received by the Standing Rock Sioux as a gift to strengthen and embolden their cause. The numerous haka performed by various Māori across the duration of the event was each a combination of words, posture and passion that formed a complex political expression. In this way, in sharing the haka with those at Standing

⁸ See Appendix C for full haka composition with translation.

Rock, Māori shared their histories, struggles and passion for Indigenous rights and culture. Thus haka was a supremely important aspect of their support. Perhaps more important than the message of any given haka, which will vary from situation to situation, is the message shared by its mere performance, which in the case of the participants was: we hear you, we see you, we feel you and we support you.

5.3 The Importance of Whānau/Family and Kinship Connections

A frequent feature in both the interview discussions and social media posts by participants was the use of terms relating to family as descriptors for newly formed Indigenous connections. Some examples of the terms used by participants include, “Aunty [VA] and Uncle JR”, “Kia kaha (stay strong) cousins” (P2), or “proud to stand on the right side of history with my new family” (P4). Māori social culture is collectivistic. Put simply, Māori social structure can be divided into whānau (immediate and extended family), hapū (wider family or sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe). Whānau is inextricably intertwined to hapū and iwi and all are essential to Māori identity, culture and life. Māori place significance on whanaungatanga (relationship building) and maintaining these connections (Durie, 1997; Walker, 1989). Durie (1997) lists benefits to holding these relationships amongst whānau, hapū and iwi such as having greater, wider support, and being embedded in a wider environment that can provide support in times of hardship and crisis. Through the use of terms such as sister, aunty, uncle and cousin, the participants have deemed the connections they have made at Standing Rock worthy of deeper expression. By using these terms, Māori clearly have invited the Standing Rock Sioux into their own whānau, and along with this, offered them the benefits of having this close and lasting relationship. Meeting new people and making new connections and friends may be temporary, while in Māori understanding family is permanent. Thus, in addressing members of the Standing Rock Sioux in familial terms, participants signalled they saw these relationships going beyond the immediate purpose of Standing Rock and lasting far beyond the end of the protests. Participants have treated the Standing Rock Sioux like they would treat members of their own whānau in a time of crisis; they have provided wider support. Furthermore, participants have shown and demonstrated genuine love and care for the connections they have made at Standing Rock by showing affection and concern for their Standing Rock whānau as they would worry about members of their whānau in Aotearoa. This formed connection between the Standing Rock Sioux and Māori is an example of a cross-national Indigenous family that aims to uphold Indigenous rights and oppose those who infringe

on these intrinsic rights. This connection helps to counterbalance the coalition of post-colonial hegemonic world powers by creating an international family of resistance—making Indigenous movements a power to be reckoned with.

5.4 The Importance of Indigenous Sovereignty

Exchanges and discussions among participants revealed a strong interest in Indigenous sovereignty and the protection of sacred lands and water. In the Treaty of Waitangi, unfamiliar with absolute ‘rulers’ Māori translated “sovereignty” as kawanatanga or governorship (Orange, 2013). The Māori concept tino rangatiratanga, often translated as Indigenous sovereignty, refers to the self-governance or self-determination of an Indigenous group (Hawksley & Howson, 2011; Orange, 2013). Sovereignty in Indigenous aspects of life has been a battle for Indigenous peoples the world over. Spiritual and sacred connections to land and water were generally not recognised by non-Indigenous peoples, thus there has been a long battle of Indigenous peoples to protect these connections and gain recognition of Indigenous rights in this area. The Standing Rock fight for sovereignty and recognition of lands and water is a fight that Māori have also experienced and still experience today. The Māori and Native American ideas of sacredness and protection of land and waters is paramount; therefore the interests of big companies are not a prime consideration for Indigenous peoples. These ideas were a major discussion point by the participants and sparked their interest in the event. This was seen in their usage of social media. The participants in this study frequently posted about the importance of protecting Indigenous land, water and rights as well as fighting against political bullying, corporate powers, the excessive exploitation of fossil fuels and ‘big’ oil. This showed that participants’ ideas and values surrounding land and water directly aligned with the Standing Rock Sioux as did their stance on corporate bullying tactics and big oil. Numerous encounters with authorities in Māori history have provided participants with enduring feelings and memories of similar experiences, thus participants instantly felt the pain of the Sioux ordeal, “That’s why it took us less than a second to understand exactly what was going on and put ourselves there” (P1). Of utmost importance to participants was the ability for Māori to assert their Indigenous rights over lands and water freely as they did pre-colonisation. In seeing the Standing Rock events unfold in the manner they did, the participants saw an opportunity to support a cause akin to their own and help another Indigenous culture assert their rights as the Indigenous peoples of America. By supporting their American

sister tribes, Māori also recalled their own history and the injustices of colonisation and as such aided their own causes in Aotearoa.

A further prominent feature of social media support was the use of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag in images and photos. The flag, separate to New Zealand's official national flag, is generally used to represent all Māori, and is a way to recognise Māori as tangata whenua (people of the land). It is a symbol of the Māori struggle for independence (Hawksley & Howson, 2011; Morris, 2010). All research participants regularly featured the Tino Rangatiratanga flag in their postings and imagery, often holding the flag in photos or sharing photos of the flag with statements imposed over its image. The usage of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag therefore served as both a display of Indigenous identity by Māori supporters and their political solidarity with the Sioux. The flag's historic use in protests in Aotearoa as well as its representation of Indigenous self-determination correlate strongly with the situation in Standing Rock and the Native American fight for rights and justice against non-Indigenous powers. In displaying the flag, Māori supporters were asserting the strength of their identity as independent Māori from Aotearoa and showing the Standing Rock Sioux that their historic struggles and their aspirations for regaining rights over their lands align. Participants' use of the flag implies that not only did the participant bearing the flag support the cause but that Māori as a nation supported the cause. It showed that Māori recognised the Standing Rock Sioux and their rights as an independent Indigenous group.

5.5 The Significance of Shared Histories

Māori and Native Americans share a common history in that anti-Indigenous legislation and disadvantageous social conditions has led to land loss, cultural degradation, and higher rates of poverty and illness comparative to their non-Indigenous counterparts (IFAD, 2007; UN, 2009). These effects of anti-Indigenous legal structures in both North America and New Zealand were, at least in significant parts, caused by systematically desecrating Indigenous relationships to land and nature (Dennis et al., 2016; Reid et al., 2016; Samson & Gigoux, 2016). The traditional way of life for many Indigenous groups is inextricably linked to the natural world:

[...] indigenous peoples have special relationships with their land which they see as imbued with a spirituality and sacredness not generally comprehensible by others. The land for them is more than just a habitat or political boundary; it is

the basis of their social organisation, economic system and cultural identification. (Nicholas & Singh, as cited in Tunks, 2002, pp. 114–115)

Due to these shared Indigenous experiences, histories, and values, all participants felt it was an easy choice to stand in solidarity with those at Standing Rock. The fact that the participants as Māori could empathise with the tribes at Standing Rock was a paramount reason for their decision to support. When asked what motivated them to support those at Standing Rock, participant responses included comparisons to similar struggles felt by all Indigenous groups across the world, including Māori in Aotearoa. P1 stated,

“Indigenous solidarity in general is a huge priority... [and wanting to] make sure that movements are firstly aware of the fact that what they’re fighting, is the same colonial and imperial forces that Indigenous people have been fighting for since the start”.

P3 said, “Well we’ve just been through that as an iwi, on a lower scale”, and P4 was moved by “Indigenous rights, Tūranga stuff, anti-fossil fuels. The indignation of the American monster. That just got me so riled up. Not on native lands, to Indigenous peoples”. The participants saw in the Standing Rock struggle glimpses of their own struggles. The participants recognised their ancestors’ conflicts and the continuing conflicts of their iwi and whānau in the Standing Rock fight. Historic encounters with authorities in Māori history provided a base that pushed beyond a surface level of sympathy. Participants felt the Sioux struggle in their own experiences, and intuitively empathised with their cause. Not only this, but they saw an opportunity to stand up against the oppressive forces, perhaps in a way they wished others had done for them. Reflected in the Standing Rock incident, Māori saw their own experience of isolation in their struggles against the British crown. Supporting Standing Rock was an opportunity to create the 'history' of support that was denied to them and to turn that *mamae* (pain) into action.

Participants also likened the events at Standing Rock to local historic events, such as the Raglan Sands, the Foreshore and Seabed hīkoi (march), and the Tūranga Wars in Māori history. In this way, participants felt they could further relate to aspects of the movement. As presented in the literature review in Chapter 2, Indigenous cultures have faced similar struggles with foreign colonial authorities continuing into today’s “two peoples, one land” formulation. Participants clearly expressed that these shared histories and traumas are still felt today and just as deeply. In linking the Standing Rock

movement to the historic events in Aotearoa, participants deepened their connection, interest and investment in the event. Participants not only felt sympathy for the Standing Rock Sioux struggle but empathy. Their comparable past experiences allowed the participants to feel more deeply as they could relate beyond mere imaginings. One might argue that most historical Māori conflicts pre-date the direct, lived experience of the participants but one must look at the Māori worldview and the way all Māori situate themselves within it in order to recognise that the "traumas" caused by those conflicts are generational and continuing. In this regard, the participants viscerally related to the feeling of injustice experienced by the Standing Rock Sioux people. The injustice that the Sioux had to endure became part of the Māori trauma. The present generation was unable to stand with their ancestors in their conflict but as they still feel the pain of their ancestors, participants saw in Standing Rock an opportunity to stand up and support another struggle and, hopefully, ease the pain of a fellow Indigenous group experiencing similar distress.

The findings further revealed that participants were interested in and inspired by the fact of peaceful resistance in the Standing Rock movement. The research participants found the peaceful acts in their fight for rights were similar to historic Māori movements such as the events at Parihaka. P1 noted the resistance at Parihaka was non-violent as was the resistance at Standing Rock, it is another "common [thread] that we have between our Indigenous movements". Peaceful resistance was clearly a prominent aspect that the respondents were proud to have in common and proud of those at Standing Rock for employing, especially in the face of the violence that they had to experience. The prestigious prophets, Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi, led a non-violent resistance at Parihaka Pā during the 19th century Land Wars (Link, 2006). The pā (fortified village) became a refuge for those forced from their homes and a community of peace was built to resist further land loss and degradation of Māori culture (Link, 2006). The non-violent nature of the campaign and the continual peaceful stance from the community, in the face of violent raids and mistreatment, displayed values that participants were proud of their tūpuna (ancestors) for employing, values that are still admired today. Their espousing of peaceful resistance was commonly reflected on social media as participants often highlighted the strength and peaceful nature of Water Protectors despite all that was occurring to them. An example of one such post states, "The Standing Rock Sioux Tribes are holding their peaceful front-line resistance on behalf of our planet, for all humans, against corporate (aided by State) abuse of power

and earth and water and people”. Experiencing peaceful resistance in a similar situation elsewhere not only mirrored Māori history and experience but it also validated the values and considerations that Māori applied while resisting colonial hegemony. It validated the Māori cause and the Māori way of living on a larger, international scale.

5.6 Critical Self-Reflections

Future-forward thinking became a prominent discussion point by the participants. The participants who travelled to Standing Rock immediately felt the magnitude of the event and began to think about what it meant for their whenua (lands) back home. One participant said:

“When I was there, the first thing that came to mind was, I wish our iwi leaders were here. Because it was kind of a thing of, if this is happening to them, in their own whenua by their own people [Americans], what’s to say that that’s not going to happen to us” (P3).

Participants had committed to Standing Rock, absorbed all that was occurring—from the abuse by authorities to the model practices of Water Protectors—and upon reflection, discussed what the events could mean for the future of their own whānau, hapū and iwi in Aotearoa. One participant noted, “I definitely felt the need to share the story, you know share the experience with my people” (P3). Participants also reflected on “the challenges to maintain a non-violent resistance campaign in the light of huge violence” (P3), and P2 recognised the power of the internet and how it can be used against activists. Participants also felt that they learned of the value of networks, the strategic nature of protest and the importance of peaceful protesting.

What may have started as the act of disagreeing with non-Indigenous authorities attempting to forcefully take control of Indigenous lands, grew into much more for participants as the event became a huge learning opportunity that equipped them with the tools for informing and educating future generations. Although participants did not partake with the direct intent of learning from or studying the events, time and space from their involvement at Standing Rock has presented participants with new perspectives on their journeys; giving time to critical self-reflections. Mezirow (1990) describes critical reflection as critiquing the “presuppositions on which our beliefs have been built” (p. 1). It is concerned with the reasons for and the consequences of what we

do. Learning is “the process of making a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of an experience, which guides subsequent understanding, appreciation and action” (Mezirow, 1990, p. 1). Mezirow (1990) adds that the most noteworthy learning experiences in adulthood involve critical self-reflection and as one experiences new perspectives, the way one engages with the world may be redirected. Transforming one’s perspective is the action “of becoming critically aware of how we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; of reformulating these assumptions to permit a more inclusive, discriminating, permeable, and integrative perspective; and of making decisions or otherwise acting upon these new understandings” (Mezirow, 1990, p. 5). This can be seen in the participants’ post-journey lives. The new meanings they have gathered from their experiences has changed the way they engage with their world. Participants have taken the learnings into their everyday lives and are now working towards positive future outcomes for water and for rights in their own iwi, hapū and whānau.

5.7 The Relevance of Social Media

The data clearly showed that social media played a significant and multi-faceted role in the events at Standing Rock. All of the participants found out about the event on social media and each used social media as a tool to show their personal support, raise awareness to the event and spread accurate information on the happenings at the event, some in real time. It must also be noted that social media was used as a tool for encouraging action of many kinds in support of the Sioux people.

All participants were alerted to the event on social media and three of the four participants were notified of the event via Indigenous connections they had formed and/or maintained on Facebook. In this way, social media was a player in these participants’ involvement in Standing Rock long before the event’s visibility in the public domain. The participants had already formed virtual inter-Indigenous connections via social media and/or regularly used social media to maintain and foster existing connections. These connections were used as a network of keeping up-to-date on noteworthy Indigenous causes and happenings the world over. Participating in this active network was day-to-day, and mostly involved Facebook interactions. As easily as one picks up the business section of the newspaper to keep up-to-date with current

economic affairs, these participants filtered their Facebook News Feed⁹ so that they were regularly seeing Indigenous community updates and posts from around the globe. Hence it can be said that the Standing Rock event entered the participants' online sphere as a news item that fulfilled their areas of interest (as according to Facebook's algorithm) and then piqued their concern. This routine behaviour, briefly describing how they interact socially online and how this informs their news consumption, explains the initial incitement of interest in Standing Rock. Facebook posts were the spark that began the evolution from initial curiosity to determined evangelism to frontline activism. Therefore, social media as well as their connection's usage of social media was vital in learning of the event. One participant stated, "Thank God for social media or we wouldn't have known any of that [the goings-on at Standing Rock] (P3)". As active social media users, participants were open to the engagement and once alerted to the event were enticed to delve deeper.

After finding out about the event, participants began to increase activity and share information about Standing Rock. This included sharing posts and videos from reliable sources at Standing Rock, sharing links to further information and sharing petitions for followers to sign. For example, P3 posted a link to a petition with the message, "Hainatia (Sign)! Sign this e hika mā (friends)". P3's use of social media suggests that she wanted to spread information on the event, encourage further research on the happenings and encourage action against those in favour of the pipeline construction. This last point in particular is worth further mention because it illustrates that not only were participants' spreading awareness of the event, but they shared information with the intent to recruit people in the fight against the pipeline. They wanted to drive action in support of the oppressed Sioux peoples.

The size and reach of large social media platforms, such as Facebook is astonishing, as is the speed of which these sites have embedded themselves in everyday life (Meikle, 2016). Online activism, as is seen on Facebook, can "mobilise and connect actors, proliferate struggles and diffuse information as an asset over offline activism" (van de Donk, Loader, Nixon, & Rucht, 2004, p. 5). The ability of Facebook and the internet to reach large audiences and connect individuals and groups allowed for the quick transition from interest to action in the participants. The whole event was at the

⁹ A *News Feed* is a constantly updating list of stories (including status updates, photos, videos, links, app activity and likes from people, Pages and Groups that are followed) on the users' Facebook homepage.

participants' fingertips. Social media was already becoming saturated with Standing Rock information and now that participants knew how to seek it out, and now that social media and their networks had also raised their awareness, their newsfeeds contained more and more Standing Rock content. Participants could pick and choose what was worthy of spreading, according to their preferences, and push it out to their own networks. Thus, proving that the social networking site that was created with the intent of forming and maintaining connections can and is functioning as a vibrant information source created by that network (Burns, 2017).

The goal of participants at this point was to support the Water Protectors of Standing Rock, promote the event, reiterate that the pipeline construction is an injustice, and encourage followers to become increasingly involved and informed. At the same time participants found it important to acknowledge that this was primarily an issue of Indigenous rights over environmental rights, and just as they had done in person, participants expressed their passion for Indigenous rights online. P1 shared¹⁰ a quote that stated that "when you talk about Standing Rock, please begin by acknowledging that this pipeline was redirected from an area where it was most likely to impact white people", and P2, "Water Protection is our birthright!" It has long been the struggle of Indigenous people to gain equal recognition in the mainstream. In the above two posts, participants express that Indigenous rights must not be ignored and must not be tossed to the side of non-Indigenous rights. In diverting the DAPL from a non-Indigenous populated area to an Indigenous populated area, authorities are valuing Indigenous rights as lesser than non-Indigenous. In their social media postings participants expressed to followers ideas such as these, ideas that the mainstream media would most likely disregard, as they have historically. Again, in this regard Māori can empathise with the shared experience of mainstream rejection and the disregard for Indigenous rights. This mutual affinity elicited in participants deeper feelings for their Indigenous counterparts. Though not the main force behind their initial involvement, it definitely influenced how they shared--with a primary focus on the Indigenous aspects of the event.

Also, a lot of these posts highlighted the gross mistreatment of Water Protectors as well as the clear injustice of the pipeline. P4 posted,

¹⁰ To *share* is for a social media user to broadcast content on a social network to their connections.

“Riot police showed up to this peaceful event in Bismark¹¹ [*sic*] as Native communities gathered to discuss recent court rulings and updates on the Dakota Access Pipeline. Tension was high at first and then this happened that changed the tone”.

The outrage participants felt definitely fuelled their sharing habits. With each share they were making sure the Water Protectors were being heard and they were pointing a finger at their Facebook friends and asking if they could sit by and let this continue.

Whether in Aotearoa or at Standing Rock, participants felt a strong duty to utilise social media for ongoing support. Participants viewed their social media usage as a small form of help regarding spreading accurate and truthful facts about the event as well as promoting posts that encourage others to support and engage in the movement. The participants’ social media pages became hubs for Standing Rock information and this informative role lends to discussion featuring mainstream media. It was noted that, “Nobody was listening, the news weren’t coming and those things that were supposed to protect their people weren’t so going to social media was their best bet” (P3). It is clear that had participants not been active users of social media, they would have not been informed of the Standing Rock movement. Participants noted, in both sets of data, the shortcomings of mainstream media. This role developed in an unexpected way as Māori eventually became key information providers for those at Standing Rock. The mainstream media silence coupled with the enforced ‘media blockage’ experienced on the ground at Standing Rock led participants to assume quite a large role as an information resource. Feeling a responsibility to offset the failings of mainstream media, participants took on the role of information providers by sharing article links, social media posts, and by encouraging others to find out more. P4 noted that, “they couldn’t block us” and:

“Social media has become a tool for Indigenous people to connect with each other. It’s accessible for us. We’re tech savvy and our Indigenous people all around the world are innovative and resourceful because we’ve had to be and we know how to take on board technologies and adapt them and use them well.” (P1).

Unlike the Standing Rock Sioux, participants found themselves unobstructed by media or blockage and thus began transmitting information through their own social media channels. One participant noted, “Word spreads quickly, and on social media, especially

¹¹ Bismarck, North Dakota

amongst the Indigenous networks” (P4). P4 was not entirely surprised at this development, “as Māori, we’re so good at using social media, it’s our nature. We care enough to kōrero [communicate] regularly”. Māori favour collectivism over individualism so it is in the best interest of the group to maintain in frequent contact and ensure that all is functioning as it should be. Regarding the developed informative role, at one stage it was noted that “more people in New Zealand knew what was happening at Standing Rock than in America and that’s because our social media got the word spreading fast” (P4). This suggests that social media as a tool for spreading news is uniquely valuable to marginalised people in that it is accessible to most and gives voice to the historically voiceless. Perhaps most important is the ability of social media to host trusted voices in Indigenous communities; trusted voices in the Indigenous community that are known to its members, that hold weight, and that can be relied on to share information that truthfully represents their community. The process of determination of a trusted voice is not as clear-cut as with traditional journalism (decorated career, internationally recognised qualifications and such) but rather peer-controlled. In other words, it is by the people, for the people and while that presents an entirely new set of issues, it essentially means that news has now become democratised in a radical and exciting way. Not only that, social media sites have global reach, thus challenging white narratives on a world stage. These narratives were always challenged but never before in a way that could simultaneously be seen by the masses, due to the nature of who controlled the dissemination of information in the media. Mainstream media are controlled by those in power and filtered through a system that historically misrepresents marginalised peoples such as Indigenous groups. Thus, activists are able to challenge the inherent hierarchies of mainstream media (Dahlberg & Grundberg, 2013). While it is argued that journalists are gatekeepers of truth, it remains that media outlets are to a certain extent adherent to agendas more powerful than their own.

The fact that Māori had been seen, were present, were Indigenous, and had already contributed a lot to the cause enhanced the trustworthy nature of the information being transmitted and allowed greater trust from their Standing Rock allies. Not only could those looking for information about the events find it from Māori led sources, the information was known to be trustworthy, “the mainstream media only reports a very narrow and biased perspective of what was happening. When we are able to control our own media we are able to tell our own accurate, truthful story” (P1). The strength of the connection between Māori and Standing Rock Sioux was immediate. Participants

rapidly built a capital of trust aided by their shared experiences, trauma, history and their understanding of Indigenous life. This was all made possible due to the presence and visibility (kanohi kitea) of Māori at the event. Māori were no longer an overseas Indigenous group supporting from the outskirts online, they were a part of the Standing Rock whānau (family) and this is why the Māori social media presence grew so rapidly. The blockage hindered Water Protectors and slowed the distribution of Native American led content out of Standing Rock. The capital of trust that grew and was built upon at Standing Rock allowed for Māori to fill that gap with a reliable source of information. It is the nature of Māori to communicate face-to-face and to work on building strong relationships (whanaungatanga). Social media was integral in this process, and this relationship in turn allowed for the growth of an Indigenous-led information source.

Participants also noted the way that social media has been utilised as a tool for Indigenous connection. Of the three participants who showed direct support at Standing Rock, two mentioned using social media to maintain the connections they had made at Standing Rock. During their time at the event, these same two participants frequently posted updates and photos featuring connections they had made; connections they considered treasured, spiritual and family-like. Participants posted messages to their followers saying, “[I] love these women... it was a powerful spiritual connection and mahi we shared that night” (P2), and “I was proud to stand on the right side of history with my new family” (P4). Making connections was a treasured outcome of the participants’ journey and this was shown in their social media posts. Initially, the connections made on social media may be thought of as necessary to the event. A Sioux man posted a video asking for general Māori support, and ‘general’ Māori responded. In this case, the participants felt the cause deeply and made it their mission to post important information regularly on social media regarding the event, and/or physically travel to Standing Rock. Social media connected Aotearoa to the event, and from this the participants took away lasting interactions. One may look at social media connections in relation to a political event as no longer necessary at the event’s end but this was more than a brief connection. Long-lasting relationships were formed. Māori and the Water Protectors now felt a strong responsibility for each other and that continues beyond the outcomes of Standing Rock.

Post-event, social media served as a tool for participants to maintain the connections they had made and post further about the event retrospectively. For example, P3 created a post of thanks and admiration to her Native American friends that stood for the cause, P2 created a post of reflections on the events at Standing Rock, and P4 returned to Aotearoa with a reinvigorated passion for Māori water rights. The relationships formed and events experienced were deeply felt by participants and thus did not end with the event. The core ideas, values and issues have stayed with the participants into their everyday lives. A strong connection was made between P2 and young male prayer warrior at Standing Rock. A tāonga was gifted to him and he was so moved by the gift and by the Māori connections he made during the event that he travelled to Aotearoa post-event to re-connect and maintain those connections. Another significant occurrence post event was the gift of ashes from the spiritual, sacred fire that burned at Standing Rock:

“[the] spiritual fire was burned at the beginning of the fight and put out at the end of the fight. Seven of those embers, those ashes from the fire were taken around the world. The last stop was here, Aotearoa, and they took the ashes down to the coast and they gave seven corners of the world these ashes... To be thought of in that way after the fight was a huge honour, I think it definitely strengthened our hono (connection) with our Native American cousins” (P3).

These experiences were also noted on social media. From these two instances alone it can be said that the effect of Māori involvement was such that it moved beyond the timeline of the Standing Rock event. Furthermore, as the connections made during the event are being maintained post-event it is likely that these relationships will continue to grow and deepen into the future. P2 posted this to her social media about a connection she made and maintained post-event, “Her message and her posts on FB (Facebook) often speak what is exactly in my heart, despite that we are thousands of kms (kilometres) apart”. This indicates a strong connection, and the specific reference to her friend’s Facebook posts implies the significance of social media in this relationship.

Another significant aspect of social media was the Haka With Standing Rock Facebook group. This is a closed group, meaning that interested parties must request to join and provide reasons for wanting to join. This is particularly important, as an enduring fear of Indigenous scholars (Iseke-Barnes & Darnard, 2007; Nathan, 2000; Radoll, 2004) is safeguarding Indigenous culture and preventing misrepresentation and misappropriation. The group is an example of utilising inreach communication (Dyson,

2011), as it excludes outsiders with the goal of protecting the shared knowledge. The group is also an example of community building, ‘solidarity networking’ and lessening the distance between differing Indigenous groups across the world, uniting people over common ideas (Dyson, 2011; Landzelius, 2006). The group now has 100,000 followers and despite the end of the event, the group remains active with members continuing to post frequently. While Standing Rock was the reason for the creation of the group, the members now post content from a wide range of areas, events or happenings. Unsurprisingly these posts are all strongly Indigenous oriented and, like the Standing Rock posts, often support other Indigenous movements or rights in the Indigenous community. The evolution and development of this Facebook group is an interesting example of Indigenous social media usage.

5.7.2 A Model of Indigenous Social Media Deployment

The data suggests that there are four clear, sequential stages of social media deployment by the participants. The above discussions on the relevance of social media in the Standing Rock events indicate that participants have increasingly intensified their social media involvement and moved through various stages of engagement, from initially finding out about the event to maintaining connections beyond the event timeline. An analysis of the various levels of social media deployment suggest four stages that have been organised in this study as *Active Grazing*, *Active Participation*, *Committed Participation*, and *Ongoing Participation* (Figure 1).



Figure 1: ‘*Stages of Indigenous Social Media Engagement*’, source: Author’s own figure.

The *Stages of Indigenous Social Media Engagement* model (Figure 1) is a loose expansion of several versions of the *Engagement Pyramid* that are in existence. It articulates the four main stages of Indigenous social media engagement termed here as *Active Grazing*, *Active Participation*, *Committed Participation* and *Ongoing Participation*. Gil de Zuniga, Jung and Valenzuela (2012) describe three steps to civic participation: (1) civic engagement, (2) online political participation and (3) offline political participation. The nature of social media information distribution, such as the Facebook Newsfeed, is such that all social media users ‘graze’ their online content and thus decide what they will and will not engage with. All participants in this study have a history of civic engagement and they all have active social media accounts; therefore, they have been identified as ‘Active Grazers’. This term describes the nature of the participants and their likelihood to engage with social and/or political content. As Indigenous peoples with a strong dedication to Indigenous rights, it seems natural for the participants to actively respond to threats to those rights. Participants’ prior connections on social media and/or streams of Indigenous-led content on social media are what initiated their Standing Rock journey. Thus, fulfilling the Active Grazing stage. *Active Participation* describes the participants increased passion for the cause. After learning of the events and understanding the goings on of the event, participants increased activity and involvement in the event. At this stage participants began to encourage involvement, share content on the happenings at Standing Rock, and express thoughts and opinions. *Committed Participation* describes the participants’ increased social media usage; it has become more intense and directed for the cause. At this point participants frequently posted news updates and happenings coming out of Standing Rock, and encouraged participation in protests, petition signings, donating, and haka. The final stage, *Ongoing Participation* describes the usage of social media to maintain contact with connections formed at the event and to engage with the event via throwbacks¹² or reflections.

The participants progressed through the first two stages fairly quickly. This is unsurprising, as in accordance with Māori culture and values it is natural to increase involvement and communication, and help those in need. The latter two stages, *Committed Participation* and *Ongoing Participation* proceeded much slower and lasted longer. In the case of *Ongoing Participation*, there is no longer an end point to the social media engagement, as online interactions post-event continue today and will

¹² A *throwback* is to revisit an earlier event, occurrence, or memory in a social media post.

likely continue into the future. *Active Participation* and *Committed Participation* corresponded with the height of the event, and were also the times when it was most important to be active, e.g. for spreading awareness, encouraging engagement and highlighting the event to the world. While these two stages were in one way dependent on the duration and timeline of the actual events, in another way, they were magnified and “stretched” by the participants’ social media postings and networking. *Ongoing Participation* is what occurred post event and involved maintaining connections and reflections and new viewpoints. Hence, there is no definite end point to or closure of this stage of social media engagement. In the case of P2, their previous experience with Indigenous issues, their active social media use, and their networked connections led to an introduction to the event (*Active Grazing*). This sparked interest in the event and led to sharing and creating multiple posts, videos, links and photos in an effort to highlight the event and encourage growth (*Active Participation*). This progressed to passionate and sustained social media postings in all aspects of the event: including, highlighting the event, encouraging participation, informing followers, updating followers, and posting from Standing Rock (*Committed Participation*). As the event came to a close, P2 continued to post passionate thoughts on the event and used social media to keep up to date with the Standing Rock happenings and maintain the connections made at Standing Rock (*Ongoing Participation*).

The timeline of social media posts illustrates the four stage engagement model. From late August 2016 participants began to post about the Standing Rock event. The posts increased in intensity and frequency throughout the event. As participants became increasingly engaged through October these posts began to feature links to videos, petitions, and links with further information on the event or ways to get involved. This is also when one participant first travelled to Standing Rock and began to post from there, and this type of social media usage occurred again in November when all three travelling participants were in Standing Rock (P4 for the second time). In particular, P4 noted the importance of Māori postings from Standing Rock live and onsite. Once the participants each returned to Aotearoa, a steady stream of posting was maintained but lessened as the event drew to a close, and later spiked as it was announced pipeline construction was cancelled and again as it was announced that the cancellation was reversed. Despite the widespread popularity of the event diminishing at its close, the participants continually demonstrate the committed nature of their social media usage as they continue to post updates or messages of support (albeit less frequently) regarding

the Water Protectors and their rights. Post-event, participants utilise social media to keep abreast of the happenings in North Dakota and to maintain the relationships formed at Standing Rock. As this final process is ongoing, one could argue that these relationships will continue to deepen and grow stronger with time. Through this timeline we can see that the four stage involvement quickly developed from *Active Grazer*, to *Active Participation*, and not long after that to *Committed Participation*, and finally *Ongoing Participation*.

5.8 Indigenous Activism

The data suggests that the participants' actions and usage of social media may be considered a form of activism, activism being defined here as the policy or action for political, cultural, social, or nationalistic change (Yang, 2009). The Standing Rock event itself was a political movement that grew in social media channels to promote the agenda of Water Protectors and achieve the goal of bringing about political change in the form of disrupting the planned construction of an oil pipeline. Performing haka at the event, standing in solidarity on the frontline, and waving flags in the face of authorities were all actions employed by the participants that may be interpreted as activism. These are more obvious behaviours that fit the traditional activist profile as understood by the masses; the word "activism" often evokes images of overt defiance and grand displays of subverting the oppressors. But the participants' use of social media to encourage action in their wider communities should not be overlooked as an integral part of their activist behaviour. It can be noted that a lot of physical support was posted on social media, sometimes live.

The internet and social media present new ways for groups to assert stance, publicise ideas, connect actors, spread information, and participate in political events (Dahlberg-Grundberg, 2013; Duarte, 2017; Dyson, 2011; Olabode, 2018; Titafanue et al., 2018). In this case, the internet provided an international connection between two separate Indigenous cultures and led to sustained Māori support for an Indigenous political cause. It was also the primary platform for participants to express their political views to followers. Moreover, social media allows activists or activist groups to challenge mainstream media, and this was seen in the ways in which participants utilised social media platforms throughout the event (Duarte, 2017; Olabode, 2018). Participants consistently shared firsthand content that was not represented on mainstream media—

particularly the gross mistreatment of Water Protectors. As has been displayed in other political movements, Māori exhibited the emancipatory capacity of social media usage (Milan, 2013, as cited in Samson & Gigoux, 2016) by becoming an Indigenous-led information resource. Participants, either through their own pages or among Facebook groups, provided first-hand content at the event, thus displaying accurate happenings ‘live’. This relatively new development of social media and social media activism had participants giving real time, needs-based responses so while ‘information provider’ may not have initially been the role they saw themselves assuming when they first engaged with the cause, it became an integral part of their activism .

Finally, this study demonstrates the view that Indigenous cyberactivism is not a substitute for traditional organisation but rather a catalyst (Ayers, 2003; Harlow, 2012; Delgado, 2002; Griбанова & Nevzorov, 2017). Cyberactivism played a large role in the participants experience; it was used to organise action, mobilise people to some extent, but primarily it was used for the simple act of sharing information to inform others and consuming information to inform oneself.

5.8.2 A Model of Indigenous Activism

From the discussions has stemmed a model of Indigenous activism (pictured below).

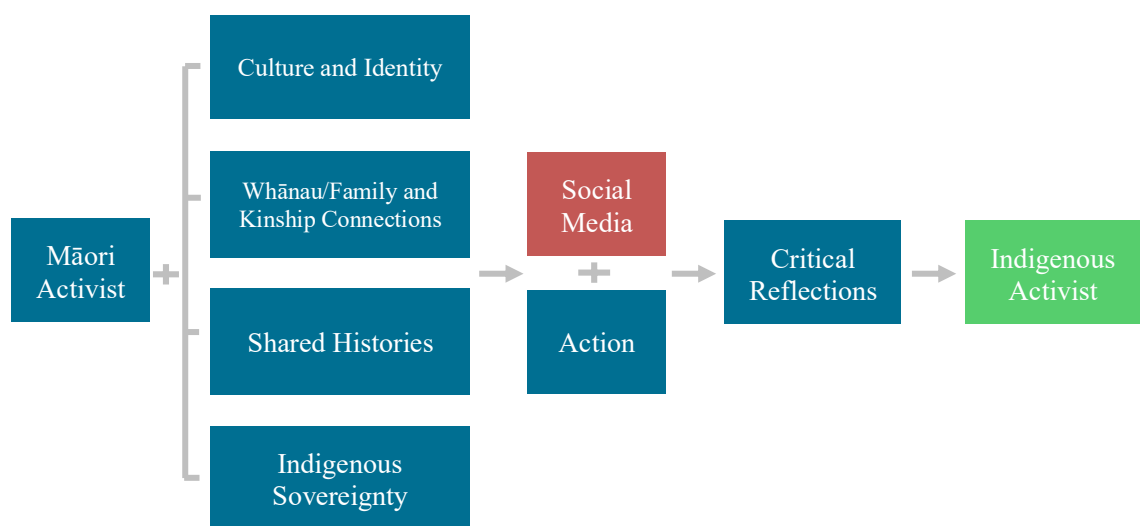


Figure 2: ‘The Evolution of the Indigenous Activist’, source: Author’s own figure.

This model articulates the ‘how’ and ‘why’ for the Māori Activist; it highlights how they might express their support for, and collaboration with other Indigenous peoples and their causes, particularly through direct action and social media. ‘*The Evolution of the Indigenous Activist*’ begins with the *Māori Activist*. There are 4 factors that shape the *Māori Activist* and drive them to utilise *Social Media* and to *Action*, these are: (1) Culture and Identity, (2) Whānau/Family and Kinship Connections, (3) Sense of a Shared History, and (4) Importance of Indigenous Sovereignty. *Social Media* can be used in varying ways, either to become informed, spread awareness or encourage aid, and *Action* can be deemed as any measure taken to support the Indigenous cause—often *Social Media* facilitates *Action*. In the case of this study *Action* includes but is not limited to physically travelling to Standing Rock to support and writing and sharing posts of support on social media. A consequence of that *Action*, is *Critical Reflection* by the *Māori Activist* or in other words reflecting on what motivated these actions. Furthermore, this *Action* to *Critical Reflection* progression reinforces and strengthens the 4 factors that mold the *Māori Activist*. The completion of this process transforms the *Māori Activist* into the *Indigenous Activist*. One example from this study is P4, a Māori male from the East Coast. His whānau (family), his cultural identity, his aspirations for tino rangatiratanga (Māori self-determination), his sense of shared history between Tūranga and Standing Rock and his usage of social media led him to *Action*. This *Action* strengthened and reinforced Indigenous views and resulted in sustained support for the cause of upholding Indigenous rights. He is now a committed *Indigenous Activist*.

While all of these factors are important in their own right (and each necessary to the evolutionary process), it must be noted that social media plays a pivotal and paramount role—at least in the case of these participants. This evolution does not occur overnight; it is the culmination of a long journey (in some participant’s cases a literal journey across seas). It is a simple linear evolution as a part of an already mature lifecycle (one is not born a Māori Activist), in other words it must begin with a person who fulfils the profile of a Māori Activist (defined earlier as a Māori person who advocates on behalf of Māori and Māori self-determination).

5.9 Summary

The participants in this study represent a small percentage of Māori who supported the Standing Rock protestors, as shown by the numbers who shared social media posts,

signed petitions, and discussed the cause. They are a significant proportion of those who, at their own expense, travelled to Standing Rock, and used their public and social media platforms to highlight this struggle. Therefore, it is clear that Māori interest in the event stemmed from a number of factors identified in this chapter. This chapter presents findings that are clear evidence that social media has the potential to bring Indigenous peoples together, to facilitate their relationships in support of important causes and events, and to contribute to their pursuit of self-determination. In the following chapter, themes and patterns drawn from these findings will be discussed further.

6.0 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of findings from the previous chapter and discusses the ways these findings may contribute to Indigenous scholarship in the field of Indigenous communications and social media. It also details the significance, implications and limitations of the study, and makes recommendations for future research.

6.2 Answering the research questions

6.2.1 Question 1: What was Māori interest in the events at Standing Rock?

The findings show that participants in the study were interested in the events at Standing Rock for reasons stemming from Indigenous affinity. In many ways, Māori, as the Indigenous people of Aotearoa, felt akin to the Sioux people, an Indigenous people in North America. This kinship was especially felt in their shared and continued pursuit for sovereignty, the parallel nature of both culture's historical struggles for self-determination, a mutual understanding of conflicts with imposed authority, and shared Indigenous viewpoints of spirituality, land and water. This was also felt in the mistreatment of Indigenous peoples at Standing Rock, in whom participants saw their own tūpuna (ancestors) and their struggles against colonial powers. There is a Latin American word, *susto*, which translates to 'soul sickness' and it describes the generational trauma caused by colonisation (Gonzales, 2012). Native Americans have a similar word that translates to 'soul wound' (Daniels & D'Andrea, 2007). These concepts quickly and viscerally illustrate the persistent pain shared by Indigenous people the world over in regard to colonisation. In the proposal of the Dakota Access Pipeline on Sioux lands, Māori saw not just another stark injustice against an Indigenous community, they saw both the reopening of the Native American 'soul wound', and the carefree, bloodied, and familiar white hand that had inflicted it. While many different factors led to Māori engagement with the event, this was a key reason for participants to take such a strong stand with those at Standing Rock.

Participants were quick to engage with the movement and interest grew as more and more information was entering their streams. This interest grew into sustained involvement and eventually, the act of travelling thousands of miles to grant in-person

support. All the while, participants were guided by their cultural backgrounds and experiences. Perhaps what sets Standing Rock apart from other, in particular older, Indigenous movements is its place in time as social media penetration was high. Thus, what significantly facilitated Māori interest, was the ability to see the events unfold “live” on social media. While this also explains Māori interest, one very important factor that must be mentioned is the incitement to interest. Before interest, there must be awareness and it was social media that alerted each of the four participants to the goings on at Standing Rock. Social media and their use of it was the primary catalyst to interest and eventually involvement in the event. Dyson (2011) generally describes that the internet's ability to connect allows for the creation of pan-Indigenous movements and “these allow collective action based on the commonality of Indigenous peoples’ struggles for human rights” (p. 277). In this study it can be seen that the commonality of Indigenous peoples’ is not limited to, and far extends the commonality of struggles for human rights; the reasons are much deeper.

From the analysis of participant interest in the events at Standing Rock has stemmed a model of *Indigenous Activism*. The study found that participants were deeply affected by a number of important factors, and this led participants to move beyond Māori issues and into the wider realm of Indigenous issues through social media and action.

6.2.2 Question 2: How did social media facilitate Māori involvement in the events at Standing Rock?

The findings show that social media had a large, complex role in Māori involvement at Standing Rock. Social media led participants to the event, became a way to educate oneself on the event, and eventually was used to encourage more people to involvement in the movement, to show virtual support and to update followers of the movement as an information resource. It also played a significant role in participants’ post-event involvement, as it was used as a tool for reconnecting and maintaining connections with networks formed at Standing Rock.

It is evident participants interacted with social media in many different ways and from this a four-phase model and theory was drawn. The model describes the social media pathway of which the participants progressed through the movement and eventually into their post-event lives. Moreover, the ways in which social media facilitated Māori involvement led to discussions of Indigenous cyberactivism and social media. This

study displayed that social media was a catalyst to involvement and action and later led participants to incite others to action and to communicate intermittently on issues adjacent to the cause, post event.

6.3 Significance and Implications

The implications of the findings for Indigenous scholarship are far reaching. Standing Rock was arguably the largest Indigenous movement for Indigenous rights in the world and most likely will not be the last. In this way it can be said that this work may be used as a stepping stone for future research and while its outcomes are related to Māori involvement in the events at Standing Rock, they may be applied to various situations.

In terms of Indigenous deployment of social media, this research barely scratched the surface. This study focussed on the reasoning for Māori interest and discussed ways that Māori participants showed support. The findings included social media and activism but this was not the sole focus of the study. There is much to discover on the exact usage of social media by participants and Māori across Aotearoa, including the usage of hashtags and social media support groups. This study highlights Māori involvement in the Standing Rock event and the utilisation of social media by Māori during that involvement. In essence it highlights the interest of one Indigenous culture in a separate Indigenous cultures struggle, on another side of the world, and the modes of communication used to maintain the connection between the two cultures. From this perspective, the results of this study can be applicable to a broader level, for instance, when approaching the empowering potential of social media for other Indigenous groups. Furthermore, the media dynamics between mainstream and social media and the use of social media as an informative tool are some of the many dimensions in this approach that can be further explored in other contexts. The analysis of this study demonstrates the significant role of Māori as information providers, central to the flow of communication at Standing Rock. Although the exact power of reach is unconfirmed, there is no question that there is power and reach at the fingertips of any activist with access to social media.

The examination of Māori participation in this movement and the utilisation of social media in the local and translocal sense has become a fitting reference point for Indigenous utilisation of social media. The theory related to Indigenous cyberactivism or Indigenous participation in transnational movements has potential implications for all

Indigenous groups. Therefore, this theory provides a framework for developing strategies that enable:

- Māori to critically reflect on their engagement with the Standing Rock movement,
- Indigenous campaigners to connect with other Indigenous campaigners across the world,
- Activists to utilise social media for engaging with movement actors.

Overall, it is the hope of the researcher that this study acts as an aid in: 1) understanding reasoning for Māori interest in other Indigenous causes and, 2) helping Indigenous people enhance their movements and better utilise and incorporate ICTs alongside their offline activism.

6.4 Limitations of Study

There are 5 main limitations to the study, 1) limited participant numbers, 2) rapidly changing social media environment, 3) generalising Māori involvement, 4) the analytical potential of social media data and 5) the relatively young literature on Indigenous cyberactivism.

The first limitation relates to the number of participants in the study. While the number of Māori that showed devoted support in person or on social media is unknown, it was not particularly high, thus it is likely the number in this study was of a good proportion. However, this study could have benefitted from more participants. Having a wider sample size would have resulted in a wider representation of Māori support and a wider understanding of the role of social media. Even though this is a qualitative study it would have benefitted from more respondents. It is pertinent to note that this study did not seek to generalise its findings but rather provide a solid base to a more in-depth examination of Indigenous participation in Indigenous movements in person and online.

The second limitation acknowledges that this study is a snapshot of the Standing Rock event and social media usage at the time of the event. While it is accurate and representative of the time, its usefulness may date if social media sites continue to develop at rapid rates. Participant usage may be completely different if the research was repeated at a later date.

Thirdly, there are many diverse groups within the Māori world such as whānau, hapū, iwi, and urban, and while the aim of the study is not to generalise the feelings of Māori as one, the participants in this study do not represent a singular Māori view. The perspectives offered are extremely relevant to the research and are prime examples of how some Māori engaged with the Standing Rock movement in ways that heavily link to their Māori heritage and upbringing. Despite this, the study would have benefitted from a more diverse range of participants. While this may have been tough given few travelled to Standing Rock, this may have been achieved in a quantitative analysis of social media use by Māori.

Furthermore, the social media data gathered from participants had the potential to be analysed in many ways. This study is an example of one such way. As the role of social media in cyber movements is complex and multifaceted one is able to look at the data in varied ways. Due to limited time and thesis size it was not possible to strip the data to its core. For example, interactions in the comments of participants' posts were ignored, as were participant comments on other relevant Standing Rock posts. Given more time and resources, valuable conclusions could be drawn from such rich data.

Finally, as the field of Indigenous cyberactivism is relatively new, and this study is not its sole focus, there is an especially limited collection of literature to compare this study with. Despite this, there is a wide spread of Indigenous literature that this work is set upon. While this is an early piece of work, unique in its exploration and without the benefit of extensive adjacent research, it is definitely a contribution to the literature on Indigenous peoples and social media.

6.5 Recommendations for Future Research

There is significant opportunity for future research in this area. The following are three initial recommendations: 1) working on a larger scale study, 2) examining the viewpoints of the Standing Rock Sioux regarding Māori support, and 3) conducting a quantitative analysis of social media and/or having a focus on specific aspects of social media, including Facebook groups and Facebook comments.

Firstly, the field of Indigenous communication, connection, and cyberactivism would benefit from a larger scale project. A quantitative study of public social media posts created by Māori would provide a more accurate view of Māori support. Furthermore,

an increase of participants that physically travelled to support the Sioux in Standing Rock would provide a more detailed view of Māori support at Standing Rock.

Secondly, while the focus should remain on Māori involvement and how social media facilitated that involvement it would be interesting to garner firsthand accounts of how the Standing Rock Sioux received that involvement and how they ‘valued’ it. While the participants in this study had many comments on the opinions of their Standing Rock ‘friends and family’, it would be of great value to hear personal perspectives from the Standing Rock Water Protectors.

Thirdly, the study revealed that clearly there is a lot more to be done in the field of social media. The role is varied and rather complex, thus greater attention needs to be given to each aspect of social media usage. The research showed that social media is rapidly spreading the happenings of the world globally, and many Māori are watching, consuming and ready. There is a definite demand for innovative social media usage in the quest to support transnational Indigenous causes, and Indigenous groups across the world are welcoming the use of social media to support and become up-to-date with these causes. The participants in this study are a great example of this. It is likely that there is a productive future for Indigenous groups that wish to utilise social media for any cause. A complete quantitative analysis of social media usage by Māori across the timeline of the event could present a wider, more accurate picture of Māori involvement. In this study, the role of the Facebook group was integral; an entire study could be done on the Haka With Standing Rock group alone. Another interesting aspect are the comments sections on Facebook as this is where users interact with each other at a much more personal level, ‘speaking’ directly to one another in conversation. The posts analysed in this study were mainly posts to all followers, comments were ignored.

Moreover, this study looks at an Indigenous movement that is reactionary—a direct response to the creation of a pipeline that violated Native American lands and beliefs. But the findings of this study are applicable to all Indigenous-led movements, not just protests. The utilisation of social media does not need to be seen as an effective weapon in an arsenal against oppressors (though it can definitely be described in that way). Instead, one may look at it as a way for Indigenous groups to enhance their movements toward social or political change, unite in their shared interests and/or maintain Indigenous connections and networks.

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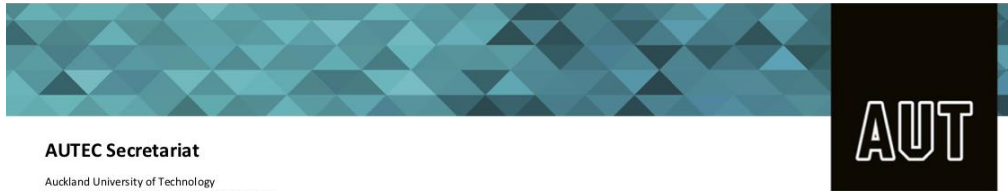
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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Approval



AUTEC Secretariat

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21 November 2017

Gudrun Frommherz
Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies

Dear Gudrun

Ethics Application: 17/391 How does social media facilitate Inter-Indigenous relationships? A case study of Standing Rock

Thank you for submitting your application for ethical review. I am pleased to advise that a subcommittee of the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) approved your ethics application, subject to the following conditions:

1. Provision of the O.3 authorising signature;
2. Review the indicative questions so that there is a better focus on the primary purposes of the research concerning the role of social media;
3. Clarification of the use of social media posts in this research. Are these the posts of consented participants? If yes, this use of posts needs to be explained in the Information Sheet. If the source of the posts are not consented participants, please explain how the use of potentially identifiable information is ethical in the absence of consent. Please be advised that AUTEC does not consider posts on Facebook (for example) to be public information based on the fact that access is limited to persons with private logins;
4. Amendment of the Information Sheet as follows:
 - a. Consistent addressing of the reader as "you" rather than as "participants";
 - b. Clarification of whether transcripts of the interview will be available for confirmation;
 - c. Removal of the offer of counselling;
 - d. Moderate the benefits section: the committee considers that these are currently overstated and do not entirely correspond with the indicative questions
 - e. Consistency in the Privacy section: this does currently does not mesh with the consent statement concerning being identified by name in the research.

Please provide me with a response to the points raised in these conditions, indicating either how you have satisfied these points or proposing an alternative approach. AUTEC also requires copies of any altered documents, such as Information Sheets, surveys etc. You are not required to resubmit the application form again. Any changes to responses in the form required by the committee in their conditions may be included in a supporting memorandum.

Please note that the Committee is always willing to discuss with applicants the points that have been made. There may be information that has not been made available to the Committee, or aspects of the research may not have been fully understood.

Once your response is received and confirmed as satisfying the Committee's points, you will be notified of the full approval of your ethics application. Full approval is not effective until all the conditions have been met. Data collection may not commence until full approval has been confirmed. If these conditions are not met within six months, your application may be closed and a new application will be required if you wish to continue with this research.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

I look forward to hearing from you,

Yours sincerely

Kate O'Connor
Executive Manager
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: india.fremaux@gmail.com

Appendix B: Tino Rangatiratanga flag



Figure 3: '*Tino Rangatiratanga flag*', source: New Zealand History, 2015.

Appendix C: Standing Rock Haka

Kua takoto te manuka, HIII!

Kua rangona te karanga, HAAA!

Ko iwi Māori e ngunguru nei....

Hi au, au, AUE HAAA!

Pokokōhua paipa hinu e!

Pokokōhua mahi kino e!

Pokokōhua, kai a te kuri, tiraumoko, kaikōhuru e!

Ko au te wai, ko te wai ko au!

Ana, ana.... HIII!

English Translation

The challenge has been laid down!

The call of invitation received!

The Māori people are rumbling here...

Yes, yes, bring it on!

Bastard oil pipe!

Bastard acts of abuse!

I am the water, the water is me!

Written and translated by Te Hamua Nikora (Dunlop, 2016, para 34).