

Public Information Advertisements: Māori Perspectives

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Te Wānanga Aronui o Tāmaki Makau Rau**

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“Oh my body, make of me a man who always questions”

Frantz Fanon

HE MIHI

He hōnore, he korōria ki te Atua, he maungārongo ki te mata o te whenua, he whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata katoa. Ki a rātou mā kua whetūrangitia, nei rā te mihi atu. E moe ki te urunga tē taka, te moenga tē whakaarahia. Mā muri nei rātou e whakaaro, mā muri nei rātou e kōrero. E tuku mihi ana ahau ki te tīni ngerongero i āwhina mai, i tautoko mai i ahau i roto i te mahi nei. Mei kore ake koutou, e kore tēneki e whakatutuki pai ai i te tuhinga roa nei. Kei tōku Kōkara taha, nō te waka o 'Tainui, ko Ngāti Kauwhata-ki-te-tonga ki Kai-iwi Pā, ko taku ūkaipō. He hononga hoki nōku ki a Ngāti Hauā, Ngāti Raukawa-ki-te-tonga, Ngāti Maniapoto. Ki tōku Pāpara taha, nō te waka o 'Tainui hoki tētehi pekanga, ko Ngāti Hikairo. Nō te waka o Takitimu, ko Ngāti Kahungunu, ko Kāti Waewae ki Arahura. Nō Rangitāne ki Wairarapa hoki ahau. I whirinaki ahau ki ōku whakapapa hei kimi whakaaro, hei kimi kōrero e pā ana ki te kaupapa nei. He kaupapa e hono atu ana ki a tātou katoa - Māori mai, Pākehā mai, aha atu mai. Kia tau ngā manaakitanga o te Runga Rawa ki runga i a tātou katoa.

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DECLARATION

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

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ABSTRACT

The broad objective of this research is to examine Māori perspectives of public information advertisements as part of wider social marketing campaigns in Aotearoa New Zealand that are designed to persuade Māori to change their behaviours. Underpinned by a kaupapa Māori approach, I conducted focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. Influenced by grounded theory as a method of analysis, participants felt that the public information advertisements affix blame rather than fix problems. Participants felt that the advertisements positioned Māori as stereotyped caricatures that fit within the mould of deficit ideologies. For example, Māori were consistently shown as criminal, drink and drug drivers, child abusers and so forth. This is concerning given that the mass media are the primary source of information about cultural groups other than one's own and can influence conceptions of social reality. Moreover, the diverse realities of Māori emerged within the research as two distinct groups were identified; the lower socio-economic group (either rural or urban based and on a social welfare benefit or employed in unskilled labour), and the middle socio-economic group (urban based, tertiary educated and/or in skilled employment). Participants from the lower socio-economic group offered personal experiences of the health and social issues that were portrayed in the advertisements. On the other hand, the middle socio-economic group did not offer any experiences of the health and social issues and were highly critical of the advertisements, even when prompted for positive feedback. There were differences between the two socio-economic groups in how they interpreted or decoded the advertisements. This research has questioned whether social marketing initiatives and public information advertisements are the appropriate tools to counter the health and social issues that impact upon Māori, and further, if public information advertisements are necessary, then they should be created by Māori, for Māori.

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GLOSSARY

Aotearoa - New Zealand
Ariki - paramount chief
Atua - God
Hapū - subtribe
Hui - gathering, meeting
Io - The Supreme Being
Iwi - tribe
Iwi kotahi - united people
Kai - food, meal
Kanohi kitea - the seen face
Kanohi ki te kanohi - face-to-face
Kapa haka - Māori cultural performing group
Karakia - prayer
Kaumātua - elder
Kaupapa - topic, matter for discussion, subject
Kaupapa Māori - Māori research approach
Kawa - protocol
Kēhūa - ghost
Kīngitanga - Māori king movement
Koha - offering/donation
Kōrero - talk, discussion, conversation
Koro - elderly man, grandfather
Korowai - traditional cloak
Kuia - elderly woman, grandmother
Mākutu - witchcraft, spells
Mana - prestige, status, influence
Mana whenua - territorial rights
Māoritanga - Māori culture, practices and beliefs
Marae - courtyard and meeting house
Matakite - prophets, clairvoyants, special intuition
Mātauranga Māori - Māori knowledge
Mau rākau - traditional Māori martial arts
Mihi/mihi whakatau - greeting speech
Ngāi Tahu - a tribe in the South Island
Ngāi Tūhoe - a tribe in the Bay of Plenty
Ngāpuhi - a tribe in Northland
Ngāti Awa - a tribe in the Bay of Plenty
Ngāti Hauā - a tribe in the Waikato (Tainui)
Ngāti Hikairo - a tribe in the Waikato (Tainui)
Ngāti Kahungunu - a tribe in the mid to lower East Coast of the North Island
Ngāti Kauwhata - a tribe in the Manawātū (Tainui)
Ngāti Porou - a tribe in the East Cape and Gisborne area

Ngāti Raukawa - a tribe in the Waikato and Manawatū/Horowhenua (Tainui)

Ngāti Tūrangitukua - a tribe in the Turangi area

Ngāti Whakātere - a tribe in the Manawatū/Horowhenua (Tainui)

Ngāti Whātua - a tribe in Auckland and Northland

Pākehā - New Zealanders of European descent (see detailed explanation on page 8)

Papatūānuku - Earth mother

Pounamu - greenstone

Pōwhiri - traditional welcome

Rangatira - chief, leader

Rangi-nui - Sky father

Raupatu - land confiscations

Rohe - territory, region

Taha Māori - Māori heritage

Taiaha - long wooden weapon/staff

Tainui - a term used for the tribes whose ancestors came on the Tainui canoe from Hawaiiki

Tāngata whenua - people of the land

Tā moko - traditional Māori tattoo

Tapu - sacred, prohibited, restricted

Taonga - cultural treasures

Tauīwi - used in this thesis to describe New Zealanders who are not Māori or Pākehā

Te Ao Māori - the Māori world

Te Aopōuri - a tribe in the northern part of the North Island

Te-Ika-a-Māui - the North Island

Te Kore (Te Korekore) - The Void

Te reo Māori - the Māori language

Tikanga - correct procedure, custom, protocol

Tino rangatiratanga - self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government

Tūpuna/tūpuna - ancestors

Tohunga - person with specialist knowledge; usually a priest

Waka - sailing vessel, canoe

Waikato-Tainui - a confederation of tribes that descended from the Tainui waka

Wānanga - traditional learning forum

Whakaaro - thoughts, opinion

Whakapapa - genealogy

Whakamā - shame, embarrassment

Whakataukī - proverbs

Whakatōhea - a tribe in the eastern Bay of Plenty

Whānau - family, extended family

Whanaunga - relatives

Wharekura - Māori school

Wharenuī - meeting house

Whare whakairo - carved house, meeting house

Whenua tipu - ancestral land

1 INTRODUCTION

*“We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed,
our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of” –
Edward L. Bernays (1928, p. 9)*

The purpose of this research is to examine Māori perspectives of public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences. Recent research has used content analysis of television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand to make determinations about ethnicity and portrayal (i.e., Dana & O’Sullivan, 2007; Rubie-Davies, Liu & Lee, 2013). However, there is an absence of research relating to Māori perspectives of public information advertisements which are television advertisements that are designed to benefit society as opposed to commercial advertisements for profit. Researchers have coded and categorised various types of television advertisements but have not sought Māori perspectives about them. Therefore, it is the intention, with the research recorded in this thesis to introduce Māori perspectives concerning the public information advertisements that are targeted at them. My work aims to collect and analyse perspectives of social life, rather than describing them. Through analysis I seek to interpret, understand, and explain perspectives of social life.

This chapter introduces the subject of this study and explains why it is important, the rationale for undertaking this research, the framing of the research question, and the structure of this thesis. Generally speaking, the public information advertisements are part of wider social marketing campaigns, most of which are directly or indirectly funded by the state in order to improve the wellbeing of its citizenship. Kotler and Zaltman (1971) defined social marketing as the implementation of the principles and tools of marketing “to achieve socially desirable goals” (p. 5). The public information advertisements that are under scrutiny in this thesis are aimed at improving health and social wellbeing for Māori.

As public information advertisements are persuasive by nature, for me, the opening quote of this chapter by Bernays (1928) captures the power of persuasion within one sentence. Bernays’ seminal work about persuasion had such far reaching influence that it determined how Joseph Goebbels planned and implemented mass communication campaigns for the Nazis (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 2004). Persuasion is inextricably linked with public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori as they are arguably designed to shape, mould and influence Māori thoughts and behaviour. Moreover, akin with Bernays’ opening quote, the public information advertisements have been designed largely by people that Māori have never heard of, rather than by Māori themselves.

Absolon and Willett (2005) have the somewhat instrumental and pragmatic view that researchers should locate themselves within the research in order to gain trust from indigenous communities, and their work has caused me to ponder my presence in this project and my motivation for it. To begin, I am Māori, and my primary incentive is to further understandings of my own people. I have also had a fascination with public information advertisements since around 2001. Back then (in 2001), a radio advertisement captivated my attention with the tagline “If you drink and drive, it’s one more bro for the road” (Land Transport New Zealand, 2001, para. 1). The colloquial term ‘bro’ is considered to be Māori vernacular English (N. Wilson, 2010) and therefore the tagline is

immediately identifiable as being targeted at Māori males. To ensure no misunderstandings, the billboards for the campaign explicitly identified the target audience –



Figure 1.1 One More Bro for the Road - Billboard (Game Planet Forums, 2007)

Moreover, from the time I had my driver licence as a youth, I remember being pulled over regularly by the police without apparent reason. When I was 19 years old I began working as a bouncer at a nightclub in Palmerston North – back then the purchasing age for alcohol was 20 years old. On many occasions I was stopped by police on the way to and from work. When a person of colour is stopped by police without legitimate cause it is often referred to as “driving while black” (D. A. Harris, 1997, p. 546). So if the only mass media portrayals of people who are similar to oneself are portrayed as a deficit, and that portrayal is legitimised by the behaviour and actions of those with authority, then one begins to question the apparatus of power and discourse.

From a contrasting perspective, when I was a police officer in Australia, I apprehended and charged both drink and drug drivers. I witnessed first-hand the carnage and misery that is caused by drink and drug driving crashes when I worked as a crash investigator in the South East Metropolitan Traffic branch in Cannington, Perth. During my different roles in the police, I gained insights into most of the social issues that are at the core of the public information advertisements targeted at Māori audiences. These

included attending incidents of family violence, suicides, and almost every other ‘job’ that police officers routinely deal with. I investigated a number of high profile cases while working as an investigator for the Coronial Investigation Unit (a section of the Major Crime Division of the Western Australia Police). For example, I conducted the coronial investigation regarding the death of a member of the Royal Australian Navy who died in a hotel in Cambodia with drugs in his system (see ABC News, 2011). Together with Detective Kylee Matson, I investigated the first death in Australia relating to synthetic cannabis which received much publicity (see The New Zealand Herald, 2011; Phillips, 2011; Trenwith, 2011) and resulted in changes to drug legislation. In fact, despite resigning from the police to pursue academia in 2012, one of my coronial investigations was still before the courts in 2015 (see page two of Coroner’s Court of Western Australia, 2015), and two of my investigations were covered by news media in 2015 (see ABC News, 2015; Cheer, 2015).

It is from these experiences that I approach this thesis having had first-hand experiences of dealing with the social issues from a fly-on-the-wall perspective as a former police officer, as well as being a member of the target audience by ethnocultural default, simply by being Māori. Spurred on by these experiences, and following the philosophy of *kaupapa Māori*¹, I have undertaken this research first and foremost to benefit Māori.

My doctoral research concerns television advertisements that are designed to persuade people into behaviour that is less damaging to them and to society, with particular attention to those advertisements aimed at Māori audiences. It is a tenet of this research that most New Zealanders have viewed at least one public information advertisement, and are therefore familiar with the genre. I have provided the names of some advertisements²,

¹ Māori research approach.

² Ease up on the drink (Health Promotion Agency, 2013), Keep looking while you’re cooking (New Zealand Fire Service, 2007), Know me before you judge me (Health Promotion Agency, 2003), Don’t drink and fry (New Zealand Fire Service, 2007), Eat 5+ a day (5+ A Day Charitable Trust, 2007), Drop, cover, hold (Ministry of Civil Defence & Emergency Management, 2012), Smoking not our future (Health Promotion Agency, 2006), Man Up! And give prostate cancer the finger (Prostate Cancer Foundation, 2015), Swim between the flags (Surf Life Saving New Zealand, 2008), C’m on guys get firewise (New Zealand Fire Service, 2011), Breakfast-eaters have it better (Health Promotion Agency, 2007), Slip, slop, slap and wrap (Health Promotion Agency, 2009).

which New Zealanders will be familiar with. In the United States, advertisements of this type are called public service announcements (Gantz, Schwartz, Angelini, & Rideout, 2008; Gerbner, 1995), or public service advertisements (Fine, 1981; Freitag & Quesinberry Stokes, 2009; O'Barr, 2012; Samuel, 2001), but in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, Johnson (2011) has termed them 'public information advertisements'.

Public information advertisements are generally part of wider social marketing campaigns. One of the first definitions of social marketing was by Kotler and Zaltman (1971) who said that social marketing was the implementation of the principles and tools of marketing "to achieve socially desirable goals and includes the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research" (p. 5). The main focus of social marketing is directed towards improving social behavioural outcomes and social change (Thornley & Marsh, 2010).

According to Bridges (2009), social marketing in Aotearoa New Zealand has increased since the 2000s. Research by Millard (2010) found that in the year ending 2008, there were 52 separate social marketing campaigns by government agencies, all of which included an extensive range of mass communication media such as television, print advertising, websites, and other marketing initiatives. More recently, there were 2384 television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand between January 2010 and July 2013 that were classified as 'government department' (J. Rowdon, personal communication, August 20, 2013), although many of the advertisements are not part of social marketing interventions. For example, promotional advertisements by universities were listed.

The implementation of social marketing to change behaviour among Māori is increasing (Meredith et al., 2012). Most likely, this is a counteraction to the statistical data that point to Māori being negatively overrepresented across the spectrum including criminal statistics (Quince, 2007), motor vehicle road crash fatalities (Sargent et al., 2004), family violence (Hoeata, Nikora, Li, Young-Hauser & Robertson, 2011), smoking causing

death (Tane, 2011), suicide (Meredith et al., 2012), and “the poorest health status of any ethnic group in New Zealand” (Ministry of Health, 2013, para. 1), among many others.

Here I find utility in Appiah’s (2004) discussion of identification theory and distinctiveness theory in relation to advertising, and so am proceeding on the premise that because of obvious cultural embeddedness of the material, the advertisements are targeting Māori audiences. Appiah (2004) says culturally embedded advertisements are rich in cultural cues pertaining to the characters, values, symbols, and material objects. The public information advertisements all predominantly feature Māori characters and are infused with Māori cultural cues such as such as *tā moko*³, *pounamu*⁴, and images of *tūpuna*⁵, *marae*⁶ and *wharehau*⁷. Māori reactions to these targeted advertisements are the focus of this thesis.

A. Moewaka Barnes, Borell, Edwards and McCreanor (2009) asserted the importance of justifying research to Māori participants because they want to know why and for whom the research is being conducted, the agenda of the researcher, and most importantly, whether the researcher can be trusted. To declare my credentials, then, I will outline the significance of this research. First, while there is evidence of completed and on-going research surrounding the efficacy of public information advertisements, there appears to be little, if any, research conducted among Māori that listens to their views about public information advertisements that are designed to influence Māori behaviour. Graham (1993) claimed that the views of target audiences of mass communication for socially desirable goals are very rarely sought. Rather, those who hold the positions of power and influence make all the decisions for what they deem to be the best interests of the target audience (Graham, 1993), and it is a basic premise of this research that Graham’s perception is correct, as there are no studies that are exclusively devoted to Māori perspectives of public information advertisements.

³ Traditional Māori tattoo.

⁴ Greenstone.

⁵ Ancestors.

⁶ Courtyard and meeting house.

⁷ Meeting house.

Moreover, on a macro level, at the time of writing this thesis, studies concerning the representation and portrayal of ethnocultural groups or indigenous peoples within social marketing have not been published in either of the two journals that are devoted to social marketing. All issues of *Social Marketing Quarterly* and *Journal of Social Marketing* were reviewed and articles in this area could not be located. This is significant for this research, as it clearly shows a gap in the literature concerning messaging to, and consideration of, indigenous peoples, within the domain of social marketing. In this regard, I am entering uncharted territory while simultaneously contributing to knowledge.

Second, while there has been research pertaining to Māori representation in media there has not been any detailed research undertaken regarding Māori perspectives of portrayal in television advertisements and how representation affects both avowed and ascribed identity of Māori. A recent study by Rubie-Davies et al. (2013) found that when Māori are represented in public information advertisements, they tend to be negatively portrayed. Their study used a form of content analysis to examine gender and ethnicity in television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand. Their research empirically confirmed that Māori characters generally only appear in public information advertisements, and that those advertisements portray Māori stereotypically, such as violent people, drink drivers, gamblers, smokers, and as people with literacy problems (Rubie-Davies et al., 2013).

The negative portrayal of Māori in public information advertisements is concerning given that Māori characters are almost non-existent in other types of television advertisements. For example, the study by Dana and O'Sullivan (2007) examined a broad range of television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2004 that featured at least one person. They found that Māori and Pasifika people appeared in only 0.98 percent of health and beauty product television advertisements and in only 3.6 percent of consumer goods advertisements. In contrast, the study found that Māori featured in 45.65 percent of television advertisements by government and non-government organisations such as

charities. In other words, Māori characters appear predominantly in public information advertisements which are generally state-funded and directed towards changing behaviour.

The negative portrayal of Māori gives cause for concern as the mass media are the primary source of information about cultural groups other than one's own (Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Steuter & Wills, 2011; van Dijk, 1987) and are tools of socialisation (Cortese, 2008). In other words, the media representation of a particular group has enormous influential power as to what others think of that particular group. Further, according to W. Lee, Williams and La Ferle (2004), advertising influences identity formation and identity enhancement and brings "marginalized population groups into public being" (p. 14).

Within the scholarly literature there is overwhelming evidence that *Pākehā*⁸ hold negative attitudes towards Māori (Holmes, Murachver & Bayard, 2001). A recent example of negative attitudes by Pākehā that comes to mind is the study by H. B. Turner (2013) about teacher expectations of students in Aotearoa New Zealand which found that "teachers had lower expectations for and more negative beliefs about Māori students" (p. ii). A teacher in H. B. Turner's (2013) study said that Māori are always the suspects in the television show, *Police 10/7*. In other words, this particular teacher's negative beliefs about Māori were influenced by a reality television show that depicted Māori as criminals. This fits with the assertion that the mass media are the primary source of information about cultural groups other than one's own (Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Steuter & Wills, 2011; van Dijk, 1987). If people do in fact construct views of others and themselves through media, and given that the public information advertisements may depict Māori in a negative representation, this thesis questions the impact of the advertisements upon how Māori view themselves, and how they think others view Māori in the advertisements.

⁸ I have adopted the following definition of Pākehā: "It is derived from the word 'pakepakehā', meaning fair-skinned folk. It simply denotes people and influences that derive originally from Europe but which are no longer 'European'" (M. King, 1999, p. 10). The use of the term 'Pākehā' to refer to New Zealanders of European descent is the most commonly accepted usage within the Māori scholarship (see A. Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; R. Walker, 1990). Throughout this thesis I refer to New Zealanders who are not Māori or Pākehā as '*Tauīwi*'. I use 'non-Māori' to refer to both Pākehā and Tauīwi. While there is much debate over these terms (i.e., Goodall, 1990; M. King, 1999), I had to adopt a classification method for the purposes of identification within this thesis. Moreover, it fits with much of the scholarship including McEldowney (2005) who wrote, "Pākehā is the Māori (indigenous) word for European people born in New Zealand. Tauīwi refers to those who come from another place" (p. 184).

How Māori perceive themselves and how others perceive Māori in the advertisements are associated with the two common classifications of identity known as avowed identity and ascribed identity (Samovar, Porter, McDaniel & Roy, 2013). Martin and Nakayama (2013) have defined avowal as “the process by which individuals portray themselves” and ascription as “the process by which others attribute identities to them” (p. 174). Within this thesis, the social identity perspective is reviewed and the concept of ‘Māori identity’ is critiqued. This thesis is framed by one overarching question:

What are Maori perspectives of public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand?

This thesis will contribute to the body of knowledge not just for mass communication scholarship or identity scholarship, but more importantly, Māori knowledge. As this thesis concerns Māori knowledge, *kaupapa Māori* has guided the research by providing a set of principles to work by in order to engage with Māori communities. Kaupapa Māori was not the only approach taken to the research, however, it was employed alongside a critical perspective. Both of these methodologies will be elaborated later in the thesis, but for the purposes of this brief discussion, I will briefly introduce them here as they are the platform for what follows.

First, although critical theory is heavily overlaid with social activism, according to Robbins & Barnwell (2002), critical theorists are not generally in favour of overthrowing the social system. Rather, critical theorists “seek to create conditions which promote the emancipation of people” (Robbins & Barnwell, 2002, p. 21) through research and awareness building. Thus, the purpose of critical theory is not just to determine what is wrong with contemporary society (Finlayson, 2005) or to understand and describe phenomena, but rather to change the situation for the better by liberating the

disempowered in order to redress inequalities for the betterment of society (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).

L. T. Smith (1999) stated that the majority of *kaupapa Māori* discussion is related to critical theory because both are concerned with ideas such as emancipation and empowerment. M. Durie (2012) best summarised *kaupapa Māori* when he said “I view *kaupapa Māori* as an approach. *Mātauranga Māori*⁹ is an always evolving underlying body of knowledge that can guide practice and understanding. How you do that is a *kaupapa Māori* approach” (p. 23). By using a *kaupapa Māori* approach, all components of the research including knowledge and power is held by the participants which is in contrast to power relationships between ‘the researcher and the researched’ in some areas of western epistemology. *Kaupapa Māori*, as well as other indigenous research approaches, has often been thought of as a form of localised critical theory (Denzin, 2009). The critical and *kaupapa Māori* approaches will be explained further in the methodology chapter.

Thesis Structure

The following chapter is titled A Critical Background and is divided into two sections. The first section, Māori: The Historical and Socio-political Context, provides a concise critical background of colonisation and how this has impacted on Māori. The second section, Crisis: The Health and Social Issues, highlights some of the disparities between Māori and non-Māori within the various health and social statistical data. It is those health and social issues that have provided the rationale for the design and implementation of social marketing interventions including the public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences.

The idea of social marketing will be discussed in chapter three where the theory and practice of social marketing is introduced and the background of social marketing in Aotearoa New Zealand is provided as well as a discussion of public information advertisements and the targeting of Māori audiences. This leads into chapter four, Māori

⁹ Māori knowledge.

Representation and Identity, which will focus on representation and stereotypes. It will also examine Māori identity including the importance of *whakapapa*¹⁰ which will be discussed as being a key component of Māori cultural identity. Chapter four will end the comprehensive review of the literature that provides a foundation from which the primary research is based. The survey of the literature will establish links between the overarching research question and the wider body of knowledge, but will also identify gaps within the scholarship.

Chapter five, Methodology, will commence with a discussion about the philosophical perspectives that underpin this thesis, namely, critical theory and *kaupapa Māori*. Thereafter, the specific research procedures that were used in the data collection will be introduced, namely, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. The method of analysis, grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), will then be explained.

Chapter six, Māori Perspectives, will present the qualitative data from the focus group discussions with Māori participants and the semi-structured interviews with Māori leaders. The data will be presented using the emergent themes as headings, followed by brief discussions interweaved with supporting quotes. Chapter seven, NZTA Perspectives, will present the qualitative data from the interview with two key figures of the New Zealand Transport Agency. The extensive theorisation of the data will occur in chapter eight, Discussion and Conclusions, which will be the crux of the thesis. My arguments will be supported by what has emerged in the data and also by returning to the relevant literature. This chapter will outline the significance of this research and my contribution to the academy.

¹⁰ Genealogy.

2 A CRITICAL BACKGROUND

“All knowledge that is about human society, and not about the natural world, is historical knowledge, and therefore rests upon judgment and interpretation” – Edward Said (1997, p. 162)

It is fitting to open this chapter with a quote by Edward Said (1935-2003) because of his significant contribution to the scholarship of “decolonization and resistance to hegemony” (Ghazoul, 2007, p. 7). References to Said’s seminal works can be found in much of the scholarship on *kaupapa Māori*, which is the philosophical approach that underpins this thesis. The above quote sets the scene for the following chapters, as the extensive range of literature has been subjectively selected, critiqued and synthesised through my own lens on the world. Even deciding what to exclude in this review has been influenced by my interpretation of what is important for this research.

Even though I am aware that my choices have been formed by my personal responses to the topic, I am conscious that doctoral research should be thoroughly

grounded in seminal and current scholarship (Lyons & Doueck, 2010) of the discipline (Terjesen & Politis, 2015). However, it will soon become evident that due to the research topic, this thesis draws on knowledge from a range of disciplines and subject matter, rather than being confined to a particular discipline or realm of knowledge. Although the following chapters discuss a range of topics, the chapters have been structured so that they are focused and to the point (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe & Jackson, 2015). As my ancestors were storytellers (Dragas, 2014), I have tried to write the following chapters so they will read like a story. The purpose of the following literature-based chapters is to reinforce the importance of this research and to answer the fundamental question: What should the reader know about Māori and public information advertisements?

This chapter commences the literature review and is fundamentally a concise critical background of colonisation and how this continues to impact upon Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is a tenet of this investigation that the effects of colonisation have contributed to Māori being negatively overrepresented in nearly every statistic concerning health and social wellbeing. The statistical data provides legitimacy for the development of social marketing initiatives to improve Māori health and wellbeing including public information advertisements targeted at Māori audiences. Thus, this chapter has two sections. The first section explores the historical and socio-political context and sets the background on which this research is based through a critical lens of Māori history. A discussion of the health and social issues then takes place which highlights the disparities between Māori and Pākehā within the various health and social statistical data. The health and social issues in that section have resulted in social marketing interventions being developed, such as public information advertisements targeted at Māori audiences.

Māori: The Historical and Socio-political Context

Māori are the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand (M. King, 2003).

There is no agreed definition of indigenous peoples (Kharkongor & Albert, 2014; Minde, 2008). The idea of ‘indigenous’ peoples and who determines indigeneity is fraught with ambiguity. However, the definition below is the most cited within the literature (Birrell, 2010; Keal, 2003; J. Scott & Lenzerini, 2012; N. E. White, Buultjens & Shoebridge, 2013).

I have included this extensive quote because it includes elements that are highly relevant to this thesis such as Māori being situated as the non-dominant group in society and the preservation of identity.

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the society now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (Martínez Cobo, 1983, p. 50)

This definition appropriately situates Māori as indigenous peoples. For example, Māori have sought *tino rangatiratanga*¹¹ since the arrival of the early Pākehā settlers. Moreover, Māori are a non-dominant sector of society, with only 14.9 percent of the population belonging to the Māori ethnic group, and 17.5 percent of the population claiming to have a Māori ancestor (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). I have chosen to use the term indigenous ‘peoples’ (rather than ‘people’) as Maaka and Fleras (2005) pointed out

¹¹ Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government.

that ‘peoples’ is highly politicised and signifies community or nationhood and the fundamental right to self-determine autonomy, or as commonly referred to as, *tino rangatiratanga*. At the present time, self-determining autonomy seems to be idealistic for indigenous peoples globally, as the history of colonisation has taken its toll “ecologically, socially, spiritually, economically and psychologically” (M. McCarthy, 1997, p. 32). The processes of colonisation are pertinent to this research because in order to understand why the public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences even exist, the historical and socio-political context of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand should be considered.

Inspired by the writings of West (2001), the purpose of including this chapter is not to provide excuses for behaviour or to absolve personal responsibility as certain acts must be criticised and condemned, “but we must do so cognizant of the circumstances into which people are born and under which they live” (p. 56). The public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori do not inform the viewer of the contextual background in which many Māori are situated. Before I delve into the crux of this chapter, I will provide a personal example which relates to the aforementioned quote by West (2001).

My fourth great grandfather was Wiremu Tamihana, chief of *Ngāti Hauā*¹². He was born in Tamahere, just north of what is now known as Cambridge, and was known as the kingmaker (E. Stokes, 2002), as he established the *kingitanga*¹³ (Ballara, 1996). Recently he was listed first as one of the ‘10 Greatest New Zealanders’ of all time by The New Zealand Herald (2013). According to the government (Ngāti Hauā Claims Settlement Act, 2014), the Crown forces invaded the Waikato in July 1863 killing many Māori and confiscating land belonging to Tamihana and his *Ngāti Hauā* people, as well as other *Waikato-Tainui*¹⁴ tribes.

¹² A tribe in the Waikato (Tainui).

¹³ Māori king movement.

¹⁴ A confederation of tribes that descended from the Tainui waka (canoe).

The government stated in the Ngāti Hauā Claims Settlement Act (2014) that the land confiscations have caused enduring harm and resulted in *Ngāti Hauā* being virtually landless. This is evidenced by many of my *whanaunga*¹⁵ who continue to reside in that area and suffer from the health and social issues that are depicted in the public information advertisements. On the other hand, there are a number of wealthy Pākehā families who, for generations, have lived on and prospered from the stolen lands of my ancestors. Every time I pass through Cambridge I am reminded of this. The point is that the injustices of the past have affected the health and wellbeing of generations of Māori and continue to do so. Returning to the quote by West (2001), I am of the opinion that in order to understand the behaviour that is depicted in the public information advertisements targeted at Māori, one must first understand the historical context to which people find themselves situated.

Two of the key concepts relating to historical context that I aim to highlight is interconnectedness and colonisation. It will emerge that the relationship between and among Māori, and all living things, provided a foundation for familial environments to function. This chapter argues that Māori were spiritually connected to the land and that once this connection was broken by being separated from the land, the Māori social system was made turbulent. The dismantling of the Māori social organisation due to colonisation has wrought havoc among Māori communities.

This chapter seeks to extrapolate the literature relating to the Māori historical and socio-political context to provide an understanding of the ongoing crisis facing Māori that will be discussed in Crisis: The Health and Social Issues. For the sake of narrative flow, I have adopted a chronological approach that commences with Māori cosmogony. As a disclaimer, it is important to say that what follows is a concise summary of the *Māori situation*, and is therefore not an exhaustive account of history. To begin, I will start at the beginning.

¹⁵ Relatives.

In the Beginning

Across the world there are differing views of creation, evolution and mythology (Peoples & Bailey, 2009). Leeming and Leeming (1994) stated that a creation myth is a cosmogony that describes the formation of the universe. Māori have their own conception of the world and its origins which is founded upon interconnectedness (M. K. Durie, 2011; Reed, 2004; R. Walker, 2004). The central theme of interconnectedness and the stories of creation strongly link Māori through *whakapapa* to all parts of the natural world (Mikaere, 2011). Interconnectedness is fundamental to the conception of Māori cosmogony, as demonstrated in the stories of *Papatūānuku*¹⁶ and *Rangi-nui*¹⁷ who produced many offspring (R. D. Craig, 1989) and created the first *whānau*¹⁸ together. For Māori this was seen as the beginning and this story reinforces ideas of the collective group in Māori society. The notion of being connected (and *disconnected*) to people, land, and culture, will reverberate throughout this thesis as an important element of Māori wellbeing.

The collective social structure is not limited to Māori, as the ancient Polynesian societies performed most of their activities in social groups, lived in communal environments, and shared resources such as property (R. D. Craig, 2011). Much of the anthropological literature suggests that Māori were from eastern Polynesian islands before they settled in Aotearoa New Zealand (e.g., A. Anderson, Binney & Harris, 2012; J. Evans, 2011; Finney, 1994; M. King, 2003; Rewi, 2005, 2010). Polynesians are thought to have come from Southeast Asia approximately 3000-4000 years ago (Underhill et al., 2001). Southeast Asian cultures are known as highly collectivistic (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010). A collectivist culture has been defined as a society in which “the interest of the group prevails over the interest of the individual” (Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 90).

The original Māori beliefs of spirituality related to animistic and polytheistic traditions (G. H. Harvey, 2006; Knight, 2009) which are both in contrast with the belief

¹⁶ Earth mother.

¹⁷ Sky father.

¹⁸ Family, extended family.

system of Christianity (Ottati, 2013). Pool, Dharmalingam and Sceats (2007) stated that the original Pākehā settlers were predominantly believers of Christianity. Protestantism, a branch of Christianity, is intertwined with individualism and influenced early capitalist societies (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1986; Weber, 2005) including Aotearoa New Zealand (Breward, 2004). A review of the census data of the years between 1881-1911 (Registrar-General's Office, 1912) shows that the Protestant denomination was consistently the largest Christian denomination in the country with Catholics comprising only 14 percent of Christians in Aotearoa New Zealand. My point here is that there is a divergence of worldviews between Māori and Pākehā that tend to separate literally from 'the beginning' of the world as each culture believes it to be.

Māori leaders such as Sir James Carroll (1857-1926), Sir Āpirana Ngāta (1874-1950), Sir Māui Pōmare (1876-1930), and Sir Peter Buck (1877-1951), were all educated as Protestants (Prendergast, 1997) as they attended Te Aute College, a prestigious Anglican boarding school that was established in 1854 (Chevalier, 2015) for Māori boys in Hawkes Bay (Carey, 2014). These Māori leaders were influential as proponents of Pākehā thought as they believed Māori society should adopt Pākehā values and beliefs while retaining their own Māori identity (M. Durie, 2011). I argue that there was a conflict in belief systems between Māori and Pākehā and this has contributed to the breakdown of the collectivist culture of Māori by the integration of Pākehā individualism through Protestant thought and ethos. This is not a criticism of Christianity and Pākehā individualism but it is pertinent that the different belief systems are made known at the forefront of this thesis because the breakdown of Māori belief and social systems is a contributing factor to the social problems of today.

E. Durie (1994) mentioned how Christian missionaries reduced the role of *rangatira*¹⁹ in Māori societies and eventually eradicated the position. The word '*rangatira*' comes from *raranga* [to weave] and *tira* [group of people], so literally means 'to weave a

¹⁹ Chief, leader.

group of people together’ (Katene, 2013), which underscores the collectivist nature of Māori societies (J. C. Kennedy, 2007). As Martin and Nakayama (2013) noted, the historical cultural beliefs can have significant impact upon a cultural group’s worldviews and philosophies. If that assertion is correct, then this clash between Māori and Pākehā beliefs which commenced literally from ‘the beginning’ is a defining point in the separation of cultural beliefs and values, including the ethos of individualism versus collectivism.

The Arrival

The exact date of arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand is highly contentious (Brooking, 2004) but recent research using radiocarbon methods by Wilmshurst, Hunt, Lipo and Anderson (2011) have indicated that the earliest signs of human presence was between AD 1210 and AD 1385 (Moon, 2013). This is consistent with the stories that have been passed down in the *Tainui*²⁰ tradition (P. T. H. Jones & Biggs, 1995). Regarding the migration to Aotearoa New Zealand on *waka*²¹, Elder (2015) stated that collective work underpinned the ethos of those on board the *waka* so that the long sea journeys could safely arrive at their destinations. The collective work ethic is highlighted in the ethnographical writings of Captain James Cook (1821) when he wrote about his observations of Māori cohesiveness in rowing the *waka* –

I have seen the strokes of fifteen paddles on a side in one of their canoes made with incredible quickness, and yet with such minute exactness of time, that all the rowers seemed to be actuated by one common soul. (p. 35)

Cook’s observations inferred that everyone worked together for the common good in an almost pre-European society. This collective ethos dominated social structures in Aotearoa New Zealand, where Māori were essentially isolated for a period of 400 or 500

²⁰ A term used for the tribes whose ancestors came on the Tainui canoe from Hawaiki.

²¹ Sailing vessel(s), canoe(s).

years during which they developed their language, culture and practices (Biggs, 1994). An example is the shapes and motifs of traditional art forms that changed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (M. King, 2003) and demonstrated collectivistic thought such as *tā moko*²² which represent ancestral lines and tribal affiliation (D. R. Simmons, 1986). The social order that organised Māori life was still focused upon the kinship group as a collective (Henry, 2007; Firth, 2011; Warriner, 2007), which characterises Polynesian social structures (R. S. Black, Mrasek & Ballinger, 2003; Rochat, 2014). Māori had retained this cultural element from Polynesia which was founded upon *whakapapa*.

Social Structures

The literature that has been written about Māori social structures is extensive (H. M. Mead, 2003) and overwhelming supports the idea that collectivism underpinned Māori societies. M. King (2003) emphasised that the entire social grouping of Māori was based upon “the whole cosmography of Māori thought, through *whakapapa* or relationship” (p. 77). Conceptualising the significance of *whakapapa*, E. Durie (1994) wrote that *whakapapa* was a highly developed socio-political tool that allowed flexibility regarding the identification of oneself and one’s group. One feature of *whakapapa* was that it provided the ability to selectively choose lineage to suit the occasion. E. Durie (1994) asserted that *whakapapa* therefore provided much more opportunities to establish relationships with others. But more importantly, as Mikaere (2011) pointed out, *whakapapa* dictates behaviour. *Whakapapa* was also the glue that held pre-European Māori societies together (Love, 2009) and it represented the collective nature of Māori societies (E. Durie, 1994).

Māori social structures were highly stratified and organised (Karen Sinclair, 2001), and were centred upon four principal social groupings. These were *waka*, *inri*²³, *hapū*²⁴, and *whānau* (Katene, 2013). The largest social unit within Māori society was the *waka* (Ballara,

²² Traditional Māori tattoo.

²³ Tribe

²⁴ Subtribe

1998; R. Walker, 2004). It comprised a grouping of tribes that descended from the crew members of one of the *waka* (Winiata, 1956) that first migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand. According to R. Walker (2004), the *waka* served as a loose confederation of *imi* from the same ancestral canoe and generally occupied contiguous territory.

The *imi* is the next largest social unit and consists of a group of people who share a common ancestor and that group is their defining principle of identity and how they are organised (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). *Imi* were named after an important ancestor (Reilly, 2004), and the *imi* were territorial and comprised of smaller *hapū* (Katene, 2013). As *imi* were autonomous political entities (H. M. Mead, 2003), they often fought against each other even within the same *waka* confederation (R. Walker, 2004). However, marriages between individuals from highborn families of different *imi* took place. Winiata (1956) said this was strategic in order to develop relationships between *imi*. This is another example that signifies the importance of connectedness in Māori society.

The *hapū* were subtribes of *imi* and comprised around 200-300 people (R. Walker, 2004; Winiata, 1956). Like *imi*, *hapū* were defined by genealogical descent and connection to other *hapū* within the *imi* (Metge, 1976). R. Walker (2004) wrote that new *hapū* would arise if the existing *hapū* became too large. However, close ties would remain with other *hapū* within the wider *imi*, and they would join forces in solidarity if called upon (Metge, 1976). E. Durie (1994) explained that authority over land would transfer from one *rangatira* of a *hapū* to another as a political act in order to maintain harmonious relationships and unify different groups. The *hapū* was based within their own gated village on tribal land (Winiata, 1956), which included the *marae*²⁵ and *wharenui*²⁶ as the communal centre of the village (Winiata, 1956). The *hapū* was comprised of a number of *whānau*, the most basic social unit (Katene, 2013; R. Walker, 2004).

²⁵ Courtyard and meeting house.

²⁶ Meeting house.

The *whānau* usually consisted of three or four levels of generations including grandparents, parents, children/grandchildren (Winiata, 1956). The *kaumātua*²⁷ were the leaders of the group and were respected for their wisdom (R. Walker, 2004). The *whānau* not only lived together but also worked collectively for their respective labour tasks (Reilly, 2004). The upbringing of children in the *whānau* was a collective responsibility among all *whānau* members (Cooper & Wharewera-Mika, 2011), although grandparents had a particularly close relationship with their grandchildren (Reilly, 2004).

This traditional collective way of living included a set of strict codes of behaviour which was rigorously enforced to ensure social stability and to protect important resources while adhering to traditional values and beliefs (Katene, 2013). The rules of conduct were based upon *tikanga* (H. M. Mead, 2003). E. Durie (1994) clarified the meaning of *tikanga* when he wrote, “*Tikanga* derived from ‘*tika*’, or that which is right or just. ‘*Tikanga*’, may be seen as Māori principles for determining justice” (p. 3). According to Mikaere (2011), *tikanga* was the first law of Aotearoa New Zealand and it was focused on relationships between people and the environment, people and their history, and each other. Moreover, *tikanga* was about creating harmony within the community (Yarwood, 2013).

Although the structure of Māori social order was in operation for hundreds of years, together with the protocols that guided behaviour, they would soon become dismantled with the arrival of the European settlers due to being “philosophically at odds with the settler ethic of individualism” (Mikaere, 2011, p. 196). For example, the private ownership of land (Larner & Spoonley, 1995) and personal responsibility (Bassett, 1998) were settler values that were imported into Aotearoa New Zealand and contributed to the disintegration of the existing collectivist social order. The disintegration of group culture through the processes of colonisation seem to be a contributing factor for the health and social issues faced by Māori, which is discussed later in the section, Crisis: The Health and Social Issues.

²⁷ Elders.

Once Were Healthy

Māori were specimens of good health before the arrival of European settlers. In 1769, Captain James Cook (1728-1779), the English navigator, became the first European to set foot on Aotearoa New Zealand (Moon, 2013). It is in the ethnographic writings of Cook that evidence can be found of high standards of health and social behaviour. On the subject of Māori health, Cook (1821) wrote -

The stature of the men in general is equal to the largest of those in Europe : they are stout, well limbed, and fleshy ; but not fat, like the lazy and luxurious inhabitants of the islands in the South Seas : they are also exceedingly vigorous and active... their teeth extremely regular, and as white as ivory... they seem to enjoy high health ; and we saw many who appeared to be of a great age. (p. 34)

Cook went on to state that Māori consumed only healthy food, with one of the principal food sources being fish, and that Māori had “no means of intoxication, they are, in this particular, happy beyond any other people that we have yet seen or heard of” (Cook, 1821, p. 47). Further, Cook (1821) wrote that “we never saw a single person who appeared to have any bodily complaint” (p. 48). He pointed out that Māori were free of diseases and he was in admiration of the traditional Māori healing methods. Cook also made comments in reference to Māori social behaviours. For example, concerning spousal relationships, Cook (1821) wrote that “dispositions both of the men and women seemed to be mild and gentle : they treat each other with the tenderest affection” (p. 34). Further, Cook (1821) praised Māori “whose carriage and conversation there was as much modesty, reserve, and decorum with respect to actions, which yet in their opinion were not criminal, as are to be found among the politest people in Europe” (p. 38).

In effect, Cook's writings have illustrated a pre-European society that was happy, healthy and disease-free, and where spousal relationships were loving and respectful. Cook's observations suggest that the depicted health and social issues in the public information advertisements were virtually non-existent prior to Pākehā arrival. Interestingly, such positive accounts of pre-European Māori society are very rarely mentioned in contemporary literature or media. Rather, pre-European Māori tended to be framed as savages (Sorrenson, 1975). However, this embodiment of good health as described by Cook was about to change as Aotearoa New Zealand was soon to become home for many British settlers.

The Start of Colonisation

The British progressively settled in Aotearoa New Zealand from around the early 1800s (Keiha & Moon, 2008). Between the years 1820 to 1930, more than 50 million Europeans migrated to colonised lands around the world (Crosby, 1995). The arrival of British settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand saw Māori health deteriorate and high mortality rates due to the ravages of illnesses and diseases that the British brought with them (Keown, 2007; Lange, 1999; C. Macpherson, 2005). Some of the many diseases that were introduced by the British settlers included "viral dysentery, influenza, whooping cough, measles, typhoid, venereal diseases, and the various forms of tuberculosis and similar diseases" (Belich, 1996, p. 173). The British also introduced different foods, alcohol and tobacco, which Māori were encouraged to consume (Lange, 1999), and were a contributing factor towards poor health. The introduction of muskets saw approximately 20,000 Māori killed during what became known as the Musket Wars (Moon, 2013). While the introduction of muskets may not be seen as a health issue, it was a weapon provided by Pākehā which Māori used to kill other Māori in masses. In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed (Buick-Constable, 2005; Magallanes, 2008; Moon, 1999, 2002).

Loss of Land – Loss of Language

By the 1860s, Māori were a minority group in their own country and suffered massive land confiscations (Kingi, 2008; Gilling, 2009; O'Malley, 2014). The term given to the widespread land confiscations is *raupatu* (Mahuta, 2008; McCan, 2001). This was traumatic for Māori primarily as their cultural connection with the land was genealogical, emotional, and spiritual (Waldegrave, King, Walker & Fitzgerald, 2006). The relationship between Māori and the land was further stressed when the Pākehā population began to rename places, regions and historical landmarks (such as mountains and rivers) from the original Māori names that had stories and history behind them, to names of British 'heroes' and existing places within the British Empire (L. T. Smith, 1999).

According to Walters, Beltran, Huh and Evans-Campbell (2011), the renaming of indigenous places serves two primary purposes. First, it erases the indigeneity that is associated with the place; and second, it establishes new ground rules and expectations for people to live by. In other words, the renaming was an exercise in control and ownership of both land and people. This process of renaming further served to disconnect Māori from one another, and to the land, and was essentially a social construction of place by the Pākehā in order to remove Māori identity (Berg & Kearns, 2009). At the beginning of the 20th century, only four and a half million hectares of land, out of nearly 27 million hectares, was in Māori ownership (M. Durie, 2003). The loss of land meant the relationships between Māori and the land were being challenged, which included the spiritual connection to, and the guardianship of it.

Moreover, after the Pākehā settler population became the majority population, the official policy was to replace the Māori language with English (Benton, 1996). By the 1900s, Māori children were banned from speaking the Māori language in schools (Ka'ai-Mahuta; Naylor, 2006). Further, Māori children were physically punished for speaking the Māori language at school, even if they did not know how to speak English (Naylor, 2006;

Selby, 1999). I recall my grandfather saying how he was beaten at school for speaking the Māori language. Despite literally sitting next to his relations in class at school, they could not communicate with each other because the Māori language was banned, and they did not have the ability to communicate in English. Dugassa (2011) argued that the suppression of indigenous languages was a tool of colonisation as it meant that indigenous peoples were forced to adopt not just the language of the coloniser but also the colonial system. The connection to land, language, culture, and each other, was being systematically removed.

Pākehā Privilege

The redistribution of wealth can also be associated with the loss of Māori health and wellbeing. *Raupatu* and land purchases at low cost saw the removal of the Māori economic base (Poata-Smith, 2013). The implementation of other policies gave Pākehā the ability to accumulate economic capital. For example, returning Pākehā soldiers were offered farmlands and vocational training, and given assistance to build or buy houses in towns and cities, under the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act 1915, but Māori soldiers were not eligible for inclusion in this scheme (Consedine & Consedine, 2012; M. King, 1981).

Theories of economics posit that wealth is accrued from land because it is a site of production (George, 2006), market values of land and property increase over time (Ge, 2009), and land has natural resources that are located both above and below the ground (J. M. Harris & Roach, 2013). In effect, the appropriation of land was a forced redistribution of wealth from Māori to Pākehā which allowed Pākehā to accumulate and transfer wealth intergenerationally. According to Banner (2007), most Pākehā of British descent have at some point been purchasers, or descendants of purchasers, of land acquired through either *raupatu* or at low cost from Māori, which has resulted in wealth transfer from Māori to Pākehā. This has contributed to major inequality between Māori and Pākehā in terms of

wealth inheritance (Thorns, 1995). The actual value of the accumulated wealth since colonisation is virtually impossible to estimate (Consedine & Consedine, 2012).

Māori were effectively excluded from both mainstream state housing and also housing loans (Bierre, Howden-Chapman, Signal & Cunningham, 2007; Waldegrave et. al, 2006). Other discriminatory practices disadvantaged Māori. For example, the old age pension was introduced in 1898 but all Māori applications had to go through the Native Land Court, and then the application had to be placed in front of a magistrate, and if they were successful they would receive significantly less than Pākehā (Consedine & Consedine, 2012). This applied to all welfare entitlements as Māori did not receive full entitlements until the late 1940s (Consedine & Consedine, 2012).

Urbanisation

As Māori had suffered significant land loss (A. Harris, 2004) and were unable to support themselves on whatever remaining land they had (Keiha & Moon, 2008), there was a massive urban drift after World War Two (Belich, 2001; Chapple, 2000; Larner & Spoonley, 1995; Tapsell, 2014). Māori could no longer sustain sufficient incomes and were essentially forced to leave behind their ancestral homelands, culture and language, in exchange for the prospects of higher wages in urban areas and to provide a better future for their families (Butterworth, 1972; M. Durie, 2003). In 1926, nine out of ten Māori were living in rural areas (Moon, 2013). However, by the 1970s, seventy percent of Māori were living in towns and cities (R. Walker, 1996); and by the mid-1990s, eighty percent of Māori were effectively urbanised (Moon, 2013). Essentially, in the space of one life span, Māori had moved from being a collective culture of people who lived among their kinfolk, to being urbanised individuals. According to Levine (2001), Māori have become “one of the world’s most urbanised people” (p. 161). However, the initial urban migration was met with resistance as landlords were reluctant to rent their properties to Māori and generally Māori faced much discrimination from Pākehā in urban societies (Moon, 2013). Moreover,

the support networks provided by their *whānau* and *hapū* were becoming obsolete as increasing numbers of Māori moved to the urban areas.

As a result of being deprived of their economic base since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (Poata-Smith, 2013), Māori were primarily employed in unskilled positions predominantly as labourers or other low paid positions (M. Durie, 2003); these occupations are considered part of the proletariat social class (see P. Saunders, 1990; West, 1991). This social position as the working poor was initially driven by government policy that restricted education with the view to training Māori solely for unskilled manual roles within the labour market (Rau & Ritchie, 2011). Thus, Māori were firmly situated within the lower echelon of the labour markets; namely, the freezing works, railway, waterside, coalmining, construction and transport (Poata-Smith, 2013). The periods of economic instability from the mid-1980s meant that Māori suffered disproportionately through a significant decline in income (Peters & Marshall, 1996). However, Māori have always had a much higher rate of unemployment than Pākehā (Obinger, Starke & Kaasch, 2012).

Summary

This section, Māori: The Historical and Socio-political Context, set out to provide a concise overview of the *Māori situation*. By conceptualising the historical and socio-political context, an understanding emerges of why Māori are disproportionately affected by the health and social issues that are featured in the public information advertisements. As this section highlighted, throughout the literature, there is much reference to collectivism in traditional Māori societies. A key theme that was emphasised was the dismantling of Māori social structures through the processes of colonisation. This has contributed to Māori suffering disproportionately in the health and social issues which are discussed in the next section.

Crisis: The Health and Social Issues

The previous section framed the historical and socio-political context of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and is an antecedent to a discussion about the health and social issues that impact upon Māori disproportionately. The relationship between the historical context and Māori health and social outcomes cannot be denied (Anglem, 2014), even though the link between land loss and good health was not highlighted until 1955 (Dow, 1999). Other countries with similar colonial histories also share the same health and social outcomes for their indigenous peoples (Booth & Carroll, 2005; Etemad, 2007; Lashley, 2006). For example, the United States, Canada and Australia were all colonised by the British and are considered as high income countries yet their indigenous peoples suffer the same disparities as Māori (Jackson-Pulver et al., 2010). R. Walker (1996) emphasised that colonised people globally always score lowest across the spectrum relating to issues not just for health but also education and employment.

The purpose of this section is to highlight some of the disparities between Māori and Pākehā within the various health and social statistical data. These health and social issues have provided a rationale for the social marketing interventions that are under scrutiny in this research. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide detailed health and social statistical data within this thesis, so only some of the major issues are presented here. What follows is not enlightening; as M. Durie (2003) pointed out, “There are no surprises. On almost any indicator, such as health, education, employment, offending, home ownership, or income levels, Māori performance is substantially worse” (p. 21).

The layout of this section is essentially a snapshot of key Māori health and social wellbeing literature and statistics. Given that this is a doctoral thesis in the discipline of communication studies, and that the subject matter at hand concerns public information advertisements, I have purposely included visual advertisements (posters, billboards and so forth) that relate to the subsections below in order to complement the narrative and

ground the discussion. The individuals in the visual images appear to be Māori and/or Pasifika, and often the text includes Māori language. Conversely, the final point in this section is a critical discussion of the statistical data which questions the legitimacy of some of the statistics.

Poverty



Figure 2.1 Smokefree (Health Promotion Agency, 2008).

It is fair to say that Māori are generally depicted as being in the lower socio-economic demographic, and often in poverty, within the public information advertisements on television. Poverty can be classified in two forms, *absolute* and *relative* poverty (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1988; Cram, 2011). In absolute terms, poverty means that an individual does not have the resources for subsistence (Abercrombie et al., 1988), while relative poverty implies that an individual or group has fewer resources in comparison to other members of society (Marshall, 1988). However, the concepts of absolute and relative poverty do not provide answers as to who is poor and how poverty is measured (McNeish & Eversole, 2005; Stolley, 2005). Accordingly, the western world generally uses a threshold to determine poverty which is 50 percent and 60 percent of median disposable household incomes before adjustments for housing costs (Boston, 2013).

One of the key indicators of poverty is income (Osorio & Wodon, 2010). The statistical data for the June quarter of 2015 showed that Māori earn \$224 less than Pākehā (European only not other non-Māori) per week on average for all sources collected (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a). Further, Māori had an unemployment rate of 14.1 percent in the year to June 2013, in comparison with Pākehā at 5.3 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). For Māori who are employed, the most common occupational group was labourer (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c), which is a low paid 'blue collar' occupation (J. A. Greene, 2006). The high numbers of Māori who are in unskilled employment have contributed to the disproportionate number of Māori living below the poverty line (Rashbrooke, 2013). For example, one in three Māori children live in poverty compared to one in six Pākehā children (A. B. Smith, 2013). The actual figures of Māori children living in poverty will likely increase given that it is projected that Māori will comprise 32.6 percent of all children in Aotearoa New Zealand by 2038 (Statistics New Zealand, 2016).

Moreover, single-parent families are more likely to be in poverty in comparison to dual-parent families (Dwyer, 2015). Approximately 28 percent of Māori families consist of only one parent with at least one child aged under 18 years, in comparison to 11 percent for Pākehā (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, 2015). The breakdown of the *whānau* goes against the social structures that were in place prior to colonisation as discussed in the previous section. Further, the lived realities of poverty can have both "direct and indirect impacts on health" (Ministry of Health, 2015, p. 11). In other words, being poor means an increased likelihood of having poor health. Poverty also interacts with other social issues such as alcohol and drug abuse, emotional problems, gambling, crime and so forth (Zastrow, 2010). Public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori are a response to those issues.

Life Expectancy



Figure 2.2 My Brother Almost Died (Ministry of Health, 2014).

According to the Ministry of Health (2015), life expectancy in 2013 for Māori males was 73.0 years in comparison to 80.3 years for non-Māori males. For Māori females, it was 77.1 years in comparison to 83.9 years for non-Māori females (Ministry of Health, 2015). While these statistics have provided a snapshot of inequality, a review of older studies has indicated that the gap is closing as Māori life expectancy is increasing. Prima facie, it could be argued that these statistics provide justification for intervention strategies and that the social marketing campaigns and the public information advertisements are tools for that purpose.

Obesity and Related Diseases



Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4. Diabetes (Counties Manukau District Health Board, 2008).

Obesity refers to an excess of fat on the human body (Brewis, 2011). Recent data from the Ministry of Health (2015) revealed that Māori children (5-14 years) were more than twice as likely to be obese than their non-Māori counterparts; while Māori adults (15 years and over) were more than one and a half times as likely to be obese than non-Māori adults. Obesity is a precursor for chronic disease and other medical complications including cardiovascular disease, diabetes mellitus (type two), respiratory disorders, osteoarthritis, gallbladder disease, and cancers, among others (Bassuk & Manson, 2006). Therefore, the high rates of obesity among Māori has contributed to Māori being more than one and a half times as likely than non-Māori to be hospitalised for cardiovascular treatment, twice as likely to have diabetes than non-Māori, 2.8 times as likely to have renal failure than non-Māori, and 1.7 times as likely to have lower limb amputations than non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015).

Tobacco and Alcohol

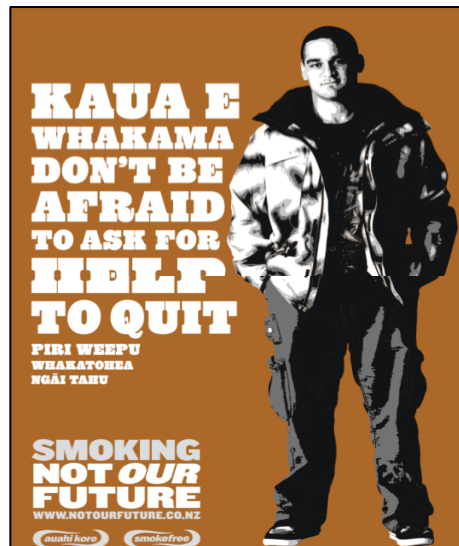


Figure 2.5 Smoking Not Our Future (Health Promotion Agency, 2010).

Māori aged 15 years and over are almost three times more likely to smoke than non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015). The rates are worse for Māori women, which has contributed to them having one of the highest lung cancer rates in the world (M. Durie, 2007). Moreover, Māori women are more likely to continue smoking during pregnancy

(Glover & Kira, 2011). The exposure to secondhand smoke is passed onto Māori children, as they are twice as likely as non-Māori children to be exposed to secondhand smoke at home (Glover et al., 2013).

In terms of alcohol statistics, Māori adults are twice as likely to have consumed more than six standard drinks per occasion (males), and more than four standard drinks (females) at least weekly, than non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015). Clark et al. (2013) found evidence of widespread binge drinking behaviour among Māori secondary school students. A recent study found that 76 percent of Māori aged 18 years and over, and 66 percent of Māori aged between 12-17 years, had identified themselves as binge-drinkers (Hogarth & Rapata-Hanning, 2015). Unfortunately, excessive alcohol consumption feeds into other social issues such as family violence.

Family Violence



Figure 2.6 It's Not Ok (Ministry of Social Development, 2015).

Māori are overrepresented in family violence incidents including intimate partner violence (Marie, Fergusson & Boden, 2008). Māori females are almost six times more likely to be hospitalised due to assault or attempted homicide than non-Māori females (Ministry of Health, 2015). According to documents from the New Zealand Police (2010), Māori

women make up almost 50 percent of women who use the Women's Refuge service.

Further, Māori are more likely to be under the influence of alcohol and drugs at the time of committing family violence (New Zealand Police, 2010). Māori children are also impacted by family violence, as according to Paula Bennett, the Minister of Social Development and Employment, "Māori children are over-represented in abuse and neglect statistics. Māori clients make up half of all findings of abuse" (P. Bennett, 2010, p. 2).

Criticism of Health and Social Statistics

While the health and social issues are concerning, a critical filter should be applied to the statistical data and scholarly literature which provide the rationale for the public information advertisements. For example, in August 2013, the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA) introduced a public information advertisement targeting Māori fathers who drive under the influence of cannabis. The rationale for the campaign was stated by NZTA in promotional material of the advertisement on the StopPress website: "Recent research from the Drug Foundation found that Māori men and women were over 50 percent more likely to have used cannabis in the previous year than men and women in the general population" (Fahy, 2013, para. 10). A recent decision by the Advertising Standards Authority in response to a complaint about the advertisement by a member of the public also verified NZTA's rationale for the advertisement. The Advertising Standards Authority (2015a) stated, "The Advertiser [NZTA] acknowledged the current advertisement was deliberately targeted at Māori. However, it said this was justified by research from the NZ Drug Foundation found that Māori men and women 'were overrepresented in drug driving offences' " (p. 1).

However, I reviewed the New Zealand Drug Foundation (2009) report and identified that it was merely a self-reported online survey in which Māori were statistically underrepresented. The NZTA did not offer any other evidence as a rationale for a drug driving advertisement targeted at Māori which V. Young (2013) stated cost \$250,000 to

produce. Moreover, the New Zealand Drug Foundation report has received criticism for unempirical research (see Lumley, 2012). Road crash statistics overall need to be viewed with caution as documentation that was obtained from NZTA under the Official Information Act 1982 (see Gianotti, 2015) stated that the software for recording crash data only allows for one ethnicity to be entered, and it is not based on self-reported ethnicity, but merely the attending police officer's determination of ethnicity based on observation.

Another example that alludes to error in ethnicity classification is the study by Sandiford, Salvetto, Bramley, Wong and Johnson (2013), who examined the difference between cervical screening rates of Māori women and Pākehā women. They found that “misclassification of ethnicity could explain (in absolute terms) up to 19.5 percent of the 35.0 percent difference in cervical screening coverage rate” (Sandiford et al., 2013, p. 55). In other words, the actual rates of cervical screening coverage for Māori have been undercounted (Sandiford et al., 2013). There are multiple health and social issues where Māori are supposedly overrepresented but upon close examination the ‘evidence’ is dubious. In effect, this questions whether there is a need for social marketing interventions targeted at Māori.

Summary

This section, Crisis: The Health and Social Issues, provided an overview of some of the health and social issues that disproportionately affect Māori. The issues that were presented are a small extraction and therefore not a complete representation of the burdens that affect Māori. More importantly for the purposes of this thesis, the health and social statistics are often the rationale provided for the implementation of social marketing interventions including the public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences. For example, Duncan (2013) stated that “there is no question that the statistics validate social marketing to Māori” (p. 80). The ideology of using the principles and tools

of marketing for socially desirable goals moves to the forefront in the following chapter, Social Marketing, as the narrative is continued.

3 SOCIAL MARKETING

“Why can’t you sell brotherhood and rational thinking like you can soap?” – G. D. Wiebe (1951, p. 679)

The first section of the previous chapter, Māori: The Historical and Socio-political Context, summarised the pre-colonisation social structures of Māori society, and how the processes of colonisation had an effect on the cultural, spiritual and economic foundations of Māori. The second section of the previous chapter, Crisis: The Health and Social Issues, discussed some of the outcomes of colonisation relating to the health and social issues where Māori are disproportionately represented. To counter the unfavourable Māori health and social statistics, both government and nongovernment organisations have implemented social marketing interventions, including public information advertisements. This section continues the story and introduces the idea of social marketing.

What is Social Marketing?

The original idea of social marketing stems from Wiebe (1951) who asked the question, “Why can’t you sell brotherhood and rational thinking like you sell soap?” (p. 679). Andreasen (1994) put forward that the first known attempt to define social marketing can be traced to Kotler and Zaltman (1971) in their paper titled ‘Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change’. Their paper defined social marketing as the implementation of the principles and tools of marketing “to achieve socially desirable goals and includes the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution, and marketing research” (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 5). The wording of this definition shows that it is clearly situated within the domain of marketing and business. In effect, the definition is a duplicate of commercial marketing ideas and principles but with the focus moved towards beneficial social goals. A shortcoming of Kotler and Zaltman’s (1971) definition is the absence of any reference to behaviour, as much of the literature focuses on persuasive behaviour.

A recent definition by Weinrich (2011) described social marketing as “the use of commercial marketing principles and techniques to promote the adoption of a behaviour that will improve the health or well-being of the target audience or of society as a whole” (p. 3). While Weinrich’s modern definition included a reference to behaviour, I maintain that “the adoption of a behaviour” is not always an objective of social marketing. For example, drink driving advertisements encourage the viewers not to drink and drive. As most people do not drink and drive, the campaign is not asking them to adopt a specific behaviour, as already they do not drink and drive. Rather, the campaign promotes avoidance of the particular behaviour, not adoption.

Despite multiple definitions of social marketing, N. Lee and Kotler (2012) have stated that social marketing is still misunderstood by many people. The original definition

by Kotler and Zaltman (1971) which focuses on socially desirable goals is advocated as the starting point, as Donovan (2011a) pointed out, “It is the goal of societal wellbeing that distinguishes social marketing from all other marketing applications and defines what is and what is not *social* marketing” (p. 24). However, one of the crucial elements of marketing that is applied to social marketing is the marketing mix (Hastings, 2007; Peattie & Peattie, 2011). I have included a brief discussion on the marketing mix because it is the backbone of marketing theory (Drummond & Ensor, 2005; Kotler, 2000). Commonly known as the four Ps, the marketing mix comprises product, price, place and promotion, and represents the fundamental foundation of social marketing interventions (N. Lee & Kotler, 2012). The term ‘marketing mix’ was first used in 1953 by Neil Borden in his presidential address to the American Marketing Association (Gordon, 2012). E. J. McCarthy (1960) simplified the original marketing mix into the four Ps. These were later structured in the article by Borden (1964). The following is a summary of E. J. McCarthy’s (1960) marketing mix -

1. Product: A product or service that is offered to consumers.
2. Price: The amount a consumer pays for the above product or service.
3. Place: The location of where the product or service is available for purchase.
4. Promotion: The communications of how the product is promoted to consumers; includes advertising, public relations and direct selling.

The marketing mix has been criticised “for being too simplistic and not broad enough” (Gordon, 2012, p. 124), especially with the introduction of social media platforms and other new media in recent years. Scholars have attempted to extend the traditional marketing mix by introducing additional elements such as the seven Ps of product, price, place, promotion, process, physical evidence and people (Booms & Bitner, 1981); and the eight Ps of product, price, place, promotion, participants, physical assets, process and personalisation (Goldsmith, 1999). Others have created entire new categorisations of the

marketing mix such as the four Cs of consumer, cost, communication and convenience (Lauterborn, 1990). Many variations of the marketing mix have been published. Despite the abundance of adaptations to the original marketing mix, however, the original four Ps continue to dominate marketing thought (Quelch & Jocz, 2008). An application of the marketing mix to social marketing interventions has been developed by Gordon (2012). I have described this below with examples relating back to social marketing initiatives aimed at Māori audiences.

1. Product: Either intangible or tangible. The intangible product is the adoption of an idea or behaviour. In the context of this research, the product could be the adoption of a regular exercise programme by Māori to improve health and fitness, such as *mau rākau*²⁸. The tangible product could be the *taiaha*²⁹.
2. Price: The costs that the target audience must pay which can be psychological, cultural, social, temporal, practical, physical and financial. Using the *mau rākau* example, the cost could include the actual monetary cost of membership to a *mau rākau* group (probably a *kōha*³⁰), the cost of time involved with the group, and so forth.
3. Place: This is where the behaviour is supported and encouraged. Using the *mau rākau* example, this could be the *marae*, community centre or other place of practice.
4. Promotion: This is the communication strategy concerning how the idea or behaviour is promoted to audiences. It includes advertising, public relations and direct selling. Using the *mau rākau* example, this could be word of mouth through *whānau/hapū/imi* contacts and/or their various social media sites, local *imi* radio, community noticeboards and so forth.

²⁸ Traditional Māori martial arts.

²⁹ Long wooden weapon/staff.

³⁰ Offering/donation.

In terms of the practice of social marketing, it is clearly focused on the areas of health promotion, injury prevention, environmental protection, and community mobilisation (Cheng, Kotler & Lee, 2011). I believe it is pertinent to know that social marketing interventions were first used by a totalitarian regime renowned for manipulating the minds of the masses. Germany, under Nazi authority, was the first country to implement social marketing interventions on a national scale with their anti-smoking campaigns in the 1930s and early 1940s (Lengwiler, 2005; Proctor, 1996). Adolf Hitler was used in the promotional advertisements for their social marketing campaigns with one poster stating “Our Fuhrer Adolf Hitler drinks no alcohol and does not smoke... His performance at work is incredible” (Welch, 2003a, p. 164). The term ‘social marketing’ in modern literature is generally not associated with the Nazi anti-smoking campaigns as the term was not defined until the paper by Kotler and Zaltman (1971). Nevertheless, it is important to know that the idea of social marketing was originally a Nazi construction and is therefore not an invention relating to morality.

The west adopted the practice in the 1970s when the United States Agency for International Development “launched the use of social marketing to bring (helpful) products to what was then called the ‘Third World’ and convince poor people to plan their families, rehydrate babies stricken with diarrhea, vaccinate against disease, plant green vegetables etc.” (C. F. Parvanta, 2011, p. 8). Since then, social marketing has been applied in practice to reduce AIDS behaviours, prevent smoking, fight child abuse, promote the use of public health services, combat chronic illnesses, and drink driving (Cheng et al., 2011) among many others. Social marketing uses various communication media to disseminate messages including advertising, public relations, and both traditional and modern forms of media (Cheng et al., 2011). It is the advertisements on television (targeted at Māori audiences) that are the focus of this thesis.

Taxonomies

Before presenting some of the other terms used within the literature relating to social marketing, I would like to highlight a recent confusion that has been fuelled by the rise of interactive user generated web content, or ‘social media’. The rapid expansion of social media (Lipschultz, 2015) has caused confusion for the social marketing discipline (Andreasen, 2012; Cheng et al., 2011; Sundstrom, 2012). There is a false assumption that social marketing is the use of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to promote and sell commercial products, and the misunderstanding is perpetuated when authors misuse the term ‘social marketing’ in publications to refer to commercial marketing practices using Facebook, Twitter and other social media platforms. For example, Gillin and Schwartzman (2011) wrote a book titled *Social Marketing to the Business Customer*. The book was not actually about social marketing; rather it was a guide to using Facebook and other social media platforms for commercial enterprise. Sundstrom (2012) pointed out that the misunderstanding of social marketing is because of the rise of social networking and social media. Andreasen (2012) wrote that there is a naming issue surrounding the practice of what he described as social networking marketing, whilst Cheng et al. (2011) said that the confusion between social marketing and social media is a serious threat “to the identity of social marketing as a field of practice, research and education” (p. 11).

The confusion of what is social marketing and social media marketing has implications for Māori health and wellbeing. At a conference where I presented work from this thesis, I was approached by an individual after my presentation. She said that she thought my presentation was intended to be about using social media for marketing purposes. She explained that she had never heard of social marketing before despite being employed by a government organisation at a regional level that targeted Māori audiences for health issues. The point here is that this was a person involved in social marketing towards Māori audiences – but she was unaware of it.

Other threats to the “identity of social marketing” (Cheng et al., 2011, p. 11) are the multiple terms within the theory and practice that are used interchangeably. It is important to know the various classifications particularly when reviewing the scholarship otherwise the research that is drawn upon could be limited. Within the scholarship, it appears that *social marketing* is the most widely used and accepted term. However, other terms in the literature include idea marketing and concept marketing (Fine, 1981); public issue marketing and social cause marketing (Windahl, Signitzer & Olson, 2009); cause marketing (Hawkins & Mothersbaugh, 2010), societal marketing (McDermott, Stead & Hastings, 2005); social advertising and social issue advertising (O’Cass & Griffin, 2006); issues marketing, social norms marketing and behaviour change marketing (Wymer, Knowles & Gomes, 2006); public relations health campaigns (L’Etang, 2008), public communication (Atkin & Rice, 2012) and even social propaganda (N. O’Shaughnessy, 1996). Health marketing and health communication feature prominently as distinct disciplines and each has academic journals devoted to their respective fields; namely, *Health Marketing Quarterly* and *Health Communication*. Albeit, Kotler and Lee (2008) stated that health promotion is a part of social marketing and the majority of attention in social marketing has been focused towards health (Polsa, 2009).

So, what does this mean for social marketing interventions that are targeted at Māori audiences? It may be harder for practitioners of social marketing (or whatever term is used) to access the most relevant research and information to assist with the design and implementation of interventions targeted at Māori audiences. For the purposes of this thesis, I have adopted the term *social marketing* as it appears to be the most most frequently used term within the literature. The theoretical models that inform social marketing in relation to the persuasion of behaviour within the health and social context are presented in the following section.

Theoretical Models for Persuasion

Firstly, given that social marketing is either a subset (Donovan, 2011a, 2011b; Donovan & Henley, 2003, 2010), sub-discipline (McMahon, 2001), or a distinct discipline within the field of marketing (Cheng et al., 2011), by default social marketing draws upon several disciplines including psychology, economics, sociology, anthropology (Alden, Basil & Deshpande, 2011). However, social marketing requires additional knowledge from public health, social policy and welfare, and criminology, among others (Donovan, 2011a). Moreover, communication theories are also relevant for social marketing as de Mooij (2014) explained that theories of marketing communication are drawn from western communication theory. While a single theory is developed within a particular discipline, the most useful theories are those that travel across disciplines because the theory is applied to different conditions and contexts (Nan & Faber, 2004). Specific theories of communication will be discussed within the methodology chapter.

This subsection focuses on the theoretical models relating to behaviour, as theories of behaviour and behaviour change are the most commonly used theories in social marketing (Donovan, 2011c). The theoretical frameworks are the dominant behaviour theories that inform social marketing (Lotenberg, Schechter & Strand, 2011). As stated by Donovan (2011c), there are many crossovers and similarities of constructs within the various theories of behaviour. The importance of theory to inform social marketing initiatives was highlighted by Darnton (2008) who stated that “intervention strategies should be grounded in theory” (p. 19). This point of view is shared by other scholars (e.g., Manganello & Fishbein, 2009; Nolan, Schultz & Knowles, 2009). Donovan (2011c) provided five reasons why behaviour theoretical models are relevant for social marketing theory and practice. I will describe his five reasons together with my own examples of how Donovan’s (2011c) points are relevant to social marketing interventions concerning Māori.

First, the theoretical models encourage consideration of a particular behaviour and its causes and influences (Donovan, 2011c), which means that the issues that were raised in chapter two, such as colonisation and its effects, would be considered and acknowledged by scholars and practitioners. Second, it may lead to identifying the factors that contribute to the behaviour (Donovan, 2011c), such as unemployment, poverty and so forth. Third, the identified factors can lead to hypotheses for conducting and guiding research (Donovan, 2011c), which provides a starting point for further investigation. Fourth, this can lead to the development of interventions to impact change (Donovan, 2011c), which may include public information advertisements targeted at Māori audiences. And last, evaluations of interventions can result in the refinement of the model (Donovan, 2011c), which can help gauge the effectiveness of campaigns, for example, measuring the reduction of family violence incidents among Māori, or other behaviours.

In terms of theoretical models, 60 theoretical models relating to behaviour and behaviour change were identified by Darnton (2008). A more recent study by R. Davis, Campbell, Hildon, Hobbs and Michie (2015) examined selected literature of four scientific disciplines: psychology, sociology, anthropology and economics. They identified a total of eighty-two theories relating to individual behaviour and behaviour change (see Appendix A). Due to the overwhelming number of theories, many of which overlap (Donovan, 2011c), I have selected the following five theories to discuss as Fishbein et al. (2001) has asserted that these theories include almost all of the variables that have been used to assist understanding and changing human behaviours. Also, the five theories discussed by Fishbein et al. (2001) have been used by other scholars (e.g., Lotenberg et al., 2011) as a starting point for theoretical understanding within the social marketing literature.

The five theories are social cognitive theory, health belief model, theory of reasoned action, theory of self-regulation and self-control, and theory of subjective culture and interpersonal relations (Fishbein et al., 2001). While each theory is relevant to social marketing interventions because there is an overlap of concern regarding health and

persuasion, there is very little research or interventions aimed at Māori that are guided by the theories. Therefore, within the overviews of each theory that follows, I have attempted to interweave how the theories are applicable to Māori health and social issues.

Social Cognitive Theory

According to Pearce (2009), social cognitive theory is one of the most cited and scrutinised theories in the fields of media and mass communication. Social cognitive theory was first proposed by Bandura (1986) as an extension of his version of social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). Bandura (2004) summarised social cognitive theory as having six core determinants: knowledge, perceived self-efficacy, outcome expectations, goals, perceived facilitators, and impediments. I have used tobacco smoking as the main example to apply the theory within the context of this research.

In detail, *knowledge* means that if people do not have knowledge of the risks and benefits then there will be no incentive to change (Bandura, 2004). In relation to Māori, a study of Māori smokers (n=607) by N. Wilson et al. (2009) found that Māori underestimate the extent of the health risks of smoking tobacco and exposure to second hand smoke. In light of that, according to social cognitive theory, social marketing interventions that are aimed at Māori smokers should focus on the health risks.

The second determinant, *perceived self-efficacy*, implies that people must believe that their actions will result in the desired change (Bandura, 2004). Participants in a qualitative study of pregnant Māori women (n=60) by Glover and Kira (2011) felt the amount of tobacco they smoked would not cause harm to their baby so they did not need to quit smoking completely. With that in mind, social cognitive theory implies that social marketing interventions targeted at pregnant Māori women need to emphasise the harm to babies caused by even small amounts of tobacco.

Outcome expectations refer to both the physical outcomes of the behaviour, and the internal and social approval or disapproval of behaviour (Bandura, 2004). According to Glover (2013), the smoking of tobacco by Māori children is predominantly an approval-

seeking behaviour to be similar to Māori adults and significant others. Therefore, in order to reduce smoking by Māori children, social cognitive theory would suggest consideration should be given to targeting Māori adults as role models.

Goals relate to goal-setting and are rooted in value systems (Bandura, 2004). A study by Coffin, Emery and Zwi (1998) aimed to find out why Māori outpatients failed to turn up for outpatient appointments in South Auckland. Māori had a non-attendance rate of 23 percent in comparison to seven percent of Pākehā (Coffin et al., 1998). Of the sample (n=134), 40 percent stated that they lacked the motivation to attend. Some participants said they did not think it was important or could not be bothered (Coffin et al., 1998). As goals require human motivation to be achievable (Bandura, 1999), in this instance social cognitive theory would assert that behaviour change is not possible for this particular group.

Facilitators are elements that will help achieve a goal, whereas *impediments* impact on the performance of achieving a healthy behavioural goal. Bandura (2004) asserted that facilitators and impediments may also be structured socially and economically. The earlier mentioned qualitative study of pregnant Māori women (n=60) by Glover and Kira (2011) found that all of the participants lived with at least one other smoker which impeded their quitting. This could suggest that social marketing interventions that are targeted at pregnant Māori women should consider targeting their spouses and *whānau* too.

Much of the research has focused on the *outcome expectations* section of social cognitive theory that appears to have strong similarities with social learning theory. For example, Silk (2009) claimed that the focus of social cognitive theory is that people will decide to engage in certain behaviour based upon their observations of whether the behaviour is either reinforced or punished. It is in effect the modelling of behaviour by important others (Dumont, 2000) that constructs standards of right and wrong and creates guidelines for behaviour (McAlister & Wilczak, 2015). This is highly applicable to Māori

who value the social approval of others (Glover, 2013). Donovan (2011c) pointed out that the constructs of this theory and those of the health belief model (below) are similar.

Health Belief Model

According to Mechanic and McAlpine (2000), the health belief model is the most widely used model within health scholarship. Berry (2007) stated that the health belief model was first proposed by Rosenstock (1966) who established the model to explain health behaviour. The crux of the health belief model is centred upon a psychological cost-benefit analysis (Mechanic & McAlpine, 2000) where an individual is more likely to take positive action if they perceive a potential health threat (Berry, 2007). There are six elements of the health belief model (Donovan, 2011c; Kotler, Shalowitz & Stevens, 2008; S. A. Parvanta & Parvanta, 2011; Pitts, 1998; R. K. Thomas, 2006). I have used diabetes mellitus as the main example to demonstrate the theory within the context of this research.

First, there needs to be a *perceived susceptibility* for being at risk of the health condition, and second, the individual must realise the *perceived severity* of the condition (Rosenstock, 1966). Both elements require a certain degree of knowledge about the condition itself. The study by Lawrenson, Joshy, Eerens and Johnstone (2010) found that Māori participants with diabetes mellitus had lower perceived levels of knowledge about the condition than non-Māori. With that in mind, social marketing interventions targeted at Māori should be educational with the aim of increasing knowledge about diabetes mellitus, including the statistic that Māori are twice as likely as non-Māori to have diabetes mellitus (Ministry of Health, 2015).

Third, the *perceived benefits* of intervention must be believed (Rosenstock, 1966). The study by Ihaka, Bayley and Rome (2012) found that many Māori with diabetes had not visited a podiatrist within the year leading up to the study. Foot checks are required annually to prevent complications including ulceration, gangrene and amputation. While this finding could mean several things, it is possible that participants did not perceive the benefits of podiatry checks. Hence, the health belief model would infer that a social

marketing intervention should emphasise the benefits of preventative care to Māori with diabetes mellitus.

Fourth, the *perceived barriers* to interventions must be known (Rosenstock, 1966). The study by D. Simmons et al. (1998) found that Māori participants (n=373) believed that the main barrier to diabetes care was a shortage of community based services. Other barriers included a limited range of services, the personal costs of care, and a lack of knowledge about diabetes. The aforementioned barriers can guide the design and delivery of social marketing interventions. For example, social marketing interventions targeted at Māori who live in isolated rural Māori communities are unlikely to succeed if diabetes services are unavailable in those areas.

Fifth, the individual must have *perceived self-efficacy* to perform the action (Rosenstock, Strecher & Becker, 1988). This is the same element as described in social cognitive theory. And lastly, the individual must have *perceived cues to action* (Rosenstock, 1966), such as internal (symptoms of disease) or external (advertising and so forth). A recent news article about Māori in the Rotorua area with diabetes mellitus quoted local doctor, Harry Pert, as saying, “It’s a disease that doesn’t really have symptoms for the vast majority” (Malcolm, 2015, para. 8). Therefore, in this case, Māori with diabetes mellitus would probably have to rely on external cues to action such as public information advertisements.

Theory of Reasoned Action

The theory of reasoned action was introduced by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) and has been widely used as a theory of persuasion (K. Greene, 2009). Donovan (2011c) stated that the theory of reasoned action influenced the development of the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1988) and the theory of trying (Bagozzi & Warshaw, 1990). The theory of reasoned action considers that behaviour is determined by intention, which is itself determined by attitude and subjective norm (Delamater, 2000). The reference to attitude relates to the likely consequences of the behaviour and the evaluations of those outcomes

(Antonides, 2008; Donovan, 2011c). The reference to subjective norm concerns the individual's reactions of other important persons or groups, as well as the value placed on the opinions of those other persons or groups (C. F. Parvanta, Nelson, Parvanta & Harner, 2011). Giles and Billings (2004) summarised this theory when they stated "an action is viewed quite simply as a person's *intention to perform* (or not perform) a behavior" (p. 201).

In terms of applying this theory to Māori health and wellbeing, a study of unlicensed driving among urban and rural Māori drivers (n=824) found that unlicensed driving experiences by rural Māori drivers was more common than among urban Māori drivers (McDowell, Begg, Connor & Broughton, 2009). The study also identified that 83 percent of rural Māori drivers had never been stopped by the police while driving, and of both urban and rural Māori drivers who had been stopped by the police, rural Māori drivers were more likely than urban drivers to receive a warning (urban: 12 percent, rural: 37 percent). In other words, unlicensed rural Māori drivers were less likely to get caught and more likely to receive no punishment if caught. In this regard, according to the theory of reasoned action, there are no likely consequences for unlicensed driving in rural areas so Māori rural unlicensed drivers are less likely than Māori urban unlicensed drivers to change their behaviour.

Theory of Self-Regulation and Self-Control

The theory of self-regulation and self-control is considered a part of social cognitive theory (L. E. Burke & Turk, 2014). Self-regulation is essentially any act by an individual that is intentional or purposeful (Heatherton & Baumeister, 1996). Heatherton and Baumeister (1996) wrote that self-regulation is successful when behaviours by individuals are purposeful and set goals are achieved. The theory of self-regulation and self-control is summarised as the processes of self-regulation that lead to behaviour satisfaction and thereby either continuation of a particular behaviour, self-corrective action or discontinuation of the behaviour (Fishbein et al., 2001).

de Ridder and de Wit (2006) asserted three criteria for self-regulation models, namely: (1) the explicit consideration of goals, (2) the individual as an active agent and decision-maker, and (3) emphasising volition in goal seeking. This theory has similarities to the goal aspect of Bandura's social cognitive theory as described earlier. As already mentioned, goals require human motivation to be achievable (Bandura, 1999). As the study by Coffin et al. (1998) found that 40 percent of Māori participants lacked the motivation to attend outpatient appointments, the theory of self-regulation and self-control would suggest that behaviour change is unlikely for those participants.

Theory of Subjective Culture and Interpersonal Relations

As I have reviewed a range of literature relating to the above theoretical models, I have found that this theory, originally penned by Triandis (1972), distinctively stands above the others in relation to this research. In this theory, the values and norms of the cultural group and the social environment are emphasised as key influencers of individual behaviour (Triandis, 2002). Triandis (1997) wrote about the development of his theory and how he attempted to illustrate the relationship between culture and social behaviour.

Adamopolous and Kashima (1999) stated that to conceptualise subjective culture it is best to “think of categories, attitudes, norms, and values as *causes* of individual behavior” (p. 2). The theory asserts that social behaviour can be predicted in collectivistic cultures by group norms and memberships, context, age and gender, and social relations (Triandis & Gelfand, 2012). In my opinion, this theory provides a conceptual framework to understand certain types of behaviour with regard to the health and social statistics that were presented earlier in Crisis: The Health and Social Issues, which should be taken into consideration together with the colonisation processes that were discussed in Māori: The Historical and Socio-political Context.

Māori and Indigenous Theories

An omission of the above theoretical models concerns Māori and indigenous theoretical frameworks. There is ample literature about the statistics and effects of the

health and social issues for Māori, and models of Māori health based upon analogies, such as Te Whare Tapa Whā (M. Durie, 1994), but there are no empirically-tested Māori and indigenous theories that provide *explanations* for the behaviour. For example, Glover (2005) wrote that Te Whare Tapa Whā “can facilitate comprehension and assist the design of interventions aiming to deliver holistically” (p. 19). However, it is my opinion that the existing models of Māori health seem to be presented as how Māori health *should* be rather than identifying causal factors. More research needs to be conducted for Māori and indigenous theories to have any influence on Māori health and wellbeing.

Social Marketing in Aotearoa New Zealand

It is reasonable to suggest that many New Zealanders have observed social marketing campaigns in one format or another. In chapter one I provided some examples of some of the well-known campaigns in Aotearoa New Zealand³¹. These campaigns are merely a fragment of the plethora of social marketing campaigns in Aotearoa New Zealand, most of which are directly or indirectly funded by the state (Mallard, 2003).

One of the early high profile applications of social marketing within Aotearoa New Zealand is the road safety campaign that began in October 1995 and was based on an Australian model (T. Macpherson & Lewis, 1998; New Zealand Transport Agency, 2013; Rotfeld, 1999). Other government organisations followed suit, such as the Children, Young Persons and their Families Service (now known as Child, Youth and Family), as two of their communications staff wrote “In late 1996 Colmar Brunton introduced us to the concept of social marketing” (Susie Hall & Stannard, 1998, p. 7) to counter child abuse. According to Bridges (2009), the 2000s saw a proliferation of social marketing campaigns in Aotearoa New Zealand, which is not surprising given that along with Australia, Canada

³¹ Ease up on the drink (Health Promotion Agency, 2013), Keep looking while you're cooking (New Zealand Fire Service, 2007), Know me before you judge me (Health Promotion Agency, 2003), Don't drink and fry (New Zealand Fire Service, 2007), Eat 5+ a day (5+ A Day Charitable Trust, 2007), Drop, cover, hold (Ministry of Civil Defence & Emergency Management, 2012), Smoking not our future (Health Promotion Agency, 2006), Man Up! And give prostate cancer the finger (Prostate Cancer Foundation, 2015), Swim between the flags (Surf Life Saving New Zealand, 2008), C'mon guys get firewise (New Zealand Fire Service, 2011), Breakfast-eaters have it better (Health Promotion Agency, 2007), Slip, slop, slap and wrap (Health Promotion Agency, 2009).

and the United States, Aotearoa New Zealand has a growing number of social marketing programmes (Truss, Marshall & Blair-Stevens, 2009) embedded within their health systems (Hastings, 2009).

In October 2003, Trevor Mallard, then the Minister of State Services, Minister of Education, Minister for Sport and Recreation, among other portfolios, gave a speech at a social marketing conference in Wellington. Below are two extensive quotes that were extracted from Mallard's speech. I have purposely included the two direct quotes because the discourse provides an insight into the government's perspective of social marketing in Aotearoa New Zealand -

Increasingly, agencies are using social marketing in order to promote positive behaviour change. This is a relatively new concept for New Zealand, but the profession first evolved in the 1970s. It was then realised that the same marketing principles that were being used to sell products to consumers could be used to promote or 'sell' ideas and behaviours – and could be integrated into policy development and service delivery. There are now many social marketing programmes, most of them taxpayer funded, underway in New Zealand. (Mallard, 2003, para. 4-8)

In New Zealand, as in many countries, government agencies are seeking new and creative approaches to resolve long-standing social problems. For these reasons social marketing to influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences is now being applied to a wide variety of social issues. As the government, we invest in social marketing programmes for one important reason: we want to create positive social change. And because we can't do it ourselves, we must hand these programmes over to the public sector and their partners to conduct. And so we rely on you and your colleagues; on your managers and your staff; to do this well.

We ask you to spend the public money effectively, to get results, to create social change, to do good work and to conduct yourselves ethically on our behalf and on behalf of New Zealand citizens. (Mallard, 2003, para. 21-25)

Mallard's speech was representative of the political ideologies of the Labour government. Millard (2010) noted the social marketing landscape in Aotearoa New Zealand grew substantially under the reign of the fifth Labour government (December 1999 to November 2008). The government's endorsement of social marketing as an intervention for the health and social issues has seen the social marketing oligopoly in Aotearoa New Zealand turn into a lucrative industry based upon creative ideas that are designed to persuade people to change their behaviour. Within Aotearoa New Zealand, the public's exposure to social marketing is often in the form of television advertisements, or public information advertisements, which is introduced next.

Public Information Advertisements

Social marketing campaigns use a range of communication channels to disseminate messages to their target audiences including advertisements, public relations, media, events, and sponsorship (Cheng et al., 2011). Māori perspectives of advertisements that are part of social marketing campaigns are essentially the phenomenon that is under scrutiny in this doctoral research. Dunn and Barban (1986) defined advertising as the "paid, nonpersonal communication through various media by business firms, nonprofit organizations, and individuals who are in some way identified in the advertising message and who hope to inform or persuade members of a particular audience" (p. 7). Persuasion is an underlying aspect of advertising. As J. O'Shaughnessy and O'Shaughnessy (2004) pointed out, effective advertising is persuasive advertising and anything that is not persuasive is completely missing the point. An advertisement is biased and holds a viewpoint, and it

includes particular symbols and language that are deliberately designed with purpose to resonate with the intended audience or target public (Sheehan, 2004).

In terms of advertising on television, which is a focus of this thesis, the first television advertisement of any type was screened in the United States on WNBC at 2:29:50 pm on the 1st of July 1941 (Samuel, 2001). Television advertising quickly became a profitable investment for advertisers (Culbert, 2003), as they could showcase their products and services in the living rooms of consumers. Television advertising in Aotearoa New Zealand commenced in 1961 (Television New Zealand, n.d.) although it was limited to six minutes per hour (Debrett, 2010). By 1966 most of the country could receive a television signal (Lealand, 2012) which gave advertisers access to a captive audience. According to the Advertising Standards Authority (2015b), television advertising in Aotearoa New Zealand (excluding online television) generated a turnover of \$614 million in 2014. That figure equates to 25.7 percent of all advertising turnover in Aotearoa New Zealand for 2014.

While television advertising is dominated by corporate interests, government and non-profit organisations also use television advertising to persuade health and social behaviours (Cheng et al., 2011). As already pointed out in chapter one, this type of advertising is commonly known in the United States as public service announcements or public service advertisements (Fine, 1981; Freitag & Quesinberry Stokes, 2009; Samuel, 2001). The public service advertisement is the most common and popular medium of social marketing (Cheng & Chan, 2009). In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, Johnson (2011) has named this form of television advertising as public information advertising. This form of advertising has several benefits to social marketers including the potential for communicating to mass audiences. Further, as Gerbner and Gross (1976) pointed out, television is generally free and unlike newspapers it “does not require literacy” (p. 176) which means it can reach a wider audience.

As earlier noted, one of the first notable cases of public information advertising in Aotearoa New Zealand was the road safety campaign that began in October 1995 (New Zealand Transport Agency, 2013). The initial costs for the road safety advertisements were around \$7 million per year (T. Macpherson & Lewis, 1998). At around the same time as the introduction of the road safety advertisements, public information advertisements aimed at eliminating abusive behaviour towards children also began appearing on television (Stannard, Hall & Young, 1998), followed by others such as tobacco control in 1996 (Li, Newcombe & Walton, 2015) which became more frequent from 2002 because of increased government funding (Laugesen, 2003). In the 2007-2008 financial year, NZ\$100 million was spent on public information advertisements (Millard, 2010; P. Taylor, 2007).

Millard (2010) found that in the year ending 2008, there were 52 separate social marketing campaigns by government agencies, all of which included “television and print advertising, as well as websites and other marketing activities” (p. 5). In other words, public information advertisements were a key communication tool in the overall social marketing strategy. It is difficult to accurately determine the exact number of public information advertisements by government agencies and non-government organisations (NGOs) in Aotearoa New Zealand because of the large number of campaigns, government agencies and NGOs. However, a representative from Nielsen Media Research advised that there were 4779 television advertisements from January 2006 to 20 August 2013 classified as ‘government department’ (J. Rowdon, personal communication, August 20, 2013).

Nielsen Media Research supplied a list of all television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand that were classified as ‘government department’ from January 2010 to July 2013. The list included 2384 television advertisements. However, upon perusal of the list I ascertained that not all of the television advertisements could be considered public information advertisements because some were promotional advertisements; for example, student recruitment advertisements by universities. Nevertheless, this confirms that the industry that developed in the 2000s (Bridges, 2009; Millard, 2010) was still present. Many

of the interventions, including public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences, were developed because of the health and social statistics of Māori that were presented in Crisis: The Health and Social Issues.

Targeting Māori Audiences

This thesis now explores the targeting of Māori audiences. First, I will explain audience segmentation and targeting as both are essential components of social marketing (Donovan & Henley, 2003; N. Lee & Kotler, 2012; Lotenberg et al., 2011; Tones & Green, 2004). Lotenberg et al. (2011) directed that the segmentation process uses three steps, which are -

1. Segmentation: dividing a market or audience into groups based on one or more criteria.
2. Targeting: determining which of those groups to target.
3. Developing product positioning and marketing strategies tailored to the specific needs and wants of each target group. (p. 125)

In effect, individuals are classified in different ways that take into consideration geographic factors, demographic factors, psychographic factors, and behavioural factors (Kotler, Armstrong, Saunders & Wong, 1999). This is the standard approach of segmentation from marketing (Kotler & Keller, 2012). The idea of market segmentation is essentially formed upon generalisations which may aid or inhibit the message getting through to the right people. For example, people who share the same demographic factors may not necessarily share the same beliefs and attitudes. The empirical justification for market segmentation may sometimes seem to be lacking but the practice is firmly entrenched (Tonks, 2009).

Regarding the segmentation and targeting of Māori, there is a gap in the scholarship, which was also mentioned in two recent master's dissertations on Māori marketing and advertising (see Boyes, 2010; Coral Palmer, 2014). I put forward two reasons for this. Firstly, there are low numbers of Māori academic staff at universities in Aotearoa New Zealand (M. Durie, 2009; Pihama, 2001) and even fewer within the communication and marketing disciplines. For example, Weaver (2013) claimed that there was only one Māori public relations scholar in the country. Moreover, Duncan (2013) highlighted that the intersection of Māori scholars and marketing is generally focused on cultural appropriation. The absence of Māori scholars in the various associated disciplines means that research about Māori communication and marketing is not undertaken. Another reason why Māori have been neglected by commercial marketers is because they have low incomes and therefore low discretionary spending (Krisjanous & Love, 2005). The flow on effect is that Māori are perceived as being unworthy of consumer status and are therefore not targeted by advertisers (Duncan, 2013). If Māori are not considered to be target audiences, then that would explain the absence of research.

The view that Māori are neglected by commercial marketers is substantiated by a study that examined the television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand that had at least one person depicted (see Dana & O'Sullivan, 2007). I briefly touched on this in chapter one but will explain it further here. The results concluded that Māori and Pasifika people were featured in only 0.98 percent of health and beauty product television advertisements and in 3.6 percent of consumer goods television advertisements. In contrast, Māori featured in 45.65 percent of television advertisements by government and non-government organisations (e.g., charities and so forth). In other words, Māori characters generally appear in only public information advertisements – state funded and purposely designed for Māori audiences to persuade their behaviours for the benefit of society. This is concerning; if Māori are only seen in advertisements as deficit characters, then that can lead to stereotyping which is discussed in the next chapter.

Notwithstanding stereotyping issues, the targeting of Māori audiences in public information advertisements can be identified through the use of cultural signs, which is in line with Appiah's (2004) perspectives of identification theory and distinctiveness theory in relation to advertising. Culturally embedded advertisements are rich in cultural cues pertaining to the characters, values, symbols, and material objects (Appiah, 2004). For example, Māori characters and actors, Māori cultural rituals, and *taonga*³² such as *tā moko*³³, *pounamu*³⁴, and images of *tupuna*³⁵, *marae*³⁶ and *wharenui*³⁷ are present within the public information advertisements. The presence of specific Māori cultural signs in public information advertisements implies Māori are the intended target audience.

Moreover, in certain circumstances the government organisation or NGO responsible for particular public information advertisements will stipulate Māori are the target audience when directly asked. For example, documentation obtained from NZTA under the Official Information Act 1982 (see Gianotti, 2015) acknowledged that "Māori have been identified as a high risk group in alcohol-related crashes when the Transport Agency builds an audience profile for road safety advertising campaigns" (Gianotti, 2015, p. 3). In other times, contracted researchers for government organisations, like Li and Grigg (2007), have written in their publications that there are "some television advertisements specifically targeting Māori" (p. 16). However, generally speaking, government organisations or NGOs are not forthcoming about the fact that they target Māori audiences. The government organisations, NGOs, and advertising agencies that design and produce the public information advertisements are effectively agents of social control.

³² Cultural treasures.

³³ Traditional Māori tattoo.

³⁴ Greenstone.

³⁵ Ancestors.

³⁶ Courtyard and meeting house.

³⁷ Meeting house.

Agents of Social Control

As already stated, most of the social marketing campaigns in Aotearoa New Zealand are initiated by the state. In some instances, NGOs also engage in social marketing, often in conjunction with corporations or sponsors. Fundamentally, all of the organisations behind the public information advertisements are *agents of social control*, a critical sociological term which Bruce and Yearley (2006) defined as “a variety of agencies that contribute to ensuring that members of society conform” (p. 7). From a critical perspective, it could be argued that an underlying principle of social marketing is conformity to societal values and norms. Moreover, it is pertinent to mention that agents of social control often have altruistic responsibilities such as police officers who exist to regulate the behaviour of individuals so they conform to the established rules of society (Ikuteyijo, 2014).

The identification of agents of social control is important, as Daniels, Glickstein and Mason (2013) asserted, to find out “what the real message is about comes from knowing who is behind the message and why” (p. 265). This is similar to Herman and Chomsky’s (1988) propaganda model that places an emphasis on understanding the motive of the message by identifying who is behind it. Also of significance for this research, Māori culture suggests that if the message is important enough to be heard, then whoever is behind the message should show their face i.e., *kanohi ki te kanohi*³⁸. The Māori cultural concept of *kanohi kitea*³⁹ applies to public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori because it relates to credibility. As L. T. Smith (1999) asserted, *kanohi kitea* is to do with “how one’s credibility is continually developed and maintained” (p. 15).

As previously mentioned, Nielsen Media Research provided a list of all television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand that were classified as ‘government department’ from January 2010 to July 2013 (J. Rowdon, personal communication, August 20, 2013).

³⁸ Face-to-face.

³⁹ The seen face.

Having read the list to determine which advertisements appear to be public information advertisements as tools of marketing to achieve socially desirable goals, I have extracted the names of the various government organisations and NGOs (during the period January 2010 to July 2013). The list is included as Appendix B.

Furthermore, supplementary to the government organisations and NGOs, I have included the All-of-Government advertising services list (see Appendix C). Only those agencies that are included on the All-of-Government list can supply advertising services to government organisations. Cortese (2008) refers to those behind advertising and media services as gatekeepers and says they are “typically white, middle-aged, male, middle and upper-middle class, and heterosexual” (p. 15). The following image is a photograph from the 2014 Axis Awards of the Communication Agencies Association of New Zealand, of the Grand Axis winner, Clemenger BBDO. They won the Grand Axis award for the design and production of the Blazed drug driving advertisement that targeted Māori fathers about drug driving.



Figure 3.1 Grand Axis Winners 2014 (Communication Agencies Association of New Zealand, 2014).

Besides Taika Waititi who is pictured kneeling in the front left, most but not all of the others appear to fit Cortese’s (2008) description of gatekeepers. The people in the image are not representative of the demographic makeup of Aotearoa New Zealand. The

ownership of Clemenger BBDO has a complex multi-layered structure and is ultimately owned by Omnicom Group in New York. Having read the list of government-accredited advertising agencies, it appears that at least twenty of the agencies are owned by large overseas corporations such as Omnicom Group (US), WPP (British), Publicis (French), and Interpublic Group (US) – the four largest dominant advertising groups globally (Wharton, 2015). The use of foreign-owned multinational advertising corporations to design messages targeted at persuading Māori audiences is the starting point of criticisms of social marketing.

Criticisms of Social Marketing

More than twenty years ago Ropiha (1994) wrote concerning health messages to Māori that the “most easily identifiable effective message is one created by Māori, for Māori, within a Māori context” (p. 7). However, the local subsidiaries of the foreign-owned multinational advertising corporations that create the public information advertisements which are targeted at Māori audiences are predominantly staffed by Pākehā. This is established simply by perusing the staff profile pages of those advertising agencies, and is verified by Krisjanous and Love (2005) who wrote –

...in the practice arena, there are still few local communications agencies with specialist skills aimed at attracting or communicating with the Māori consumer in their own country. Furthermore, there appears to now be a substantial lag in developing and integrating Māori segmentation and indigenous marketing communication practices into mainstream marketing methods and education. (p. 29)

The lack of Māori staff and Māori-owned agencies is problematic as it means that messages to persuade Māori behaviour are designed by Pākehā. As Tremaine (1990)

correctly asserted, “communication between Māori and Pākehā can often be difficult. The major problem is that the conceptual depth and breadth of Māori culture is not understood by most Pākehā” (p. 49). Tilley and Love (2005) put forward that Māori wellbeing can be detrimentally affected by campaign messaging that has been designed on a foundation of inaccurate research findings. This goes hand in hand with the gap in the literature concerning targeting Māori audiences that was discussed earlier. In other words, not only is there a shortage of scholars, but there are also very few practitioners in the area of communicating with Māori, such as social marketing.

At a wider level, a recent study by Madill, Wallace, Goneau-Lessard, MacDonald and Dion (2014), could not locate any summary literature reviews about social marketing to indigenous peoples anywhere. This proved that more research needs to be undertaken on a global scale pertaining to communicating with indigenous peoples. Regardless of ethnicity, there seems to be a general absence of social marketing literature within Aotearoa New Zealand. Bridges and Farland (2003), both of whom are seasoned practitioners, stated that social marketing “is not an area that is well-researched in New Zealand” (p. 5).

A reading list of academic literature on social marketing from the University of Auckland (2015) contains 35 publications, but none of them appear to be based within an Aotearoa New Zealand context. A cursory search of ‘social marketing’ of institutional repositories of New Zealand universities confirm a lack of scholarship in this area. Institutional repositories are online databases that are housed within a university website, that collect, store and distribute research that is produced within that institution (Theodorou, 2010); including doctoral theses, master’s dissertations and articles by university staff for publication in academic journals.

Government organisations that implement social marketing campaigns have demonstrated concerns about the absence of research within national settings. For example, the Ministry of Health’s National Breastfeeding Advisory Committee (2008) stated “there is limited robust evidence about the influence of social marketing in a New

Zealand context on rates of breastfeeding” (p. 80). So why have I dedicated a page arguing about the need for more research? The answer is simple. The lack of research about social marketing in Aotearoa New Zealand means that interventions have not been guided by theory. As R. Davis et al. (2015) correctly asserted, “To maximise the potential efficacy of interventions, it is necessary to understand behaviour and behaviour change; in other words, it is necessary to have a theoretical understanding of behaviour change” (p. 324).

While I have already mentioned that behaviour change is not the sole goal of social marketing, the point is that theory should guide the design, implementation and evaluation of any type of communication campaign (Hornik & Yanovitzky, 2003). This does not seem to be the norm in Aotearoa New Zealand. An example is the 55-page research report commissioned by the Ministry of Health titled, *Public Health Depression Initiative: A Review of Depression Campaigns – Lessons for New Zealand* (Nemec, 2005). This report does not include the words ‘theory’, ‘theoretical’, or ‘model’, anywhere within the text.

This then raises the question surrounding the efficacy of social marketing. While the purpose of this thesis is not concerned with efficacy but rather perspectives, it is a fair assumption to say that if effectiveness is measured by statistics, then it does not seem to be working as Māori are still situated at the wrong end of the spectrum for health and social statistics. This is substantiated by the public information advertisements aimed at reducing incidences of child abuse that commenced in May 1995. The government organisation behind the campaign, the Children, Young Persons and their Families Service (now known as Child, Youth and Family), wrote in their own magazine that the social marketing initiative had made “considerable progress and with increasing awareness and self-reported behaviour change, especially with Māori and Pacific Islands people” (Susie Hall & Stannard, 1998, p. 11). However, it does not appear to have had any impact on outcomes as Māori children are 5.5 times more likely (and Pacific children 4.8 times more likely) to die from child abuse than other New Zealand children (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2014).

Other government organisations have also overstated the effects of their public information advertisements, such as the Land Transport and Safety Authority (now known as the New Zealand Transport Agency). A study found “little evidence to suggest that road safety or drink-drive television advertising made any change in drink-driving behaviour” (T. Macpherson & Lewis, 1998, p. 50). However, in fairness, the efficacy of social marketing is difficult to quantify. For example, the public information advertisements for road safety are merely one contributing factor to the increase or decrease of road crash fatalities. Other contributing factors are vehicle manufacturing, road design, increase or decrease in police traffic enforcement hours and so forth.

Hence, various studies use caution when attempting to measure efficacy with their findings. For example, a study that examined 54 social marketing interventions found that “social marketing principles could be effective across a range of behaviours” (Stead, Gordon, Angus & McDermott, 2007, p. 126). While a similar study was more cautious and inserted the standard academic disclaimer: “More studies on social marketing effectiveness aimed at measuring behavior change are needed” (Helmig & Thaler, 2010, p. 278). Moreover, the government organisations, the NGOs, and the advertising agencies will now often measure the effectiveness of their campaigns based upon audience recall of a public information advertisement, statistics of website visits, social media ‘likes’, and so forth. However, none of those measurements are an indicator of change.

Whether public information advertisements have the ability to impact change has been noted by some scholars who have questioned whether television is the appropriate medium to promulgate messages for behaviour persuasion. For example, Wolburg (2001) said that the anti-consumption messages of “don’t smoke”, “don’t drink”, “don’t do drugs”, were out of place in an escapist environment of television, and that public information advertisements such as anti-drinking messages were broadcast alongside alcohol advertising and therefore “would hardly stand a chance against the upbeat creative commercial products with their sometimes-humorous appeals to sex, super-human stunts

and other youthful fantasies” (p. 472). This raises legitimate questions concerning government expenditure for initiatives that may not have any chance of success.

On the subject of government involvement, this inherently implies that power imbalances exist simply because the state is an authority and is directing the citizenship to take action. The construct of power in which one group controls another group (van Dijk, 1993a) can impede communication (Wagner & Hollenbeck, 2015). Not only are there power imbalances in social marketing (Donovan & Henley, 2010) but there are also issues of historical and existing power imbalances between Pākehā and Māori (Bishop, 2005, 2009; 2012; McCreanor, 2005), as already discussed in part during Māori: The Historical and Socio-political Context. Duncan (2013) extrapolated on this by an assessment of three social marketing print advertisements targeted at Māori and concluded that the goal of the advertisements was to “devalue Māori-centred value systems by replacing them with European lifestyles, social values, and gender roles as the ideal and desired way of living” (p. 85).

Moreover, on a macro level, some scholars have questioned whether the state should be involved at all with the affairs of the citizenry. This is reiterated by Henley (2006), who asked whether governments have the right to interfere with the choices of individuals -

Should individuals be free to make lifestyle decisions (such as what, when and how much to eat and how much physical activity to take), without undue interference from the state, even when their decisions may lead to negative consequences (obesity, heart disease, diabetes)? (Henley, 2006, para. 1)

The involvement of the state and other agents of social control (as discussed in the previous subsection), who aim to persuade certain behaviours and actions through social marketing, brings the discussion into a political sphere. This prompts a need to revisit the

original definition of social marketing by Kotler and Zaltman (1971) that was presented in the earlier subsection, What is Social Marketing? The definition includes the “control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas” (Kotler & Zaltman, 1971, p. 5). With this in mind, the ideology of social marketing has similarities with social engineering which is defined as “Planned social change and social development; the idea that governments can shape and manage key features of society” (Marshall, 1998, p. 611). However, generally speaking, although social marketing has positive connotations and social engineering is associated with totalitarianism and oppression (A. Kennedy & Parsons, 2014), the underlying philosophies of both are unified.

This viewpoint is expanded upon in the book, *Endless Propaganda: The Advertising of Public Goods*, by Rutherford (2000), in which he declared that this type of advertising is “an instrument of domination in a much wider apparatus of disciplinary power” (p. 10). Influenced by the works of Habermas, Gramsci and Foucault; Rutherford (2000) is highly critical of social marketing, which is exemplified with the statement, “Consider ‘Social Marketing’ as a special kind of semiotic exercise – a sequence of textual operations bent on producing signs and generating meanings to serve a political purpose” (p. 40). Gerbner (1995) was highly critical of public information advertisements as he stated that they exist simply “to give the appearance of serving the public” (p. 293).

As Raftopoulou and Hogg (2010) summarised, social marketing ultimately deals with the welfare of citizens, it is therefore political and any communication that takes place between the state and its citizens is ideologically motivated. This line of thought is carried on by Johnson (2011) who stated that “an ideological framing can be easily and readily deployed in PIAs to underpin the legitimacy of the state (and its agents) and separate worthy citizens from those who threaten social and economic order” (p. 110). This critical perspective of ideological discourse classifies citizens into those who conform and those who do not conform. van Dijk (1998) defined ideology as “a self-serving schema for the representation of Us and Them as social groups” (p. 69).

Summary

This chapter, Social Marketing, introduced the idea of using the principles and tools of marketing for socially desirable goals. Social marketing was defined and some of the dominant theoretical models for behaviour were introduced. An overview of social marketing within Aotearoa New Zealand was provided and the implementation of public information advertisements as a tool of social marketing was discussed. The targeting of Māori audiences established that Māori are targeted by social marketers, and generally not at all by commercial marketers. Some of the government and NGOs, as well as the advertising agencies, who were behind the social marketing initiatives in Aotearoa New Zealand, were identified. It was found that many of the advertising agencies are part of larger foreign-owned multinational advertising corporations. The lack of Māori scholars and practitioners of social marketing and its associated disciplines was acknowledged as a problem, and the need for more research in Aotearoa New Zealand was recognised. The involvement of the state was also questioned, which ended with van Dijk's (1998) definition of ideology, and included the idea of "Us and Them" (p. 69), which is a suitable transition to discuss Māori representation and identity in the following chapter.

4 MĀORI REPRESENTATION AND IDENTITY

“The world view of the Māori is encapsulated in whakapapa”

– Ranginui Walker (1996, p. 13)

So far, this literature review has provided a critical background (chapter two) which included the discussion of the historical and socio-political context that gave an overview of colonisation, and some of the negative consequences of colonisation which led to the discussion of the health and social issues. The idea of using the principles and tools of marketing for socially desirable goals was introduced in chapter three which summarised the phenomenon in Aotearoa New Zealand and how it has been applied to target Māori audiences as an intervention measure. As the focus of this research is essentially about Māori portrayals in public information advertisements, this chapter is a review of the literature concerning the media representation of Māori and Māori identity. The first part of this chapter explores representation and stereotypes. The second half of this chapter

examines the concept of Māori identity and revisits the idea of *whakapapa* as an important aspect of identity.

Representation

The research on ethnicity and mass media is dominated by studies of representation (Downing & Husband, 2005). As such, there is ample literature to draw upon and within an Aotearoa New Zealand context there is a growing body of work on Māori representation in mass media. Much of the recent work on Māori representation has come from Massey University's Whāriki Research group, which has generally focused on news media. However, there is a lack of research pertaining to Māori representation in public information advertisements, or television advertisements whether commercial or other. This section examines the concepts of representation and stereotypes, and discusses the literature pertaining to Māori representation within the media.

What is Representation?

Within the scholarship, the term 'representation' is often used without conceptual clarification (Downing & Husband, 2005). Stuart Hall's (1997a) work provides a starting point to conceptualise representation. His work offered several interpretations of representation such as the following: "Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (Stuart Hall, 1997a, p. 15). In this context, the use of 'language' is not limited to the spoken word but also implies the use of signs and images which have meanings (Stuart Hall, 1997a). To elaborate upon his idea of representation, Hall argued that there are two different but related systems of representation. The first is the set of mental representations that people retain in their heads which assists the classification and arrangement of concepts and the relationships between them. The second system of representation is founded on the premise that the meaning of the mental concepts cannot

be communicated to another person without a form of shared language. In sum, representation is “the production of meaning through language” (Stuart Hall, 1997a, p. 28).

This bears similarities to the semiology/semiotics of Ferdinand de Saussure (1959), by whom Stuart Hall was influenced. The field of study was originally termed ‘semiology’ by Saussure (1959), and is now commonly referred to as semiotics (R. T. Craig, 1999; Griffin, 2012); it is fundamentally the study (or science) of signs (Barker, 2004; Chandler, 2007). The ‘signs’ of semiotics include words, pictures, symbols and anything that communicates meaning (Hartley, 2002), which is why studies of representation in media are often conducted using semiotics (Bignall, 2002). Although it is a popular field of study, semiotics has received criticism for not considering polysemy, or the multiple meanings of signs (During, 2005).

One of the first scholars known for using semiotics to analyse advertisements was Roland Barthes (Forceville, 1996). Barthes’ (1973) analysis of the cover photograph from the French magazine, *Paris Match*, received widespread attention (Sayre, 1989; Storey, 2010). The image showed a young black male wearing a French military uniform performing a salute. Barthes (1973) wrote –

But, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me: that France is a great Empire, that all her sons, without any colour discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors. (p. 116)

Barthes showed an underlying ideological meaning of the image while simultaneously exposing the reader’s pre-existing understanding of the message (Allen, 2003). Barthes’ research showed that the analysis of media images serves not only as a form of understanding the media but also gives insights into the sociocultural life of the

readership. Within the context of this research, the examination of Māori perspectives of public information advertisements may also provide insights into the sociocultural lives of the viewers.

Other ideas from Saussure's semiotics have also been used to analyse representation of ethnocultural groups in media, including synchronic and diachronic approaches (Pearson, 2001). The synchronic and diachronic approaches are akin to Stuart Hall's perspectives of media which he initially focused on television (McRobbie, 2005). He believed that the 'real' world is not captured on television and therefore cannot be contrasted to the 'real' world itself. He articulated the following –

Producers have become accustomed to think of their routine functions (apart from specially mounted productions) in terms of their ability to be 'faithful to reality'.

They go to a scene of an event or occasion, and they try to give a faithful reflection of what is there. Yet, in fact, every programme about a real event or occasion is a re-invention, not a reflection, of reality. What they offer is an interpretation, in visual terms, of some raw slice of experience which they have seen and filmed.

(Stuart Hall, 1971, p. 19)

The above quote from Stuart Hall seems to be framed within the news media context, but it questions the notion of television and reality. This perspective indicates that public information advertisements are not a reflection of reality but a construction. This fits with During's (2005) view that the media constructs rather than reflects reality. With this in mind, the media (including news and advertising) are representation-makers (Grodal, 2002; Maia, 2014), as they construct meaningful representations by way of media discourses. O'Keeffe (2006) defined media discourse as referring to the "totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper" (p. 1).

According to Myles (2010), the media representation of different social groups is “highly charged with symbolic power” (p. 13). Another type of ‘power’ is the power to disseminate representation to a large audience (Elliott, 2011). This is similar to what has been drawn from the Marxist theory of interpellation (Althusser, 1971), by the likes of Berger (1995), who stated –

Interpellation is the process by which the representations found in a culture (in media such as television, film, and magazines and in art forms such as advertisements and commercials) coerce, so to speak, individuals into accepting the ideologies carried by these forms of representation. (p. 57)

The concept of interpellation can be seen in the work of other scholars, such as Edward Said (1994) in his seminal text, *Culture and Imperialism*, where he discussed the influence of western fiction and how it served as a medium for disseminating ideologies of imperialism. As already mentioned earlier, Rutherford (2000) rejected the idea of social marketing as he stated that it is a semiotic exercise that produces signs and generates meanings for political purposes. The idea of interpellation is highly applicable to the public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences, as arguably, the advertisements may be seen as ideological.

Within the literature, representation is “mostly used either to signal presence or absence of people of color from media, or constructive vs unconstructive portrayal” (Downing & Husband, 2005, p. 43). This is probably because studies of the portrayal of ethnocultural minorities in media (including television and advertising) show that most depictions are undesirable (van Dijk, 1984). Advertising in particular is “persuasive and often subtly reinforces the stereotypes and prejudices of the dominant group of the society where the advertisement is produced and usually screens” (Dana & O’Sullivan, 2007, p. 1525). This aligns with Cortese (2008) who argued that the construction of advertising

reflects social and power relations and serves as a measure of how far the dominant group is willing to accept ethnocultural minority groups which reinforces the assertion by Moriarty and Rohe (2005) that advertisers should take care with how cultures are represented. With that in mind, the discussion of representation now moves towards stereotypes.

Stereotypes

The term 'stereotype' originally referred to a printing plate (Enteman, 2011). The present meaning was adopted in 1922 by the journalist, Walter Lippmann (Hinton, 2000; Klegg, 1993; Schneider, 2004), in his book *Public Opinion* (Lippmann, 1922). Bruce and Yearley (2006) defined stereotype as "an exaggerated and usually prejudiced view of a group of people that is based on little or no evidence and is resistant to modification by evidence" (p. 289).

Stereotyping is essentially a social classification system (Chock, 1987). Humans tend to classify other people according to their race, gender, physical appearance, occupation, social status, possessions, marital status, and so forth (Schneider, 2004). In order to remove the ability to stereotype, humans would have to give up the ability to generalise and classify (Schneider, 2004). Therefore, stereotyping is not necessarily a case of good versus evil but a form of mental cataloguing. While most studies refer to stereotypes as a negative phenomenon, there can also be positive stereotypes (Shih, Pittinsky & Ho, 2012), such as the widely-held belief that Asians excel at mathematics (Hartlep, 2013). Positive stereotypes can be problematic as they can create unrealistic expectations for members of the particular group (Shih et al., 2012). As Waller (1998) pointed out, "stereotypes may be positive or negative, accurate or inaccurate, helpful or harmful" (p. 28). However, it is negative stereotypes that are most detrimental, particularly when the beliefs are held steadfastly (Martin & Nakayama, 2013).

According to Stuart Hall (1997b), the signifying practice of stereotyping has three fundamental components. The first is that a person (or group) is reduced to traits which

are exaggerated, simplified and fixed. Second, the normal is separated from the abnormal, the acceptable from the unacceptable, in binary oppositions. This is where the concept of 'othering' is produced in, for example, 'us and them', and 'insiders and outsiders'. And third, stereotyping involves power and is usually directed against the groups who have little power e.g., ethnic minorities. Media institutions are institutions of power (Elliott, 2011) and have the "power to project... practices as universal and 'common sense'" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 33).

As the discussion on representation showed, the media play an influential role in constructing stereotypical views of different social groups. From my readings, I put forward that there are two reasons for this. First, stereotypes are authenticated and gain cultural currency through repetition in media (James, 1997), and therefore repeat the same ideological messaging whether implicit or explicit (Merskin, 2011). Second, stereotypes that are perpetuated by the media are legitimised because the media are seen as reliable sources (van Dijk, 1998). This is probably why Merskin (2011) asked, "Why, as a society, are we inclined to accept media messages as truth?" (p. xv).

According to van Dijk (1987), the representation of ethnic minority groups in mass media adheres to stereotypical roles and situations, while C. R. King (2006) stated that stereotyping is "at the heart of how the mainstream media relates to and represents indigenous peoples" (p. 4). Advertising has also been criticised for misrepresenting ethnic minorities (C. Wilson & Gutierrez, 1995). As Baumann and Ho (2014) put forward, "When racial minorities are represented in advertisements, they often conform to stereotypes" (p. 155). For example, studies of advertisements within an American context have found stereotyped depictions of African Americans (Bailey, 2006; Colfax, & Sternberg, 1972; Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Entmen & Rojecki, 2000; Feagin, Vera & Batur, 2001), Asian Americans (Paek & Shah, 2003; C. R. Taylor & Lee, 1994; C. R. Taylor, Lee & Stern, 1995; C. R. Taylor & Stern, 1997), and Native Americans (Brown, 2011; Green, 1993; Merskin, 2014).

Martin and Nakayama (2013) recognised that because stereotypes are often negative, they can have negative consequences for members of the particular group. For example, negative stereotypes can influence whether a person is falsely identified and found guilty of a crime (Livingston, 2004; Pozzulo & Weeks, 2006), and also the severity of sentencing (Kang et al., 2012). However, for ethnic minority groups, negative consequences can exist even when portrayals are positive. For example, a study of the portrayal of African Americans on television found that “Perceptions of positive TV portrayals did not lead to positive stereotypes, nor did they influence opinions” (Tan, Fujioka & Tan, 2000, p. 370). Closer to home, this is probably one of many reasons why a social marketing campaign was implemented as “an attempt to neutralize some of the negative beliefs” about indigenous Australians (Donovan & Leivers, 1993, p. 205).

Māori Representation

During my reading of the scholarship pertaining to Māori representation in media, I could not locate any publications that found Māori representation to be positive. Even the ‘favourable’ stereotypes of Māori were laced with negative connotations such as the happy-go-lucky Māori. The following statement by Addis et al. (2005) adequately summarises the scholarship that “there is widespread agreement that the portrayals of Māori and *te ao Māori*⁴⁰ confirm negative stereotypes, portray Māori and *te ao Māori* inaccurately” (p. 47).

Here I will provide an overview of the research about Māori representation, which has a long history, and literally commenced with the arrival of Captain Cook in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1769. Cook and his men seemed to have a fascination with Māori bodies. Rountree (1998) examined the writings of Captain Cook and his men, and established that, “Pākehā images of Māori reflect their makers more tellingly than they represent their subjects. When we read descriptions of Māori bodies written by Cook and his men, we are learning much more about European minds than we are about Māori bodies” (p. 36).

⁴⁰ The Māori world.

Other early representations of Māori were the works by Pākehā artists, primarily paintings. Bell (1990) drew attention to the paintings of Māori by renowned Pākehā artists of the late 1800s and stated that the “Ethnographical inaccuracy in the representation of Māori subjects was the norm among European artists” (p. 145). Bell’s (1984, 1992) previous analysis of Māori representation in the earlier time period from the 1840s, found that the Pākehā depictions of Māori were constructed to suit European “tastes, beliefs, requirements and interests” (p. 3). While the representation of Māori in 19th century Pākehā art is open to interpretation, the print media which began in 1840 (Day, 2003) had racist views, which were at times explicit.

In 1859, the Auckland Examiner newspaper wrote “until in his coffin, no Native can ever be civilized” (as cited in Stenhouse, 1994, p. 403). The term ‘nigger’ seemed to be a common term applied to Māori in 19th century Pākehā New Zealand (Ward, 1967; Will 1973). A cursory search among 19th century newspapers clearly shows ample evidence of the fact. For example, John Duthie, who founded The Dominion newspaper, and was also a member of parliament and former mayor of Wellington, stated, “The Government was stopping the sale of native lands. They wanted to make the Māoris landlords. Fancy a free-born Britisher having a nigger for a landlord” (The Evening Post, 1899, p. 4).

Will (1973) examined the representation of Māori in four newspapers, two from Auckland, and two from the Manawatū, from April 1892 to 31 March 1893, and April 1907 to 31 March 1908. His findings concluded both ‘unfavourable’ and ‘favourable’ stereotypes. The ‘unfavourable’ stereotype was that “Māori lacked self-restraint, or that he was lazy, impulsive and irresponsible” (Will, 1973, p. 56); whilst “the favourable stereotype of the Māori was really an opinion about his capacity to become less of a Māori” (Will, 1973, p. 56).

A major study on Māori representation in news media by Thompson (1953, 1954a, 1954b, 1955), examined six thousand newspapers that were published between October 1949 and September 1950, using a form of content and thematic analysis based on

Kriesberg (1946). Thompson (1953) found that almost half of the news articles about Māori in the daily newspapers from the four main urban areas were to do with crime, sport and accidents (in that order). When news articles concerned sport, the identifying label of 'Māori' was not mentioned Thompson (1954b). However, 'Māori' was used within headlines of news articles associated with crime. The following examples were provided as being typical headlines of the newspaper coverage –

- (1) Murder Allegations Against Māori;
- (2) Māori Peeping Tom Fines;
- (3) Māoris Sentenced For Raping Girl;
- (4) Māori Goes To Gaol. (Thompson, 1954b, pp. 216-217)

Thompson (1954a) identified seven themes across the newspapers that were unfavourable, which are in his own words below –

- (1) The Māoris are lazy and irresponsible;
- (2) The Māoris abuse Social Security benefits;
- (3) The Māoris are content to live in dirty and over-crowded conditions;
- (4) The Māoris are morally and socially irresponsible;
- (5) The Māoris are ignorant and superstitious;
- (6) The Māoris are political opportunists;
- (7) The Māoris hold large areas of land irresponsibly. (Thompson, 1954a, pp. 3-5)

It could be argued that Thompson's (1953, 1954a, 1954b, 1955) research is outdated and is therefore no longer applicable to Māori representation in contemporary news media. However, recent research from Massey University's Whāriki Research group (Whāriki), has confirmed that negative Māori representation is still dominant. The recent

publications from the Whāriki group have generally focused on news media and applied content analysis, discourse analysis, and thematic analysis. Some examples of their work relate to the representation of Māori and sport in newspapers (McCreanor et al., 2010), Māori and business in newspapers (McCreanor et al., 2011), Māori in suburban newspapers (Rankine et al., 2011), Māori in mass media (Nairn et al., 2011), Māori in television news (Nairn et al., 2012), Māori in newspapers and journalism (A. Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012; Rankine et al., 2014), the association of Māori and crime in print media (McCreanor et al., 2014), Māori perspectives of media framing and racism (A. Moewaka Barnes, Taiapa, Borell & McCreanor 2013), and even Pākehā perspectives of Māori representation in media (Gregory et al., 2011). Table 4.1 contains themes that were found in news media discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand over a three-year study period (A. Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012) by the Whāriki research group.

Table 4.1

Patterns in Media Discourse

Pattern	Effect
Pākehā as norm	Constructs Pākehā as the ordinary normal citizen and culture of New Zealand.
One people	New Zealanders are represented as a single culture in which all are to be treated the same.
Rights	Individual Pākehā rights take precedence over collective Māori rights.
Privilege	Māori are portrayed as having resources and access denied to others.
Ignorance and hypersensitivity	Pākehā offend Māori because of ignorance, Māori responses are unduly sensitive.
Good Māori Bad Māori	Māori are seen as either good or bad depending on the argument of the speaker; Pākehā are rarely described in this way.
Stirrers	Those who challenge the social order are depicted as troublemakers who mislead others for their own ends.
Māori crime, violence	Māori are seen as more likely to be criminal or violent than Pākehā.
Māori culture	Māori culture is depicted as primitive and inadequate for modern life, and inferior to Pākehā culture.
Māori inheritance	Describes ancestry in fractions in a way that denies Māori concepts of <i>whakapapa</i> and self-identification.
Māori resources	Critical of any return of significant resources to Māori as a denial of Pākehā rights to exploit such opportunities.
Māori success	Small scale Māori projects that fit Pākehā business models and use Māori culture can be viewed as positive.
Treaty of Waitangi	The Treaty is a historical document of little relevance to the contemporary setting; a barrier to development.

From “Anti-Māori themes in New Zealand journalism – toward alternative practice,” by A. Moewaka Barnes, B. Borell, K. Taiapa, J. Rankine, R. Nairn and T. McCreanor, 2012, *Pacific Journalism Review*, 18(1), p. 198. Copyright 2012 by the Pacific Journalism Review.

The dominant theme that arises across all of the Whāriki publications can be summed up in their own words: “Analyses of New Zealand media have consistently shown that news about Māori is both relatively rare and that it prioritises violence and criminality” (Nairn et al., 2012, p. 38). The association of Māori and crime within the news media has been acknowledged by various studies (e.g., Coxhead, 2005; McCreanor et al., 2014). One study, by Merchant (2010), analysed print news media articles between 2000 and 2007, concerning the subject of physical child abuse. After comparing news media coverage and actual statistics of abuse, she found a 1 to 1.1 ratio between Pākehā and Māori in actual incidents of child abuse, but a 1 to 1.9 ratio in terms of the news print media coverage of

Pākehā and Māori child abuse. In other words, there was a “forty-two percent over-reporting of Māori physical child abuse than would be statistically expected” (Merchant, 2010, p. 120).

Unfortunately, the pattern appears to have been duplicated by news media outlets of other ethnocultural groups. Liu (2009) analysed several types of Chinese language news media in Aotearoa New Zealand. The research showed that the Chinese language news media outlets were merely regurgitating news articles from “the mainstream news media” (Liu, 2009, p. 424). However, Liu (2009) concluded that the Chinese language media coverage was worse than the mainstream media as they chose to report only negative stories about Māori and nothing else, and by doing this, they “reinforced the negative stereotypes of Māori in the New Zealand mainstream media and failed to report positive aspects of Māori stories” (Liu, 2009, p. 425). Not surprisingly, the results of Liu’s (2009) survey of Chinese people in Aotearoa New Zealand found that most had negative perceptions of Māori.

Notwithstanding Māori representation in news media, as mentioned earlier, the study by Dana and O’Sullivan (2007) examined television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand. They found that Māori and Pasifika people were featured in only 0.98 percent of health and beauty product television advertisements and in only 3.6 percent of consumer goods television advertisements, where at least one person was represented. However, Māori featured in 45.65 percent of television advertisements by government and NGOs. The exclusion of Māori characters in commercial television advertisements was highlighted by M. Scott (1990), and his discussions with advertising executives which provided insights into their rationale for casting characters. For example, Marco Marinkovitch, head of an advertising agency, said –

Say you were building houses – would you want an ad showing a Māori family moving into one of them? You tend to associate types. Take an image. A Māori,

living in Remuera, driving a Mercedes... If he drives a Mercedes he's probably a bus-driver. (Marco Marinkovitch, cited in M. Scott, 1990, p. 85)

In this instance, besides the overt racism, Marinkovitch is referring to the Mercedes-Benz buses that make up a significant number of the public transport fleet in Auckland. A cursory check online showed that he is still heading up an advertising agency in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2016. Despite more than twenty-plus years passing since M. Scott's (1990) publication, Māori are still underrepresented in television advertisements and are still portrayed as negatively stereotyped characters. This is evident in the research by Rubie-Davies et al. (2013) that extended the study of Dana and Sullivan (2007), by analysing the television advertisements shown on the four main television channels during a one month period 2008, and again in 2009.

They found that Pākehā were overrepresented in comparison to their percentage of the population, and that Māori and Pasifika were underrepresented except for the category 'Government/community sector' television advertisements. The description of television advertisements that included Māori seemed to be social marketing advertisements, or public information advertisements. When Māori characters appeared in television advertisements for commercial products, they played supportive or background roles to Pākehā main characters (Rubie-Davies et al., 2013). The thoughts of Rubie-Davies et al. (2013) concerning Māori and Pasifika representation are outlined below -

These types of advertisements mostly portray negative aspects of society, such as drink-driving, gambling, smoking, family violence, and literacy problems. When the message in these advertisements is that people should not drive drunk, gamble, smoke, or invoke violence towards family members, and that they need to read to their children, because it is Māori and Pasifika people who are often portrayed in

these situations, the implicit message about how Māori and Pasifika behave is very negative. (p. 191)

The findings by Rubie-Davies et al. (2013) are highly relevant to this doctoral research as they empirically confirmed that Māori characters predominantly appear in public information advertisements and little else, and that those advertisements portray Māori as irresponsible characters. The negative portrayal of Māori, from news media and advertising, gives cause for concern as the mass media are the primary source of information about cultural groups other than one's own (Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Steuter & Wills, 2011; van Dijk, 1987). As Gerbner (1999) argued, “most of what we know, or think we know, we have never personally experienced” (p. ix).

Downing and Husband (2005) have argued that negative racial stereotyping in the media reflects societal racism. This is in turn reproduced by the media (van Dijk, 1991). This appears to suggest a cycle of negative representation of Māori that repeats itself through media and impacts upon how the general public view Māori. This is evident in the scholarship that has consistently determined that Pākehā hold negative attitudes towards Māori (Holmes et al., 2001). As already mentioned, the use of ‘nigger’ appeared in newspapers to refer to Māori. According to Keith Sinclair (1957), the early Pākehā settlers referred to Māori not only as ‘nigger’, but also as ‘black’ and ‘savage’. Moreover, research since the 1950s has shown that “Māori have been viewed as trouble-makers, lazy, unintelligent, dirty, aggressive, easygoing and friendly, whereas Pākehā have been regarded as successful, hardworking, intelligent and self-centred” (Holmes et al., 2001, p. 79). Archer and Archer (1970) found that some Māori had internalised some of these ideas and shared the same stereotypical views.

Recent studies have highlighted negative attitudes towards Māori from those in positions of authority. A survey of 700 police officers (Maxwell & Smith, 1998) found that “one in four police officers believed their colleagues had negative attitudes towards Māori”

(Maxwell, 2005, p. 6). H. B. Turner (2013) found that school teachers had lower expectations of Māori students “due to perceived deficits in the students’ home background” (p. ii), and therefore gave Māori students less attention. Teachers’ impressions had been partly formed by media, with one teacher saying, “I watch this Police 10/7 [television show]... The suspects will always be Māori” (cited in H. B. Turner, 2013, p. 78).

A review of the scholarship has established that Māori representation in media has largely been negative and stereotypical. Despite efforts to educate non-Māori in the media, such as Archie’s (2007) *Pou Kōrero: A Journalists’ Guide to Māori and Current Affairs*, Māori representation is still framed negatively. As mentioned earlier, I could not locate any scholarship that concluded positive representations of Māori in media. Moreover, the studies all point to similar conclusions. In closing, the assertions by Spoonley (1988, 1990) are pertinent to this discussion. Spoonley (1990) stated –

And if the media are racist, then it will be because the wider society is racist. The media will reflect and appeal to commonly held values to varying degrees. If racism is part of New Zealand society, then it would be unusual not to find it represented in the media. (p. 31)

Summary

This section focused on the idea of representation and drew upon Stuart Hall’s work, which led into stereotypes in media, and then Māori representation in media. The literature concluded that Māori have been depicted negatively in a stereotyped manner in various forms of media, including television advertisements. Given that advertising influences identity formation and identity enhancement (W. Lee et al., 2004), and that Māori representation in television advertising (and media in general) is negative and stereotypical, the next section of the literature review, Tuakiri: Identity, is an overview of social identity theory and more importantly for this research, Māori identity.

Tuakiri: Identity

Television can influence worldviews (Schneider, 2004; Sheehan, 2004), as people construct views of themselves and others through media (Berger, 2014) which is akin to cultivation theory (see Gerbner, 1967, 1969). As the previous section revealed, Māori representation in the media is negative, and it could be argued that it is harmful. In the context of this research, advertising, or more specifically public information advertisements on television that are targeted at Māori, can influence identity. This is supported by W. Lee et al., (2004) with the following statement –

Advertising influences identity formation and identity enhancement in two important ways. First, advertising acknowledges individuals by rendering them identifiable and intelligible in the mass media. Second, advertising recognizes consumers as members of a discernible social group, with which they identify. Therefore, advertising may function to bring the marginalized population groups into public being. (p. 14)

With that in mind, this section explores the concept of identity, and within that, Māori cultural identity. The term *tuakiri* is translated as identity (W. Smith, 2012); thus, it is used as a title for this section. This section commences with a working definition by Vignoles, Schwartz and Luyckx (2011). A brief overview of the social identity perspective is then provided, which sets the foundation for introducing Māori identity. Some of the concepts mentioned in Māori: The Historical and Socio-political Context will be revisited as they are crucial to understanding Māori identity, such as *whakapapa*.

Before commencing this section, I would like to emphasise that the concept of identity is still very much open to interpretation, and problematic to define (Wetherell, 2010). A review of the scholarship pertaining to ‘identity’ illustrates a wide variance in

opinion as to what constitutes identity. Accordingly, it is a highly ambiguous term among scholars (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). This is best explained in an anecdote by Vignoles et al. (2011). They told the story of how one of the authors, who is well versed in the works of neo-Eriksonian identity, submitted a paper to an academic journal. The reviewer rejected the paper on the grounds that it did not cite the correct identity scholarship. After discussion between the author and the reviewer, it was discovered that the reviewer “had never heard of any of the sources that the author was citing, and the author had never heard of any of the sources that the reviewer was suggesting” (Vignoles et al., 2011, p. 1). The anecdote shows that the research concerning identity is vast and often disputed, and so what follows is my interpretation of it.

Furthermore, of interest, the two academic journals devoted to social marketing, *Social Marketing Quarterly* and *Journal of Social Marketing*, do not appear to contain many articles about identity. A search within their journal databases showed that articles about identity relate to branding identity, in the marketing sense, although a recent article by Hoek and Robertson (2015) may be a catalyst for introducing identity into the journals. This indicates that scholars in the social marketing discipline are choosing not to focus their research efforts on identity and this is perhaps a critical gap in their literature.

What is Identity?

The term ‘identity’ is derived from the Latin root *idem* (Gleason, 1983), which implies sameness and continuity (Marshall, 1998). However, the historical derivation of the term does little to explain it. In wrestling with the concept of identity, Billig (1995) asked, “What is this thing – this identity – which people are supposed to carry around with them? It cannot be an object like a mobile phone” (p. 7). It is this unquantifiable aspect of identity that has caused authors such as Giddens (1991) to put forth the notion that identity can be anything an individual wants it to be; although this is debateable. Therefore, in order to conceptualise identity, Deaux and Burke (2010) asserted that scholars working within the psychological perspective have advanced ‘social identity theory’ (e.g., Tajfel,

1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; J. C. Turner, 1981; among others), while scholars working within the sociological perspective have advanced ‘identity theory’ (e.g., P. J. Burke, 1980; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1968; R. H. Turner, 1978; among others).

In my understanding of identity, I have adopted the following from Vignoles et al. (2011), who stated, “Most fundamentally, in our view, identity involves people’s explicit or implicit responses to the question: Who are you?” (p. 2). Vignoles et al. (2011) emphasised that ‘you’ can be singular or plural (“I am Māori, I am a doctoral student”), as well as pairings, and small, medium or large groups (“We are Māori, we are doctoral students”). The “Who are you?” question can also be directed to the self (“Who am I?”) or to others (“Who are we?”). Further, Vignoles et al. (2011) asserted that identity also includes “who you act as being” (p. 2) within social contexts and the social recognitions from the interactions. This is noted by Baumeister and Muraven (1996), who stated that individual identity is simply an adaption to a social context.

The social aspect of identity is pertinent to understanding identity, as all human identities are inherently social (Awatere, 2010; R. Jenkins, 2008). I have decided to focus on the social identity perspective for two main reasons. Firstly, the literature pertaining to Māori identity has drawn upon the social identity perspective, namely, social identity theory and its offshoot, self-categorisation theory, as a platform for theorising ideas about Māori identity. Secondly, despite the differences between the psychological and sociological scholars, both have “identified similar processes, but with different terminologies” (Cote & Schwartz, 2002, p. 571), which is why Stets and Burke (2003) said the two theories have much in common and called for a merger of the two. Next I will provide an overview of the social identity perspective.

Social Identity Perspective

The social identity perspective contains several theories (or sub-theories) but according to Hogg and Reid (2006), the two most dominant theories are social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorisation theory (J. C. Turner, Hogg, Oakes,

Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Both social identity theory and self-categorisation theory are often viewed as one entity (Hogg, 2001). At the core of the social identity perspective is the idea that “people derive a part of their self-concept from the social groups and categories that they belong to – their social identity” (Hogg & Reid, 2006, pp. 8-9). In other words, the characteristics of social group membership can become important aspects of an individual’s self-concept (D. Abrams & Hogg, 1990; C. R. Scott, 2007). However, given that social groups generally exist in relation to other social groups, their “descriptive and evaluative properties, and thus their social meaning” (Hogg, 2001, p. 186) are derived in relation to the other social groups. The social group then has an influence on an individual’s identity. The key aspect of social identity is the group, which according to the founders of this perspective, is defined as –

... a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership in it. (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 15)

People will classify themselves and others into various social groups and categories utilising a range of schema (Dashtipour, 2012; Edensor, 2002), in a process known as self-categorisation (J. C. Turner, 1985). Self-categorisation serves two purposes (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Firstly, it provides the individual with a cognitive method of systematically ordering the social environment which allows the ability to define others and to classify the social world as in-groups and out-groups. Secondly, this allows for the individual to position *himself* or *herself* within the social environment. The notion of the *self* in social identity theory is twofold. The first is a personal identity and the second is a social identity (Tajfel, 1981). Personal identity has been defined as “self-conception in terms of unique properties of self or of one’s personal relationships with specific other individuals” (Hogg,

2001, p. 188). Samovar et al. (2013) have stated that two common classifications of personal identity are avowed identity and ascribed identity. Martin and Nakayama (2013) defined avowal as “the process by which individuals portray themselves” and ascription as “the process by which others attribute identities to them” (p. 174).

Social identity theory asserts that “Individuals strive to achieve or to maintain positive social identity” (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p. 15) and will react positively to favourable messages that enhance their social identities (Knobloch-Westerwick & Hastall, 2010). In the context of this research, it relates to television viewership, as Harwood (1999) put forward that individuals will choose to watch television items which “bolster their identification with the social groups that are important to them” (p. 85). The media is therefore an influence in the construction of identity (Mastro, 2003), and has been used as a framework to understand media effects of ethnic minority groups (Mastro, 2003; McKinley, Mastro & Warber, 2014) and between groups (Knobloch-Westerwick & Hastall, 2010), social identification in public service announcements/public information advertisements (Joyce & Harwood, 2014), and racial and gender differences in the relationship between children’s television use and self-esteem (Martins & Harrison, 2012). However, arguments have been made to conduct more research about social identity theory within the communication discipline (C. R. Scott, 2007).

Additionally, as social identity theory does not begin with assumptions based on individuals, but rather, on the social group (Trepte, 2006), it has therefore underpinned the theorisation of Māori identity (e.g., Andres, 2011; S. Bennett, 2002; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010, 2014; Webber, 2011, 2015). The collective nature of Māori society (Henry, 2007; Firth, 2011; Warriner, 2007) aligns with the social identity perspective, the emphasis of the group, and that Māori identity is “collectively developed and collectively expressed” (Glynn, 2013, p. 39). Rata (2015) commented that the social identity approach “is useful in accounting for Māori identity diversity, as it acknowledges the importance of social contexts in salience” (p. 6). Webber (2015) argued that because Māori identity

encompasses the emotions associated with belonging to an ethnic and racial identity, it is therefore also a social identity as racial-ethnic identity is a social identity.

Social identity theory also prescribes that minority groups or lower status groups can enhance their identities and improve their social standing in three ways (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986). First, the group may compete with the dominant group in order to remove them from power. Second, the group may choose to improve their situation by emphasising political independence, promoting pride and unity within the group, and improving their public recognition. And third, group members may try to disassociate themselves from the group and attempt to be accepted as part of the dominant group. The study by Houkamau and Sibley (2014), argued that Māori have engaged in all three behaviours. This leads into a discussion of identity within a Māori context.

“When is a Māori a ‘Māori’?”

As previously stated, Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand (M. King, 2003). Before I commence a review of the scholarship pertaining to Māori identity, in order to have any meaningful discussion of Māori identity, I feel it is important to begin by asking, using the words of Pool (1963), “When is a Māori a ‘Māori’?” (p. 206). According to Robson and Reid (2001), the original government definitions were based on blood quantum but by 1960 there were at least ten different definitions within the legislation. This biological method to determine indigenous peoples occurred throughout the colonised world (Kukutai, 2004). The use of blood quantum to measure Māori ethnicity ceased in 1981 (Kukutai, 2010). Statistics New Zealand (2015b) now seems to allow two ‘measures’ in determining who is/are Māori; the first is those “who identify with the Māori ethnic group” (para. 1), and the second is those “who identify as being descended from a Māori” (para. 4).

Based on the last census results, one in seven people usually living in New Zealand is Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2013d). However, the idea of being ‘Māori’ becomes problematic when a review of the statistical data showed that 10.5 percent of the 668,724

people who said they were of Māori descent in the 2013 census, did not identify themselves as part of the Māori ethnic group (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Given that 10.5 percent of people who have Māori ancestry do not identify as Māori, I agree with Maaka and Fleras (2005), that “The concept of ‘who is Māori’ is fraught with ambiguity and paradox” (p. 68). To compound the situation, the measure that is used to highlight disadvantage is self-determined ethnicity (Callister, 2011), or ethnicity determined by others, such as police officers (see Gianotti, 2015), education institutions and workplaces (Awatere, 2010).

The debate of “When is a Māori a ‘Māori?’” may seem pedantic but in the context of this research it has implications. Firstly, the classification can skew the health and social statistics (see Sandiford et al., 2013) which the social marketing interventions are based on. This raises the question as to whether the health and social problems are actually quantifiable as a ‘Māori problem’. There are also issues in relation to the targeting of audiences for public information advertisements including how the audience is segmented and on what basis. Further, the ‘Māoriness’ of the characters in public information advertisements may impact upon message effectiveness by making the advertisement identifiable (Ropiha, 1994), but as already discussed, may reinforce stereotypes.

Researchers who have analysed television advertisements in Aotearoa New Zealand have struggled with determining who is/are Māori based on physical characteristics. This is shown by Rubie-Davies et al. (2013), who categorised Māori and Pasifika together as one group “in order to decrease the chance of the observers not being able to distinguish between the two groups” (p. 184) because of the similarities in physical characteristics. This may cast doubt as to whether characters in public information advertisements are explicitly ‘Māori characters’.

Interestingly, the physical characteristics of Māori adds on another dimension to “When is a Māori a ‘Māori?’”, as Māori who appear to be more Māori than Pākehā (in terms of physical characteristics) are more likely to suffer adverse health outcomes (R. B. Harris, Cormack & Stanley, 2013) and also racial discrimination (Houkamau & Sibley,

2015). Moreover, the study by Houkamau and Sibley (2014) found that Māori who self-reported as having both Māori and Pākehā ethnicities, shared the same ideological beliefs as Pākehā. Their study concluded that “there may be some tangible benefits for Māori who have Pākehā/European ancestry” (Houkamau & Sibley, 2014, p. 123).

As I have demonstrated, the discussion centred on ‘who is/are Māori’ is complex. I agree with Maaka and Fleras (2005) who said that “Answers go beyond mere academic interest, but strike at what it means to be Māori in terms of identity” (p. 65). In some ways, ‘defining’ Māori is complicated by the fact that Māori are often referred to as if they are a homogenous people (Houkamau, 2010), when they are actually not homogenous (Dunstall, 1981; Houkamau, 2010; Houkamau & Sibley, 2014) and are just as diverse as any other ethnocultural group. As M. Durie (2001) asserted, “Māori do not conform to a typical presentation either physically or psychologically” (p. 4). However, there is one element that seems to reverberate across the literature on Māori identity as being paramount for defining Māori, and according to H. M. Mead (2003), this element “gives an individual the right to say, “I am Māori” ” (p. 42). That element is *whakapapa*.

Whakapapa

In the first section of the literature review, the cultural concept of *whakapapa* was introduced. *Whakapapa* is a derivative of *papa* [ground or solid foundation] and *whaka* [a transitional process of becoming]; thus the literal meaning is “creating a foundation” (Hudson, Ahuriri-Driscoll, Lea & Lea, 2007, p. 44). *Whakapapa* is much more than knowing one’s ancestral lineage, as it is an important aspect of Māori identity (Meredith et al., 2012), and is the measure that is used when resources are transferred (Callister, 2011), such as grants and scholarships.

Whakapapa is an established part of the Māori psyche and connects people to the land, as according to Māori mythology, all living things have grown from *Papatūānuku* (Te Rito, 2007). In accordance with social identity theory, it is used to “connect or differentiate oneself from others” (Robson & Reid, 2001, p. 7), as it situates the individual into social

groups, namely the *whānau*, *hapū*, *īwi*, and at a macro level, the *waka* (H. M. Mead, 2003).

Introductions within Māori cultural contexts are not merely interested in occupations or professional qualifications, but which *tūpuna* one is descended from and their geographical locations (Glynn, 2013). Hence, within Māori cultural contexts, Māori will introduce themselves by naming their ancestral mountain, ancestral river, canoe, tribe, and subtribe, to ensure that “through these affiliations their identity is made clear to those listening” (R. Anderson, 2011, p. 66).

Further, *whakapapa* is a source of confidence and pride (Puketapu-Andrews, 1997), which some Māori signify through *tā moko*, as a way of articulating their identity (Pritchard, 2000), and as an expression of their *whakapapa* (Robley, 2003). The individual is then connected to his/her *tūpuna* and *whakapapa* (Christian Palmer & Tano, 2004). According to Nikora, Rua and Te Awekotuku (2003), *tā moko* is a “celebration of identity, of *whakapapa* – kinship, belonging” (p. 7). *Whakapapa* is also manifested in *whare whakairo*⁴¹ as the traditional carvings are images of *tūpuna* (Simpson, 1996). Other representations of *whakapapa* are photographs of *tūpuna* (Binney, 2010), which are treated as *taonga* especially after their death (Dudding, 2003).

In the context of this research, the aforementioned symbols of *whakapapa* (*tā moko*, *whare whakairo*, and photographs of *tūpuna*) have appeared in public information advertisements. According to Appiah’s (2004) perspective, those public information advertisements that depict symbols of *whakapapa* are culturally embedded as they are rich in cultural cues pertaining to the characters, values, symbols, material objects of a particular cultural group. Within the tradition of semiotics as a form of analysis (i.e., Saussure, 1959), it would appear that the signifiers of Māori identity (namely, *whakapapa* and *taonga*) were purposefully placed within public information advertisements in order to connect with Māori audiences, as part of wider campaigns to persuade people to change their behaviour.

⁴¹ Carved house, meeting house.

On the subject of behaviour (and the concerns that were identified in Crisis: The Health and Social Issues) in relation to *whakapapa*, Te Rito (2007) summarised the view of contemporary Māori leaders, that “the ‘loss’ of such identity and *whakapapa* connections by urban Māori has been a contributing factor to Māori being over-represented with regard to the ills of present society” (p. 4). A recent news article quoted a Māori leader of a youth group who raised concerns about youth not knowing their *whakapapa*, and that “All sorts of issues come from not having an identity” (Maioha Tokotaua as cited in Coster, 2014, para. 8). This concern leads into the final part of this section, Māori Cultural Identity.

Māori Cultural Identity

The work of Professor Sir Mason Durie (of *Ngāti Kaunghata*⁴²) has long argued that Māori health and wellbeing is reliant upon a secure Māori cultural identity. According to his model of Māori cultural identity (M. Durie, 1995a, 1997, 1998), a secure cultural identity entails the following: self-identification as Māori plus quantifiable involvement in and/or knowledge of (1) *whakapapa* (as described in the previous subsection); (2) *marae* participation; (3) *whānau* associations; (4) *whenua tipu*⁴³; (5) contacts with Māori people; and (6) Māori language. Those cultural indicators were used for measuring Māori cultural identity in his study, Te Hoe Nuku Roa, a longitudinal study of 700 Māori households for Māori cultural, social and economic advancement, by scholars from Massey University (see A. Durie, 1996; M. Durie, 1995a, 1997, 1998; Stevenson, 2004).

The study found four profiles of Māori cultural identity: (1) secure identity; (2) positive identity; (3) notional identity; and (4) compromised identity. A secure identity profile had all of the cultural indicators above as outlined by M. Durie (1997). A positive identity had a strong sense of being Māori but had lower levels of involvement with Māori society and cultural resources. A notional identity profile identified as being Māori but was not involved with Māori society and cultural resources. The compromised identity did not identify themselves as Māori, even though they may have had some involvement with

⁴² A tribe in the Manawatū (Tainui).

⁴³ Ancestral land(s).

Māori society and cultural resources. In terms of the results of the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study, after 200 responses were analysed, 35 percent of the cohort fitted the criteria for a secure identity, 53 percent a positive identity, 6 percent a notional identity, and 6 percent a compromised identity (M. Durie, 1998).

In van Meijl's (2006) ethnographic study of urban Māori youth on a training course for "school dropouts" (p. 917), he noted that all of the Māori youth on that particular course could be classified as either notional identity or compromised identity according to M. Durie's model of Māori cultural identity. In describing the Māori youth on the particular training course, van Meijl (2006) wrote –

The classic model *for* a Māori identity, so to speak, is not a model *of* their identity as Māori. Their Māori identity is not characterized by pride in Māori customs and history, but, instead, by a second-rate status in New Zealand society: poor education records, high unemployment, low incomes, alcohol and drug abuse, shocking crime statistics, excessive rates of teenage pregnancies, etc. (p. 919)

In effect, the 'type' of Māori that van Meijl (2006) described from his ethnographic observations, share similarities with those discussed in Crisis: The Health and Social Issues. Thus, it would be fair to say that Māori who fit into M. Durie's (1995a, 1997, 1998) notional identity and compromised identity, are significantly overrepresented in the negative health and social statistics. The characters that are portrayed in the public information advertisements seem to be represented in the same mould. For example, the accommodation depicted in the advertisements appeared to be state housing in lower socio-economic areas, and the advertisements never seem to show Māori as professionals in business attire. Therefore, it would seem that diverse identities and realities do exist for Māori but the public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences appear to represent Māori homogenously.

Summary

This section, Tuakiri: Identity, explored the concept of identity, which as shown, has been a subject of contentious debate among scholars. My understanding of identity was described and explained and then an overview of the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) was provided. Rationale was given as to why studies of Māori identity have often been underpinned by the social identity perspective, primarily due to notions of collectivism as the perspective does not begin with assumptions based on individuals, but rather the social group. Thereafter, I attempted to discuss the complexities of defining Māori, before discussing the importance of *whakapapa* in relation to identity. M. Durie's (1995a, 1997, 1998) model of Māori cultural identity was introduced, based upon his renowned Te Hoe Nuku Roa longitudinal study of 700 Māori households. Using van Meijl's (2006) ethnographic study, I concluded that the health and social issues where Māori are negatively overrepresented are probably located within M. Durie's (1995a, 1997, 1998) notional identity or compromised identity profiles, despite the diverse identities and realities of Māori.

The preceding chapters of this thesis that were grounded in the scholarship were used to inform the overarching research objective, namely, of understanding Māori perspectives of public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences in Aotearoa New Zealand. During the review, several gaps in the literature were highlighted and important concerns were raised. Firstly, there is an absence of any scholarly literature that is specifically focused on public information advertisements and Māori as a target audience. There was a lack of social marketing literature generally within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, and Māori as a target market/audience have been neglected not just in terms of social marketing but also commercial marketing. The review also found that the concept of identity had been overlooked within the social marketing literature. While Māori representation within Aotearoa New Zealand media had been analysed, primarily through methodologies such as discourse analysis and content analysis, very few qualitative

studies have been undertaken that actually gained Māori perspectives and certainly no completed studies have been published concerning Māori perspectives of public information advertisements.

It is clear that these chapters have established a context for this research to be undertaken. However, one of the gaps identified in this review was an absence of scholarly literature from those behind the public information advertisements, namely the government organisations. Without diverting from the overarching purpose of this research, which is to gain Māori perspectives of the public information advertisements, I decided to interview two key figures from the New Zealand Transport Agency to contextualise the study. This last-minute add-on will be discussed in the following chapter, which addresses the research methodologies that were used to guide this thesis and the specific research procedures.

5 METHODOLOGY

“We ought to be open to using any theory and practice with emancipatory relevance to our Indigenous struggle” – Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2000, p. 214)

The above quote by Graham Hingangaroa Smith is pertinent to all Māori research. The term ‘emancipatory’ is a key element of both critical theory and *kaupapa Māori* theory. For example, Geuss (1981) wrote that the aim of critical theory is focused on emancipation and enlightenment while S. Walker, Eketone and Gibbs (2006) asserted that *kaupapa Māori* is a radical collaborative-based process that is not only emancipatory but also empowering. In terms of explaining emancipation, I draw on Horkheimer’s (1982, 2002) explanation that striving for a society without exploitation or oppression is fundamental to critical theory. Within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, for Māori this means pursuing self-determination, autonomy, and control over Māori affairs. The role of a Māori academic should be to take a critical stance and their work should be of positive benefit to Māori (L. T. Smith, 1999). A critical theory within an Aotearoa New Zealand context for Māori people is *kaupapa Māori* (L. T. Smith, 1999, 2000).

This chapter will introduce both critical theory and *kaupapa Māori* as the philosophical perspectives that have guided this research. According to Willis (2007), paradigms are comprehensive belief systems, world views, or frameworks that guide research, and there is no reliable method of determining that one paradigm is superior to the others. Chilisa (2012) posits that a research paradigm is a worldview approach that is guided by ontology (the nature of social reality), epistemology (ways of knowing), and axiology (ethics and values systems). Regardless of where the research fits on the ‘scientific’ spectrum, it is not free from philosophical considerations (Dunkel, 1953).

Besides the philosophical approaches, the theoretical frameworks of communication that have influenced my approach are also outlined in this chapter. The chapter also elucidates the specific methods of inquiry which were used to gather and analyse data about the social phenomenon, namely focus groups and interviews, and grounded theory (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Grounded theory is appropriate for this research, as it is not restricted by epistemological or ontological perspectives and can be used in conjunction with any philosophical paradigm of the researcher’s choice (Holton, 2008). While heavily relying on grounded theory, I have also included thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008), and this will be discussed in detail. Overall, the ‘takeaway’ component of this chapter is that my research is grounded in *kaupapa Māori* and is emancipatory, anti-oppressive and critical, and this research aims to bring positive benefits to Māori communities.

Critical Theory

The origins of mass communication as an area of academic research can be traced back to the Frankfurt School (Maharey, 1990), otherwise known as the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany (Finlayson, 2005; D. Harris, 2003). The predominantly Jewish scholars (Abromeit, 2011; Jacobs, 2015) from the Frankfurt School comprised philosophers, sociologists and psychologists, and also cultural critics (Finlayson, 2005;

Held, 1980). The Frankfurt School are commonly known as the founders of critical theory (Braaten, 1991; Dahms, 2011; Geuss, 1981), or contributors to the groundwork of it (P. A. Taylor & Harris, 2008).

The scholars of the Frankfurt School observed within Nazi Germany that media had a powerful role in shaping the minds and behaviour of the population (P. A. Taylor & Harris, 2008), particularly with the use of radio and film to disseminate ideologies to the masses (Maharey, 1990). As mentioned earlier, Germany under the Nazi regime was the first country to implement social marketing nationally in the 1930s and early 1940s with their anti-smoking campaigns (Lengwiler, 2005; Proctor, 1996). Thus, the conceptualisation of mass media proved to be an area of interest for the Frankfurt School, including writings on the culture industry (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002) and also the analysis of television and imagery (Adorno, 1954). The Frankfurt School gained a reputation for their work concerning the political economy of the media, the cultural analysis of texts, and the combined social and ideological effects of mass culture and communication on audiences (Kellner, 1995).

Underpinning critical theory is the idea that certain elements of the social world are deeply flawed and require transformation (Baran & Davis, 2012; Edgar, & Sedgwick, 2002; May & Powell, 2008). Whenever there is not agreement there tends to be criticism. As a research process, criticism is describing, analysing and evaluating the social world in order to understand it. This involves forming a perspective of the social world and then theorising how it should be and what action should be taken to attain it (Dant, 2003). Or as Budd (2008) asserted, central to critical theory is a critique of the current state and how to reach the desired state, and therefore critical theory views theory and action as being interwoven (McKinnon, 2009). Further, criticism is necessary to advance knowledge (Downing, Mohammadi & Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995).

Baran and Davis (2012) made an assertion that critical theory is one of the four major categories of communication theory with the other three being postpositivism,

hermeneutic theory, and normative theory. In writing about critical theory applied to communication, R. T. Craig (1999) made a contestable claim that, “For the critical theorist, an activity that merely reproduces existing social order, or even one that produces new social order, is not yet authentic communication” (p. 148). The debate concerning authentic communication highlights the type of thinking that critical theorists bring to the study of communication.

Various strands of communication have adopted critical theory, for example, critical organizational communication (Mumby, 1988, 1993, 2008, 2013, 2014), critical political communication (Bruner, 2006, 2010), and critical public relations (L’Etang, McKie, Snow & Xifra, 2016). Despite the popularity of critical theory, Kaplan (2003) wrote that in order for a social theory to be truly considered a critical theory, it should not only examine and describe social phenomenon but it should also identify and be critical of oppression and it must always challenge structures of power and authority regardless of context and location. An indigenous social theory that seems to match Kaplan’s (2003) criteria of critical theory is *kaupapa Māori*.

Kaupapa Māori

As a Māori doctoral candidate conducting research among Māori within a Māori setting, there is a natural tendency for me to favour *kaupapa Māori* as the philosophical research approach. As a Māori researcher studying the social life experiences of Māori, it is difficult not to be influenced by the works of Māori scholars like Ranginui Walker. His passing occurred while I was editing this thesis so I was inspired to revisit some of his books. When I re-read some of the chapters in *Ngā pepa a Ranginui: The Walker Papers* (1996), it seemed as though Walker was describing the issues of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand in 2016. Everything was relevant and highly applicable to today. The struggle continues and my work is influenced by and situated within the *kaupapa Māori*

approach. Moreover, I align with the *kaupapa Māori* approach because I am an advocate of *tikanga* within Māori settings and in interactions with Māori people.

The *kaupapa Māori* approach has been referred to as a localised critical theory (L. T. Smith, 1999, 2000). I would say that ‘localised’ is the correct terminology as it is not widely recognised outside of Aotearoa New Zealand. I state this because I used *kaupapa Māori* as the philosophical approach for a paper to an American-based scholarly journal that is ranked A by the Australian Business Deans Council journal ‘quality’ list. I was given the following response by a reviewer: “A good manuscript, a good abstract... A very poor methodology”. Needless to say the paper was rejected. The basis for rejection was in itself a form of ethnocentrism which reflected certain cultural biases that are ingrained in the academy. Hobson and Hall (2010) wrote about the struggle for Māori research to be accepted by overseas journals as they do not recognise *kaupapa Māori* research. Therefore, *kaupapa Māori* research is under-valued as papers are often published in Māori or other indigenous research journals rather than the ‘prestigious’ overseas journals. Despite the issues of academic recognition and credibility, I put it forward here as an approach that underpins my research.

That being said, the definition of *kaupapa Māori* is like any term to which scholars will add their interpretation of its meaning (M. Durie, 2012; R. Mahuika, 2008; H. Moewaka Barnes, 2000). Eketone (2008) said that the definition of *kaupapa Māori* will differ depending on who is asked. There is also debate as to whether *kaupapa Māori* is a paradigm or not, with some researchers saying this argument should be avoided as it encourages unconstructive comparisons with the western academy (Ratima, 2003). The Māori Health Committee of the Health Research Council of New Zealand (2010) defined *kaupapa Māori* as being the “philosophy, theory, methodology and practice of research for the benefit of Māori which is also produced by Māori” (p. 7). M. Durie (2012) best summarised *kaupapa Māori* when he said that it should be seen as a Māori approach to research which is based on a Māori worldview.

An objective of *kaupapa Māori* research is that it must provide useful outcomes for Māori (Cram, 2002). One way of doing so is the commitment to critically analysing unequal power relations (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). While this may sound overtly political, *kaupapa Māori* is political, because, as Pihama (2001) argued, everything associated with the struggle for the position of Māori is political. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) also contended that critical indigenous qualitative research is always political. The idea of being political is embedded within my research as the health and social issues that are the focus of the public information advertisements concern the welfare of citizens. Further, the public information advertisements are primarily government-driven to persuade Māori into other behaviours, which automatically brings politics into the equation.

Of importance to this research, A. Moewaka Barnes et al. (2012) wrote that *kaupapa Māori* can guide investigations of media communication such as television in order to develop and progress media representations of the indigenous and other marginalised groups. This is aligned with the philosophy of my doctoral research. Let there be no doubt whatsoever that my research is founded upon the idea of improving the health and social wellbeing for Māori by examining certain communication practices through a critical lens. *Kaupapa Māori* provides the underlying philosophy of how I approach the research which is congruent to *tikanga Māori*.

Other Māori scholars have underpinned their research with similar philosophies such as postcolonial theory (see Ghandi, 1998; Knopf, 2008), although it has faced some criticism (N. Mahuika, 2011). The name given to postcolonial criticism conjures the notion that colonialism has finished (Chilisa, 2012; Tyson, 2006). L. T. Smith (1999) recalled an academic conference whereby Aboriginal activist Bobbi Sykes asked the audience about postcolonialism: “What? Postcolonialism? Have they left?” (p. 24).

Chávez (2009) asserted that postcolonial theory examines the processes of colonisation and decolonisation, and asks questions about identity, use and misuse of knowledge from the colonised by the colonisers, and response to oppression. The theory

behind this has created a body of literature that aims to counter the dominant manner in which relations among the ‘west’ and ‘colonised’ peoples and their worlds are viewed (R. J. C. Young, 2001, 2003). The ideas of Frantz Fanon (1963, 1964, 1965, 1967) and Edward Said (1978, 1994, 1997) laid the foundation for postcolonial criticism which inspired Māori scholars including L. T. Smith (1999). Postcolonial theory is intertwined with critical theory which is demonstrated by Edward Said’s statement in an interview when he said that he is “The only true follower of Adorno” (as cited in Bayoumi, 2007, p. 49; C. McCarthy, 2010, p. 46) which shows the influence of the Frankfurt School within postcolonial criticism.

Bishop (1995) advocated that by using a *kaupapa Māori* approach, all components of the research including knowledge and power is held by the participants which is in contrast to power relationships between ‘the researcher and the researched’ in some areas of the academy. It could be argued that *kaupapa Māori* is a blueprint of ethical research. But the reality is that most *kaupapa Māori* research, like all research, still has power imbalances between ‘the researcher and the researched’ as it falls under the realm of a university and its requirements. For example, the university requires research participants to sign consent forms but the university does not sign anything. In terms of ethics, the university’s ethics committee approved the application, but it was a formality as the obligation to be ethical before, during and after the research, is part and parcel of being a Māori researcher. The rules and procedures of the ethics committee were followed, with participant information sheets and standard consent forms used during the research process, without any problems arising along the way.

As a Māori researcher (in training) there is certainly a level of enjoyment and personal satisfaction that is derived from working with Māori, but there is also the burden of responsibility that comes with the collection of Māori knowledge and positioning that knowledge within the academic domain. Stucki (2010) stated that in Māoridom all

knowledge is considered *tapu*⁴⁴ as it is seen to have been handed down from *Atua*⁴⁵ and passed on by *tūpuna*. Further, according to Cram (2002), regarding researching among Māori communities there are issues of trust and suspicion towards researchers. Therefore, any research that is undertaken with Māori needs to be carefully planned and ‘culturally safe’. There is a distinct advantage of being Māori in this process. For myself, I am Māori as both of my parents are Māori. My mother was literally raised at our *marae*, Kauwhata Pa (near Feilding in the Manawatū), and she did not move into town until she was a teenager. So my ‘Māoriness’ was a natural aid for building rapport and researching among Māori. Furthermore, I am comfortable within Māori settings and I have respect for *tikanga*.

The *kaupapa Māori* approach has guided the general design of my research and the interactions with my research participants but other considerations should also be noted, such as the influence, support and guidance from my supervisors who are Pākehā. Moreover, the use of western literature has been widely referenced throughout this thesis, including the theoretical framework drawn from communication theory that is covered in the next section.

Communication Theory

In the development of this thesis I have been particularly influenced by the various works of Stuart Hall, particularly his edited text, *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (1997c). Given that his work on representation was influenced by Ferdinand de Saussure (Downing & Husband, 2005), the founder of semiology/semiotics (Chandler, 2007), the study of signs (Saussure, 1959) has also been influential. Of relevance to the philosophical approaches of this research, Stuart Hall worked within a theoretical framework that was aligned with Frankfurt School (H. Davis, 2004), and was therefore situated within the critical perspective. The qualitative methods of inquiry have been used by scholars informed by critical theory and cultural studies to investigate how the media

⁴⁴ Sacred, prohibited, restricted.

⁴⁵ God.

play a role in asserting and maintaining power relationships within society and how their messages are received and interpreted within societies (Chaffee & Metzger, 2001).

The concept of mass communication has a range of different meanings to different people (Chaffee & Metzger, 2001). Littlejohn and Foss (2008) defined mass communication as “the process whereby media organizations produce and transmit messages to large publics and the process by which those messages are sought, used, understood, and influenced by audiences” (p. 285). This definition of mass communication encompasses public information advertisements, or television advertisements as part of social marketing interventions. Communication also underpins advertising, as according to Richards and Curran (2002), advertising is a paid, mediated form of communication that is designed as a form of persuasion to take action either now or in the future. In simpler terms, the intent of an advertisement is to communicate a message to receivers (Hackley, 2005). In order to better conceptualise mass communication and to situate it within this research, I will provide an overview of four dominant theories of mass communication that are relevant to this research.

Propaganda Theory

Propaganda theory was the first systematic theory of mass communication (Baran & Davis, 2012) and is used to create effective advertising (Friedman, 1988). The theory is founded on the seminal works of scholars such as Lasswell (1927), Bernays (1928), and more recently Herman and Chomsky (1988). The origin of the word ‘propaganda’ can be traced back to the Reformation (Edwards, 1994) with the establishment of a Papal office in Rome that coordinated the dissemination of information in foreign lands (J. Black, 2010). However, it became affixed to the distribution of messages promoting Nazism through Joseph Goebbels (Axelrod, 2009), and thus ‘propaganda’ has taken on pejorative associations in everyday language (Welch, 2003b). The concept of propaganda has been defined as “a form of persuasion involving a mass message campaign designed to discourage rational thought and to suppress evidence” (Steinfatt, 2009, p. 804).

Of significance to this research is that propaganda is often seen as a tool of government policy and is used in advertising (Steinfatt, 2009), most likely because it embeds values and assumptions (Steuter & Wills, 2008). Further, a primary goal of propaganda is to influence how people act and to lead them to believe that their actions are voluntary. This bears similarities to the underpinning ideas of social marketing. As D. Saunders (1994) asserted, there is a close relationship between propaganda and ideology. In addition, Friedman (1988) argued that institutional advertisements, political advertisements and advertisements that promote an ideology are closely related to propaganda.

Within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, Paterson (2004) examined government-printed Māori language newspapers that first started in 1855. Drawing upon the work by Lasswell (1927), Paterson (2004) found that the Pākehā-run newspapers were not concerned with representing facts but were engaged in disseminating value dispositions that fall within Harold Lasswell's definition of propaganda. In terms of propaganda relating to health in Aotearoa New Zealand, Dow (2003) wrote that the first use of health propaganda targeted at Māori began in the 1890s and was focused on messaging for general health, sanitation in Māori homes, smallpox and infant welfare.

Encoding/Decoding Model – Reception Theory

The classical model of communication (Shannon, 1948a, 1948b; Shannon & Weaver, 1949) is the most influential linear model of communication within the scholarship (Fiske, 1990; Nicotera, 2009), and was originally designed to describe the transmission of electrical signals (K. Eriksson, 2011). However, Bowman and Targowski (1987) wrote that Shannon and Weaver's model is no longer adequate for describing human communication because of its complexities. Therefore, Stuart Hall's (1973, 1980) encoding/decoding model introduced a sociocultural element to understanding television. Fundamentally, the encoding/decoding model maintains that television messages are encoded; constructed by institutions within specific sociocultural contexts. The messages are then decoded, or

interpreted, by the receivers, and these may take on different meanings depending upon the cultural backgrounds and personal experiences of the receivers.

Essentially, Stuart Hall (1973, 1980) argued that the producers of a message intend that the receivers will have a preferred or dominant reading. This means that the message is decoded (interpreted) exactly as it was intended when it was created. However, it is possible that the receivers may accept and reject certain elements of the dominant code – this is called a negotiated reading. At the far end of the spectrum is the oppositional reading; this means that the receivers have formed interpretations in direct opposition to the preferred or dominant reading.

This communication model essentially moved the site of meaning away from the message and towards the audience, or from text to reader (Fiske, 2011), and reflects the polysemic nature of television (Bignall, 2013; Gray & Lotz, 2012). Polysemy in terms of communication implies that “the meaning of a text is produced in the act of reception and that it is essentially subject to differing interpretation” (J. Watson & Hill, 2012, p. 229). As such, the term ‘reception theory’ is associated with the individual works by Hall and Fiske but also applied in the interpretation of literature and art (e.g., Holub, 2003).

Reception theory is applicable to this research for two reasons. Firstly, both Stuart Hall and Fiske initially theorised it in relation to television viewing which is where this research is situated. Secondly, the idea of polysemy is pertinent, as Pere and Barnes (2009) pointed out that “presented with the same picture, Māori and non-Māori perceive images differently” (p. 451). This is akin to the research of Porter and Samovar (1988) who stated that a message between two cultures is transformed through the decoding process as the decoding culture becomes part of the meaning of the message. In other words, there is potential for a public information advertisement (encoded by Pākehā) to be decoded differently by Māori. This is understandable given that Māori communicate differently; preferring, for example, to avoid directness (M. Durie, 2002). Despite Māori and Pākehā co-existing together within Aotearoa New Zealand society, the perceptions and insights are

often varied between Māori and non-Māori (M. Jackson, 1987). Moreover, there are echoes of the previous discussion that was mentioned in Criticisms of Social Marketing, as reception theory says that the dominant ideologies or value systems are embedded into the text as it is into the social system (Fiske, 1986).

Source Credibility Theory

Source credibility theory (Hovland & Weiss, 1951; Hovland, Janis & Kelley, 1953) contends that the message is more likely to be believed if the source is perceived as credible. Markham (1968) argued that source credibility and ethos are the same phenomenon. While ethos came from the times of Ancient Greece (Griffin, 2012), it was defined more recently by K. Andersen and Clevenger (1963) as being “the image held of a communicator at a given time by a receiver – either one person or a group” (p. 59).

According to source credibility theory, the two factors of credibility are expertise and trustworthiness (Belch & Belch, 2003; Fulton, 1970). In other words, those who are viewed as trusted experts are more likely to have persuasive effects than those who are seen to be untrustworthy and incompetent. This is why pharmaceutical advertisements will often use doctors to promote their products (Duck, 2007; Iacobucci, 2015), as people are unlikely to doubt the views of authority as it would mean a deviation from social norms (J. O’Shaughnessy & O’Shaughnessy, 2004). Other scholars have added their own factors to credibility such as dynamism (Berlo, Lemert & Mertz, 1969), objectivity (Whitehead, 1968), and many others (see Fulton, 1970). The source attractiveness model (McGuire, 1985) which focuses on likeability, familiarity and similarity, while distinct from source credibility theory, is often viewed together with source credibility theory (McCracken, 2005; Peetz & Lough, 2016).

Bivins (2004) acknowledged that credibility can be damaged if false claims are made in advertisements or by insensitivity to audiences. Moreover, a source will not necessarily be seen as credible by all audience members (Severin & Tankard, 2009), as with similarities to the aforementioned reception theory, ethnocentrism can influence judgments of

credibility (Castillo, 2015). Credibility is determined by the audience's perception of the source. As R. K. Thomas (2006) argued, "perceptions rather than reality may determine the manner in which the message is received" (p. 87).

Credibility has been noted by scholars such as S. M. Mead (1997) and Berryman (2013) as being particularly important within a Māori context. When Māori recite the names of their mountains, rivers, canoes, tribes and so forth, not only are they establishing links with others who are present, they are also enhancing their credibility (Rewi, 2010). This links the relationship between having a Māori cultural identity (M. Durie, 1995a, 1997, 1998), as discussed earlier, and credibility within a Māori context. A similar observation was made by Irwin (1992) concerning her research with Māori, who stated that not having the ability to speak *te reo Māori*⁴⁶ "would negatively impact on my credibility to do the work and my actual ability to do it" (p. 14). Irwin's views were written not long after the Māori renaissance (see Henry, 2007; R. Walker, 2004) where non-speakers of *te reo Māori* were attacked through "symbolic violence of the cultural intra group kind" (Irwin, 1992, p. 14). While this seems to be no longer the case, it is fair to conclude that credibility is an important factor to consider when seeking engagement with Māori audiences.

Cultivation Theory

Cultivation theory, also known as cultivation analysis (Shanahan, 2009), was introduced by Gerbner (1967, 1969) and is focused on television viewing although it has been applied to other media (Laughey, 2007). Cultivation theory is centred on television consumption and how it influences television viewers' conceptions of social reality (Gerbner, 1998; Shanahan & Morgan, 1999). For example, given that television often depicts violence (Gunter, Harrison & Wykes, 2003), the theory suggests that heavy viewers of television are more likely to perceive the world as being a violent place (Shanahan, 2009). However, Gerbner's use of 'heavy' television viewing has not been clearly defined. As Gunter (2000) summarised, Gerbner has used different definitions of 'heavy' television

⁴⁶ The Māori language.

viewing in different studies although across the literature a common definition of heavy viewing seems to have settled at four hours a day. In the context of this research it is relevant given that a recent study by Rubie-Davies et al. (2013) claimed that the average New Zealander could potentially watch 263 minutes of television advertisements per week.

While Gerbner was initially concerned with violence on television and the impact it had on perceptions of social reality, the theory has been used to speculate about the impact of television on a wider range of issues, such as perceptions of health risks associated with smoking (Griffin, 2012). Gerbner (1995) was also highly critical of public service announcements because, as he pointed out, anti-violence public service announcements in the United States tend to reinforce negative messages and stereotypes about violence (Gerbner, 1995). This was supported by his research which found that public service announcements in the United States purport that violence is predominantly an African-American problem. Gerbner (1995) claimed, “Eyebrows must be raised, then, when media corporations produce PSAs to ‘educate the public’ ” (p. 294).

Summary of Communication Theory

The theories of mass communication that were discussed, namely, propaganda theory, reception theory (encoding/decoding model), source credibility theory, and cultivation theory, are relevant to this research because they are applicable to social marketing interventions and public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences. Moreover, it could be argued that the theories tend to be aligned with a critical perspective which recognises that mass communication is an instrument of power. As already mentioned, this thesis has taken a critical approach to research, so the selected theories fit comfortably within that perspective. Besides philosophical perspectives and influential theories, another aspect of this research is grounded theory.

Grounded Theory

All scientific approaches, including qualitative procedures such as focus groups and interviews, require careful judgement when conceptualising data (Stewart, Shamdasani & Rook, 2007). While there is some criticism about qualitative data being subjective and challenging to understand, the conceptualisation of qualitative data can be just as rigorous as any other method (Hammersley, 1992; Merriam, 2009; Stewart et al., 2007). The method of analysis for this qualitative study was based upon grounded theory. Developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory is one of the most popular forms of research designs globally (Birks & Mills, 2011) because of its practical application of understanding behaviour and action within social settings (McCallin, Nathaniel & Andrews, 2011). An advantage of using grounded theory is that it is a simple inductive model that works with any data type and is not associated with any theoretical perspective (Glaser, 2003, 2005).

Strauss and Corbin (1994) defined grounded theory as “a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed” (p. 273). The grounded theory process involves methodically analysing units of data to create emergent codes, which are expanded upon so that relationships are identified (Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013). The crux of grounded theory is that patterns and theories are hidden within data and are waiting to be located as opposed to being predefined and tested (Cohen et. al, 2007). The typical conclusion is a comprehensive theory that explains a process or scheme that is linked with a phenomenon (Birks & Mills, 2011). Glaser (2007) pointed out that grounded theory produces conceptual hypotheses rather than findings or facts.

In keeping aligned with *kaupapa Māori*, there has been criticism of grounded theory within an indigenous research context. Denzin (2007), who has written extensively about qualitative research, claimed that “critical theory, and grounded theory, without modification, will not work within indigenous settings” (p. 456). However, explanations

were not given as to what needed to be modified or how. Therefore, I queried Barney Glaser (the co-founder of grounded theory) about the need for modification in order for grounded theory to work within indigenous settings. In a diplomatic manner, Glaser refuted the assertion and further stated that “It is all just data with patterns in it” (B. Glaser, personal communication, July 7, 2014). Further, a cursory search of the repositories of universities in Aotearoa New Zealand showed that grounded theory is a common method of analysis in *kaupapa Māori* research (see Baker, 2008; Pohe, 2012; Stuart, 2009; D. Wilson, 2004; among others).

The specific procedures of data collection that I used were focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. I video recorded the focus group discussions and the semi-structured interviews. Video recordings can capture voice tone and volume, facial expressions, body language and other communicative gestures that might be important to understand the meaning behind the spoken words (Griffiths, 2013; M. Jones & Alony, 2011; Saldana, 2009). These factors assist understanding human communication as Birdwhistell (1970) argued that words carry only about 30 to 35 percent of social meaning in a conversation. As Māori are considered to be a high-context culture (M. R. Lee, 2014; Samson & Daft, 2012), nonverbal communication should be observed as high-context communication involves higher uses of nonverbal forms of expression than low-context communication (E. T. Hall, 1976; Martin & Nakayama, 2013; Novinger, 2001).

At the conclusion of each focus group discussion and interview, I conducted a reflective process of note taking, or memo writing (Glaser, 1978). Memos are essentially ideas that have been recorded during the data collection process and can be simply just a few lines or even several pages that will assist the researcher to make sense of the responses (Goulding, 2002). K. Locke (2001) summarises it as the act of free form notetaking of thoughts, ideas and responses to the data. I was already accustomed to notetaking as a former police officer, as the police are trained to record conversations, events and observations (Lyman, 2011). To view an example of one page of memo writing that was

written as part of this research immediately at the conclusion of a focus group discussion, see Appendix D.

I viewed the video recordings multiple times as this facilitates the assessment of verbal and nonverbal data (Polgar & Thomas, 2013). While standard practice is to outsource the transcription process to a professional transcription service (Kuniavsky, 2003), I transcribed the video recordings to familiarise myself with the data and to conduct further analysis (see Stewart et al., 2007). I used the complete verbatim method as opposed to intelligent verbatim (Jensen & Laurie, 2016), as I wanted to ensure that the words of participants in text were identical to the recording. Further, I wanted to include Māori vernacular English and disfluent speech such as non-lexical forms of communication which include “laughter, crying, grunts, squeals, sighs” (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008, p. 67) to capture their intended meanings, as much as possible.

After I typed each transcript, I then conducted a line-by-line analysis of text (see Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). A line-by-line analysis ensures that the data will be examined microscopically (K. Locke, 2001). I considered using qualitative data analysis software, such as NVivo, in light of the advanced technological capabilities that exist. However, after researching the software, I concluded that while qualitative analysis software can systematically analyse textual data as quantifiable chunks of data, it has limitations about the recognition of expressions such as emotion, sarcasm, tones and attitude. In addition, Goulding (2002) argued that it is beneficial for the researcher to undertake this task because it allows a deeper level of interpretation and analysis of data.

I felt that I was able to familiarise myself with the data by constantly going back and re-reading the conversations to a point where often I was able to recall some of the conversations verbatim. During all stages of data collection and analysis, I cross-checked the data for constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This method relies on the researcher to continuously reflect on the data by comparing all memos and transcripts to conceptualise the range of underlying meanings within the data (M. Jones & Alony, 2011).

I used a variety of methods to compare the initial patterns that were identified in the transcripts, such as concept mapping (K. M. Jackson & Trochim, 2002). There was a significant number of identified patterns across the focus group discussions and interviews.

Eventually, through constant comparison and cross checking, the patterns were developed into broader themes. These themes achieved validation when no new concepts were forthcoming, or had, in other words, achieved saturation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; M. Jones & Alony, 2011), which occurs when new data fails to add new patterns (Birks & Mills, 2011). According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), conceptual categories or themes are generated from the data, and then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to describe and support the theme. Glaser (2013) recently stated that terms such as codes, concepts, and categories are often used within the literature, but are synonymous for patterns.

The processes of grounded theory are not about interpreting meaning as described by the research participants but rather are about conceptual abstraction (Holton, 2007). Glaser (2002a) has been critical of researchers who focus on analysis rather than conceptualisation, stating that some researchers fail to recognise conceptual categories and also do not identify rich concepts because they are trying too hard to describe the data. The product of grounded theory research should be “transcending abstraction” (Glaser, 2007, p. 1), which he describes as “an abstraction from time, place and people that frees the researcher from the tyranny of normal distortion by humans trying to get an accurate description to solve the worrisome accuracy problem” (Glaser, 2002b, para. 3).

Before concluding this section about grounded theory, I would like to reiterate that the methodology I have used was *based upon* grounded theory. There are several reasons why I have taken the cautious approach of not being confined to the absolute method of analysis. Firstly, the founders of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967), have stated that researchers should not conduct a literature review of the topic of study until after the analysis. For example, Glaser and Strauss (1967) said that researchers should literally

“ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study” (p. 37). In other words, to conduct a classical grounded theory study as directed by the founders of grounded theory, the researcher must not read any literature whatsoever that is associated with the phenomenon to be studied. This has been reiterated by Glaser multiple times to avoid any misconception, for example -

Grounded theory’s very strong dicta are a) do not do a literature review in the substantive area and related areas where the research is to be done, and b) when the grounded theory is nearly completed during the sorting and writing up, then the literature search in the substantive area can be accomplished and woven into the theory as more data for constant comparison. (Glaser, 1998, p. 67)

However, while purposely ignoring literature is the suggested approach that is recommended by the founders of grounded theory, from a pragmatic perspective this is not feasible (Backman & Kyngas, 1999). As Dunne (2011) pointed out, it is impractical for doctoral researchers not to familiarise themselves with the literature as it is a requirement of the accepted procedures of doctoral studies. For example, within my university, a literature review is compulsory for a Doctor of Philosophy proposal application, ethics application, and for confirmation of doctoral candidature (Auckland University of Technology, 2013, 2014, 2015). In fact, an extensive review of literature is required to be written before confirmation of candidature takes place after one year of doctoral studies, and must also be presented to faculty members.

Secondly, there is much debate among scholars of grounded theory as to what grounded theory actually is and how to apply it (Hernandez, 2008; LaRossa, 2005). Even the founders, Glaser and Strauss, had an ideological split in the 1990s which resulted in confusion among researchers (Aldiabat & La Navenec, 2011; Dunne, 2011; G. L. Evans,

2013). Because of this diversion of ideas, Glaser has written a plethora of papers outlining what grounded theory is, and what it is not (e.g., Glaser, 2014).

Thirdly, grounded theory proposes that a new theory is generated from the study. I have purposely chosen not to generate a new theory as I believe that this research cannot be generalised across all sections of Māori society. As I have previously stated, Māori are not homogenous (Dunstall, 1981; Houkamau, 2010; Houkamau & Sibley, 2014) and are just as diverse as any other ethnocultural group. So I am reluctant to put forward a single theory which may be cast over all Māori.

The fourth and final reason why this research is *based upon* grounded theory is because it also bears similarities with thematic analysis (Riessman, 2008) from which I have also drawn ideas from as I navigated the literature of qualitative data analysis. Thematic analysis is a qualitative research methodology that identifies patterns across a data set (Benner, 2008; Boyatzis, 1998). The thematic analysis that was outlined by Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) had similarities to grounded theory although they stated that thematic analysis permits the use of “whatever tools might be appropriate to get the analytic job done” (p. 18). This flexible approach provided a licence to deviate from some rules of grounded theory, such as not conducting a literature review. According to Ezzy (2002), there are no distinguishable coding procedures between grounded theory and thematic analysis. Although, a key difference between the two approaches is that grounded theory does not require quantification (Guest et al., 2012). However, I would argue that the grounded theory process has more structure and clarity. Ultimately, it was about patterns in the data.

Specific Procedures

The *kaupapa Māori* approach and grounded theory methodology do not dictate or exclude any particular methods of data collection but Weber-Pillwax (2004) emphasised that the ethics and principles of indigenous cultures will often determine the research

methods that are most suitable. A review of much of the *kaupapa Māori* scholarship shows a tendency towards qualitative research and that interviews and focus group discussions are favoured by many Māori researchers; so, predictably perhaps, my research used both focus group discussions and interviews as the methods of data collection. Further, both methods are preferable for Māori research as *kanohi ki te kanohi* is an important part of *kaupapa Māori* research (Berryman, 2013). The values of *kanohi ki te kanohi* are best described by Keegan (2000) –

It implies that if correct contact must be made then people should meet face to face, one on one, so that no misunderstandings, misconstruing, misinterpretations, misapprehensions, misconstructions can occur. It implies that by taking the time and energy to arrange and travel to meet somebody you are showing the respect and homage that this person is worthy of your efforts. (p. 1)

Face-to-face does not end at the conclusion of the research. For me, once my doctoral degree has been confirmed I will be travelling back to those areas where I conducted my research. I am obliged to go back and visit those people who gave their perspectives and talk to them about my thesis. While there, they are free to approve or disapprove of my conclusions and even chastise me if they like. This is probably more daunting than being in front of the doctoral examiners at the viva. This strong preference for face-to-face communication still exists in Māori communities as the written word is still subordinate to oral communication (M. Durie, 2003). As Coombes (2013) noted about the role of using storytelling as a form of Māori research, it is about vocally expressing the personalised and living histories rather than writing objective chronologies. Therefore, the use of focus group discussions and interviews as methods of data collection fits succinctly within the *kaupapa Māori* paradigm and were used for this research. I will briefly discuss each of the research methods and their sampling procedures next.

Focus Group Discussions

To obtain data for this research, focus group discussions were selected as one of the methods to be employed. The term 'focus group discussion' refers to the fact that participants are *focused* on the topic of discussion (Fern, 2001; Jayanthi & Nelson, 2002), and it is essentially a form of group interview of approximately one to two hours in duration (Robinson, 1999), whereby participants interact with each other as opposed to the interviewer (researcher), so that the perspectives of the participants emerge (Cohen et al., 2007; P. Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). The interviewer in a focus group discussion is also known as the moderator or facilitator (Basch, 1987; Fern, 2001; Litosseliti, 2003), whose role is to introduce the topic, explain ground rules, and then invite and facilitate discussion (Hussey & Hussey, 1997; R. D. Smith, 2009).

This is a form of qualitative interviewing (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2010; Wilkinson, 2003), that allows the interviewer to question a number of individuals in a systematic and simultaneous manner (Babbie, 2007). The flexible nature of focus group discussions gives the interviewer the ability to probe and clarify meanings that may be implied or unclear (Balch & Mertens, 1999). It also permits participants to hear other participants' responses and then make additional comments as they move along (Robinson, 1999). While focus group discussions provide the interviewer with the participants' opinions and feelings about the topic of discussion, the primary purpose of focus groups is to gain insights into their reasons for those opinions and feelings (Jayanthi & Nelson, 2002).

Focus group discussions are one of the most commonly used research tools of qualitative exploration in the social sciences (Stewart et al., 2007; Krzyzanowski, 2008), including communication research (Croucher & Cronn-Mills, 2015; Daymon & Holloway, 2002), and can also be used to complement quantitative approaches (T. Watson & Noble, 2007). Focus group discussions are used extensively for marketing and advertising research (Basch, 1987; Zikmund & Babin, 2010). Further, focus group discussions are the major qualitative research technique used in social marketing (Donovan & Henley, 2010), and are

used by public relations practitioners to gather responses on communication media including videos and advertisements (R. D. Smith, 2013).

Within the scholarship, focus group discussions have been identified as an important research tool for Māori research. For example, Saba (2007) stated that focus group discussions fit easily within the *kaupapa Māori* approach to research. Te Whaiti and Roguski (1998) stated that an advantage of using focus group discussions is that they closely align to *tikanga* yet at the same time are recognised in academia as a legitimate form of data collection. Additionally, focus group discussions are one of the qualitative methods that “fit more comfortably within a Māori way of doing” (S. Walker et al., 2006, p. 336), particularly given that Māori have a long history of story-telling (Attwood & Magowan, 2001). Other advantages of employing focus group discussions are that they reflect the social realities of a cultural group (Hughes & DuMont, 1993) and they can reveal cultural norms and values of participants (Liamputtong, 2011). For me personally, I enjoy meeting people and engaging in conversation. The human aspect of research appeals to me more than analysing pages of survey responses. Thus, focus group discussions were the preferred data collection method for my research.

Participant Recruitment

The sampling strategy used for focus group discussions followed purposive sampling, also known as judgment sampling which is a nonprobability technique (Adams, Khan, Raeside, & White, 2007; Babbie, 2007; Cohen et al., 2007; Daymon & Holloway, 2002; Walliman, 2006). According to Zikmund and Babin (2010), the nonprobability sampling method involves selection based on the appropriate characteristics that are required of a potential sample member. In this case, the participants had to be Māori to meet the requirements of the research purpose. Given the difficulties raised in classifying Māori as discussed earlier in this thesis, participation was based upon self-identification.

In order to recruit research participants, I contacted six Māori organisations and asked them to participate in the research. These organisations were *imi* or *hapū* based, or

focused on Māori health and social services, and were either urban or rural from across *Te-Ika-a-Māui*⁴⁷. Most of the organisations were recruited from my personal or familial networks. Each organisation took responsibility for recruiting participants from among their membership, staff or clients. Six focus group discussions were conducted. The first focus group discussion was held on 27 October 2013 and the last focus group discussion was held on 1 January 2014. In total, 63 persons participated in the focus group discussions. The names of the organisations have been purposely withheld from this thesis to respect the anonymity of participants in the focus group discussions. Further, demographic information was not obtained (e.g., ages, income levels etc.) as this was not conducive to promoting discussion within a *kaupapa Māori* context and could also be considered rude within settings such as *marae*. However, I was able to generalise socio-economic status of my participants as I knew many of them, and also many participants freely discussed their backgrounds and experiences. This is discussed later in chapter six.

Formalities

An important guide and protector of *kaupapa Māori* is *tikanga* (R. Jones, Crengle & McCreanor, 2006). *Tikanga* was explained earlier in this thesis, but for this context I will draw on H. M. Mead (2003) who stated that, “*tikanga Māori* means ‘the Māori way’ or ‘done according to Māori custom’ ” (p. 11). In applying this to my research, it means to follow the *tikanga* of my research participants. In keeping with Māori cultural practices, each focus group discussion commenced with either a *karakia*⁴⁸, *mibi whakatau*⁴⁹, or a formal *pōwhiri*⁵⁰. Some were only a minute or two in duration, one lasted for an hour, while others were anywhere in between. C. Smith (2013) stated that *karakia* provides appropriate beginnings and endings to meetings within the Māori cultural context, and that it provides protection for participants who are embarking on shared interactions.

⁴⁷ The North Island.

⁴⁸ Prayer.

⁴⁹ Greeting speech.

⁵⁰ Traditional welcome.

G. Harvey (2002) commented that such cultural practices in focus group discussions provide a setting for Māori to work in an understandable, comfortable and culturally relevant environment. I provided *kaī*⁵¹ for all focus group discussion participants; although one group also brought *kai* to be shared. Blundell, Gibbons and Lillis (2010) stated that offering food is a crucial part in keeping the trust and commitment of Māori participants during the research process. Some groups preferred to eat beforehand, some after, and some during the focus group discussions. The decision when to eat was made by the focus group participants.

An additional benefit of observing cultural protocols such as *karakia*, *pōwhiri* and *kai*, was that it assisted to breakdown any perceived power differentiations between the researcher and the researched. While being new to academia, I am aware of the complexities that go with institutional identities, and the assumption of authority that goes alongside representing a university. By joining in with specific cultural rituals, participants took control and were able to create the environment for a free flow of ideas and discussion in a way that suited them best. Further, the location of each focus group discussion was held at the participating organisation's *marae* or office, which was a place that participants were familiar and comfortable with.

Public Information Advertisements

The research participants were shown five recent public information advertisements that were produced and screened on television between 2008 and 2013. The public information advertisements are itemised in Table 5.1.

⁵¹ Food, meal.

Table 5.1

Public Information Advertisements

Advertisement & video link	Organisations	Description
Family Violence – It's Not Ok (featuring George Ashby) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LyDIGV14hNk	Ministry of Social Development (Agency: Draft FCB now known as FCB New Zealand)	George talks about positive change from a life of family violence.
Never, Ever Shake A Baby http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/video/29236/pow-er-to-protect-advertisement	Ministry of Social Development (Agency: Ocean Design Group Limited)	A Māori father is seen with a crying baby. The question “Are you strong enough to count to ten?” is asked before “Never, ever shake a baby”.
Legend (Ghost Chips) http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/legend-ghost-chips	New Zealand Transport Agency (Agency: Clemenger BBDO)	At a party, a Māori youth stops his friend from drink driving after “internalising a really complicated situation” in his head.
Nourish Our Kids https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h7Y2iX7F4qE&feature=youtu.be	Tip Top and KidsCan Charitable Trust (Agency: DDB New Zealand)	A Māori boy eats a piece of toast. The voice over says: “Every loaf of Tip Top you buy, also helps nourish the kids who need it most. Good on ya”.
Blazed https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P8KAaf45g5U	New Zealand Transport Agency (Agency: Clemenger BBDO)	Three Māori boys joke around in a car while they wait for their fathers to finish smoking drugs and drive them home.

The public information advertisements were selected because each had been aired on national television so it could be assumed that most people would have seen at least one of them. As Table 5.1 shows, each public information advertisement covers a different health and social issue, namely, family violence, child abuse, drink driving, child hunger, and drug driving. Given the plethora of public information advertisements in existence that are targeted at Māori audiences, others could have been used but the limitation did not harm the discussion, because as it turned out, research participants spoke freely about other public information advertisements.

All of the public information advertisements in the sample were the result of government initiatives, except for the Nourish Our Kids advertisement which was jointly

promoted by Tip Top and the KidsCan Charitable Trust. The Nourish Our Kids advertisement was included for two reasons; first, to give representation to a non-government campaign, and second, to gain a reaction from participants. Indicative questions relating to the overarching objective of the research in relation to the advertisements were prepared in advance to foster discussion. However, once the public information advertisements were shown, the participants did not require encouragement to stimulant engagement.

Interviews

Generally speaking, there are three types of interviews that are used for research, namely, the unstructured or non-standardised interview, the semi-structured interview, and the structured or standardised interview (Chilisa, 2012). The interview method that I used in this study was individual semi-structured interviews, which is the most common type of qualitative research interview (Brinkmann, 2008). Schensul, Schensul and Lecompte (1999) defined semi-structured interviews as consisting of predetermined questions relating to areas of interest that are provided to participants in order to confirm domains of study, and to identify other factors that may be used for analysis or further research.

An individual semi-structured interview involves an interviewer and one interviewee and is guided by open-ended questions (Bryman, 2012). The flexible nature of semi-structured interviews encourages the participant to talk freely and openly (Willig, 2013), to deeply explore their own opinions by taking time to consider and reflect their answers, and it allows instant follow-up or clarification of meanings (Daymon & Holloway, 2002). Kovach (2010) named this approach to gathering indigenous knowledge as the conversational method. Further, interviews are well matched to *kaupapa Māori* research as interviews are *kanohi ki te kanohi*. I conducted separate individual semi-structured interviews with five Māori leaders. I also conducted a semi-structured interview with two key figures from the New Zealand Transport Agency. Both of these will be discussed next.

Participant Selection

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with five Māori leaders and two representatives from the New Zealand Transport Authority (NZTA). Interesting ideas that emerged from the focus group discussions were put in front of the Māori leaders to gain different perspectives and nuanced interpretations which added to the richness of the dataset. As such, questions were put to them about views from the focus group discussions and why participants felt the way they did. The Māori leaders also viewed the public information advertisements as itemised in Table 5.1.

As I was keen to gather perspectives from the Māori leaders about interesting ideas that emerged from the focus group discussions, I wanted to gain an understanding of Māori leadership. The scholarship by Winiata (1956, 1967) and Katene (2010, 2013) provided a foundation to do so. According to Winiata (1967), in traditional Māori society there were four leadership categories: *ariki* (paramount chief – leader of the *ini*), *rangatira* (chief – head of the *hapū* or subtribe), *kaumātua* (elder), and *tobunga* (person with specialist knowledge – usually a priest). However, Winiata (1967) noted the shift in leadership from tribal chiefs to Pākehā educated Māori leadership. Today this is becoming more relevant, and it should be noted that each Māori leader that participated in my research had completed tertiary education. Each interviewee was justifiably considered a ‘Māori leader’ for the purpose of this research because of the positions they hold in either employment or the work they perform outside of their primary vocation, within Māori contexts.

In keeping with the notion of emancipation through critical theory (Appelrouth & Edles, 2012; Geuss, 1981; Horkheimer 1982; 2002; Kompridis, 2006) and *kaupapa Māori* (S. Walker et al., 2006), one reason for putting ideas from the focus group discussions to the Māori leaders was because leaders are change agents who have the ability to affect other people more so than vice versa (Bass, 1990). In other words, leaders make things happen (Bolden, Hawkins, Gosling & Taylor, 2011; Bolman & Deal, 1997). In line with critical theory whereby the purpose is not simply to understand social issues but rather to change

them (Cohen et al., 2007), in an optimistic way it is hoped that the interviews with leaders would act as extra stimuli to foster change within their communities.

In terms of participant recruitment, four were recruited using the same strategy as the focus group discussions; the purposive sampling strategy. The snowball sampling strategy was used to recruit one of the Māori leaders. Corbetta (2003) defined snowball sampling as the act of identifying subjects by referrals from other subjects to be included in the sample. In this instance, one Māori leader recommended another suitable Māori leader. The Māori leaders represented different age groups, genders and roles within their communities. The Māori leaders who participated in this research were Naida Glavish, John Tamihere, Jade Tapine, Precious Clark and Morgan Godfery. Their profiles are included in Appendix E.

In order to contextualise my research, ideally the literature from the government organisations relating to public information advertisements should be reviewed. As I previously stated, the literature does not exist. However, to fill this gap I interviewed two key figures of the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA) road safety programme. The NZTA is a Crown entity that was established on 1 August 2008 under the Land Transport Management Act 2003 and brought together the functions of Land Transport New Zealand and Transit New Zealand (Office of the Auditor General, 2010; State Services Commission, 2011). The NZTA has many responsibilities, one of which includes producing road safety campaigns (Eppel, 2013; International Traffic Safety Data and Analysis Group, 2014). Two of the five public information advertisements that were shown to focus group participants and Māori leaders were NZTA advertisements, namely Legend (Ghost Chips) and Blazed drug driving. The two key figures from the NZTA who participated in the interview were Dr Paul Graham and Rachel Prince.

Graham is the Principal Scientist at the NZTA and is the New Zealand Chapter representative and executive committee member of the Australasian College of Road Safety (Australasian College of Road Safety, 2015). Prince is the Principal Advisor of Network

User Behaviour at NZTA (New Zealand Transport Agency, 2014) and is often referred to in media items as the NZTA National Advertising Manager (e.g., Hurley, 2012). Graham has been involved in all of the NZTA advertising programmes since it began, while Prince commenced in 2002. Both Graham and Prince are involved in the research, design, production and evaluation of all road safety advertisements that feature on television in Aotearoa New Zealand. Therefore, the interview with Graham and Prince provided an opportunity to gain insights about public information advertisements from the perspective of a government organisation, and it also allowed me to query them about some of the data from the focus group discussions. The interview with Graham and Prince does not divert from the overarching purpose of this research but assists with conceptualising the social phenomenon that is under investigation.

To conclude this section about specific procedures, the tools for research data collection have been discussed including their sampling procedures. These were focus group discussions with Māori participants and semi-structured interviews with Māori leaders. Also, semi-structured interviews with two key figures from NZTA were stated as an addition to the research.

Summary of Methodology

This chapter introduced critical theory and *kaupapa Māori* as the philosophical perspectives that have informed this research. Both theories are oriented towards emancipation and are anti-oppressive. Theories of communication that have influenced my approach to this research were also introduced. Grounded theory was explained as the influential method of analysis. The research methods, namely, focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews were outlined and the sampling procedures were discussed. This leads into the following chapter, whereby the data from the focus group discussions with Māori participants and the semi-structured interviews with Māori leaders are presented.

6 MĀORI PERSPECTIVES

“Written words can also sing” – Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (2011, p. 65)

I have borrowed the opening quote from the postcolonial literary theorist, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, as I believe that the words of my participants hold richness that goes beyond the value of written words. In this chapter the data results from the focus group discussions with Māori participants and semi-structured interviews with Māori leaders are presented. The next chapter will present the data from Graham and Prince. I have separated the perspectives of the Māori participants from the perspectives of Graham and Prince because they come from different positions. The former are the target audience of the public information advertisements, while the latter have designed the advertisements.

In terms of presenting the data, grounded theory research “can be written in a variety of ways” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 153) as there are no hard and fast rules for presenting the work. I have adopted the approach of presenting each theme followed by supporting quotes from the focus group discussions and interviews. There are two ways to classify or name the emergent themes (Damon & Holloway, 2002). One way is to use terms that were

spoken by the participants. Another way is for the researcher to create titles for the themes based upon the content of ideas within a theme. In this research the themes were labelled using the latter method.

This chapter does not interrogate the data in detail as this will occur in the discussion chapter when the literature is interwoven into the discussion. According to Glaser (2004), the literature needs to be incorporated into the conceptualisation process, as grounded theory deals with the literature as another source of data that is to be included into the research process after the core patterns have been identified and the basic conceptual framework has been developed. Therefore, the discussion chapter will incorporate the literature.

As I begin to present the data, I am conscious that I have the responsibility to represent the intended meanings of the speaker. In following a *kaupapa Māori* approach to research I am reminded of a proverb that has been said about the conduct of research among Māori, for example L. T. Smith (1999) and Cram (2009). The proverb is “*Kana e takahia te mana o te tangata*” translated as “Do not trample on the *mana*⁵² of the people”. So the content that is presented here is conveyed with the knowledge that I have to the best of my ability conceptualised the data from my participants. To do otherwise would be to trample on their *mana*. The names chosen to represent the themes are Dehumansing Depictions, SOS: Saving Our Society, Capturing Criticisms, Promising Positives and Identifying Identity. One further theme relates to data from only the Māori leaders, titled Social Stratification. I have chosen to present the Social Stratification theme first as I found that the social division among the focus group participants was an important feature of the data.

⁵² Prestige, status, influence.

Social Stratification

One of the most important considerations a researcher should assess when analysing data from focus group discussions is whether patterns exist as to the differences of opinion that occur because of differences in social class, gender and ethnicity (Davies & Hughes, 2014). Categorising participants according to the researcher's perceptions of their social class has been recommended in numerous 'how to' qualitative research books (i.e., Babbie, 2010; Fern, 2001; Saldanda, 2009; Sensing, 2011) and is considered a relevant variable in grounded theory research (Glaser, 2007) because it can provide a richer understanding of social life.

Indicators of social class can include but are not limited to occupation (Pole & Lampard, 2002), clothing and physical appearance (Newman, 2010), speech and accent (Wells, 1982), and education (M. L. Andersen & Taylor, 2008). Of course, as is the case in all qualitative research, the classification of participants into categories of social class is based on the observations and judgment of the researcher. I have included social stratification because this chapter will show that there were differences of opinions and experiences between Māori who I perceived to be in the middle socio-economic group, in comparison to Māori who I perceived to be in the lower socio-economic group.

During the focus group discussions, it became apparent to me that most participants could fit into one of two social class categories; the first of which appeared to be a lower socio-economic group. These participants came from both rural and urban areas, and were on a social welfare benefit of some type or were employed in unskilled labour. The second group appeared to be a middle socio-economic group and were generally urban based, and either tertiary educated or employed in skilled positions, or both. The middle socio-economic group generally framed the health and social issues as directly belonging to the lower socio-economic group.

The middle socio-economic group were aware of the social issues depicted in the advertisements, but either did not have any personal experiences of the problems, or did not offer to speak about them. In contrast, participants in the lower socio-economic group identified with the social issues from personal experience, and many gave their own history of being the victim of domestic violence, being an abuser, sitting in the car outside the pub as a child, among other things. The contrast of experiences between the two groups has strong implications to this research as it highlights the different lived realities that exist between classes.

During the interviews with the Māori leaders I asked them questions relating to the differences of opinions and realities between the two perceived social classes, to ascertain why, in their view, these differences existed. Tamihere spoke about the repeated messages that may have influenced the lower socio-economic group into accepting that Māori are the ‘problem’.

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: “Once again our whole discussion about us is we’re violent, we’re rapists, we’re criminals, we’re failures... all the rest of it. So when you hear that long enough is there any surprise you’ll have focus group attendees responding to that by asserting it. I mean if you’re told you’re a dongi long enough... you are”.

The above perspective aligned with the Thomas theorem (W. I. Thomas & Thomas, 1928) also known as the self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton, 1948). The Thomas theorem stipulates that, “If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences” (W. I. Thomas & Thomas, 1928, p. 572). In other words, if certain definitions are internalised then they can lead to a particular social reality. This also lends weight to the idea that stereotypes gain cultural currency through repetition (James, 1997). Tamihere’s statement had similarities with what was mentioned in the focus group discussions regarding “message fatigue” and the repetitive messaging of the public

information advertisements. An alternative perspective offered by Morgan Godfery posited that the different responses between the two perceived groups were directly related to “cultural disconnection”.

Morgan Godfery – Māori Leader: *“I think umm my opinion on that... I thought that would happen... my opinion is sort of cultural disconnection you’ve got the one group who says “yeah okay that’s us... that seems like my experience here in Kawerau or my experience there down the road” umm... while the other half are saying “yeah this isn’t us” are people with language more likely, people who are connected with their taba Māori⁵³ that sort of thing... have experienced the marae that sort of life. While the others... the others are the real collateral effects of colonisation like I was saying before”.*

Godfery’s thoughts were aligned with the idea that those who are engaged with Māori culture are less likely to participate in negative behaviour. The embodiment of a strong connection to Māori culture conformed to the Māori cultural identity model of M. Durie (1995a, 1997, 1998). The same line of thought was emphasised by Clark, who incorporated education into the mix.

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *“Because it’s true. And that’s why when I gave my response it was all about what is my realities. So these aren’t my reality [points to the advertisements] but I accept that they are realities for a lot of our Māori people. So that’s the reason for a diversion of views I think. And I think that the more education you receive... it seems to me that the more education you receive then the chances of you being connected to your culture may increase. And when you’re connected to your culture there’s a sense of pride. With that sense of pride comes questioning your own behaviours and whether you accept that these are par for course, a part of who you are or not”.*

⁵³ Māori heritage.

The notion of cultural connection versus cultural disconnection was held steadfastly by the Māori leaders. Clark's assertion that connection to culture equates to "a sense of pride" is also linked to *tikanga* because *tikanga* forbids the sorts of behaviour that the public information advertisements are designed to counteract. In the view of these leaders, therefore, those who are connected to Māori culture will be less likely to participate in those behaviours. Tapine followed similar thought patterns when he implied that the middle socio-economic group is "more informed" and can see the "bigger picture" whereas the lower socio-economic group have different lived realities.

Jade Tapine – Māori Leader: *"So I think from the perspective of those who have been educated, the middle class... I guess they're more informed. They know the bigger picture and can understand as a direct result of these injustices or these things that have happened. Having our Māori people being high in statistics around violence, family violence, abuse... I guess that's where the whakaaro⁵⁴ the thought is that it is stereotypical and it is going to portray Māori in a negative light. Cos it's not the case for all Māori. But yet in terms of the rural... or the uneducated people I guess... they're on the grassroots of where it's all happening. So they're part and parcel of what they see what's in front of them. And so they can relate... the can relate directly to the ads. They may see it on a day to day basis".*

This reasoning reverberated among the Māori leaders and provided a sound explanation into the difference of views and opinions of participants from the focus group discussions. This section explained that the differences in views and experiences of Māori were related to social stratification, or social class. The Māori leaders posited that education plays an impact upon the different realities, and also connection to Māori culture.

⁵⁴ Thoughts, opinion.

Dehumanising Depictions

The large majority of participants agreed that the public information advertisements framed Māori in the negative to the point of dehumanising them and making them appear primitive or as the Other. While use of the term ‘Other’ varies considerably (Macey, 2000), in this context it refers to the way in which colonial discourse produces its subjects as being inferior. Dehumanisation can manifest in many ways such as depriving subjects of human qualities and replacing them with non-human qualities and is essentially the denial of full humanness (Haslam, 2006; Lammers & Stapel, 2010). According to Waytz and Epley (2011) it “represents a failure to attribute basic human qualities to other” (p. 70) and in terms of stereotyping groups of people, dehumanisation is intertwined with racial stereotyping as it “is a psychological process of making some people seem less than human” (Hairston, 2008, p. 65).

The participants expressed the opinion that Māori were portrayed as inferior people in the advertisements which led them to believe Māori were being dehumanised. Some participants perceived the advertisements as intentionally designed to label Māori as pathologically deficient, or at least deviant. They were angered by the image of Māori representing negative human behaviours such as being violent and criminal, as well as being poor and uneducated. These images were rehashed and distributed in advertisements under the guise of social marketing. The participants felt that old prejudices were simply mixed into advertising campaigns and cleverly perpetuated the negative categorising and labelling of Māori.

Most participants felt that the advertisements showed Māori as an irresponsible people devoid of human morality, and as a deficit and burden on society. Further, participants were concerned with the misrepresentation of Māori to people from other countries and cultures, the negative images of Māori children in advertisements, and an imbalance caused by the exclusion of other ethnocultural groups. The combined views of

the participants have inadvertently established that the advertisements have reinforced negative stereotypical representations of Māori.

Focus Group Participant: *‘I think they’re stereotypical. They’ve pretty much created a box... a Māori box of certain ways of living and behaving... that could be portrayed as the norm for all Māori’.*

Naida Glavish – Māori Leader: *‘Unfortunately these ads are all portraying Māori in a negative... portrayal’.*

Jade Tapine – Māori Leader: *‘In terms of depicting Māori in a negative light I’m anti the ads. I’m definitely anti the ads’.*

Tapine’s strong stance against the depiction of Māori in the public information advertisements was direct and to the point. The use of the strong prefix “anti” on two occasions emphasised his feelings towards Māori misrepresentation in the advertisements. The placement of “definitely” prior to “anti” (“I’m definitely anti the ads”) magnified this position. For many of the participants, stereotyping was a focal point of discussion. Many had strong feelings about the negative portrayal of Māori in the advertisements. One word comments such as “Terrible” and “Disgusting” were expressed when the participants were asked about how Māori were represented in the advertisements; while “Unintelligent and poor” was another description used which reflected the concerns of the majority of participants. Some went further by clearly establishing the link between stereotyping and racism, saying, for example, “It’s outright racist”. Clark spoke about how Māori were portrayed.

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *‘Not very sophisticated. Umm in all of them it’s showing Māori as being the lowest socio-economic denominators. And... there’s not a lot of*

intelligence coming through in any of those ads. So to me that does depict a portion of our Māori society... but it certainly doesn't reflect who I am".

The comment that Māori are portrayed “as being the lowest socio-economic denominators” reiterated that Māori were never really shown as anything else in the public information advertisements. Māori were not presented as successful people and achievers. Clark’s remark that “there’s not a lot of intelligence coming through in the ads” associated the advertisements with stereotyped representations of Māori as dumb, stupid and lacking education. The admission that the advertisements “depict a portion of our Māori society” aligned the health and social issues as a problem for the lower socio-economic group. Her blunt refusal to personally align herself with the characters in the advertisements demonstrated a complete rejection of the stereotypes. Further, her view that the advertisements “certainly doesn’t reflect who I am” validated that position.

Jade Tapine – Māori Leader. *“Māori are definitely depicted as being violent, poor, part of the low socio economic bunch of people that are... drunks... drunk drivers you know all those. So the ads are not good”.*

Tapine’s use of “definitely” in “Māori are definitely depicted” solidified his view and gave no leeway for misconstruction. His summary of Māori representation covered several descriptions relating to the social underclass. Those descriptors led him to the straight forward conclusion that the “ads are not good”. Whether or not the intent behind, or the meanings within the advertisements, were of benefit to Māori audiences, became void or irrelevant as they were obscured behind the dehumanising depictions of Māori that took centre stage, undermining any positive aspects of the advertisements. In other words, if the advertisements focus upon negative representations of Māori, they may receive an automatic negative response.

Other advertisements were discussed that denigrated Māori. The ability for some participants to bring their own observations of other advertisements into the conversation indicated an awareness of Māori representations. One participant spoke of her dislike of an advertisement that made a Māori boy look “dumb”.

Focus Group Participant: *“There’s one that I thought that was quite degrading that was the power... there’s two boys, there’s one Pakehā boy and one Māori boy and they’re sitting. The Māori boy said he owns the PlayStation and the Pakehā boy said “well my Dad owns the power station”. And to me I thought that was a real put down. Even how the Māori boy said “well how do you plug that in?” it made him look dumb. And it was just the way they put it”.*

The participant’s recall illustrated the advertisement as an expression of Māori subordination to Pākehā using children with Pākehā situated as the elites and industrialists, and Māori as inferior and “dumb”. The feelings of disappointment regarding Māori portrayal were universally held among the focus groups. Some participants were more vocal than others, louder in voice projection or speaking their disapproval more than others. However, one *kaumātua* sat quietly listening to the discussion and did not say much. When he did speak, his words were powerful.

Focus Group Participant: *“I think if my... our koro⁵⁵ was to walk in here today and saw those there [posters of advertisements] he’d rip those off there, throw them in the rubbish, probably boot us up the arse and say “what do you need that shit for?” He’d say “that’s not about us”. But, it’s meant to portray us. It’s meant to portray that we don’t look after our kids... we introduce them to drugs... it’s total rubbish”.*

⁵⁵ Elderly man, grandfather.

I am reminded of the status of *kaumātua* in Māoridom, and the weight and value that are placed upon their words, knowledge and experiences. While other societies may accord the same value of an older person's opinion to that of the rest of the population, and perhaps some groups may accord less value; in Māori society, great *mana* is attached to the voices of *kaumātua*. Regardless of which culture or society one identifies with, it is the elders who are the link between the past and the present. This is of particular importance for indigenous peoples as subjects of cultural dislocation.

A common occurrence was for participants to ask their own questions among themselves and of the researcher, regarding Māori representation in the advertisements. For many of the participants, the advertisements were hurtful. This inquisitiveness was a display of resistance. In effect, simply asking "why?" conveyed rejection; an absolute rejection of the representations of Māori in the advertisements. Some of the examples include -

Focus Group Participant: *"Why Māori?"*

Focus Group Participant: *"Why are we labelled bro?"*

Focus Group Participant: *"Why is it that just Māori are being portrayed in those things?"*

The questioning of "why?" transitioned into "where?" for one *kaumātua* who interspersed his thoughts with a cryptic phrase which could be inferred to relate to *mākutū*⁵⁶ but directly positions Māori as the victim of the pointed bone. It was obvious that this particular *kaumātua* was immersed in all things within *te ao Māori*. This introduced another dimension to the discussion; the Māori spiritual world.

Focus Group Participant: *"But it's where they're pointing the finger, where they're pointing the bone, that's what concerns me".*

⁵⁶ Māori witchcraft or spells.

The above quote was a powerful metaphor that used rhetoric to interweave the Māori spiritual world with the harsh social realities of the modern world. This remark reminded me of van Dijk's book (1993b) where he discussed symbolic racism as victim blaming, a denial of racism and a lack of interest in remaining inequalities. Victim blaming is another form of dehumanisation (Marcu, 2007; Waller, 2002). The "pointing the finger" and "pointing the bone" conveyed how the government and society in a broader sense, appear to direct blame towards Māori for the health and social issues in the advertisements. Further, the *kaumātua* conveyed symbolic meaning using the power of the word which suggested a curse had been thrown at Māori people which had also become the reality.

In contrast, comments that were straight to the point did not require as much scrutiny although they followed the same recurring theme of stereotypically categorising Māori. Some focused on a particular advertisement and the absence of other ethnic groups.

Focus Group Participant: "...when I look at the ad is that only male Māori males shake their babies and nobody else".

The above comment epitomised the feelings of most participants who voiced concerns about the advertisements that showed Māori only in a negative depiction. In the above instance a reference was made regarding Māori being incorrectly labelled as the only ethnocultural group that abuses children. This type of comment demonstrated a cognisance of social realities within wider New Zealand society as participants seemed to be aware of the issues affecting other groups. The same lens that examined distorted truths also viewed unfair depictions.

John Tamihere also held the same views about Māori depictions in the advertisements. His style of articulation was typical of his political and talkback radio

career: no holds barred. Tamihere spoke freely about the negative stereotypes in the advertisements and incorporated the motivational involvement of the advertising agencies.

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: “So when you look at it... so once again it makes the advertising companies a lot of money, it makes the anti-violence groups feel good, it makes the general populous feel good that something out there is being done... and it enforces our stereotypes... our negative stereotypes. So the whole conversation about Māori or dark people in this country is framed in the negative. And we’ve had a gutsful of that”.

Tamihere added a new dimension to the topic when he implied that the benefits of public information advertisements are not received by Māori but by everyone else that he mentioned (i.e., advertising agencies, anti-violence groups, and the general population). The negative framing of Māori is merely an extension of how Māori are framed within and by mainstream New Zealand. Tamihere’s emotive remark “And we’ve had a gutsful of that” clearly positioned him as being opposed to Māori being framed negatively and hinted at a Māori backlash or rebuttal to all forms of anti-Māori sentiment.

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: “But it’s not us. The vast majority of Māori should not be framed in that conversation”.

Just like everyone else, Tamihere unequivocally stated that the majority of Māori are not affected by the types of behaviour in the advertisements and rejected the stereotype. He vented his frustrations at how Māori are negatively depicted whereas Pākehā seem to avoid being tarred with the same brush.

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: “...the whole discussion about Māori is always framed in the negative. So one native does wrong and we’re all shit, you know? One Pākehā steals

millions of dollars down in Wellington and “it’s not a problem... cos we only have a few thieves”. Fucking they’re the biggest thieves in the country [laughs]. On a per capita dollar value they’d leave us for dead. Leave us for dead. And here’s the other thing... they spend bugger all time in prison [laughs]. Why don’t they make an ad about that? I won’t even get into their bloody horrific statistics on bloody paedophilia. We’ve got a few bloody kiddie ticklers the arseholes but they’re about eighty percent up there in the prisons. It’s an 80/20 split”.

Tamihere’s colourful descriptions of institutionalised racism pertaining to unequal treatment and statuses in New Zealand gave attention to statistics that show Pākehā as the majority of offenders in crimes such as child pornography (Department of Internal Affairs, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2009). But child pornography has not been addressed by social marketing campaigns and public information advertisements.

Focus Group Participant: “... but you don’t need to depict them as a deficit”.

The selection of language purposely highlighted Māori as a burden on society, unwilling and incapable of contributing to the common good. This “deficit” portrayal was an issue for many participants as to how the advertisements may impact upon those who do not have first-hand experiences of interacting with Māori, such as tourists, new immigrants, and the international community in general. All of the selected advertisements that were presented in the focus group discussions are viewable on YouTube and have had an extensive global viewership. The comments were made from participants positioning themselves within their imagination of a non-Māori or overseas person’s perspective, and then attempting to re-examine the advertisements with a different worldview. These perspectives are only their own and cannot be a direct copy of another person’s experience. Despite being temporarily removed from the self, in order to microscopically examine portrayals of the self, the narrative remained the same.

Focus Group Participant: “...if I was a foreigner and I saw that I would think “Jeez these bloody Māoris must be a bunch of pissheads and druggies”.

Focus Group Participant: “We’re a people of drunks and drug users and don’t know how to control ourselves. That’s pretty much how I’d see it if I were an overseas person”.

The above references to “pissheads and druggies” and “drunks and drug users” were made in reference to the Legend (Ghost Chips) and Blazed drug driving advertisements. Participants felt that the advertisements described the activities (drugs and alcohol) as being the social norm for Māori. They said that they were aware that such behaviour does exist within Māori communities, it also exists in “mainstream New Zealand” and that the majority of Māori do not engage in such activities. The images of Māori were not an accurate representation of Māori as a people, and as such Māori were being negatively depicted to the world.

Focus Group Participant: “I look at it if I was coming to New Zealand as a foreigner, and if I saw that I’d think what a bunch of irresponsible people”.

This comment reiterated the impression of Māori as reckless people. Traditional Māori culture has its own rules that govern behaviour and conduct, namely *tikanga*. Regardless of what cultural norms are being used as a basis to measure responsibility, the behaviour associated with or described in the advertisements is irresponsible, but according to the participants, is not representative of all Māori.

Focus Group Participant: “But you know, what we all forget is there’s going to be Pākehā watching it, there’s going to be Arabs, there’s going to be Hindus, there’s going to be Chinese

looking at that saying “Māoris”. And it’s already started denigrating us because of that advertisement. I don’t like it”.

The explicit naming of other ethnocultural groups demonstrated understanding that the advertisements have a far-reaching audience. There was a sense of shame and embarrassment of being portrayed in this manner to other ethnocultural groups. For Māori people, this is *whakamā*⁵⁷. *Whakamā* is an important concept in *te ao Māori* because it can reduce self-image and *mana* (Metge, 2015). As a result, the participant felt that Māori were belittled and defamed, to a point of being humiliated as a people. The “I don’t like it” was a general feeling among the focus groups pertaining to how Māori are depicted in the advertisements. Besides concerns regarding Māori portrayal to other ethnocultural groups, some participants were worried about the involvement of Māori child actors in the advertisements.

Focus Group Participant: “... it’s bad enough seeing this *korero* where they talk about “Māoris kill their kids”, “Māoris bash their kids”... and then they portray our *mokos* like that” [*points towards the posters of the advertisements*].

The use of Māori child actors who were cast in a negative manner is in conflict with *tikanga Māori*, especially considering children are *tapu* (K. Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Thus, it could be conceived that the adverse way in which Māori children are represented in the advertisements contributes to the dehumanisation of Māori because this is the next generation and it implies there is no hope for the future. In the above instance, the participant firstly expresses frustration with the mainstream media’s coverage of child abuse, where Māori cases of child abuse are over reported and non-Māori cases are under

⁵⁷ Shame, embarrassment.

reported (Merchant, 2010); and then directs his disbelief at how Māori children are presented in the advertisements.

Focus Group Participant: *‘But with Māori they’re willing to go into children, they don’t have children in the cab driver ads’.*

The above participant was referring to the Blazed drug driving advertisement that prominently featured three young Māori children; and the “cab driver ads” referred to the drug driving advertisements from the New Zealand Transport Agency which depicts actors as taxi drivers driving under the influence of drugs. This participant compared and contrasted the use of Māori children in a drug driving advertisement, to the drug driving advertisement that primarily involves Pākehā but does not include children. This was seen by some participants as purposely disparaging Māori children by presenting them as the offspring of drug-abusing fathers. Moreover, it reiterated the imbalance of only having Māori portrayed in a negative manner, which resonated through the focus groups.

Focus Group Participant: *‘We can all see that it’s unbalanced as... there’s all brown and no white. No yellow, no red’.*

Focus Group Participant: *‘Balance your ads mate. Here’s what Māori are doing, here’s what Pākehā are doing’.*

The first comment used colours metaphorically by describing the absence of other ethnocultural groups as the deviants of society. She spoke as if the imbalance was glaringly obvious, and used the colloquial “as” to emphasise “unbalanced”. The second comment also called for balance and declared that it is not only a Māori issue, but a societal issue, as Pākehā are also affected. The desire for including Pākehā and other ethnocultural groups was a united call for the advertisements to represent social reality, rather than just Māori.

Tapine stated that the advertisements were “picking on” Māori when other ethnocultural groups also face similar difficulties.

Jade Tapine – Māori Leader: *“Yeah it’s predominantly sort of picking on one race really. I think it should be reflected through all New Zealand cos I’m pretty sure that Māori aren’t the only people that are doing these things”.*

Tapine’s view that Māori are not the only sector of society that exhibits the behaviour demonstrated in the advertisements showed a conscious awareness of societal issues as opposed to being indoctrinated into believing the negative Māori stereotypes.

Dehumanisation was a powerful theme which showed that the depictions of Māori in the advertisements were framed in a negative manner and encapsulated all Māori, not some Māori, as irresponsible people who are void of human normality, are uncivilised and a deficit and burden on society. The anger and frustration of participants came through as they were concerned with the misrepresentation of Māori to people from other countries and cultures, the negative images of Māori children in advertisements, and an imbalance caused by the exclusion of other ethnocultural groups. The combined views of the participants have inadvertently established that the advertisements reinforce negative stereotypical representations of Māori.

SOS: Saving Our Society

The title of this section reflects the genuine concerns that were apparent within all of the focus group discussions regarding the health and social issues that affect Māori. The participants were not oblivious of the negative overrepresentation of Māori in all facets of health and social life and did not need to be reminded of the statistical data as there was a collectively held consciousness of the issues that were discussed in Crisis: The Health and Social Issues that have haunted Māori for generations. Poverty was one of the

underpinning dimensions which formed the theme. The participants noted that the issues are not limited to Māori as a group. Compared with their demeanour in the previous discussion, the participants were calm as they spoke about the specific health and social issues that affect Māori. There were no instances of denying the statistics as the participants understood that the issues are very real.

Focus Group Participant: *“The statistics are true it’s a high percentage”.*

Focus Group Participant: *“Once we look at that and we look at police statistics... it really shows that we are at the highest level throughout this country”.*

Focus Group Participant: *“... statistics show it’s Māori that has the biggest problem”.*

Focus Group Participant: *“We are the highest per capita. So we have to do something about it. Each category”.*

These participants said that Māori statistics were unfavourable right across the spectrum. Most referred to statistics in a vague manner and did not supply any particular details or state how they came to the conclusion. As already mentioned earlier in this thesis, the statistical data is not always accurate as there have been occasions where the science behind some of the data collection was flawed. However, the participants did not indicate any knowledge or awareness of flawed data, which showed that most were probably not critically analysing their sources of information, which was most likely the media. One participant was specific to the point of providing a figure on child deaths; presumably homicides.

Focus Group Participant: *“Shake the baby [Never, Ever Shake A Baby], umm... own it. Own it, that’s what we do to our children. Over a twenty-year period in New Zealand, 136 dead children. Who did it to them? Not themselves. The parents who professed to love them, their caregivers who were there as caregivers, they’re the ones that killed the babies”.*

The statistic of “136 dead children” over a twenty-year period could not be verified through a search of statistical data. More likely, the figure is undercounted given that there were 88 child homicides between the ten-year period of 1993 and 2003, 28 of whom were Māori; and that there were 61 child homicides between 2001 and 2005, 17 of whom were Māori (Taonui, 2010). When the participant said, “Own it, that’s what we do to our children”, it showed that perhaps the participant had been moulded to believe that child abuse is only a Māori problem, even though child homicide in Aotearoa New Zealand is also a Pākehā problem (Merchant, 2010; Taonui, 2010). However, other ethnocultural groups were also discussed in reference to the health and social issues. The comments below are similar to some that were described in the Dehumanising Depictions theme.

Focus Group Participant: *“Pākehā do it. Māori do it. Islanders do it”.*

Focus Group Participant: *“Asians too”.*

Focus Group Participant: *“Yeah everyone. They all do it”.*

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *“They’re not Māori specific issues. They’re societal issues”.*

Ethnocultural distinction was not the only form of difference. As I stated in Social Stratification, the focus group participants were separated by social class when it came to experiences of the health and social behaviours. This was well articulated by a participant who holds degrees from the University of Oxford.

Focus Group Participant: *“The statistics speak for themselves... all of those issues are... umm quite major, serious, in Māori communities. But the percentages are high too. Umm... you only have to look at those statistics to demonstrate that. You can say that it’s largely in the lower class, the working class it’s the lower socio-economic grouping... where there’s more poverty. That’s what the statistics will say. That’s where it largely... umm... is alive”.*

It is fair to say that the middle socio-economic group attributed the health and social issues to the lower socio-economic group. The differences between the social classes emerged within the focus group discussions. For example, Clark was aware of the health and social issues but said that they were not her reality.

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *“I think there’s a rising of Māori middle class and I think I sit squarely in that”.*

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *“I can definitely say it exists to all of them. But really that’s what I know through my work as opposed to what I’ve personally experienced”.*

Clark reinforced that there was a social stratification which determined lived experiences of the health and social issues. Poverty was intertwined within much of the discussion of the issues that were represented in the advertisements. The participant below believed that the health and social issues were caused by poverty. Being poor and unemployed were examples given for the individual behaviour that leads to the social issues.

Focus Group Participant: *“It’s caused by poverty, no work, stress. That’s why we have multitudes of these [inaudible]. They’re a bit angry, a bit under pressure. I just think a lot of it is just finding it really hard. You know to live in a world. People have to make do. It’s probably due to poverty, unemployment and all the rest of it. And a lot of people when they’re like that will look to alcohol and other things to relieve them from their stress. Alcohol, drugs, it’s all... that’s all I have to say”.*

The above participant was positioned within the lower socio-economic group and most likely had lived or viewed the consequences of poverty first hand. His statement was not intended to be a justification or excuse for certain behaviour, but his own explanation as to why it happens. His comment that “People have to make do” relates to survival, but

also the use of alcohol and drugs as a form of escapism from poverty, unemployment and stress. The discussion of poverty was not restricted to urban Māori as experiences of poverty in rural areas were also discussed.

Focus Group Participant: *“For a lot of our young people they can’t see a way out. This is the norm for them. In one particular country rural town where my wife and I were for a couple of years, all they wanted to do was get on the dole so they could go pig hunting”.*

The above contribution offered an insight into what may be the thought processes of some young rural Māori. As this participant is a full-time youth worker, his experiences with youth in that particular rural town, and possibly other rural areas, were valuable to the discussion. The reference to young people that “that they can’t see a way out” implied a loss of hope, as if they believe there are no other options. The mention that “this is the norm for them” alludes to the likely situation that a welfare dependent lifestyle that offers no opportunities is entrenched within their communities, and may even be accepted by those communities. Similar perspectives of young people and children were offered by other participants. One participant spoke of her experiences as a school teacher working with children in low decile schools.

Focus Group Participant: *“Coming from a mainstream school background and typically only taught in decile one schools... you have right across the... especially here in [suburb removed]... you have Pākehā, you have Māori, you have Samoan, Polynesian cultures that are all in the same boat. They’re all struggling”.*

The talk of “struggling” reinforced the idea that the health and social issues within the advertisements are directly related to poverty. Thus, she had pointed out that the issues impact upon all lower socio-economic communities, so are therefore not limited to Māori.

As she had taught in decile one schools, her opinion that they were “all in the same boat. They’re all struggling” suggested that poverty, and the health and social issues, are deeply embedded in the communities of decile one school zones.

I was interested to find that some participants had experienced their own real life experiences relating to the social issues depicted in the advertisements and were comfortable within the setting to share their own experiences. These participants were forthcoming and did not require prompting or probing to elicit their experiences. Rather, they told their stories in a blunt straight forward manner.

Focus Group Participant: *“I can pick out when a woman is abused because I’ve been there and had that done, okay. And I can also pick when a woman is abusing because I’ve been there and had that done” [laughs].*

The above participant was outspoken about her own experiences. She gave several personal accounts about her own life and family. Her contributions gave a valuable insight into the life of a former victim of domestic violence. She had the courage to openly disclose her personal tribulations. The participant was adamant that the health and social issues directly affected all Māori. For example, at one stage of a discussion she pointed towards the posters of the advertisements that I had attached to whiteboards, and said:

Focus Group Participant: *“In terms of what they’ve got up there [points to the posters of the advertisements]... it’s true, it’s honest. We have to accept that. That’s how our people... we are”.*

That was her reality – violence, drinking, drugs and so on. This participant identified with and could relate herself to all of the advertisements. Her experiences stem from her own social environment which was located within a rural low socio-economic

area. Her statement of “That’s how our people... we are” suggested that the health and social issues are still prevalent within her community. As she attributed the behaviours to all Māori, it showed that she perceives the behaviours in her own community as representative of all Māori. Similarly, other Māori from the lower socio-economic group gave comparable accounts.

Focus Group Participant: *“Umm... the violence... umm I lived it. I was born in it. I became the angry man because of it. Hence the reason why I’m... but I’m searching. I’m still searching”.*

The above participant was open about his personal transgressions that seemed to be derived from a familial cycle of abuse. It would seem that he has been a victim of, and possibly a contributor to, the health and social issues. He is locked in an ongoing struggle, given his comments “but I’m searching. I’m still searching”. This participant gave other insights into his life experiences which directly positioned him in the lower socio-economic group. For instance, he mentioned the consequences of poverty, such as trying to provide food for his young child.

Focus Group Participant: *“You know... my boy comes home, he walks... when he walks home I notice that he gets hungry. Yeah so I tell him “bro go make you a feed”. He’s only seven. Go make him a feed, go make him a bread, butter, peanut butter. That’s it. Can’t afford these nutritional kai. Especially when I’m only getting a hundred bucks a week and feeding two kids you know. And bills taken care of after that. I gotta stick to the artificial kai like mixed veges, umm cheap brisket, cheap chicken, noodles and stuff like that you know”.*

The realities of poverty and its associated social effects encapsulated this participant as it was clear that he was finding it difficult to support his family. The benefit of his

contribution and the participant who had suffered domestic abuse, made the issues ‘real’, and to some degree it gave the issues a voice. The discussions about the advertisements had led to participants telling their stories about their own struggles. The interactions between some participants who offered real stories of being affected by the health and social issues, and the other participants, who were all aware of the harsh realities that some Māori face, were almost therapeutic in nature. One participant reflected about her childhood experiences and how it was considered “normal” for the times.

Focus Group Participant: “... you know pub crawling... was normal for the kids to be in the back of the car. And we would be outside the pubs... waiting... for hours and hours”.

The stories of children sitting in cars waiting for parents to come out of the pub resonated primarily with participants from the lower socio-economic group as it was their realities. It was described as normal behaviour and resembled the Blazed drug driving advertisement where three Māori children waited in the car for their fathers. The “normal” part of the comment almost painted the behaviour to be acceptable conduct within that era. The “hours and hours” part also indicated alcohol dependency problems. While the above participant had referred to her own experience as if it had belonged in the past, some participants said this behaviour still exists today.

Focus Group Participant: “Still got those children in the car”.

Focus Group Participant: “Outside the Sky Tower”.

Given that some participants were adamant that the behaviour still exists, with one even providing a location (“the Sky Tower”), it demonstrated that those participants may know parents who are doing this to their children, or are at least aware of the behaviour through other sources. If the participants were correct and parents are leaving their

children waiting in the car while they drink in pubs, it raises ethical questions for those establishments, and for people who are aware, regarding the welfare of the children left waiting in cars. Further, it adds fuel to the stereotype.

In terms of understanding why Māori are disproportionately represented in the health and social statistics, the Māori leaders went beyond poverty to explain the causes of the health and social issues. I have dedicated the remainder of this theme to their perspectives which offer some interesting historical insights.

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *“Colonisation, deprivation, lack of education, lack of opportunity, erosion of traditional structures, erosion of family structure... those things”.*

Morgan Godfery – Māori Leader: *“Oh colonisation I think the collateral effects of colonisation... still dealing with issues you know the side effects of issues like land loss, lost our economic base, that sort of thing. And that’s how it manifests in problems like domestic violence”.*

The reasons are all intertwined with each other in a multifaceted set of circumstances. Indeed, there are many publications about this topic and as a society Aotearoa New Zealand is still struggling to understand why Māori are essentially at the wrong end of the spectrum for all health and social statistics. However, Glavish’s status as a respected *kaumātua* and Māori leader was illuminated in profound comments about colonisation.

Naida Glavish – Māori Leader: *“It was portrayed in 1834 before the signing of the Declaration of Independence that he taniwha kei te haere mai ko ōna niho he hirirua he koura ko tona kai he whenua. There is a demon on its way... and it is a demon that has teeth of silver and gold... and an insatiable diet for land. That demon that Aperahama Taonui prophesised then was the coming of colonisation. And it happened... it absolutely happened. Aperahama Taonui also said “he taniwha kei te haere mai ko ōna niho he hirirua he koura ko tona kai he*

whenua. Kāua, kāua e mataku i te hirirua me te koura”. Fear not the silver and the gold, just do not allow it to become your god. And that’s the transformation from your belief in your environment, your stars, and your tides, and your bush that used to provide you... provide us with the sustenance that we need has been replaced by the silver and the gold... the insatiable in actual fact”.

Glavish’s contribution demonstrated her deep understanding of *mātauranga Māori* and *Māoritanga*⁵⁸. Her reference to Aperahama Taonui’s prophecy added a new angle to the discussion; the supernatural. Pre-European Māori had strong beliefs in the spiritual world (Melbourne, 2011). Whether or not Taonui had the ability to foretell the future is irrelevant; the actuality is as Glavish said above, “it happened... it absolutely happened”. Glavish provided a plethora of insightful historical prophecies and proverbs that related to Māori society today. I have decided to include the following lengthy quote because from a traditional Māori perspective, the words hold richness and valuable meaning to this research.

Naida Glavish – Māori Leader: *“There’s whakataukī⁵⁹ ... the proverbs. And the proverb goes “tā te wāhine he whakawhānau mokopuna, tā te tāne he karamhiu i te tewhatewha”. Translated means “that which is the role of our women is to give birth to the generations”. That has not changed over the generations. It is our women who are the houses of the generations. That hasn’t changed one bit in that whakataukī. “Tā te tāne he karamhiu i te tewhatewha” that which is the role of our men is to apply... the resource and the skill. The tewhatewha is the resource and the skill is the use of that tewhatewha. Over the generations of yesteryear that tewhatewha was the provider and the protector. It was what was used to go hunting and fishing and everything that the tewhatewha represents is to be the provider and the protector. Over the generations for our men the tewhatewha has changed considerably... over the generations. Our*

⁵⁸ Māori culture, practices and beliefs.

⁵⁹ Proverbs.

women... still the houses of the generations. Our men... the *tewhatewha* has changed considerably to the extent where the *tewhatewha* of today... could well be the bus they drive, could be the computer they drive, could be the pen, could be the shovel they lean on. What happens to the *mana* and the *tapu* of our men when the *tewhatewha* is to stand in a dole queue? What happens to the *mana* and the *tapu* of our men when that's their *tewhatewha*? And often our men, our young men, they don't know what their *tewhatewha*... that there is such a thing as a *tewhatewha*. They don't realise or recognise that that's their *tewhatewha* of today... is to stand in that dole queue... or to hang out at the buddy's place... or to get on the end of these wacky backy [slang for cannabis]... or... or whatever. They don't recognise it they're not conscious of the fact that they come from a generation... a *whakapapa*... of... once were fishermen... once were hunters... once were stargazers... once were boat builders... *waka* builders... once were... the providers of the home. So if they don't understand that, where is the direction of today's generation into tomorrow's *tewhatewha*? What has education for instance given to replace the *tewhatewha*? What have they given? What has... anything given? So in terms of the *It's Not Ok*... it just didn't happen today. I didn't grow up with the *It's ok*. The *Once Were Warriors* [movie] was not the whole of *Māoridom*. It was a part of *Māoridom*...not all of it. And it's been portrayed as that whole generation were *Once Were Warriors*. But that's not the case... that's not the case. Yeah I guess that's my answer to that question. *It's Not Ok*... it didn't just happen. It did not just happen. Even the drugs... did not just happen”.

The above dialogue from Glavish began with a *whakataukī* about the role of Māori women and men and then showed how it relates to Māori in recent times. Interestingly, she suggested that Māori women are still “the houses of the generations” whereas Māori men seem to have lost their ways as “provider and protector”. The metaphorical symbol of the *tewhatewha* from the *whakataukī* and its application by Glavish to represent a sense of a loss of self-worth by some Māori men in a postcolonial society was an intelligent connection between the old Māori world and the new and how that has impacted upon

Māoridom today. This in itself was not only an explanation, but also a justification as to why Māori continue to be disadvantaged by the social issues that do not affect Pākehā in similar numbers.

Glavish's question of "What happens to the *mana* and the *tapu* of our men when the tewhatewha is to stand in a dole queue?" had an underlying message that colonisation has caused Māori men to struggle in a postcolonial era resulting in a sense of loss of self-worth, status and influence. Māori men had a distinct role as "provider and protector" within the collectivist culture of pre-European arrival. This enabled them to fulfil their obligations to their *whānau*, *hapū* and *imi*, which gave them *mana* and self-worth. With the disestablishment of traditional Māori societies, landlosses, urbanisation, and the basic exchange of labour for wages, Māori men were no longer "providers and protectors" on their own terms. Rather, their *mana* was depleted as they became the primary source of low paid and unskilled labour. It was either that or the dole queue. The transition of Māori men from providers and protectors to standing "in the dole queue" was also commented on by John Tamihere who discussed the politico-economic influences over recent decades that have changed Māori society.

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: *"And a lot of this goes back to the massive economic transition and the [inaudible] government aftermath of it where men... particularly Māori men no longer have a space in familial communities. The ability for them to be the main breadwinner, the ability for them to have mana etcetera etcetera is gone. So when you start to address the drivers of this rather than embarrassing us about our conducts you have a totally different conversation... that's all I'm saying".*

Tamihere's perspective aligned with Naida Glavish's thoughts on the shift of Māori men from being the "provider and protector" (Glavish) or "breadwinner" (Tamihere) to no longer having "a space in familial communities". Both also spoke of the loss of *mana* of

Māori men. Tamihere advocates addressing “the drivers of this”. In other words, the way forward is to find solutions to social impediments such as high Māori unemployment rates, which in return will decrease occurrences of the issues depicted in the advertisements. This method is preferred by Tamihere “rather than embarrassing us about our conducts” which are a collateral effect of the advertisements. Tamihere continued with his views about the politico-economic events that assisted the marginalisation of Māori through recent decades.

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: “Particularly in terms of our young men and... cos their fathers and grandfather were designed and built for another period. And when the economic transition came in the ‘80s and ‘90s they continued to practice a range of values that were no longer able to be replicated because the freezing works were gone, the railways were gone, so and so forth. Now our women made the transition to the new economy a lot better and so they are now the backbone holding it together and a lot of our menfolk are sort of lost in this wilderness a bit. So for instance if you want to teach some of our men umm... how to run their own business or how to run budgeting or how to do something... well they’ve come from a schooling background where they’ve been streamed into the dummies classes. So education for them is going back to the scene of the crime [laughs] so that’s why they don’t support their children on that campus because they don’t want to show their children how thick they are. So it’s not that they don’t want to go to parents’ evening it’s because they don’t want to degrade their [inaudible] in front of their baby you see. So if you understand that... there’s a different conversation to be had”.

Tamihere spoke how Māori men were “designed and built for another period”. This alluded to the rapid transformation of being independent and tribal based in the 1800s to the progressive detribalisation, urbanisation and assimilation of the 1900s. He then mentioned the period of the late 1980s and 1990s during which Māori suffered substantial job losses. There was a suggestion that the young men of today whose fathers and grandfathers worked in unskilled labour post-World War Two until the late 1980s and

1990s, are the primary candidates for many of the social issues facing Māori such as domestic violence and drink driving. Again, the inability to provide for their *whānau* is a causal factor for such outcomes. As Naida Glavish also said when she spoke about Māori women, Tamihere commended Māori women for transitioning “to the new economy a lot better and so they are now the backbone holding it together”. Tamihere’s reference to Māori fathers that “education for them is going back to the scene of the crime” presented his thoughts that the education system is failing Māori, which the scholarly evidence supports⁶⁰. The example provided by Tamihere, gave a rare insight into the thought processes of Māori fathers about school avoidance, which many fathers would probably not want to openly discuss.

To conclude the theme of SOS: Saving Our Society, the health and social issues that feature in the advertisements were openly discussed by research participants. There was a consensus that the issues do affect Māori, although there appeared to be a differential of actual real life experiences depending upon the perceived social stratification. The perceived lower socio-economic group tended to relate with the issues and had lived experiences. They also generally held the belief that the issues are widespread through Māori communities. In contrast, the perceived middle socio-economic group had an awareness of the issues but had limited real experiences. Further, the middle socio-economic group did not succumb to the notion that the issues were rampant across Māori communities. Rather they tended to propose that the issues were directly associated with poverty.

The data confirmed that the health and social issues do exist for some Māori, but not all Māori, and it seems to be that the issues are more prevalent among members of the lower socio-economic group and their communities. It may seem that some of the perspectives have contradicted what transpired in the previous theme, Dehumanising Depictions. This is not so, as the previous theme related to how Māori were portrayed in

⁶⁰ Bishop (2005, 2009, 2011, 2012); Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy (2009); Bishop & Glynn (1999); Chauvel & Rean (2012); R. Mahuika, Berryman & Bishop (2011); Penetito (2009); among many others.

the public information advertisements, whereas this theme focused on the social realities for some Māori. An individual can have personal experiences of a health and social issue but can still disagree with how Māori are portrayed.

Capturing Criticisms

This theme captured the participants' criticism and dissatisfaction with the advertisements. The focus group discussions provided an outlet for genuine concerns to be raised, noted and disseminated, and in this way the research provided a voice for the targeted audience of the advertisements. The participants expressed strong negative opinions about the lack of consultation in the production of the advertisements, believing that the advertisements should contain positive cultural messages. Although participants felt that *imi* should have been widely consulted, they could see that some knowledge of Māori had been included because the advertisements showed some cultural markers in language and humour. Some participants went as far as saying that any Māori who lent their knowledge to the production of the advertisements (for instance, Taika Waititi, director of the advertisement, *Blazed*) should be held accountable for misrepresenting their people.

Focus Group Participant: *"Surely the broadcasting people have enough knowledge to know that... before they start putting these things out that they should actually talk to the people first".*

The above participant was one of many who were vocal about a perceived lack of consultation with Māori. In this instance, the participant had inferred that consultation with Māori is expected, so he was left wondering how the public information advertisements were deemed to be acceptable for television. A different participant identified Māori service organisations that he believed should have been approached for their advice and recommendations.

Focus Group Participant: *“They didn’t consult [inaudible], they didn’t consult Kōhanga Reo, they didn’t consult the Māori Wardens League. All of those organisations are heavily involved in this problem. They’re on the frontline”.*

This participant, who is involved with both of the above named national organisations, appeared to be frustrated about the lack of consultation. Participants felt that involving Māori organisations would benefit the campaigns by strengthening bonds with Māori communities, receiving guidance from start to finish, creating buy-in, and producing advertisements that would help improve the health and social outcomes for Māori. In some ways, the participant’s use of “They’re on the frontline” implied that the Māori organisations deal with the issues on a daily basis, whereas the organisations behind the public information advertisements do not know the communities that they are targeting. Another participant was critical not only of a lack of consultation, but also of the director, Taika Waititi, the director of the Blazed advertisement about drug driving (V. Young, 2014).

Focus Group Participant: *“Wider consultation too about if they’re gonna make an ad, for a specific reason, they want to target Māori, wider consultation don’t just consult Taika Waititi or whatever his name is”.*

Waititi, of Māori and Jewish heritage (Geary, 2012), came under heavy criticism from some participants for his involvement in the Blazed advertisement about drug driving. He was criticised for portraying his own people as negative stereotypes. When a different participant discovered that the director of Blazed was Māori (Waititi), she became infuriated and suggested that Waititi should have appeared in the advertisement instead of the Māori children.

Focus Group Participant: *“He should have put his face there then”.*

This participant said she was disgusted with Waititi, particularly for his portrayal of Māori children, who she said are treasures in Māori society. As mentioned in the Dehumanising Depictions theme, some participants objected strongly to the depiction of Māori children in the Blazed advertisement. The involvement of a Māori person to direct an advertisement that some participants felt was denigrating to Māori children and fathers, was akin to Kūpapa during the Māori wars. Kūpapa were Māori who sided with the British and fought against Māori during the New Zealand Wars (Ritchie, 2013).

It was noticeable to many that Māori had input and involvement in the advertisements.

Focus Group Participant: *“I think that umm it’s obvious that Māori, well it seems obvious anyway that Māori have had something to do with the construction of these ads... to some degree.”*

There was an assumption by many that Māori were part of the design and production of the advertisements, due to the fact that the public information advertisements were rich in Māori cultural cues pertaining to the characters, values, symbols, material objects and use of language and humour. When Tamihere was queried about Māori involvement in the production of the advertisements, he gave a thought provoking response.

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: *“Can I say this. You’ll always get your dial-a-native. Right? We call them hire-a-hori [laughs]. Now what happens is they hire the hori and he’s sitting there and he knows diddly squat... he’s got to get a earner, right? So I understand the old Māori boy sitting there going “oh yeah boss this is good for us”. So they hire a brown palace aid and then they push the palace aid out in front of us. They do the karakia and the mibi and then*

they step back and up steps the white folk who have designed everything. And they believe that that's given them an endorsement, a mandate... and I don't get that".

The participants called for Māori who were involved in the design and production of the public information advertisements to pledge their allegiance to Māori.

Focus Group Participant: *"I guess they need to take greater responsibility for how they're representing their own people".*

The participant felt strongly that Māori involved in the advertisements have a responsibility to uphold the positive aspects of Māori culture and society. Another participant also mentioned the importance of portraying Māori positively and the inclusion of cultural messages. Additionally, the participant was adamant that the advertisements undergo significant modification.

Focus Group Participant: *"Don't just consult one or two Māori...get a wider scope. Make sure Māori are always portrayed in a positive light. There are tikanga messages... whakataukī. Basically do not repeat any of that [points to the posters of the advertisements]. Start again".*

The use of Māori cultural treasures in the public information advertisements was criticised by some participants as being culturally insensitive. One participant said Māori *taonga* were being used inappropriately without correct understanding or knowledge. She was referring to the use of *korowai*⁶¹ and *tā moko* which were used in some of the advertisements.

⁶¹ Traditional cloak.

Focus Group Participant: *“Unless you really understand the depth of what that means... why? Unless you have an absolute deep knowledge. Te ahuatanga o te korowai [translation: the detailed characteristics/traits of the korowai]. Tēnei te tangata [translation: this is the people]. Why? Umm... people might think “oh that’s why they wear a korowai” [purposefully mispronounces the korowai].*

The underlying dimension of the above contribution was about *mātauranga Māori*. The participant was protective of the *taonga* in the advertisements as there did not appear to be any consideration given to *mātauranga Māori*, and the basic rules when working with and around *taonga*. It was obvious that this participant was quite familiar with *mātauranga Māori*. Fundamentally, her perspective was that *taonga* should not be used in anything outside of her understanding of the Māori cultural realm. A different participant went as far as calling it abusive.

Focus Group Participant: *“I see it as being abusive. I mean, when you look at what those taonga mean... to us as Māori... I think as [participant’s name removed] said it’s an individual thing but where were the kaumātua and kuia⁶²? Where were their whakaaro around the use of those sort of stuff?”*

The declaration of the use of *taonga* in the public information advertisements as being “abusive” left no margin for me to misconstrue the comment. This participant reflected upon the symbolic nature of *taonga* and what *taonga* means to Māori. The reference to *kaumātua* and *kuia* personified a Māori perspective that asks for guidance and support from elders and puts the collective ahead of any individual or advertisement. The use of *taonga* in the advertisements deeply affected one participant as she described the pain she felt when she watched the Family Violence - It’s Not Ok advertisement.

⁶² Elderly woman, grandmother.

Focus Group Participant: *“That first one with George, umm... I’m bothered by that one eh especially when the camera goes to the tipuna⁶³ [in this case - photographs of ancestors on the wall in photographs], then they show the korowai, then they show this and that, I don’t... that... I feel it in here [points to the centre of own chest]. Not good, that is not good. What is that saying?”*

The participant’s voice quavered when she spoke the words I have quoted above. The experience of pain revealed strong emotions and an unfathomable connection to *Maoritanga* and the rules surrounding *taonga*. This participant’s deep connection with *te ao Māori* resonated with others in the focus group discussion who nodded in agreement. There was a sense that the Family Violence – It’s Not Ok advertisement was disrespectful by using *taonga* as featured items in an advertisement that connects Māori to family violence. Godfery went further by stating the use of *taonga* was “cultural misappropriation”. Winsby (2012) defined cultural misappropriation as the theft of cultural property.

Morgan Godfery – Māori Leader: *“Personally I think it’s misappropriation... really. You know they want to reinforce the message that this is for Māori but... to use taonga... I don’t think it was needed. You know that’s sort of overlay that’s a little bit insensitive and unneeded to get the message across. And a bit of cultural misappropriation”.*

Other cultural elements of the public information advertisements were also criticised by participants. For example, the inclusion of *kehud*⁶⁴ in the Legend (Ghost Chips) advertisement was discussed. Participants who followed Māori cultural practices and had strong *whiwhi* connections were more likely to have been offended by the use of the Māori spiritual world in the advertisements. For example, a *kuia* said –

⁶³ Ancestors.

⁶⁴ Ghost.

Focus Group Participant: *“I think that the one that shows the ghost... is an intrusion to our people who are gifted... in matakite⁶⁵. That’s what I think about it”.*

Matakite are held in high regard within *te ao Māori* (Lakeman, 2001). The above participant exhibited dismay at the “intrusion” upon Māori in the Legend (Ghost Chips) advertisement as it incorporated the Māori spiritual world. There was a feeling of disappointment that the public information advertisement trampled all over the Māori spiritual world and the *mana* of the people, yet gained massive popularity among the general public. There were expressions from *kaumātua* and those who have strong connections to *te ao Māori*, that the Māori spiritual world is out of bounds. The lack of respect for Māori culture was something that participants felt had permeated through the advertisements.

Focus Group Participant: *“But what I’m saying is that the ads for Māoridom, need to be a bit more... I guess umm... what’s the word... respectful... to the past, to our tikanga, to our kawa⁶⁶”.*

Some participants thought that the organisations behind the public information advertisements were not giving due respect to *tikanga* and the associated principles that go hand in hand with Māori customs and protocol. *Tikanga* underpins a Māori worldview and guides conduct and ethical behaviour. Given that the advertisements were generally considered to depict Māori only in a negative manner, the participants struggled to see any evidence of ethical considerations towards Māori in the advertisements. Some participants had suspicions about the intentions of the advertisements. Such views were generally positioned within the middle socio-economic group. One participant was highly sceptical of the “subtle messages” contained within the advertisements, which he believed were morally corrupt.

⁶⁵ Prophets, clairvoyants, special intuition.

⁶⁶ Protocol.

Focus Group Participant: *“We don’t realise but actually the subtle messages are not really what they want you to... the subtle messages are it’s okay to drink, but not excessively... It’s okay to have a party, do what you want, but it’s not okay to go out and drive afterwards... The subtle message is though that it’s cool”.*

The participant showed distrust in and scepticism about the advertisements. The example in his statement referred to the Legend (Ghost Chips) advertisement which depicts a group of Māori youth having a party and drinking alcohol. The fact that the main actor in the advertisement was, in real life, a high school student (Moran, 2011), and thereby most likely below the legal age for purchasing alcohol, provided some substantiation to his accusations. For this participant, the subtle messaging in Legend (Ghost Chips) was not about preventing drink driving, but about glorifying and promoting alcohol consumption thereby increasing the profits of alcohol companies. Other participants claimed that the messaging in the advertisements would not influence behaviour of Māori audiences because the messages were created within a Pākehā framework. One participant was direct with her view.

Focus Group Participant: *“This is Pākehā based”.*

Being “Pākehā based” also implied that the interventions should be organised by Māori within a Māori framework. Another participant, who has many years of experience in the public health and social justice sectors, expressed similar views and said that the people behind the campaigns were inadvertently creating the advertisements using a Pākehā lens for a Pākehā audience.

Focus Group Participant: “... it gives Pākehā health people an opportunity to say “Oh that was a great ad. You captured that cos I recognised all of the points in that” but if you listen to who’s recognising it, it’s Pākehā”.

The participant provided a unique perspective due to his work history and questioned whether the messages were being received by the people who needed to hear it the most. He expanded upon this idea to suggest that the public information advertisements have failed as social marketing campaigns.

Focus Group Participant: “... you know if the object is to make them aware of the advertisement then those are great ads. But if the purpose of the advertisement is to change behaviour... social marketing then I think they failed terribly”.

Of interest, the above participant was the only person in all of the focus group discussions to use the term ‘social marketing’. His background in public health and social justice most likely gave him insights into the health and social statistics for him to conclude that the public information advertisements that have operated since the mid-1990s have failed in actually making a dent in the statistics. His perspective was also shared by Tamihere.

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: “You’re not going to fix it... not with that [points to advertisements]. There’s a feel good factor in all of that stuff”.

Tamihere expanded upon his idea of the “feel good factor” -

John Tamihere – Māori Leader: “I think it’s political to show the general populous that don’t get up to shit like this that something is being done about the natives right. And I just

think that's it. And it's also a good note for the do gooders who like managing our failures but will never fix them. So those two groups candidly are what those are pitched at. So all I'm saying to you is I understand the way in which those ads are run for them... they aren't run for our communities. Because they're not run to our communities, by our communities, for our communities".

Tamihere's view that the campaigns are politically motivated to appease the "general populous" is interlinked with his idea that the advertisements are not by Māori, for Māori. Thus, if the advertisements are not for and by Māori, then they must be for someone else, which Tamihere says are the general population. Tapine was of the same opinion.

Jade Tapine – Māori Leader: *"So I'm not sure whether or not those ads are serving the purpose or doing what it's supposed to be doing..."*

Thus, whether the advertisements were actually influencing the people who need it the most were substantiated during the focus group discussions, as some participants from the lower socio-economic group stated they had paid little attention to the advertisements.

Focus Group Participant: *"I never took much notice until now you know".*

Focus Group Participant: *"I didn't even think those ads were about us... until you said [laughs]"*

Focus Group Participant: *"Do people really understand those ads? I think some of them are a big joke".*

It was of interest to see that some participants within the lower socio-economic group did not notice that the public information advertisements were targeted at Māori.

One participant had a negotiated reading of the advertisements and felt she was left to make sense of it all.

Focus Group Participant: *“Maybe a bit more in depth eh... with their meaning. What they’re trying to actually say. For me it’s like they’re just tapping on each subject you know and leaving the rest up to our imagination”.*

The above participant was not alone as others from the lower socio-economic group also interpreted the messages differently from the encoded meanings. Another participant attempted to understand the Never, Ever Shake A Baby advertisement. He wondered if gently rocking a baby, as many mothers do, was also considered to be shaking a baby.

Focus Group Participant: *“What about when you go like that? [performs a swaying action with his arms as if rocking a baby]. Like rocking. Isn’t that shaking too?”*

This emphasised that some participants were not decoding the preferred or dominant meaning of the advertisements, although it also acknowledged that the participants were challenging the content. One parent said that advertisements such as Legend (Ghost Chips) were ineffective because young Māori do not watch television.

Focus Group Participant: *“A lot of young people don’t watch tv these days do they? They’re either on Facebook or on the internet. So whether those ads are getting to them... I don’t think it is. I’ve got two kids and they don’t watch tv”.*

Another parent stated that her children have viewed the advertisements but are oblivious of the messages contained within. Rather, they only absorb the humorous

elements of the advertisements which in some instances, have become ingrained within youth popular culture, for example the lines from Legend (Ghost Chips).

Focus Group Participant: *“My kids crack up laughing at that but they’re actually completely missing the point”.*

Given that many participants within the lower socio-economic group did not decode the preferred or dominant meanings behind the messaging indicates that the encoded meanings have been lost or obscured by humour. The middle socio-economic group, by contrast, tended to understand the preferred or dominant meanings in the messages but rejected the ideas and took on an oppositional reading instead. As the experiences of the health and social issues are inclined to be positioned within the lower socio-economic group and are related to poverty, it seems that the people who need the most assistance to overcome these issues may not be decoding the preferred or dominant meanings in the messages that are designed to help them. One participant offered an explanation about the meanings in the messages.

Focus Group Participant: *“...I always feel that’s where we’re at we’re just so over bearing the message. I used to call it message burnout where... message fatigue even... and we’re over all of that we need the next thing to whatever it’s going to do to us eh”.*

Perhaps the sheer volume of public information advertisements has desensitised or numbed the minds of viewers so that messages are not being decoded to reveal their encoded meanings. As discussed in the literature review, New Zealand has had a proliferation of social marketing campaigns. So as mentioned by the above participant, “message fatigue” may be a valid reason for participants having a negotiated reading of the

advertisements. They may also be purposely choosing not to pay attention due to the bombardment of advertisements.

The public information advertisement that caused the most debate during the focus group discussions was the Nourish Our Kids advertisement by Tip Top and KidsCan. This advertisement was harshly criticised in every focus group discussion and it was by far the most disliked of all five advertisements by the participants. This particular advertisement is about child hunger in New Zealand and the voiceover in the advertisement says “Every loaf of Tip Top you buy, also helps nourish the kids who need it most. Good on ya”. It is important to note that this advertisement is different from the other four advertisements which are essentially straightforward social marketing. Rather, this advertisement is about purchasing Tip Top bread to support the fight against child hunger. Therefore, the inclusion of an advertisement from a corporate entity may have contributed to the confusion. One participant thought it was about the consumption of toast by Māori children as an unhealthy breakfast option.

Focus Group Participant: “*I wasn’t sure was that the message by TipTop bread or were they sort of saying that they were alluding to the fact that a lot of Māori kids only have a piece of toast for breakfast and it’s not good health?*”

A bemused participant thought the advertisement was about a boy who wanted to make toast.

Focus Group Participant: “*Some of them is umm... kind of uh confusing. Like that uh that little boy... that wanted to go make his toast*”.

Another participant was perplexed by the advertisement and thought it was about limiting the consumption of bread.

Focus Group Participant: *“And, and... I say to my own mokos, “there’s jam there or there’s fruit or dadada dadada” but bread and butter is what they want. So that one doesn’t quite go down with me”.*

A different participant disliked the type of bread and thought the advertisement was about child neglect.

Focus Group Participant: *“... I really hate that that bread is white bread... cos it’s not wholemeal and it’s not brown and it’s not Vogels it’s not something of substance. So it’s this brown kid having a feed unsupervised. To me it speaks volumes about you know umm... a neglected child”.*

The cost of the bread was also highlighted ahead of the encoded meaning of the advertisement.

Focus Group Participant: *“That ad, that ad when I watch that ad with the bread... umm I always shake my head cos I think that bread costs way too much”.*

One participant raised concerns about the nutritional benefits of the bread and questioned the commercial nature of the advertisement.

Focus Group Participant: *“So it’s like what? So it’s only good enough for our kids to get white bread? So that’s and I think... then you see Tip Top on the end of it. So... when someone is trying to use it as a commercial... to sell it as a commercial umm... I think that’s quite offensive as well”.*

The dislike of commercial involvement was mentioned by many participants.

Focus Group Participant: “... what it’s aiming at really is they want you to go and buy their bread. And that’s the only one I see out of all of them, where you’ve got a commercial company coming in”.

One participant came up with his own solution to counter the commercial involvement.

Focus Group Participant: “So if we don’t like it, don’t go and buy TipTop bread make Māori bread so when your kids come home and they’re hungry there’s a Māori bread in the cupboard. Instead of Pākehā TipTop bread you know. Or rēwena bread you can always toast that when it gets stale it’s beautiful”.

While his suggestion may seem to have been simple with an added touch of humour, it was a sensible pragmatic approach to something that the advertisement was actually about - child hunger. All of the advertisements were criticised but as stated earlier the Nourish Our Kids advertisement by Tip Top and KidsCan was the most disliked so it has been covered prominently within this chapter. Other advertisements that were not shown in the focus group discussions were also brought into discussion by participants.

Focus Group Participant: “Umm it occurred to me as [removed] was talking about Tip Top and the commercial product another ad that I really have an intense dislike for is those Home Direct ones where those big trucks come around to the house”.

Focus Group Participant: “Instant Finance is the same”.

Both of the above advertisements were most likely mentioned because the offered services (direct selling and predatory financial lending services) are generally located in lower socio-economic areas and are known to target low income Māori and Pasifika

communities (Law Commission, 2011; T. Locke, 2010; Signal, Lanumata & Bowers, 2012).

The participants were aware of these particular types of commercial advertisements that targeted Māori and Pasifika and had an “intense dislike” for them. In effect, the advertisements were perceived as disadvantaging Māori communities by contributing to the poverty cycle. Glavish was also critical of corporations, especially tobacco companies.

Naida Glavish – Māori Leader: *“If the advertisements of smoking were attacking the tobacco company rather than the smokers who are addicted... and offered some positive ways in addressing the addiction... attack the tobacco company then offer solutions to doing something about the addiction”.*

To conclude the theme of Capturing Criticisms, there was no shortage of criticism for the advertisements as participants felt there was a lack of consultation about the design, development and production of the public information advertisements. Participants felt that Māori organisations and *kaumātua* should have been involved in the process. Importantly, this analysis established that participants within the lower socio-economic group generally did not decode the messages according to the preferred or dominant reading. This is concerning given that the health and social issues tend to affect the lower socio-economic group more than anyone else. Lastly, the most disliked advertisement was the Nourish Our Kids advertisement by Tip Top and KidsCan, because of the involvement of commercial interests.

Promoting Positives

Although most of the participants gave negative reactions to the public information advertisements, there were times when positive aspects of the advertisements were given. Interestingly, most of the positive comments were provided by participants from the lower socio-economic group. Participants from the middle socio-economic group generally only

offered positive comments when specifically prompted for positive discussion about the advertisement. However, those responses were still negatively framed.

Focus Group Participant: *“I think that the only positive I see is those three mokos [grandchildren] and their acting ability [laughter by the entire group]. [inaudible] you know that it’s easy for the young people to act stoned in there. So you know... to me it’s totally negative but how do you draw... how do you try and draw something positive out of those as well”.*

The *kaumātua* whose words are quoted above struggled to find any positivity within the public information advertisements. His praise for the child actors was expected of a *kaumātua*, because in traditional Māori communities, children are cherished and appreciated, and *kaumātua* hold onto such values. Another response to a request for positive feedback included a humorous comment from a different participant which focused on the make of vehicles within the Blazed advertisement.

Focus Group Participant: *“I like the car. It’s a Ford bro.... better than a Holden”.*

The use of humour in the advertisements was mentioned as a positive attribute by many participants. However, within most of the comments that referred to humour, there was almost always an addendum that was added which included a negative remark about the advertisements. It was as if the participants felt that the negativity of the advertisements outweighed the element of humour and there was a need to insert a disclaimer after mentioning humour. For example, in the comment below, the participant found the humour in the Blazed advertisement to be “quite fascinating” but then immediately criticised it.

Focus Group Participant: *“I loved that drug ad about you know the humour. I really did like it you know I found the humour quite fascinating but that could have been equally umm... delivered... with uh, uh you know... a white, a white actor. Or uh, uh, a anything but Māori actor”.*

The above comment related to the stereotyping of Māori characters and took the discussion back to what was covered in Dehumanising Depictions. The same type of discourse was used by different participants in virtually every mention of humour within the advertisements. The comment below briefly talked about the “Māori sense of humour” within the advertisements but was sharply followed by criticism.

Focus Group Participant: *“And I like the spin on the Māori our Māori sense of humour. That I think appeals to us. I don’t like... I agree with umm [removed] and [removed] in that I don’t like the undertones or rather the overtones that are associated with both of the ads”.*

It was clear that the element of humour connected with the participants. But there was an internal struggle for some participants between either liking or disliking the advertisements because of the “undertones or rather the overtones” that were expressed in the advertisements. Both Clark and Godfery stated concerns about humour in the Blazed advertisement.

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *“The Blazed one concerns me... because it’s so bloody funny that it almost makes it cool. It’ll be interesting to see if people see that and question their behaviour or if they see it and just go “yeah that’s us” and the next time they do it they might try and drive with their feet”.*

Morgan Godfery – Māori Leader: *“I’m not too sure whether it would actually reach its audience cos you know it’s quite a humorous thing”.*

This is a paradoxical situation, as already mentioned, the use of humour can engage Māori audiences but it can also cloud the encoded meanings of messages. The participant below spoke about the “comical side” but then expressed concerns about how Māori were being represented to Pākehā audiences.

Focus Group Participant: “*Sitting in here as a group, we’re looking at that and we see it as a funny side, a comical side of an advertisement. But you’ve got to remember, sorry love, a Pākehā will be watching it too. So immediately they say “oh that’s a Māori, Māori”*”.

This also took the discussion back to what was covered in Dehumanising Depictions and expressed real concerns about how Māori are depicted to others. Another participant talked about how the “humour of Māori” within the public information advertisements was “funny” and she reminisced back to her own childhood. However, she quickly became critical of the advertisements and the victim blaming.

Focus Group Participant: “*So, so I think for myself I see those ads and I think they’re funny. I think about the humour of Māori. I think about how those kids are. Like being young you know it takes us back to there. But those sort of things we’ve always heard of “yeah this is what your problem is Māori this is what it is”. But you know we’re over the message and maybe we’ve even stopped looking at it”*.

The below participant appeared to approve of the humour, but showed disapproval as he was aware of the polysemic meanings that could be interpreted by audiences.

Focus Group Participant: “*I actually could see the humour in it... cos I know that particular... dynamic... in that world. But on the other hand I thought “obbbb it’s a bit rough”. You know when you consider how it’s being pitched... and there’s a whole lot of I suppose other*

things you could sort of read into it but yeah. From a humorous side of things, yip. From another perspective ohhhhhh [shakes his head in disapproval]”.

The above participants had recognised the humorous elements and could relate to them, but they were not able to fully endorse the public information advertisements due to other concerns which have been outlined in the previous sections of this chapter. It should be reiterated that as highlighted in previous sections, the lower socio-economic group had negotiated readings and this may be because the messages are being overshadowed by humour. This was highlighted by the participant below.

Focus Group Participant: *“I don’t know sometimes I take a long time to get the point... of the ads. I have to see it a few times to get the real point of the... because it gets covered by the funny side, I see the funny side first”.*

Besides the humour elements, the participants that were perceived to be in the lower socio-economic group were more likely to give positive remarks about the advertisements overall.

Focus Group Participant: *“I think it’s honest. It’s honest, it’s direct”.*

Focus Group Participant: *“I think for me it’s the honesty of it all. In your face. Umm... it makes me think about... umm it makes me think about what’s out there to help... the people in those situations”.*

The comments above described the realities for some of the participants. One participant said the Legend (Ghost Chips) advertisement was “absolutely fantastic”. Again, it is important to mention that this participant had personal experiences of the social realities as she herself explained.

Focus Group Participant: *“The Ghost Chips ad, I love that ad from start to finish. I just think it’s absolutely fantastic. It’s an environment that I’ve been in, that I’ve seen. Umm... I think that that... that environment you know at a party in a garage at somebody’s house and the conversations that go on... would really resonate with te ao Māori”.*

Interestingly, she stated that the situation in the advertisement “would really resonate with *te ao Māori*”. That does not seem to fit with the opinions of others within the focus group discussions who were concerned about the inclusion of the Māori spiritual world within the advertisement as previously mentioned. Regardless, her voice and others who supported the advertisements are given the appropriate attention in this section. She also discussed the impact of the Legend (Ghost Chips) advertisement in youth popular culture.

Focus Group Participant: *“I love it and you know I loved it when the t-shirts started coming out... about the Ghost Chips. And the Ghost Chip phrase was used as jokes between mates”.*

Regardless of whether the Legend (Ghost Chips) advertisement was successful at improving health and social outcomes, it did gather a significant amount of national attention because it was part of a wider campaign that included radio advertisements, billboards, posters, bar jugs, bar mats and other promotional tools that were all funded by the government. It became widely referenced and discussed.

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *“Yeah the Ghost Chips... what’s interesting about that one is that now when anyone says Ghost Chips you... well I do... automatically make an association with not driving drunk and stopping friends and family driving drunk. And so prior to this ad Ghost Chips never existed. The term Ghost Chips never existed. But you say Ghost*

Chips to someone now... they know what it is. And I think that's really effective messaging. And so Ghost Chips is really cool but what's behind that is a really heavy message. So I think that one is pretty effective really".

Others also praised Legend (Ghost Chips).

Focus Group Participant: *"Ghost Chips ad is the best ad. Cos all the kids relate to it. 'I'm internalising a very complicated situation' [line from the public information advertisement]. And all... the whole nation of kids have made a joke out of it, but the impact of it has made a realisation. "Oh yeah that's what we do" ".*

The use of the popular line "I'm internalising a very complicated situation" was used as an example to show the popularity of the advertisement. The participant appeared to suggest that the advertisement was directed towards all youth with the comment "the whole nation of kids" as opposed to Māori youth. One participant, who was firmly positioned within the lower socio-economic group, spoke positively of the Blazed advertisement and indicated that he had driven under the influence of drugs.

Focus Group Participant: *"So originally it was uh originally we had a good laugh about it but when I finally sat down and watched it I was like "woah" you know it's a... it's a really deep message. Because there's uh uh... I'm just speaking for myself... I mean that was me. You know... I used to do that. And after seeing that it made me think twice about it so I quite like the ad you know. Cos it does bring that... it puts it in your face basically, you know what I mean. Cos... cos most people wouldn't think about it. But once you see it... once you see it on the screen... you know you have to sit back and go "oh ok... it's not a really good thing to do" ".*

The fact that one participant was able to take something away from the Blazed advertisement and reconsider his own behaviour has a positive value. However, he was the only participant out of the 63 focus group participants who admitted being affected by the Blazed advertisement. Another participant who was also situated in the lower socio-economic group thought that the Blazed advertisement was “quite good”.

Focus Group Participant: *“I think the drug one is actually quite good because it tells the parents out there what your kids are seeing and what the parents aren’t paying attention to. Umm as for the family violence one, I actually think that’s quite good. He owns up to it”.*

Whether or not the messaging behind the Blazed advertisement is about “what your kids are seeing” and “what the parents aren’t paying attention to” is debatable but not entirely incorrect either. The participant also mentioned the Family Violence - It’s Not Ok advertisement and focused on how George (the main character in the advertisement) took responsibility for his wrongdoings. No other participants commented about the positive effects of George taking responsibility in the advertisement. Also on a positive note, participants were glad to have the opportunity to voice their opinions about the advertisements in the focus group discussions.

Focus Group Participant: *“So... to sit here and listen to the kōrero⁶⁷ that is going I think it’s awesome. I think it’s absolutely great that we’ve been able to bring a group of people here to, to talk about these things because it’s important that we, as Māori, look at these things and then let people know how we feel about them”.*

⁶⁷ Talk, discussion, conversation.

Focus Group Participant: *“For me I think uh... the ads do have a kaupapa⁶⁸ with them but... more than that... it’s doing something that they probably wanted us to do and that’s discuss them. What we are doing now”.*

The last two comments resonated with the ideology underpinning this research which is to provide a platform for Māori to voice their perspectives about the advertisements that are targeted at Māori audiences. As already mentioned there has been a perceived lack of consultation about advertisements targeted at Māori. Therefore, in some ways those comments have endorsed the research *kaupapa* and justified the need to have this research.

To conclude the theme of Promoting Positives, it was difficult to elicit positive comments from participants in the middle socio-economic group, but participants from the lower socio-economic group were more likely to offer positive comments about the advertisements. The inclusion of humour in the advertisements was considered as being relatable to Māori although the middle socio-economic group tended to offset positive remarks about humour with a negative comment immediately after.

Identifying Identity

One of the main points of discussion centred upon Māori identity and whether or not Māori identity was accurately depicted in the advertisements. Many of the participants gave their own definitions as to what they thought was Māori identity and described their own identity. The participants self-identified as having a Māori cultural identity, for example, “I am Māori” as opposed to “I have Māori ancestry”. This indicated a strong sense of *Māoritanga* among participants. The discussion was generally focused on the collective group, as opposed to the individual identity.

⁶⁸ Topic, matter for discussion, subject.

The participant below suggested that the health and social behaviours in the public information advertisements are a direct result of the loss of Māori identity.

Focus Group Participant: *“And that is me today, and if I get angry, not so much at these ads, but at what has been done to my people, you know everything has been taken away from us. That’s why these ads are out there today because my people have lost that whole sense of identity, that whole sense of respect”.*

The loss of identity was described above as part of the dismantling of Māori social structures through the processes of colonisation, which was discussed in the literature review. However, the participants seemed to proudly identify as Māori but felt that the public information advertisements were condescending and therefore not representative of Māori identity. For example, one participant said the following -

Focus Group Participant: *“... for me, I hold my head high as a Māori at the best of times. But umm I don’t like to be looked down upon that way. This is what I don’t have a lot of time for... uh the ads that we see on television”.*

The participants felt that Māori are proud people and that the advertisements were belittling the notion of a proper and true Māori.

Focus Group Participant: *“...whilst there’s probably a part of the community that do behave in that manner... it’s not what we call proper or true. You know true Māori and... you know our people are proud people”.*

Some participants struggled to see Māori identity within the advertisements. One participant said that the advertisements featured Māori people but not Māori identity.

Focus Group Participant: *“I don’t think it’s Māori identity... they’re just using Māori people. They’re just Māori people” [points to the posters of the advertisements].*

This distinction between Māori people and Māori identity suggests that the participants thought that any negative depiction of Māori could not be representative of Māori. Moreover, the participants suggested that there was an absence of Māori identity within the advertisements. Most of the discussion centred upon the notion that Māori identity is a positive construct as opposed to negative representation. Many participants gave their thoughts about how Māori identity should have been portrayed in the advertisements. The Māori leaders were also of the same opinion that the public information advertisements did not hold to a true Māori identity.

Jade Tapine – Māori Leader: *“Yes and no. From a perspective of tikanga, whakapapa... no. In terms of where our Māori people are at in this day and age... yeah. Yeah for sure. Even in terms of just how they articulate themselves, how they talk to one another you might deem that as Māori identity but I wouldn’t”.*

Tapine’s perspective, by his own admission, was situated in a Māori cultural perspective. His comments about how the Māori characters communicate with each other in the advertisements also showed a rejection to the stereotypical Māori image portrayed in the advertisements. This idea was also put forward by Glavish who mentioned the difference between what she called “mainstream Māori” and Māori at the *marae*.

Naida Glavish – Māori Leader: *“Not what’s portrayed in these ads in my respectful opinion are a group of people who umm... who colour wise... and language wise... English language wise... portray what mainstream view Māori to be. That’s what it... that’s what those*

ads do. They portray what mainstream Māori claim them to be. If they came to my marae, there's no way with me on my marae, could they identify me with any of these ads."

Glavish seemed to make a clear distinction between the Māori characters in the advertisements and those with a strong Māori cultural identity. Her use of the term "mainstream" came across as though she believed that most Māori are disconnected from having a Māori cultural identity, and that perhaps the representation of Māori in the advertisements is a reflection of wider Māori society. Clark also felt that Māori behaviours in the advertisements are realities for some Māori but are not traits of Māori culture.

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *"And that these activities you know... violence, not caring for children, getting drunk and getting wasted, and being poor... umm are common features of our culture and our identity... and I absolutely reject those connotations. When I think of what is Māori identity, I don't accept that that equates to Māori identity. I accept that these are products of where Māori are in society as a result of a whole lot of things but I don't accept that they're traits of our culture".*

Participants felt that the advertisements focused on negative rather than positive role modelling. The below participant felt there was a danger of glorifying negative behaviour.

Focus Group Participant: *"There's plenty of opportunities for... for the makers of these ads to get their message across using positive role models. It could be that the young successful Māori sports person telling his mate "hey, mate don't do that stuff... you know... be like us". The danger here is that you're glorifying umm... you're glorifying sort of negative models of*

behaviour and kids think “oh that’s how we’re supposed to act”. Maybe they should go and look at people who do kapa haka⁶⁹, the sports people... dance or whatever”.

The idea of using positive role models in the advertisements began with the suggestion of kapa haka but then moved to other positive activities. Interestingly, much of the discussion about Māori identity was framed within the Māori cultural identity model (M. Durie, 1995a, 1997, 1998) as discussed in chapter four.

Focus Group Participant: *“I think it’s being part of whānau you know whether it’s your immediate whānau or your extended whānau or... yeah. Just going back home and knowing that you belong there. Yeah”.*

For the above participant and many others, *whānau* are an integral part of Māori identity. Belonging to a place, to ancestral lands, seemed to be an important aspect of identity for many participants, as well as *whakapapa*.

Focus Group Participant: *“Our tikanga. Our whakapapa. Who we are and where we come from”.*

Focus Group Participant: *“Māori identity is knowing who you are. Where you belong. That is Māori identity”.*

Morgan Godfery – Māori Leader: *“Well really there’s only one measure of Māori identity and that’s whakapapa. Anything else is sort of incidental I think”.*

The above comments were firmly positioned within the Māori cultural identity model (M. Durie, 1995a, 1997, 1998). It introduced the concepts of *tikanga* and *whakapapa*

⁶⁹ Māori cultural performing group.

in relation to identity. Interestingly, there was only one person from the six focus group discussions who emphasised an *imi* identity ahead of a Māori identity.

Focus Group Participant: *‘For me umm I actually don’t identify with Māori. I am Tūhoe⁷⁰ first, I am Ngāpūhi⁷¹, then I am Māori. That’s how I identify myself’.*

Some Māori prefer to identify with *imi* or *hapū* as the term ‘Māori’ only became used after the arrival of the Pākehā (Robson & Reid, 2001). In contrast, there are Māori who identify only as Māori without *imi* or *hapū* identity (O’Sullivan, 2007). This is probably because of the 668,724 people of Māori descent in Aotearoa New Zealand, 110,928 did not know their *imi* (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Despite the fact that only one person from the six focus group discussions mentioned *imi* identity, it was important to the Māori leaders.

Jade Tapine – Māori Leader: *‘Māori identity is pretty straight forward. To me it is whakapapa, mana whenua⁷²... Māori identity is about lineage and you know having a place... having a place and having a sense of belonging to your people... to your land. Knowing who you are, where you’re from, who you represent as a imi. First and foremost even though we’re Māori we have our own identity to our own people... so it’s Ngāti Raukawa⁷³... that’s what I’d be first and foremost... deemed as. Māori... imi kotahi⁷⁴... so I think Māori identity is about whakapapa and where you derive from. So that’s it from my perspective anyway’.*

Tapine’s allegiance to his *imi* fitted within the construct of *imi* identity. His comment that Māori identity “is pretty straight forward” began with *whakapapa* which led back to *imi*. In Tapine’s case, he lives in the heart of the Waikato where the original Ngāti

⁷⁰ A tribe in the Bay of Plenty.

⁷¹ A tribe in Northland.

⁷² Territorial rights.

⁷³ A tribe in the Waikato and Manawatū/Horowhenua (Tainui).

⁷⁴ United people.

Raukawa are from. He is also the principal of a *wharekura*⁷⁵ so his perspective pertaining to *inwi* identity has probably been influenced by where he lives and the people in his work and social settings. A similar perspective was given by Clark who is based in Auckland and is a member of the *Ngāti Whātua*⁷⁶ *inwi*.

Precious Clark – Māori Leader: *“I can only define my identity... because we are not a homogenous people. So my identity is tribal based. My identity is marae based. So my identity is Ōrākei [a place in Auckland]. My identity is about being proud and being strong... and being compassionate towards my people. My identity is entrenched in my cultural practices, my tikanga and my reo”.*

Clark, like Tapine, lives within her tribal *rohe*⁷⁷ and is most likely influenced by being located within her own *rohe*. Clark went further by zoning in on Ōrākei identity. Ōrākei is a place in Auckland that is located on the shore of the Waitemata Harbour. It is also the ancestral grounds of *Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei*, a *hapū* of *Ngāti Whātua*. Clark is the niece of Joe Hawke MNZM, leader of the Bastion Point occupation (Mein Smith, 2012). The occupation resulted in the return of a piece of Ōrākei land to *Ngāti Whātua*. As Clark and her *whānau* have been heavily involved in *inwi* and *hapū* issues, it makes sense that she has strong ties to her *marae*, *hapū* and *inwi*, and therefore sees her identity as being grounded in Ōrākei. Another leader of *Ngāti Whātua* descent, Glavish, was explicit with her view that there is no such thing as Māori identity.

Naida Glavish – Māori Leader: *“Māori identity it’s not Māori identity it’s inwi identity. You see the term Māori... which actually means pure... the term Māori was a term to counteract the term Pākehā. A Pākehā couldn’t tell the difference between a Ngāti Whātua and Te*

⁷⁵ Māori school.

⁷⁶ A tribe in Auckland and Northland.

⁷⁷ Territory, region.

Aopōuri⁷⁸ or someone from Ngāi Tahu⁷⁹. They couldn't acknowledge that this person I'm talking to is Ngāti Whātua. So we all became Māori. The same with Pākehā... they had their dialects but they all sounded the same. An Englishman sounded the same as an Irishman as a Scotsman or any of them that came over here. If they were white skinned they were Pākehā”.

Glavish's account provided an explanation for how the terms 'Māori' and 'Pākehā' came into existence. Both Glavish and the other Māori leaders' preference for *imi* identity instead of Māori identity could be influenced by the formal positions and roles that they hold, as some of them hold leadership roles in their *imi* organisations. It is fair to say that an individual is probably more likely to identify with an *imi* identity if they are immersed within that *imi* through *imi* politics and leadership. For others, the idea of being unique as Māori people was interwoven with an expression pertaining to the last surviving people of a group.

Focus Group Participant: *“Māori to me are unique. We are unique people. We are the last of the Mōhicans more or less. That is what Māori is to me. That is who I am. Tangata whenua⁸⁰”.*

Another participant also focused on Māori as being unique but then brought in her own identity as a Māori woman. So while there seemed to be much conversation surrounding Māori as a collective, this participant referred to both the individual and the collective in her comments below.

Focus Group Participant: *“We are unique. I am unique. As a Māori woman I am unique. And I'm not the same as every Māori woman. Well, going back to my Nanny and my*

⁷⁸ A tribe in the northern part of the North Island.

⁷⁹ A tribe in the South Island.

⁸⁰ People of the land.

Koro's days [inaudible] to those, belonging to everybody. Belonging to everybody not just my parents, not just my grandparents. Belonging to the community. That's what Māori... I don't think I don't know if it's still the same today. No it's not the same today but... mmm. Oh... I don't think you can really answer it in two or three sentences... not really".

The idea of belonging to the wider Māori community was self-questioned by the participant whether it was still applicable to today's Māori people. Most likely, this was in reference to the urbanisation and detribalisation of Māori. There was a sense of sadness in her voice as she found the topic of Māori identity difficult to discuss. At one point during the focus group she indicated that the focus group discussion should have taken place on the *marae* as she saw the *kaupapa* as being too important to be held anywhere else, and we were therefore obligated to have the focus group discussion as a formal *hui*⁸¹.

Focus Group Participant: *"This is more than just... talking like this. To me really. This is about a wānanga⁸². This is a hui, to me. Yip this is our office. But for me I'd rather be talking about this up there" [points in direction to marae].*

Obligations were also discussed in the context of "living life as a Māori" by a different participant below.

Focus Group Participant: *"...knowing your whakapapa is knowing who you are, knowing where you belong. Umm... believing in yourself as a Māori. You identify as a Māori as distinct from any other culture. If you live as a Māori... with what you know to be a Māori, knowing your whakapapa and all of that. But there are different degrees of that as well. Like, you know Steve you gave your whakapapa connections all over the place, that's part of identity. Living life as a Māori... brings with it also obligations and duties. So if you know who your*

⁸¹ Gathering, meeting.

⁸² Traditional learning forum.

whanaunga are, you want to roll up next to your... uh... anything that affects your whānau [family], your wider whānau too. Fulfilling your obligations is also to me part of our identity as Māori. And though celebrating Māori... experience... all its' facets".

Yet again, the Māori cultural identity model (M. Durie, 1995a, 1997, 1998) was firmly embedded within the discussion. The participant spoke of having degrees of knowledge pertaining to *whakapapa* and this relates to other Māori knowledge such as *te reo Māori* and other cultural understandings. The introduction of duties and obligations as an inclusion of Māori identity saw the relationship between identity and kinship become virtually inseparable. There was discussion about the unique relationship between Māori, and numerous stories were told of meeting other Māori randomly around the globe and being able to instantly connect with them. This was summarised by one participant below.

Focus Group Participant: *"I think we've got a unique umm connection. Cos if you wonder around it doesn't matter where you go and you see... you think it's a Māori you just raise your eyebrows... you know. And umm if he raises his eyebrows well... you know".*

On a negative side, the subject of losing identity was mentioned by several people, including the participant below.

Focus Group Participant: *"You know again, being Māori we keep losing parts of our identity. We've lost all of the traditional Māori stuff. And now, as I've said I've been here 45 years... now I've lost my [removed – name of suburb] connection because I'm no longer [removed – name of suburb] we are [inaudible] and we're getting forced that upon us".*

It appeared that the above participant had felt loss initially from moving away from her ancestral lands, and secondly due to the urban area she has lived for 45 years being

renamed as part of urban development. It seems that her displacement has influenced how she views her own identity and the community of Māori people that she lives among. It was obvious that she felt a strong connection to both her ancestral lands and the community she resides in. The loss of Māori identity was also discussed by a participant in relation to the youth in urban areas who seem to identify more with African-American culture than Māori culture.

Focus Group Participant: *“Because a lot of our young ones... especially in parts of South Auckland, they lose their identification. A lot of them say now that they’re not Māoris, they come from America [laughs] and their whakapapa is the black negro [laughs]. They got all these sorts of ideas”.*

To conclude the theme of Identifying Identity, the discussion about Māori identity revealed that most participants gave similar accounts of what they perceived to be Māori identity which resembled M. Durie’s (1995a, 1997, 1998) Māori cultural identity model, including the notions of *whānau*, *whakapapa*, connections, ancestral lands, and simply knowing “who we are and where we come from”. This indicated a strong sense of *Māoritanga*. In other words, participants strongly identified as Māori. There was also discussion about loss of identity and how that has contributed to the health and social issues. Finally, participants did not seem to think that Māori identity was represented within the advertisements. Rather, the characters in the advertisements were “just Māori people”.

Summary

This section, Māori Perspectives, presented data from the focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews with Māori leaders through abstraction. The themes that emerged from the data were supported with quotes from participants. Importantly, the

extensive use of quotes in this chapter also served the purpose of telling the stories of my participants which aligns with the *kaupapa Māori* paradigm. The next chapter presents data from the interview with Dr Paul Graham and Rachel Prince from the New Zealand Transport Agency.

7 NZTA PERSPECTIVES

“All is data” – Barney Glaser (2007, p. 1)

This chapter presents data from the semi-structured interview with Dr Paul Graham and Rachel Prince from the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA). This chapter is a straight forward narrative as no other interviews were conducted to formulate patterns. However, the key points and ideas that are presented here will be used in the following chapter for discussion. As I previously stated, perspectives from those behind the public information advertisements could not be located within the literature. To fill this gap, I interviewed two key figures of the New Zealand Transport Agency (NZTA) road safety programme.

As already stated, Graham is the Principal Scientist at the NZTA and is the New Zealand Chapter representative and executive committee member of the Australasian College of Road Safety (Australasian College of Road Safety, 2015). Prince is the Principal Advisor of Network User Behaviour at NZTA (New Zealand Transport Agency, 2014) and is often referred to in media items as the NZTA National Advertising Manager (such as

Hurley, 2012). From the beginning of the interview it was obvious that both Graham and Prince have enormous influence over what is shown on television screens from NZTA.

Dr Paul Graham: “... I do the research side of this. So that’s potentially the audience profiling... and pulling together what we call our advertising briefs together. So that’s the “Dear Agency, this is what we want you to produce” ”.

The national road safety campaign began in 1995 as government funding increased for road safety. This strategy was implemented across multiple spheres including traffic enforcement. A major part of the strategy was a high profile mass media advertising programme that was based upon the highly successful road safety programme in Victoria, Australia (New Zealand Transport Agency, 2013). This mass communication campaign saw the beginning of public information advertisements for road safety on national television. In the early 2000s, the fifth Labour government’s Closing the Gaps policy meant that extra resources were given to promote social equity for Māori and Pasifika through targeted programmes across the various government agencies. According to Graham, this was the first time that Māori had been the specific target audience of NZTA.

Dr Paul Graham: “It actually worked right against our previous principles that we’re not actually specifically targeting any group. So if we’re asked to specifically target a group we had to find a problem which was distinct for Māori or Pacific groups.... Our first efforts, One More Bro for the Road, were not hugely successful. And I think it’s because we’d been forced to target something that we weren’t completely comfortable with”.

According to Graham, the advertisements of this era that were targeted at Māori did not work. This showed the inexperience and teething problems related to targeting Māori in the early days of the road safety campaign. It also disclosed that there was an

initial reluctance to target Māori and it seemed as though NZTA were following directives from above. While NZTA had the best of intentions, stereotyped images of Māori began to surface.

Dr Paul Graham: *“Well it was carefully done but even so it was trying to use the ‘don’t drink and drive message’ and say “well here we can put in a Māori situation”. Which in one case turned out to be a prison. Remember the prison ad?”*

As I have not seen this advertisement I cannot visualise or contextualise it. However, the use of a prison to represent the Māori situation automatically indicates stereotypical assumptions of Māori as being criminal. This calls into question the attitudes towards Māori by the NZTA. By their own admission, the advertisements did not work. The reason for the initial campaigns being unsuccessful was admittedly put down to a lack of consultation with Māori.

Rachel Prince: *“... we were working with a big advertising agency in Wellington and we weren’t necessarily doing true consultation with Māori like we learnt that we had to all sit around a table and work together to figure it out”.*

It seems as though there was a belief that the large overseas-owned advertising agencies in Wellington knew more about advertisements that are targeted to Māori than Māori do. It was only after these failed attempts that NZTA began consultation with Māori, and that only occurred after NZTA was approached by a cohort from Northland. This calls into question why NZTA had never instigated their own contact with Māori.

Dr Paul Graham: *“Northland Māori approached us... in a way and said “this is not working” ”.*

It is interesting that Northland Māori took this initiative to work with people and a government organisation that they did not know. This showed a concern for their people and it was also an admission that the road safety issues affected their people. The approach from Northland Māori began a relationship which lasted until about 2008. During this time NZTA regularly travelled to the Northland townships such as Kaitaia, Moerewa, Opononi, Otangarei, and Whangarei, among others to find out what Northland Māori wanted for their particular area in terms of road safety messaging. This involved going to *hui* and engaging with Māori.

Rachel Prince: “*So it was hugely resource intensive from our side. Because when we went up there we had to get around all of those places. It would be two or three days. So yeah, it was two days every time*”.

This seemed to suggest that NZTA were not familiar with Māori communication processes and may have viewed the engagement as being time consuming and troublesome. *Hui* may last for several days (Hardy, 1990) and it is not uncommon to return multiple times to discuss issues of importance and to ensure that the engagement is meaningful. Māori do not see this process as a demand on time but as a way of building enduring relationships.

NZTA engaged the services of Glenn McGahan and his company, Native Works, to help design the Northland road safety campaigns. The working relationship between Northland Māori and NZTA resulted in numerous road safety billboards around the Northland area – all of which were designed by Northland Māori.

Dr Paul Graham: “*They designed them, they had their messages, their people. That was one of the original ones was “Show our people, don’t show some guy from Waikato”*”.

According to Graham and Paul, the ACC and the Police had put up billboards targeting Māori in the Northland area – and those were burnt down.

Rachel Prince: *“So our measure of success was... our billboards weren’t burnt. And that actually really was... it was like “wow they’re obviously proud of them because they’re still there”... they weren’t seen as ours they were theirs and that was the difference”.*

While one measure of success was that the billboards were still standing, the statistics showed that the campaign in Northland was not working.

Rachel Prince: *“...because ultimately we weren’t seeing any changes with regards to stats. Which is why in the end we could neither justify carrying that on”.*

This highlighted the different norms and values between NZTA and Māori. NZTA withdrew funding and support when the desired statistical outcomes were not met. In contrast, the ideals of Māori culture would suggest working together to find other ways to solve the problem (M. Durie, 2003). During the Northland experience, NZTA decided to apply the same approach with Māori in the eastern Bay of Plenty.

Dr Paul Graham: *“So when we said “This is working... essentially working, we should actually extend it we can’t justify having a national funded programme in just one part of the country. Can we expand this to other regions?” The next cab on the rank would have either been rural Waikato or eastern Bay of Plenty”.*

NZTA found there was a different dynamic with the eastern Bay of Plenty *in* comparison to the Northland *in*.

Dr Paul Graham: *“... there’s seven iwi around the eastern Bay as well. They don’t seem to get on with each other as much as the five or six in Northland get on with each other”.*

This indicated a lack of knowledge and sensitivity to *iwi* politics. *Hapū* within the same *iwi* across the country are known to have disagreements, and have literally fought wars against each other (Panoho & Stablein, 2012). Perhaps NZTA could have used an intermediary to gauge the political climate before committing resources to the endeavour. However, there was a key difference between applying the model in Northland and applying the model in the eastern Bay of Plenty.

Rachel Prince: *“And the big difference was we went to them they didn’t come to us”.*

As mentioned earlier, members of the Northland Māori communities had approached NZTA and invited NZTA to Northland. In contrast, with the eastern Bay of Plenty, NZTA took a clone of their Northland model and hoped to apply to the eastern Bay of Plenty without being invited to do so. NZTA had good intentions but their approach may have raised suspicions.

Rachel Prince: *“They (eastern Bay of Plenty) didn’t want us... We tried for two years. We kept going up there and meeting at a table for two years. And we did meet them but we never got anywhere”.*

The aforementioned tribal politics may have played a part in not being able to finalise ideas for a campaign. Other reasons cannot be discounted. For example, the eastern Bay of Plenty people may not have liked NZTA’s proposals. It is even possible that they did not want to work with NZTA. Also, two years may have seemed a long time for NZTA but not for Māori. E. Abrams et al. (2014) pointed out that it took two years

for a team of researchers (which included Māori researchers) to build a relationship with a Māori community. NZTA reluctantly gave up and so a campaign in the eastern Bay of Plenty was never launched. However, this did not stop local *imi* from putting up their own billboards.

Rachel Prince: *“And they just all thought they could deal with it themselves... ‘It’s our problem we’ll fix it’. So we would see billboards going up, that we had no idea of, that were nothing to do with us. Even though we were offering to pay for them”.*

Like Northland Māori, the groups from the eastern Bay of Plenty realised the existence of the road safety issues and that it was affecting their communities. But rather than working with NZTA, the eastern Bay of Plenty groups chose to design and fund their own billboards, despite the continued offers of assistance from NZTA. This indicates that the eastern Bay of Plenty groups probably did not want to work with NZTA and explains why nothing eventuated during the two years of meetings.

Rachel Prince: *“So we kept going up and saying ‘How can we help you? What can we do? What do you need us to do?’”*

It is unknown why the eastern Bay of Plenty groups rejected the NZTA, but it is a matter of record that many of the *imi* in the Urewera have a longstanding distrust of the government because of historical events including land confiscations and police raids (Binney, 2009). Further, I do not know if the contact between NZTA and the eastern Bay of Plenty groups occurred before or after the infamous ‘terror raids’ in 2007 (see Keenan, 2008; Morse, 2010) which would have impacted upon the relationship.

The NZTA initiatives which attempted to work with both Northland and eastern Bay of Plenty Māori groups ended when the fifth National government took office in late 2008.

Rachel Prince: *“... so at that point our funding was... new strategy... different funding regime...”.*

Dr Paul Graham: *“Governments changed”.*

Rachel Prince: *“Yeah. We couldn’t apply for that sort of work anymore”.*

Although while the funding regime had changed under the John Key government, it was under the previous rule of the fifth Labour government (1999-2008) led by Helen Clark, where the number of television advertisements substantially increased.

Dr Paul Graham: *“We got asked to do more ads... More ads”.*

Rachel Prince: *“Within the same budgets... in my whole time from starting in 2002... our budgets did not go up but we were asked to include a whole lot more within those existing budgets. So we were stretched... really stretched”.*

The funding for road safety television advertisements has not seen much of an increase despite the programme being run since 1995.

Dr Paul Graham: *“And that’s essentially been the budget ever since. It’s around about the 10 million mark overall. It’s sat around in that range for a long time... We’re at 13 [million] now”.*

Notwithstanding the funding limitations and the cancellation of initiatives with Māori in Northland and the eastern Bay of Plenty, the NZTA still kept Māori within their

sights. The television advertisement, Legend (Ghost Chips) became a popular culture phenomenon and went viral on the internet. The television advertisement features predominantly Māori characters, although it was briefly disputed between Graham and Prince as to whether Māori were specifically targeted.

Dr Paul Graham: *“Actually Blazed [drug driving advertisement] was the only one that we specifically targeted Maori”.*

Rachel Prince: *“No. Ghost Chips as well”.*

However, Graham, who writes the briefs for NZTA, was adamant that Legend (Ghost Chips) was not specifically targeted at Māori.

Dr Paul Graham: *“Well... Ghost Chips just had as its audience it said... “Don’t forget that the audience is about 40 percent Māori and maybe think about that when you craft the ad”. I just had a look at the brief for that. Whereas Blazed said “Our problem... our required audience here is Māori” and we did one ad for Māori men”.*

Graham was insistent that Blazed has been the only advertisement that has targeted Māori. He put forward the argument that the presence of Māori characters in other advertisements, such as Legend (Ghost Chips), was more to do with being representative of the country. I was unsure if he actually believed that or if he was trying to minimise the number of advertisements that specifically targeted Māori audiences.

Dr Paul Graham: *“We have deliberately never... apart from Blazed, specifically never focused on Māori but recognised that they are a significant and often overrepresented part of any target group. And that extends to casting for characters too. We just give the casting brief and go cast.”*

And you should get with no restrictions a representative sample of New Zealand or not... whatever you get... so yes characters turn up but that's just being... New Zealand characters".

It was difficult to believe his argument that the cast of Legend (Ghost Chips) was intended to represent New Zealand characters when all of the cast appeared to be Māori. Further, Prince had earlier stated that Legend (Ghost Chips) was targeted at Māori.

Dr Paul Graham: *"So he ended up being a central core Māori character but he wasn't.... he might not have been. There was no requirement for him to be Māori he just turned out to be. And the crowd and the party around him were all sorts of people they were just essentially young kids who all get on. So you know we had to go and look at rugby teams... who are the players? What does young New Zealand look like?"*

While Graham believed that Māori were never deliberately targeted in Legend (Ghost Chips), he did imply that Māori, specifically provincial Māori, were targeted when he stated that the drink driving problem is heavily located in rural Aotearoa New Zealand.

Dr Paul Graham: *"... Whakatane, Kaitia... all our old friends... because our drink drive problem is rural and provincial New Zealand it's not... central Wellington or central Auckland".*

Further, when Graham was describing the brief for Legend (Ghost Chips) he also mentioned Māori.

Dr Paul Graham: *"... the way the brief was set up we set it up as... there are all these groups who can influence our drinking driver. So you have a core drinking driver... who essentially young, provincial, very often Māori..."*

The Legend (Ghost Chips) advertisement marked a change in direction by NZTA, where the apportioning of blame in the messaging was replaced with positive behaviour. This coincided with a new road safety strategy, Safer Journeys, which was launched in 2010.

Rachel Prince: *“Ghost Chips... was a drink driving brief where we had realised through ongoing evaluations of all of our campaigns which happens on a daily basis... that we couldn’t just band on telling these guys, pointing our finger at them, saying ‘If you drink and drive you’re a bloody idiot’. So Ghost Chips was the first time we strategically moved away from ‘Bloody idiot’. And we deliberately tried to actually turn it around and try and show some positive behaviour. And showing them doing the right thing”.*

The new direction for NZTA was also an experiment into uncharted territory which was required as the previous styles of messaging were losing effectiveness.

Dr Paul Graham: *“The drink driving campaign has been going a long time. It had actually been quite successful but of course that success wears off and you reach a new plateau of behaviour and crashes and such like. So we did need to shift the picture again”.*

A lot of reflective questions were asked.

Dr Paul Graham: *“What new way in can we go? Can we try a positive angle again? Can we show good behaviour as good? It’s never really worked in the drink drive space before. This ad was number 25 in our drink drive campaign. So there had been 24 ads before that of various shades and colours”.*

Findings from NZTA's qualitative research that Legend (Ghost Chips) was built upon centred on understanding the barriers that influenced young people from stopping their friends from drink driving.

Rachel Prince: *"Why don't you step in? And that was a key insight "We don't step in because we don't want to kill the vibe of the party and we don't want to look like the dick in front of our mates" "*

After more research, NZTA found what they believed to be a way to get the message through to friends of drunk drivers.

Rachel Prince: *"... through a whole lot of work we realised the only way to get through that barrier was humour".*

Extensive research is always undertaken when designing the concepts for the road safety television advertisements, including Legend (Ghost Chips).

Rachel Prince: *"And we did a lot of work... into qualitatively understanding the audience as well so... invested time and money into getting a really good picture of them".*

The process of designing the Legend (Ghost Chips) concepts was rigorous and started with the brief.

Rachel Prince: *"... the process of making an ad is... a lot of work goes into the brief then we brief the advertising agency. A lot of work goes in from their end... they panic and they give us back a creative brief to see if it meets our expectations of what they'll put to their creative teams".*

After much deliberation and communication between NZTA and the advertising agency, the brief is turned into campaign concepts which are then tested.

Rachel Prince: *“And so then once we’re happy with three or four concepts they get put into testing with the target audience through an independent research company”.*

The concepts are tested independently of the advertising agency.

Dr Paul Graham: *“We don’t let the ad agency test the ads... no”.*

Rachel Prince: *“Because they have a bias”.*

Usually, the concepts are tested on approximately 30 individuals, but for Legend (Ghost Chips), pairs were used in order to facilitate discussion.

Dr Paul Graham: *“With a young audience like that I’ll use probably pairs as well because individually young males are useless at talking. But two of them is better they’ll at least communicate with each other and the research can pick up something. But essentially they’re one-on-one interviews... depth interviews”.*

At this stage of testing, the concepts are auditory and supplemented with sketches.

Rachel Prince: *“... it’s a narrative that they hear”.*

Dr Paul Graham: *“... a recording tape... it might be boards with sketches on”.*

Rachel Prince: *“The concept is talked through... “This is what you might see”. It basically talks through what they’d see in the ad”.*

Interestingly, the initial four concepts that were tested for Legend (Ghost Chips) did not receive favourable responses during the research testing and were redesigned.

Rachel Prince: *“And so the interesting thing about Ghost Chips is we tested four concepts”.*

Dr Paul Graham: *“And they all failed”.*

Rachel Prince: *“They all failed. They all failed but in each of them... there was a key insight in each of them that we took out and built a new concept... put it back into testing... and produced it”.*

The Blazed drug driving advertisement was specifically targeted at Māori, and appeared only on Māori Television.

Dr Paul Graham: *“They [Māori Television] approached us yes as part of the drugs campaign and said “Can we do something?” and that’s when we went back to the table and said “We’ve got this brief”. So there was actually a direct approach... a bit like Northland actually. A direct approach from Māori to say “We’d like to... we want to do something ourselves”.*

It was interesting to see that the Blazed advertisement was a Māori initiative, especially given the negative readings from the focus group discussions.

Rachel Prince: *“But when they were given effectively the Blazed idea... the concept before it was created and said “What would you think of this if it was given... if you saw it on mainstream television?” “Oh nah... pointing the finger at us... we’d reject it... nah no way”. “What about if it came to you through Māori TV only?” “Oh yeah well that’s our people talking to us we’d have to listen”. So all of a sudden it was credible. So we knew that we could not go out to the masses with this we had to go out very deliberately through their own... media*

consumption. So we were very deliberate in that it only went... for a few months it only went out on Māori TV”.

From Prince’s testimony, it was evident that NZTA had actually followed some sort of consultation process which included Māori Television throughout the design and production of Blazed. When questions were asked regarding stereotyping within the advertisements, their responses were that they carefully monitor feedback.

Dr Paul Graham: *“And it’s part of the tracking. We’ve got to keep a very close eye on... or ear really... on what people are saying about the ad and where those conversations are heading. Both of them... actually one of the beauties of online discussion is you don’t get dominated by a single commentator... who could do that who could say “This is targeting Māori only... this is finger pointing”.*

I took the opportunity to inform Graham and Prince how the participants in the focus group discussions could essentially be classified into two distinct groups, the middle socio-economic group and the lower socio-economic group. I mentioned how it showed that participants within the lower socio-economic group had a negotiated reading of the intended message which may have been partly due to the element of humour in the advertisements. Graham responded with the following.

Dr Paul Graham: *“But in terms of what are people in large saying about the ads... you can ask them and we’re constantly surveying. We do about 50 a week... 70 a week. I’ve got a continuous telephone and online survey running of the public at large... to see what they’re saying about our ads... what messages are coming through from those ads? Are they liking them or disliking them? And I... Ghost Chips always comes through as really well liked, good message to take out, it’s a very strong ad. It has been for a long time. Highly relevant both to young and*

older audiences... possibly for different reasons. So the larger survey picture says "Working well". Put groups into a small conversation and you can get a different picture. You've run six of them... perhaps it's interesting that you've got that split between the two types of groups".

On the other hand, Prince offered an interesting explanation regarding the two distinct groups, and singled out the middle socio-economic group who generally disliked the advertisements.

Rachel Prince: *"But I don't know if they would have been our target audience... Because we clearly only test them on our target audience... our very specific target audience".*

This point made by Prince suggested that the middle socio-economic group are not the target audience of NZTA in their road safety advertisements. Or more explicitly, not all Māori are their intended target audiences. The intended target audience is actually the lower socio-economic group who offered experiences of the health and social issues in the focus groups. In other words, organisations such as NZTA are probably targeting the right audience. This point will be extrapolated during the discussion chapter.

In summary, the semi-structured interview with Dr Paul Graham and Rachel Prince provided detailed insights into the thought processes of those behind the public information advertisements. Their perspectives added a significant contribution to contextualising the research and confirming what their own research and consultative practices with Māori have entailed. As there is not any scholarly literature pertaining to those practices within an Aotearoa New Zealand context, I would have not known that those practices existed had it not been for this interview.

8 DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

“The illusion that television transmits ‘reality’ in the raw leads us to pose the question – is life like that?” – Stuart Hall (1971, p. 18)

Stuart Hall’s question has much relevance to my research because my participants objected to the constructions of Māori that were portrayed in the public information advertisements. Influenced by grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I am reminded that this work is not factual, it is “just straightforward conceptualization integrated into theory” (Glaser, 2004, para. 41). My observations of patterns from focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews will now be conceptualised to provide an understanding of the overarching research question: *What are Māori perspectives of public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand?* In doing so, I will discuss the human condition and the experience of my participants as social beings.

Whose Fault?

My data shows that my participants see Māori as being blamed for the range of health and social predicaments in the public information advertisements. Moreover, the advertisements which seem to be placing blame do not take into account the effects of colonisation, which resulted in the breakdown of traditional social structures that supported families (e.g., Chapple, 2000; Moon, 2013; Poata-Smith, 2013; Tapsell, 2014; R. Walker, 1996), land losses which saw the removal of the Māori economic base (e.g., Banner, 2007; Gilling, 2009; Kingi, 2008; Mahuta, 2008; O'Malley, 2014) and other effects that were extensively drawn out in *Māori: The Historical and Socio-political Context*. It may seem that Māori are being blamed for the unfortunate situations in which some of them have found themselves in despite the fact that they did not have any control over the historical and ongoing events that have led to their present circumstances.

It is easy to blame a minority group of people rather than the social systems and processes that are unfair, exclusionary and contributing to marginalisation. This was exemplified when Māori unemployment reached 15.4 percent in 2010 (Kerr, 2010) during the global financial crisis. Rather than acknowledging the connection between Māori unemployment and the economic climate that resulted from corporate failings and ineffective government policies, Māori unemployment during the global financial crisis was often attributed to laziness, even by themselves (see Anthony, 2011). It is much easier for the dominant group to point the finger at those without power.

The health and social issues depicted in the advertisements are symptomatic of certain effects of colonisation that I believe are hidden under the surface in wider society of Aotearoa New Zealand. This is similar to Edward Hall's (1976) iceberg model where the tip above the surface is the external elements of culture and below the surface are the elements that cannot be seen. I argue that the root causes of the health and social issues shown in the advertisements should be addressed rather than apportioning blame. This is

not a new suggestion as Māori scholars have long recognised the underlying origins that have contributed to the negative Māori health and social statistics. For example, Cram, Smith and Johnstone (2003) wrote that their participants felt “the root cause of Māori ill-health was the disruption of *whānau* and *hapū* structures within the historical and contemporary setting of colonisation in this country” (p. 3). Unfortunately, the issues that are depicted in the public information advertisements will remain the social realities for some Māori unless the root causes are addressed. This will make divisions in society even more apparent, between Māori and everyone else, and even among Māori themselves.

‘Māoris’ Are Bad

According to my participants, the advertisements have positioned Māori as stereotyped caricatures that fit within the mould of deficit ideologies, showing Māori, for example, as criminal, drink drivers, drug drivers, and child abusers. The views of my participants reflect the plethora of overseas literature⁸³ that found that when ethnocultural minorities appear in both commercial and social marketing advertisements, they are often represented stereotypically. Further, my participants’ perspectives align with the research about anti-Māori hegemonic discursive patterns within mainstream Aotearoa New Zealand media and stereotyping in society⁸⁴, and also in television advertisements (Dana & O’Sullivan, 2007; Rubie-Davies et al., 2013). This was evident in the theme of Dehumanising Depictions as participants said the public information advertisements depict Māori as “*terrible*”, “*disgusting*”, “*unintelligent and poor*”, “*not very sophisticated*”, and “*dumb*”. This supports the content analysis study of Rubie-Davies et al. (2013) who found that the representation of Māori in public information advertisements “mostly portray negative aspects of society, such as drink-driving, gambling, smoking, family violence, and literacy

⁸³ Bailey, 2006; Brown, 2011; Bristor, Lee & Hunt, 1995; Colfax, & Sternberg, 1972; Coltrane & Messineo, 2000; Cortese, 2008; Entmen & Rojecki, 2000; Gabriel, 1994; Green, 1993; Henderson & Baldasty, 1993; Higgs & Milner 2005; Kassarian, 1969; Maher, Herbst, Childs & Finn, 2008; Mastro & Stern, 2003; Merskin, 2014; Paek & Shah, 2003; Plous & Neptune, 1997; Sudbury & Wilberforce, 2006; C. R. Taylor & Lee, 1994; C. R. Taylor, Lee & Stern, 1995; C. R. Taylor & Stern, 1997.

⁸⁴ Abel, 1997, 2006; Addis et al., 2005; Barclay & Liu, 2003; Gregory et al., 2011; McCreanor et al., 2010, 2011, 2014; Moewaka-Barnes et al., 2012; Nairn et al., 2011, 2012; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Thompson, 1953, 1954a, 1954b, 1955; Wall, 1997.

problems” (p. 191). This means that the portrayals of Māori as stereotypes in the public information advertisements feeds into the binary opposition of the greater narrative of media discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand, which shows Pākehā as good and Māori as bad (A. Moewaka-Barnes et al., 2012), and Pākehā as law-abiding and peaceful, and Māori as violent and criminal (Nairn et al. 2012).

My research shows that those behind the advertisements need to look for ways to develop messages that do not stigmatise Māori if they wish their targeted audiences to be receptive to the messages they promulgate. As suggested by some of my participants, this should involve using Māori role models and framing the messages in a positive light in order to minimise perceived negativity. This means finding out the perspectives of the targeted group so they can be portrayed in a positive light (Wolsko, Park, Judd & Wittenbrink, 2004). It also means that commercial advertisers should include Māori in their advertisements.

Māori are significantly overrepresented in public information advertisements and do not generally appear in commercial television advertisements (Dana & O’Sullivan, 2007; Rubie-Davies et al., 2013). The inclusion of Māori in commercial advertisements would provide a different image of Māori so that they are not only seen in advertisements as having health and social problems. This is important because advertising sells values and attitudes and is a tool of socialisation (Cortese, 2008). The consequences of how Māori are portrayed in media including television have far-reaching effects in real life.

From Television to Real Life

As already stated, the mass media are the primary source of information for cultural groups other than one’s own (Hartmann & Husband, 1974; Steuter & Wills, 2011; van Dijk, 1987). As Gerbner (1999) pointed out, most of what we know about the world we have never personally experienced, which is a view that is held by other scholars (e.g., Martin & Nakayama, 2013; Morgan, 2007). Further, stereotypes are authenticated and gain

cultural currency through repetition (James, 1997). In other words, stereotypical recurrences have the ability to influence conceptions of social reality for some people. It is pertinent to mention that prejudiced attitudes are closely related to stereotype endorsement (Kawakami, Dion & Dovidio, 1998; Vargas, Sekaquaptewa & von Hippel, 2004). This is crucial to my research given that my participants view the advertisements as portraying Māori in a negative stereotypical manner.

Pākehā are the dominant group in Aotearoa New Zealand so any attempts to redress the effects of colonisation and improve Māori health and wellbeing will require the support of the Pākehā and Tāuiwi population. This support will not be forthcoming if Pākehā hold unfavourable views of Māori. It is a reasonable assumption that Māori portrayal in public information advertisements is a contributing factor to how Pākehā view Māori. The literature has consistently determined that Pākehā hold negative attitudes towards Māori (Holmes et al., 2001), and this includes authority figures such as teachers (H. B. Turner, 2013) and police officers (Maxwell & Smith, 1998).

The public information advertisements may have real-life consequences by reinforcing negative stereotypes of Māori to non-Māori, including teachers and police who wield tremendous power over whether Māori receive a quality education or become criminally profiled. H. B. Turner (2013) has already shown that teacher expectations are different for Māori children. A recent study showed that those who look Māori in appearance than other Māori are more likely to be declined for mortgages by banks (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015).

Additionally, it is not only Pākehā who view Māori negatively but also other non-Māori. Liu (2009) found that most Chinese in Aotearoa New Zealand hold negative views of Māori, which were attributed to the negative media coverage of Māori in Chinese language media outlets. If it is assumed that Chinese people have viewed the advertisements then the advertisements may have reinforced the negative stereotypes of Māori. This has implications for Māori given that Chinese are one of the largest groups of

Asians in Aotearoa New Zealand and Asians will soon displace Māori as the “majority minority” (Kukutai, 2008, p. 130).

My participants felt that Māori are proud people and that the advertisements were belittling the notion of a proper and true Māori. It is therefore understandable that my participants felt embarrassed about how the public information advertisements portray Māori to other ethnocultural groups, including immigrants and people overseas. All of the public information advertisements are viewable online and many have gone ‘viral’ and can literally be viewed by anyone with an internet connection.

There is another group that may also be influenced by Māori portrayals in the advertisements: Māori. My research shows that some of my participants feel that the health and social issues are Māori problems. In discussing one of the advertisements, one of my participants said that Māori need to take ownership of child abuse. This is crucial to my research because it demonstrates the power of media discourse including public information advertisements to influence conceptions of social reality of one’s own ethnocultural group. I mentioned this because the study by Merchant (2010) found a 1 to 1.1 ratio between Pākehā and Māori in actual incidents of child abuse, but a 1 to 1.9 ratio in terms of the news print media coverage of Pākehā and Māori child abuse. To put this into numbers it means a 42 percent over-reporting of Māori child abuse (Merchant, 2010).

This is important because my research shows that some Māori have been influenced by the advertisements to believe that Māori are the ‘problem’. This is consistent with the idea of internalised racism which denotes when “an individual from a marginalized group may incorporate into his or her own self-schema the dehumanizing messages of his or her own in-group made by others” (Gamst, Liang & Der-Karabetian, 2011, p. 251). While the manifestations and implications of internalised racism may vary between individuals (David & Derthick, 2014), it can result in self-doubt, identity confusion and inferiority complexes (Fanon, 1965). This is also similar to the idea of hegemony where a group perceives the dominant group to be ‘naturally’ superior and therefore allows the

dominant group to remain in power (Schirato & Yell, 2000). Internalised racism can lead to unhealthy relationships with alcohol and substance abuse, domestic violence (Duran & Duran, 1995) and other behaviours that are depicted in the public information advertisements. In other words, it is possible that the public information advertisements are indirectly contributing to the health and social behaviours which they are designed to reduce.

Diverse Realities

As already discussed in chapter four, Māori are not homogenous (e.g., Dunstall, 1981; Houkama, 2010; Houkama & Sibley, 2014) and are just as diverse as any other people (M. Durie, 1997). 10.5 percent of people who have Māori ancestry do not identify as belonging to the Māori ethnic group (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014). Moreover, the diverse realities of Māori people across all social spheres (M. Durie, 1995b) means that there “is no one reality nor is there any longer a single definition which will encompass the range of Māori lifestyles” (M. Durie, 1994, p. 214). However, my participants felt that the public information advertisements encapsulated all Māori, not some Māori, as suffering from the health and social issues.

This is important because my qualitative data showed that my participants could be classified into two distinct social categories, namely, the lower socio-economic group (either rural or urban based, on a social welfare benefit or employed in unskilled labour), and the middle socio-economic group (urban based, tertiary educated and/or in skilled employment). I will reiterate here that I did not intend to classify my participants in this manner. I was concerned that classifying my participants into socio-economic groups could be perceived as belittling and that it did not fit with the original purpose of gathering Māori perspectives of the public information advertisements. However, the patterns were too obvious and repetitive to ignore. Had I disregarded the patterns it would have been in contradiction with the ideals of grounded theory research. I should also point out that my

classifications are generalisations based on my observations, prior knowledge, and the offerings of experiences by my participants.

The participants whom I categorised in the middle socio-economic group held university degrees, were mostly connected to Māori culture through speaking *te reo Māori* or involvement with wider *whānau*, *hapū* or *imi*. Their occupations varied but included medical doctors, lawyers, teachers, IT workers, and business owners, among others. The participants whom I categorised as being part of the lower socio-economic group were comprised of beneficiaries or low skilled employees. Many were disconnected from their ancestral lands and did not have much involvement with their wider *whānau*, *hapū* or *imi* – although some of the rural participants who were in this social stratification group were culturally connected.

Participants from the lower socio-economic group offered first hand experiences of the health and social issues that were the focus of the public information advertisements. For example, one participant stated, *“I can pick out when a woman is abused because I’ve been there and had that done”*. This group also identified with the characters and offered support for the advertisements when prompted. On the other hand, participants from the middle socio-economic group did not offer any personal experiences of the health and social issues and were highly critical of the advertisements, even when prompted for positive feedback, and asserted that the issues were predominantly concerns for the lower socio-economic group. For example, one participant stated, *“You can say that it’s largely in the lower class, the working class it’s the lower socio-economic grouping... where there’s more poverty”*.

Based on my qualitative observations of my participants and their accounts of experiences, the health and social issues tended to be realities for the lower socio-economic group. The importance of diverse realities is crucial to my research because it means that social marketing initiatives that are targeted at Māori may not be effective if they use a shotgun approach, as opposed to a careful analysis and audience segmentation which is a key element of social marketing (Donovan & Henley, 2003; N. Lee & Kotler, 2012;

Lotenberg et al., 2011; Tones & Green, 2004). My research, which includes the qualitative analysis of my participants and their experiences, supports the view that Māori have diverse realities. This is important given that stereotyping people together can lead to an assumption that the same group of people require the same health services, care and even messaging (M. Durie, 1997). Returning to the beginning statement of this section, Māori are not homogenous and have different social realities. This needs to be taken into account when constructing the public information advertisements so that the intended meanings of the messages are decoded.

Decoding the Messages

As discussed above concerning the diverse realities of Māori, my research has shown that the middle socio-economic group did not relate to the public information advertisements through personal experience and offered an oppositional reading of the advertisements. The lower socio-economic group, on the other hand, who often had first-hand experience of the health and social issues, offered a negotiated reading of the advertisements. Many participants from the lower socio-economic group did not decode the intended meanings of the messages. For example, one participant stated, *“Maybe a bit more in depth eh... with their meaning. What they’re trying to actually say. For me it’s like they’re just tapping on each subject you know and leaving the rest up to our imagination”*. While participants from the lower socio-economic group could relate to the characters and recognised the humour in the advertisements, the meanings were read differently to the intended encoded meanings, and some participants had not thought about the meanings at all. Others felt the meanings were clouded by the humour, as one participant stated, *“I don’t know sometimes I take a long time to get the point... of the ads. I have to see it a few times to get the real point of they’re... because it gets covered by the funny side, I see the funny side first”*. In contrast, the middle socio-economic group offered oppositional readings; they understood the encoded messages in the advertisements but rejected them.

In effect, my research supports the encoding/decoding model (Stuart Hall, 1973, 1980) relating to television (Fiske, 1986), which asserted that messages are decoded by the receivers and may take on different meanings depending upon the cultural backgrounds and personal experiences of the receivers. This was clearly established in my research with two socio-economic groups, who have different backgrounds and have different personal experiences. While Pere and Barnes (2009) pointed out that “presented with the same picture, Māori and non-Māori perceive images differently” (p. 451), my research has identified that even among Māori themselves, images may be perceived (decoded) differently.

If the assumption is that the health and social issues impact upon the lower socio-economic group the most, then the public information advertisements should be targeted at that particular group. Given that Dr Paul Graham and Rachel Prince said that the advertisements are carefully targeted, then my research shows that there is something wrong with the encoding process. This means that the transformation of an abstract idea into a communicable message has not been constructed in a way which allows the target audience to decode it as intended. The inability to construct messages that can be decoded as intended raises concerns about the overall efficacy of the advertisements.

Cease and Desist?

The health and social issues that impact upon some Māori are very real and action must be taken to combat them in a way that does not trample on the *mana* of the people. There is a lack of empirical data about the efficacy of public information advertisements despite the fact that these initiatives have been implemented in Aotearoa New Zealand since the mid-1990s. For example, a study in Aotearoa New Zealand showed “little evidence to suggest that road safety or drink-drive television advertising made any change in drink-driving behaviour” (T. Macpherson & Lewis, 1998, p. 50). Despite all of these interventions, Māori are still at the ‘bottom of the barrel’ on “almost any indicator, such as

health, education, employment, offending, home ownership, or income levels, Māori performance is substantially worse” (M. Durie, 2003, p. 21). Therefore, my research questions the rationale for social marketing initiatives including public information advertisements that target Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This line of thought also emerged in the data as some participants felt that the public information advertisements were merely for show. For example, one participant stated, “...if the purpose of the advertisement is to change behaviour... social marketing then I think they failed terribly”. Rutherford’s (2000) book, *Endless Propaganda: The Advertising of Public Goods*, questioned the legitimacy of the state to determine what is, and to propagate, ethical behaviour. This is aligned with the concept of social engineering which is associated with totalitarianism and oppression (A. Kennedy & Parsons, 2014). Gerbner (1995) was highly critical of public information advertisements as he stated that they exist simply “to give the appearance of serving the public” (p. 293). John Tamihere was of the same mind when he stated, “I think it’s political to show the general populous that don’t get up to shit like this that something is being done about the natives right. And I just think that’s it. And it’s also a good note for the do gooders who like managing our failures but will never fix them”.

Whether social marketing initiatives and public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori should cease and desist is a conversation that needs to be had given the matters that have been raised within this thesis. Having interviewed Dr Paul Graham and Rachel Prince from the New Zealand Transport Agency, it is clear that they have extensive knowledge and experience in this field and their research is sound. But, on the other hand, my research indicates that the advertisements must be owned by Māori. This line of thought was best exemplified by John Tamihere who stated, “So all I’m saying to you is I understand the way in which those ads are run for them... they aren’t run for our communities. Because they’re not run to our communities, by our communities, for our communities”.

By Māori, For Māori

My research has shown that my participants felt there was a lack of consultation with Māori in the design and production of the public information advertisements even though Dr Paul Graham and Rachel Prince from the New Zealand Transport Agency showed that some consultation with Māori has actually occurred previously, such as in Northland and the Bay of Plenty. For example, one participant stated, “...*they didn’t consult Kōhanga Reo, they didn’t consult the Māori Wardens League. All of those organisations are heavily involved in this problem. They’re on the frontline*”. The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi require the Crown to consult with Māori and this automatically applies to the government organisations that are behind the advertisements. It could be argued that this amounts to a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi, and also the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The perceived lack of consultation means that Māori feel as though their voices are not being heard and that their views do not matter.

At the time of editing this thesis I was following the news articles concerning the government’s proposal for the Kermadec ocean sanctuary. I noted that even though there were differing views among Māori leaders and *imi*, all of them pointed out the lack of consultation by the government. They all wanted to be heard and it seemed as though the *process* of consultation was just as important as the outcome. I believe the *process* of consultation is important in terms of my research and it means greater approval and endorsement by Māori even if they may not always agree with what is proposed. I put forward that one way to ensure that consultation occurs is for Māori to have full ownership in the entire process. Full ownership means making all of the decisions, undertaking all of the research, conceptual development and the design, production and evaluation of the public information advertisements. This does not mean merely having a Māori director, which can be interpreted as mere tokenism. Māori ownership of the public information advertisements will ensure that Māori values and *tikanga* are not discarded and that the

mana of the people is not trampled on. Moreover, Māori ownership will mean positive messaging in the advertisements rather than the constant barrage of negative messaging.

Additionally, Māori ownership means that issues of cultural sensitivity in the public information advertisements will fall within the domain of Māori. This includes *taonga*, *tā moko*, *pounamu*, images of *tūpuna*, *marae* and *wharenui* as well as depictions of *kehua* from the Māori spiritual world. The use of *taonga* in the advertisements can be highly disrespectful to Māori even when the intention means well. For example, one participant stated, “*Unless you really understand the depth of what that means... why? Unless you have an absolute deep knowledge*”. These forms of cultural artefacts are sacred and risk being used (and abused) as gimmicks in advertising. Therefore, Māori ownership of public information advertisements will ensure that if *taonga* are used, they will be used appropriately, because the (Māori) producers will be held accountable to their own people.

Incidentally, given that NZ\$100 million was spent on public information advertisements during the 2007-2008 financial year (Millard, 2010; P. Taylor, 2007), the transfer of NZ\$100 million annually from advertising agencies that are foreign owned, to Māori organisations, would greatly assist Māori communities. My research suggests that the resources being placed in the hands of the agencies that produce the advertisements could usefully be redirected to Māori organisations that would be accountable to the people. More than 20 years ago, Ropiha (1994) wrote, “The most easily identifiable effective message is one created by Māori, for Māori within a Māori context” (p. 7).

Conclusion

Guided by *kaupapa Māori*, which is localised critical theory, this thesis has told a story about Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. It was a chronicle of colonisation and the health and social outcomes that resulted from it which have impacted upon Māori in every town and city in Aotearoa New Zealand. It was a narrative of how public information advertisements on television are viewed by Māori. It was a discussion

of Māori identity and what it means to be Māori. It is at the nexus of these stories that this thesis contributes to the academy, and more importantly, to Māori.

My research contributes to the advancement of knowledge through the conceptualisation of Māori perspectives of public information advertisements. The study is significant because this is the first research that has focused on public information advertisements that are targeted at Māori. In terms of theory and scholarship, there is a lack of literature pertaining to targeting Māori in marketing and advertising (Boyes, 2010; Coral Palmer, 2014), a lack of literature regarding social marketing in Aotearoa New Zealand (Bridges & Farland, 2003), and a lack of Māori academics in communication such as public relations (Weaver, 2013). The two academic journals that are dedicated to social marketing have not published any articles about the representation of indigenous people or any ethnocultural groups. Additionally, there are no literature reviews about social marketing to indigenous peoples (Madill et al., 2014). Therefore, my research contributes to the body of knowledge for both Māori and indigenous peoples globally in social marketing and mass communication.

While my research makes a contribution to the academy, all scientific approaches, and all studies, including qualitative procedures such as focus groups and interviews, have limitations (Beins & Beins, 2012; Given, 2015; P. White, 2009). My research with Māori participants was a qualitative study that included six focus group discussions (63 participants), and semi-structured interviews with five Māori leaders. Therefore, naturally, this sample size is not representative of the entire Māori population, nor does it claim to be, as it is not located within a positivist framework. Another perceived limitation is that participants for the focus group discussions were recruited by organisations that were *imi* or *hapū* based, or Māori health and social services focused, and were either urban or rural from across *Te-Ika-a-Māui*. So perspectives from *Te Waipounamu*⁸⁵ were not included in this research although attempts were made to do so. The responses from my networks in *Te*

⁸⁵ The South Island.

Waipounamu indicated that other researchers had struggled to get participants since the Christchurch earthquake. Despite these perceived limitations, this research simply put, is what it is.

Finally and most importantly, I hope that this research will benefit Māori. My research is the beginning of a journey. Should this thesis meet the requirements for the conferment of the Doctor of Philosophy degree, following the *kaupapa Māori* approach, I will head back to the urban and rural areas where I conducted the focus group discussions to once again meet with my participants. There, I will present my research back to the people, as I am accountable to them. I will listen to their voices once again.

Ko tōu reo, ko tōku reo, te tuakiri o te tangata.

Tihei uriuri, tihei nakonako.

Your voice and my voice are expressions of identity.

May our descendants live on and our hopes be fulfilled.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Theories of Behaviour

Appendix B: Agents of Social Control 1

Appendix C: Agents of Social Control 2

Appendix D: Memo

Appendix E: Profiles of Māori Leaders

Appendix A: Theories of Behaviour

Identified theories of behaviour by R. Davis et al. (2015).

Theory	First author theorist (date)
An action model of consumption	Bagozzi (2000)
Affective events theory	Weiss (1996)
AIDS risk reduction model	Catania (1990)
Attitude-social influence – efficacy model and its successor I – change	DeVries (1998)
Behavioural ecological model of AIDS prevention	Hovell (1994)
Change theory	Lewin (1943)
Classical conditioning	Pavlov (1927)
COMB model	Michie (2011)
Consumption of social practices	Spaargaren (2000)
Containment theory	Reckless (1961)
Control theory	Carver (1981/1982)
Diffusion of innovations	Rogers (1983)
Differential association theory	Sutherland (1947)
Ecological model of diabetes prevention	Burnet (2002)
Extended information processing model	Flay (1980)
Extended parallel process model	Witte (1992)
Feedback intervention theory	Kluger (1996)
General theory of crime	Goffredson (1990)
General theory of deviant behavior	Kaplan (1972)
Goal directed theory	Bagozzi (1992)
Goal framing theory	Lindenberg (2007)
Goal setting theory	Locke (1968)
Health action process approach	Schwarzer (1992)
Health behavior goal model	Gerbhardt (2001)
Health behavior internalization model	Bellg (2003)
Health belief model	Rosenstock (1966)
Health promotion model	Pender (1982)
Information-motivation-behavioural (IMB) skills model	Fisher (1992)
IMB model of ART adherence (extension of IMB)	Fisher (2008)
Integrative factors influencing smoking behavior model	Flay (1983)
Integrative model of health and attitude behavior change	Flay (1983)
Integrating the factors influencing smoking behavior and the model of attitude and behavior change	Flay (1983)
Integrative model of behavioral prediction	Fishbein (2000)
Integrated theory of drinking and behavior	Wagenaar (1994)
Integrated theoretical model for alcohol and drug prevention	Gonzalez (1989)
Integrative theory of health behavior change	Ryan (2009)
Model of pro-environment behavior	Kolmuss (2002)
Motivation opportunity abilities model	Olander (1995)
Needs opportunities abilities (NOA) model	Gatersleben (1998)

Norm activation theory	Schwartz (1977)
Operant learning theory	Skinner (1954)
Precaution adoption process model	Weinstein (1988)
Pressure system model	Katz (2001)
PRIME theory	West (2006)
Problem behavior theory	Jessor (1977)
Prospect theory	Kahneman (1979)
Protection motivation theory	Rogers (1975)
Prototype willingness model	Gibbons (1995)
Rational addiction model	Becker (1988)
Reflective impulsive model/dual process theory	Strack (2004)
Regulatory fit theory	Higgins (2000)
Relapse prevention theory	Marlatt (1980)
Risks as feelings model	Lowenstein (2001)
Self-determination theory	Deci (2000)
Self-efficacy theory	Bandura (1977)
Self-regulation theory	Kanfer (1970)
Six staged model of communication ethics	Vaughan (2000)
Social action theory	Ewart (1991)
Social action theory	Weber (1991)
Social change theory	Thompson (1990)
Social cognitive theory	Bandura (1986)
Social consensus model of health education	Romer (1992)
Social development model	Hawkins (1985)
Social identity theory	Tajfel (1979)
Social influence model of virtual community participation	Dholakia (2004)
Social ecological model of walking	Alfonzo (2005)
Social ecological model of behavior change	Panter-Brick (2006)
Social learning theory	Miller (1941)
Social norms theory	Perkins (1986)
Systems model of health behavior change	Kershell (1985)
Technology acceptance models 1, 2 and 3	Venkatesh (1989, 2000, 2008)
Temporal self-regulation theory	Hall (2007)
Terror management health model	Goldenberg (2008)
Terror management theory	Greenberg (1986)
Theory of normative conduct	Cialdini (1991)
Theory of interpersonal behavior	Triandis (1977)
Theory of normative social behavior	Rimal (2005)
Theory of planned behavior/reasoned action	Ajzen (1985)
Theory of triadic influence	Flay (1994)
Transcontextual model of motivation	Hagger (2003)
Transtheoretical/stages of change model	Prochasker (1983)
Value belief norm theory	Stern (1999)

Appendix B: Agents of Social Control 1

Government and NGOs behind public information advertisements between January 2010 and July 2013. The names of organisations have been directly duplicated from the information received from Nielson Media Research (J. Rowdon, personal communication, August 20, 2013). Many organisations were omitted from this list because it could not be determined whether their advertisements were social marketing.

Name of Organisation	
Accident Compensation Corporation	Ministry of Justice Collection
Acorn Foundation	New Zealand Blood Service
Age Concern	New Zealand Fire Service
ALAC – Alcohol Liquor Advisory	New Zealand Fire Service P. P.
Alcoholics Anonymous	New Zealand Breast Cancer Foundation
Auckland City Mission	New Zealand Coastguard Federation
Barnados	New Zealand Forest Fire Campaign
C4 Community Service	New Zealand Transport Agency
Capri Trust + Hospital	New Zealand Transport Agency and New Zealand Police
Catholic Enquiry Centre	New Zealand Wood
Choice Not Chance	Parents Inc.
Civil Defence	Plunket Society
Community Leisure Management	Presbyterian Support Services
Cure Kids	Problem Gambling
Depression.org.nz	Prostate Cancer Foundation
Driving Success	Prostate Cancer Foundation Prog Promo
Earth Hour	Red Cross
Eastern & Central Community Trust	RightCar.govt.nz
Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority	Road Safety Trust
Energy Efficiency and Conservation Authority (Business)	Royal New Zealand Coastguard Inc
Electoral Commission	SAFE Animal Protection
Electoral Enrolment Centre	Salvation Army
Electricity Authority	Smokefree
Families Commission	Smokefree Programme Promotion
Gambling Problem Helpline	Sorted.org.nz
Greenpeace	SPARC Push Play
Hagar	SPARC Sport & Recreation New Zealand
Health Promotion – Alcohol	St John New Zealand
Keep NZ Beautiful	Statistics New Zealand
KidsCan Charitable Trust	Sunsmart Promotions
Lifeline	Thelowdown.co.nz

Living Legends	TV3 & C4 Community Service
Maritime New Zealand	TV3 Community Service
Men's Health Week	TVNZ Community Support
Men's Health Week 2010	Water Safety New Zealand
Ministry of Consumer Affairs	Women's Refuge
Ministry of Health	Youthline
Ministry of Justice	

Appendix C: Agents of Social Control 2

All-of-Government Advertising Services – Agencies in New Zealand that are accredited to provide advertising services to government (adapted from Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2013, 2014, 2015).

Name of Agency	
.99 Enterprises	Mission Hall Design Group
Adcorp New Zealand	Moxie
Assignment Group	MSO Design
Barnes, Catmur and Friends	Niche Media
Blacksand – (TVNZ)	Ocean Design Group
Capiche Design	Ogilvy & Mather New Zealand
Clemenger BBDO	OMD New Zealand
Colenso BBDO	Proximity Wellington
Consortium	Ramp
Crestani Communications	Saatchi & Saatchi
DDB New Zealand	Samdog Design
FCB New Zealand (inc. FCB Media)	Spark PHD
Federation	Special Group
GSL Promotus	Starcom New Zealand
Harvey Cameron	Strategy Design & Advertising
Headlight	String Theory
Ikon Communications	TBWA
ImMediate	The Media Dept
Insight Consultants	Total Media
JustOne	Touchcast
JWT	Work Consortium (Work Communications & Work Media)
MBM	Y&R New Zealand (inc. the MEC Brand)
Mediacom	

Appendix D: Memo

The following scan is an actual memo from one of the focus group discussions. It was written at the immediate conclusion of the discussion.

- Notes from [redacted] focus group 2/16/12
- Strong sense of discussion about negative portrayal of Maori
 - Stereotyping
 - Lots of questioning as to why Maori are targeted.
 - Lack of positive ads.
 - Discussion of Treaty and colonisation (but generally limited to K12)
 - K12 → strong views of colonisation
 - Cultural issues → tampling on mana and culture → 'Motakake'
 - Devalue children → use of children goes against Tikanga Maori.
 - "Disgusting" "racist"
 - Other ads mentioned.
 - "Messages are good" just portrayed wrong.
 - Intervening / denigrating culture.
 - Glorified bad television.
 - Anti - Tip Top
 - Anti - Waititi
 - Make new ads
 - Humour involved during discussion.
 - Calm group. Participants seemed to enjoy the discussion. Comments included referring to being able to discuss this as being beneficial to iwi and Maori.

Appendix E: Profiles of Māori Leaders

I have kept with the traditional values that Māori place on eldership (M. Durie, 1999) by listing the interviewees in order of their respective ages, from eldest to youngest.

Profile: Naida Glavish

Rangimarie Naida Glavish (Naida Glavish), of *Ngāti Whātua*⁸⁶, is the current president of the Māori Party. The Māori Party is a “political party founded to represent the strong and independent voice of Māori within parliament for the best interests of Aotearoa” (Bird, 2012, para. 1). According to Glavish’s profile on the Māori Party (2014) website, her curriculum vitae lists 19 organisations where she is active in a formal capacity such as chairperson, patron or member. She is employed as the chief advisor for *tikanga* and general manager of Māori health at both Waitemata and Auckland District Health Boards (Waitemata District Health Board, 2014). She was previously a high school teacher. Glavish gained nationwide media attention in 1984 when she was demoted as a toll operator for answering the telephone with ‘*Kia ora*’ (Tuuta, Irwin & Maclean, 2011).

Profile: John Tamihere

John Tamihere, of *Ngāti Porou*⁸⁷, *Whakatōhea*⁸⁸ and *Tainui*⁸⁹, is the chief executive officer of Te Whānau O Waipareira Trust, an urban Māori organisation based in Henderson, Auckland. The trust employs approximately 300 staff and delivers community services including social, health, training and employment (Keiha & Moon, 2008). A former lawyer, he was a government minister in the fifth Labour government and his supporters once considered him as an outside chance to become New Zealand’s first Māori prime minister (J. Stokes, 2005). He has held a high profile in New Zealand due to his “outspoken opinions on social and political issues” (Dawson, 2012, p. 5). He was a talk back host on the popular Radio Live station with Willie Jackson but left at the end of 2013 surrounding the controversial Roast Busters interview with ‘Amy’ (Deane, 2014). His

⁸⁶ A tribe in Auckland and Northland

⁸⁷ A tribe in the East Cape and Gisborne area.

⁸⁸ A tribe in the eastern Bay of Plenty.

⁸⁹ A term used for the tribes whose ancestors came on the Tainui canoe from Hawaiki

biography, titled *Black and White: John Tamihere* (Tamihere & Bain, 2004) gained number three in the bestseller list (Tamihere, 2009).

Profile: Jade Tapine

Jade Tapine, of *Ngāti Raukawa*⁹⁰, *Ngāti Whakare*⁹¹, and *Ngāti Kabungunu*⁹², is the *tumuaki*⁹³ of Te Wharekura o Ngā Purapura o te Aroha, and has been in that role since 2011. This school is based in the Waipa District of the Waikato Region and is designated as a special character school that caters for year 1-13 (Tolley, 2011). A graduate of the Massey University College of Education, Tapine has worked at the grass roots of Māori communities in a number of positions including heading the education department at the Eponi Care and Protection Unit (Child Youth and Family facility), promoting Māori health for the Waikato District Health Board, and as an internal auditor for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, among other roles. He is an advocate of *te reo Māori* and has appeared regularly on the Māori Television shows, *Kōrero Mai* and *Tōku Reo*.

Profile: Precious Clark

Precious Clark, of *Ngāti Whātua*⁹⁴ and *Tainui*⁹⁵, is a business consultant and works in a number of community roles. A lawyer by profession, she has worked in several government positions including in the United Kingdom. Clark is a member of the Independent Māori Statutory Board under the Local Government (Auckland Council) Act 2009, a director of Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei Whai Rawa Limited, board member of the Auckland Museum Taumata-a-Iwi and a board member of the ASB Community Trust (Independent Māori Statutory Board, 2013). In 2013, Clark hosted a panel television show on Māori Television, called *Pūtahi*. She is the niece of Joe Hawke MNZM, leader of the Bastion Point occupation (Mein Smith, 2012).

⁹⁰ A tribe in the Waikato and the Manawatū (Tainui)

⁹¹ A tribe in the Manawatū/Horowhenua (Tainui).

⁹² A tribe in the mid to lower East Coast of the North Island.

⁹³ Principal.

⁹⁴ A tribe in Auckland and Northland.

⁹⁵ A term used for the tribes whose ancestors came on the Tainui canoe from Hawaiki.

Profile: Morgan Godfery

Morgan Godfery, of *Ngāti Apa*⁹⁶, *Ngāti Hikairo*⁹⁷, *Ngāti Tūrangitukua*⁹⁸ and *Ngāti Tūhoe*⁹⁹, was a law student at Victoria University of Wellington at the time of being interviewed, and is now a trade unionist with the First Union in Wellington. He is a rising young Māori leader who uses social media and traditional media to disseminate his political perspectives to Māori and non-Māori audiences alike. Godfery is the author of the Māui Street blog and has several thousand followers on Twitter. As a Māori political commentator, he regularly appears as a guest on television shows on Television New Zealand, TV3 and Māori Television. Godfery is also a regular columnist for The New Zealand Herald and has written about indigenous issues for the British newspaper, The Guardian.

⁹⁶ A tribe in the Bay of Plenty.

⁹⁷ A tribe in the Waikato (Tainui).

⁹⁸ A tribe in the Turangi area.

⁹⁹ A tribe in the Bay of Plenty.