

The impact of Māori Television on being Māori: A geographical approach

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Abstract: This study's objective was to examine the influence of Māori Television on a sample of Māori women living in Dunedin. Given Dunedin's small Māori population, the research sought to determine how these women perceived Māori TV. Was it useful in linking them with Te Ao Māori? A qualitative analysis was undertaken. Results indicate that Māori Television has had an overwhelmingly positive impact on its Dunedin Māori women viewers. This study's conclusions indicate Māori TV is a counterbalance to mainstream representations of Māori, it recognises and celebrates iwi Māori diversity, it is a positive medium for Māori and it connects Māori with Te Ao Māori.

Keywords: Māori, media, television.

Introduction

The long awaited launching of the Māori Television Service (Māori TV) on Sunday the 28th of March, 2004 was a milestone in Aotearoa New Zealand for Māori broadcasting. Walker asserts, "The occasion was a cultural celebration of triumph over adversity, a dawning of a new age of Māori modernity in the twenty-first century" (2004, p. 402). Finally, Māori had the means to articulate their own stories, report on items which *they* felt were news worthy, produce images of themselves on television and perhaps more importantly, they had an avenue through which the Māori language and tikanga Māori could be normalised and celebrated. This paper seeks initially to explore the impact of Māori representation in the media by non-Māori, looking at how this precipitated the fundamental need for a more authentic, Māori directed mode of representation in television broadcasting. This research examines the influence of Māori TV on five Māori women living in Dunedin, a city whose demography positions Māori as a very small minority making up around 5% of the city's total population (2001 Census). Given this minority status, this investigation seeks to answer the question: what influence does Māori TV have in the construction of notions of being Māori in its Māori adult viewers in Dunedin?

Māori representation within mainstream broadcasting

According to a Statistics New Zealand survey, "on average, [New Zealand] people watched just under 2 hours of television or videos per day as a primary activity" (2001, p.71). Far from merely holding an objective mirror up to the audience, television "through processes of selection and construction... represent[s] the world in a particular and definite way" (Maharey, 1990, p.25). Of course the extent to which television influences the way people see the world and their place within it varies depending on the individual's beliefs and awareness of how television media constructs meaning. However, the evidence indicates that New Zealanders rely heavily on television for information and entertainment. This reliance presupposes an openness to accept the stories and information presented as being part of how the viewer makes sense of their world.

Before the original seeds of launching Māori TV had even been conceived of by Māori, mainstream television was already a well-established medium for New Zealand households and

had been since 1960 (Dunleavy, 2005). There is little doubt that English and American norms and worldviews have dominated television from the outset of its existence in New Zealand. Bell (1995) discusses how the New Zealand structure of television was influenced by imported models from overseas which followed a trend of white, middle-class domination. Accordingly, the medium sought a stronger orientation towards its white population at the expense of Māori and other ethnic groups, thus creating a monocultural perspective in television broadcasting. One way of disguising monoculturalism was by giving audiences the impression that we are a nation which is homogenous and egalitarian; irrespective of our cultural and ethnic differences there are commonalities which connect us all as *New Zealanders*. As such, Bell (1995) argues that what we have by way of such television is a simplified identity. That simplified identity as *New Zealanders* has ultimately been guarded by Pākehā definitions of normality which essentially discredit other worldviews as being of the lower value, for that reason the Pākehā worldview had come to be seen as the natural or hegemonic way. In contrast, the Māori world view was barely visible confining Māori participation in all aspects of television broadcasting to a comparatively diminutive role. Fox (2002) recalls his first introduction to broadcasting in the 1970s at a time when Māori content on TV was almost invisible. He provides a damning assessment of Māori representation:

There were no television programmes made especially for the Māori population. The Māori language was almost never heard on the airwaves, and the whole spectrum of social and political issues important to Māori people were largely ignored both by radio and TV. (Fox, 2002, p.261).

Similarly, Reweti (2006) describes the period of her introduction to a television career with TVNZ twenty years ago, also as an era of insufficient Māori content in broadcasting. However, by this stage the first dedicated Māori programme *Koha* had finally screened on TV, taking TVNZ some twenty years to recognise its responsibility to Māori viewers. In spite of this, questions began to be raised by the *Koha* team regarding who the show's stories should be aimed at. These questions arose after staff had been informed, by TVNZ, that their target audience was to be the average New Zealand viewer and not Māori specifically. "We were in fact making programmes by Māori, about Māori for the 'majority viewing audience', a favourite TV term for white New Zealand" (Mita, 1996, p.46). This example is indicative of the homogenous thinking prevalent in TVNZ at the time, whereby it was acceptable to show images of Māori provided they could be communicated in a way that the average New Zealand viewer would appreciate, therefore diminishing the essence of Te Ao Māori to Māori viewers. However, in reaction, *Koha* staff "felt an obligation to speak directly to Māori with an authentic voice, refusing to water down or simplify the message for the mainstream palate" (Reweti, 2006, p.180).

It should not be inferred that mainstream broadcasting is guided by a malign white supremacist ethos who are trying to push their-own cultural agenda. In reality television in New Zealand is governed by commercial interests, hence the high proportion of advertising on mainstream TV. However, this model serves to perpetuate the status quo with the attendant values and perceptions that go with it. Take the news for example, according to Maharey (1990) "problematic and complex issues are...impractical for the visually dependent medium of television" therefore the "news will usually be about something with which audiences are already familiar" (1990, 21). If the Pākehā perspective is what has guided news in television programming it stands to reason that because of commercial imperatives to keep things short "authoritative" and relatively simple, presenting a whole new cultural perspective is seen as not commercially feasible due to the "sound bite" nature of television news broadcasting.

An additional cause for concern in television broadcasting is the predisposition of mainstream media to compartmentalise Māori into assorted categories. According to Pihama (1996), Māori representations by Pākehā image-makers were influenced by dominant discourses which constructed severely limited notions of being Māori. She isolated three paradigms used to classify Māori by Pākehā: the ‘native/inferior’ Other, the ‘deficient/depraved/negative’ Other and the ‘activist/radical/excessive’ Other. The ‘native/inferior’ Other originated in the colonisation of New Zealand by the British in the nineteenth century. Walker (1990, 9) described this time as an era of European expansionism “predicated on assumptions of racial, religious, cultural and technological superiority”. Hence, the “native” or Māori were regarded as “inferior” to the “superior” British or Pākehā. The ‘deficient/depraved/negative’ Other is simply an extension of this notion of the native as “inferior” and the coloniser or Pākehā as “superior”. The heart of this category is the “inferior” or inadequate position of Te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori in comparison to the English language and Pākehā worldview. Walker’s (2004) emphasis on Pākehā mispronunciation of Māori words and place names on television is a marker which directly correlates to Te reo Māori being seen as “inferior”. This was exemplified by “Arnold Wall and Alan Mulgan, who in 1940 argued that the common usage of Māori placenames such as Wonganewy and Wai-peka-row should be used on air because they were widely accepted” (Walker, 2004, p.334). Assumptions such as these, based on racial superiority, essentially validated the further denial of Māori worldviews and narratives. The ‘activist/radical/excessive’ Other is a more recent reaction to indigenous assertions of sovereignty. Māori attempts at regaining their due entitlements through tino rangatiratanga are simplified and misrepresented in the media usually as aggressive endeavors by “activists” to cause trouble. Trouble-making seems to be the logical explanation for such “radical” behaviour while, little attention is centered on exploring why such desperate measures are being sought in the first place; for this reason the media fails to provide a context for these alleged “radical” deeds. This illustration is an additional testament to the longstanding concerns Māori have held regarding media representation of Māori.

Leland and Martin (2001) generalise Pihama’s three paradigms by concluding that ethnicity on television is generally represented in binaries of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’. Dominant discourses of racial superiority in the media greatly disadvantage Māori while working in favour of the coloniser. The stereotyping of Māori through sweeping generalisations that commence with statements such as “Māori say...” make assumptions that all Māori are the same (PSA Journal, 2003). Stuart (2005) sees this type of labeling as a “catch-all”. He offers an example from the Hawke’s Bay Today, with the caption *‘Māori want fee for Lake Taupo airspace’* concluding that headlines such as this one create the false impression of a unified Māori opinion. But the reality is that Māori views are just as varied as Pākehā on a variety of issues. A common practice in the mainstream news media is to pigeon-hole Māori by deliberately asking broad questions like “What do Māori think?” thereby suggesting that one Māori speaks for all, but this same question would not be expected of Pākehā. Leading Stuart (2005) to support other commentators who affirm the Pākehā worldview is considered to be the norm or “Us” while the Māori worldview “Them” is foreign. He proclaims, “here the position Pākehā is normal and need not be named, but the position Māori is marked as “outside” normal society”.

Representing Māori according to this tacit dichotomy of “Them” and “Us” is coming under increased scrutiny in the modern, post-colonial world. The Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, Rodolfo Stavenhagen (2006, Para66) concluded in his commentary on indigenous issues that there is a “systematic negative description of Māori in media coverage”. Amongst the findings he reported: relevant Māori themes on television were scarce; programmes often unfairly portrayed Māori as having preferential treatment; prominent media depicted Māori control over resources as a threat to non-Māori; Māori were often shown as inadequate managers, either being

‘corrupt’ or ‘financially incompetent’ and ‘bad news’ concerning Māori tended to overshadow ‘good news’. Consequently, his recommendations were, “the public media should be encouraged to provide a balanced, unbiased and non-racist picture of Māori in New Zealand society, and an independent commission should be established to monitor their performance and suggest remedial action” (Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, 2006, Recommendation 104).

One such attempt to critique Māori representation on television was the *Portrayal of Māori and Te Ao Māori in broadcasting: the foreshore seabed issue* (2005) researched by Te Kawa a Māui. The research was commissioned by an independent group and involved a detailed analysis and observation, employing both a quantitative and qualitative content analysis, of broadcasting coverage of the foreshore and seabed issue in 2003. While, the report has been beneficial in its analysis of Māori representation in broadcasting it has come under some criticism for several reasons. Pihama (2006) deplores the methodology employed to measure balance, accuracy and fairness in the report as “highly flawed and in academic terms is poorly lacking” given that the researchers opted to assess “balance over a period of time” rather than based on individual news stories. Furthermore, she highlights contradictions in the research and even questions the validity of the overall report findings. Similarly, Harrison (2006) also denounces the report’s style of calculating “balance over a period of time” seeing it as flawed and inaccurate. In addition, she criticises its conclusion, which argues that Māori realities, concerns and interests are inadequately reflected in current broadcasting standards claiming, the report was unsuccessful in identify what these were and how they could be achieved (Harrison, 2006). She was further discouraged by what was perceived as, the squandering of a chance to use the report as a means of bringing about necessary changes in the mainstream media.

Nāu te whatu Māori - through the eye of the Māori

One significant change Māori have relentlessly pursued has been the desire to represent themselves in all aspects of television broadcasting. Patrica Grace (2006) eloquently captured the basis of this longing in her assertion, “there was little on television that we could take to our hearts.” Grace’s quotation being suggestive of the call to finally begin conveying stories on television, which Māori would not only find stimulating and relevant but which would also be made by Māori for Māori audiences. Leland and Martin (2001) support Māori reclaiming their own image on television, suggesting that, “there is a pressing need for Māori programming in Māori and English to enable Māori to have a voice and to tell their own stories. There is a need for Māori to have the resources to counteract negative media representations” (2001, 336). Rangihau (1999) further examined the past implications of Māori representation in the mainstream media as detrimental to the identity of Māori children. She asserted, “you might ask yourselves, how do you perceive Māori people? And when you get that perception, increase it ten-fold and then you may have an idea of how Māori children perceive themselves” (1990, 109). Māori representation by Māori as expressed above by Lelaand and Martin could indeed be an invaluable counter to the negative Māori self-perceptions Rangihau alluded to.

Contrastingly, Barclay’s (1990) perspective transcends merely seeking an alternative to negative media representation. He instead, focuses on the inherently different worldviews which infiltrate every aspect of producing images for television. These are fundamental differences which underpin and interlink with the distinctiveness of each culture, therefore causing some confusion and misunderstandings in cross-cultural contexts. Mita (1996) develops the complexities of cross-cultural contexts in her discussion on the various obstacles Māori film makers faced in order to get their movies made: “they have to satisfy the demands of the cinema, the demands of their own people, the criteria of a white male-dominated value and funding structure, and somehow be

accountable to all”(1996, 49). In this sense it is not simply a matter of generating material by Māori for Māori; it also needs to be within a *Māori* directed value and funding structure.

An additional consideration to explore is *cui bono*, who benefits? Who should benefit from the Māori media is a fairly straightforward equation, Māori. After all, the primary goal of the Māori media has really been to promote Te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori. This role has finally been undertaken by Māori because it was generally agreed that mainstream media had in effect, neglected its responsibility to Māori (Stuart, 2003). The single most influential tool Māori had working in their favour was authorisation given by virtue of them being full and equal partners under the Treaty of Waitangi. Fox (2002) claims, “the public broadcasting system is a vital present-day resource, and as such Māori are legally entitled to an equal share of it” (2002, 260). However, considerable changes to Māori broadcasting only really emerged after the Te Reo Māori Waitangi Tribunal Claim of 1985.

In 1985, The Waitangi Tribunal declared that Te Reo Māori was a taonga the Crown should protect (Te Reo Māori Claim, Wai 11) under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi and because the Crown had failed to do so they were in breach of the Treaty. The claimants requested the Crown officially recognise Te Reo Māori, particularly in areas such as broadcasting. As a result, the Waitangi Tribunal recommended that broadcasting should take account of its Treaty obligation to “recognise and protect the Māori language” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006). Consequently, there were further developments in Māori broadcasting such as radio frequencies for Māori, the Māori funding agency, Te Mangai Paho, in 1993 and a Māori Television channel was introduced (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006).

That Māori channel later became known as Aotearoa Television Network, which was a relatively short-lived pilot, broadcast in the Auckland region, which soon buckled amid a storm of controversy. Burns (1997) believed Aotearoa television was a political venture “set up to fail” (1997, 7). His autobiographical account *Public money Private lives: Aotearoa Television-the inside story* is verification of the seemingly insurmountable obstacles that confronted the pioneers of the first Māori Television station, such as media hype and sensationalism, hidden agendas and in-house fighting which meant Aotearoa Television Network did not have a chance. Walker (2004), in addition, discusses other warning signs that the venture was indeed set up to fail. These included for example, superficial interest in the project, by some politicians only really to advance their political agendas, unsatisfactory timeframes like a 13 week pilot which was considered to be too brief to make any real impact on viewers, limitations in funding and transmission. Furthermore, insufficient measures were taken to ensure a robust strategic planning, management and administrative base and there was also an unrealistic timeframe for the commencement of broadcasting- a mere six weeks. These were some of the many contributing factors which unsurprisingly caused the ultimate collapse and subsequent termination of the first Māori Television channel.

However, despite adversity, the team at Aotearoa Television Network achieved considerable success inasmuch as the station proved Māori not only had the talent to get a television channel up and running in a short space of time, but also inspired their Māori viewers simply by being Māori: owned, managed and marketed. For many people this was an exemplar of true tino rangatiratanga (Walker, 2004). “Māori Television, as delivered by Aotearoa Television, worked. The people who watched our programmes liked them, the product we delivered was voted excellent by everybody who was asked. We proved everybody wrong-we did it” (Burns, 1997, 12).

In many ways, what eventually arose out of the ashes of the Aotearoa Television Network were the seeds for the Māori Television Service. But this time, Māori aspirations for the new channel were focused on success- it had to succeed where Aotearoa Television Network failed. With the launching of a Māori Television channel created by Māori and for the benefit of Māori, it was hoped that the kind of internalised negativity Rangihau (1999) spoke of earlier, could finally be counteracted. Thus, much was invested in the establishment of the Māori Television Service, not only because it would act to preserve and advance te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori but also because it would be a counter to the negative imagery Māori had endured at length. Reweti (2006) stated:

We hoped that a Māori channel would be built from a solid foundation which provided our people with a healthy workplace and proper resources to tell our unique stories alongside those of indigenous people throughout the world; it should nurture our babies and inspire our youth; it should help parents and embrace our old people. (Reweti, 2006, p. 85)

Likewise, Stephens (2004) envisioned Māori Television would encourage its Māori viewers to start learning Te Reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori. He believed that Māori would certainly benefit from seeing themselves on television.

The long awaited launching of the Māori Television Service (Māori TV) on Sunday the 28th of March, 2004 was a milestone in Aotearoa New Zealand for Māori broadcasting. Its success is no better articulated than in the following excerpt from Walker (2004) who captured the timely transition from Māori as the ‘native/inferior’, ‘deficient/depraved/negative’, ‘activist/radical/excessive’ Other (Pihama, 1996) to the post modern view of Māori as “cool”. He concludes:

The success of Māori Television Service in reflecting a positive view of Māori culture is pertinent to the experiences of nine-year-old Sam Beattie. This boy, who is mainstream New Zealand in his upbringing, knows that he has some Māori ancestry. But he has no idea what being Māori means. When Sam saw images of Māori on television excelling at sport, science, surfing and break-dancing, he said to his Pākehā kuia, ‘Nana, aren’t Māori clever!’ In the post-modern world it is now ‘cool’ to be Māori. (Walker, 2004, p.402).

Aim of the research

Therefore, this research explores the impact Māori Television has had on its Māori adult viewers in Dunedin. Given that Māori have such a minority presence, making up only around 5% of the total population (2001 Census), it may be hypothesised that it is difficult to maintain identity and hold fast to positive images of Te Ao Māori in such a context. Māori Television was established by Māori for the benefit of Māori and inevitably plays a role in cultural self-definition but was this happening in Dunedin? This research asks the question: what influence does Māori TV have in the construction of notions of being Māori in its Māori adult viewers in Dunedin?

Methodology

To address this research question, the method chosen was qualitative research. Primarily, because there was an interest in understanding how people ‘felt’ about Māori Television, what their ‘lived’ experiences were in their own terms. As Sherman and Webb (cited in Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2002, p.64) affirm, “qualitative implies a direct concern with experiences as it is ‘lived’ or ‘felt’ or undergone”. The preferred fieldwork approach was to meet participants kanohi ki te kanohi. The research technique was to interview these participants using a pre-determined set of

semi-structured questions (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 2002). It was decided to incorporate some kaupapa Māori principles and practices and use the following guidelines from Smith (1999, p.120):

- Aroha ki te tangata-respect for people
- Kanohi Kitea-face to face
- Titiro, whakarongo...kōrero-look, listen then speak
- Manaaki i te tangata-be generous
- Kia tūpato-be cautious
- Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata-do not trample the mana of the people
- Kia māhaki –be humble, do not flaunt your knowledge.

Aroha ki te tangata allowed for participants to select a venue suitable for them and for meeting face to face. Therefore, the power dynamics between the interviewer and the participant were significantly altered whereby, the interviewer became the manuhiri. In being manuhiri there are certain obligations attached to the position, such as upholding the mana of the participant. The principles of titiro, whakarongo... kōrero or look, listen and then speak were also applied. In looking at and listening to the participants they were offered a forum through which they could convey their stories and experiences. On some level these stories fleetingly came to life, life was breathed into them through a blend of: facial expressions, tone of voice and varying emotions. When speaking, the interviewer only did so to: give encouragement, support, query, offer explanations, challenge and acknowledge, and yet to allow the flow of the kōrero to move forward. Kia tūpato signified working in a culturally safe way therefore, guidance was sought through the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee and ethics approval was also sought through the University of Otago. This was primarily to ensure the appropriate processes of undertaking research with Māori were being adequately adhered to. Lastly, kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata and kia māhaki ensured that the interviewer maintained a position as the *learner* while each participant was in fact the *teacher*. Manaaki i te tangata provided a means through which a koha or gift could be given to each participant in appreciation of their time and expertise.

Sample

Participants being sought for the research project had to reside in Dunedin, be of Māori descent, over the age of 18 years and had to regularly watch Māori Television. The sample group were selected personally through established networks. This sample group varied across the age ranges of 25-60+ and included participants with: Te Arawa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Porou, Tainui, Ngāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe and Waitaha affiliations. Sampling was limited by timing because Dunedin's population is highly affected by the arrival and departure of students. Researching in December also poses a number of other practical problems such as finding sufficient participants when both students and faculty are busy with end of year commitments. Consequently, there were delays in interviews and one cancellation. An outcome was that the final sample of participants was all women. Furthermore, limited access issues in receiving Māori Television broadcasts had some bearing on eligibility to participate in the research project. Finally, most of the participants have had a university education, thus limiting the ability of the findings to be generalised across the full range of Dunedin Māori adults. However, since the major question was one of context and minority status the results can be regarded as suggestive and a pilot for a more extended investigation.

The project involved individual interviews with five participants being asked a total of twenty one questions (Table 1). The first eleven questions were designed as a warm-up to get the participants

thinking about Māori Television. For this reason, those initial questions were broad in nature and commanded relatively speedy responses. Consequently, this research project does not include an analysis of the first eleven questions, seeing that they were considered to be mere warm-ups and would only yield quantitative data of limited value considering the small size of the participant cohort. However they do indicate the need to build relationships in qualitative research for people to share their ideas and beliefs.

Therefore, the second series of questions were more comprehensive and thought provoking; they required a certain level of consideration from the sample group. These questions were designed to: make comparisons between mainstream and Māori Television, look at how Māori see themselves represented on Māori TV particularly focusing on: Te Ao Māori, te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and iwi content. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis of the data was then undertaken using the following steps:

1. Carefully listening to each participant's answers at the same time as reading over their transcripts, this aimed at a thorough understanding of their specific responses.
2. Their responses were then aligned with those of the other participants.
3. The main points were drawn out of each question.
4. Similar questions were grouped together to provide several different themes. For example, the first theme is an amalgamation of questions 12, 19, 20 and 21, while theme two is drawn from question 15.

Table 1. Questionnaire Items

1. What are your iwi affiliations?
2. Gender: Male/ Female
3. What is your age group?
4. Why did you first start watching Māori TV?
5. What time of day do you usually watch Māori TV?
6. What day of the week do you tend to watch more Māori TV?
7. What are your favourite genres on Māori TV?
8. What are your favourite programmes on Māori TV?
9. What do you like about these programmes?
10. How much Māori TV do you watch in a typical day?
11. How much Mainstream television do you watch in a typical day?
12. In your opinion, what makes Māori TV distinct from Mainstream TV?
13. What are the strengths and limitations of Māori TV?
14. If Māori TV no longer existed what difference do you think it would make to you personally?
15. According to The Ministry of Social Development, "Māori language is the cornerstone to Māori culture" in your opinion has viewing Māori TV affected your: Knowledge of Te Reo and or tikanga Māori?

16. In an article on ‘The construction of a national Māori identity by Māori media, Ian Stuart claims, “In creating a Māori media, Māori have established their own arenas, with an official language, and where Māori have more authorisation to speak”. In your opinion, has viewing Māori TV affected your attitude towards being Māori?
 17. The recent televising of Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu’s tangi was a rare and privileged insight (not only) into Te Ao Māori but also into the tikanga of Te Iwi o Tainui. In your opinion, has viewing Māori TV instilled in you a sense of Iwi and or Māori pride?
 18. Given that Māori make up around 5% of Dunedin’s population (2001 Statistics) it may be difficult to maintain identity and hold fast to images of Te Ao Māori. Māori TV was established by Māori for the benefit of Māori and inevitably plays a role in cultural self-definition. How useful has Māori TV been in helping you to maintain a connection with Te Ao Māori?
 19. In his recently revised version of Ka whawhai tonu mātou, Ranginui Walker discusses the mispronunciation of Māori words and placenames in the media. He states, “Pākehā announcers were obliged to pronounce Māori words correctly, thereby putting to rest the ghosts of Arnold Wall and Alan Mulgan, who in 1940 argued that the common usage of Māori placenames such as Wonga-newy and Wai-peka-row should be used on air because they were widely accepted”. What are your thoughts on the mispronunciation of Māori words in the mainstream media?
 20. Often Māori are misrepresented in the media as either being perpetrators of violence and deviant acts, ‘radicals’, invisible or holding on to the past. Do you think Māori TV reinforces these negative stereotypes in any way or does it provide more positive Māori representations?
 21. According to Joris de Bres (The Race Relations Commissioner), “When the public is fed a diet of predominantly negative stories about Māori, it is hardly surprising that negative attitudes are fostered”. In your opinion, how are Māori and Māori issues shown differently between Māori TV and Mainstream TV?
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Findings

The five themes identified from the analysis of the interviews are categorised as follows:

1. Māori TV- a counterbalance to mainstream representations
2. Tikanga Māori – recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Māori
3. Attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Māori
4. The good, the bad and the ugly of Māori Television
5. The mana of the Māori Television Service

Māori TV- a counterbalance to mainstream representations

The first theme of the participants’ responses, *Māori TV- a counterbalance to mainstream representations*, positioned Māori TV as a reaction to the negative portrayal of Māori in the media by non-Māori. Māori Television is considered to be instrumental in normalising Te Ao Māori, te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and iwi Māori for its Māori viewers. Conversely, mainstream

is perceived as being a tool which undermines, misrepresents and unfairly labels its Māori viewers.

“TV1, TV2 and TV3 they’re geared to one audience and it is not Māori.”

“The mainstream media does this big spin on it; they don’t actually explain what the real issues are. So it makes people look like they are nuts when you don’t actually understand why they are getting uptight and heated up about something.”

The latter observation is a remark concerning Māori affairs being oversimplified in the media and thus causing considerable confusion for general audiences who have no context in which to understand genuine Māori issues. Stereotyping and labelling of Māori by the mainstream media was an additional key sub-theme identified by the sample.

“When the mainstream say something about Māori, it’s like what else do you expect? What you see, what you read you know, is the truth because that’s who they are. And that, in a sense: we’re sick, we’re dumb, we’re constantly doing it anyway and so what else do you expect?”

An additional insight into mainstream broadcasting is its position as a cultural outsider attempting to portray and understand Māori and Māori issues, while still maintaining the same fundamentally antithetical structures,

“On mainstream TV, its an outsiders perspective generally, well, they do have reporters who sort of mediate I suppose like Tini Molyneux but it’s like looking in through the window in the room. I think that’s probably the biggest thing for me, that the perspective is quite different. The ways institutions try to accommodate Māori needs, what they do is maintain the same structure and just stick positions on the outside of it to try and mediate between Te Ao Māori and the institution. So, the institution actually doesn’t change at all. Mainstream television’s the same, they just have people like interpreters who try to report from Te Ao Māori and interpret for the mainstream audience. So, the actual institutions have a bit better pronunciation sometimes and it might have people saying pō marie, but the content and structure doesn’t change much; they just try to accommodate it. They are trying, I can see that they’re trying, but I just don’t think that they know what they need to do.”

Improved pronunciation of Māori words in the media has been an on-going issue for mainstream presenters. Most participants criticised the mispronunciation of Māori words as further evidence of Māori misrepresentation as seen in the first of the following samples. However, for the second person, mispronunciation was inconsequential.

“It should not be put up with. Mispronunciation anywhere should be challenged. Mainly because it is an official language of New Zealand and also it’s something for us to be proud about.”

“For me that’s not such a big issue. I think a lot of Pākehā people are not familiar with it but I’m not offended by it and I don’t consider it a huge issue at all. In fact, I never have because it was “mowri” before I left and when I came back all of a sudden everyone’s saying “Māori.”

Four out of the five participants expressed mild to extreme dismay as a result of mispronunciation of te reo in mainstream media. Clearly, this has some bearing on how Māori feel about representations of themselves and te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori.

Irrespective of the opposing position of one of the participants, it is now feasible (with the advent of Māori Television) for Māori to rectify these apparent issues, through providing a medium to counterbalance mainstream representations. By and large, Māori Television is considered to be a forum through which Māori and being Māori is normalised,

“When you see Māori on Māori TV it’s normal.”

“We are seeing so many talented Māori presenters: young, old and that’s the other great thing; different shapes, different sizes, different āhua, different iwi.”

Māori TV offers an avenue which shows positive imagery of Māori across the board,

“I actually think Māori TV provides more positive Māori representation in the different arenas. It’s really good because it’s about autonomy and taking ourselves out of this oppression. Making us be active, in helping ourselves. All the health programmes are about, how we can turn around some of this negative stuff and statistics. How we can do it, rather than someone else helping us to help ourselves. It’s taking responsibility, on a mass scale.”

“I find that most of the stories or programmes on Māori TV are really positive even if they might be about a negative issue. It’s about looking at the positive spin on it.”

Māori TV offers a balanced perspective on issues,

“It balances our media and it’s really important. We’ve been seeking balance for Māori for a long time. It’s not about sensationalising the bad stuff. Māori TV is about sensationalising the good stuff.”

“I think it gives more balance, [with] stereotypes there’s actually a reality attached to them that’s where stereotypes come from, there’s always a kernel of truth in anything and if you look in prison populations, you know there’s no denying the problems that we’ve got.”

Māori TV is a celebration of Māori tino rangatiratanga,

“The kaupapa [of Māori TV] is different; there’s a real Māori indigenous slant on everything, even the news. It’s not just the news in Māori its Māori news, news that would appeal to Māori people. If you look at it not just by content but just by what it stands for, it’s something that we all own, something that’s ours and we can really identify. Something that makes you quite proud that Māori have got that much standing that they’ve actually got their own TV. Even though it’s not ours as an ownership, its more like an identification with something that makes you feel proud. Like a recognition thing I think.”

“They show real films like aborigines, red Indians [and] real people”.

What can be inferred from the abovementioned citation is that, for this participant, indigenous films and images of other indigenous peoples are more “real” or relevant to her than perhaps sitcoms and dramas such as *Friends* or *Sex in the city* which target white, middle-class viewers.

Tikanga Māori – recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Māori

The second theme, *Tikanga Māori – recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Māori* is a response to the hegemonic practice of compartmentalising all Māori as being the *same*, when in actuality; iwi/Māori nations are distinctly diverse. Compartmentalising Māori as the *same* had an adverse effect on some participants, who felt that negative representations of Māori in the media have a direct bearing on how they view themselves,

“If you watch the news, a lot of Māori can say, if there’s a crime that’s done, the first thing that goes in my head is, please not let it be Māori, a Māori person. And when it is, you all feel pretty bad about it. So, when Māori don’t do something good we all pay for it. So when Māori do really well, we all feel good-you know?”

A notable theme in the research findings was how iwi-specific tikanga revealed the truly colourful and diverse nature of iwi Māori nations; a discovery not necessarily groundbreaking but, nonetheless, a counter-response to the negative effects of pigeon-holing Māori. The subsequent extracts refer to the sample group’s delight in discovering intimate insights into the traditions and tikanga of other iwi. Thereby, negating this notion of *sameness* as is indicative of homogenous mainstream thinking.

“It’s increased my knowledge and tikanga, especially from other iwi [and] especially from Ngāti Porou.”

“Seeing the tikanga of other iwi, that’s so tūuru. You might have a little bit of an understanding of what they may do in Tūhoe and Ngā Puhī. But, when you see a programme about the kauri trees you just say wow, it’s like in awe. I’m blown away; I just get blown away and think, “too much!” I believe for me, tikanga is the utmost and learning about certain aspects of rongoa, that they’ve shown on TV. And how certain plants are planted, when they’re planted, is just amazing! And all of that has just increased the knowledge that I had. Oh, I grew up in a small community where I had to go around the rocks to get the seafood. We used the stars and the plants. You know you can just read the paper now and look at the tides. But, seeing how other iwi work with that has just been amazing and Māori TV has shown a lot of that”.

These accounts convey the considerably rare honour Māori TV viewers are now privy to, given that knowledge of this nature was probably secreted from outsiders and other iwi in the past. With the arrival of Māori Television, viewers are allowed access to images and information that they may not have been party to previously. The complete coverage of Te Arikini Te Atārangikāhu’s tangi is an example of this rare and privileged insight into Te Ao Māori and also into the tikanga of ngā iwi o Tainui. One participant emphasised the imperative role of Tainui tikanga at the tangi as a mechanism of cultural safety as well as a means of emphasising Tainui distinctiveness.

“See even Māori say why did the Prime Minister speak? But, they didn’t understand the Prime Minister did not speak on the pae, she stood on the veranda and a lot of people don’t understand that. It’s the difference the difference in tikanga...it cuts people off because people only see what they want to see; they don’t see the tikanga that Tainui’s placed in there. See and that’s the whole thing I was talking about earlier. Tainui kept everybody safe they kept the media safe, they kept their whānau safe, they kept every visitor to that marae safe.”

The above citation further exemplifies the rich and diverse nature prevalent within each iwi Māori nation. Furthermore, it alludes to the role of Māori TV in fostering understanding not only between Māori and Pākehā but also between different iwi.

Attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Māori

The third theme, *Attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Māori* is essentially a discussion of the impacts Māori Television has had on the sample group, especially in relation to their connection with Te Ao Māori, their attitude towards being Māori and Māori/iwi pride. From the outset, the general consensus regarding Māori TV has been one of immeasurable pride. Māori Television has undoubtedly been a positive medium prompting the sample group to commend its efforts in iwi/Māori recognition as well as being an agent fostering Māori dignity. The subsequent excerpts are an illustration of varying degrees of pride experienced by the participants:

“It makes me proud of who I am. My mokopuna can relate to my way of speaking and watching the TV at the same time, enhances them as well.”

“It intensifies my sense of pride and knowing that we can do this and in knowing that what we have is really important to share to a wide stream audience and also important for wide stream audiences to realise that there’s more to us than these negative stats, there’s more to us than the negative stories.”

“I just believe that it tells you how proud I am to be iwi Māori.”

“It hits a raw nerve of New Zealanders, of us as Māori. I’m just so proud when I see that on Māori TV and I just think awesome, awesome. Ring all my friends, both Pākehā, Māori - tell them to watch it.”

In addition to this general sense of pride some participants identified iwi pride, through seeing images of their whānau on television,

“Its just amazing ‘cause I’ll see them filming and it will be like, “oh there’s such and such and there’s such and such.” So, not only has it [connected me with] tikanga and te reo, but it’s done it on a social level because being this far down and if I can see whanauka or whānau or friends on TV on a hui then it’s like, for me it’s whakawhanaukataka, its like wow! That’s what they’re up to; ka pai.”

“That’s what I like about Māori TV; they put our faces in our face. And no other TV channel does that.”

For two of the sample group, Māori/iwi pride was something they felt irrespective of Māori Television.

“I don’t think watching Māori Television has affected my attitudes towards being Māori. I’m still proud of who I am and what I am so watching it on television isn’t going to change that.”

However, for one of these participants a sense of pride was gained from the impact that Māori Television has had on those around her. And so, her Māori/iwi pride was enhanced through the meaning others attached to the images and stories they had seen on Māori TV.

“For me anyway, I was always proud to be a Māori. I didn’t like anyone telling me I wasn’t. [Māori TV] more or less didn’t affect my attitude being Māori but I know it affected others.”

“When people see a Māori programme on Māori TV they say, oh you must be proud.”

The link between Māori Television and Te Ao Māori for the sample group had mixed responses. Not surprisingly, for those already firmly connected with Te Ao Māori, Māori Television had virtually no impact in this respect. However, these participants still acknowledged that Māori TV was a useful vehicle, through which their mokopuna and students could gain access,

“I am always going to be who I am or what I am and nothing, not even TV or anybody could do that for me. But looking at other Māori, it has helped my wee ones, my babies...but for me, I’ll never lose who I am but it does enhance my babies, my grandchildren.”

“I’m already connected into Te Ao Māori but Māori TV has been useful and very helpful for me in the position that I hold here because they have a programme where they connect their roots back to their iwi...and just telling students about that, you know just watch this programme. See, look that’s your marae and they’ll go, what? Yeah! You watch this programme, this is about your fulla’s iwi. [Where I work] tends to be a pathway; the first step they take in Te Ao Māori and Māori TV’s helpful with that.”

For the remaining participants, Māori TV was an invaluable resource in helping them maintain a connection with Te Ao Māori. This was achieved by promoting curiosity as well as bringing the Māori world to life in one of the participant’s households.

“What’s happened for me is that all of a sudden I have a great need to ask a lot of questions [about Māoritanga].”

The good, the bad and the ugly of Māori Television

The fourth theme *the good, the bad and the ugly of Māori Television* is a discussion of the strengths and limitations of Māori TV as understood by the sample group. Overall, the research findings revealed Māori viewers had great admiration for the channels constructive portrayal of Māori. Their foremost concerns were the limited access for Dunedin viewers, limited broadcasting periods and of course, limited funding.

The Good in-effect is a synthesis of the positive attributes of Māori TV. Some of the common threads that underpin this sub-theme refer to Māori Television as:

- positively effecting changes in the mainstream,
- being a medium through which Māori programmes and news can be delivered,
- being an identity marker,
- being a foundation, producing significant growth areas for Māori and finally
- a profound source of Māori and iwi pride.

One participant was so enthralled by the positive progress the television channel has been making that she saw it as an agent of change which has impacted on mainstream television,

“And we’re actually competing really well against mainstream. I think because of that mainstream are also increasing their Māori content which can only be a good thing. I think Māori TV helped covering more Māori issues. Now, you can watch a definite change in the

news which once upon a time was just about negating everything Māori did, where as now, you're actually seeing a lot more coverage of really important, prominent tangi."

A relatively straightforward feature of the television channel has been its choice of programmes and ability to report on Māori news.

"The strengths probably will be, in their news for me anyway, and of course I think their chosen programmes that they play."

This participant's selection of strengths, were perhaps indicative of her desire to see an increase in Māori content on mainstream television. Another such participant developed this notion further by classifying Māori TV as an identity marker and a source of pride.

"I think the strengths are, some of the things we just talked about like: an identity marker, recognition of Māori in that form and so it gives you some pride. The fact that it's increased Māori programming so much, there's a lot more production companies. So, that's been great. You can see that even here at the University. Media studies, has been a real growth area for Māori students."

A further participant summed up the opinions of the others, in an overarching statement, claiming,

"I see one of the biggest strengths they have is making Māori, every Māori, proud to be Māori. I think that's huge. That's a big one that because no other media does that, no other media does that in this country."

The Bad focuses on some of the hindrances afflicting Māori TV. A major impediment for Dunedin audiences has been accessing the channel. For some this causes great difficulties and at times great expense.

"That move of getting a sky aerial put in is probably the easiest way of getting access to Māori TV. So, there's a restriction with costs because it costs you \$100 to get you set up and you are locked into a contract for a year and it's at least \$50 a month...even if you are just going to get a UHF aerial in and put it up there's still a cost [of] buying the hardware, getting it installed. So, that's a big draw back for a lot of people in the community who can't actually see it."

Likewise, another participant also identified access as cause for concern.

"Limitations would be, that not everyone can see it and hear it and that's the saddest thing, that we're putting out good stuff and not everyone can get to see it."

Airing time was also raised as a limitation of the television channel. One participant felt dismayed by the seemingly short timeframe which Māori TV was telecast.

"Well, I find it annoying sometimes that they don't start early enough for me or go later. I don't like it when you are just getting into it; you know sitting back and relaxing. Just getting into it and all of a sudden its like they've finished. I'd love to have longer, definitely longer you know?"

The Ugly is essentially the final limitation of Māori TV which impinges on every aspect of its operation including many of the issues raised earlier in this theme. Perhaps not surprisingly, *the ugly* is in reference to the restricted funding of the Māori Television Service. One of the of the implications of deficient funding is how it impedes programming,

“Their limitations I would say are their funding. You can just see that with the programmes. *Watership Down*, they have to translate that into Māori. Yet they don’t have enough funding to maybe do a story about Māui. That’s the thing that saddens me; they have to translate *Watership Down* and some others into Māori for our kids, which is good but they’re better to do a story which is more famous with non-Māori and our kids know about...but they don’t have the funding.”

A final concern which is underpinned by funding has been the seeming lack of South Island content shown on Māori TV.

“Their other limitations are, the South Island. We have some amazing programmes and it saddens me that when we speak to Māori TV trying to get them down here it’s so far for them to come that they would like another programme to be on somewhere...I think that’s a limitation where they don’t have the funding to come down here or sometimes the cameraman has to film our events which saddens me... unless the reporter is part of the event and feels the event than they’ll never understand what it’s about...you need to be part of it and that’s a limitation. See, it all impacts on their funding ... I don’t think enough events from the South Island are actually shown or stories on TV. They might show stories but they forget that there are a lot of other iwi here especially with the institutions they have in the South Island.”

A plea put forth for Māori Television to increase its South Island content and film events kanohi ki te kanohi was an additional thread within this sub-theme.

“If you were running a Māori Sports Day and I was a reporter and said to you I’m sending a camera man I won’t actually film your event I’ll just be reporting on seeing a picture, [what does that say?]. We talk about kanohi ki te kanohi and is that going to change because of the computer, ipod etc.? How are we going to kanohi ki te kanohi to the next generation? Because if it’s going to be television I think you need to be there [in person] to film these events.”

The mana of the Māori Television Service

The fifth and final theme *the mana of the Māori Television Service* is essentially the pinnacle of Māori Television’s impact on the research sample group. Mana refers to the reciprocal transferral of mana between the viewer and Māori TV. The mana of Māori TV lies in its ability to empower its viewers purely by feeding them images, not only of their whānau, friends and iwi but also of other indigenous people and other iwi. In return, viewers invest their time watching the channel, therein supporting its continuation. Thus a cycle of positive self-imagery is perpetuated; something that would be severed with the discontinuation of Māori TV.

First and foremost, Māori TV acts as a link for Māori to Te Ao Māori, this link is accessible irrespective of a geographical location. If Māori Television suddenly ceased to exist that link with Te Ao Māori would be diminished for all of the participants in a variety of differing ways:

“Personally, for me the difference being that I would become less immersed in my culture, especially down here in Dunedin.”

“For me it would be a real tragic loss particularly being in the South Island. I’m hungry for anything Māori to feed my children, to feed myself and it’s our way of coping being in an environment that is not as strong in its Te Ao Māori and that’s one of the wero that we face everyday, but also the wero that we took on when we shifted to Dunedin. We’ve come from Auckland, but I originally came from Christchurch. Being in Auckland for so long, you don’t realise how much, it’s so around you until you’re out of it. So, for us, Māori TV is about being back in it, you know. And also, showing our tamariki that the environment they’re in at the moment is positive and great but there’s strong Māori environments too outside here. So, for us it will be [a] huge and tragic loss I think, if Māori TV no longer existed.”

The hypothetical loss of Māori TV was also denounced as being both regressive and insulting:

“I think that I’d be really upset if Māori Television disappeared now, you know. Like I said before, it’s like a huge step forward. And then, if it was gone because of a political change it would be like a massive step backwards. A real loss I think, to New Zealand. Mostly, it will be a slap in the face, an insult. It’s got so many positive spin offs and benefits. Just from a totally academic perspective of seeing your language on the screen, it’s huge and it’s real, particularly for kids.”

The loss of Māori Television as a quasi domino-effect of *losses*

“If Māori TV no longer existed, I’d be lost in just watching Te Karere because Māori TV has helped me with my reo. That’s number one. I will never get to see whānau or friends on a programme or on any news or on anything like that. The role models for the future of young Māori or the tamariki won’t be there for our kids to aspire to. Are we gonna let them aspire to someone in America who’s black? Are we gonna let them aspire to Robbie Williams because he wears tā moko? For me personally, I will be absolutely pissed off! What difference will it make? It would make a lot to our household because we actually watch it. Just knowing a program’s on we will watch it. Will I miss it if it wasn’t there? Now that it’s been on I would, I’d probably be one of those who stands up fighting to keep it there... [Another benefit of Māori TV] is personally seeing whānau and friends, and not only my whānau, other friends’ whānau or another iwi, ringing me up. Like, a student ringing me up, saying “ah my dads on TV whaea, watch it!” You know, and just knowing the delight they get from that you know? And I just think it breaks the barrier down from mokemoke from home sick when you live so far away and we travel Māori people travel. Like I travel a lot and it brings me closer to home.”

A final statement explores the mana of Māori Television as a “speaking voice” for iwi Māori.

“Māori TV is where it is, if you take that away from me, you take everything away from me. You leave me with nothing. That is what [Māori] TV has done for me; it is my speaking voice.”

Summary and Conclusions

The research set out to address the question: what influence does Māori TV have in the construction of notions of being Māori in its Māori adult viewers in Dunedin? What the research found was an overwhelmingly positive response to Māori TV. The first theme, *Māori TV- a counterbalance to mainstream representations* was underpinned by a long history of Māori

misrepresentation in television broadcasting. Commentators such as Bell (1995), Fox (2002), Reweti (2006) and Mita (1996) argued that representations of Māori in television were largely defined by Pākehā and as such were more often than not misrepresentations of Māori. My findings are generally consistent with this argument. The research further revealed Māori Television's capacity to act as a positive device counterbalancing these mainstream representations. Accordingly, Māori TV was applauded on its ability to "normalise" Māori(ness), offer "balance" where there once was bias and present imagery of "real people" in everyday situations. Thus, Māori TV was seen as generating positive constructions of being Māori in its Māori women viewers in Dunedin.

In addition, the second theme, *Tikanga Māori – recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Māori* was a response to the labelling of all Māori as being the *same*. These notions were articulated by Stuart (2005) and Pihama (1996). Each commentator remarked on the tendency of the mainstream media to cluster Māori into a position where they shared a unified voice, one which *supposedly* spoke for all, when in fact there is no such *single* Māori voice. Māori comprise of uniquely diverse iwi nations. This diversity was expressed in the "awe" some of the participants felt when comparing and contrasting the tikanga of their iwi with other iwi, as shown on Māori Television. Therefore, Māori TV was seen to be an instrument in the construction of inter-iwi learning as well as affirming the individual's pride in their own iwi.

Similarly, the third theme, *Attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Māori*, emphasised the multifaceted layers of pride the sample felt while viewing Māori TV. Both Reweti (2006) and Stephens (2004) were quietly confident Māori Television would be successful in promoting positive imagery of iwi Māori. Indeed, their optimism was qualified by Māori Television's capacity to both inspire a sense of iwi/Māori pride as well as cultivate a unique link between each participant and Te Ao Māori. For that reason Māori TV was seen as having a beneficial influence over its Māori women viewers, whereby they benefited from being connected with their friends, whānau, iwi and Te Ao Māori.

The fourth theme *The good, the bad and the ugly of Māori Television* offered a two-fold critique of Māori TV. On the one hand, the *good* highlighted additional positive qualities of Māori Television such as: its positive effects on mainstream, a forum for Māori news, a source of Māori/iwi pride and an identity marker. While, on the other hand the *bad* and the *ugly* focused on some necessary improvements needed to further enhance the television channel. The sample group felt Māori TV was limiting in its accessibility, especially for Dunedin families who would have to purchase a Sky or UHF Ariel in order to gain admission to Māori TV and that the channel's telecast times were all too brief. The *ugly* refers to their overall dissatisfaction with limited funding.

The fifth and final theme, *the mana of the Māori Television Service* is a closing word on the importance of Māori TV to the sample group. The participants unanimously agreeing that Māori TV is an assertion of Māori pride, a link to friends and whānau and an invaluable resource. And as such, the hypothetical loss of the channel would be unfavourable for iwi Māori. Especially for Dunedin Māori who are somewhat "isolated" by the sheer virtue of Dunedin's geographical location.

This research was born out of a view that Māori TV had a role to play in strengthening Māori identity, particularly Dunedin Māori given their minority status. The comments of the participants support this view. Moreover, dissatisfaction with the lack of South Island content as a result of funding alludes to the need for specific positive images of themselves as a counterbalance to both

the negative representations on mainstream and the limited access to Te Ao Māori in Dunedin. In terms of Māori identity, the channel's ability to both expand and positively affirm Māori notions of their identity was applauded. The programming featuring the tikanga of different iwi fostered both a pride in seeing one's own whānau and a cross pollination of knowledge across iwi. Interestingly, the positive response to programming featuring stories of other indigenous cultures could position Māori TV as having a role in the establishment of an international indigenous identity.

In conclusion, Māori TV was found to be a very significant tool in helping Dunedin Māori women to establish or maintain positive notions of themselves as Māori. This occurs both microcosmically as they see positive stories relevant to their own whānau and iwi and macrocosmically in terms of how they see themselves as members of an indigenous culture in a post-colonial world. However, with regard to the history of our developments in television broadcasting, it is debatable that one can confidently conclude that "in the post-modern world it is now 'cool' to be Māori" (Walker, 2004, p. 402). Nevertheless, it is clear that Māori TV has a crucial role in fulfilling Walker's assertion. In the meantime, the following recommendations appear to be warranted by this investigation:

For Māori TV

- That there be more Māori-produced programming
- That more programming use South Island stories and locations
- That people be filmed *kanohi ki te kanohi*

For policy makers

- That there be increased funding for the Māori Television Service
- That solutions are sought for improved national access to Māori Television

For researchers

- That further research on the perceptions of Māori Television should include a large cross-section of Māori adult and youth viewers
- That there be a gender balance with such research.

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