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Seeing iwi Maori, being iwi Maori:
Constructions of iwi Maori representation

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

Keywords: Maori, media, television.
Preface

E nga mana
E nga reo
E nga karangaranga
Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

Ko Tainui te Waka
Ko Karioi te Maunga
Ko Wai Te Tuna te Awa
Ko Mai Uenuku Ki Te Whenua te Marae
Ko Te Rau Tawhiti te Urupa

Ko Raymond Poihipi raua ko Phyllies Osborne oku Matua
Ko Paula toku Tuakana
Ko Lana toku Tuahine
Ko Mark Mortensen toku Hoa Rangatira.

Reflections on being a Masters student

As I sit contemplating the various threads of knowledge and experience gained while undertaking my Masters thesis I can't help but feel deeply privileged. This sense of privilege stems from having the opportunity to work on a research project from its conceptual stages right through to its completion. Janet Frame's *To the Is-land* opens with a short chapter called 'In the Second Place' which begins,

> From the first place of liquid darkness, within the second place of air and light (Frame, 1983, p.11).

For me, this image of movement from “liquid darkness” to “air and light” is akin to my academic rite of passage through the process of crafting my Masters thesis work. With the benefit of hindsight, I consider the experience to have been extremely rewarding in various ways, such as: having full autonomy to make my own working hours, set my own goals, construct a research project that is of interest to me, develop research techniques that align with how I see the world and to have the ability to nurture and develop a body of work through to its completion.

Moreover, during this constant process of development I felt that the more I immersed myself in my research the more self-reflective I became. Consciously or unconsciously, the work that I
was undertaking forced me to deal with the topic matter on a personal level. While I was interested in exploring issues of identity and representation from my research participants’ perspectives, I had also to reflect on my own life and how I felt about the representation of iwi Maori on television and in the media. I had to contemplate my own sense of identity.

This process proved invaluable during my academic journey. In some ways it was like “walking the talk”. What this means for me is that while I was learning from my research participants, I was (at the same time) learning things about myself, not only technical research skills or self-reflective techniques but also resilience, perseverance, problem-solving skills, communication and interpersonal skills, time management skills, interdependence, concentration, balance and total well-being. Therefore, I can wholeheartedly conclude that my academic journey in undertaking my Masters thesis work has been a profound personal voyage of self-development and self-discovery and thus it has been an immensely rewarding challenge.

**Genesis: it all began with a whakatauki**

Initially, this research blossomed from the oft-quoted whakatauki,

> “He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro”
> “To see a face is to stir the memory” (Anon, 1992).

Living in Otepoti (Dunedin) while my turangawaewae is at Whaingaroa, it occurred to me how nostalgic I felt while making my annual journey to my ancestral home (Ranui). Seeing my Aunty and Uncles working at Ranui always reminds me of my (late) Mum and Nana Violet. I find this whakatauki intensely profound because each time I see the faces of my whanau I am acutely aware of my whakapapa (through which I gain a strong sense of pride) and childhood memories often flood my mind of moments that I shared with my whanau, such as camping in Ranui, the smell of fresh crayfish, steaming hot rewena bread, snaring crabs in Raglan, racing to Tamainupo’s rock, long, meandering walks to the falls to watch the Uncles go white baiting, the whānau Field Days packed with manuhiri and driving down the long winding gravel road to reach our whanau urupa.

The main significance of “He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro” for me is, whenever I go home I am reminded of the good things about being iwi Maori. Often, iwi Maori are represented
on television and in the media negatively. But, my experience of being iwi Maori is different from how iwi Maori are frequently depicted. Contrastingly, when I see iwi Maori on Maori Television it is like seeing the faces of my own Aunties and Uncles on the screen in front of me. The faces of other iwi Maori seem uncannily familiar to me, even though I have never met most of these people before, by the simple virtue of their being Maori. The whakatauki “He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro” is about visual triggers and thus when I see iwi Maori faces on television they remind me of home (Ranui) and my Aunties and Uncles (Mother and Grandmother) and that reinforces the positive experiences and associations I have with home. In short, Maori Television makes me feel proud to be iwi Maori. Therefore, by using the whakataukī as the basis for my research I sought to explore whether iwi Maori adults living in Ōtepoti (Dunedin) felt the same way about Maori Television, as I did.
6

Acknowledgements

In Te Ao Maori, it is pertinent to firstly acknowledge one’s own whakapapa and ancestral lineage, to salute those who have gone before.

First and foremost I give credit to my Mum, a woman of selflessness, great courage and determination; to my Father, Raymond, for his creative flair, to my Nana, Violet, a source of strength and true manaakitanga. Nga mihi aroha kia koutou.

To those who have already tread-out an academic path, before me: My friend and whanaunga Anaru Eketone, for not only challenging me while undertaking this academic pursuit but for also being “omnipresent” behind the scenes, creating opportunities, offering guidance and support.

To my participants, who graciously gave of their time to tautoko me in my research and to their aspirations for the further development of te reo and tikanga Maori through the medium of television.

To Mark Mortensen, my best friend and fiancé, for your unceasing faith in me and your great generosity over the years.

To my whanau: Paula and Peter, Lana and Dug, my nieces Eden and Autumn and nephew Seth.

“Mahia nga mahi kei tamariki ana”
“Make the most of your time while you are young” (Anon, 1992).

“Ahakoa iti, he pounamu”
“Although small it is still precious” (Anon, 1992).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SEEING IWI MAORI BEING IWI MAORI: CONSTRUCTIONS OF IWI MAORI IDENTITY .................... 1

ABSTRACT ......................................................................................................................................... 2

PREFACE ........................................................................................................................................... 3
  Reflections on being a Masters student .................................................................................. 3
  Genesis: it all began with a whakatauki ........................................................................... 4

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................................................................................. 6

INTRODUCTION .......................................................................................................................... 9

THE MAORI TELEVISION SERVICE .......................................................................................... 9

LITERATURE REVIEW ............................................................................................................... 14
  TELEVISION THE DRUG OF THE NATION? A DISCUSSION OF TELEVISION DISCOURSE ...... 14
  THE CULTURAL IMPERIALISM PARADIGM. GLOBAL TELEVISION: THINKING GLOBALLY
  ABOUT LOCAL TELEVISION ........................................................................................................ 20
  NGARO: A DISCUSSION OF IWI MAORI INVISIBILITY IN TELEVISION BROADCASTING ...... 25
  ICONIC MAORI: IWI MAORI AS ICONS .................................................................................. 30
  DECOLONISING TELEVISION: JOURNEY TO SELF-DETERMINATION .................................... 38

METHODOLOGY ........................................................................................................................ 46
  INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS METHODOLOGY? ................................................................. 46
  QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: WHY QUALITATIVE RESEARCH? ........................................... 46
  KAUPAPA MAORI RESEARCH ............................................................................................. 47
  WHY KAUPAPA MAORI? ......................................................................................................... 49
  THE METHODOLOGICAL PROCESS ..................................................................................... 51
  CONSULTATION ....................................................................................................................... 52
  SELECTING PARTICIPANTS ...................................................................................................... 53
  LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH ...................................................................................... 55
  VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY ................................................................................................. 56
  QUESTIONNAIRE ....................................................................................................................... 57
  THE QUESTION ORDER .......................................................................................................... 58
  OPEN-ENDED AND CLOSED QUESTIONS .......................................................................... 59
  PRE-TESTING AND PILOTING ................................................................................................. 59
  DATA ANALYSIS ..................................................................................................................... 60
FINDINGS ........................................................................................................................................ 62
MAORI TV: A COUNTERBALANCE TO MAINSTREAM (MIS)REPRESENTATIONS OF IWI MAORI ...... 63
TIKANGA MAORI: RECOGNISING AND CELEBRATING DIVERSITY WITHIN TE AO MAORI .......... 70
IWI MAORI IN OTEPOTI DUNEDIN: ATTITUDES TOWARDS AND CONNECTIONS WITH TE AO MAORI ......... 73
MA TATOU, MA KOUTOU, MA RATOU: FOR ALL OF US, FOR YOU, FOR THEM: CRITIQUING MAORI TV ............................................................................................................................................. 77
THE MANA OF THE MAORI TELEVISION SERVICE ........................................................................... 83

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ......................................................................................... 87
MAORI TV: A COUNTERBALANCE TO MAINSTREAM (MIS)REPRESENTATIONS OF IWI MĀORI ..... 88
Critiques of the mainstream media ....................................................................................... 88
Maori Television: a counterbalance to mainstream television ............................................. 91

TIKANGA MAORI: RECOGNISING AND CELEBRATING DIVERSITY WITHIN TE AO MĀORI .......... 95
He iwi kotahi tatou? ............................................................................................................... 95
Maori Television: recognising and celebrating diversity ..................................................... 97
The tikanga of Nga iwi o Tainui ........................................................................................... 98

IWI MAORI IN OTEPOTI DUNEDIN: ATTITUDES TOWARDS AND CONNECTIONS WITH TE AO MAORI
................................................................................................................................................... 100
No hea koe? No Otepoti ahau .............................................................................................. 100
He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro ........................................................................... 101

MA TATOU, MA KOUTOU, MA RATOU: FOR ALL OF US, FOR YOU, FOR THEM:
CRITIQUING MAORI TV ............................................................................................................ 104
Ma tatou: for all of us ......................................................................................................... 104
Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for you, for them ............................................................................. 107
The mana of the Maori Television Service ........................................................................ 111

CONCLUSION .......................................................................................................................... 118
REFERENCES ............................................................................................................................ 120
Introduction:
The Maori Television Service

E rua tau ruru,
E rua tau wehe,
E rua tau mutu,
E rua tau kai

The much-anticipated launch of the Maori Television Service (Maori TV) on Sunday the 28th of March, 2004 was a milestone for Maori broadcasting. The launch came some 30 years after the first bid to transmit te reo and tikanga Maori into New Zealand homes through television (Human Rights Commission, 2004). Walker declared that, “the occasion was a cultural celebration of triumph over adversity, a dawning of a new age of Maori modernity in the twenty-first century” (2004, p. 402). Finally, iwi Maori had the means to articulate their own stories, report on items which they felt were newsworthy, produce images of themselves on television and, perhaps more importantly, they also had an avenue through which the Maori language and tikanga Maori could be normalised and celebrated.

This research seeks to explore how iwi Maori themselves construct or strengthen notions of being Maori through the medium of television, which, up until March 2004 had, for the most part, been the domain of the dominant culture. Prior to the launching of Maori TV, iwi Maori had continually promulgated the need for their increased presence in television broadcasting. Derek Fox proclaimed that “there was no democracy for iwi Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand because iwi Maori voices were not heard” (cited in Lealand & Martin, 2001). Other commentators insisted that iwi Maori voices and the representation of iwi Maori in film, television and the media had largely been portrayed through the limited lens of non-Maori image makers (O’Shea, 1996; O’Regan, 200; Mita, 1996; Walker, 1989; Campbell, 1996) thus, leaving iwi Maori relatively absent from most aspects of television broadcasting (Mita, 1996; Reweti, 2006, Fox, 2002). Consequently, these and other commentators revealed how, through this limited lens, iwi Maori tended to be represented negatively by way of imposed stereotypes (Pihama, 1994; Pihama, 1996; Wall, 1997; Bell, 1995).

---

1 Two years of wind and storm, two years when food is scarce, two years when crops fail, two years of abundant food (Anon, 1992).
In general, complaints of misrepresentation of iwi Maori on television (and in other media) are relatively commonplace; this is partly due to the notion that televised misrepresentation of any kind can have negative effects on viewers and therefore is likely to create negative outcomes (Lealand and Martin, 2001). Evidence of this notion concerning negative outcomes is illustrated in the recent death of three year old Nia Glassie, a victim of child abuse. The alleged atrocities inflicted on this toddler were essentially consequences of maltreatment and extreme cases of abuse, not a consequence of the child’s ethnicity; ethnicity should not have featured in Nia Glassie’s death, but it did. By selecting to focus on simplistic, inflammatory comments such as, “it’s time to stop pretending that the kind of child abuse suffered by Nia Glassie and the Kahui twins is not a Maori problem” (Peter Dunne, cited in Scoop Independent News, Monday July 2007), “Maori are under fire for New Zealand’s worst abuse statistics” (One News, July 30, 2007) and “we’ve got to face some issues in this country, we have got a problem with Maori” (Christine Rankin cited in One News, July 30, 2007), it is perhaps hardly surprising that the negative outcome for iwi Maori has been one of collective blame. These comments, screened on TV One, do little to stimulate genuine investigation and debate into the issue as they support pre-existing negative discourses on iwi Maori using deficit discourses to effectively allow viewers to assign blame and avoid deeper-level analysis (these discourses will be thoroughly examined later in the “Iconic Maori” section). Contrastingly, organisations like Women’s Refuge argue that what is necessary is constructive action, rather than “Maori-bashing” (Women’s Refuge, 2007). Similarly, the Sunday Herald editorial: Child abuse among Maori is not simply a Maori problem (Sunday, August 05, 2007) also argued, “it is idle to deny that the problem occurs disproportionately in Maori communities. But to make the next step, and claim that it is a Maori problem, is a grievous over-simplification.” Pita Sharples concurs, stating that “it’s not a Maori thing at all, but Maori are over-represented in this dysfunction” (One News, July 30, 2007). The method of over-simplifying the issue of child abuse as an issue of ethnicity is a derivative of television’s misrepresentation that simply, “looks for ‘goodies’ and ‘baddies’, demonising some people…and whole races while making heroes of others” (Lealand and Martin, 2001, p.103).

This simplified construction of Maori identity for mass consumption via television flies directly in the face of the lived experience of how Maori see themselves. What is of interest here is the influence these constructed representations have had on iwi Maori identity. Being Maori or the concept of iwi Maori identity is complex. After all, prior to European contact Maori were
essentially iwi nations.\footnote{Hence, this research will employ the term, “iwi Maori” to signify the diversity between different iwi.} However, in 1835 around the time of the Declaration of Independence, deliberate attempts were made to unite these various and diverse iwi nations under the collective banner of a single national Maori identity. At this juncture, because iwi nations were becoming fewer and the European population was increasing, inter-tribal similarities began to be affirmed as a response to the greater differences iwi nations had in relation to their European counterparts (Durie, 1998). Since then, Maori identity has undergone changes, which have been illustrative of the particular time and setting relative to its evolution. According to Durie, in contemporary society, iwi Maori identity is relatively diverse.

It is now evident that there is no single Maori cultural stereotype and being Maori may have different connotations for various groups. Maori are as diverse as any other people—not only in socio-economic terms but also in fundamental attitudes to identity. Nor can a Maori identity any longer be dismissed in favour of a tribal identity. The reality is that some Maori choose to identify with a particular tribe, others might wish to but have lost access, and others still might be content simply as Maori, with no desire to add a tribal identity (1998, p.59).

In other words, being Maori is a uniquely individual choice. As mentioned above, in the media, iwi Maori representation and cultural identity has largely been conveyed through the limited lens of the dominant culture (O’Shea, 1990) which has tended to position iwi Maori unfavourably. Representation, “is the cultural activity of making and creating meaning” (Lealand and Martin, 2001, p.262). The negative Maori image positions iwi Maori as being somewhat susceptible to internalising cultural negativity, “through their media and other ways of conveying attitudes, many European New Zealanders made it clear that they expected young Maori to fail... Maori themselves were prone to accept and internalise these opinions and to match their behaviour to them” (Ballara, 1986, pp. 149, 150). Huria (1996, cited in O’Regan) also supports this notion of negative internalisation:

The media and Pakeha and other iwi perceptions of us will influence how we see ourselves at quite a shallow level. If you had the media constantly saying ‘Ngai Tahu are rich, Ngai Tahu are rich,’ on one level we will think we are, whether we are or not - but the core of it has to be in our own mindsets, and in our own hearts - how we view ourselves (2001, p.162).

Programmes such as Crime Watch and the news (Harawira, 2007) are usually rife with “prevailing negative caricatures of Maori-as-criminal” (Lealand, 1990, p.74) and are therefore...
inclined to reinforce Ballara’s argument regarding “failure”. Her discussion further develops the notion of iwi Maori as also being predisposed towards mutely assuming racial stereotypes themselves, “Maori shared the racial stereotypes concerning themselves held by European New Zealanders, even those which were unflattering or hurtful” (1986, 147). While both Huria and Ballara alluded to the inclination of iwi Maori to internalise such negativity, Huria additionally conveyed how the reverse would likely produce opposite results. In other words, if iwi Maori were to be represented positively in film, media and television, at some level they would begin to internalise optimism rather than negativity.

With the advent of the Maori Television Service, it was anticipated that Maori TV would counteract years of cultural negativity and racial stereotypes perpetuated by mainstream representations of iwi Maori. Perhaps the effect of the new Maori channel could achieve the same results as the feature film, Mark II, had on iwi Maori audiences twenty years earlier, who were ecstatic about seeing themselves:

...their response was euphoric. At times they were rapt, the theatre silent...even more significant was the awareness that almost all the faces on the screen were brown, the faces of young Maoris and Polynesians. ‘It’s us on screen’ [...] (Dunleavy, 2005, p.175).

But, being “brown” does not necessarily signify being Maori. O’Regan’s book Ko Tahu, Ko Au (2001) is a commentary, not only on her iwi Maori identity, but also on the prejudices iwi Maori from Te Wai Pounamu face. O’Regan states, “some of the girls had questioned how I could be a Maori and come from the South Island, as it was known there were no ‘Maoris’ in the South Island” (2001, p.20). The importance of this statement is that it illustrates prevalent attitudes regarding iwi Maori authenticity, which was further conveyed by Walsh, who declared, “there were people who said, ‘Oh gosh you Maoris you’re not Maoris you’re white, you’re fair’” (Walsh, 1997 cited in O’Regan, 2001). Here, authenticity refers to the notion that you are not a “real” Maori unless you conform to certain stereotypical physical and/or character traits such as skin colour. These remarks tend to deny iwi Maori diversity and are indicative of prevalent attitudes based on assumptions of authenticity. In all likelihood these assumptions could stem from simple demographics; after all, Otepoti (Dunedin) is the second largest city in the Te Waipounamu the South Island and both Otepoti (Dunedin) and Otautahi (Christchurch) have larger proportions of Europeans than any of the eight major cities in the rest of Aotearoa New Zealand (Quality of Life Report, 2003). Otepoti (Dunedin’s) demography positions iwi Maori as a very small minority,
making up around 5% of the city's total population (2001 Census). With statistics such as these it seems hardly surprising that Griffiths and Goodall asserted, “Dunedin cannot be considered a Maori city” (1980, p.5) because of the scarcity of iwi Maori residing there.

Given that iwi Maori have such a minority presence in Otepoti (Dunedin) it may be hypothesised that it is more difficult to maintain identity as a Maori (bearing in mind Durie's idea of how fluid this “Maori” identity has become) and hold fast to positive images of Te Ao Maori in such a context. Maori Television was established by Maori for the benefit of Maori and inevitably plays a role in cultural self-definition, but was this happening in Otepoti (Dunedin) for Otepoti (Dunedin) viewers of Maori television? With the relatively recent arrival of Maori television to Otepoti (Dunedin), this investigation asks the question: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being iwi Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)?
Literature Review

Television: the drug of the nation?
A discussion of television discourse

"Since its arrival here [in New Zealand] in 1960, television has shaped the stories, images, politics and society of which it has become part. As elsewhere, it has become without question, the dominant communications medium. For these reasons, and for the impact it has had on all the areas of cultural identity, public debate, the household, family life and much else, it deserves study" (Farnsworth & Hutchinson (Eds), 2001, p.11).

Background and Context

The central focus of "Television, the drug of the nation?" is to establish the notion that television, as a medium, has the power to influence its viewers. This notion is particularly important to the main body of this text because at the centre of this research is the premise that iwi Maori have finally gained some control over how they are represented on television (or at least on Maori Television) and that this will impact upon their self-image positively. This premise is also held to be true by commentators such as Reweti (2006) and Stephens (2004), who envision Maori Television as being influential for iwi Maori in encouraging and affirming ways.

Contrastingly, from a Western perspective, television has often been associated with exercising power and control over the masses. This is especially evident in the following arguments, which will be expanded upon below:

- Franti’s discussion of television as a “drug”.
- The negative discourse associated with television’s “limited effects” theories.
- The Frankfurt School of academics critique of television as an instrument of reinforcing capitalist ideals.
- Orson Welles’ radio-play of H.G Wells’ War of the Worlds, which exemplifies the power mass communications media has to influence the masses.

An overall objective of “Television, the drug of the nation?” is to essentially demonstrate how television can equally be perceived as either negative or positive depending on your frame of reference. Moreover, the degree to which television can influence a person or group of people and the shape of this influence is also a matter of some conjecture.
"One Nation under God has turned into One Nation under the influence of one drug, Television" (Michael Franti, 1992).

Simply put, television is a telecommunications medium, which broadcasts information to an audience. From this perspective, the actual television set is essentially neutral in the same way a blank page of a book is neutral. Contrasting, the moving pictures, programmes and sounds television transmits to its audiences are highly subjective and loaded with culturally specific meanings and ideological baggage. In 1992, "The Disposable Heroes of Hiphoprisy" released their track, "Television, the Drug of the Nation". A song, perhaps not surprisingly, described by Reed (1992) in an interview with lyricist Michael Franti as "vilifying television". Franti, in response declared, "I don't think television is the villain. The programming is" (1992, p.161). While this division between content and medium may appear simplistic, it emphasises the relationship between television programmes and television audiences (Wilson, 1993). In other words, television programmes can be highly influential on their audiences. For example, Franti accuses television as being "the reason why less than ten percent of our nation read books daily" (The Disposable Heroes of Hiphoprisy, 1992).

Franti further launches a wide-reaching assault on American television culture. His analysis directs attention towards (among other things) the addictive nature of TV. He goes on to cite television as a "remote control over the masses" alluding to political agendas and severe "race baiting" in politics. Probing further beneath the surface, Franti exposes television as fraudulently concealing its true purpose of "breeding ignorance and feeding radiation". His message (although arguably pessimistic) is concise, highly articulate and thought provoking, as seen in the following excerpt:

...back again, “New and Improved”

We return to our irregularly programmed schedule
Hidden cleverly between heavy breasted
Beer and car commercials
CNN ESPN ABC TNT but mostly B.S (The Disposable Heroes of Hiphoprisy, 1992).

Negative television discourses akin to Franti's perception of TV are relatively abundant. Some of the more common ones include "ethnic blame" which refers to blaming particular cultural groups
for social issues such as violence and crime (Romer, Jamieson & de Coteau, 1998), “violence desensitisation” where viewers of television, especially children, become desensitised to watching excessive amounts of violence on TV (Gauntlett, 1995) and “the zombie hypothesis” where it is perceived that children mindlessly and uncritically absorb television messages (Gauntlett, 1995). These varied discursive elements emerge because “television is a meaning producing phenomenon” (Butler, 2002, p.ix). Simply put, audiences read television in wonderfully diverse ways. The process of interpreting how individuals decode texts and images is, at best, highly problematic and a much debated field of study. A common thread interwoven within all of these discourses is that they are tangible illustrations of television’s powerful effect on its audiences. Albeit, in negative ways.

Corner and Harvey (1996, cited in Burton 2000) develop this notion of negativity further, referring to an anxiety associated with the effects of television. Causal links can be traced to circa 1940, around debates between early Modernism and Marxism. According to Corner and Harvey, Modernism, from a western perspective, has generally been synonymous with what has been referred to as high and low culture. What this means is, the negative discourses aimed at television position it as existing largely within the realm of low brow, popular and therefore, low culture. Slang terms such as, “boob tube”, “idiot box” and “tele-trash” tend to reinforce its status in the west as low culture. Similarly, Fiske (1987) citing Bourdieu’s (1980) concept of “cultural capital” supports this notion of high and low culture. Fiske discusses how in the west, society, culture and wealth are unequally shared and therefore more inclined towards serving and promoting class interests. Consequently, those cultural forms which are considered in the west as high such as fine art, literature or ballet correspond with the preferences of people with social power, while low or popular cultural forms appeal to their subordinates. Essentially, in the west, culture and class are interconnected, but cultural discourses serve to mask their association. Terms such as good taste are supposedly indicative of high culture or that,

...naturally ‘better’ people (i.e. those with ‘better’ taste) appreciate ‘better’ art (i.e. that which they believe is ‘inherently’ more universal, aesthetic) and therefore the value system that validates ‘high’ art and denigrates ‘low’ art is based in nature, and not in the unequal distribution of power in a class-divided society (Fiske, 1987, p 18).
The essence of cultural capital, according to Fiske, relates to the dominant classes denigrating television as a way of distancing themselves from media intended for mass consumption thus perpetuating the myth of high and low culture.

Concordantly, Lealand and Martin (2001) examine Marxist ideas, which locate social class as an imperative tool in understanding how audiences interpret the media. They maintain that in a capitalist society the media forms part of an unelected elite who pursue their own agenda, seeking to reinforce the status quo, thereby utilising television as a means of normalising dominant ideologies. Maharey (1990) traces the evolution of these dominant ideologies back to Germany and the Nazi regime. His discussion focuses on the Frankfurt School of academics of the 1930s, claiming the Nazis understood the potential power of the media to indoctrinate the masses into a certain ideology and therefore exert their control. These academics “became convinced that the way the media were being used offered new and worrying possibilities for control” (Maharey, 1990, p. 14). Most of the Frankfurt School of academics, having fled Germany for the United States during the Second World War, soon observed how the Americans wielded the media in a similar fashion to the Nazis. The only difference was in the ideology being transmitted. Where the Nazis had utilised the media as a means of totalitarianism, America on the other hand, focused primarily on marketing and the sale of products. According to Lealand and Martin (2001) academics from the Frankfurt School believed “the media reflect ideological points of view and, to perpetuate capitalism, indoctrinate and manipulate people to consume things they do not need” (2001, p.51). It could be argued, particularly from a Marxist standpoint, that indoctrination into capitalism via television is a form of “totalitarianism of the mind”.

The above example proves, if nothing else, that the various mass communications media (and television in particular) are powerful and influential tools. Confirmation of this power was evidenced in 1939 by Orson Welles’ deceptive radio news bulletin adapted from H.G. Wells’ War of the Worlds, which seemingly convinced audiences of a Martian invasion and thus led to mass hysteria (Maharey, 1990). In the modern, relatively more media-savvy world, it is perhaps less tenable to accept Marxist ideas of mass audiences unquestioningly being deceived by the media without some consideration. Empirical research theories such as the “hypodermic needle” (an intended message is directly received and wholly accepted by the receiver) concept (Butler, 2002) belong to a long list of, what Butler describes as “limited effects theories”. In lay terms, the basis of these theories is underpinned by a belief that we are directly affected by what we see
on television, hence the term hypodermic needle, as if viewers are passive recipients of the overpowering influence of television. The oft-used metaphor, “couch potato” is further testament to wide assumptions of audience passivity and an inability to discern between television and real life (Gauntlett, 1995).

Nonetheless, there has been a marked shift away from these “limited effects theories”. In order to understand how the shift transpired, it is necessary to examine the different theoretical models pertaining to the term “audience”. Audience studies evolved out of a shift in thinking from maligning television (limited effects advocates such as Franti) to an interest in how audiences make sense of television and how they construct meanings about the world (Burton, 2000). Basically, terminology and subsequent thinking evolved from past notions of the passive audience to the more recent active reader of television. Fiske (1987) discusses the distinction between “audience”, “audiences”, “viewer” and “reader”. “Audience” he believes, is a highly dismissive term implying homogeneity (we are all the same), passivity (we believe everything we see), centralised power (the audience is at the mercy of the industry) and indiscrimination (we are unthinking and uncritical). “Audiences” recognises differences. Society is not homogenous: it consists of a diverse mixture of class, gender, race, age, religion and politics. Power is unequally distributed in society, therefore social relations revolve around the dualities of power/resistance and domination/subordination. The term “viewer” encompasses watching television as a social activity, which is pleasurable and has meaning (meaning is dependent, among other things, on the class and gender of the viewer). Viewing is seen as engaging with television while “reader” refers to being actively involved in the production of meanings provoked by television texts. Fiske's critique of the television audience is central to understanding that watching television is an active process and meaning is, to a certain extent, reliant on a person's sociological makeup such as their class and gender.

Taking the more universal model of the television “reader” opens the door for a plethora of possible meanings, each equally valid depending on your viewpoint. Hall’s (cited in Butler, 2002) discussion of polysemy, refers to the multiple meanings encoded within television texts, further developing Fiske's notion of active readers of television. Readers, deciphering meaning from television texts, do so in a way that is entirely relative to their ideology and thus how they perceive the world. According to Hall, there are three ideological positions through which readers of TV decode television texts:
1.) The dominant hegemonic position; consisting of viewers who more or less adhere to the discourses of the ruling-class and therefore place value on the dominant system as the preferred reading.

2.) The oppositional position; comprising of viewers who reject the preferred reading and are “aggressively disenfranchised” from the benefits of the ruling class system, such as minorities and immigrants. Franti’s above-mentioned invective against television as “the drug of the nation” is an example of this position.

3.) The negotiated position; perhaps the most common. Viewers are neither supporters of the dominant discourse nor entirely detached from it, these viewers tend to select meanings that apply to themselves on a personal level (Butler, 2002).

To summarise, hidden within television texts are a multitude of meanings and messages. They are encoded within the vast range of commercials, situation comedies, drama series and programmes seen on television. How one chooses to decode these subtle messages and the meanings within them are reliant on many contributing factors, some of which were discussed earlier, such as class, ethnicity, religion and culture, in addition to certain ideological views held by television readers and how they perceive the world around them. John Hartley (1992) eloquently encapsulates the complexity of this body of knowledge by stating that the study of television in its purest form is simply a study of text, audience and meaning.
Background and Context

“The cultural imperialism paradigm” is essentially a theory that western nations (especially the United States) dominate the worldwide communications media. As such, they (the United States) are in a position to disseminate their beliefs and values and therefore powerfully influence those from less powerful countries. This process is facilitated through film, television and media saturation as well as through aggressive marketing by U.S. based corporations (Barker, 1997).

The inclusion of “the cultural imperialism paradigm” within the body of this text serves two distinct purposes. Firstly, it acknowledges that television in New Zealand has unquestionably been influenced by the overwhelming quantity of imported television to these shores. This should come as no surprise considering New Zealand has a lengthy history of what Cross termed, “colonial mentality” or systemic feelings of inferiority which essentially situated the country as “a museum of imported taste” (Cross, 1997 cited in Dunleavy, 2005, p.5). In other words, on television “New Zealanders were unwittingly being underrepresented and even betrayed in their own land by being taught to think that everything that was really important and interesting originated overseas” (Cross, 1997 cited in Dunleavy, 2005, p.6). Thus the common term, ‘cultural cringe’ was essentially born out of an inferiority complex whereby New Zealanders saw little of themselves on television and held the belief that what local content they were exposed to was of inferior quality to the overseas equivalents.

The second purpose of this section, “the cultural imperialism paradigm” is to establish that both American and British models of television have been highly influential here in New Zealand. A discussion of homogeneity is undertaken in the course of the text to illustrate how “The Cultural Imperialism Paradigm” functions to neglect alternative or counter-ideologies such as iwi Maori and Te Ao Maori in favour of sameness or homogeneity.
“The cultural imperialism argument has us fade chameleon-like into the homogeneity that comes with the impact of so much imported culture. In this view, the imported culture becomes the cultural haystack: somewhere in it we might find our own distinctive identity; but it will be a hard job sifting through it” (Bell, 1995, p.128).

Before the original seeds of launching Maori TV had even been conceived of by iwi Maori, 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 world-views have dominated television from the outset of its existence in New Zealand. The New Zealand structure of television was influenced by imported models from overseas which followed a trend of white, middle-class patriarchy, thus creating a monocultural perspective in television broadcasting (Bell, 1995). Whilst the high level of foreign programming may suggest a diversity of cultural perspectives, in reality they carried the same ideological patterns as the colonial power elite in New Zealand. 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 (Bell, 1995). As such, Bell (1995) argues that what we have, by way of television, is a simplified identity. That simplified identity as New Zealanders has ultimately been guarded by mainstream definitions of normality which essentially discredit other world views as being of the lower value; for that reason the mainstream world view had come to be seen and accepted as the natural way. This tendency in programming towards creating an illusion of homogeneity is by no means new. Rather, it has been a cornerstone of the colonial agenda stretching back to Hobson’s assertion “he iwi tahi tatou” (Orange, 1987, p. 55) at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

There is a dominant theoretical paradigm, heavily influenced by neo-Marxism, which suggests that a quasi-colonial agenda still exists and is evident in international communications (Elasmar, 2003; Schiller, 1976). This form of neo-colonialism has been coined “cultural imperialism”

3 The term, ‘imperialism’ has historical links with European expansionism (Walker, 1990). “colonialism” and the “white man’s burden” to bring civilisation to the “natives” is also a component of imperialism as is the economic dependency the colonised inevitably form on their colonisers. Neo-colonialism however, is governed by an entirely new way of thinking compared to historical forms of colonial and imperialist thought. “In 1840 the missionaries arrived bearing

3 "The imposition of one national culture upon another and the media are seen as central to this process as carriers of cultural meanings which penetrate and dominate the culture of the subordinate nation" (Barker, 1997, p.183).
the cross in one hand and the Bible in the other as justification for their mission of converting the Maori from heathenism to Christianity and savagery to civilization” (Walker, 1990, p.9). This method of imperialism was tangible and overt. According to the Cultural Imperialism Paradigm, imperialism has now adopted more subtle methods of control such as mass “remote” control through the media. The term ‘cultural’ refers to countries (mainly the United States) exporting mass media to developing countries with the intention of disintegrating traditional cultural structures in favour of convincing these inhabitants to adopt Western cultural values which in turn lead to the acquisition of Western products. Together, both terms encompass the theoretical framework of cultural imperialism (Elasmar & Bennett, 2003), which focuses on:

- Capitalist and imperialist ideals as being ideologically supported.
- Power and information as centralised within elite news agencies.
- A partial or complete dependency of national television on foreign mass culture.
- U.S. control and ownership (Glatzer, 1976 cited in Barker, 1997).

In New Zealand, a considerable “dependency” on Britain and the United States for the importation of television programming has existed since the arrival of television to New Zealand shores (Lealand and Martin, 2001). This is due, in part, to pure economics and an inability of New Zealand to produce the same kinds of programmes that could be purchased abroad for less than a fraction of what it would cost to make those television programmes here (Lealand, 1990; Dunleavy, 2005). In applying the Cultural Imperialism rationale, New Zealand viewers (of predominantly American television) are seduced over time by American imperialist texts, which seek to idealise the “American way, as the best way” (Barker, 1997, p. 184). O’Hare (2005) draws a significant correlation between television and consumerism. He states that television creates false norms where predominantly U.S. television programmes construct characters that live upper-middle class lifestyles which (among other things) promote luxury cars and designer accessories and clothing. The point here is not that the ideological values (consumerism and individualism) embedded in this foreign TV content are inherently bad or to be avoided, but that the swamping of mainstream New Zealand television with this type of programming, coupled with limited iwi Maori perspectives on locally produced content creates a situation where alternative or counter-ideologies are not given a voice⁴. Hence the illusion of sameness is maintained and hegemonic cultural “norms” remain unnoticed and therefore, unchallenged.

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⁴ this will be discussed in the “Ngaro” section.
Major criticisms of Cultural Imperialism essentially discredit the paradigm as being analogous to the ‘hypodermic needle’ concept, which positions viewers as passive receivers of information. Cultural Imperialist models claim that U.S. television has a privileged role in cultural reproduction, that global television has been dominated by the U.S., that U.S. television is a monolithic vehicle for promoting capitalism, that all U.S.-produced television is encoded with the same values (Barker, 1997) and that U.S. television has created lasting negative impacts on its international viewers (Schiller, 1969; Tunstall, 1977 cited in McMurria, 2004). “Resistive Viewer” responses to the Cultural Imperialism paradigm, observe that viewers actively attribute local meanings within a multiplicity of daily experiences (McMurria, 2004). Elasmar proposes an alternative to the Cultural Imperialism paradigm with his “SIM (Susceptibility to Imported Media)” model (2003, p.170). Essentially this model takes into account the pre-existing schema of beliefs and attitudes of the viewer as contributing to the type and extent of the influence of the foreign media on the individual viewer. This model does not negate the existence of an agenda to dominate or at least influence people remotely, as suggested by the Cultural Imperialism model, but it does negate the idea that exposure to television content from a foreign culture “will result in strong and homogenous effects across audience members” (Elasmar, 2003, p.162). Whilst the SIM model appears to be an attempt to disassociate the study of television from radical or conspiracy theories, it is important to note that hegemony works in subtle ways, with attitudes of superiority and subordination becoming normalised and unquestioningly accepted by both the coloniser and, to an extent, the colonised. Therefore, even if the existence of a consciously formulated agenda to indoctrinate other cultures into acceptance of their cultural inferiority via television was found to be baseless, the basic premise of Cultural Imperialism which posits television as a means, however effective, for mass control remains intact.

To summarise, the Cultural Imperialism Paradigm suggests imported television acts as a quasi form of neo-colonialism and as such seduces audiences to become consumers of largely American products. The significance of the Cultural Imperialism Paradigm to this research has essentially been to convey that Aotearoa New Zealand is a heavy consumer of imported television from the U.S. (and the U.K.). Moreover, the swamping of mainstream New Zealand television with imported television coupled with limited iwi Maori perspectives on locally produced content creates a situation where alternative or counter-ideologies are not given a voice. Hence the illusion of sameness is maintained and hegemonic cultural “norms” which serve to
maintain existing power discrepancies between groups of people remain veiled and therefore, to a large extent uncontested.
Ngaro
A discussion of iwi Maori invisibility in television broadcasting

Background and context

The term ‘Ngaro’ according to P.M. Ryan’s *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori* is “invisible” (1995, p.473). Similarly, the William’s *Dictionary of the Maori language* offers this meaning in addition to more varied definitions of the word ‘Ngaro’ such as: “hidden, out of sight, disappeared, absent, missing, lost, undetected, unnoticed, passed off or away, forgotten, beaten, oppressed” (1992, p.230). The purpose of the ensuing section is to establish that iwi Maori have been relatively “ngaro” on television in Aotearoa New Zealand (as mentioned in the previous section “The Cultural Imperialism Paradigm”). Inherent in ngaro is also the notion of being ‘voiceless’. In other words, those who are not seen are also not heard and this has been especially true of iwi Maori and indigenous people throughout the world. The following Barclay quote eloquently captures the spirit of voicelessness.

You can’t cut out a people’s tongue, year in year out, and expect a stable peace that spans generations. The interface of communication landscapes I have been caught up in over some years is the one between Maori and the majority culture...for those who have never been throttled , it must be hard to imagine what it’s like not to have a voice of your own (Barry Barclay, 1996, p.122).
The virtual absence of an iwi Maori presence in Aotearoa New Zealand television broadcasting is a plight iwi Maori have shared with other minorities and indigenous people worldwide. To illustrate; the United Kingdom is a major supplier of programming to New Zealand. From as recent as 2001, the BBC’s Director-General, Greg Dyke publicised the lack of ethnic diversity within the BBC corporation in his statement, proclaiming that “the BBC is hideously white” (Hunter, 2001) and has a problem with race relations. Bourne (1999) also criticised the BBC’s race relations and further questioned its motives behind Great Expectations (1999), asking why the programme still failed to cast a black woman in the role of Estella even though London boasts a relatively large black population. In Ireland, Devereux’s (1998) Devils and Angels, a critique of two Irish television stations’ dominant constructions of Irish poverty and class, further explores this notion of minority/indigenous invisibility in television broadcasting. Devereux states,

I was personally aware of the invisibility of the lives of my family, friends and neighbours, not only in school and university textbooks, but also in the mainstream media...The struggle to survive ... was all but invisible in the newspapers I read and the television programmes that I viewed (Devereux, 1998, p. 2).

In Australia, the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) had concerns that the absence of local Aboriginal cultures and languages on satellite television would have damaging effects on the Aboriginal community. Community elders envisaged satellite television as being parallel to land rights violations; they saw the medium as a form of “electronic cultural trespassing” (Parks, 2005, p.52) and as another means of white, western invasion (Parks, 2005).

The important point to emphasise here has been argued by Burton (2000) who asserted something which he believes many theorists would agree upon: issues of race on television are marked as much by the absence of ethnic minorities as by their negative stereotyping. What this means is, the absence of authentic racial diversity on television is problematic. Bourne’s (1999) critique of the BBC illustrates how representation on television by no means signifies lived realities. While minority and indigenous people may exist in society, their presence in television broadcasting has a history of being relatively nominal if not entirely absent (Keijser, 2006). The representation and reproduction of minority and indigenous imagery has been largely constructed and maintained by dominant ideologies, which, according to Lealand and Martin (2001), support the hegemony of the colonisers and have resulted in media representations “of Maori and Aboriginal
that both quantitatively and qualitatively have worked to the disadvantage of indigenous people” (Lealand and Martin, 2001, p119).

Little Voice
Iwi Maori disadvantage in television broadcasting originally manifested through an invisible iwi Maori presence on either side of the television camera, a predicament which lasted around twenty years. Mita states, “we were offered no choices, given no alternatives; television made us invisible” (Mita, 1996, p.45). Fox (2002) recalls his first introduction to broadcasting in the 1970s as concordant with Mita’s indictment. He provides a damning assessment of iwi Maori representation:

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

Similarly, Reweti (2006) also describes the period of her introduction to a television career with TVNZ twenty years ago as being an era of insufficient iwi Maori content in broadcasting. However, by this stage the first dedicated iwi Maori programme, Koha, had finally screened on TV, TVNZ having taken some twenty years to recognise its responsibility to iwi Maori 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 iwi Maori specifically. “We were in fact making programmes by Maori, about Maori 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 iwi Maori provided they could be communicated in a way that the average New Zealand viewer would appreciate, therefore diminishing the essence of Te Ao Maori to iwi Maori viewers. However, in reaction, Koha staff “felt an obligation to speak directly to Maori with an authentic voice, refusing to water down or simplify the message for the mainstream palate” (Reweti, 2006, p.180).
“Give em a taste of Kiwi”: Iwi Maori and Advertising

The denial and marginalisation of iwi Maori also existed in other parts of television broadcasting, such as advertising; this was evident in 1999, during an advertisement which was considered culturally insensitive to iwi Maori for showing a female teacher, sitting on her desk. However, claims that the advert was insensitive were later dismissed by the Broadcasting Standards Authority (Leland and Martin, 2001). Two advertisements (this time at an international level) show cultural insensitivity in their representation of the haka. A Fiat commercial (New Zealand Herald, 2006) features a number of black-clad women performing the haka to promote one of their latest vehicles. Similarly, an advertisement for Reef alcopop also featured women performing the haka but this time clad in bikinis and suggesting that consumers “go native” (The Guardian, 2000). The latter advertisement was eventually withdrawn after complaints of cultural insensitivity were made by New Zealand’s high commission in London. Both commercials are examples of cultural insensitivity, especially given that, traditionally, the haka is performed by men.

In the same vein, Mark Scott’s (1990) article White Wash: The acceptable image in television advertising is a discussion with various casting agencies on issues around the exclusion of iwi Maori and Pacific peoples in commercial breaks. A common perspective held amongst these agencies, almost twenty years ago, was expressed by an agent, who stated,

...in a country that likes to think it’s multicultural, there are more dogs shown in commercials than there are Maoris and Polynesians. It is deliberate...the view is, they [Maori] have no image appeal - except in association with fast food. There is a whole class of clients who will be horrified if you showed a Maori or Polynesian in their showroom” (Harvey cited in Scott, 1990, p. 84).

In recent times, however, the iwi Maori presence on television advertisements has somewhat increased, albeit in relation to no-smoking campaigns. Whereas during the 1990s, blanket refusals in advertising, based on race, were so prevalent in the industry that one casting agent was at a loss to single-out even an individual company who actively sought to include Maori (Scott, 1990). Other issues in Scott’s (1990) article, surfaced around the stereotypical labeling of Maori as ‘hori’. Most commentators associated being Maori with being caricatures; an example of this was evident in the featuring of Billy T James on a Mitre 10 advert (Representations of New Zealand identity, 2007) in which he deliberately stumbles on the pronunciation of the word
"ingenious". Scott (1990) bluntly described this type of advertising as, "coon incompetence," the lowest kind of humour, which ceased to be funny in the U.S. ten years earlier.

Consumerism through advertising is how television profits from its audiences. Characterising the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' is a way of making a distinction between those who can and cannot afford to purchase products. Bell suggests, "consumerism is equated with an ideal way of life for New Zealanders. The 'unfortunate' are shown as needing to be socialised into the same values as the Pākehā dominant group, and to attain the same material goals" (1995, pp.23, 24). Bell's discussion focuses on aspects of exclusion within television broadcasting; accordingly she claims, those groups of people who are excluded in representation on television are the same groups of people who the media exclude from the consumer culture.

The main thrust of this discussion locates iwi Maori representation as being largely absent from television broadcasting. Hall (cited in Burton, 2000) states that the media construct for us a definition of what race is; the meaning behind the imagery of race, and what the "problem of race" is understood to be. The media help us classify the world in relation to race. In applying this framework to an Aotearoa New Zealand context, the absence of iwi Maori from mainstream television for a twenty-year period, is a consequence of what Mita considers to simply be "institutionalised racism" (Mita, 1996, p.45).
Background and Context

The advantage of creating a "national identity" in television advertisements has definite benefits. According to Bell, "commercial definitions of nationalism are developed not just by New Zealand agencies, but also overseas, for us. At the same time advertisements encourage us to shift our notions of personal identity from the parochial to a global consumer culture, where people drink Coke and wear Levis and Nikes" (1995, p.29). An additional example of utilising nationalism for advertising purposes has been the long running McDonalds Kiwiburger ad, which encapsulates the iconic kiwiana image and thus appeals to a sense of national identity in its viewers, with catchy lines such as "...fishing flies, Maori haka, Kiwi Burger that's our tucker." Maori haka, the plastic tiki and a plethora of other supposed references to Te Ao Maori are in-vogue, kitsch national icons, reinforcing Bell's notion of a "national identity". Arguably, for iwi Maori though, these icons in reality echo a colonial history of the misrepresentation of iwi Maori imagery.

"Iconic Maori" is a natural progression on from the preceding section "Ngaro". Ngaro essentially laid the foundations, establishing that an iwi Maori presence on television was missing and thus iwi Maori voices were underrepresented. Iconic Maori, is effectively a discussion of misrepresentation.
"patronising stereotypes such as Maori as 'a noble savage fallen from a previous pagan paradise'; others, he said, 'gave a "reverse negative" stereotype—they said happy-go-lucky but meant irresponsible, hard working meaning fit for manual labour, pleasure-loving meaning pleasure-seeking, in all a "not like us" stereotype that would prevent them from accepting a Maori as and for himself" (Ritchie, 1971 cited in Ballara, 1986, p.144).

The study of racism in television broadcasting originates within the domain of representation, identity and discourse. Representation is the way in which television categorises groups of people and manufactures a version of that group of people through the representation of televised images. Shortland Street is an example of an image and ideas about doctors and nurses while Outrageous Fortune illustrates an image and idea of West Auckland 'Westies' or 'Bogans' just as bro'Town represents an image of Samoan and iwi Maori youths. Representation is two-fold; in terms of appearance (what certain groups look like, how they behave and thus how they are defined) and meaning (ideas about groups and how the audience understands them). It tends to reinforce ideas, preconceptions and judgments which already exist in the mind of the viewer (Burton, 2000). The experience of watching bro'Town will contribute something to the watchers (already formed) notions of youth, ethnicity, class and or gender. "The representation will be about the idea of young people, what their beliefs, values and preoccupations are understood to be" (Burton, 2000, p. 171). If we revisit Elasmar's SIM model (mentioned earlier in the "Cultural Imperialism Paradigm" section) which posits the viewer's pre-existing schema of values and beliefs as a significant determiner of how susceptible they are to being influenced by television, then shows such as bro'Town that pander to existing stereotypes will potentially reinforce these stereotypes, even if the intention was to satirise them.

Race, identity and discourse are essential components of representation. The discourses predominating in a television programme based around race carry ideological weight. They convey messages, tacitly or explicitly, concerning the power and control of one race in relation to another (Burton, 2000). In the case of bro'Town for example, even though the satirical, "over the top" representation of race may be argued as a counter-discursive or revolutionary representation, essentially the discourses surrounding iwi Maori are the same as the clowning 'hori' (discussed earlier in the "Ngaro" section). The character, Jeff da Maori, being the only regular iwi Maori character on the show, carries a significant mass of representational discourse. He is portrayed as having a constant runny nose, carrying a guitar, bare foot, poor, stupid and a host of other negative or stereotypical traits. While his companions are depicted as intellectually comparative
underachievers. The labelling of Jeff as “da Maori” may have the potential to draw viewers’ attention to his character as being a caricature, but its power to subvert these negative stereotypes is limited as there is no counter-discursive element present, only a crudely drawn conglomeration of negative stereotypes. Thus, the hegemonic discourse is perpetuated and further entrenched.

The colonial gaze

The origins of hegemonic discourses, through the construction and representation of iwi Maori imagery, had originally been focused through the limiting lens of a colonial gaze. Blythe’s (1994) discussion of “Maoriland” alludes to the mindset of the colonial gaze which tended to frame iwi Maori as a sentimental and romanticised production of the British imperial age. As such, “Maoriland” was useful in the promotion of travel and tourism, a phase which spanned over fifty years from when it first came into vogue in the 1880s. “Maoriland”, during this phase, was seen as an exotic synonym for New Zealand. By the 1930s however, it had developed an entirely different persona: one of legend. Iwi Maori, during this subsequent phase, became both fictional (Maui) (Te Kete Ipurangi, 2007) and non-fictional (Rewi Maniapoto at the battle of Orakau) (King, 2003) Maori Noble Savages. This kind of romanticism was a feature in film titles such as: *The Romance of Hine-moa* and *Under the Southern Cross*. The Myth of Authenticity, “a myth in which erotic/exotic can be constructed as authentically different from European or American cultures by piling up various racial and cultural differences” (Blythe, 1994, p. 22). The succeeding phase of the exoticism of “Maoriland” and the construction of Maori as a Noble Savage are closely entwined with the more sinister “Fatal Impact” theories which posited iwi Maori as a dying race. Fatal impact is based upon the Darwinistic notion that the “weaker” race would die out as a natural consequence of contact with a superior colonising people. Thus it became part of the “white man’s burden” to amass a record and commentary on the dying moments of a culture in the same way as a museum would present the skeletal reminder of a long vanished species. Robert Flaherty’s film (1922) *Nanook of the North* is an exemplar of this mode of thinking, in that Flaherty deliberately sets out to preserve the image of his subjects on film. This technique later became known as ‘salvage ethnography’ a means of salvaging a record of a culture before it disappears. The intention of this section is not to offer a running commentary on the chronological phases of iwi Maori imagery in Aotearoa New Zealand. Rather, the objective is to indicate that the construction and representation of iwi Maori has largely been governed and thus defined by external, non-Maori image makers to suit their own ends, theories and beliefs.
Since the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand, iwi Maori have, in effect, been stigmatised by stereotyping in the media. Wall’s article, *Stereotypical Constructions of the Maori ‘Race’ in the Media* (1997) is a commentary on the stigmatisation of iwi Maori as the “Black Other” (Wall, 1997). Wall states, “racist representations, derived from the universalised stereotypes of the Black Other, were engendered, primarily the masculinised image of the primitive, savage warrior/cannibal” (Wall, 1997, p. 41). She further claims that the romanticism of Maori; Maori as the Noble Savage and Maori as a vanishing race (notions also mentioned above by Blythe), are all elements of a changing society that thus produces changing racial stereotypes. However, Wall (1997) maintains that despite the nature of this changing society, racial stereotypes still tend to retain their currency, such as the “naïve, comical simpleton”. Evidence of the contemporary existence of this stereotype is again endorsed, not only by the character, Jeff da Maori, but also by a range of characters in one of the few jewels in Aotearoa New Zealand’s film canon, Jane Campion’s *The Piano*. This work is regarded by Pihama (1994) as being a series of constructions, deriving from a colonial gaze, which locate iwi Maori as: naïve, simple-minded, lacking reason, acting impulsively, sexually deviant and fixated on male genitalia. Pihama considers these traits particularly dangerous in the portrayal of iwi Maori and disparages the film for being “uncritical and unchallenging of the stereotypes [it emphasises] which have been paraded continuously as ‘the way we were’” (Pihama, 1994). Wall expands on the prevalence of these stereotypes in both film and the media by collating the most frequently used labels into four categories: Maori as the comic other, Maori as the primitive natural athlete, Maori as radical political activists and lastly the quintessential Maori (a reimag(in)ing of Maoriness by iwi Maori). The significance of Wall’s argument is that iwi Maori have a history of being unfairly (mis)represented within the restrictively narrow lens of the colonial gaze, a gaze that has sought to pigeonhole representations of iwi Maori as the ‘Other’, therefore only providing images which are relevant to the perspective of hegemonic norms.

Iwi Maori as the Other

The predisposition of the mainstream media to compartmentalise iwi Maori into assorted categories is further discussed by Pihama (1996), who asserts that Maori representations by Pākehā image-makers were influenced by dominant discourses which constructed severely limited notions of being Maori. She isolated three paradigms used to classify Maori by Pākehā:

- the ‘native/inferior’ Other,
- the ‘deficient/depraved/negative’ Other and
• the ‘activist/radical/excessive’ Other.

These definitions build upon the categories put forth by Wall in the previous section. The ‘native/inferior’ Other originated in the colonisation of New Zealand by the British in the nineteenth century. Walker (1990, p.9) described this time as an era of European expansionism “predicated on assumptions of racial, religious, cultural and technological superiority.” Hence, the “native” or Maori were regarded as “inferior” to the “superior” British or Pakeha. The ‘deficient/depraved/negative’ Other is simply an extension of this notion of the native as “inferior” and the coloniser or Pakeha as “superior”. The main thrust of this category is the “inferior” or inadequate position of te reo Maori me nga tikanga Maori in comparison to the English language and Pakeha world view. Walker’s (2004) emphasis on Pakeha mispronunciation of Maori words and place names on television is a marker which directly correlates to te reo Maori being seen as “inferior”. Ballara concurs, by stating “opposition to the correct pronunciation of Maori place names by media announcers provided further evidence of eurocentrism” (1986, p.140). This was exemplified by “Arnold Wall and Alan Mulgan, who in 1940 argued that the common usage of Maori placenames such as Wonganewy and Wai-pekarrow should be used on air because they were widely accepted” (Walker, 2004, p.334). Assumptions such as these, based on notions of racial superiority, essentially validated the further denial of iwi Maori world views and narratives. The ‘activist/radical/excessive’ Other is a more recent reaction to indigenous assertions of sovereignty. Iwi Maori attempts at regaining their due entitlements through tino rangatiratanga are simplified and misrepresented in the media (Stuart, 1996) usually as aggressive endeavours by “activists” to cause trouble. Trouble-making seems to be the logical explanation for such “radical” behaviour, while little attention is centred on exploring why such desperate measures are being employed 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 long-standing concerns iwi Maori have held regarding media representation of iwi Maori.

**Anti-Maori rhetoric**

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 Maori while working in favour of the coloniser.
The stereotyping of iwi Maori through sweeping generalisations that commence with statements such as, "Maori say..." make assumptions that all Maori 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 'Maori want fee for Lake Taupo airspace' concluding that headlines such as this one create the false impression of a unified Maori opinion. But the reality is that iwi Maori views are just as varied as Pākehā on a variety of issues. A common practice in the mainstream news media is to pigeon-hole Maori by deliberately asking broad questions like, "What do Maori think?" thereby suggesting that one Maori speaks for all, but surely an equivalent question would not be directed at a Pākehā interviewee. This led Stuart (2005) to support other commentators who affirm that the Pākehā world view is considered to be the norm or "Us" while the Maori worldview, "Them" is foreign.

Locating the Maori world view as foreign (if not entirely absent) is a matter Walker (1990) addresses indirectly in his article, *the role of the Press in Defining Pākehā Perceptions of the Maori*. The 'Haka Party' incident of 1979 is an illustration of how a small group of iwi Maori Auckland University students resorted to violence after years of unsuccessful attempts at trying to prevent a culturally insensitive reenactment of the haka, by engineering students. Consequently, news headlines of the event read, 'Gang rampage at varsity, Students at haka practice bashed' and 'No Place for Violence'. Walker emphasises the reluctance of the press to identify any view other than the Pākehā view of the incident. Respected Maori leaders later argued that "cultural violence by Pākehā students precipitated physical violence in retaliation" (Walker, 1990, p. 40). This event was a microcosmic symbol for race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand during a period of cultural misunderstanding. Perhaps, if the culturally insensitive parody of the haka was not allowed to play out then no reprisal would have eventuated. What is significant about the 'Haka Party' incident is that the media failed to see any direct correlation between the two occurrences, further strengthening this notion of "Them" (Maori) and "Us". Walker's analysis of the portrayal of iwi Maori in the media is essentially a critique of journalistic subjectivity. His article goes on to offer other examples of bias in reporting issues relating to iwi Maori in the media. Walker concluded that the 'mainstream' media had a tendency towards cultural misunderstanding which often led to misrepresentation.

Representing iwi Maori 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 Maori in media coverage.” Amongst the findings he reported: relevant Maori themes on television were scarce; programmes often unfairly portrayed Maori as having preferential treatment; prominent media depicted Maori control over resources as a threat to non-Maori; Maori were often shown as inadequate managers, either being ‘corrupt’ or ‘financially incompetent’ and ‘bad news’ concerning Maori 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 iwi Maori 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 iwi Maori representation on television was the *Portrayal of Maori and Te Ao Maori in broadcasting: the foreshore seabed issue* (2005) by Te Kawa a Maui. 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 iwi Maori representation in broadcasting, it has come under some criticism for several reasons. Pihama (2006) disapproves of the methodology employed to measure balance, accuracy and fairness in the report as being “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 Maori realities, concerns and interests are inadequately reflected in current broadcasting standards, claiming the report was unsuccessful in identifying 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 as a result of its credibility being called into question.

In summary, “Iconic Maori” is a discussion of how iwi Maori have a history of being misrepresented in the mainstream media. The Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, 2006 report exposed some of the issues iwi Maori have endured. Commentators such as Harrison
(2006) hoped the body of research undertaken by Te Kawa a Maui would be beneficial for iwi Maori especially if the research findings could be utilised to lobby for positive changes in the mainstream media. However this was not the case, as the report tended to attract criticism (see Pihama, 2006).

The main thrust of this section has been to establish that iwi Maori representation on television has largely been the domain of the dominant culture and for that reason there has been a tendency towards misrepresentation. The subsequent section “Decolonising Television” is therefore a discussion of how iwi Maori obtained the means of representing themselves in all aspects of television broadcasting. The section also details some of the key events that led to this eventual outcome.
Decolonising Television: Journey to self determination

Background and Context

“Decolonising Television” focuses on the eventual success that iwi Maori had in gaining their very own television channel (Maori TV). After a relatively lengthy process of trying to establish a television station by iwi Maori, for the benefit of iwi Maori, the struggle was essentially over. Finally, iwi Maori had secured the means to decolonise television: in other words, iwi Maori were now in a position where they could conceptualise, produce and administer images of themselves in all aspects of television broadcasting, while traditionally this role had effectively been undertaken by non-Maori.

This section, “Decolonising Television”, is a discussion of the anticipated benefits of a Maori TV channel, the challenges to its inception and some of the milestone events that led up to the eventual launch of the Maori Television Service in March, 2004.
"Our demands were so mediocre: ‘five minutes of Maori on television’, but you would have thought we were asking for the moon” (Ripeka Evans on Nga Tamatoa and Te reo Maori protests, 1993).

One significant change iwi Maori have relentlessly pursued has been the desire to represent themselves in all aspects of television broadcasting. Patricia 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 is suggestive of the call to finally begin conveying stories on television, which iwi Maori would not only find stimulating and relevant but which would also be made by iwi Maori for iwi Maori audiences. Leland and Martin (2001) support iwi Maori reclaiming their own images on television, suggesting that, “there is a pressing need for Maori programming in Maori and English to enable Maori to have a voice and to tell their own stories. There is a need for Maori to have the resources to counteract negative media representations” (2001, 336). In 2000, the Report of the Maori Broadcasting Advisory Committee (MBAC) made reference to a forty-year period of television broadcasting which had seen iwi Maori virtually absent from the industry, until relatively recently. The Committee claimed that in all those years “piece meal policy” and a lack of commitment had disadvantaged the Maori presence on television (and radio), which at the time of the report, stood at less than 3% of all programmes broadcast. The MBAC vision for Maori broadcasting is bound with te reo Maori. The Maori language, they believe, is the essence of Maori broadcasting and thus, what differentiates iwi Maori programming from the mainstream. The Committee affirms, “the media, and especially television, has helped to fashion the way we perceive ourselves as a society. The dearth of high quality Maori programming, most especially News and Current Affairs, is a disservice to Maori and Pākehā alike” (Maori Broadcasting Advisory Committee, 2000, p. 3).

The media is influential in how a society or culture perceives itself, a notion Ballara and Huria argued earlier (in the introductory section) and which is further substantiated by Keijser who affirms; “the way in which a culture or group is represented in the media can affect the way in which its members perceive themselves or are perceived by others” (Keijser, 2006, p.9). He further comments that if the representation is positive, optimism will likely rise but if the representation is systematically negative (such as negative stereotypes and prejudice), group identity and social status is considerably lowered. Rangihau (1999) offers an example of the influential power of the media in negative self-perception. Her own examination locates media representations as potentially detrimental to the identity of iwi Maori children. She queries, “you
might ask yourselves, how do you perceive Maori people? And when you get that perception, increase it ten-fold and then you may have an idea of how Maori children perceive themselves” (1990, 109). Iwi Maori representation by iwi Maori as expressed above by Leland and Martin could indeed be an invaluable counter to the negative Maori self-perceptions Keijser, Rangihau Ballara and Huria alluded to. Wilson (1990) on the other hand, cautions Maori and Pacific leaders to not merely be passive viewers of the media but instead to wield its power in order to meet their own ends, especially in relation to the welfare of iwi Maori and Pacific peoples. He suggests the media should be a top priority in any developmental strategy. In his view, an uninformed media produces a misinformed public.

But perhaps Wilson has overlooked the ongoing struggle of iwi Maori for acknowledgment in all aspects of television broadcasting, since its inception in Aotearoa New Zealand. Contrastingly, Barclay (1990) 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 Maori 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, p.49). In this sense it is not simply a matter of generating material by Maori for Maori; it also needs to be within a Maori directed value and funding structure.

Another obstacle is “political propaganda” generated in television and broadcasting that basically portrays iwi Maori as unable to take care of themselves (Maori and Pākehā, 2000). This has been conveyed on television and broadcasting in three different ways:

1. The public exposure of Maori that they are incapable of running their own economic affairs in a responsible way; iwi Maori are depicted as being deficient in financial administration and public accountability. Tukuroirangi Morgan’s $90 boxer shorts (Burns, 1997) was an example of publicly perceived Maori financial corruption; the prevalence of iwi Maori as welfare beneficiaries is also evidence of financial dependency.

2. The interface of the political administration in the approval process for the funding of all Maori programs; financial controls imposed which constrain iwi Maori aspirations, Mita’s reference to a “white male-dominated value and funding structure” (1996, p.49) is evidence of imposed financial constraints on iwi Maori.
3. The influence of emotional statements regarding entitlements under the Treaty of Waitangi; the undermining of iwi Maori credibility on television in regards to Treaty grievances: examples of these can be seen in Brash’s Orewa Speech (Brash, 2004) and the Foreshore and Seabed issues (Te Kawa a Maui, 2005) which effectively question iwi Maori entitlement to resources.

Essentially, iwi Maori disillusionment with television misrepresentation prompted resistance, whereby iwi Maori themselves began to assume the role of self-representation (especially in radio broadcasting) after years of the mainstream media neglecting its responsibility to Maori (Stuart, 2003). But some would argue (Fox, 1990; Stuart, 2003; Walker, 1990) iwi Maori have, throughout history, utilised the media as a form of resistance and a way to preserve tikanga Maori. Hodgetts, Barnett, Duirs, Henry, Schwanen (2004) claim that iwi Maori had always been aware of the power of the media and thus developed the first Maori language newspaper in 1842 and then radio broadcasts in 1942. However, despite these particular media advances, Hodgetts et al acknowledge the Maori media have largely been “marginalised and under resourced” (2004, p. 4) thus leading iwi Maori into a state of disadvantage, where historically (as discussed in preceding sections such as “Ngaro”) iwi Maori voices have been unfairly silenced amid a flurry of hegemonic, dominant discourses.

Maori broadcasting and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The most powerful tool iwi Maori have to lobby for media representation entitlements is the Treaty of Waitangi. Fox (2002) claims, “the public broadcasting system is a vital present-day resource, and as such Maori are legally entitled to an equal share of it” (2002, 260). However, considerable changes to Maori broadcasting only really emerged after the Te Reo Maori Waitangi Tribunal Claim of 1985. In 1985, The Waitangi Tribunal declared that te reo Maori was a taonga the Crown should protect (Te Reo Maori 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 Maori, 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 Maori language” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006).

In 1993, a separate funding agency, Te Mangai Paho (TMP) was established. It had a responsibility for funding all Maori programming, both in te reo and in English for mainstream
audiences. TMP was set up in response to challenges by iwi Maori who argued that under the Treaty of Waitangi the Government had a responsibility to iwi Maori. Initially, TMP was funded by 13 per cent of NZ On Air’s licence fee income. However, since the abolition of the public broadcasting fee TMP is now funded directly from the Government (Jacka, 2002; Norris, 2004). The NZ On Air local content survey defines Maori programming as programmes directed specifically at a Maori audience (Jacka, 2002). In 1997, TMP helped to fund the very first Maori Television channel, the Aotearoa Television Network.

The Aotearoa Television Network

The Aotearoa Television Network (ATN) was a relatively short-lived pilot broadcast in the Auckland region, which soon buckled under a weight of controversy. Burns (1997) believed Aotearoa television was a political venture “set up to fail” (1997, p.7). His autobiographical account Public money Private lives: Aotearoa Television-the inside story catalogues the seemingly insurmountable obstacles that confronted the pioneers of the first Maori Television station. Media hype and sensationalism, hidden agendas and in-house fighting all combined to ensure Aotearoa Television Network did not stand a chance. Walker (2004), in addition, discusses other warning signs that the venture was indeed set up to fail. These included: superficial interest in the project by some politicians as a means to advance their political agendas, unsatisfactory timeframes such as a thirteen-week pilot which was considered to be too brief to make any real impact on viewers, and 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 collapse and subsequent termination of the first Maori television channel.

However, despite adversity, the team at Aotearoa Television Network achieved considerable success inasmuch as the station proved that iwi Maori not only had the talent to get a television channel up and running in a short space of time, but also inspired their iwi Maori viewers simply by being iwi Maori: owned, managed and marketed. For many people, this was an exemplar of true tino rangatiratanga (Walker, 2004). A report through the Ministry of Economic Development to the Minister of Communications in 1997 entitled Service Delivery by Aotearoa Television Network and Te Mangai Paho applauded ATN’s performance in delivering
programmes that, for the most part, exceeded the performance criteria placed on ATN by Te Mangai Paho. These relative accomplishments led Burns to conclude, “Maori 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).

The rise of Maori Television

In many ways, what eventually arose out of the ashes of the Aotearoa Television Network was the phoenix of the Maori Television Service. But this time, iwi Maori aspirations for the new channel were focused on success; it had to succeed where Aotearoa Television Network failed. With the launching of a Maori Television channel created by iwi Maori and for the benefit of iwi Maori, 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 Maori Television Service, not only because it would act to preserve and advance te reo Maori me nga tikanga Maori but also because it would be a counter to the negative imagery iwi Maori had endured at length. Reweti (2006) stated:

...we hoped that a Maori 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 Maori Television would encourage its Maori viewers to start learning te reo Maori me nga tikanga Maori. He believed that iwi Maori would certainly benefit from seeing themselves on television. Similarly, Maori Television was also perceived as being very progressive for iwi Maori, in that “the communication technological media processes of this modern age has provided the opportunity for Maori to gain a foothold in guiding the public outlook about the affairs of Maori. It has also offered the opportunity for the presentation of material designed to win support for the many issues which Maori leadership faces today” (Maori and Pākehā, 2000, p.7). While, The Maori Broadcasting Advisory Committee envisioned,

...true Mana Motuhake in broadcasting will assure us a place in the ‘Knowledge Economy’; it will equip our people to live their lives in more informed ways; it will
hasten the long overdue telling of great stories of a great people, and it will create a better knowledge and understanding for non-Maori, of what it is to be Maori (2000, p. 3).

The Maori Television Service or Maori TV was formally established by the Maori Television Service (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Maori) Act 2003 and is funded by the Government in acknowledgment of the Government’s commitment to promoting and protecting te reo Maori and tikanga Maori. Although not explicitly as part of the Treaty of Waitangi obligations, Maori Television’s purpose through their mission statement is to,

...revitalise Maori language and culture through broadcasting. The principal function of the Service is to promote te reo Maori me nga tikanga Maori through the provision of a high quality, cost-effective Maori Television service, in both Maori and English, that informs, educates, and entertains a broad viewing audience, and, in doing so, enriches New Zealand’s society, culture, and heritage (Maori Television, 2007).

The Maori Television slogan ma ratou ma matou ma koutou ma tatou: for them, for us, for you, for all of us” is evidence of their intent to not only target iwi Maori but all New Zealanders. Walden, Chairman for Maori Television states, “we believe that while it is Maori who will ensure the survival of te reo Maori from generation to generation, the goodwill and support of all New Zealanders provides the certainty for that survival” (2007, p.2).

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

The success of Maori Television Service in reflecting a positive view of Maori 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 Maori ancestry. But he has no idea what being Maori means. When Sam saw images of Maori on television excelling at sport, science, surfing and break-dancing, he said to his Pākehā kuia, ‘Nana, aren’t Maori clever!’ In the post-modern world it is now ‘cool’ to be Maori (Walker, 2004, p.402).
In conclusion, the literature review has charted the progression of television from the modernist, hierarchical delineation between high and low culture (television being seen as the later) to the post-modern dissolution of these categories which allow for Walker's above assertion to be taken seriously. Similarly, there has been a shift in theoretical models concerning the effects that television has upon the viewer. So-called “hypodermic needle” or “limited effects” theories which claim that television has more or less homogenous effects upon an essentially passive audience have given way to constructivist theories whereby the meaning derived from television is constructed by unique and individual readers (or groups of readers) who filter the images through their own consciousness and experiences in order to make sense of it. These theories provide a background context for the findings and analysis of the research participants' comments in subsequent chapters.

Having established the ways in which people respond to television and how it can influence them, it was then argued in the literature review that television can be a method through which the hegemonic culture can suppress others and maintain power. This can occur on an international level via the importation of foreign programming, as seen in the “cultural imperialism” section, or domestically by filtering representations of iwi Maori through a series of limiting, colonial lenses which position them as “Other”. The Ngaro section also argued that the absence of iwi Maori on television was as conspicuous as the inauthentic or culturally insensitive representations on mainstream television. This neo-colonial agenda was also promulgated by myth-making attempts to establish a single, homogenous “New Zealand” culture, thus negating the counter-discursive voices of minority cultures such as iwi Maori.

Out of this seemingly bleak context and perhaps largely as a necessary response to it, arose the Maori Television station – a vehicle for cultural self-determinism and an alternative to hegemonic discourses. As a form of resistance to and alternative to mainstream representations of iwi Maori, this investigation now seeks to assess the extent to which it has succeeded in establishing or strengthening positive notions of being iwi Maori in its adult Otepoti (Dunedin) iwi Maori viewers. The research asks: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being iwi Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)?
Introduction

What is methodology?

Methodology is more than justifying one's reasons for implementing a particular method over another in any given study. According to Clough & Nutbrown (2002) methodology is about "how and why this way of doing it was unavoidable - was required by - the context and purpose of this particular enquiry" (p.17). They further suggest that methodological processes are uniquely individual choices and thus, different researchers will ultimately offer different interpretations even while using the same data. The authors concluded that researchers are required to justify the choices they make in their methodology from the very beginning to the very end of their enquiry.

The method employed by the researcher was a fusion of both qualitative analysis and Kaupapa Maori Research. This chapter is a discussion of the author's justification for implementing these particular methodological processes into the research design, in addition to qualifying the other research methods employed while undertaking the study.

Qualitative Research

Why qualitative research?

A qualitative approach was primarily sought for this research project owing to an interest in understanding how the sample group 'felt' about Maori 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 main thrust of this research project was to determine how iwi Maori adults residing in Otepoti Dunedin felt about being iwi Maori as a result of watching Maori Television, the types of meaning they associated with the television channel. Was their experience of watching Maori Television positive or negative? Was the television channel effective in connecting them with Te Ao Maori? These questions formed the basis for applying a qualitative approach to the research design.
Miller & Brewer (2003) describe ‘qualitative research’ as a term which focuses on ‘quality’ over ‘quantity’. In other words, this form of research is more interested in social meanings as opposed to the collection of numerate statistical data. Miller & Brewer further state, “qualitative research is premised on important philosophical ideas concerning human nature, society and the nature of knowledge associated with the methodological position of naturalism”(2003, p.239). Naturalism, according to Miller and Brewer, essentially refers to the notion that people equate meaning with their experiences in the world and that, if prompted, they would be able to articulate these meanings. Therefore, the research questionnaire was specifically designed to entice the research participants to freely articulate how they felt about Maori Television in general and also in contrast with mainstream television. A more detailed discussion of the research questionnaire will be covered in the subsequent section, “Questionnaire”. Various methods have been applied to the project with the overall intention of coaxing the research participants into divulging their “lived experiences” (Sherman and Webb cited in Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 2002, p.64) of viewing Maori Television.

Kaupapa Maori Research
Qualitative Analysis and Kaupapa Maori Research have an essential similarity. According to Becker Horowitz (1972) and Lincoln (1995) cited in Ezzy (2002, p.45), “it could be argued that qualitative methods are more likely to represent the interests of underdogs and outsiders,” particularly those who have been oppressed by dominant policies. In this sense, qualitative research seems ideally suited with Kaupapa Maori in that Kaupapa Maori was conceived as also being a response to oppressive, hegemonic policies. According to the Ministry of Social Development publication, A Research Ethic for Studying Maori and Iwi Provider Success, Kaupapa Maori is

an emancipatory theory that has grown up alongside the theories of other groups who have sought a better deal from mainstream society; for example, feminist, African-American and worldwide indigenous theories (2007).

Kaupapa Maori in education (although an already well-established concept in Te Ao Maori) really emerged in the 1980s around the time the Department of Education (through the University of Auckland) was attempting to introduce Taha Maori into its curriculum. These days the term Kaupapa Maori is frequently used across sectors, but prior to its rise as a widely adopted theoretical model there was considerable concern about iwi Maori and research. Smith (1999)
argued that research concerning iwi Maori had essentially been undertaken by outsiders and a consequence of this outcome meant that iwi Maori tended to be treated more like objects than subjects (Kiro, 2000).

Similarly, Bishop claimed, “researchers in New Zealand have undervalued and belittled Maori knowledge and learning practices and processes in order to enhance those of the colonisers and adherents of neo-colonial paradigms” (1996, p.14). This raises the question of *cui bono* (who benefits) or who had been benefiting from iwi Maori research? Bishop (1996) further argued a Kaupapa Maori approach is about challenging dominant worldviews in research because traditionally research primarily benefited the researcher and researchers were for the most part of non-Maori descent. Bishop (1996) suggests Kaupapa Maori research is premised on the notion that research involving iwi Maori needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate ways.

Thus, Maori researchers from the mid-1980s have increasingly insisted on generating even more iwi Maori researchers but perhaps of equal importance is the establishment of iwi Maori research methods which stem from a Maori world view (Kiro, 2000).

To summarise, iwi Maori researchers sought to undertake research with, by and for the Maori community that stems from a Kaupapa Maori framework. Moreover, Kiro (2000) argues the interests of the researcher and the interests of his or her subjects are paramount and inherently bound with a common purpose of hearing an indigenous discourse. Smith (1997) identified that Kaupapa Maori in education is founded on:

- Legitimising and validating being iwi Maori.
- The survival and revival of te reo Maori me ona tikanga.
- The principals and philosophy of tino rangatiratanga to ensure cultural wellbeing (Ministry of Social Development, 2007).

Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that the contemporary meaning of Kaupapa Maori “is the affirmation and legitimation of being Maori” (Penchira, Cram, Pipi, 2003, p. 5). Hence, from this perspective, “to be Maori is normal” (Ministry of Social Development, 2007).

Pihama reasons that it is imperative for Kaupapa Maori to recognise the displacement of oppressive knowledge. One way of achieving this is by critiquing non-Maori constructions of iwi
Maori (Pihama, 1993), especially in the media. The process of recognising these dominant discourses is essentially to deconstruct mainstream norms and worldviews (Smith, L, 1997). Overall, Kaupapa Maori is seen as an assertion of Te Ao Maori, te reo Maori and tikanga Maori, and thus has a right to be nurtured and maintained (Smith, L, 1997).

**Why Kaupapa Maori?**

A Kaupapa Maori approach was ideal for this research project given that there was an interest in entering into a discussion with iwi Maori adults about their feelings regarding Maori Television. An additional characteristic of this research project is that it is conducted by a person of iwi Maori descent holding the view that iwi Maori should benefit in some way from its contents, findings and conclusions.

First and foremost, Kaupapa Maori research reflects an iwi Maori code of conduct. According to Kiro, “it is not sufficient to suggest that just because you are Maori you will act appropriately” (2000, p.26). As researchers, we seek to undertake research that is tika, from the commencement of the research project right through to its completion (Cram, 2001). While working from a Kaupapa Maori framework one should be aware of how one conducts him- or herself.

Smith offers the following guidelines which would be useful while undertaking kaupapa Maori research (1999, p.120):

- **Aroha ki te tangata** - respect for people.
- **Kanohi Kitea** - face to face interaction.
- **Titiro, whakarongo...korero** - look, listen then speak.
- **Manaaki i te tangata** - generosity.
- **Kia tupato** - cautiousness.
- **Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata** - striving not to trample the mana of the people.
- **Kia mahaki** - humility; not flaunting one’s knowledge.

Some of these guidelines were found to be helpful during the interview process. The following are examples of how theory and practice interlink and how these guidelines were utilised during the course of the interviews.

Aroha ki te tangata allowed for the research participants to select a venue suitable for them and for the meeting to take place 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; in other words, as manuhiri the researcher maintained the role of guest and respected the contribution of the participant.

The principles of titiro, whakarongo... korero or look, listen and then speak were also applied. In looking at and listening to the participants the respondents were offered a forum through which they could convey their stories and experiences. At various points during the interviews, these stories vividly came to life. Life was breathed into them through a blend of facial expressions, tone of voice and various other verbal and non-verbal emotional indicators. When speaking, the interviewer only did so to give encouragement, support, to query, offer explanations, challenge and acknowledge in order to facilitate the forward flow of the korero.

Kia tupato signified working in a culturally safe way. Therefore, permission was sought through the Ngai 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 iwi Maori were being adequately adhered to. Kia tupato also refers to the approval of the researcher by those being researched.

Lastly, kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata and kia mahaki ensured that the interviewer maintained a position as the learner or manuhiri while each participant was in fact the teacher. Manaaki i te tangata, while essentially considered to refer to reciprocity or the mutual exchange of information (Ministry of Social Development, 2007) as part of the interview process, additionally provided a means through which a koha or gift could be presented to each participant in appreciation of their time and expertise.

Overall, Kaupapa Maori was essential while undertaking this research with iwi Maori participants because it adheres to the fundamental principles and values of Te Ao Maori. Moreover, utilising a Kaupapa Maori process was undeniably complimentary to the worldview and comfort of many of the research participants who equally felt relaxed discussing Maori Television as well as supporting a novice researcher of iwi Maori descent. It was generally commonplace for the participants (before taking part in the research) to enquire as to whether the research they will be involved in will indeed be of some benefit to the Maori community.
The Methodological Process

Initially, this research project was piloted as a summer internship gained through a scholarship from Nga Pae o te Maramatanga. Thus, the formative stages of this research venture were developed in December 2006 with the final report being complete and published in February, 2007. In consultation with several staff members from the Social Work and Community Development Department at Otago University, it was confirmed that this particular research could be further developed into a Masters Thesis research project.

The formulation of the topic, whilst already functionally established, needed to be modified to meet the requirements of a Masters thesis. From the outset, counsel was sought from Nga Pae o te Maramatanga, lecturers and peers on refining the research and widening its scope. Consequently, the quintessence of the investigation was altered considerably. By way of an explanation, the initial project ‘the impact of Maori Television on being Maori: a geographical approach’ essentially focused on:

• iwi Maori women in Otepoti (Dunedin) primarily because these women were available over the summer holidays;
• had fewer participants (5 in total) again, these were the only participants available over the summer holidays; and
• was restricted to a 10 week timeframe due to the conditions of my Nga Pae o te Maramatanga scholarship.

While, this research project on the other hand is proportionately larger. For example, the study involves:

• a mixture of both male and female participants;
• has 9 participants in total, due to Masters thesis requirements; and
• has a 12 month timeframe, also because of Masters thesis requirements.

Furthermore, the emphasis of the research transformed from simply being about how iwi Maori women felt about Maori Television to how both men and women felt about how iwi Maori are represented on television. By way of example, the initial project, ‘the impact of Maori Television on being Maori: a geographical approach’, mainly focused on assessing how iwi Maori women felt about Maori Television. Contrastingly, this research project, ‘seeing iwi Maori, being iwi Maori: constructions of iwi Maori identity’, delves deeper into the notion that iwi Maori identity
had been increasingly influenced by constructions defined by non-Maori. However, with the advent of Maori Television, iwi Maori are now able to take back responsibility for creating and representing images of themselves on television. What was of interest here was gauging how the iwi Maori community felt about being represented on television by iwi Maori in contrast to a history of representation by mainstream television. Thus posing the question:

what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being Maori in its Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)?

The first part of the research process was in seeking consultation and ethical approval for the intended study. The following section is a discussion of the course of action taken to complete the consultation stage.

Consultation

"The ethics of social research is about creating a mutually respectful, win-win relationship in which participants are pleased to respond candidly, valid results are obtained, and the community considers the conclusions constructive" (Caroline McAuley cited in Miller & Brewer, 2003, p. 95).

Consistent with the University of Otago’s Policy on the development of research proposals, and as mentioned above in the “Why Kaupapa Maori” section, consent was sought through two different mediums:

- The Ngai Tahu Research Consultation Committee and
- Ethical Approval through the University of Otago

Firstly, the Policy for Research Consultation with iwi Maori provides the framework for an appropriate and mandated consultation process for research with iwi Maori (Otago University, 2007).

The consultation process asks researchers to submit a ‘Research Consultation with Maori Form’ including information of their research proposition which is then assessed for consultation requirements (Otago University, 2007).
This process was relatively simple and concluded once the Committee approved the application and returned it with a few minor suggestions such as confirming that only adults residing in Otepoti Dunedin would be interviewed (as opposed to iwi Maori residing in Otautahi Christchurch) and a final recommendation was suggested to seek counsel on how to achieve good quality data.

Secondly, ethical approval was sought through the University of Otago Board of Ethics. The procedure was similar to that undertaken for The Ngai Tahu Research Consultation Committee. However, a more comprehensive twenty-page form was completed (as opposed to the single online page used by The Ngai Tahu Research Consultation Committee). The Board of Ethics Committee approved the application and returned it with no additional suggestions.

During the consultation process the selection of research participants was also being considered. Questions naturally arose regarding, who should be interviewed? What ages the interviewees would be? How many interviews would be undertaken? and how research participants would be selected? The following section is a discussion of the process of selecting research participants suitable for the intended study.

Selecting Participants
The research participants were sought through non-probability sampling. Essentially, this method of sampling “refers to processes of case selection other than random selection (Singleton, Straits, Straits, McAllister, 1988, p.153)” In other words, the participants were selected by:

Convenience - whereby the sample are sought through conveniently available sources (Singleton et.al, 1988).

Purposeful - whereby the interviewer relies on their own judgement to select appropriate candidates to interview (Singleton et.al, 1988).

Given Otepoti (Dunedin’s) relatively small iwi Maori population, it was decided that Convenience Sampling (Singleton et.al, 1988) would be practical; therefore, many of the sample group were selected personally through already established networks. Another reason for adopting Convenience Sampling is because of limited access in receiving Maori Television
broadcasts in Otepoti (Dunedin). Access to a good signal had a significant bearing on eligibility to participate in the research project.

In terms of factors determining sample size, it was anticipated that eight participants in total were the preferred sample quantity owing to time restrictions of a Masters thesis research project; however, in the end nine participants were actually interviewed, five women and four men (there was a possibility of interviewing five men but one person had to withdraw for personal reasons).

In addition, purposeful sampling was implemented on the following grounds:

To achieve balance. For example, a comparatively even male/female ratio.
To ensure the sample group represented a cross-section of iwi Maori society, such as representatives from the rangatahi age group, a kaumatua/kuia, a male and female relatively knowledgeable in Te Ao Maori and, contrastingly, participants fairly unfamiliar with Te Ao Maori.

According to Singleton et.al “as a general rule, one should define the target population to fit the scope of the study, for if the study is small enough, then a well-designed and executed sample is possible with very limited resources” (1988, p.157). Consequently, the target population were to be iwi Maori adults living in Otepoti (Dunedin). Participants being sought for the research project had to fit the following criteria:

- Reside in Otepoti (Dunedin);
- Be of iwi Maori descent;
- Be over the age of 18 years; and
- Regularly watch Maori Television.

The sample group varied across the age ranges of 25-60 and included participants with: Te Arawa, Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Porou, Tainui, Ngai Tahu, Kati Mamoe, Ngati Ranginui,Waitaha, Ngati Koroki, Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Whatua affiliations.

Sampling was divided into two sections: the first group of participants were interviewed in the
summer of 2006 while the second group were interviewed in July of 2007, the reason being (as mentioned earlier in this section) that this research project initially commenced as a summer internship through Nga Pae o te Maramatanga and then subsequently developed into a Masters thesis research project.

Limitations of the research
Commencing research in December poses a number of other practical problems such as finding sufficient participants when both students and faculty are busy with end of year commitments and summer holidays when many people go up to central Otago, or head back up north for Christmas with extended family. Consequently, there were delays in interviews and one cancellation due to illness. An outcome being that the final sample of the first group was all women. The second set posed fewer difficulties given the time of year that they were undertaken; however, there was one cancellation by a male participant (due to a double booking), which meant the total number of interviews would be an odd number (nine) instead of even (ten). Finally, seven of the nine participants had a university education, thus limiting the ability of the findings to be generalised across the full range of Otepoti (Dunedin) iwi Maori 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 concept of whakawhanaungatanga was particularly significant during the participant selection process, given that many of the sample group were chosen personally through already established networks. Thus, on initial contact, a mutual friend generally made an informal introduction. By way of explanation: on one occasion, a shared friend suggested a possible candidate to interview and then liaised with both parties to choose an appropriate time and venue to meet kanohi ki te kanohi (as referred to earlier by Smith). During this initial meeting, informal introductions were made by the mutual friend. Opportunities for both parties to ask questions, discuss the fundamentals of the research project and to gauge the suitability of the participant were helpful features of this process. Determining the level of interest of the participant in contributing to the research was also useful. For others already familiar to the researcher, a general korero was often undertaken (again to determine interest and suitability). Overall, the participants eagerly volunteered their time to korero about their experiences of watching Maori TV.
Validity and Reliability
An important component of research is credibility. According to Hall and Hall, “relevant and credible research needs to be measured against two vital criteria—validity and reliability” (2004, p. 97). Validity can be described as a mechanism for measuring what is intended to be measured. By way of example, a metric jug can be an accurate way of measuring millilitres, litres and cups, while written feedback from customers regarding the customer service they have received may be a way of gauging customer satisfaction. What this means for researchers is that one should select a valid method of obtaining information from the research participants that is suitable for the research design.

Babbie (2004) argues that one can never entirely prove the validity of a measure; however, other factors such as ‘external validation’ may aid in this process. In-depth interviews are offered by Hall and Hall (2004) as an illustration of how ‘external validation’ transpires. In qualitative interviewing, participants are able to expand on their responses, thus affording the interviewer insights into their feelings and experiences of the real world. Qualitative interviewing is seen as particularly valuable in determining meaning or, more specifically, the meaning that the research participants associate with the given research topic. As mentioned above, a qualitative approach was primarily sought for this research project owing to an interest in understanding how the sample group ‘felt’ about Maori Television, what their ‘lived’ experiences were in their own terms. Therefore, it seemed logical to employ a qualitative approach as it would more likely yield valid responses from the research participants. Hall and Hall (2004) argue that quantitative analysis is particularly useful while questioning quantities like how much and how many?

Similarly, reliability has some resemblances with quantitative analysis in that it refers to the notion that a particular instrument, used repetitively, would continue to yield the same results every time (Hall and Hall, 2004). What is particularly problematic about qualitative interviewing and reliability is that qualitative interviewing is unlikely to produce the same responses each time and is thus low on a reliability scale.

Prior to the participants agreeing to be interviewed, some consideration was allocated for deciding the method of gaining information from the sample group. A questionnaire was the preferred choice because it allowed a forum for discussion between the interviewer and the
interviewees. The subsequent section is a discussion of the process of selecting the research questions for the questionnaire.

**Questionnaire**

The questionnaire essentially emerged from the literature. Andrews (2003) describes two methods of producing research questions, firstly through generating and refining questions and secondly through the literature review. While reviewing books, articles and journals several interesting statements began to materialise which were considerably thought-provoking. These statements eventually became central in grounding the questionnaire. In other words, on reading these provocative statements the researcher became curious as to how iwi Maori would respond to the statements in relation to Maori Television. The intention was to offer questions to the participants that would stimulate conversation and perhaps even inspire the sample group to think critically about some relatively familiar discourses, such as the mispronunciation of Maori words in the mainstream media and also the negative portrayal of iwi Maori in the media.

The following are examples of how these statements were utilised and then fashioned into questions that directly relate to Maori TV for the research questionnaire:

- In his recently revised version of Ka whawhai tonu matou, Ranginui Walker discusses the mispronunciation of Maori words and placenames in the media. He states, "Pakeha announcers were obliged to pronounce Maori words correctly, thereby putting to rest the ghosts of Arnold Wall and Alan Mulgan, who in 1940 argued that the common usage of Maori placenames such as Wonga-newy and Wai-pekao-row should be used on air because they were widely accepted." What are your thoughts on the mispronunciation of Maori words in the mainstream media?

- According to Joris de Bres (The Race Relations Commissioner), "When the public is fed a diet of predominantly negative stories about Maori, it is hardly surprising that negative attitudes are fostered." In your opinion, how are Maori and Maori issues shown differently between Maori TV and mainstream TV?

Initially, these types of questions could be conceived as being potentially leading: there was genuine concern that the participants (because of the nature of the statements made) would be influenced by these statements rather than stimulated to debate the issues critically. Kadushin (1990, cited in Trevithick, 2000) describes five forms of unhelpful questions, of which, "leading or suggestive forms of questions" (p.86) were among those discussed. Therefore, while
designing research questions one had to consider if the questions were leading or suggestive in any way, and if they were found to be, then changes would need to be made. However, in pre-testing or piloting a draft of the questionnaire on four iwi Maori adults prior to finalising the actual questionnaire, it was found that these statements neither swayed nor led the participants (as was initially assumed). This finding was based on the variety of participant responses gathered in the pilot. Such a variety of mixed answers to the same questions allayed fears that the questions would lead all participants to providing similar answers.

**The Question order**

The project involved individual interviews with nine participants being asked a total of twenty-one questions (Table 1). According to Miller & Brewer (2003, p.251) “the order in which questions are asked in a questionnaire or in a formal structured interview can affect the pattern of response significantly.” Therefore, the first eleven questions were designed as a ‘warm-up’ to get the participants thinking about Maori Television. For this reason, these 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.

In contrast, the second series of questions were deliberately 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 Maori Television and examine how iwi Maori see themselves represented on Maori TV, particularly focusing on: Te Ao Maori, te reo Maori, tikanga Maori and iwi Maori content.

**Open-ended and closed Questions**

There were only three closed questions asked throughout the entire questionnaire. These questions were included purely to gain information from the respondents. In contrast, the open-ended questions made up the majority of the questionnaire. Miller & Brewer (2003) describe this form of questioning as advantageous as it allows participants to respond to questions in their own words; it further permits them to elaborate in their responses and also provides insights into the meanings the participants attach to their beliefs.
Pre-testing and piloting

One of the main issues arising from the pre-testing verified the necessity in conducting the research interviews kanohi ki te kanohi while using the pre-determined set of formal, structured interview questions (Miller & Brewer, 2003). During the pilot, respondents who undertook the questionnaire via email misread some of the questions thereby highlighting the need to refine them so as to make the wording as unambiguous as possible. Consequently, during the actual interviews, respondents were also given a copy of the questionnaire for the sake of clarity and ease.

The following table is a copy of the actual research questionnaire.

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 Maori TV?
5. What time of day do you usually watch Maori TV?
6. What day of the week do you tend to watch more Maori TV?
7. What are your favourite genres on Maori TV?
8. What are your favourite programmes on Maori TV?
9. What do you like about these programmes?
10. How much Maori 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 Maori TV distinct from Mainstream TV?
13. What are the strengths and limitations of Maori TV?
14. If Maori TV no longer existed what difference do you think it would make to you personally?
15. According to The Ministry of Social Development, “Maori language is the cornerstone to Maori culture”. In your opinion has viewing Maori TV affected your: Knowledge of Te Reo and or tikanga Maori?
16. In an article on ‘The construction of a national Maori identity by Maori media, Ian Stuart claims, “In creating a Maori media, Maori have established their own arenas, with an official language, and where Maori have more authorisation to speak”. In your opinion, has viewing Maori TV affected your attitude towards being Maori?
17. The recent televising of Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu’s tangi was a rare and privileged insight (not only) into Te Ao Maori but also into the tikanga of Te Iwi o Tainui. In your opinion, has viewing Maori TV instilled in you a sense of Iwi and or Maori pride?
18. Given that Maori make up around 5% of Otepoti (Dunedín’s) population (2001 Statistics) it may be difficult to maintain identity and hold fast to images of Te Ao Maori. Maori TV was established by Maori for the benefit of Maori and inevitably
plays a role in cultural self-definition. How useful has Maori TV been in helping you to maintain a connection with Te Ao Maori?

19. In his recently revised version of Ka whawhai tonu matou, Ranginui Walker discusses the mispronunciation of Maori words and placenames in the media. He states, “Pakeha announcers were obliged to pronounce Maori words correctly, thereby putting to rest the ghosts of Arnold Wall and Alan Mulgan, who in 1940 argued that the common usage of Maori 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 Maori words in the mainstream media?

20. Often Maori 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 Maori TV reinforces these negative stereotypes in any way or does it provide more positive Maori representations?

21. According to Joris de Bres (The Race Relations Commissioner), “When the public is fed a diet of predominantly negative stories about Maori, it is hardly surprising that negative attitudes are fostered”. In your opinion, how are Maori and Maori issues shown differently between Maori TV and Mainstream TV?

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**Data Analysis**

Thematic analysis of the data was then undertaken, essentially, “coding in thematic analysis and grounded theory is the process of identifying themes or concepts that are in the data” (Ezzy, 2002, p. 86).

According to Hall & Hall (2004), in analysing the data the researcher must perform a number of tasks:

- Prepare the information for analysis by checking transcriptions and audiotapes.
- Check the information for consistency and accuracy.
- Code the information.
- Categorise the codes, reduce the information, develop hypotheses and construct explanations.

The following steps were carried out during the data analysis:

Each participant’s response was carefully listened to at the same time as their transcript was being read. This precipitated a thorough understanding of the sample’s specific responses through both the actual words and how they were said. This initial part of the process can be seen as the transcription stage (Hall & Hall, 2004) and the individual analysis stage.
The responses were then aligned with those of the other participants. This part of the process can be seen as "the initial identification of topics, often referred to as open coding" (Ezzy, 2002, p. 87). For example, the theme, 'The Mana of the Maori Television Service' derived from responses in relation to how the participants' would feel if Maori Television no longer existed. These overall responses unquestionably confirmed that Maori Television had mana; hence, the eventual formation of the theme.

In this way, the main points were drawn out of each question.

Similar questions were grouped together to provide several different themes or thematic analysis (Hall & Hall, 2004). For example, the first theme is an amalgamation of questions 12, 19, 20 and 21, while theme two is drawn from question 15. The themes that emerged from the analysis were:

1. Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori.
2. Tikanga Maori: recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Maori.
3. Iwi Maori in Ōtepoti (Dunedin): attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Maori.
4. Ma tatou, Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for all of us, for you, for them: critiquing Maori TV.
5. The mana of the Maori Television Service.

To return to Clough & Nutbrown's statement: (2002) methodology is about "how and why this way of doing it was unavoidable—was required by—the context and purpose of this particular enquiry" (2002, p.17). To this end, a qualitative approach was primarily implemented for this research project owing to an interest in understanding how the sample group 'felt' about Maori Television, what their 'lived' experiences were. Additionally, a Kaupapa Maori approach was implemented into this research project because there was an interest in entering into a discussion with iwi Maori adults about their feelings regarding Maori Television. As such, Kaupapa Maori protocols (Smith, 1999) were observed in order to ensure that the research had cultural validity and would potentially be of some benefit to iwi Maori.
This section discusses the main themes arising from interviews with the sample group of iwi Maori Dunedin adults. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, ten of the twenty-one questions (questions 12-21) were used to construct these themes. The five themes identified from the analysis of the interviews as mentioned in the “Data Analysis” section are:

1. Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori.
2. Tikanga Maori: recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Maori.
3. Iwi Maori in Ōtepoti (Dunedin): attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Maori.
4. Ma tatou, Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for all of us, for you, for them: critiquing Maori TV.
5. The mana of the Maori Television Service.

Each of the nine participants were given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity: Mere, Ropata, Kingi, Tangi, Ani, Aroha, Rangi, Hone and Manu.

The intention of this section is to allow the mana of the participants’ own korero to articulate itself. For that reason, the sample group’s responses have been largely communicated in their own words throughout the entire section, with space made for brief analysis or contextual comments between each theme, simply to act as sign posts for the readers.
Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori

E tutaki ana nga kapua o te rangi,
Kei runga te Mangoroa e kopae pu ana.

The first theme, “Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations” positioned Maori TV as a reaction to the negative portrayal of iwi Maori in the media by non-Maori. Maori Television is considered to be instrumental in normalising Te Ao Maori, te reo Maori and tikanga Maori for its iwi Maori viewers. Conversely, mainstream television is perceived as being a tool which undermines, misrepresents and unfairly labels its iwi Maori viewers.

TV1, TV2 and TV3 they’re geared to one audience and it’s not Maori. (Mere)

I think, they tend to feed off the negative Maori things, they tend to forget about the [good] things Maori do for themselves, for example, the Maori people who are in mainstream businesses, big corporate businesses. Seldom do you hear about [Maori] who run up there with the corporate players. I think it can only paint (in most areas) a negative picture of Maori. I know there is bad in all, it’s just that we tend to thrive on the negative issues and that’s why most of our prisons are full with Maori people. (Ropata)

I guess you see what you want to see in terms of mainstream television and what we see is really quite different. Here’s a good thing, an interesting thing. My grandfather went to university and my father went to university; I’m here [at Otago University] and one day one of my kids will go to university. It’s kind of a given. I remember being at school and I was always in one of those top classes. I never had a problem with that. But, when I was in fifth form which is year 11 there were three classes of Maori. I was in a different stream from any of the other [Maori]. There were about one hundred to one hundred and twenty [Maori] always represented well in the lower blocks. I couldn’t figure that one out, but I’ve never had a problem with people who just tried to call us dumb. There wasn’t anyone at my school that had that kind of history; I was just one of the lucky ones. That’s just my father’s side; my mother’s side is totally different. There are twenty three of us in my generation from one kuia. But those are the things you never hear about, you hear about all these other things. So yeah, I wish we could be represented differently but we’re not. (Kingi)

5 The clouds in the sky close over, But above them spreads the Milky Way (Anon, 1992).
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’re nuts when you don’t actually understand why they are getting uptight and heated up about something. (Tangi)

The latter observation, by Tangi, is a remark concerning iwi Maori issues being oversimplified in the media and thus causing considerable confusion for general audiences who have no context in which to understand genuine iwi Maori issues.

Stereotyping and labeling of iwi Maori by the mainstream media was an additional key sub-theme identified by the sample.

When the mainstream say something about Maori, 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? (Tangi)

One of the things I hear on TV is the issue that came on the radio this morning that a three year old baby has been air lifted to Star Ship Hospital with multiple injuries. Now, in my mind past history tells me that it’s a Maori baby. Regardless of the ethnicity of the baby whether its Pākehā or Chinese or what ever, nine times out of ten they would name that baby as a Maori baby and it’s the same with a murder or rape because in the past Maori have been one of the targets where they just assume that it’s a Maori. A rape that’s been done by a person they don’t know what nationality he is - it shouldn’t matter. Some of the media thrive on Maori especially on the talkbacks who thrive on stirring about Maori. (Ropata)

And some of the things that go on, on mainstream and how they make Maori look silly...there is one and it’s debatable whether it’s racist or not, the one with the Pacific Islanders, the cartoon [bro’Town]. Sometimes, it makes [Maori] look like they are actually dumb. Like the main one in the show [Jeff da Maori] they make out that he knows nothing - sort of thing. He makes mistakes and is not intelligent, where as that is not the case you know, because a lot of people watch it because it’s funny, because it makes money. It becomes an image for other Maori and you hear kids imitating [them]; the sad thing is that some kids imitate it. It’s good that someone created it and it’s good to have a good laugh but I just think they need a balance. It’s just like ‘Jake the Muss’ they think that that’s Maori men, who use their wives as a punching bag, which isn’t true. (Rangi)

An additional insight into mainstream broadcasting is its position as a cultural outsider attempting to portray and understand iwi Maori and iwi Maori issues, while still maintaining the same fundamentally antithetical structures,
On mainstream TV, it’s an outsider’s 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 Maori 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 Maori 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 Maori and interpret for the mainstream audience. So, the actual institutions have a bit better pronunciation sometimes and it might have people saying po 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. (Tangi)

Mispronunciation of Maori words
Improved pronunciation of Maori words in the media has been an on-going issue for mainstream presenters. While a majority of the participants agreed mainstream presenters were getting better in their pronunciation, they criticised the widespread mispronunciation of Maori words as further evidence of iwi Maori misrepresentation.

It should not be put up with. Mispronunciation anywhere should be challenged. Mainly because [Maori] is an official language of New Zealand and also it’s something for us to be proud about. (Ani)

Terrible, I loathe it aye. There are certain people I will not watch on TV because they are media trained they should be taught how to say our words properly. They should have enough respect to say our words and our names and say them properly. I won’t watch what’s his face? Peter Williams he’s useless as. There are some people on TV I just loathe because they just won’t even try... Yeah, they are hopeless! Especially with sports like rugby league and rugby, hopeless, they should get a coach. I just hate it. You know, my sisters have got long names and my father’s got a name that’s sixteen letters long; it’s terrible just having our names twisted around, it’s horrible. So, when I moved down here [to Dunedin] I changed my name, I didn’t want it bastardised anymore. (Kingi)

It’s not right aye, it’s Whangarei, a lot of them say Wong-a-rei... they’re not learning the language properly. (Hone)

They’re hopeless. It’s crap. I reckon Maori announcers should say New Ply-myth for New Plymouth. I do, I believe that a lot of our Maori announcers should mispronounce Pakeha names... even here [in Dunedin] the name’s Maori Hill. Well I really thought
Maori Hill was Ma-oar-ree Hill, I didn’t know it was Maori Hill when I first came here [because of such prevalent mispronunciation]. My husband was laughing; he’s driving around here and it’s the posh area of Dunedin, pity no Maori live there. Living here in the South Island I’ve never seen so many Maori names mispronounced by both Maori and non-Maori, it’s just shocking and I hate it. I have to tell ya I hate it and mainstream media have been instrumental in a lot of that. (Mere)

Ropata confessed to mispronouncing Maori words himself,

Yeah that’s always an issue with me. You get people who do it even now, and I sometimes do it too [like] Wack-a-white [for Waikouaiti]... I’m one of them that mispronounces too ... so yeah I’m in that category [but ] I realise how important it is to get the pronunciation of the Maori word right... [Although] I think it’s more-so down here, the local jargon spoken down here [in Dunedin]. (Ropata)

For another participant, Aroha, mispronunciation of Maori words was inconsequential,

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 “Maori”. (Aroha)

Eight out of nine of the participants expressed mild to extreme anger as a result of the mispronunciation of te reo in the mainstream media. Clearly, this has some bearing on how iwi Maori feel about representations of themselves and te reo Maori me nga tikanga Maori on television.

Seeing iwi Maori being iwi Maori
Irrespective of the opposing position held by Aroha, it is now feasible (with the advent of Maori Television) for iwi Maori to rectify these apparent issues, through the provision of a medium to counterbalance mainstream representations. By and large, Maori Television is considered, by all of the participants, to be a forum through which Te Ao Maori and being iwi Maori is normalised.

When you see Maori on Maori TV it’s normal. (Aroha)

We are seeing so many talented Maori presenters: young, old and that’s the other great thing; different shapes, different sizes, different ahua, different iwi. (Ani)
Maori TV offers an avenue which shows positive imagery of iwi Maori to iwi Maori and because of this iwi Maori are being empowered to become more self-reliant.

I actually think Maori TV provides more positive Maori 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. (Ani)

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

Maori TV televisions programmes that are of particular interest, not only to iwi Maori and indigenous peoples, but also to all New Zealanders.

The only honest thing I can put it down to is that I can relate to something that comes on [Maori] TV because not only is it aimed at the people in general but because it’s Maori, it’s so close to us, it’s important that we have [Maori] television. It’s amazing, even the staunch Pākehā people at work keep watching Maori television and they keep asking me about [it] so I’ve always been their interpreter for television, telling them what it’s about. Some of the programmes will probably change when they get a wee bit on but I wouldn’t like to see what they’ve got now change, because of the importance it holds with the people. I can understand changes need to come through with the likes of Kai time and the News. I think, our old people from at home will be more interested in watching more TV and Maori programmes [now]. (Ropata)

I think the content sets them apart and the types of things they focus on too. They have a Maori slant towards all the programmes and indigenous as well, even the dramas. The odd time I’ve been able to watch the dramas, there’s always an indigenous slant to them the way Maori television presents its programmes. Wonderful, good humour-Maori humour. Just a really different way of presenting the same information and their youth programmes are different as well, aye because they focus on different things. I think because they have a Maori way of looking at things through the Maori world view they tend to portray things a lot differently through a different style. (Kingi)

It shows aspects of stories that are of interest to me as a Maori; sometimes it connects me with my roots I won’t say sometimes it’s a bit more than sometimes. It reminds me of who I am especially here in Dunedin, especially when I see people on it that I know and
even if I don’t know them, even if they are from the same tribe it’s still the same inspirational effect. The people that I often see are actually older than I am, they are the elders...it’s not only the people it’s also the land and the towns and all of those sorts of things. To me, it is about familiarity and a lot of it has to do with me living in Dunedin, a place where I’m still an alien, in a sense. (Rangi)

Maori TV offers a balanced perspective on issues:

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

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. (Tangi)

When we talk about news, Maori TV, I think they try to be neutral. They look at the point of view of Maori and not just the MP Maori but they talk to the people that live there, the people on the scene but with mainstream they tend to get the opinion of the experts even though they may not necessarily come from that place you know. The mainstream they in some cases are too one sided, not all cases. People like to watch mainstream TV when there’s a lot of negative things and violence. The mainstream, they look at things differently and mainly the negative... but with Maori [TV] they don’t, they look at it from everyone’s point of view not just experts, from Maori and from Pakeha and its fair. They don’t just go to the experts they ask people who actually live there to find out what’s going on. (Rangi)

Maori Television is about te reo, whakawhanaungatanga and whakapapa.

[Maori TV is about] the language, more or less it’s a very close whānau, like – united, you know. (Hone)

They have a different way of looking at things, same programme, aye, same types of programmes; they focus on different things, they focus on people and that’s a good thing­its all about whakapapa. (Kingi)

Maori TV is a celebration of Maori tino rangatiratanga,
The kaupapa [of Maori TV] is different; there’s a real Maori indigenous slant on everything, even the news. It’s not just the News in Maori its Maori News, News that would appeal to Maori 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 Maori 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. (Tangi)

They show real films like aborigines, red Indians [and] real people. (Manu)

What can be inferred from the abovementioned citation by Manu 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. This is because on Maori Television, iwi Maori are shown more realistically as are other indigenous peoples.
The second theme, “Tikanga Maori: recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Maori” is a response to the hegemonic practice of compartmentalising all Maori as being the same, when in actuality; iwi Maori nations are distinctly diverse. Compartmentalising all Maori as the same had an adverse effect on some participants, who felt that negative representations of iwi Maori in the media have a direct bearing on how they view themselves.

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

A notable theme in the research findings is how iwi-specific tikanga revealed the truly colourful and diverse nature of iwi Maori nations; this may come to no surprise to iwi Maori, however, the finding is still a tangible counter-response to the negative effects of pigeon-holing all Maori. The subsequent extracts refer to the sample group’s delight in discovering intimate insights into the traditions and tikanga of their own and 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 Ngati Porou. (Mere)

That Moteatea show, it’s absolutely amazing. There’s not a lot of depth in the explanations of the Moteatea but it’s encouraging, you know because I’ve seen a lot from home which I have never seen for a long-long time. Maybe, I’ve seen six or seven Moteatea over the past eleven or twelve weeks that pertain to me. I know where they come from; I was watching it the other night on television. It’s been encouraging; I don’t think it’s affected my knowledge of te reo or tikanga but certainly an understanding of some of these historical aspects that support that body of knowledge. (Kingi)

Seeing the tikanga of other iwi, that’s so tuturu. You might have a little bit of an understanding of what they may do in Tuhoe and Nga Puhi. But, when you see a programme about the kauri trees you just say wow, it’s like in awe. I’m blown away; I

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6 Waikato of a thousand chiefs (Ryan, 1995, p.21).
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 Maori TV has shown a lot of that. (Mere)

The tikanga of Nga iwi o Tainui

These accounts convey the considerably rare honour Maori TV viewers are now privy to, given that knowledge into the tikanga of other iwi was probably kept secret from outsiders in the past. With the arrival of Maori Television, viewers are afforded access to images and information that they may not have had access to previously. The complete coverage of Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu’s tangi is an example of this rare and privileged insight into Te Ao Maori and also into the tikanga of nga iwi o Tainui.

The following participant Ropata comments on Tainui’s imperative role as kaitiaki of the Kingitanga which is a unique responsibility of Nga iwi o Tainui.

They said, ‘it was only staged for TV’ and I said, ‘it’s not staged for TV, you don’t have a bereavement staged for TV’. I said, ‘you have got to be there to understand it, you’ve really got to understand what goes on before you pass comment’. I said, ‘with me being Tainui we are only the guardians, if we don’t look after the Monarch the other Confederated Tribes will come in and say, ‘look we are going to shift the [Kingitanga] from Tainui and give it to either Nga Puhi or Ngati Porou. (Ropata)

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

Similarly, Kingi refers to the importance of Tainui tikanga as a means of organising, catering for and accommodating substantial volumes of manuhiri:

It was actually encouraging to see our people, despite where we sit on the statistical table, being able to band together in large numbers and do this and cater for that number of people, its well organised and our tikanga is well organised if we pay attention to it. But, it was probably the largest funeral we will ever see in this country and it gave me a sense of pride knowing that... So, to have to see the sheer numbers and volumes of people that Tainui catered for - for that large funeral, is absolutely amazing, it is. It affected everyone in this country whether you were brown or not. (Kingi)
Iwi Maori in Ōtepoti (Dunedin): attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Maori

He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro

The third theme, “Iwi Maori in Ōtepoti (Dunedin): attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Maori” is essentially a discussion of the impacts Maori Television has had on the sample group, especially in relation to their connection with Te Ao Maori, their attitude towards being iwi Maori and iwi Maori pride. From the outset, the general consensus regarding Maori TV has been one of immeasurable pride. Maori Television has undoubtedly been a positive medium (as mentioned earlier in, “Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori”) prompting the sample group to commend its efforts in iwi Maori recognition as well as being an agent fostering iwi Maori 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. (Manu)

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. (Ani)

I just believe that it tells you how proud I am to be iwi Maori. (Mere)

Definitely, it reinforces you to be proud of who you are and to grasp your grass roots, it makes you want to revitalise your self-pride, your self-identity and I would say that, that would be one of the reasons which kept me going in Maori classes. I’m interested in history. I’m doing history now because the timetable suits me, last year and last semester with the aid of Maori television it made the classes more interesting it made me want to do [Maori] papers it made them more important to do. It didn’t look like an interest paper it looked like a need to do paper…I watch a history thing on Maori TV and I do Maori102 and I’m interested in the history on Maori TV [because] it goes deeper into that history. (Rangi)

7 To see a face is to stir the memory (Anon, 1992).
It hits a raw nerve of New Zealanders, of us as Maori. I’m just so proud when I see that on Maori TV and I just think awesome, awesome. Ring all my friends, both Pākehā, Maori – tell them to watch it. (Mere)

I’m proud to be a Maori. (Hone)

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 [in Dunedin] 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. (Ani)

The more Maori I see on TV the better it is. (Hone)

That’s what I like about Maori TV; they put our faces in our face. And no other TV channel does that. (Mere)

First of all in that one there, I think Maori pride and then I think Tainui [pride]. (Ropata)

Well, when we live so far away from home it puts you at ease, it makes you feel you’re at home, its bringing home to you. You may not see people you know or land you know but it still about you knowing who you are and that you’re still important, that sort of thing. Also, its good to see because they have a programme about successful Maori and I know Maori are successful but this is about Maori who are really successful and that’s good to see, to show to kids that Maori are, it’s better than the myth that Maori cannot achieve, it shows them that that is a myth and that Maori can achieve, that is a strength too and a strength is the language, teaching the language, whether you pick up one or two words a week or ten or twenty, it is still good. (Rangi)

For some of the sample group, iwi Maori pride was something they felt irrespective of Maori Television.

Being Maori, no. In my opinion, with viewing Maori television, I’m glued to the TV because I know what I’m going to be expecting: one is te reo and two is the other issues that could be important to me. I support it and it hasn’t affected my attitude to being Maori. (Ropata)
No, because I was Maori before TV came along. (Kingi)

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

However, for Mere, a sense of pride was gained from the impact that Maori Television has had on those around her. Her iwi Maori pride was enhanced through the meaning others attached to the images and stories they had seen on Maori TV.

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

When people see a Maori programme on Maori TV they say, oh you must be proud. (Mere)

The link between Maori Television and Te Ao Maori for the sample group had mixed responses. Not surprisingly, for those already firmly connected with Te Ao Maori, Maori Television had virtually no impact in this respect. However, these participants still acknowledged that Maori 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 Maori, 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. (Manu)

It only really reinforces my beliefs and it has shifted that perception on to others who are not familiar, it’s more or less a handbook. (Ropata)

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

Great, you can bring the world into your home. Absolutely, you can bring that whole world into your home. Yeah, great I think it’s really useful. I’ll watch this above any other channel. (Kingi)

As I said before, because I’m new [in Dunedin] (I’ve only been here for four years) when I first came here I felt like an alien. Maori TV reminds you of who you are, where you are from, and just picks you up and enables you not to forget who you are. Not only that, with my family, whether I’m around or not it teaches things [to them] that I take for granted, things that I do naturally, [things] they don’t understand because they have been influenced more by Europeans. For example, certain parts of the body [are tapu], because I am a coach I refuse [to engage in the ritual of having] baked beans tipped over my head, for promotional reasons. You see, even though it’s a good thing for promotion, to me I knew why I couldn’t do it. At first [my family] couldn’t understand why I did these things and then they watched [Maori] TV and realised oh, this is why dad does these things. [Maori] TV explains things through pictures and words and through actions that I have not been able to explain or didn’t know to explain. It was normal for me and not normal for them, and that just reminds me of my norms, reinforcing [them] and that there are other people with these [same] norms. (Rangi)

What’s happened for me is that all of a sudden I have a great need to ask a lot of questions [about Maoritanga]. (Aroha)
The fourth theme, “Ma tatou, Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for all of us, for you, for them: critiquing Maori TV” is a discussion of the strengths and limitations of Maori TV as understood by the sample group. Overall, the research findings revealed Maori viewers had great admiration for the channel’s constructive portrayal of iwi Maori. Their foremost concerns were: limited access for Ōtepoti (Dunedin) viewers, limited broadcasting periods, limited subtitles and of course, limited funding.

“Ma tatou,” in-effect, is a synthesis of the positive attributes of Maori TV. Some of the common threads that underpin this sub-theme refer to Maori Television as: positively effecting changes in the mainstream, a medium through which Maori programmes and News can be delivered, an identity marker, a foundation, producing significant growth areas for iwi Maori, developing career opportunities for rangatahi, having access to the crème de la crème of iwi Maori experts (in their respective fields) across the width and breadth of the motu, a teaching resource and a profound source of iwi Maori pride.

Ani 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 Maori content which can only be a good thing. I think Maori TV helped covering more Maori issues. Now, you can watch a definite change in the news, which once upon a time was just about negating everything Maori did, where as now, you’re actually seeing a lot more coverage of really important, prominent tangi. (Ani)

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

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8 Set fire to the overgrown bush, and the new flax shoots will spring up (Anon, 1992).
The strengths probably will be in their News, for me anyway, and of course I think their chosen programmes that they play. (Manu)

Manu’s selection of strengths, were perhaps indicative of her desire to see an increase in iwi Maori content on mainstream television. Another participant, Tangi, developed this notion further by classifying Maori 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 Maori in that form and so it gives you some pride. The fact that it’s increased Maori 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 Maori students. (Tangi)

Ropata, also developed this notion of media studies as a “growth area for iwi Maori” especially rangatahi, who he considers, now have more opportunities available to them than he had in his youth:

The strengths that I see, is our young people that have the confidence and the self esteem to get up [on Maori Television]. The announcers on Maori TV are all fluent [in te reo] and they are very confident in what they are doing and no doubt you have to be confident in that situation. What I would like to see transpire for our young people is that there are different pathways to a career whether that be in television, radio or airlines or in whatever career path they want to take. When I was growing up, the only career path that was happening then were in the: freezing works, the Ministry of Works and the railways they were the three main industries of work or even the Power Stations and the Mills, Forestry - [basically] labour intensive. But now, you’ve virtually got to have a certificate to pick up a shovel, more or less because there are no labour intensive jobs out there, everything needs to have that qualification certificate and that’s why most of the time that I used to go down to the graduation and I used to see all the young Maori people down there graduating and I always think if I had that time all over again that would be the pathway I would take. You know the only thing that I can stress now in our age group is that the way forward is through education. The door opens and you come out with qualifications to get further ahead. Otherwise you will just go by the wayside and that’s not a good path to take. So, getting back to television and the strength there is I see all of our young people who are involved with Maori television and that’s really good and that’s what I would like to see most of our people do. (Ropata)
The following comment by Kingi refers not only to the balance between mana tane and mana wahine but also the fortunate position Maori Television is in by way of its access to the crème de la crème of iwi Maori experts (in their respective fields) across the width and breadth of the motu:

Their strengths I think are they’ve got a programme called Whati Kura it’s a take off from *Ask your Aunties*. I guess the male programme will be called Whati Kura because it comes from Whati Kura the upper Kura from the heavens...They have Tame Iti and that fulla from Waikato. They do the male thing aye; it’s quite a bit different to *Ask Your Auntie*. Its just male speaking to male, answering male questions I guess... [other strengths] are in their ability to network across, not only Aotearoa but overseas in terms of being indigenous and in that way, they must be able to draw different types of people into their programmes and almost do it for nothing... and their ability to draw from a wide range of Maori speakers who have different knowledge. They can go to Tuhoe and get some koroua to do something on rongoa, they can go to Nga Puhi and have a look at the forestry up there and they can go to the Coast and do anything about kaimoana. I think they have a lot of koroua they can call upon; they can do things that mainstream TV can’t do and get away with it. I mean they can do things properly and I think they have the ability to educate a generation of people that have not been able to grow up with the language and give them a taste of what is available to them and I think it is good for them and I think one of their strengths must be to imbue our people with a certain amount of mana and pride of who they are as well. (Kingi)

Rangi commented on Maori Television’s ability to act as a teaching resource for his whanau:

What I like about it is, it’s another means of teaching my kids about their heritage. Things I can’t say or don’t know myself. Being down here [in Dunedin] they are a bit iffy about watching things other than cartoons. When they watch [Maori] TV with me they ask questions and it’s another way of learning from me and of teaching my children and it’s not only that, my wife is Irish and she watches Maori TV. She’s picked up a fair bit of the history because of Maori TV, which shows that it’s not just for Maori...her mother and father love watching Maori TV too. They didn’t used to know anything, they now know a bit about the culture. So, it’s not just of benefit for me, it’s of benefit for my kids and my wife and her parents. I think that’s the strength, its teaching or reminding me of my own whakapapa and teaching those in my household and wider family. (Rangi)

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

I see one of the biggest strengths they have is making Maori, every Maori, proud to be Maori. 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. (Mere)
“Ma koutou” focuses on some of the hindrances afflicting Maori 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 Maori 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. (Tangi)

Likewise, other participants 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. (Ani)

Coverage, does everyone in NZ get to watch Maori TV like people living in Queenstown? (Rangi)

Airing time was also raised as a limitation of the television channel. Some participants felt dismayed by the seemingly short timeframe which Maori 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? (Manu)

The other limitation about Maori TV is the timing, the time it comes on and finishes. Like sometimes I think it finishes too early and the other thing is I don’t think the other channels promote it like channel one and two promote each other. (Rangi)

“Ma ratou” is essentially the final limitation of Maori TV which impinges on every aspect of its operation including many of the issues raised earlier in this theme. Perhaps not surprisingly, “Ma ratou” is in reference to the restricted funding of the Maori Television Service.
Their limitations must be the amount of funding that goes into developing their programmes. I guess because of their funding arrangements it must be difficult for them to create different types of programmes as well and prepare different types of programmes. (Kingi)

One 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 Maori. Yet they don’t have enough funding to maybe do a story about Maui. That’s the thing that saddens me; they have to translate *Watership Down* and some others into Maori for our kids, which is good but they’re better to do a story which is more famous with non-Maori and our kids know about...but they don’t have the funding. (Mere)

Another concern regarding funding is that some minority groups are often excluded from enjoying more of Maori Television’s programming:

I think the term Maori TV is a limitation because it makes people believe that it’s only for Maori. There used to be a limitation in Maori TV for people like myself I’m not fluent in Maori but I like to listen to it but sometimes it’s good to have it subtitled and sometimes I appreciate that. Sometimes that’s a limitation not only those who want to speak Maori and want to listen to it and learn it but also for those who are hearing impaired. I’m sure my wife gets sick of me asking, ‘what did he say, what did he say?’ [Subtitles] are good, not only for the deaf but for the kids as well because they simplify the translation and put it in simple words. I reckon it’s good for me. *Te Kaea* is good but before they started having subtitles they were speaking too fast. Now the speakers are slowing down. (Rangi)

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

Their other limitations are, the South Island. We have some amazing programmes and it saddens me that when we speak to Maori 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 camera man has to film our events which saddens me...unless the reporter is part of the event and feels the event then 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. (Mere)
A plea put forth for Maori 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 Maori 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. (Mere)
The mana of the Maori Television Service

Toi te kupu, toi te mana, toi te whenua

The fifth and final theme “the mana of the Maori Television Service” is essentially the pinnacle of Maori Television’s impact on the research sample group from the position that if Maori Television no longer existed how would this impact on the sample group? Mana refers to the reciprocal transfer of mana between the viewer and Maori TV. The mana of Maori TV lies in its ability to empower its viewers purely by televising 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 Maori TV.

First and foremost, Maori TV acts as a link for iwi Maori to Te Ao Maori. This link is accessible irrespective of Otepoti (Dunedin’s) geographical location. If Maori Television suddenly ceased to exist, that link with Te Ao Maori 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. (Aroha)

I’m hungry for anything Maori 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 Maori and that’s one of the wero that we face every day, 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, Maori 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 Maori environments too outside here. So, for us it will be [a] huge and tragic loss I think, if Maori TV no longer existed. (Ani)

Personnally to me, it would be a big loss...I think the world we live in culturally everyday is changing and I wouldn’t like to see Maori television in its present form today, lost. Even though most of our old people are passing on their knowledge, we have got to hold

9 The permanence of the language, of prestige, and land (Anon, 1992).
on to that and then we’ve got to instill it and make sure that documentation is left there for
generations to come. I would feel very hurt, personally anyway. (Ropata)

The hypothetical loss of Maori TV is perceived as being a great loss to Maori society:

I think that I’d be really upset if Maori 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. (Tangi)

The loss of Maori TV would have damaging implications for te reo Maori:

Oh well, it’s no good is it! The reo will be lost more or less ... if they took that away it
will be lost wouldn’t it. I reckon that’s wrong when you look at it. Taking our language
away when we are the indigenous people, aren’t we. When I look at it, it’s racial
wouldn’t it be, if they take that away. I would feel no good. (Hone)

I think it would damage, not just my family, but the national learning of whakapapa, not
damage it but it would slow or halt the learning. Maori content on the mainstream
television is limited and seeing Dr. Ropata doesn’t mean you’re learning Maori, you’re
just seeing a Maori that is a doctor. So, I think it’s good for the Maori language and the
revitalisation of the Maori culture. I would feel devastated because I realise the
advantages and I would just feel that I couldn’t benefit anymore. Yes, I could go and do
te reo classes and all that. But Maori TV has been so inspirational and not everyone
wants to go back to school. To me it’s about watching it with the family and doing it all
together, [it’s] there for people of all ages, races and cultures. (Rangi)

I think that would be a tragedy in terms of our language being used on a day-to-day basis
across our nation. Especially being in Dunedin as well where we are not exposed to
people who speak Maori all the time. That’s a pure tragedy that, that would be quite
difficult. You know, to hear the language and to be exposed to it is great for us here in
the South Island, particularly with those who are not familiar with the language – yeah,
that would be quite sad... [Maori TV] allows me to be down here to be doing the things
I’m meant to be doing. I can be exposed to the language without losing touch with it. I
rang home two or three weeks ago, I spoke to someone from home and I said wow the
language is so beautiful. While, I was keeping up [with our conversation in te reo] it was
difficult for me to, I found with myself that I was really behind the eight ball and I was a
bit worried about that. (Kingi)

The loss of Maori Television, for some, would be seen as a domino-effect of *losses*:
If Maori TV no longer existed, I'd be lost in just watching Te Karere because Maori 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 Maori 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 ta 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 programme’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 Maori 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, Maori people travel. Like I travel a lot and it brings me closer to home. (Mere)

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

Maori 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 [Maori] TV has done for me; it is my speaking voice. (Manu)

To summarise the five main themes’ findings:

‘Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori’ discussed how mainstream television tended to offer a blanket representation of iwi Maori as being all the same, when in reality iwi Maori are diverse iwi nations.

The second theme, ‘Tikanga Maori: recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Maori’ had some similarities with the first theme, in that both themes identify how iwi Maori are essentially diverse. A strength of Maori Television is its ability to accentuate the rich tapestry of iwi Maori diversity.

‘Iwi Maori in Ōtepoti (Dunedin): attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Maori’ was a discussion of how Maori TV offered a tangible link to iwi Maori in Ōtepoti (Dunedin) with Te Ao Maori.
‘Ma tatou, Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for all of us, for you, for them: critiquing Maori TV’ focused on the limitations of Maori Television which encapsulated the television channel’s lack of funding which impinged on its programming.

Finally, ‘The mana of the Maori Television Service’ discussed the hypothetical impact on iwi Maori audiences if Maori TV no longer existed.

To conclude, this is by no means an exhaustive summary of each participant’s korero. What is of importance here is the attempt to preserve the essence of the sample group’s korero in relation to the research question.
An Analysis of the Five Main Themes

The following section is an analysis of the five main themes that came out of the research findings. To recap, these themes were:

1. Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori
2. Tikanga Maori: recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Maori
3. Iwi Maori in Otepoti (Dunedin): attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Maori
4. Ma tatou, Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for all of us, for you, for them: critiquing Maori TV
5. The mana of the Maori Television Service

This section will attempt to amalgamate the literature review with the research findings, with a view to analysing the data. In particular, the theoretical models pertaining to diversity and sameness such as Maori as Other, Cultural Imperialism and homogenising the national culture as a means of perpetuating the status quo and power structures will be re-examined in light of the research findings.
Theme One, Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori

Inherent within the first theme, “Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori” are two main concepts:

1. Iwi Maori representation has largely been constructed through the often-limited lens of the dominant culture and as such negative iwi Maori imagery has tended to prevail in the media. For example, “Maori bashing”, stereotyping and the mispronunciation of Maori words and place names.

2. Maori Television has, in effect, acted as a counterbalance to past and present constructions and (mis)representations of iwi Maori by the dominant culture.

These concepts are central to the main thread of this research project because they identify some ways in which Maori Television has been of particular benefit to its iwi Maori audiences. These two concepts will be further explored and discussed in the body of this text under the respective titles: “Critiques of the mainstream media” and “Maori Television: a counterbalance to mainstream television”.

Critiques of the mainstream media

From the outset, the literature established the plight of iwi Maori in struggling to adequately represent themselves in all aspects of television broadcasting. Commentators such as Bell (1995), Fox (2002), Reweti (2006) O’Shea (1996), O’Regan (2000), Walker (1989), Campbell (1996) and Mita (1996) argued that representations of iwi Maori on television were largely defined by the dominant culture and as such were more often than not misrepresentations. The research findings are generally consistent with this line of reasoning. For the most part, the participants agreed that iwi Maori misrepresentation on television was apparent, especially in the News. News items (they found) tended to give cursory explanations for fairly complex issues and because of this, iwi Maori grievances more often than not came across on television as “radical” and nonsensical. In addition, all Maori seemed to be tarred with the same proverbial brush, as evidenced (in both the literature and the research findings) particularly in the case of Nia Glassie, where a tragic and criminal, but relatively straightforward matter of individual child abuse soon manifested into an exercise in ethnic blame and “Maori bashing” in the media.
Moreover, the research participants also felt that ubiquitous negative Maori rhetoric was often reinforced through the propensity of the mainstream media to present iwi Maori unfavorably. They observed the tendency of mainstream television to emphasise iwi Maori (among other things) as underachievers, unintelligent and as having poor health. These characteristics were also identified by Pihama (1994 and 1996), Wall (1997), and Bell (1995), who maintained that iwi Maori representations by Pakeha image-makers were influenced by dominant discourses which constructed severely limited notions of being Maori. The popular television show \textit{bro'Town} draws attention to this limited notion of being iwi Maori. As discussed in \textit{“Iconic Maori”}, the character, \textit{“Jeff da Maori”} essentially carries a significant mass of representational discourse surrounding iwi Maori. As such, he was criticised for being a one-dimensional character, stereotypically profiled as the unintelligent, clowning ‘hori’ and \textit{bro'Town} was condemned as being nothing more than an instrument in further perpetuating the negative stereotypes of iwi Maori.

A further criticism was levelled at the mainstream media in regards to the prevalent mispronunciation of Maori words and place names on television, a marker which, according to Walker (2004), directly correlates to te reo Maori being perceived as “inferior” to the English language and Pakeha world view. For many of the research participants, the mispronunciation of Maori words on television was seen as being symptomatic of iwi Maori marginalisation in the media. The Waitangi Tribunal declared that te reo is a taonga which the Crown should protect under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi. Most of the research participants felt te reo was being “bastardised” by those commentators and television presenters who made little (if any effort) to pronounce Maori words and place names correctly. The continual recurrence of mispronounced words on television, in society and in the media has meant that many place names have been severely altered, ‘Wong-a-rei’ (Whangarei), ‘Towel-wrong-a’ (Tauranga), ‘Why-cat-o’ (Waikato) and ‘Towel-poe’ (Taupo) are some of the more common ones. The prolonged mispronunciation of te reo Maori on television has had noteworthy impacts on its iwi Maori viewers in Otepoti Dunedin. For one of the participants, this resulted in his feeling compelled to mispronounce Maori words despite having an advanced level of te reo himself. Similarly, another participant felt correct pronunciation was futile because, from her perspective, pronouncing te reo properly is “not such a big issue” (Aroha). Overall, the mispronunciation of Maori words and place names on television was openly criticised by the sample group, with most arguing that mispronunciation
should be "challenged", especially since te reo Maori is an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Hall’s (cited in Butler, 2002) “oppositional position” as referred to in “Television, the Drug of the Nation”, introduces the notion that viewers who are “aggressively disenfranchised” from the benefits of the ruling class system, such as minorities and immigrants generally reject the “preferred reading”. This “preferred reading” according to both the literature and research has located iwi Maori in the unfavourable position of the “Other”. More specifically the ‘native/inferior’ Other, the ‘deficient/depraved/negative’ Other and the ‘activist/radical/excessive’ Other (Pihama, 1996) which, according to Pihama (1996), are representations by Pakeha image-makers which construct severely restricted notions of being iwi Maori. What the research found was that many of the same group responded to mainstream television from an “oppositional position”. This was evidenced in comments such as, “TV1, TV2 and TV3; they’re geared to one audience and it’s not Maori” (Mere), “On mainstream TV, it’s an outsider’s perspective generally” (Tangi), “I think, they tend to feed off the negative Maori things” (Ropata), “And some of the things that go on, on mainstream and how they make Maori look silly (Rangi)”. These observations made by the sample group further emphasise mainstream’s misrepresentation of iwi Maori and the participants’ consequent resentment.

Similarly, it was hypothesised in the literature, that the media is influential in how a society or culture perceives itself, a notion Ballara (1986) Keijser (2006), Rangihau (1999) and Huria (cited in O’Regan, 1996) alluded to. Keijser (2006) argued that media representation affects a person or group’s cultural self-perception. He claimed that if the representation is positive, optimism will likely rise but if the representation is systematically negative (such as negative stereotypes and prejudice), group identity and social status is considerably lowered. Ani’s following comment endorses Keijser’s premise,

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

The research findings generally support Keijser’s hypothesis regarding the negative effects of media representation. Like Ani, most of the sample group revealed some degree of
discontentment with this negative imagery, often recoiling from how iwi Maori are depicted, particularly on the News. One participant even felt like burying his head when negative imagery regarding iwi Maori emerged. Thus, confirming Keijser’s hypothesis that the media can indeed affect “cultural self perception”.

Maori Television: a counterbalance to mainstream television

The intention of “Maori Television a counterbalance to mainstream television” is to advance Keijser’s theory but this time in a more positive context, as shown on Maori TV. At this juncture, it is worthwhile reconsidering the research question: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)? For the sample group, Maori Television has made a number of significant achievements, most notably its relative ease in normalising Te Ao Maori, te reo and tikanga Maori.

In “Ngaro”, the literature made considerable reference to how iwi Maori had been relatively “invisible” in television broadcasting for many years. Maori TV has enabled the presence of iwi Maori to flourish on television and in all areas of broadcasting, leading the research participants to applaud its skill in screening a range of iwi Maori presenters “young, old ... different shapes, different sizes, different ahua, different iwi” (Ani). In addition, the participants commented on the television channel being instrumental in not only generating increased interest by iwi Maori students in Media Studies, especially at the University of Otago, but also in precipitating a greater number of iwi Maori now considering a career in television. Many of the sample group commented on the advantages of an increased iwi Maori presence in television broadcasting; the main advantage they saw was simply seeing more iwi Maori on screen, with one participant commenting, “The more Maori I see on TV, the better it is” (Hone). This is a two-fold statement, referring not only to the increased presence of iwi Maori on television, but also to the frequency with which te reo Maori is now heard.

Furthermore, the channel was praised for its positive portrayal of iwi Maori in television programming, especially those programmes that were considered, by the sample, as being of particular interest to iwi Maori and indigenous people. These shows were seen as an invaluable resource for Otepoti Dunedin viewers, as they connected many of the sample group with their (North Island) “roots”. Contrastingly, in the literature, Rewi (2006) and Mita (1996) described
mainstream television as neglecting its responsibility to iwi Maori viewers, claiming that the makers of the 1980s *Koha* series were pressured to make a show “by Maori about Maori [but] for the ‘majority viewing audience’” (Mita, 1996, p.46) thus negating the degree to which the show could speak with a truly authentic Maori voice. On the contrary, Maori Television now makes it possible to broadcast News items and television programmes that are equally of interest to all iwi Maori and derive from an iwi Maori perspective. In other words, Maori Television selects programmes which “focus on different things [to mainstream]. They focus on people and that’s a good thing – it’s all about whakapapa.” (Kingi) Some of the sample further commented on the channel’s ability to attract non-Maori viewers. Overall, for many of the participants, the mere sight of Te Ao Maori and iwi Maori on television functions both as a link to home and also as a symbol of whakawhanaungatanga: “more or less it’s a very close whānau, like, united you know?” (Hone).

In addition, “Iconic Maori”, focused on the misrepresentation of iwi Maori on television. According to Burton (2000), race, identity and discourse are essential components of representation. Iwi Maori have a history of being misrepresented (among other things) as the Black Other (Wall, 1997) (naïve, simpleminded, lacking reason, acting impulsively, sexually deviant, fixated on male genitalia) (Pihama, 1994), the Native/Inferior Other, the Deficient/Depraved/Negative Other and the Activist/Radical/Excessive Other (Pihama, 1996). These are a sample of the stereotypes (mentioned in “Iconic Maori” and “Critiques of the mainstream media”) which have been associated with iwi Maori representation. As discussed above, the sample group criticised mainstream representation of iwi Maori as mostly reinforcing prevailing negative iwi Maori rhetoric. By comparison, Maori Television was perceived as offering its viewers a balanced perspective, positive iwi Maori imagery and, according to one of the participants, a realistic portrayal of iwi Maori. Tangi stated:  

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 [Maori] have.

Moreover, according to the sample group, Maori Television attempts neutrality, especially in their news items. They achieve this by looking at a number of different perspectives on a particular issue, not just from officials but also from a variety of other sources. “They look at the
point of view of Maori and not just the MP Maori but they talk to the people that live there, the people on the scene” (Rangi). In other words, Maori Television more actively seeks objectivity over subjectivity and, according to the sample group, this is an advantage they have over mainstream television.

In summary, Maori Television has, in effect, acted as a counterbalance to past constructions and (mis)representations of iwi Maori by the dominant culture, with many of the participants affirming its capacity to be a constructive resource for iwi Maori. The research question asked: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)? What the research found was an overwhelmingly positive response to Maori Television from the sample group. Maori TV was considered invaluable in its ability to normalise Te Ao Maori, te reo and tikanga Maori, represent the multiplicity of ages, sizes, abilities and differing iwi inherent in Te Ao Maori, generate interest in tertiary level study for those considering pursuing a career in television, portray iwi Maori in positive and affirming ways, increase the iwi Maori presence in all aspects of television broadcasting, act as a counter to negative stereotyping of iwi Maori representations, and offer balance, neutrality and news items/programmes that are of particular interest to iwi Maori.

Maori TV is a tangible manifestation of iwi Maori tino rangatiratanga. At the beginning of this section, Keijser’s (2006) hypothesis articulated the view that media representation affects a person’s or group’s cultural self-perception, claiming, if the representation is negative, group identity and social status is considerably lowered, but if the representation is positive, optimism will likely rise. The research demonstrates that media representation does have an influence on cultural self-perception. As illustrated in the first section, “Critiques of the mainstream media”, the morale of the sample was considerably lowered by negative televised imagery of iwi Maori. Contrastingly, “Maori Television a counterbalance to mainstream television” argued that the positive imagery of iwi Maori portraying themselves from a uniquely iwi Maori perspective generated positive and affirming responses from the participants, thereby affirming Keijser’s hypothesis. Tangi’s concluding remark eloquently captures the essence of Maori Television for the sample group,

The kaupapa [of Maori TV] is different; there’s a real Maori indigenous slant on everything, even the news. It’s not just the news in Maori, it’s Maori news, news that
would appeal to Maori 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 Maori have got that much standing, that they've actually got their own TV. Even though it's not ours as an ownership, it's more like an identification with something that makes you feel proud.
Theme Two, Tikanga Maori: recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Maori

The main thrust of the second theme, “Tikanga Maori: recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Maori” is a tension of two concepts,

1. *Sameness* or homogeneity, where iwi Maori have a history of being misrepresented in the mainstream media as being all the *same*. This has disadvantaged iwi Maori because these labels have led to generalisations and stereotypes, causing damaging effects (a notion already discussed at length in the previous section “Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori”).

2. Iwi Maori diversity is a counter to the notion of *sameness* and homogeneity. What the research found was that instead of iwi Maori being all the same (as is often depicted on mainstream television) iwi Maori are, in fact, a diverse panoply of unique individuals and groups.

Three concepts pertaining to the second theme will be discussed under the respective titles: “He iwi kotahi tatou?”, “Maori Television: recognising and celebrating diversity” and “The tikanga of Nga iwi o Tainui”.

He iwi kotahi tatou?

“Tikanga Maori: recognising and celebrating diversity within Te Ao Maori” is a response to the labelling of all Maori as being the *same*. These notions were articulated by Stuart (2005), Pihama, (1994), Pihama (1996) and Wall (1997). Stuart (2005) remarked on the tendency of the mainstream media to cluster iwi Maori into a position where they shared a unified voice, one that supposedly spoke for all. He saw this type of labelling as a “catch-all”, concluding that it creates the false impression of a unified Maori opinion, when in reality iwi Maori views are just as varied as Pakeha views. Similarly, Rankin’s invective, “we’ve got to face some issues in this country, we have got a problem with Maori” (Christine Rankin cited in One News, July 30, 2007) is another illustration of unconstructive attempts to compartmentalise all iwi Maori as the *same*. In the research, many of the sample group commented on the tendency of the mainstream to pigeon-hole iwi Maori:

When the mainstream say something about Maori, 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? (Tangi)
In addition, Bell (1995) argued that the creation of a “national identity” on television had significant benefits especially in advertising as “commercial definitions of nationalism are developed not just by New Zealand agencies, but also overseas, for us. At the same time advertisements encourage us to shift our notions of personal identity from the parochial to a global consumer culture, where people drink Coke and wear Levis and Nikes” (1995, p.29). The McDonalds-Kiwiburger promo and Weetbix and Wattie’s Sauce advertisements tend to appeal to New Zealanders’ sense of a “national identity” with catchy jingles such as “Kiwi burger - that’s our tucker”, “Kiwi kids are Weetbix kids” and “You’ll never be a kiwi till you love our Wattie’s sauce”. However, the hidden agenda behind manufacturing a “national identity” from a purely commercial perspective is essentially to sell products.

On another level, “national identity” with its primary focus on sameness, in effect negates the existence of cultural and ethnic diversity. “Ngaro” argued that iwi Maori representation had largely been absent from all aspects of television broadcasting for several decades and was thus problematic because iwi Maori “voices” and worldviews were being marginalised in favour of the majority culture. An example was given by Mita (1996) who discussed the television program Koha as an illustration of the mainstream imperative to appeal to a mythical, homogenous “New Zealand” audience even in the face of genuine diversity. In this sense, television has the potential to be a microcosm for what is actually happening in society. In other words, iwi Maori were being marginalised both on and off the television screen. This notion was further reinforced in Walker’s (1990) article, The role of the Press in Defining Pakeha Perceptions of the Maori, the ‘Haka Party’ incident of 1979 where a group of iwi Maori students made a stand against a racist portrayal of the haka. This event symbolised uneasy race relations in Aotearoa New Zealand during a period of cultural misunderstanding. Contrastingly, the literature found that television can also fail to reflect actual society. For example, Bourne (1999) criticised the BBC’s motives behind Great Expectations (1999) asking why the programme still failed to cast a black woman in the role of Estella even though London boasts a relatively large black population. The main point of this notion of a “national identity” on television is that in creating a “national identity” it positions New Zealanders as being all the same and thus works to negate any kind of ethnic and cultural diversity even though in reality New Zealand society is comprised of a rich tapestry of ethnic difference.
Similarly, “The Cultural Imperialism Paradigm” discussed the tremendous influence of mainstream television in Aotearoa New Zealand by overseas forces, namely the United States and the United Kingdom. Both countries were seen as responsible for providing a high proportion of television programmes here (Lealand, 1990; Dunleavy, 2005). The literature found that the implications of this high proportion of imported television, has been two fold. On the one hand, New Zealander’s had become so accustomed to the overwhelming quantity of imported television to these shores that our already developed “colonial mentality” (Cross cited in Dunleavy, 2005, p.5) developed into a ‘cultural cringe’ at seeing ourselves on television. What this means is, New Zealanders commonly held the belief that the local television content they were exposed to on television was of second-rate quality to that from overseas.

In the same vein, the overwhelming mass of imported television contributed somewhat to the marginalisation of counter-ideologies like those from iwi Maori and indigenous peoples. This is because television broadcasting in Aotearoa New Zealand had taken its cues from overseas television structures, which tend to favour the majority culture. Hence, the illusion of sameness has been, for the most part, maintained. Mere commented on the need for Maori Television to commence creating material that is uniquely Maori rather than following mainstream norms which rely heavily on imported material. She stated,

You can just see that with the programmes. Watership Down, they have to translate that into Maori. Yet they don’t have enough funding to maybe do a story about Maui. That’s the thing that saddens me; they have to translate Watership Down and some others into Maori for our kids, which is good but they’re better to do a story which is more famous with non-Maori and our kids know about. (Mere)

Maori Television: recognising and celebrating diversity

In 2006 the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, Rodolfo Stavenhagen (2006, para 66) concluded that there is a “systematic negative description of Maori in media coverage.” Amongst the findings he reported: relevant Maori themes on television were scarce, programmes often unfairly portrayed Maori as having preferential treatment and ‘bad news’ concerning Maori 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 iwi Maori in New Zealand society” (Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, 2006, Recommendation 104). The research findings were consistent with the findings of the Special Rapporteur of the United
Nations. The research found that compartmentalising all Maori as the same and the negative representation of iwi Maori (especially the overshadowing of 'bad news' in the media) had an adverse effect on some of the research participants, who felt that these representations of iwi Maori in the media had a direct bearing on how they viewed themselves. Ani stated,

If you watch the news, a lot of Maori can say, if there's a crime that's done, the first thing that goes in my head is, please not let it be Maori, a Maori person. And when it is, you all feel pretty bad about it. (Ani)

In contrast, Maori TV has enabled iwi Maori to thrive on television and in all aspects of broadcasting, leading the research participants to commend its skill in not only screening a range of iwi Maori presenters, but also in revealing the truly colourful and diverse nature of iwi Maori nations, thereby negating the trite notion of sameness. The research sample supported the channel’s position as an educator in the tikanga of other iwi, with Mere commenting, “it’s increased my knowledge and tikanga, especially from other iwi [and] especially from Ngati Porou.” Similarly, one of the participants observed Maori Television’s ability to present Moteatea from his iwi. While, another one of the sample group claimed that learning about rongoa and kai moana from different rohe and iwi was invaluable. These positive attitudes towards the availability and legitimisation of different types of knowledge would seem to stand in defiance towards the homogenising agendas of mainstream ‘nation-builders’. What this means for the research participants is that they have the opportunity to not only celebrate their own tikanga but also the tikanga from other rohe and other iwi a benefit of Maori Television that they would not have gained from mainstream television.

The tikanga of Nga iwi o Tainui

The tikanga of Nga iwi o Tainui in relation to the tangi of Te Arikinui Te Atairangikahu was employed as a further exemplar of iwi Maori diversity within the second theme. With the advent of Maori Television, viewers are now afforded access to images and information that they may not have been privy to formerly, for example, Maori Television makes it possible to watch events such as this tangi unfold on live television. The sample group made significant reference to Tainui’s manaakitanga and adherence to protocols of cultural safety; both important forms of tikanga. Mere’s comment exemplifies the complexities inherent within each iwi Maori nation.
and it also illustrates how tikanga functions as a necessary mechanism for cultural safety. Mere states,

See, even Maori 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.

Mere’s statement illustrates how the broadcasting of various tikanga on a national scale has the capacity to bring to light and eradicate misunderstandings both between iwi Maori and non-Maori and also between different iwi. In this way, television has the potential to act as mechanism for promoting understanding purely by celebrating diversity.

In summary, Maori Television has, in effect, acted as a counterbalance to iwi Maori being represented as the same by the dominant culture. In the literature, Stuart (2005), Pihama, (1994), Pihama (1996) and Wall (1997) discussed how iwi Maori have been stigmatised by this sameness. In addition, the research demonstrated how sameness also functioned in a way that marginalised iwi Maori, especially through the creation of a “national identity”. Moreover, “The Cultural Imperialism Paradigm” cited the USA and Britain as being influential in further endorsing this idea of sameness to meet their own ends. Contrastingly, Maori Television accentuates the distinct aspects of Te Ao Maori with many of the participants affirming its capacity to highlight the uniqueness of differing iwi.

The research question asked: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being iwi Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)? What the research found was Maori Television’s ability to: increase the participant’s knowledge of the tikanga of other iwi, enhance their knowledge of their own tikanga, learn about rongoa and kai moana, have a sense of pride in iwi Maori processes and inspire interest in the history of other iwi. These educational outcomes both strengthened and constructed positive notions of how the participants saw themselves as iwi Maori.
Theme Three, Iwi Maori in Otepoti (Dunedin): attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Maori

The third theme, “Iwi Maori in Otepoti (Dunedin): attitudes towards and connections with Te Ao Maori” is a geographical approach to Maori Television.

1. Geographically, Otepoti (Dunedin) is relatively isolated, especially from the North Island. In addition, iwi Maori make up only a very small portion of the city’s total population.

2. Maori Television acts as a link for iwi Maori viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin) with iwi Maori in other parts of the country and, as such, is an invaluable source of iwi Maori pride.

Given that iwi Maori have such a minority presence in Otepoti (Dunedin) it was surmised that it would be more difficult to preserve cultural identity and hold fast to positive images of Te Ao Maori in such a context. Maori Television was established with a view to revitalising Maori language and culture through broadcasting and inevitably plays a role in cultural self-definition, but was this happening in Otepoti (Dunedin) for Otepoti (Dunedin) viewers of Maori television? With the relatively recent arrival of Maori television to Otepoti (Dunedin) coupled with the abovementioned demographic minority status, this investigation asks the question: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being iwi Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)?

These two concepts will be discussed under the respective titles: “No hea koe? No Otepoti ahau” and “He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro”.

No hea koe? No Otepoti (Dunedin) ahau

Otepoti (Dunedin’s) demography positions iwi Maori as a very small minority making up only around 5% of the city’s total population (2001 Census). The scarce iwi Maori population led the researcher to theorise that for iwi Maori adults living in the city, it might be difficult to maintain their iwi Maori identity and access positive images of Te Ao Maori. The research found that many of the participants did indeed have some difficulty in maintaining their iwi Maori identity, while for others, especially those who have lived in Otepoti (Dunedin) for some time, maintaining contact with Te Ao Maori was not as important. The research also found that Maori Television is instrumental in linking the sample group with positive images of Te Ao Maori.
This notion will be discussed further in the subsequent section, “He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro”.

Many of the research participants believed that there were several disadvantages to living in Otepoti (Dunedin), such as:

- reduced access to Te Ao Maori and tikanga Maori;
- mokemoke or homesickness (especially for newly arriving iwi Maori students to Otago University);
- disconnectedness from their iwi; and
- cultural isolation.

One participant further commented on feeling like an “alien” (Rangi) on his first arrival. Others in the sample discussed how living in the city has translated to decreased exposure to te reo, claiming “we are not exposed to people who speak Maori all the time” (Kingi), while others remarked on the rife mispronunciation of te reo by both iwi Maori and non-Maori alike. These are just some of the costs the sample group identified, of living in Otepoti (Dunedin), with most positioning themselves as being somewhat disadvantaged as a consequence. However, all of the sample group concurred, Maori Television has been a significant counter to many of these effects and is thus central in alleviating home sickness, isolation, disconnection and the yearning to learn and hear more te reo Maori on television.

**He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro**

Both Reweti (2006) and Stephens (2004) were confident Maori Television would be successful in promoting positive imagery of iwi Maori. Indeed, their optimism was qualified by Maori Television’s capacity to cultivate a unique link between each participant and Te Ao Maori. For that reason, Maori TV was seen as having a beneficial influence over its iwi Maori viewers, whereby they gained from being connected with their friends, whānau, iwi, Te Ao Maori and tikanga Maori. One participant stated, “When we live so far away from home [Maori Television] puts you at ease, it makes you feel you’re at home, it’s bringing home to you. You may not see people you know or land you know but it’s still about you knowing who you are and that you’re still important” (Rangi). Another of the sample group discussed her admiration of Maori TV’s “whakawhanaukataka” as the channel enabled her to watch friends and whanauka in addition to important hui on television. Others remarked on their joy in seeing iwi Maori being iwi Maori on
television. With the advent of the Maori Television Service, it was anticipated that Maori TV would be advantageous to iwi Maori; the research supports this hypothesis.

In contrast, many of the participants had criticised mainstream television for its negative portrayal of iwi Maori. With most of them considering mainstream television to be a tool which undermines, misrepresents and unfairly labels its iwi Maori viewers. This notion was discussed at length in the first theme, “Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori” but it is also important to raise the issue again in this section because it demonstrates Maori Television’s capacity to act as a counter response to the negative depictions of iwi Maori in the media. In this sense, the televised imagery of race on television almost acts as a mirror reflecting either a negative or positive self-concept. What the research found was that Maori Television did indeed reinforce positive images of being iwi Maori.

Ballara’s (1986) discussion of the negative Maori image positioned iwi Maori as being susceptible to internalising cultural negativity. Huria (1996, cited in O’Regan) also supported this notion; however, she additionally argued how the reverse would likely produce opposite results. In other words, if iwi Maori were to be represented positively in film, media and television, at some level they would begin to internalise optimism rather than negativity. Consequently, the general consensus regarding Maori TV has been one of immeasurable pride. The sample group felt Maori Television inspired a sense of iwi Maori pride in its viewers. They were proud of: Maoritanga being validated on Maori television, iwi Maori being seen as representing themselves in positive ways and realising that Maori self-determination was indeed prevailing. Other participants felt proud about finally seeing successful iwi Maori being shown on television, this being a further counter-response to mainstream misrepresentations of iwi Maori (again) as discussed earlier in “Maori TV: a counterbalance to mainstream (mis)representations of iwi Maori” and others still felt a strong sense of iwi and whānau pride.

For those already firmly connected with Te Ao Maori, iwi Maori pride was something they felt irrespective of Maori Television so too was their attitude toward being Maori. However, these participants still acknowledged that Maori TV was a useful cultural vehicle for those not connected, to gain access to Te Ao Maori. For some of the participants, a sense of pride was gained from the impact that Maori Television has had on those around them. And so, iwi Maori pride was strengthened through the meaning these people attached to the images and stories they had seen on Maori TV. For the remaining participants, Maori TV was an invaluable resource in
helping them and their whānau maintain a connection with Te Ao Maori, bringing this world into their home and act as a teaching mechanism for rangatahi.

In summary, the research has shown how Maori Television has acted as a connection between iwi Maori in Otepoti (Dunedin) and iwi Maori in other parts of Aotearoa New Zealand. Many of the participants affirmed the importance of keeping a connection with Te Ao Maori especially given Otepoti (Dunedin’s) geographical location and small iwi Maori population. The research hypothesis premised that Maori Television was established by Maori for the benefit of Maori and inevitably plays a role in cultural self-definition. What the research wanted to determine was whether or not this was happening in Otepoti (Dunedin) for Otepoti (Dunedin) viewers of Maori television. The research found that Maori TV was considered invaluable in its ability to: cultivate a unique link between each participant and Te Ao Maori, connect iwi Maori in Otepoti (Dunedin) with: friends, whanau/whanauka, iwi, Te Ao Maori and tikanga Maori by bringing “home” to them in the comfort of their own whare, act as a source of whānau and iwi pride, televise important hui and validate Maoritanga by presenting stories unique to Te Ao Maori.

The impact of Maori Television on the sample group was eloquently summarised by Mere in her assertion, “I just believe that it tells you how proud I am to be iwi Maori (Mere)” thus, underlining the channel’s mana as a cultural vehicle for iwi Maori, te reo Maori, tikanga Maori and Te Ao Maori.

The research question asked: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being iwi Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)? What the research found was an overwhelmingly positive response to Maori Television from the sample group who positioned the television channel as key in its “reimag(in)ing of Maoriness” by iwi Maori (Wall, 1997). The television station was found to act predominantly as a strengthening agent of pre-existing notions of being iwi Maori but the capacity of Maori Television to educate and enhance inter-iwi understanding (such as via the broadcasting of important hui and tangi) helped to construct additional notions of iwi Maori identity in the participants.
Theme four, Ma tatou, Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for all of us, for you, for them: critiquing Maori TV

The fourth theme “Ma tatou, Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for all of us, for you, for them: critiquing Maori TV”, offered a two-fold appraisal of Maori Television.

1. The perceived strengths of Maori Television and
2. The perceived limitations of Maori Television from the sample group

These two concepts will be discussed under the respective titles: “Ma tatou: for all of us” and “Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for you, for them”.

Ma tatou: for all of us
The perceived strengths of Maori Television

The discussion of negative television discourses in the section “Television: the drug of the nation?” positioned television from a western perspective as falling within the class-specific realm of “low culture” (Corner and Harvey 1996, cited in Burton 2000). Fiske (1987) argued, culture and wealth are unequally shared and thus more inclined towards serving and promoting class interests. As such, those cultural forms which are considered in the west as high, for example fine art, literature or ballet correspond with the preferences of people with social power, while low or popular cultural forms supposedly appeal to their subordinates. But for the sample group, the question of Maori Television as a derivative of either high or low class is simply, irrelevant. This is perhaps indicative of cultural capital being more of a western concept as the research participants did not make judgements as to the relative merits of the programming but were more interested in the breadth of appeal that the station provided.

Maori Television functions at a level where a range of programmes meet the needs of a diverse assortment of viewers and who is to say that Toi Whakari, Kete Aronui and Iti Pounamu are any more sophisticated than the likes of Ask your Auntie? Because the former are television shows on art and short films while the latter is a programme where a panel of wahine give suggestions and advice to viewers who have written-in, seeking solutions to their problems. Furthermore, who is to say that watching The Maori Merchant of Venice or The Billy T James Show on Maori Television is any less profound than reading a novel by Patricia Grace or Witi Ihimaera?
Maori Television’s purpose through their mission statement is to “revitalise Maori language and culture through broadcasting. The principal function of the service is to promote te reo Maori me nga tikanga Maori through the provision of a high quality, cost-effective Maori Television service, in both Maori and English, that informs, educates, and entertains a broad viewing audience, and, in doing so, enriches New Zealand’s society, culture, and heritage” (Maori Television, 2007). The research supports the notion that Maori Television is successful in its intention of revitalising te reo and tikanga Maori for the research participants. One participant in particular commented on how Maori Television was equally informative, educative and entertaining for all members of his immediate whānau. Thus reinforcing the channel’s ability to promote te reo Maori me nga tikanga Maori. He claimed:

What I like about [Maori Television] is it’s another means of teaching my kids about their heritage... When they watch [Maori] TV with me they ask questions and it’s another way of learning from me and of teaching my children and it’s not only that, my wife is Irish and she watches Maori TV. She’s picked up a fair bit of the history because of Maori TV, which shows that it’s not just for Maori...her mother and father love watching Maori TV too. They didn’t used to know anything they now know a bit about the culture. So, it’s not just of benefit for me, it’s of benefit for my kids and my wife and her parents. I think that’s the strength, it’s teaching or reminding me of my own whakapapa and teaching those in my household and wider family. (Rangi)

With the launching of a Maori Television channel created by iwi Maori and for the benefit of iwi Maori, it was hoped that the kind of internalised negativity Rangihau (1999) spoke of earlier (in the “Decolonising Television” section), could finally be counteracted. Thus, much was invested in the establishment of the Maori Television Service, not only because it would act to preserve and advance te reo Maori me nga tikanga Maori (as mentioned above) but also because it would be a counter to the negative imagery iwi Maori had endured at length. Reweti (2006) stated:

We hoped that a Maori 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).

What the research found was that Maori Television was successful in televising Maori programmes and news to an Aotearoa New Zealand and, especially, iwi Maori audience.
Consequently, the television channel was perceived as a profound source of iwi Maori pride for the research participants because of its strength in “making every Maori, proud to be Maori.” (Mere)

Reweti (2006) and Stephens (2004) anticipated that the Maori channel would yield positive outcomes for iwi Maori. The research found that Maori Television was in fact yielding positive outcomes, especially for rangatahi. The channel was seen as a significant growth area for iwi Maori who were contemplating a career in television. Ropata observed,

> The strengths that I see, is our young people that have the confidence and the self esteem to get up [on Maori Television]. The announcers on Maori TV are all fluent [in te reo] and they are very confident in what they are doing. (Ropata)

This above comment explicitly demonstrates how televising a positive image of iwi Maori will engender a positive self-concept in the individual viewer. Because the viewer has a cultural connection with the person on TV, the process of identifying with them and being inspired by them is accelerated.

Similarly, others commented on “the fact that [Maori Television’s] increased Maori programming so much, there’s a lot more production companies...You can see that even here at the University. Media Studies has been a real growth area for Maori students (Tangi)”. Another advantage of Maori Television is its ability to have access to the crème de la crème of iwi Maori experts (in their respective fields) across the width and breadth of the motu. What this means is that Maori Television is in a position where they can “draw from a wide range of Maori speakers who have different knowledge. They can go to Tuhoe and get and get some koroua to do something on rongoa, they can go to Nga Puhi and have a look at the forestry up there and they can go to the Coast and do anything about kaimoana. I think they have a lot of koroua they can call upon; they can do things that mainstream TV can’t do and get away with it.” (Kingi)

Other encouraging research findings situated Maori Television as positively effecting changes in the mainstream. The literature review proposed that iwi Maori have a history of being misrepresented in the mainstream media (a notion that has been explored in some depth throughout the research). The Special Rapporteur of the United Nations, 2006 report exposed some of the issues iwi Maori have endured over time such as, a scarcity of relevant iwi Maori
themes on television and prominent media depicting iwi Maori control over resources as a threat to non-Maori. Contrastingly, with the advent of Maori Television positive changes are now also occurring on mainstream television. Ani encapsulated the essence of these positive changes in her statement:

And we’re actually competing really well against mainstream. I think, because of that, mainstream are also increasing their Maori content which can only be a good thing. I think Maori TV helped covering more Maori issues. Now, you can watch a definite change in the news which once upon a time was just about negating everything Maori did, whereas now, you’re actually seeing a lot more coverage of really important, prominent tangi. (Ani)

This illustrates how cultures influence each other. A positive action towards self-expression and self-determination such as the formation of Maori Television has a ripple effect that forces hegemonic structures and modes of representation to adjust accordingly. Moreover, as Rangi noted, “my wife is Irish and she watches Maori TV. She’s picked up a fair bit of the history because of Maori TV, which shows that it’s not just for Maori.” The ripple effect of Maori Television is one that enhances cross-cultural understanding in a variety of ways.

**Ma koutou, Ma ratou: for you, for them**
The perceived limitations of Maori Television

Ma koutou and Ma ratou focused on some necessary improvements needed to further enhance the Maori Television channel. Particular interest was allocated to Maori Television’s limited funding; funds according to the participants, affected the performance of Maori Television in the following ways:

**By hindering programming**
Programmes such as *Watership Down* are translated into te reo Maori rather than Maori Television having sufficient enough money to create their own children’s programmes that would be more culturally appropriate to iwi Maori. In doing this, Maori Television was seen as reliant on imported television for established material (as was discussed earlier in the “Cultural Imperialism Paradigm” section). What the participants hoped was for Maori Television to eventually acquire sufficient funding so they would not have to overdub already existing television programmes. Onus was placed on iwi Maori developing their own stories and
television programmes to be able to provide culturally appropriate programmes to tamariki. One participant believed that the production of iwi Maori children’s programmes would generate a lot of international interest from countries such as Japan. This participant believed Maori Television would be able to significantly profit from these kinds of ventures. However, the benefit of overdubbing imported programming is that it is made more culturally relevant as children have the opportunity to hear te reo and associate it with a polished, international-quality programme even if the content is not from a ‘Maori’ world view.

A lack of subtitles for the hearing impaired
The research found that there was a marked lack of subtitles for the hearing impaired on Maori Television, especially during its formative years. Thus, making it problematic for those with hearing difficulties to fully reap the benefits of te reo Maori. It was assumed that insufficient subtitles were also a component of inadequate funding. Sign language is also an official language of Aotearoa New Zealand and thus Maori Television should function as a champion for all minority groups even those who are hearing impaired.

Coverage
Many of the research participants complained the broadcasting hours of Maori Television was in fact, far too brief and would have liked the coverage hours to be more extensive.

Access
The initial and on-going costs of installing a Sky or UHF aerial in the home in order to gain access to Maori TV made it expensive and therefore impossible for some families to be able to afford access to the television channel. In general, many of Otepoti (Dunedin’s) suburbs had difficulty accessing Maori Television.

Kanohi ki te kanohi
The importance of this concept in Te Ao Maori is undeniable. What the research found was that kanohi ki te kanohi was not happening in Otepoti (Dunedin). Maori Television was instead opting to send a cameraman instead of a reporter to South Island events, therefore failing to adhere to the concept of kanohi ki te kanohi. It is hoped that they do not fall into the same trap as TV One’s Te Karere who often send Pakeha cameramen from their Television New Zealand local offices who, although representing Te Karere, still construct the images from their own cultural perspective, or from what they think that Maori want to see. It was hoped that with increased
funding more events could be filmed kanohi ki te kanohi in Te Waipounamu. Mere expressively captured the essence of kanohi ki te kanohi by exclaiming, "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." (Mere)

In summary, Maori Television has, in effect, had considerable success in achieving its goals of revitalising te reo and tikanga Maori. On the one hand, "Ma tatou" highlighted additional positive qualities of Maori Television such as: its positive effects on mainstream, a forum for Maori News, a source of iwi Maori pride, a teaching resource, developing career opportunities for rangatahi, access to iwi Maori experts (in their respective fields) and an identity marker. While, on the other hand, "Ma koutou" and "Ma ratou" focused on some necessary improvements needed to further enhance the television channel. The sample group felt Maori TV was limiting in its accessibility, especially for Otepoti (Dunedin) families who would have to purchase a Sky satellite dish or UHF aerial in order to gain admission to Maori TV, the channel’s telecast times were all too brief, scarce subtitles further made access difficult for the hearing impaired. And finally, "Ma ratou" refers to the sample group’s overall dissatisfaction with limited funding which tended to severely impact on filming South Island events. This limited funding is perhaps symptomatic of a power differential within a capitalist or market-driven society. It is an indicator that, to a certain extent, the channel falls outside of serving prevailing hegemonic interests. If it did serve these norms it can be surmised that there would be a corresponding increase in funding.

The research question asked: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being iwi Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)? What the research found was an overwhelmingly positive response to Maori Television from the sample group.

The following recommendations appear to be warranted by this investigation:

For Maori TV
• That there be more Maori-produced programming;
• That more programming use South Island stories and locations; and
• That people be filmed kanohi ki te kanohi.
For policy makers

- That there be increased funding for the Maori Television Service in order for the above to be fulfilled; and
- That solutions are sought for improved national access to Maori Television.
The mana of the Maori Television Service

The fifth and final theme, “the mana of the Maori Television Service” is a closing word on the importance of Maori TV to the sample group. The hypothesis behind this section essentially refers to the notion, if Maori Television no longer existed what impact would that have on each of the participants? What the research found was that each of the participants unanimously agreed, first and foremost, Maori TV acts as a link for iwi Maori to Te Ao Maori. This link is accessible irrespective of Otepoti (Dunedin’s) geographical location by virtue of television’s ability to transcend geographical and cultural isolation. As such, the hypothetical loss of the channel would be unfavourable for iwi Maori.

The literature found that the launching of Maori Television inspired hope for the future of iwi Maori development. In “Decolonising Television” The Maori Broadcasting Advisory Committee envisioned,

True Mana Motuhake in broadcasting will assure us a place in the ‘Knowledge Economy’; it will equip our people to live their lives in more informed ways; it will hasten the long overdue telling of great stories of a great people, and it will create a better knowledge and understanding for non-Maori, of what it is to be Maori (2000, p. 3).

What the research found was that indeed Maori Television has fulfilled many of the aspirations mentioned by The Maori Broadcasting Advisory Committee. Iwi Maori have their own news shows such as Te Kaea and Native Affairs, many of the channel’s documentaries and programmes include iwi specific content and Maori Television further encourages non-Maori viewers to tune in.

The sample group considered Maori TV beneficial in,

- asserting iwi Maori pride;
- linking them to friends and whānau; and
- being an invaluable teaching resource for their tamariki.

In addition, the television channel keeps te reo Maori alive in many of the participants homes, leading Rangi to surmise, “Maori content on the mainstream television is limited and seeing Dr.
Ropata doesn’t mean you’re learning Maori, you’re just seeing a Maori that is a doctor. So, I think it’s good for the Maori language and the revitalisation of the Maori culture (Rangi)”. This comment indicates that the inclusion of brown faces in a predominantly Pakeha cultural milieu does not equate to an authentic representation of iwi Maori. For this participant, iwi Maori content within the mainstream was not sufficiently authentic to have a real positive impact upon the culture at large.

While a further participant commented on the domino effect of losses iwi Maori would endure if Maori TV no longer existed:

If Maori TV no longer existed, I’d be lost in just watching Te Karere because Maori 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 Maori 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 ta 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 Maori 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, Maori people travel. Like I travel a lot and it brings me closer to home. (Mere)

For this participant, Maori Television plays a multi-functional role equally in society and in her home. At a societal level, the channel promotes: te reo Maori, televises iwi Maori and provides iwi Maori role-models for rangatahi. At a personal level, it keeps her informed, up to date and in touch with home, whānau other friends’ whānau and other iwi, in addition to reducing mokemoke. Significantly Mere’s reference to rangatahi aspiring to be like “someone in America who’s black” links in with the concept of “cultural imperialism” whereby an imported culture assumes the power to shape and influence rangatahi who are searching for an identity. Moreover, Mere’s use of the term “role model” in relation to iwi Maori faces being televised is also pertinent. The inference here is that the image of the person on the television screen has the power to become a role model simply by virtue of the fact that it is on TV. The viewer attributes mana or significance to what they see on television.
The research question asked: what influence does Maori Television have in the construction or strengthening of notions of being iwi Maori in its iwi Maori adult viewers in Otepoti (Dunedin)? What the research found was Maori Television's ability to:

**Connect iwi Maori with Te Ao Maori, friends and whanau**
The literature argued that the virtual absence of an iwi Maori presence in television broadcasting was a plight iwi Maori shared with other minorities and indigenous people worldwide. Examples were given from the United Kingdom, Ireland and Australia. Thus leading Burton (2000) to assert that issues of race on television are marked as much by the absence of ethnic minorities as by their negative stereotyping. In other words, the absence of authentic racial diversity on television has been problematic for indigenous peoples. Contrasting, with the advent of Maori Television the research found that Maori TV was an important part of connecting iwi Maori adults residing in Otepoti (Dunedin) with Te Ao Maori. While the channel is not necessarily the primary source of connecting the participants with Te Ao Maori it does have numerous advantages, especially given that the “Mana of Maori Television” lies in its ability to empower its viewers purely by televising images, not only of their whanau, friends and iwi but also of other indigenous people and other iwi.

**Asserting iwi Maori pride**
Maori Television was seen as an assertion of iwi Maori pride for many of the participants. Tangi, in particular, described the channel by saying, “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.” (Tangi)

**Providing rangatahi with iwi Maori roles models**
Another benefit of Maori Television is seen as its capacity to provide rangatahi with role models of iwi Maori descent. Above, Mere commented on the necessity in having these role models for tamariki to aspire to. She queried, “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 ta moko?” The main thrust of Mere’s argument refers to the call for more iwi Maori role models so that rangatahi will have increased access to home-grown influences as opposed to only having international role models. There may be a correlation here with the “cultural cringe” (as mentioned in the cultural imperialism paradigm section) whereby New Zealanders were so accustomed to seeing international personalities on television that when they began to see and hear the New Zealand
accent it generally made them 'cringe' (Cross cited in Dunleavy, 2005). The hypothesis that Mere proposes is essentially that the more iwi Maori are shown on television the more likely rangatahi will become accustomed to seeing them and thus the more likely they will become role models for tamariki.

A teaching resource for tamariki

Following on from the notion of Maori Television as a means of providing iwi Maori role models for rangatahi is also the perception that the channel has been useful as a teaching resource. For Rangi “it’s about watching [Maori Television] with the family” and a time where he can discuss and learn Maori concepts with his children and his wife. Apart from Maori Television being a teaching resource it is also a medium through which tamariki can learn to be proud of their iwi Maori heritage. The following excerpt from the “Decolonising Television” section is an illustration of how Sam began to understand some of the good aspects of his Maori heritage:

When Sam saw images of Maori on television excelling at sport, science, surfing and break-dancing, he said to his Pakeha kuia, ‘Nana, aren’t Maori clever!’ In the post-modern world it is now ‘cool’ to be Maori (Walker, 2004, p.402).

Bringing te reo Maori into homes

Iwi Maori disadvantage in television broadcasting originally manifested through an invisible iwi Maori presence on either side of the television camera, a predicament which lasted around twenty years. In the section “Ngaro” Mita stated, “we were offered no choices, given no alternatives; television made us invisible” (Mita, 1996, p.45). In that same section Fox (2002) also recalled his first introduction to broadcasting in the 1970s as a time when,

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

However, with the arrival of Maori Television to households there was an increase in the prevalence of te reo Maori and programmes such as Korero Mai. This programme provided viewers with an easy to follow, step-by-step introduction to te reo and tikanga Maori. The impact of television shows such as this made te reo Maori more accessible for the research participants.
Even those with advanced te reo Maori skills also had the opportunity to watch documentaries and programmes that are spoken in te reo. The main point to be made here is that Maori Television offers a range of shows that cater for novice speakers of te reo right through to the advanced and fluent speakers. Moreover, te reo can be accessed within the comfort of your own home. As Rangi commented,

>a strength [of Maori Television] is the language, teaching the language, whether you pick up one or two words a week or ten or twenty, it is still good. (Rangi)

**Keeping iwi Maori informed on current events**

In the section “Iconic Maori” there was a discussion of the stereotyping of iwi Maori through sweeping generalisations (in the media) that generally commenced with statements such as, “Maori say…” making assumptions that all Maori are the same (PSA Journal, 2003). But the reality is that iwi Maori views are just as varied as Pakeha on a variety of issues. To paraphrase the comment of Tangi, Maori Television offers an alternative to mainstream news, with Tangi and others confirming that Maori Television was more balanced and offered a range of perspectives on any given issue. Moreover, viewers were encouraged to make up their own minds about a news item and finally news on Maori Television stems from Te Ao Maori; what that means is that the type of news Maori Television screens are items that would be of particular interest to iwi Maori.

**Maori Television as “speaking voice”**

In the “Ngaro” section the term ‘Ngaro’ translated into “invisible”, hidden, out of sight, disappeared, absent, missing, lost, undetected, unnoticed, passed off or away, forgotten, beaten, oppressed. The purpose of the “Ngaro” section was to establish that iwi Maori have been relatively “ngaro” on television in Aotearoa New Zealand. Inherent in ngaro was also the notion of ‘voicelessness’. Thus, those who are not seen are also not heard and this has been especially true of iwi Maori and indigenous people throughout the world. What the research found, particularly with the older participants, was that for them Maori Television was their speaking voice. “Maori 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 [Maori] TV has done for me; it is my speaking voice.” (Manu)
In other words, this notion of a "speaking voice" encapsulates all of the positive aspects of Te Ao Maori and tikanga Maori. The pride that these participants feel about their cultural heritage is being channelled through Maori Television and therefore it gives many people hope for the future of Te Ao Maori.

**Limitations revisited**

In the methodology section there were several limitations identified. This sub-section returns to these limitations in light of the conclusions reached in the Analysis, exploring the extent to which these conclusions can be generalised. For this research question, a qualitative approach was deemed to be the most appropriate. The limitations of such an approach are dictated by the time and effort required to complete such an approach as opposed to a quantitative method where data can be gathered from individuals more quickly. Thus, the narrowing of the participants to 9 was a result of this. This number posed several limitations in light of the research findings. Firstly, many of the participants commented on the effect of Maori Television on rangatahi and tamariki. The conclusions about the extent to which the station has positively influenced and provided role models for rangatahi and tamariki, whilst indicative, are not from their own mouths. As a result of time constraints, ethical approval to interview young people was not sought.

Similarly, most of the participants had undergone tertiary education to University level. The benefit of this was that the opinions gathered were often informed, astute and critical; however, the experience and thinking of a highly educated person of iwi Maori descent is not the same as one who has not been educated to this level. For example, Tangi’s claim that, “you can see that even here at the University. Media Studies, has been a real growth area for Maori students,” is a view articulated by somebody working within the University system, therefore it is not fair to generalise that suddenly a slew of young iwi Maori across the board are becoming involved in the broadcasting industry. Moreover, there is no quantitative data to back up this assertion, which is a limitation inherent in a qualitative methodology.

Finally, the fixed nature of the questionnaire proved to be a limitation in light of the research findings. By asking the same questions to all the participants, a basis of comparison could be established when analysing the data. However, to a certain extent this negated opportunities to thoroughly explore other areas of interest, which arose out of the interviews. For example, the importation of programming from other indigenous cultures and how this compared and
contrasted with the importation of programming from more economically powerful cultures such as the U.S. is an area of significant interest relating to the cultural imperialism paradigm. Perhaps the findings around this area could provoke a more comprehensive study.

The following recommendations for researchers appear to be warranted by this investigation:

- That further research on the perceptions of Maori Television should include a large cross-section of iwi Maori adult and youth viewers across different locations. This investigation focused on a particular demographic with particular needs and experiences. One of the fundamental findings of the research is that diversity must be recognised if Maori Television is going to fulfill its stated goals.
- That there be a gender balance with such research.
- This investigation has argued that Maori TV is to a certain extent reactionary-a response to the mainstream. Whilst this view is borne out by the participant’s comments future research should consider the impact and role of Maori TV in terms of people that have grown up more or less immersed in te reo via Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa. Questions such as whether or not Maori Television is meeting the needs of these future generations whilst catering to urban Maori who are not steeped in tikanga need to be asked.
- This investigation has positioned Maori Television as being altruistic in its motives. Further research is required into whether or not this altruism can be maintained alongside commercial realities and how best to marry these two seemingly conflicting motives for running Maori Television.
Conclusion

This research was born out of a view that Maori Television had a role to play in strengthening iwi Maori identity, particularly for Otepoti (Dunedin) iwi Maori given their demographical minority status. The comments of the participants support this view. Moreover, dissatisfaction with the lack of Te Waipounamu South Island content as a result of funding highlights 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 Maori in Otepoti (Dunedin). In terms of iwi Maori identity, the channel’s ability to both expand and positively affirm iwi Maori notions of their identity was applauded. The programming featuring the tikanga of different iwi fostered both a pride in seeing one’s own whanau and a cross-pollination of knowledge across iwi. Interestingly, the positive response to programming featuring stories of other indigenous cultures could position Maori Television as having a role in the establishment of an international indigenous identity.

The literature review established that whilst there is no denying that television has an influence upon the person watching, the degree and nature of this influence will vary widely according to a range of cultural, and psychological variables. Given this, it is interesting that the participants were overwhelmingly positive about the impact of the Maori Television service with almost all participants commenting upon increasing levels of pride in their cultural heritage and a counterbalance to negative feelings engendered by negative mainstream representations.

Another key research finding was that Maori TV has had an effect not only upon iwi Maori but upon others as well. Participants commented on how the mainstream media was adapting as a result of Maori TV and how non-Maori were given an opportunity to gain understanding into tikanga and te reo from an authentic source, thus promoting cross-cultural understanding. This was found to be a key contributing factor in the strengthening and establishment of positive notions of self-concept as iwi Maori as it increased iwi Maori pride.

Maori TV was found to be a very significant tool in helping Otepoti (Dunedin) iwi Maori adults to establish or maintain positive notions of themselves as iwi Maori. This occurs both microcosmically, as they see affirmative stories relevant to their own whanau 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 whether one can confidently conclude that “in the post-modern world it is now ‘cool’ to be Maori” (Walker, 2004, p. 402). Nevertheless, it is clear that Maori TV has a crucial role in fulfilling Walker’s assertion.
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