

Māori Perceptions of Māori Television: An Empirical Study

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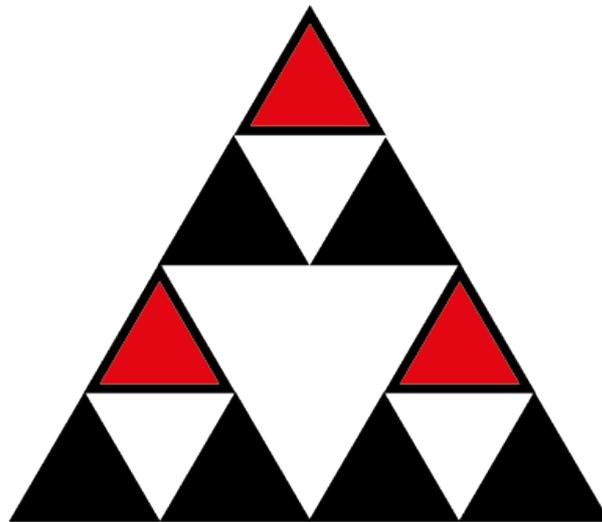


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Attestation of Authorship

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

Signed

Name

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Ethical Approval

This research has obtained ethical approval 15/151 from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 June 2015.

Abstract

The Māori Television Service (MTS) is described as New Zealand's Indigenous broadcaster. Since its launch in 2004, the network has been redefining the New Zealand mediasphere, with a wide range of locally produced and international programming in both *te reo Māori* and English. MTS arose out of thirty years of relentless campaigning from Māori, who argued Māori language and culture is a living *taonga* and the New Zealand government must protect it. As a direct result of colonisation, *te ao Māori* was brought to the brink of extinction and some Māori with foresight, understood the televisual space would be an ideal medium for its preservation. Moreover, Māori are particularly skilled in the art of *whaikōrero* and television broadcasting presents the opportunity to communicate Māori stories from Māori perspectives through oration. Furthermore, a Māori presence within the New Zealand mediascape is important, for not only Māori and their position as *tangata whenua*, but for the promotion of New Zealand's unique national identity; it is the only differentiating factor from other post-colonial nations. Given the context in which MTS arose, the only objective of this study is to examine Māori perceptions of Māori Television.

Both qualitative and quantitative analysis was undertaken in order to provide some breadth and depth to the research. The results indicate MTS has an overwhelmingly positive effect on the lives of its Māori viewers, through five distinct ways: accessibility, inclusion, connectedness, a sense of identity and autonomy in *te ao Māori*. This study was conducted according to a kaupapa Māori paradigm, which guides both the research conduct and the subsequent production of knowledge. Thematic analysis is used to extrapolate meaning and organize the data.

Chapter 1: Introduction

After what Stephens asserts was “three decades of agitation by Māori” (Stephens, 2004, p.113), New Zealand’s first Indigenous network began its first broadcast. Walker (2004) described the occasion as “a cultural celebration of triumph over adversity, a dawning of a new age of Māori modernity in the twenty-first century” (p.402). Finally, Māori would have the mediated space and broadcasting tools to articulate Māori stories from Māori perspectives. It would mean having the ability to construct Māori identities through the media, the power to report on news items from Māori perspectives; it would afford the power to produce favorable Māori images within the New Zealand mediascape. Paramount above all else however, it would mean that Māori language and culture, *te reo me ngā tikanga* could be preserved, promoted, normalized and celebrated.

Prior to the arrival of MTS, this contemporary settler nation had a well-established Television culture; however, it was dominated by monocultural offerings that privileged Pākehā audiences. For example, Stephens argues:

...Māori people were rarely seen on television... the Māori language was almost never heard on the airwaves, and the whole spectrum of social and political issues important to Māori people were largely ignored both by radio and TV (p.261).

Similarly, Dunleavy (2008) asserts there were “shamefully few programmes which... were appropriately informed by Māori values and perspectives” (p.802). The visibility of Māori content on mainstream networks continues to be minimal because of the perception that this kind of programming will attract a limited audience. In this way, the establishment of MTS signaled a new era in the New Zealand mediascape in two important ways: it would validate Māori world-views, language and culture; and it would significantly challenge mainstream broadcasters and audiences and to take seriously the viewpoints of non-Pākehā (Smith and Abel, 2004). Given the tensions of Indigenous aspirations located within the wider context of a contemporary settler nation, it is of vital importance then, to gauge how Indigenous peoples perceive the Indigenous broadcasting service.

This thesis will begin with literature which examines the position of Māori in New Zealand and the historical, social and political context in which MTS emerged. Then, it will observe the history of broadcasting in New Zealand and its relationship with Māori. Finally, it will review

the emergence of Indigenous media and locate Māori Television within the current New Zealand mediascape. Through both qualitative and quantitative research methods, Māori audiences were asked to assess MTS. These findings are presented, analyzed and discussed at length.

RESEARCHER POSITION

Inevitably, research is shaped by the world-view, linguistic and cultural resources of the researcher (Marcos, Miguel & Tillema, 2009). In other words, the researcher's subjectivities can affect how meaning is made from the data, and the literature that is chosen to survey. Therefore, it is important to clarify the position of the researcher. As I am of both Māori and Pākehā descent, I have spent most of my life navigating the cultural landscape between two very different worlds. In my youth, I had found this space of mixed identity confusing and uncertain, as I was unsure as to where I fit. Over time and with experience however, I have found that I am able to locate myself within both cultures and do with ease, what Dr Melinda Webber (2008) describes as, "walking the space between" Māori and Pākehā worlds. In my mind however, New Zealand seemed to be divided across ethnic lines; the Māori and Pākehā I knew and grew up with were ostensibly different. The housing, the food they ate, and their level of education, their jobs and the way they spoke and interacted with their children, were different. How was it possible, that in a supposedly bicultural country like New Zealand, those things could differ so widely for its founding peoples? Later in life, I came to understand, this was the intergenerational legacy left in the wake of colonisation.

Such colonisation has had a critical impact on Māori culture and wellbeing. This continues to be an underlying issue for Māori living in a Pākehā centric society (Bishop, 1999; Keiha & Moon, 2016; Orange, 2004; Spoonley, 1999; Walker, 1990). As a result, there are many Māori who lack confidence in 'being' Māori and struggle to identify as Māori in that "many carry a burden of self-doubt and shame for being Māori" (Ramsden, 1994, p.3). I have witnessed the effects of colonisation first hand within my own family and wider circles. For example, my paternal Māori grandparents raised their ten children in a two-bedroom home in extreme poverty, despite being part of a small *hapū* who were landowners. Nevertheless, their traditional ways of living had become irrelevant and without an education from a Pākehā institution, or the capital to invest in their land, they could not use their land to support themselves in an economically viable way.

Each of my Grandparents' ten children were not educated past 14 years old; when they reached that age they went to work with their father to help support the family. This of course, filtered down to their grandchildren; none of whom were university educated, or had the skill or capital to use whanau resources to become financially viable. My grandparents both had *te reo* and practised *tikanga* Māori, but they saw it as useless in a Pākehā dominated society. Accordingly, they tried to teach their children what they knew of Pākehā values and ways of being. My father grew up with little understanding of *te reo* Māori and *tikanga*, which subsequently affected my experiences of *te ao* Māori. We were all dispossessed of our culture and felt as though we belonged neither in *te ao* Māori nor in Pākehā culture.

As one who has struggled with identity, I was motivated to pursue an education which would not only allow me to have a greater understanding of *te ao* Māori, but to understand power structures in society and how those power structures are maintained, particularly within the field of media and communications studies. My interest in "talking in" (Barclay, 1990, p.74) or Māori communicating with Māori came after completing my undergraduate studies in Māori media, and honours degree in communication studies. This is when I began to understand the power of the televisual space and how it can affect viewers' perceptions of the world. Therefore, my primary interest is grounded in developing ways in which the televisual space can be used to strengthen ties to *te ao* Māori. Given my background, I believe I have some insight of the experiences and challenges faced by many Māori, both in the real world and the New Zealand mediascape. My initial investigations revealed that although there has been one similar study conducted, there have not been any to date, that specifically investigate Māori perceptions of Māori Television. Given the years of struggle Māori were compelled to spend fighting for the establishment of the Māori Television Service, it is important to understand the ways in which Māori audiences receive it.

The current position of Māori people in Aotearoa drives and inspires this research. Therefore, my position on this research is clear; it is informed by a *kaupapa* Māori perspective, which acknowledges the structural inequalities that exist in New Zealand society, and validates Māori cultural knowledge (Smith, 1999). It is both critical of Western approaches to research and designed for the betterment and transformation of Māori communities (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs 2006; Mahuika, 2008). It is my aspiration to see improved race relations in New Zealand, and an equitable future for Māori, not as "minority Other" but as a serious treaty partner in

the country of their origin. It is a cultural aspiration that all New Zealanders might come to embrace Māori language and culture, and work collectively toward a truly bicultural nation.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The exploitation and oppression of minority groups have become “entrenched features” in mainstream societies, to the point where they have become invisible (Borell, Gregory, McCreanor, Jensen and Barnes, 2009, p.30). In postcolonial societies, social disparities between the colonised and coloniser often remain unseen (Bell, 2007), without recognition given to the social, political and economic conditions in which they are positioned. This is not to suggest New Zealanders have a malign white supremacist agenda; rather it has to do with the majority Pākehā culture’s comfort in what Bell (2007) terms as “occupying the centre” (para.10). In this way, mainstream media in New Zealand reinforces hegemonic practices.

There is a substantial body of work in the realm of media and communication studies, which supports the position that the media have misrepresented Māori, historically and contemporarily. As such, Māori have been adversely affected, socially, politically and economically (Abel, 1997; Barnes, Borell, Taiapa, Rankine, Nairn, McCreanor, 2012; Durie, 2003; Liu, 2005; Spoonley, 1990; Walker, 1990; Walker, 2004). Although these studies have been conducted on Māori representation in mainstream media and its negative impact on the lives of Māori, surprisingly few studies look at how media can strengthen and enhance Māori identity, and connection to *te ao Māori*.

For three decades, Māori fought for a Māori Television Service. The word ‘fought’ is used carefully and purposefully here, because Māori had to directly challenge the New Zealand government for rights in broadcasting, which were met with persistent opposition (Abel and Smith, 2004; Middleton, 2011; Walker, 2004). For those who campaigned for the service, it was envisaged MTS would be a vehicle for the active promotion of Māori language and culture. More than this, it was hoped that MTS would help to transform Māori language and culture to a state where it would become a ‘living’ culture and relevant to Māori contemporarily (Pouwhare, 2016). My research objective then, is to investigate Māori perceptions of the Māori Television Service and examine if it has indeed aided in actively transforming the connection to *te ao Māori*, for Māori people.

INTRODUCTION TO KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Some of the key terms and concepts used in this study are attributed to specific context and require clarification. A list of these terms and their intended meanings are outlined below.

Aotearoa/New Zealand: used together and interchangeably to demonstrate the validity of both Māori and non-Māori worldviews.

Aroha: Love and compassion

Hapū: Kinship group, clan, tribe, and sub-tribe, a section of kinship group

Indigenous: In following Barclay, the 'I' is capitalised in Indigenous, in order to distinguish the politicised position of the first people of Aotearoa (see Barclay, 2003, p.7)

Iwi: extended kinship group, tribe, often refers to a large group of people descendant from a common ancestor

Kaumātua: Elderly, older, aged

Kaupapa Māori: Refers to a research paradigm, practice and philosophy or being Māori

Kōhanga reo: Māori language pre-school

Kōrero: To speak, talk, address, discuss

Mana: Prestige, authority, power, status

Mana Motuhake: Māori self-determination, self-rule

Māori: the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand

Mass media/Mainstream media: These are used interchangeably and refer to mainstream,

Mihimhi: To greet and introduce, to pay tribute, to thank.

Pākehā: broadcasting services

Pākehā: A person of European descent whose ancestors settled in New Zealand

Piki ake te mauri: Uplift the spirit of a person, motivate, empower

Rangatahi: Youth

Rangatira: Māori leader, chief.

Tangata Whenua: the people of the land of Aotearoa

Tauīwi: A person who is non-Māori, foreign

Taonga: treasure, prized possession

Te ao Māori: the Māori world

Teina: junior, younger sibling

Te reo, te reo Māori: the Māori language

Te reo me ngā tikanga: the Māori language and culture

Tika: correct, true, accurate

Tikanga: protocol, correct procedure

Tino rangatiratanga: sovereignty, autonomy, self-determination

Tuakana: senior, older sibling

Wairuatanga: Māori spirituality, spiritual ways of being

Whānau: family group

Whanaungatanga: kinship, sense of family connection

Whaikōrero: the art of oration

CHAPTER ORGANISATION

This thesis consists of eight chapters.

Chapter 2, the review of literature, is the culmination of the many strands of research undertaken, the purpose of which is to position the Māori Television Service (MTS) within the wider social, political, and historical context. The literature review is divided into four sections. The first section investigates the process of colonisation and the implications for Māori in Aoteroa New Zealand. The next section contextualizes the social and political positioning of Māori, with over three decades of political activism that eventually led to the inception of Māori media and the Māori Television Service. The following section examines the New Zealand mediascape, its history and its treatment of Māori. Finally, the literature review ends with an exploration of Indigenous media and locates the Māori Television Service within the New Zealand mediascape.

Chapter 3, the methodology, provides an analysis of the *kaupapa Māori* research paradigm and examines the use of *kaupapa Māori* as a theory.

Chapter 4 describes the methods used to acquire and analyze both qualitative and quantitative data and outlines the research design inspired by Māori *tāniko* weaving.

Chapter 5 looks at the data analysis and is broken down into two sections: the first looks at the qualitative data in the form of a focus group and examines the findings: the second section examines the quantitative data in the form of a survey. The information is broken down into small visualizations inspired by Māori *tāniko* weaving, as a way of conceptualizing the quantitative data.

Chapter 6 discusses the process of data analysis in two parts, firstly the quantitative data and then qualitative data.

Next, Chapter 7 presents a discussion of the key findings, which emerged from the data analysis.

Finally, Chapter 8, the conclusion, provides an evaluation of the study, identifies the potential limitations of the study and makes recommendations for future research.

The references list and appendices are located at the very end of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Chapter Introduction:

The purpose of this literature review is to explore the media terrain in Aotearoa New Zealand, and to survey the historical, cultural and societal climate through which Māori media has emerged. Although there are many topics covered, each section is interwoven and warrants exploration. This is to adequately examine the position of Māori in New Zealand socially, economically and politically against the backdrop of colonisation and the subsequent marginalisation. This series of discussions does not sit in isolation and cannot be separated from the underpinning issue that Māori language and culture must be vigorously promoted and protected in order to prevent its complete elimination from contemporary New Zealand society. This literature review will canvas the colonial history and the continued effects of the colonisation process. Furthermore, the research will focus on the politics of race, Māori resistance to the State, and various forms of governmentality. The focus will then shift toward an exploration of New Zealand's mediascape, Māori representation within mainstream broadcasting and exclusion from the mediated public sphere. Finally, this literature review will survey Indigenous media and the Māori Television Service.

2.1 THE COLONIAL GAZE

The legacy of enlightenment culture stemming from colonisation has shaped much of what has been recorded about Māori history (Pihama, 1996; Walker, 1996; Walker, 2004; Salmond, 1983). Eurocentric perspectives, in what Pihama (1994, p.20) refers to as “the colonial gaze”, has shaped what has been recorded about Māori history. For example, Salmond (1983, p.310) points out that tribal accounts of history are cast as “myths, legends and traditions”, while anthropologists’ accounts are “scientific reconstructions.” In this excerpt, she elaborates on the significance of a Māori perspective in understanding its own culture and histories:

...The Māori world is anything but simple. An outsider, however well trained, will in a lifetime still have difficulty in understanding its conceptions; the language is the only possible pathway to its landscapes, and there are elders as philosophically acute, perceptive and reflective as any anthropologist (p.311).

Foucault (1967) was one of the first European scholars emphasise “the indignity in speaking for others” (p.209), which is the point Salmond highlights here. In the realm of communication studies, histories are fundamental for two reasons: they position peoples within a society, and

construct social identity for groups within a society (Lerner, 1980). For instance, Liu and Hilton (2005) assert:

History provides us with narratives that tell us who we are, where we came from and where we should be going. It defines a trajectory which helps constructs the essence of a group's identity, how it relates to other groups, and ascertains what its options are for facing present challenges. A group's representation of its history will condition its sense of what it was, is, can, and should be, and is thus central to the construction of its identity, norms, and values (p.537).

Following Liu and Hilton's assertion, historical constructions which cast Māori as 'savage other', or 'members of a dying race' (Belich, 2012; Pihama, 1996) can minimise past atrocities and present the colonising culture in a more favourable light contemporarily. Histories are fundamental in establishing power structures and positioning intergroup relations within a nation. Suppression of the Indigenous perspective has become characteristic of many settler nations, so that the hegemonic practices of the dominant classes remain intact. Perhaps unwittingly, the mainstream perpetuate narratives which place the coloniser at the centre, and the colonised on the peripherals of society (Bell, 2006), while the Indigenous perspective is rendered invisible. As Liu and Hilton (2005) assert, history and collective memory can serve to legitimise power, but in this lays the potential to disrupt it also.

Through the colonial gaze, Māori histories have been marginalised, misrepresented, colonised, fragmented, and reconstructed again (Mikaere, 2005; Pihama, 2001; Walker, 2004; Young, 1995) in order to suit the dominant culture and its construction of contemporary society. In the noticeable absence of space for a Māori constructed media, Māori have been denied a platform from which to transmit their stories and perspectives. As such, the medium of television broadcasting has normalised what Abel and Smith (2008) refer to as 'settler-centric' perspectives. As the Māori are the first peoples of Aotearoa, their access to media remains crucial for the continuation of a living culture (Fox, 2002). Without it, Māori culture remains an inflexible, authentic set of traditions relegated to the past (Murray, 2008).

2.2 THE COLONISATION OF AOTEAROA

Nineteenth century Europe was a time and place of imperialism; British colonists sought to expand their empire in order to exploit new resources, land, Indigenous populations and dominate foreign territories (Pihama, 2001; Skerret, 2012; Walker, 2004). Such colonisation occurred in Aotearoa New Zealand, and was part of what Skerret (2012, p.3) describes as "Britain's great imperialist project". With them, the colonisers brought a culture of

enlightenment - primitive versus civilised, with European culture at the helm. Accordingly the colonisers assumed cultural superiority and the subjugation of the Indigenous population, land and resources, was deemed both valid and necessary (Pihama, 2001; Walker, 2004). For example, through a Eurocentric discourse of a 'dying and inferior race', language shifted from *te reo Māori* to English, and new forms of settler governance were imposed in the name of 'progress' (Ballara, 1986; Tuffin, 2013). It is the position of this thesis then, that the legacy of enlightenment culture has cultivated a foundation for contemporary colonial myths, which work to disadvantage Māori through racial stereotypes and othering (Bell, 2006; Mutu; 2015; McCreanor, 1997; Skerret, 2012; Turner, 1999).

Formalising colonisation and legitimising a discourse of 'progress', the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 between 45 *Rangatira* and Governor Hobson on behalf of the Queen of England. The Treaty is regarded by many as the cornerstone of the New Zealand nationhood (Moon, 2010; Smith, 2012). The Treaty recognised the rights of Māori unreservedly, in exchange for governorship over the settler population (Moon, 2010; Orange, 2004; Skerret, 2012). The Māori understanding of the Treaty was expressed by Māori *Rangatira* Nopera Panakareao when he said, "the shadow of the land will go to him (the Governor) but the substance will remain with us" (cited in Ward, 1974, p.38). In what Skerret (2012) describes as 'an illegal and dishonourable sequence of events' (p.3) the commitments made to Māori in the Treaty were quickly forgotten. Māori land was appropriated in a series of settler government legislative acts less than a year after the Treaty (Durie, 1998), in order to make way for the tide of British settlement. Ballara (1986) points out:

The Māori were to be treated as a sovereign people, and their ownership of all the soil of New Zealand was to be explicitly recognised. Yet, in the end, in spite of the treaty, it was to be the concept of the wandering savage who had no rights to land that was adopted and recognised by the settler governments once self-government was attained (p.36).

The systemic undermining of the Treaty meant Māori rights went unprotected and as settler populations increased, Māori were excluded from political participation which in turn, cultivated a position of privilege for Pākehā (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999).

This is not without irony, as New Zealand was progressive during the 'great era of Liberalism' from 1890 – 1911 (see King, 2003, pp. 259-83), in areas such as universal suffrage and economic prosperity resulting in wealth for many Pākehā at the time, however Māori were either actively excluded from it, or it came at their direct expense. Liu (2005, p.5) affirms "at

the turn of the nineteenth century, there were two separate, parallel and increasingly unequal New Zealand lurking beneath the promise of justice for all.” This excerpt taken from Bell (2007) clearly illustrates this point:

On my father’s side, both his paternal grandparents landed in Christchurch from Northern Ireland in the 1860s. They met, married and farmed in Canterbury before a depression in the late 1800s drove them off the land penniless, with nine children, and they moved to Taranaki. There they ‘took up Māori leasehold land at Puniho – no capital required’... This economic opportunity to ‘take up’ free ‘capital’ – i.e. land-allowed our grandfather and his brothers and sisters to grow up healthy (if not wealthy), at the direct cost of the dispossession and impoverishment of Taranaki iwi. Again – although the facts are there in this case – I have never heard anybody in the family mull this over or reflect on what this says about our family’s direct relationship to colonisation in this country (para. 3,4).

Bell’s (2007) account demonstrates how colonisation has perpetuated power imbalance as one of dominance and subordination - notably the ‘free capital’ was not free, but came at the direct expense of Māori. Due to colonisations’ insidiousness and invisibility, the dominating class have all but ‘forgotten’ about their relationship to colonisation and the Indigenous people of the nation. This is what Bell (2006, p.3) refers to as “historical amnesia”, or as Jesson (1990) articulates it:

New Zealand had such a shallow culture that most New Zealanders knew little about their country’s history. Amnesia is not a recent development, but it is a part of the colonial condition (p.70-71).

Furthermore, since colonisation some of the historical discourses brought by the colonisers continue to appear in public discourse- a hangover from what Bell (2007, para 37) refers to as [Pākehā] “enlightenment heritage” which again, assumes cultural superiority and attempts to justify the past hurts of colonisation. Drawing on Skerret’s (2012) study of historical myths continued in current discourse, he uncovers what he refers to as “Eurocentrism in all of its glory” (p.12).

2.3 TABLE 1: HISTORICAL MYTHS IN CURRENT DISCOURSE

Historical Myths in Current Discourse	
Text	Subtext
New Zealand is not racist, no colour bar	Denial of colonial history
Māori are privileged	Inferior other seeking a privilege position
Māori benefit from colonisation	The settlers bestowed the economic value to land and its resources
Dying race, disappearing language	Eurocentric; culture irrelevant in contemporary context
Myth of Pākehā benevolence	Māori should be grateful for colonisation
Māori are a threat to the nation because of the Treaty	Māori are stirrers and agitators
We are one people, he iwi tahi tatōu	Colour blind racism, seeks one rule for all without recognising inequality

Skerret (2012) argues these discourses are about “power, hierarchy, exploitation, harm and survival” (p.14); however what emerges from these discourses are Māori are a threat to an otherwise efficient society. As Bell (2007) points out, contemporarily, it has to do with Pākehā comfort in ‘occupying the centre’, Eurocentrism is inherited as a part of the dominant culture to the extent that it has become invisible. Cannella describes “...recognition that it is almost impossible for individuals to function beyond the discourses within which they find themselves is important” (2011, p. 365). Eurocentric myth-making has become so pervasive, some Māori have come to internalise these myths also.

Current New Zealand statistics demonstrate that compared with Pākehā counterparts, Māori continue to have lower incomes, higher rates of unemployment, poorer educational and health outcomes, are more likely to live in rented accommodation, and have proportionately more convictions for criminal offences (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Although there is a marked improvement from the 2006 census statistics, show Māori continue to earn less, with the average Pākehā male earning about \$40,000 per year compared to that of the average Māori male earning on average \$27,000 per year. Significantly, the most common occupation for Māori continues to be labourers, while for Pākehā, the most common position is likely to be in management or governance (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). From the outset of colonisation, it was intended by elites that Māori would occupy such a position in New Zealand. In the words of Sociologist David Bedggood (1860):

I do not advocate for the Natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture; it would be inconsistent if we take account of the position they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale, and inappropriate if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than by mental labour (cited in Coxon, Jenkins, Marshall & Massey, 1994).

Contemporarily, these statistics are more likely to be attributed to cultural deficit theories, rather than to the residue of colonisation (Bishop, 2003). The dominant culture (Pākehā or descendants of those settlers) have made “huge gains” (Liu, 2005, p.5), while Māori have been politically, economically and socially marginalised. This thesis contends these inequalities are a direct result of the policies and practices established during the process of colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand, and the subsequent perpetuation of Eurocentric, colonial myths through media (Borell, Gregory, McCreanor, Jensen, Barnes, 2009; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; May, 1999; Walker, 1990).

Conversely, in what Stuart (2003) refers to as “New Zealand’s myth of good race relations” (p.57), ‘common-sense’ discourse surrounding the position of Māori often relies on cultural deficit theories (Bishop, 2003). That is to say New Zealanders are more likely to attribute the current position Māori occupy on perceived negative characteristics of the race, rather than acknowledge structural inequalities in society (Paul, 2014). There are those who portray colonisation as ‘mutually beneficial’ (see Laracy, 2002; Stone, 2002). Or those such as Moon (2010) who contends colonisation was both inevitable and benign. In a recent news story, Prime Minister John Key asserted:

When we talk about the treaty and sovereignty and all those matters, you take a step back and say well what was really happening. In my view New Zealand was one of the very few countries in the world that were settled peacefully. Māori probably acknowledge that settlers had a place to play and bought with them a lot of skills and a lot of capital (Key, 2015).

Key’s comments reiterate the discourse of the British settler adding value to the land, highlighting positive attributes, while downplaying the devastating effects of colonisation on Māori. Such discourse can and does refuse to acknowledge the hardship endured by Māori, and by dismissing the influence of colonisation reinforces Māori subordination within New Zealand society (Humpage, 2006). In the mainstream then, the effects of colonisation are rarely accounted for, and as Mahuika (2008) argues Māori are blamed for the position they occupy, “due to their inherent inferiority to their coloniser counterparts” (p.1).

Accordingly, it can be argued colonisation continues to be an ongoing process. Drawing on the work of Collins and Landman (2013, p.95), postcolonial critique becomes problematic when applied to settler-colonial nations in that it relegates the colonial period to the past. However, nation States continue to have “unresolved issues of treaty, sovereignty, native title and reparation for discriminatory policies... provide clear evidence that the nation States that

replaced colonial regimes have yet to be decolonised.” For Mikaere (2005) this is certainly true in a New Zealand context. She argues:

It must first be said that, in my view, colonisation is not a finite process. There has not yet been an end to it in this country. We cannot dismiss it as part of our recent past, as something which might, at most, inform our present. Whether or not we choose to acknowledge it, the fact is that colonisation endures as a major force in our present reality (p.164).

If Mikaere’s view is to be accepted, colonial dispossession of Indigenous peoples remains active; this is particularly true in the media both institutionally and textually (Collins & Landman, 2013). That is to say, given New Zealand’s history of colonisation, that which is considered ‘normal’ has been defined by the coloniser, which is often both homogenous and Eurocentric (Smith, 2004). In this way, Indigenous culture is “disrupted, dissolved and then re-inscribed according to the needs of the apparatus of the occupying power” (Young, 1995, p.170). In considering the New Zealand mediasphere, and its domination as an agent of colonisation, Māori media then, becomes an instrument in the process of decolonisation for Māori currently.

2.4 POST-COLONIAL TRAUMA

As previously illustrated, Māori are over-represented in almost every negative statistic in New Zealand. Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, mainstream media continue to attribute the position of Māori to ‘cultural deficit’ (Bishop, 2003; Meek, 2013). Tariana Tūria in the year 2000 posed a challenge to this practice in a speech she delivered at the Psychological Society Annual Conference. She pointed out that the historical impact of colonisation needed to be considered when providing for Māori patients. Tūria linked the process of colonisation to the high instances of violence and child abuse among Māori communities. She spoke of the alienation and disconnection Māori had suffered through government policy and law, as well as the internalisation of negative images prevalent in mainstream media, causing self-hatred to be “integrated in to the psyche of the Māori” (Tūria, 2000). In comparing colonisation to post-traumatic stress disorder, she referred to it as “the holocaust suffered by Indigenous people” (Tūria, 2000). Then Prime Minister Helen Clark’s response was swift: Tūria was formally reprimanded and asked to give a public apology. Additionally, the Prime Minister was quoted in the *New Zealand Herald* saying:

I know the [Waitangi] Tribunal used it [holocaust] with respect to Taranaki. I do not agree with that and I do not want to see ministers using the term and causing offence

again. And then again, she reiterated a few days later: I don't accept that the word holocaust can be validly used about the New Zealand experience (Young, 2000, para.13).

The significant point to this and other responses (See Laracy, 2000; Goodman, 2012; MacDonald, 2003), is that using terminology (Holocaust) associated with a Māori experience of colonisation, drew reactive responses from non-Māori. Her speech in no way intended to diminish the Jewish Holocaust, rather, the aim was to open new spaces of articulation and challenge old discourses surrounding the Indigenous experience of colonisation (Meeks, 2013). These reactions demonstrate a lack of acknowledgement of colonisation in New Zealand, or as Bell (2006; 2007) puts it 'historical amnesia', and the "historical acts of trauma perpetrated against Māori" (Pihama, Reynolds, Smith, Reid, Smith, Te Nana, 2014, p.257).

Drawing on the work of Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt and Chen (2004) on historical trauma, when marginalised groups have their land and resources forcibly removed, and their cultural values replaced with Western ideas, post-colonial traumatic stress can occur. The authors have constructed a paradigm for what constitutes historical loss – here Whitbeck's model has been compared and contextualised within the Māori experience.

2.5 TABLE 2: HISTORICAL LOSS SCALE

Characteristics of Historical Trauma (Whitbeck et al., 2004)	The Māori Experience
Loss of Land	In 1860 Māori held 80% of land, compared with 2000 owning up to 4% (nzhistory.net.nz, 2015).
Loss of Language	In the 19 th Century, <i>te reo</i> was the dominant language, in 2013, 21.3% of the Māori population can speak <i>te reo</i> . Urbanisation, banning <i>te reo</i> Māori in schools.
Loss of Spiritual ways	Tōhunga Suppression Act 1907
Loss of Family ties	Loss of knowledge of whakapapa/ Urbanisation/ Native Schools Code.
Loss of Self Respect from Poor Treatment by Government	See Durie (1998), internalising colonial myths (Skerret, 2012)
Loss of Trust in Whites from Broken Treaties	Waitangi Tribunal set up to address breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi 1975
Losses from effects of alcoholism	As a society without alcohol, alcohol consumption became a social problem 'matching settler level' by the 20 th century (Cook, 2014)
Loss of Traditional ways	Urbanisation, Native Schooling
Loss of people through early death	Māori life expectancy is lower than the national average (Statistics New Zealand, 2013)

For Pihama et al., (2014), historical loss is a collective and cumulative wounding on both an emotional and psychological level that transmits across generations, stemming from a cataclysmic event such as colonisation. If this paradigm of historical loss is to be accepted, Māori in some instances must suffer because of it. There are many examples throughout New Zealand history where Māori were forcibly displaced from their land and resources, children sent to native or boarding schools, the use of *te reo* Māori forbidden, and Christian beliefs replacing *wairuatanga* and Māori spiritual practices. Historical loss continues to impinge on the lives of marginalised people. It is a continuing process which can affect physical and psychological health, manifesting in the form of anger, avoidance and depression (Meeks, 2013; Pihama et al., 2014; Whitbeck et al., 2014).

2.6 RESISTANCE

By 1896 the Māori population was at its lowest point at around 42,000 as a result of the trauma of colonisation (Pool and Kukutai, 2016). However from this point began a spontaneous recovery of the population, which was matched by a cultural renaissance (Walker, 2004). Initially, the revival began unnoticed by the country's mainstream; Māori and Pākehā lived discrete lives until the Great Depression of the 1930s which stimulated Māori urban migration to the cities to find work. Māori were the first to lose work and paid lower or in some cases, no unemployment benefits compared to their Pākehā counterparts (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007). From the State's perspective, urbanisation served an ideological function to assimilate the Indigenous population. For example, 'pepper potting' was a housing policy implemented to distribute Māori families within previously all white neighbourhoods (Durie, 1998). By the 1970s, it became evident that the State's project of assimilation was not entirely successful, however it was articulated in public discourse as 'a Māori problem' placing blame on their failure to 'modernise' themselves into civilised society (Hokowhitu and Devadas, 2013). Remarkably, this is a discourse which has filtered through to the present day, with many social issues deemed as 'Māori problems' such as domestic violence and child abuse. This was evident when the Minister of Social Development Paula Bennet, in a speech to iwi leaders in 2010, called upon them to take greater role in 'caring' for their children, and although government could offer no funding for this, she encouraged them to "put your hands in your pockets and commit some resources to a joint effort" (Bennet, 2010). In this way, the Minister was placing the onus on Māori leaders to support Māori deprived children, or children in poverty, seemingly without consideration to the landscape of structural inequality in which their circumstances may have emerged.

Notably, urbanisation bred a new form of Māori resistance which was characterised as politically informed, academic, and radical; through mediated protests, they altered the political and social landscapes. In what Walker (2004) terms as a “new wave” of “neo-Māori activists” (p.211), Indigenous protest groups were formed such as Nga Tama Toa and the Māori council were formed. These groups were instrumental in action which led to the passing of the Waitangi Tribunal Act of 1975 and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, which sought to assess historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the State. Other organisations such as the Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOOHR), Waitangi Action Committee (WAC), and He Tāua were important because they embodied the kind of “unsettling neoformation” post-colonial theorist Homi Bhaba (1994) had in mind (Hokowhitu, 2013, p.360), but also because through the Treaty, they expressed resistance to colonial oppression in well organised protests. The Indigenous rights movement actively promoted the Treaty as a channel for colonial redress, which is highly significant as the Treaty remains the primary mechanism for Māori to seek equitable outcomes contemporarily. These groups disrupted the colonial discourse of “*He iwi ko tahi tātou: now we are one people*”, which for Hokowhitu (2013) was a subtext for “subordinate Indigenous population within a dominant settler community” (p.xxiii). These highly visible, radicalised urban Māori helped to construct a new paradigm for how the nation could be conceived, and importantly, wrangled concessions from the State in media broadcasting, among other areas.

2.7 BICULTURALISM

Biculturalism arose from the State’s response to the Indigenous rights movement, and Māori aspirations for greater political power and self-determination (Bell, 2006). However the problem with biculturalism is that it follows a nationalist orientation; is that it assumes there are two distinct, and equal cultures—Māori and Pākehā, the *tangata whenua* and *tangata tiriti* (the people of the land and the people of the treaty), and a sharp line is drawn between the two and the current asymmetry is rendered invisible. Further, years of overlapping relationships and wider social and economic interdependence are often overlooked, and what is lost is the recognition of what Edward Said (1993, p.36) refers to as ‘entanglements’ that bind them. Said warns of the dangers of separation of cultures which overlap in a colonial relationship, and instead calls for an acknowledgement of how these relationship exist in counterpoint to each other (Bell, 2006). For O’Sullivan (2007), biculturalism casts Māori and Pākehā as oppositional forces. The positioning of Māori as the political ‘other’ undermines equitable citizenship and a share in national sovereignty. For Māori then, the relationship

locates them in a junior position, so the bicultural relationship remains a persistent source of angst.

Notably, as Bell (2007) points out, a national bicultural rhetoric has benefits to both Māori and Pākehā. Firstly, it allows the dominant culture to ignore the social injustices Māori continue to experience, stemming from New Zealand's colonial history, in the form of "historical amnesia" (Bell, 2006, p.254). Furthermore, in a bicultural rhetoric, Pākehā peoples have a new narrative of two founding peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand, which therefore provides Pākehā with a 'moral right' to position themselves at the helm. For Māori, they are recognised as the first peoples of the nation or *tangata whenua*, the people of the land, and as such have special recognition and status, albeit symbolic and tokenistic (Liu, 2005). Furthermore, the Treaty acts as a mechanism through which Māori are able to redress colonial injustices, albeit in a very limited way. Although the rhetoric of biculturalism in this way is beneficial to Māori, over the last three decades it has yet to deliver substantive equality. As Liu (2005) argues, Pākehā remain tolerant of bicultural policy, as long as it does not grant any categorical rights or privileges afforded to Māori in terms of resource allocation (Sibley, Liu & Kirkwood, 2005).

2.8 MULTICULTURALISM AND GOVERNMENTALITY

Current State infrastructure is based on forms of governmentality inherited from British imperialism – a Governor General, a House of Parliament, a High Court based on the Westminster judicial system, so is therefore Eurocentric at its core. As before mentioned, by the 1980s, after years of Māori political the resistance, the State began a national rhetoric of biculturalism between its white settlers and Indigenous population (Hayward, 2012). To add further complexity, with the introduction of the Immigration Act in 1987, New Zealand has increasingly become a "multicultural and globally networked nation" (Huijser, 2004, p.395). Drawing on the work of Smith (2012), overall analysis shows the Government's strategy from the early 21st century was to actively promote an all-inclusive national character in order to mitigate mainstream fears of an increasingly multicultural society. Foucault (1991) conceptualised this process as governmentality, in that it is the aim of the State to guide the behaviour of a population through producing citizens best suited to its objectives.

The State's quest for a new, all-inclusive national identity had the primary the aim of building a "socially cohesive society" and containing the bicultural relationship with Māori (Smith, 2012, p.1x) a political strategy constructed to manage the nation's growing diversity. For Māori

then, this became a new source of angst as multicultural discourses serve as a counter narrative to biculturalism (Pearson and Kathari, 2007). However, national discourses of both multiculturalism and biculturalism are both concerned with synthesising cultural identities in order to create the illusion of harmony, rather than fully celebrating cultural difference. As Stratton and Ang argue, “the metaphor of the mosaic, of unity-in-diversity, is based on another kind of disavowal, on a suppression of the potential incommensurability of juxtaposed cultural differences” (1998, p.157). In this way, both bicultural and multicultural discourse remain largely banal and tokenistic, while privileging the dominant culture. While there are some aspects of Māori culture which have penetrated, Fleras and Spoonley (1999) describe it as “grafting bits of diversity onto a mainstream core” (p.239), and very little systemic change has occurred. Although it is out of the scope of this thesis to present a thorough investigation of multiculturalism, as Fleras & Spoonley argue, “New Zealand remains a monocultural society, in outcome if not intent. The ground rules of society are inescapably rooted in Eurocentric values and structures; the game plan is unmistakably tilted towards perpetuating Pākehā power and culture” (1999, p.25).

For Liu (2005) the New Zealand government’s rebranding of national identity is hierarchically structured, with the mainstream national character at the helm, and a second, subordinate character which reflects tokenised symbols of Māori culture and pluralistic intergroup relations. However, despite this nation building strategy, the national character at best reflects tension between two domains (Liu, 2005). The eventual establishment of Māori Television (MTS), recognises the need for Māori cultural empowerment and preservation of culture. However, aside from its obligation to revitalise and promote Māori language and culture, it is required to be an inclusive broadcaster for all New Zealanders, with an aim to assist nation building which will “enrich New Zealand society, culture and heritage” (RIMA, 2009, P.5). In this way, MTS’s objectives must include concessions that suit all New Zealanders; in other words, its sole priority cannot be the revitalisation and protection of Māori language as it must consider nation building and the needs of non-Māori in New Zealand.

2.9 PROMOTIONAL CULTURE AND MĀORI IDENTITY

It can be argued that Māori culture has been “brought to the brink of extinction” (Fox, 2004, p.266), is used to contemporarily to benefit the nation. In what Scherer (2013) describes as

the “hallmark of new imperialism” (p.44), elements of Māori culture are commodified for commercial gain. International interest in the exotic has led to the use of Māori imagery, symbols and design by an increasing number of corporations in order to gain an edge over competition. In a broad context, the commodification of elements of Māori culture is highly problematic: as Scherer (2013) points out, industry leaders are predominantly affluent Pākehā men who wield the power to represent Māori in the global economy. In this respect it is pertinent to explore *cui bono*, who benefits? Advertising texts are more often racialized spectacles of consumption that produce a specific regime about Māori for global audiences. In Falcous’s (2007) analysis of the Lions Rugby Union Tour 2005, Māori were presented as the primordial, spiritual, ignoble warrior while Pākehā were asserted as having a unique connection to place, distinct from their colonial predecessors. For Falcous (2007), these discourses operate to reassert a hegemonic national identity.

In the commodification of Māori culture, promotional media has a seminal role in imagining the nation as racially harmonious; however as mentioned, this is not necessarily reflected in reality. To illustrate, the *haka* is the most prominent icon within New Zealand’s popular imaginary (Scherer & Jackson, 2008), and serves a function to represent all New Zealanders on a global stage. Nowhere else are these imaginings more evident than in the arena of sport. The utilisation of the *haka* serves as a metaphor in which All Blacks players from varied backgrounds unite in their performance of the *haka* before embarking on a game. In this way the ubiquitous use of *haka* resonates with a nationalist unity in that it presents an ideal way to reconcile current bicultural discourse. For Hokowhitu (2003) however, it is *tikanga* misappropriated for commercial gain in that it is disembedded from any meaningful Māori framework. Arguably, it renders *haka* a generic symbol of the All Blacks and New Zealand Identity, rather than a Māori cultural artefact derived from a specific *iwi* (Scherer, 2013). Its utilisation in this context remains nothing more than a spectacle contained within a Pākehā framework. Therefore, it can be argued elements of Māori culture in promotional media are celebrated, but only within the confines of hegemonic nationalism.

As before mentioned, New Zealand national imaginary (see Anderson, 1991) was based on monocultural, British values, from which hegemonic settler nationalism arose and as such has informed the process of colonisation in New Zealand (Falcous, 2007). However, akin to other settler nations facing post-colonial critique, New Zealand has been forced to renegotiate this version of its national imaginary. In the arena of promotional media, representation of Māori

within a discourse of racialized primitivism has been well documented (Wall, 1997, Hokowhitu, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2013). Media actively engages in the construction of select versions of nationalism, in that one version of reality is asserted and others are marginalised. In other words, Māori are not in control of the aspects of their culture which are used to promote nationhood. For Abel (2013), the appropriation of Māori culture in this context is something she feels 'uneasy' about; the role of *tikanga* and Māori ritual is debated acrimoniously in the public sphere, while the issue of Māori self-determination is "guaranteed to scare the majority of non-Māori New Zealanders" (p.). In the same way the *haka* is appropriated by the NZRU, elements of Māori culture play an important role as formal markers of the nation's identity and culture in a time of globalisation and increasing cultural diversity.

According to the Ministry for Culture and Heritage, these activities enhance how New Zealand is seen on a global stage; they assist in the recognition of the country as creative and savvy with clear benefits in diplomacy, trade and tourism (Statement of Intent, 2008). However, for Abel (2013) the use of Māori culture in this way is meaningless without 'buy in' from non-Māori for the 'acceptable' elements of Māori culture. A prime and very recent example is the Reserve Bank's use of a *tukutuku* panel on the ten dollar note due for release in October 2015. Under the direction of the Reserve bank, the Māori art was copied directly from panels in a meeting house located at Te Papa Tongarewa museum in Wellington. The design belongs to the Rongowhakaata Iwi and the Te Hau Ki Turanga Trust who are representative of the iwi and the official custodians of the marae, and have sought legal action on the matter. The Reserve Bank has Stated that this design has been used on the banknote for 20 years, and therefore did not have to consult iwi (Yeoman, 2015). The bank Stated "during the preparation of the note designs, the bank conducted extensive research into the designs proposed for each note, and we are satisfied as to our right to reproduce the image" (*The New Zealand Herald*, 2015, para.16). The concern here is the reserve bank's assertion it has the 'right' to reproduce Māori symbols as they deem appropriate. For an orally literate society without a formal written language, *tukutuku* panels are much more than motifs, they are a mechanism for storing *whakapapa* (genealogy) recounting stories (Royal, 2013). These panels then, hold sacred knowledge (*tapu*), they embody qualities spiritual and ethereal in nature. Therefore their use on common (*noa*) items such as a ten dollar bill, raises further questions of appropriateness. However, as characteristic of a settler nation, the New Zealand government uses a rhetoric of practicality which asks its citizens to "get the past behind them" (Smith & Abel, 2008).

Promotional media research within a New Zealand context has demonstrated that Māori are designated as the spiritual and primordial element of the nation “reserved for picturesque display” while Pākehā are confirmed and legitimised as culturally connected to New Zealand (Falcous, 2007; Hokowhitu, 2003; Scherer & Jackson, 2008). Bell (2004) surmises, “Pākēha culture may be the national culture in terms of providing the pervasive, common-sense underpinnings for the ordering of social life, but Māori culture is the national culture when distinctiveness and ethnic exoticism are called for” (p.149). The effect of advertising is that it draws on discourses to create illusion of a racially decolonised national unity, notably in the bicultural vision of the nation’s imaginary. The commercial value of elements of Māori culture is rendered as collective symbolic capital, or arguably Scherer (2013, p.54) puts it “reduced to marketing nostalgia” in order to fill the void of culture inherent in settler society. In some ways, the Māori Televisual space is required to fulfil such a role; this is evident in its tagline *Ma Tatou/For Everyone*, which denotes a sense of unity and Māori cultural acceptance.

2.10 NEW ZEALAND TELEVISION BROADCASTING - A BRIEF HISTORY

This literature review will now survey a brief history of the New Zealand mediascape, and assess its position in relation to Māori and the Māori Television Service.

Television in New Zealand remains a “hugely important medium,” and the primary way its citizens access information, news and entertainment (Dunleavy, 2014, para. 2). On average, television viewership across all ages has increased from two hours and eight minutes per day in the year 2000, to three hours and thirty six minutes in 2011 (Nielson, 2011); this equates to an increase of 58 minutes of daily television viewing in the space of a decade. This clearly illustrates Horrocks’ and Perry’s (2004) assessment that television in New Zealand has become a dominant cultural force (p. 14). On the other hand, Maharey (1990) argues the medium is far more pervasive; as has been examined, television media does not solely transmit programming, news and information about the world, it actively constructs and shapes public perceptions of it. This point is important as the next section will show, the mainstream New Zealand media has persistently portrayed Māori as problematic in society.

On the first of June 1960, New Zealand was initiated in to the new world of television broadcasting (TVNZ, n,d). The New Zealand Broadcasting Service’s sole channel AKTV-2, beamed some overseas serials over VHF and presented a life variety show, including Māori entertainer Howard Morrison (Boyd-Bell, 1985). Television at this time was regional,

broadcasting in the four main centres, and was only partly linked. As a small Island nation with limited resources, establishing a television system and building the infrastructure to support it proved a tremendous challenge. Television in New Zealand went from State controlled and highly regulated, to one of the most deregulated broadcasting markets in the world (Thompson, 2010).

According to Cocker (2008), television broadcasting in New Zealand is marred by continual upheaval from political interruption. In exploring the media terrain, it may be useful to survey the various political changes, and how those changes have affected Māori. Cocker (2008, p.4) identifies four phases in which public policy has dramatically affected broadcasting. The first phase was a highly regulated, State monopoly; the second a compromised public corporation model; the third was a deregulated approach, and finally, the fourth was a last-ditch attempt to revive public service broadcasting values. Public service broadcasting (PSB) was pioneered by Lord Reith the founding director of the BBC, who identified its trinity of values to educate, inform and entertain as well as provide “cultural uplift for the masses” (Dunleavy, 2008, p.796). Although Thompson (2010) contends the Reithian approach to PSB is “frequently dismissed as condescending, elitist imposition of middle class tastes and values upon the ignorant masses who must be subjected for their own good” (p.3); Dunleavy (2008) asserts that Reith saw PSB as a way to foster great equality between citizens through shared stories and experiences. Importantly however, PSB was seen as a way to service citizens, rather than commercialism. Currently, New Zealand remains one of the most highly commercial mediascapes in the world (Thomson, 2010) and MTS is often described as the nation’s de-facto public broadcaster.

1960-1989: State Broadcasting, then Corporate Broadcasting

From its genesis, television in New Zealand was run as a government department, and the State had a monopoly on broadcasting (Dunleavy, 2014). The British style of public service broadcasting was upheld as the cornerstone for New Zealand broadcasting, albeit a highly compromised version of PSB. For instance, Horrocks and Perry (2004) argue true public service broadcasting “insists on keeping both commercialism and government at a distance” (p.26), though given the small market size and the fact that television broadcasting had just begun in country, this may have proved difficult to achieve. The one and only aspect that was truly public service was the lack of commercial advertising; however this was introduced just ten months later in order to raise revenues. The era of State broadcasting formally ended with the

introduction of the 1961 Broadcasting Act, and the subsequent takeover by the publicly owned New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC). The NZBC operated under a synthesis of American style commercialism coupled with British public service values – two objectives which are fundamentally oppositional. Notably, Cocker (2008) argues that the NZBC did not have any real commitment to Reithian values, and public service broadcasting objectives were upheld as matter of “political compromise” and “administrative practicality” (p.45) rather than to imbue television broadcasting with the trinity of public service values, to inform, educate and entertain.

1986-1999: Commercialism, Competition and Deregulation.

The move to commercialisation occurred within a relatively short time frame; so New Zealand went from highly regulated and government controlled, to a ‘free market’ commercial entity within four years (Smith, 1996; Dunleavy, 2008). By the mid-1980s, funding for public service broadcasting had declined (Dunleavy, 2008), so during this phase, the labour government set about implementing a ‘free market ideology’, as was the international trend at the time. It was an era in which publicly owned broadcasters throughout the Western world faced the challenges of deregulation and increased competition, and New Zealand, as Horrocks (2004) puts it, was “open to whatever sweeps in from the rest of the globe” (p.56). The Labour government of the day held the belief that “commercialism should always override other cultural forces such as social and cultural priorities” (Horrocks, 2004, p.58), and accordingly the State Owned Enterprises Act was applied in 1986. The primary purpose of a State Owned Enterprise (SOE) is to operate as a commercial business and maximise profit for its primary shareholder, the New Zealand government. TVNZ adopted commercial imperatives with vigour, which ultimately led to the creation of one of the “most deregulated and heavily commercialised media markets in the world” (Thompson, 2010, p.3).

Deregulation came into effect with the 1989 Broadcasting Act, which lifted restrictions on foreign ownership of New Zealand airwaves. As such, privately owned channels emerged such as Prime, TV3 and TV4 owned by Australian companies CanWest and Global Communications, among others (Leland and Martin, 2001). The advent of digital pay TV services such as Rupert Murdoch’s Sky Network presented further competition to the monopoly previously held by TVNZ. From the outset, it was argued that a ‘free market’ ideology when applied to broadcasting would mean viewers were offered more choice, and State-owned broadcasters would operate as effectively and efficiently as corporate enterprises. However research

conducted in larger markets abroad indicates “market-oriented media perform badly when it comes to quality, equity and access. What begins as a promise of unlimited choice quickly fades as ownership of the media is concentrated in to fewer hands, with an emphasis on profits derived from large markets” (Maharey, 1999, p.23). Currently all four companies are foreign-owned, dominate the New Zealand mediascape. There is a monopoly on pay television with the Sky Network, a near duopoly in print and radio, and only three significant competitors including those which are State-owned (Rosenburg, 2015).

During the four years which deregulation took place, there was a notable shift in programming; Comrie (1999) proves empirically, that news and current affairs took a more sensationalist approach. There was a notable shift in TVNZ’s news and current affairs, from public sphere oriented journalism, in favour of the scandalous and controversial (Stuart, 1996; Thompson, 2005). Horrocks (2004) describes it as a “dumbing down” of television programming (p.59). Furthermore, locally produced television content had significantly diminished. In following the ‘free market’ ideology, it proved far more cost effect to import programmes rather than produce them. The New Zealand mainstream became a diluted version of British and American television. Locally produced television content, according to Dunleavy (2008), is an important component in conceptualising national identity through history, culture, society and politics. In this way, commercial imperatives have restricted programming possibilities (Spoonley, 1999), and audiences were no longer considered ‘listeners’ or ‘viewers’, but were ‘consumers’ and ‘markets’ to be exploited for profit (Hutchinson and Lealand, 1996, p.8). Although scholars such as McChesney (2008), recognise the benefits of deregulating the market, he also cautions: “all our most treasured values – democracy, freedom, individuality, security, cultural diversity, equality, education, community, love, health, human development – are reduced in one way or another to commodities provided by the market” (p.280).

During this time TVNZ was relieved of its public service obligations. Horrocks (2004) recalls:

It was striking to watch TVNZ (which operated the two most popular channels in New Zealand) adapt to this new rule so rapidly and relentlessly. It had never been a pure public broadcaster - it was semi-commercial and highly bureaucratized - but we had not realised how much further it was possible for it to go in purging itself of public service concerns (p.58).

That is not to say public service broadcasting was abandoned completely; the responsibility was relegated to New Zealand on Air (NZoA); a broadcast funding agency established to support local and diverse programming across television and radio, also as a result of the 1989 Broadcasting Act. In this way, the government sought to separate and manage the delicate equilibrium between its separate public service responsibilities and its commercial priorities. The Broadcasting Act (1989, p.17), set the mandate for NZoA which included:

- To reflect and develop New Zealand identity and culture
- To promote programmes about New Zealand and New Zealand interests
- To promote Māori language and culture

Accordingly, NZoA was envisioned as a way to safeguard local programming, build national identity and “ensure that cultural contribution of broadcasting is not overwhelmed by commercial imperatives” (NZoA, 1990, P.2), or as Horrocks (1996) puts it, a last chance to get local production firmly established in television, which it has done to a degree. However NZoA’s process of funding allocation, allowed resources to be shared with private commercial broadcasters; while commercially viable programming was well served by NZoA, programming produced for minority groups was again under-resourced. Norris (2004) contends broadcasters would reject programming from NZoA if it was deemed that the audience would be too narrow and not reach target demographics. Again, this was due to the commercial orientation of New Zealand broadcasting; if advertisers did not deem programmes as commercially viable, networks would lose advertising revenue (Turner, 2011). Therefore, NZoA’s contestable funding platform in conjunction with a free market ideology meant the organisation could not adequate representation of diversity.

It is important to note however, that NZ on Air was successful in increasing local and public service programming by about 8%, and a record 187 hours of drama had been funded in the space of three years (Nga Matakiirea, 2010). However, the point is that it did not translate into funding for Māori programming, with Māori content or language as a major component decreasing by 26% in the period 1990-1991 (Nga Matakiirea, 2010, p.19). With the exception of one single documentary, all Māori programmes screened on TV One were relegated to the ‘ghetto slots’ (Fox, 1992, p.136) and scheduled out of primetime. Significantly, several Māori and Pacific shows such as *Marae* and *Tangata Pacifica*, which were previously scheduled in primetime slots, were then rescheduled to off-peak slots, effectively marginalising Māori programming. Similar to the climate surrounding some of the programmes produced by NZoA,

commercial imperatives clearly outweighed cultural value, driven by the desire to capture a maximum audience share.

During this phase of deregulation, Māori interests in broadcasting went largely ignored by the State; there was no consultation process to consider Māori interests, or discussion with Iwi surrounding what the new laws would imply, which under the Treaty of Waitangi is a requirement (Fox, 1992). Māori communities voiced strong opposition to deregulation amidst valid fears Māori voices would be further marginalised; however these protests fell on deaf ears (ibid). This was also due in part to the government's failure to recognise the media as a distinct sector; that is to say there was a denial that broadcasting had any "significant cultural importance" (Horrocks and Perry, 2004, p.29), which is ironic given the significance of media in a democratic society. Once deregulation was firmly implemented, programme makers and broadcasters had no obligation to address social or cultural objectives, nor was there any requirement to make provision for local content through allocated time-slots, protected zones or quotas (Lealand, 2002). As a result, both public service and Māori interest programming diminished.

There were however, some notable gains Māori had wrangled from the government during this phase in broadcasting history. The decision to transfer TVNZ to a State-owned enterprise, the subsequent deregulation of the market, and rumours of the network being prepared for sale in 1989, spurred the Māori community into action. In what Horrocks and Perry (2004, p.35) describe as a "series of brilliantly argued court cases", it was asserted the government had failed to provide for Māori language and culture in broadcasting, and the transfer of broadcasting assets to an SOE would further hinder their ability to protect *te reo Māori* as guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi. Although the court case was won by the New Zealand government, the Privy Council recognised the Crown's obligation to protect *te reo Māori*, and recommended "the Crown had an obligation to take reasonable steps to assist the preservation of the Māori language by the use of radio and television broadcasting" (Walker, 2004, p.370). As a result of the court action, there were two significant concessions wrangled from the government. In 1994 *Te Mangai Pāho* was established to promote Māori language and culture in broadcasting, and 13.4% (chosen to reflect the Māori population) of the broadcasting fee collected by NZoA was directed to it. Then in 1996, the first Māori television pilot went to air.

1999 – 2009: A Return to Public Service?

By 1999, the Labour government returning to office acknowledged the failure to properly address public service objectives in broadcasting legislation. The Charter was ‘imposed’ on TVNZ (Cocker, 2008; Skilling, 2010) in order to address the issues caused by deregulation, and was hailed as “a dramatic return to public service principles” (Cocker, 2008, p.52). The TVNZ Charter introduced in 2003 (which interestingly coincided with the establishment of MTS), proposed the following ten objectives:

2.11 TABLE 3: TVNZ CHARTER

TVNZ CHARTER
Feature programming across all genres that informs, entertains and educates New Zealand audiences
Provide shared experiences that contribute to a sense of citizenship and national identity
Ensure in its programmes and programmes planning the participation of Māori and the presence of a significant Māori voice
Feature programming that serves the varied interests and informational needs and age groups within New Zealand society, including the tastes and interests not generally catered for by other national television broadcasters
Maintain a balance between programmes of general appeal and programmes of interest to smaller audiences
Seek to extend the range of ideas and experiences available to New Zealanders
Play a leading role in New Zealand television by complying with free to air codes of broadcasting practise, in particular any code with provisions on violence
Support and promote the talents and creative resources of New Zealanders and of the independent New Zealand film and television industry

The objectives stipulated closely resembled the public service objectives from Britain, which had since evolved from their Reithian roots (Comrie, 1999). Once again, TVNZ would be expected to fulfil public service objectives after having them rescinded a few years earlier. Seemingly, these objectives hatched by the Labour government appear well vested in public interest; however the implementation of the Charter was highly problematic for a number of reasons. The most apparent of these was TVNZ’s dependence on commercial revenue, a factor which permeated almost every aspect of the network. Māori programming and public service programming continued to be side-lined and rarely able to penetrate primetime as advertising revenue could be lost. For example, Skilling (2010, p.184) highlights:

In 2007, TVNZ’s Chief Executive went so far as to argue that the Charter’s requirement that it represent Māori perspectives was satisfied by commercially viable programmes with a minimal Māori component such as local soap opera Shortland Street and – even more controversially – crime programme Police Ten-7.

Cocker (2008) argues there is a dichotomy of demanding social and cultural objectives from an enterprise designed to maximise profit in a competitive market. And although an annual amount of 15 million dollars was dedicated to the Charter's application, there was a lack of clarity surrounding exactly how this should be spent (Thompson, 2010). Additionally, commercial funding far exceeded the 15 million allocated for the Charter which left it "vulnerable to subversion by the very commercial pressures it was designed to circumvent" (Thompson, 2010, p.97). For these reason and others, public service objectives as stipulated by the Charter, could not realistically be enforced and by 2009 it was abandoned again in favour of pursuing more commercial objectives (Thompson, 2010).

In effect, the swift and continual upheaval from political pressure has been characteristic of the broadcasting sector in New Zealand, leaving it in a permanent State of near crisis which DeBrett (2005, p.76) describes in programming terms as "extreme makeover its recurring motif". As such, political interference has rendered the New Zealand mediascape unstable, with conflicting and erratic strategies, which have resulted in marginalising Māori interests in broadcasting and failed to provide the nation with a stable broadcasting agenda.

2.12 RE-PRESENTING THE INDIGENOUS OTHER

Significantly, there is a substantial body of work which supports the view that Māori are represented negatively on mainstream networks, which has undoubtedly resulted from colonial discourse, in what Abel (2013) terms as "the Pākehā gaze" (Abel, 2013; Abel, 1997; Abel, 2006; Barnes, Borell, Taiapa, Rankine, Nairn, McCreanor, 2012; Hodgetts et al, 2005; McCreanor, 1993; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Smith, 2013; Spoonley, 1990; Te Kawa a Māui, 2005; Spoonley, 1990; Walker, 2002; Walker, 2004). Scholars in the field cite various reasons for how the marginalisation of Māori has occurred in mainstream media, including institutional constraints, a lack of knowledge on Māori issues, and a lack of Māori news workers. In aggregate however, this research shows Pākehā have misrepresented Māori consistently over time in the nation's public spheres (Abel, 1997, Abel, 2006; Barnes et al, 2012; Walker, 2002; Wall, 1997). A predominant theme in this body of research is the persistent casting of Māori as a threat to society. Fox (1992) asserts:

The standard procedure is till to pay little attention to Māori activities except as they impinge on the Pākehā (white) establishment. So crime and land claims get publicity, as do achievers in sport and show business, although the Māori element in the success stories is liable to be played down. Losers may be Māori, but winners are New Zealanders (p.128).

Media representation of Māori goes beyond stereotyping and othering, instead it represents more institutionalised forms of racism embedded within post-colonial New Zealand society. The coloniser controls the media and therefore has the power to decide what will inform and entertain the society. However, this is not to suggest that people are merely passive recipients of media text; rather, it is to suggest that in aggregate, mass media provides *one* particular construction of society, which the discourse upheld by the dominant classes. In this way, majority perspectives are reinforced and other views are marginalised.

The New Zealand media then, must influence race relations in Aotearoa. In, what Smith and Abel (2008) describes as “this settler centric nation” (p.9), the settlers who first arrived to Aotearoa brought with them Eurocentric ideologies which became structurally embedded in post-colonial New Zealand society. In Freire’s (2000) position on cultural invasion, he writes; “it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority” (p.153). In surveying the New Zealand landscape, Eurocentric discourses assume cultural superiority, and have positioned Māori as the inferior Other (see Said, 1979). Terry Goldie (1989) illustrated the predicament of a settler society when he wrote:

The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is Indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien in Canada? (p.13).

The rendering of Māori as inferior Other is an essential element in the process of colonisation so that both Māori and Pākehā accept assimilation and recognise the pre-eminence of the colonising culture (McCreanor, 1997; Walker, 1990, 2004; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). When coupled with Fairburn’s (2008) assessment, New Zealand as a nation State is essentially an amalgamation of British and American culture (much like its mainstream television programming), with their histories steeped in colonialism and forced assimilation of Indigenous cultures. As such, Fairburn (2008) argues this Island nation has yet to develop a distinct Indigenous ‘New Zealand culture’.

2.13 NEW ZEALAND'S IMAGINED COMMUNITIES

Accordingly, Benedict Anderson's (1991) theory on 'imagined communities' suggests that television media as the Fourth Estate influences and shapes the social imaginary of a nation, actively, thereby aiding in the construction of a collectively imagined social identity. Overstating commonalities also removes liberal democracy's ability to recognise difference and privileges assimilation, which is the incorporation of Indigenous individuals into a homogenous community which conducts its affairs solely in accord with one set of social, political and cultural mores. Those of the minority are displaced by those of the majority (O'Sullivan, 2006, p.5). For Jo Smith (2013), this settler-centric nation is an imagined community which must work to naturalise its presence as a non-colonising, non-invasive force, and media practices have certainly aided in this process (p.101). For example, Bell (2006) asserts that settler people have constructed their identities in the form of nationalism; 'New Zealanders', 'Australians', 'Canadians'. In this way, the social imaginary links people to place and a sense of belonging is consolidated (p.253). She writes:

This idea of being a New Zealander - our Pākehā nationalism - allows us to forget the fact that we originally come from elsewhere. We are a migrant people and our migration took the form of colonising settlement. We are the 'second settlers', as Stephen Turner says. And arguably Chinese New Zealanders should be considered second settlers also, in the sense that Chinese history here goes back almost as long, but that, as well, is forgotten in the face of Pākehā dominance and Pākehā nationalism. Chinese New Zealanders have never been allowed to forget their origins. Pākehā New Zealanders have done their best to forget theirs" (Bell, 2006).

For Bell, the problem in this, is the history of how the connection between people and place was forged, resulting in a kind of "historical amnesia" (p.254). The term "New Zealander" then is inextricably linked with national identity, and Liu (2005) asserts the New Zealand national identity is imbued with Anglicised, monocultural undertones from its settler past. Through exclusionary practises in the media, impressions of a homogenous and egalitarian nation are disseminated, which for Jo Smith (2013), come at the direct expense of Māori cultural values and perspectives.

There is an extensive body of work which confirms New Zealand's imagined community fails to represent the diversity of its society (Spoonley and Hirsch, 1990; Walker, 1981, 1990; Fox, 1992; Spoonley, 1995; Abel, 1996, 1997; Stuart, 1996; Stephens, 2004; Sibley and Liu, 2004, 2007). Through hegemonic structures and processes in the media, there are numerous examples of the mainstream media failing to provide a Māori voice or omitting *te ao Māori* altogether. The persistent othering, stereotyping, and misrepresentation of Māori in the New

Zealand mainstream media translates to real world outcomes (Abel, 1997; Loto, Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Nikora, Karapu, Barnett, 2006; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine & Barnes 2006; Sibley, Harré, Hoverd, James, Houkamau, 2010; Walker, 1990; Walker 2002).

In considering the dangers of the 'single stories' constructed by dominant groups in society, Adiche (2009) considers:

The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story... The consequence of the single story is this: It robs people of dignity. It makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar.

This is certainly true of the New Zealand mediascape; it is not to say that some of what the media report on Māori is not true, it is that it has become a pattern of discourse so well recognised by the mainstream (Borell et al., 2012), that it has become the nation's 'single story' for Māori. Accordingly, the 'single story' becomes an internalised 'myth' and manifests in vast and varied ways (see Skerret, 2012). The hegemonic 'othering' that occurs in New Zealand's media can perhaps be accounted for by Tajfel and Turner's (1979) admission that dominant groups establish themselves as the norm, or 'in-group', which then seeks to diminish the status of others or 'out-group' (see Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Mummendy & Wenzell 1999). By evaluating out-groups according to in-group standards differences between the groups can be over stated and similarities exaggerated, which results in forms of institutionalised racism and social prejudice.

To illustrate this point with a fairly extreme example, Devadas (2013) provides an in-depth analysis of the 2007 Urewera 'terror raids', in which political activist Tame Iti others dubbed by the press as the "Urewera Four" were accused of terrorist activity. After a year of police surveillance, the State invoked the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002, which is a New Zealand counter-terrorism legislation following the September 11 attacks in New York, to make their arrest. The charges failed to constitute terrorism as stipulated by the Act, and as such the group were sentenced to 2 and a half years imprisonment on firearms charges. For Devadas (2013, p.11), this was an exercise in "racialized state sovereignty" in that the government used its power to establish control over the way nation is imagined.

Media coverage of events in this case exemplifies practices which serve a specific sovereign function of racism. According to his analysis, media reporting following the Urewera 'terror

raids’ was sensationalised to the point that public safety was deemed legitimate concern to justify the violence unleashed on the Indigenous community by the State. As Foucault (2003) puts it “wars are no longer waged in the name of the sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone” (p.137). Mainstream media articulations here, serve to ‘manage’ Māori activism in the name of the wellbeing of the population, in what Devadas (2013) maintains can only be described as “racialized moral panic” (p.11). Significantly however, the articulations of mainstream media around the terror raids tell a particular story dichotomous to the self-declared bicultural, post-colonial nation with exemplary race relations (Stuart, 2005) that is New Zealand. What this particular representation of Māori does in Devadas’ view, is clearly demonstrate that the nation has not distanced itself from its colonial discourses. In like manner, Adiche’s warning of the ‘single story’, the portrayal of Māori as a threat to Pākehā hegemony in the New Zealand media persists.

In constructing media discourse of Māori as the Other through discourses stemming from colonial imperialism, Māori have experienced some of the most negative social, political and economic outcomes in the country and have done so progressively compared with their Pākehā counterparts (Bell, 2009; Durie, 2000; Humpage, 2006; Knox, 2005; Sibley, Hoverd & Liu, 2011). Research conducted by Barnes, Borell, Taiapa, Rankine, Nairn and McCreanor (2012, p.198), identify patterns in media discourse, and link their real-world narratives:

2.14 TABLE 4: PATTERNS OF POSITIONING MĀORI IN MEDIA DISCOURSE

Patterns in Media Discourse	
Pākehā as norm	Constructs Pākehā as the ordinary and normal citizen and culture of New Zealand
One people	New Zealanders are represented as a single culture in which we are all 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 are unduly sensitive
Good Māori, Bad Māori	Māori are seen as good or bad depending on the argument of the speaker; Pākehā are rarely described this way
Stirrers	Those who challenge social order are depicted as troublemakers who mislead others for their own ends
Māori crime and 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

	whakapapa 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

The authors conclude these basic assumptions are both insidious and invisible, so much so that news making in Aotearoa is considered “neutral, fair and culture free: and that the target audience are a naturalised, unitary, egalitarian nation” (Barnes et al., 2012, p.198). Media reproduction of these discourses has real world outcomes, in that it “affects how Māori see themselves and, indirectly, their collective health and wellbeing, and ultimately undermines the fundamentals of equity and justice in our society” (Barnes et al, 2009, p.195). Currently, Māori are over represented in the nation’s most negative statistics. For example, Māori are likely to earn substantially less than their Pākehā counterparts: in 2006 this figure was 73.6% (Pearson, 2012). Further, they are more likely to be incarcerated, have lower life expectancy and have less access to education (Pearson, 2012). In this way, patterns in media discourse serve to maintain the status quo.

Significantly, Loto et al., (2006) identified similar ways in which the media depicts Pacific peoples. By comparison to the ‘out group’ the Pākehā majority are imagined as benevolent custodians of social resources who are working to address the failings of marginalised peoples (Loto et al., 2006). In following Adiche’s (2009) before mentioned position, it is not to say ‘single stories’ are not true; the danger is that it becomes the only truth for wider society. Explanations for social disparities between Māori and Pākehā in everyday discourse have evoked genetic or cultural characteristics of marginalised populations, with little or no recognition given to the social, political and economic environment within which they arise (Borell, Gregory, McCreanor, Jensen and Barnes, 2009, p. 30). In their 1998 seminal work *Manufacturing Consent*, Chomsky and Herman suggest:

The mass media serve as a system for communication messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of larger society (1998, p.53).

For Chomsky and Herman then, the nation’s media holds the power to influence behaviours within a society by dissemination of notions of what is acceptable action and cognition. In this way, it becomes plausible that patterns of media discourse have real world outcomes: Māori

are stereotyped and Othered, and forms of institutionalised racism become acceptable behaviours and practices (Abel & Smith, 2008).

2.15 FOURTH MEDIA: FRAMING INDIGENOUS MEDIA

Barclay's (2003) assertion of Fourth Cinema proposes a category which extends beyond the First, Second and Third Cinema paradigm which refers to the ways in which world cinema is organised into categories. First Cinema describes Hollywood films, Second Cinema categorises European art films which are said to reject the conventions of Hollywood, and focus more on the auteur director. Third Cinema or world cinema, is said to have been inspired by neo-colonialism (Dissanayake and Guneratne, 2004) and has to do with power structures, colonialism and its legacies, oppressed communities, and so forth. Its primary aim is to rearticulate the nation using the politics of inclusion, in order to imagine new ways of being in society (Solanas and Getino, 1997).

Fourth Cinema then, according to Barclay is Indigenous Cinema which he conceptualises according to arts academic Dr Rangihira Panoho's (1992) theory of 'interiority' and 'exteriority'. Exteriority refers to "the surface features, the rituals, the language, the posturing, the décor, the use of elders, the presence of children, attitudes to the land, the rituals of spirit" (2003, p.7). 'Interiority' then, refers to the philosophical, spiritual and ethereal qualities, which by Barclay's own admission are difficult, if not impossible, to define. Barclay illustrates his point with scene from the movie *Mutiny on the Bounty*, in which the camera depicts imperial 'ship' men, which go ashore for sexual liaison with high ranking 'native' women. In terms of First Cinema, the scene involves rich imperial power, white male hunk, sex with exotic female Other. If the camera were in the hands of the Indigenous 'shore' people, that is to say through the lens of Fourth Cinema, the scene would be irrefutably different. In this respect, films shot from an Indigenous perspective and marketed on a global stage "would be unsettling, I imagine, to white men who came ashore to have sex and depart, noses in the air" (Barclay, 2003, p.7).

Many aspects of Indigenous media then, remains unsettling to dominant cultures. Parallels can be drawn between Fourth Media, as conceptualised by Hokowhitu (2013) and fundamental elements of Fourth Cinema delineated by Barclay (2003). Fourth media is born out of resistance to Western media in recognition of the misrepresentation and marginalisation of the Other, so is therefore political in nature (Hokowhitu, 2013; Walker,

2004). Although Fourth Media is difficult to define, Hokowhitu provides some suggestions: it is transformative in nature and has to do with self-determination, self-representation in what he refers to as “mediated Indigenous sovereignty”. Indigenous media should involve strategies to decolonise its people, and its epistemologies should remain fluid so that the culture does not remain a relic of the past. For Hokowhitu, producers of Indigenous media should reject forms of representation that are located within Western rationalism, and instead, represent themselves in the authenticity of their choosing. This is not to alienate Western modes of media, rather, it is to unravel its unconscious imperialism. In this way, Fourth Media can present a reflexive challenge to colonial or nationalistic discourses contained in mainstream media.

Fourth Media or Māori Media in New Zealand, arose out of thirty years of political struggle from Māori communities who campaigned relentlessly for the State to recognise its obligation to protect and revitalise Māori language and culture as guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi (Smith, 2015; Walker, 2004). Its purpose then, is to reflect *tikanga Māori* (Māori ways of knowing and doing) and to repair and revitalise that language and culture which has been lost or damaged through the process of colonisation. If Hokowhitu’s model of Fourth Media is accepted, Māori Television then is a political mechanism for Māori representation and self-determination. However, media scholar Jo Smith (2013) remains critical of the transformative power of Māori Television, in that she questions the effectiveness of political instruments produced by the same imperial tools used to marginalise Māori in the first instance. Furthermore, Māori Television is a State funded entity as illustrated in its tagline; “Mā rātou, mā mātou, mā koutou, ma tātou”, for them, for us, for you, for everyone. With such inclusivity, ‘transformative powers’ in terms of Māori self-determination must be investigated.

Accordingly, a useful tool for analysis of the transformative power Fourth Media (or Māori Media in this context) is Spivak’s (1988) post-colonial theory outlined in her seminal text, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Here, the question is posed: can the colonised speak through the tools of the coloniser? The short answer however, is no. For Spivak, the subaltern lacks both the position to speak from, and the infrastructure from which to be heard. That is to say, the position of being post-colonial is deeply rooted in elite discourses of power and politics of recognition, each of which lie beyond the control of the subaltern (in this case, the subaltern is Māori). When applied to the context of New Zealand, it is important to examine the infrastructures in place that “allow subaltern resistance to be located and heard” (Spivak,

2005, p.483), and how these voices are received. Māori Television as New Zealand's Indigenous broadcaster, has the task of 'speaking' on behalf of the Indigenous Other – but the extent to which it can express and assert Indigenous knowledge critical to an Indigenous public sphere remains questionable (Smith, 2015).

Māori Television's role as a producer of Fourth Media remains problematic for vast and varied reasons. The first is that it is inextricably tied to the State, and therefore Māori representation must be conceptualised within Western ways of knowing, and it must be inclusive. As pointed out by Smith (2013), Māori Television then must "participate in a State-sanctioned discourse of biculturalism" (p.722). More importantly, the question could be posed as to whether it is possible Māori Television in this context, has the ability to interrupt elite, colonial discourses. Further, in representing Māori through mediated television broadcasting, there is a clear danger of homogenising a heterogeneous group. Hokowhitu (2013) points out that in accordance with subalternity, Māori elites are designated with the role of representing Māori, so it is therefore uncertain as to how diverse these representations can be. In return, Māori are recognised and imagined within the nation State as a whole and healthy treaty partner. Representing Māori in this way produces a State-sanctioned discourse of biculturalism (Smith, 2013). When examined under the lens of postcolonial theory and Fourth Cinema, it is evident that the transformative powers of Māori Television require further investigation.

2.16 BY MĀORI FOR MĀORI PROGRAMMING:

[Māori] are aware of how negatively we are portrayed in television, in film and in newspapers... [and] are becoming increasingly aware that at some stage in this media game we must take control of our own image. And the reason that that is important is because only when we do that, only when we have some measure of self-determination about how we appear in the media will the truth be told about us. Only when we have control of our image will we be able to put on the screen the very positive images that are ourselves, that are us. Merata Mita (1992) cited in Pihama, (1996, p. 57).

As articulated by Mita, Māori have expressed the desire to represent themselves in broadcasting, and have long recognised their inability to do so, this is located in cultural, political and narratives which place constraints on the capacity of the Indigenous to do so. Historically Māori are an orally literate people, so therefore place high value on both the orator and oratory transmission; in this way the televisual space would appear perfectly suited to Māori. However, more than this, it has to do with the desire to be able to "talk in" (Barclay, 2005), to represent themselves. In this respect, the establishment of a Māori Television

Service has been a triumph for Māori (Walker, 2004); however its transformative power in terms of self-determination remains 'a work in progress'.

This point then, leads to a pertinent question worthy of consideration, and that is *cui bono*? Who benefits? Who should benefit from Māori media? The answer here is fairly straightforward, in that Māori should benefit. Firstly, as before mentioned, Māori Television was a concession wrangled from the New Zealand government after 30 years of Māori agitation. Secondly, the primary purpose of the broadcaster is to promote Māori language and culture, as stipulated by the Māori Television Service Act of Parliament 2003:

The principal function of Māori Television is to promote *te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori* [Māori language and customs] through the provision of a high quality, cost-effective Māori television service, in both Māori and English, that informs, educates and entertains a broad viewing audience, and, in doing so, enriches New Zealand's society, culture and heritage.

Given the political and social context in which MTS arose, it would be fair to assume that Māori would be the primary beneficiaries of MTS. However, the Act locates Māori culture within the wider context of New Zealand society, culture and heritage and demands MTS entertain a broad viewing audience. To illustrate the point, Abel (2013, p.207) highlights former Māori Television CEO Jim Mather's comments in 2006, which include "offering a window into the Māori world" and building an "inclusive brand" of "promoting understanding and building nationhood." In this way, Māori Television can be seen as pandering to the majority culture, as Māori viewership of Māori Television, 'for its own sake', was not mentioned. This rhetoric was challenged by Tahu Potiki (former board member of MTS), when he posed the question "borne out of struggle and activism, what responsibility do Indigenous broadcasters have to remain activist, or alternatively take on the role of nation- building?" (cited in Abel, 2013, p.207).

In constructing a communications framework for "by Māori for Māori Television", Barclay's (1990) describes "talking in" (p.74) as a method of presenting Māori-centric media which draws on Indigenous understandings, so can therefore speak to those with an intimate knowledge of the culture. In this way, conceptualisation of Indigenous knowledge woven into western frames of understanding, is actively resisted. "Talking in" locates the responsibility of Māori media producers, with Māori audiences, rather than with funders or for commercial imperatives. "Talking out" on the other hand, refers to the act of explaining the inner workings of a culture to an outside audience. Given Māori Television operates within a frame

of mainstream communications, the consistent pressure to “talk out” negates opportunities for “talking in”. Barclay (1990) found the process of “talking out” unrewarding (Strickland, 2013) and of the experience he wrote:

The majority culture seem to have ears like sponge: you can talk your tongue off, year after year; the ears flap, but in the end you feel you have spent your life speaking to a great sponge which does not seem to learn, but which is ever eager to absorb more (p.76).

Māori Television follows a mandate in that it is required to enrich culture and heritage for all New Zealanders; however if Barclay’s conceptual framework on Indigenous media is to be followed, MTS’s responsibility and capacity for ‘talking out’ is questionable.

2.17 THE FIGHT FOR A MĀORI TELEVISION SERVICE

As previously mentioned, the 1970s saw a massive surge in Māori activism, with organisations such as the Māori Council and Te Reo Māori Society, demanding better representation of Māori in broadcasting. Fox (2002) asserts “Like the land, the public broadcasting system is a vital present day resource, and as such Māori are legally entitled to an equal share of it” (p. 206). The Treaty of Waitangi provided the platform from which Māori were able to wrangle access to television broadcasting. In 1985 Ngā Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo (the Wellington Board of Māori Language) and others took a case to the Waitangi Tribunal arguing that the Crown had a responsibility to protect Māori language and culture as stipulated by the Treaty. The Tribunal agreed with the claimants, and recommended that the State make provisions for the protection of *te reo* primarily in broadcasting, education and social policy (Pihama, 1996).

Significantly, the government resisted and refused to act until it had passed the State-Owned Enterprises Act in 1986, as touched on in the previous section. Abel (2011) argues the Crown’s resistance to allocate Māori a rightful share in broadcasting has maintained Pākehā privilege in the mediasphere, and finds it difficult to interpret their actions “as anything other than State sanctioned racism” (p.128). Ngā Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo anticipated that the transfer of State broadcasting assets to a SOE would hinder the ability of the Crown to preserve and protect *te reo* Māori. After an unsuccessful High Court hearing to prevent the transfer of assets to an SOE, they appealed to the Privy Council in London. Notably, the organisation had scant financial resources with which to fight the New Zealand government’s position, however managed to pursue the case (Walker, 2004). Although the case did not stop the transfer of broadcasting assets, the ruling remained significant as the Privy Council recognised the

Crown's obligation to preserve and protect Māori language and culture. This ruling was important, as it led to the first Māori Television pilot, Aotearoa Television Network, the precursor to the Māori Television Service, which is explored in the following section.

2.18 AOTEAROA TELEVISION NETWORK (ATN)

As a direct result of Māori political agitation, the first Māori channel pilot the Aotearoa Television Network (ATN) eventuated in 1996. Veteran Māori broadcaster Deborah Reweti describes the network as an “unfortunate experiment” (2006, p.185). The way in which ATN was established has been highly criticised for a number of reasons; firstly, it was a thirteen week pilot which according to Fox (2002) was not long enough to prove its viability in the industry. Secondly, its transmitter station had limited range, only reaching Auckland audiences. Thirdly, money for programming was well under par thereby diminishing the product compared with mainstream programming, and lastly, very little planning that went in to the project - no feasibility studies, strategic or management forecasting that would normally go in to a similar project. Walker (2004) asserts these and other reasons, “were warning signs the project was set up to fail” (p.337). The ATN pilot became shrouded in controversy when its executive producer Tukuroirangi Morgan, purchased menswear to the tune of four thousand dollars, with ATN funds; the cause célèbre' being a pair of \$89 underwear. The spending scandal spread like wildfire in mainstream media, with one journalist 'calling out' noted broadcaster Paul Holmes as Morgan's primary antagonist:

The result in my view was a 'pukeko court' carried out by mainstream media which set out to obliterate not only the channel but also the entire infrastructure of Māori television. The ferocity with which Paul Holmes pursued Tukuroirangi Morgan was a reflection of what New Zealanders had been encouraged to believe i.e. that we couldn't manage our way out of a paper bag and were riddled with nepotism (Piripi, 2003, cited in Walker, 2004) .

Accordingly, the underpants scandal was widely publicised by the New Zealand mainstream media, because it served to perpetuate and confirm a national discourse of Māori inability to manage their finances (Abel & Smith, 2006). As an ATN executive, clearly Morgan's decision to spend the network's money on clothing and underwear, was incredibly poor; however this kind of spending among television executives within the broadcasting industry in New Zealand, was not uncommon (Pouwhare, 2012; Sinton, 2015). Furthermore, Walker (2004) asserts the mainstream media attacks on Morgan, despite his being cleared of any misdemeanour, rendered the rollover of another ATN contract as “politically untenable” (p.339) and as such the channel was forced to close down. Unsurprisingly, mainstream media attention focused

on the failed Māori television pilot, while managing to completely avoid the context in which it occurred (Abel and Smith, 2006).

Despite the spending scandal, ATN had met all of the deadlines set by the State, and produced more programming than stipulated in the pilot contract. According to Horrocks and Perry (2004), the programming produced by ATN was successful despite its funding falling short of industry standards; although some of it varied in quality, Walker (2004) confirms it was nonetheless inspiring for the Māori viewing audience to be able to identify with the programming produced. The pilot had effectively demonstrated that Māori had the talent and ability to establish a television network (Pihama, 1996; Walker, 2004). What also emerged from the thirteen week pilot was that a Māori owned, a Māori managed and marketed television network was viable. Although the closure of ATN was a setback for those campaigning for a Māori television service, significantly, the exercise could be seen as a positive affirmation of two things: television broadcasting had the power to support and sustain *te reo Māori me ngā tikanga*, and despite the spending scandal, Māori broadcasting professionals had the ability to establish a network, and produce quality programming on a shoestring budget.

2.19 THE MĀORI TELEVISION SERVICE

The launch of the free-to-air Māori Television Service (MTS) in 2004 marked a cornerstone in Māori cultural politics. As before mentioned, Māori Television is the result Māori political agitation for the New Zealand government to honour its obligations in protecting Māori language and culture, within the wider context of colonisation. Walker (2004) describes the occasion as a “cultural celebration of triumph over adversity, the dawning of a new age of Māori modernity in the twenty-first century” (p. 402). Given the cultural, historical and political context of MTS, it encapsulates more than a television broadcaster; “it is a media producer dedicated to strengthening Indigenous voices and cultural knowledge” (Smith, 2013). In over a decade since its launch, MTS has been hailed as a successful achievement in New Zealand television broadcasting. As the world’s second Indigenous broadcaster, the service has aided significantly in raising the profile of Māori language, culture, custom, society and history unparalleled in television history, with both Māori and non-Māori audiences steadily increasing each year. In screening Māori-centric content seven days a week, it has developed a second channel, aptly named *Te Reo* in 2008. Its programming comprises a minimum of 80

per cent locally made programming, and with a focus on its digital platforms, provides up to 300 hours of on-demand viewing.

The political economy in which Māori Television sits, requires careful consideration: in the first instance MTS was not established, out of what Abel (2013) describes as “the benevolence of the government” (p.205), as there had been State resistance to it from the outset. Walker (2004) in his seminal work *Ka whawhai tonu matou*, documents the considerable ‘ill will’ from a section of the non-Māori public. For instance, National MP Murray McCully was noted saying, “It is just rubbish that we have got taxpayers funding that sort of expensive programming... For what is going to be an audience you could count on one hand” (Armstrong, 2002). Notably, Reweti (2006) refutes with, “the taxpayer funds argument is an old chestnut for two basic reasons: Māori pay tax and taxpayer funds were used to establish TVNZ” (p.185). By the same token, the leadership of the National Party at the time, made it clear that if they came to power they would disestablish the network (Abel, 2013). Although the National Party did not disestablish the network when they came in to power in 2008, it clearly demonstrates hostility directed toward the network. As such, Māori Television has had to continually justify its existence and adopt strategies to proffer both public and political good will. As the recipient of what Smith & Abel (2008, p.6) call “bicultural benevolence” in terms of funding, Māori Television follows a public service legislative mandate (inform, educate and entertain), in addition to upholding the responsibility to enrich New Zealand society, heritage and culture.

Although these strategies were crucial in establishing MTS, it has become the nation’s default public broadcaster (Smith, 2015). Māori television has a high viewership of non-Māori audiences because of its public service characteristics, some 83 per-cent of its viewing audience (Nielsen, 2010). Former General Manager of programming Larry Parr points out, “the channel has attracted disenfranchised [Pākehā] viewers from the mainstream channels, who like Māori Television because of its public service broadcasting and minimal advertising”, although he is quick to remark, “has come at the expense of our own *rangatahi* (Parr, 2007 cited in Smith & Abel, 2008). For Smith (2015), the benefits of Māori Television to non-Māori, should be a secondary consideration. A public service mandate “imposes a Pākehā lens on a Māori media initiative” (p.4). Smith’s point is nuanced against the backdrop of Māori exclusion from the public sphere and participation in New Zealand public broadcasting. Before the advent of Māori television, Māori programming equated to a mere 1 percent, most of which made about Māori, rather than for Māori (Dunleavy, 2005). Smith (2015) points out, that it is

not the role of Māori Television to fill a public service void in the larger context New Zealand broadcasting because the State no longer values it, nor is it to satisfy the majority culture's want of a public service channel. Becoming the nation's default public broadcaster comes at the expense of its prime objective, to promote and protect Māori language and culture.

2.20 CONCLUSION

To summarise, this literature review has canvassed numerous topics which are interwoven to create the terrain in which Māori television has arisen. Māori have been at the forefront of political protest for over 30 years in a bid for State recognition of its obligation to protect Māori language and culture. Māori Television has arisen as a direct result of those efforts. This research has located Māori within the wider context of the process of colonisation, and the subsequent marginalisation and disadvantage this has caused socially, economically and politically. Despite the setbacks, Māori Television has proven itself to be successful and financially responsible organisation, and more specifically, it demonstrates a unique and successful partnership between Māori and the Crown. Māori who were once excluded from the mediated public sphere, now have a voice, and the Crown has gained a visible 'healthy and whole' treaty partner in a bid to strengthen its bicultural relationship. In what Abel and Smith (2008) have described bicultural benevolence, Māori Television has become responsible for enriching New Zealand society, culture and heritage, as well as meeting the needs of a wide viewing audience. Such a mandate has indeed attracted a widespread non-Māori viewership of Māori Television, with unintended benefits of creating a public service broadcaster for these audiences. In light of Smith's (2015) assessment, Māori Television's responsibility in providing the nation with public service broadcasting, in a political climate which does not value it, may come at the expense of Māori viewers. Furthermore, given its imperative to enrich culture and heritage for all, its ability to service its Māori viewers in terms of transformative power and political self-determination remains questionable.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Chapter Introduction:

The review of literature has explored the various social, economic and political factors in Aotearoa New Zealand, which have led to the establishment of the Māori Television Service (MTS), and has further explored the New Zealand media terrain in which MTS is positioned. This chapter begins by exploring *kaupapa* Māori as the key research paradigm, and then moves to examine the emergence of kaupapa Māori theory as a methodological approach. This section then discusses culturally appropriate ways of undertaking *kaupapa* Māori research and working with Māori communities, with the specific aim to provide research outcomes that are beneficial and useful for Māori communities.

3.1 KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH PARADIGM

In order to situate the research paradigm, *kaupapa* Māori is explored as both an epistemological and ontological approach. Ontology can be described as a theory of being, and is concerned with the fundamental nature of reality, or 'what is real' (Neuman, 2010, p.92). Flowing from this, epistemology has to do with ways of knowing; the theoretical study of what knowledge is and how it might be assessed (Arrowsmith, 2009). These definitions are useful because when applied to the *kaupapa* Māori paradigm, they help to shape the researcher's understanding of Māori ways of being and knowing and therefore, what knowledge counts in the study to which it is applied, and its place in the world (Henry, 2012). In this way, *kaupapa* Māori is an ontological and epistemological philosophy out which knowledge production occurs for, by and with Māori (Henry and Pene, 2001).

3.2 THE EMERGENCE OF KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORY

Kaupapa Māori emerged out of growing frustration from both Māori communities researched by non-Māori researchers, and Māori academics who sought to define Māori knowledge in the face of Eurocentric constructions of 'being' and 'knowing', perpetuated by the dominant Pākehā culture. As with other Indigenous peoples, researchers have taken Māori knowledge and claimed as their own, therefore assuming the position of authority on Māori culture and discussing Māori lives and experiences in ways which are alien to Māori understanding

(Mahuika, 2008). Cram (1992) points out that a product of colonisation has been the stream of social scientists who have sought to define Māori knowledge; what must be recognised however, is that it is they who have constructed the research questions, and decide how the data will be collected. In many cases, it is Māori who are framed as culturally deficit, and see the locus of the problem as lack of ability, lack of cultural appropriateness or lack of resources, in relation to Pākehā counterparts (Bishop, 2010).

Cram (1992) asserts, the low socio-economic status of Māori, the high crime rates, the disproportionate imprisonment rates, high unemployment, ill health and low educational attainments are already known (p.29); however what is needed now is research that can inform solutions. In this way *kaupapa* Māori is transformative, in that it seeks to produce knowledge which is beneficial for Māori communities. Linda Smith (2012, p.175, 176) has proposed a set of questions which should be addressed when undertaking *kaupapa* Māori research:

3.3 TABLE 5: CRITICAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Who defined the research problem?
2. For whom is this study worthy and relevant? Who says so?
3. What knowledge will the community gain from this study?
4. What knowledge will the researcher gain from this study?
5. What are some of the likely positive outcomes from this study?
6. What are some of the possible negative outcomes?
7. How can the negative outcomes be eliminated?
8. To whom is the researcher accountable?
9. What processes are in place to support the research, the researched and the researcher?

In this way, *kaupapa* Māori is closely aligned with critical theory in that it seeks to transform the position of Māori as the colonised from the dominant culture’s hegemonic constraints. Critical theory is a perspective that holds that the “social world is characterised by differences arising out of conflict between the powerful and powerless” (Mumford & Walsh-Tapiata, 2001, p.20) and is drawn out of Marxist theory (Crotty, 1998). In line with this theoretical framework, Māori as a people impacted by colonisation, have lost their capital and the power that comes with it. Pihama (1994) suggests:

Intrinsic to *kaupapa* Māori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities. *Kaupapa* Māori theory therefore aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing the underlying assumptions that serve to conceal power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of ‘common sense’ and ‘facts’ to provide ad hoc justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori people (p.57).

Therefore a *kaupapa* Māori framework acknowledges structural inequalities which exist in society, and deems it is necessary to expose the forces that have created them, so that these disparities may be confronted and challenged and change can occur. However, as Eketone (2008) points out, it is important to understand that *kaupapa* Māori uses critical theory, but is not defined by it. Therefore, this framing may challenge and critique the hegemonic forces of the dominant culture, but its primary focus should be to legitimise and validate Māori knowledge, processes and cultural values, not for the sake of challenging the status quo, but because, as Māori, it is right and normal to do so.

Nevertheless, in challenging the status quo and actively pursuing the Treaty of Waitangi as a mechanism for change and equality, Māori have won some concessions by which to explore alternative research priorities utilizing *kaupapa* Māori. For Smith (2012) however, the space to explore the *kaupapa* Māori research paradigm is severely limited, as “the right to do so must continuously be justified in the face of government and positivistic scientists whose regard for Māori tends to be less than sympathetic” (p.191). Accordingly, positivist science is well established institutionally and theoretically; however it is rooted in ‘common sense’ which, generally speaking, is representative of hegemonic ideology. In many cases of research on Māori the positivist approach tells us what is already known, such as the low socio-economic status, low educational attainment levels, high incarceration and poor health, which reinforce negative stereotypes of Māori (Cram, 1992; Stokes, 1985).

Although brought to the fore in recent years, it would be misleading to suggest *kaupapa* Māori is a new phenomenon; nor is it a reinvention of existing Western theories cleverly disguised in culturally appropriate vocabulary and attire (Mahuika, 2008). *Kaupapa* Māori is a body of knowledge with distinct epistemological and metaphysical foundations (Nepe, 1991), or as Smith (199, p.1) asserts “the philosophy and practice of being Māori”. This supports the view that Māori have a unique and distinct world view and is therefore closely linked with Māori language, culture and identity. However, a common criticism is that *kaupapa* Māori in this way, poses the danger of essentialising both Māori people and culture, perpetuating a romanticised Māori history and present (Bishop, 2003). Similarly, Lopez (1998) suggests:

There is an assumption that you make between being an insider and having access to the truth, the Māori truth. Your push for process – to work collaboratively with Māori by establishing one’s positionality and by following an elaborate practice that is grounded in Māori cultural traditions – subscribes to a logic that not only assumes that insiders can speak, but that they all speak in the same voice (p. 228).

The homogenisation of Māori people is a common criticism of *kaupapa* Māori, as it seeks to legitimise and authenticate what might appear as a singular way of Māori ‘being’ and ‘knowing’. However it would be erroneous to suggest that Māori people do not have common characteristics which bind them as a people. These sets of beliefs and social mores are referred to as *tikanga*, and although they can vary between tribal areas, there are general principles which can be agreed upon. In the context of this research, this is a kaupapa Māori code of ethics. On a discussion of Māori cosmology Henare (1998, p.3) elucidates:

Māori religion is not found in a set of sacred books or dogma, the culture *is* the religion. History points Māori people and their religion being constantly open to evaluation and questioning in order to seek that which is *tika*, the right way. Maintaining *tika* is the means whereby ethics and values can be identified.

The contemporary use of *kaupapa* Māori is imbued with *tika* (that which is right and true), and the social practices associated with the right way, *tikanga* (Henry, 2012). Smith (2012, p.124) has identified a set of preferred ethical considerations when undertaking *kaupapa* Māori research.

3.4 TABLE 6: KAUPAPA MĀORI ETHICAL GUIDELINES

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

It should be noted however, that values are not prescribed codes of conduct for researchers, but ethical considerations for Māori researchers in cultural terms, and are by no means exhaustive. Smith (2012, p.121) describes “four major tides” as States of being through which Indigenous communities move: “survival, recovery, development and self-determination”. The *kaupapa* Māori researcher has a role in every element of this process from the ability to support and inform Māori communities, the knowledge to direct the further development, academic rigour within the academy and importantly, to validate the work according to Māori ways of being and knowing (Henry, 2012).

Despite the many discussions on *kaupapa* Māori as a theory and practise, it remains notoriously difficult to find a Māori scholar who can provide an explicit and definitive explanation of what kaupapa Māori is, and how it should be practised in research. Many will

speak of *kaupapa* Māori 'guidelines' or define what it is not, for fear it may limit both its effectiveness and widespread application (Mahuika, 2008). As before mentioned, this is due in part, to the illusion of the heterogeneous nature of Māori people who are as diverse as any (Mahuika, 2008). Further, as Smith (2000) points out, there is the danger that defining and codifying *kaupapa* Māori theory and practice would reduce it to a set of simplistic procedures which "may be helpful to outsiders, but mask the underlying issues and is a deeply cynical approach to a complex history of involvement as research objects" (p.242). Therefore, *kaupapa* Māori theory and practice necessitates diverse mechanisms for conduct, interpretation and application, which will depend largely on academic discipline and tribal affiliation and may also impact on the way a person interprets a cultural concept or practise. This links to a further consideration of who can conduct *kaupapa* Māori research.

3.5 WHO CAN 'DO' KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH?

Drawing heavily on the work of Linda Smith (2012), it is vital to discuss who may write or talk about *kaupapa* Māori research. Notably, not all Māori researchers would regard themselves or their research as fitting a *kaupapa* Māori framework. For example, Smith (201, p.186) poses the question, 'can a researcher who is anti-Māori conduct kaupapa Māori research carry out *kaupapa* Māori research?' to which the response would be a definitive, 'no'. However, she argues that a non-Indigenous, a non-Māori person can be involved in kaupapa Māori research, but not on their own because they would have ways of positioning themselves as a non-Indigenous person. From a more 'radical' perspective, by definition *kaupapa* Māori is Māori research exclusively. Conversely, Stokes (1985) argues racial or biological origins is less important, rather what is essential is that the researcher should be competent in both cultures, bicultural and preferably bilingual (p.9). Irwin (1994), however, proposes *kaupapa* Māori research should be culturally safe, culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research, and importantly, "should be undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Māori" (p.27). In order to amalgamate these views, Smith (1990) has identified four concepts related to how culturally appropriate research may be conducted:

3.6 TABLE 7: CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE WAYS OF CONDUCTING KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH.

1. Is related to being Māori
2. Is connected to Māori philosophy and principles
3. Takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture
4. Is concerned with ‘the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing’

Significantly, other Indigenous researchers have drawn extensively on *kaupapa* Māori research literature in order to develop their own research model. For example, Porsanger is a Sami researcher who has adapted *kaupapa* Māori research for Indigenous research purposes, noted, “The process of decolonisation requires new, critically evaluated methodologies and new, ethically and culturally acceptable approaches to the study of Indigenous issues, and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes” (2007, p. 107). In this way, *kaupapa* Māori can serve as a methodology which is not Eurocentric in nature and origin.

3.7 KAUPAPA MĀORI AS A METHODOLOGY

There is a criticism that *kaupapa* Māori is not a specific methodology per se, in that in order to constitute the status of a methodology, it must employ specific methods which are unique to all other defined disciplines. Moewaka-Barnes (2000) contends that this research takes a distinctive approach which arises from its world-view which is particular to Māori, and that the problem arises from dominating Eurocentric perspectives which fail to recognise both power and methods, as they occupy the position of normality and privilege. Thus, Eurocentric research assumes universality, *kaupapa* Māori recognises and acknowledges the research as relevant to Māori (Cram, 1992). A further criticism of *kaupapa* research as a methodology is that it is biased and cannot be neutral or objective given its particular emphasis on empowerment for Māori. At times, this may be true and as Walker, Eketone & Gibbs (2006) argue, *kaupapa* Māori research methodology is not alone in its aspirations of empowerment and that “the need to benefit Māori through research is a political activity like any other research strategy” (p.337). In this way, *kaupapa* Māori research constitutes a methodology.

In applying a *kaupapa* Māori framework to this research there are two predominate considerations: the first is located within the realm of ethical principles and practises between myself as the researcher and in this case, the Māori research participants. The second is located within knowledge production, in that the research should achieve specific and

empowering outcomes for Māori communities. Smith (2005) argues, that those who employ a *kaupapa* Māori approach are “consciously employing a specific set of arguments, principles and frameworks that relate to the purpose, ethics, and analyses, and outcomes of research” (p.90). Therefore, consistent reflection and critique of the researcher’s own practices is necessary in order to examine power dynamics during the research process, in order to ensure *tikanga* is adhered to, and careful consideration given to the transformative outcomes of the research.

3.8 CONCLUSION

As uncovered in the review of literature, MTS arose out of thirty years of Māori political resistance to structural inequality, resulting from the process of colonisation. The research is centred on Māori perceptions of the Māori Television Service, as such has shaped and informed the research methodology covered in this section. Although it may seem a relatively simplistic question on the surface, given the social and political circumstances in which the television network arose, it remains a complex and multifaceted issue (Liu, 2005). In order to address this research, *kaupapa* Māori as both a philosophical approach and a methodology, has been selected as the most appropriate tool for analysis for two reasons: the research concerns working with Māori communities and aims to provide beneficial research outcomes for Māori.

Chapter 4: Method

Chapter Introduction:

This section provides a description of the methods employed to collect the data. Although *kaupapa* Māori informs this research, there are two specific methodological tools used, both quantitative and qualitative in nature. The first was a survey of 278 Māori participants, the second is two focus groups with a total of 21 Māori participants. This chapter outlines the design of the research, including the rationalisation of a mixed methods approach, it then delineates the recruitment process, and a justification of the way in which the participants were recruited. It was decided to represent the quantitative data in a series of ‘visualisations’ inspired by the Māori art of *tāniko*, using the *nihoniho* and *niho taniwha* motifs, while the focus groups are categorised using a method of thematic analysis.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Kaupapa Māori as examined in the previous chapter, informs the approach for this inquiry in that it relates specifically to conducting research with Māori participants, and demands the production of knowledge which can be useful to Māori communities (Smith, 2012), so is therefore deemed most appropriate for the specific task of understanding ‘Māori perceptions of the Māori television service’. The challenge has been to develop a set of tools which would allow for the collection of reliable data in order to provide a snapshot of a wide range of Māori perceptions of MTS, while enabling the exploration of more in-depth insights of Māori viewership. For these reasons, it was decided to amalgamate qualitative and quantitative research methods. The quantitative method chosen was an online survey, as it was envisaged this would provide an overall snapshot of Māori perceptions of Māori Television, allowing for a wide range of data from a wide sample. The qualitative method chosen was focus groups, with the aim of providing in-depth understanding and contextualisation of these perceptions from a small sample of Māori participants.

In order to guide the research design, I was inspired to look to *te ao* Māori for a way of making sense and meaning in my research design. It was then that I thought of the *tāniko* weaving tradition, which is a particular weave developed by Māori and not used by other Polynesian groups (Te Kanawa, 2014). The weave is used for predominately decorative purposes. In this way the *tāniko* model I propose here is used largely in terms of making sense or clarifying the research design and embellishment, as aligned with the original purpose of *tāniko*. Two of the

distinct patterns found in the weave are small and large triangles which are called *nihoniho* (small teeth, akin to sharks teeth) and *niho taniwha* which are of course, the larger teeth referring to the teeth of the *taniwha* (Te Kanawa, 2014). With the utilisation of the two distinctly Māori motifs, the purpose of the research design model is to visualise how each element of the research serves a purpose and culminates to form a distinctive 'whole'.

4.2 FIGURE 1: RESEARCH DESIGN

4.2a Research Question: What are Māori Perceptions of Māori Television?



This model visualises the design of this research, in which each *nihoniho* represents each element of the research design phase, and together all culminate to form the *niho taniwha* or the finished piece. In this model, the largest triangle, the *niho taniwha* represents the structure of the entire thesis, while the *nihoniho* the smaller teeth, and represent each phase of research that contributes to the thesis as a whole.

The tip of the *niho taniwha* is where the 'review of literature' is situated, as it informs the study. The *kaupapa* Māori perspective is placed in the 'negative space, or white space', form *nihoniho* inversely, because although the research is informed by the review of literature, the *kaupapa* Māori perspective and philosophy informs the literature which has been reviewed. It is important here to note that the interplay between positive and negative spaces is characteristic in Māori art forms (Witehira, 2013), and here it has been located in the negative space, in order to present an outlook which remains intangible.

Again incorporating the use of the negative space, a large tooth or *niho taniwha* represents the *kaupapa* Māori research paradigm, as a methodology and is located at the heart of this research and informs every aspect of this research. *Kaupapa* Māori methodology requires that Māori participants are treated according to specific sets of ethics and that the knowledge produced is beneficial to Māori communities (Smith, 2012).

As before mentioned, there are two specific sets of data, a survey which is quantitative and will produce a broad yet shallow snapshot of Māori perceptions of Māori Television, while the qualitative data in the form of focus groups, should provide more in-depth, insightful data. The survey will be presented visually in the form of graphs with explanations, while the focus groups data will be categorised according to thematic analysis. The new data is also represented by *nihoniho* located within the negative space, as the knowledge which is produced comes from the heart of the research and is not yet tangible, or in the realm of that which is tangible.

4.3 MIXED METHODS

In conducting research from an Indigenous perspective, Walter (2005) argued that quantitative methods are powerful analytical research tools, however the likelihood of Indigenous researchers using such methods remains relatively rare, because of its tendency to generalise information, so there are fears that quantitative research marginalises Indigenous voices. Māori scholars including Smith (2012) and Walker (2004) have argued, that the attempt to quantify Māori ways of being and knowing through the mechanisms of traditional forms of research, has been a disservice to Māori communities. Bishop (1998) reinforces this point when he notes “traditional research has misrepresented Māori... ways of knowing by simplifying, and commodifying Māori knowledge for consumption by the colonisers, thereby denying Māori an authentic voice” (p.200). Therefore, it is unsurprising that many Indigenous researchers opt for qualitative methods of research to give voice to those marginalise communities and to avoid generalising Māori ways of being and knowing.

However quantitative methods are powerful analytical research tools, and can be useful in evaluating Māori perceptions for this particular research. Therefore, Māori researchers should not exclude themselves from undertaking a quantitative approach to research, particularly when the research is steeped within a *kaupapa* Māori tradition; to do so would be to deny the

extensive suite of tools available to all researchers (Henry, 2012). In acknowledging the value of a mixed methods approach, Durie (2004) writes:

Indigenous knowledge cannot be verified by scientific criteria nor can science be adequately assessed according to the tenets of Indigenous knowledge. Each is built on distinctive philosophies, methodologies, and criteria, contests about the validities of the two systems tend to serve as distractions from explorations of the interface, and the subsequent opportunities for creating new knowledge that reflects the dual persuasions (p.1138).

In the amalgamation of both qualitative and quantitative mechanisms, research potency is greatly improved (see Berger, 1963. P.3). This view is reinforced by Forster (2003) who writes:

Māori people have a unique body knowledge that, while based on ancestral traditions has adapted to meet contemporary challenges. It provides a model for interaction between Māori knowledge and Western scientific tradition can be used together to resolve critical failings in previous research and advance the aspirations of the Māori people (p.47).

In drawing on a quantitative data set, it is anticipated that this research will provide a broad snapshot of Māori perceptions of Māori Television utilising numerical, and therefore measurable data. The qualitative research will lend itself to understanding how Māori 'perceive' Māori Television, and what their 'lived' experiences are within their own terms. As Sherman and Webb (1988) affirm, "qualitative implies a direct concern with experiences as it is 'lived' or 'felt' or 'undergone'" (p.7). In the amalgamation of both quantitative and qualitative methods, it is foreseen that the perceived dangers to Indigenous peoples through empirical research, can be mitigated. In adopting a mixed methods approach, a framework can be established which "marries Māori knowledge and Eurocentric social science in a mutually beneficial relationship" (Henry, 2012, p.81).

4.4 RECRUITMENT OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The purpose of this research is to investigate Māori perceptions of Māori Television. Therefore, the population of interest includes those who identify as Māori and were willing to participate in the study. The participants for the focus groups were recruited from both the researcher's personal networks, and advertising for research participants through posters placed around the university. Initially, it was thought that posters advertising for Māori research participants would produce enough volunteers for the focus groups, however very little interest was received (see Appendix F for posters). As a result, it was decided to take a more direct approach. I took the poster advertisements to the Faculty of Māori Development,

and asked for the assistance of staff to direct Māori student's attention to the posters advertising for Māori participants. The *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) approach in accordance with *kaupapa* Māori, attracted more interest in the study. It was decided from the outset of the research that the survey would be delivered online via the medium of Facebook, an initial 'post' would be made requesting self-identified Māori people to participate in the survey, and for friends to 'share' the 'post' to their 'walls' thus creating a snowball effect.

4.5 MĀORI IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

As explored in the literature review, discourses surrounding ethnic and racial identity are somewhat complex and multifaceted in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Liu, 2005); factors such as colonisation and the subsequent urbanisation of Māori, and intermarriage with Pākehā and other races has affected Māori identity in vast and varied ways. Durie (1994) argues that there is no exact measurement of what constitutes Māori identity because contemporarily, it continues to form and evolve. However, Graham (2009, p.1) argues it is *whakapapa* (genealogy) which gives license to be Māori, he writes "Whakapapa identifies who I am, where I am from and in doing so, identifies a place that I can proudly call my *tūrangawaewae*" (place of standing, right or residence). So although on both the advertisement requesting Māori participants, and the research participant information forms, people were asked to self-identify as Māori, during the processes of the focus group and survey, participants were asked to identify their *whakapapa*. In the survey, this was posed as a question and during the focus group, in accordance with *tikanga* Māori, was incorporated in to the introduction process. However, here, it is important to note that the participant's ability or inability to identify their *whakapapa*, did not exclude them from the study. Provisions were made to allow for answers from those Māori who may not know their *whakapapa* for the aforementioned reasons. Significantly however, all participants, although in varying degrees, were able to identify their Māori ancestral links.

Akin to the opportunity for research participants to self-identify as Māori, it was decided from the outset of this research that there would be no set parameters imposed on what constitutes viewership of Māori Television; rather, participants would self-identify as viewers of Māori Television. Essentially, the researcher did not impose any minimum viewing time of Māori Television to qualify as a viewer of Māori Television. However, there were specific questions pertaining to viewership, such as 'when did you start watching Māori Television, what you do and don't like watching on Māori Television' and 'do you intentionally tune in to

Māori Television, or is it a case of channel surfing?’ In this way, it became possible to ascertain that participants did indeed watch Māori Television to some degree. To reiterate, recruitment was based on self-identification as Māori and as a viewer of Māori Television and these remained the primary pre-requisite to participation in the study.

4.6 THE SURVEY

As previously mentioned, the survey fulfils the quantitative component of the research and was undertaken to provide a snapshot of Māori viewership of Māori Television. The sample of potential participants for the survey was initially to be drawn from my ‘friends list’ on Facebook. As a researcher who identifies as Māori, and is of Māori descent, I am also ‘connected’ via the medium of Facebook, to others who also identify as Māori. Accessing potential participants in this way could be construed as ‘convenience sampling’ as this group of Māori described are both convenient and accessible to the researcher. This sampling method has been criticised as it is not necessarily representative of a total population, which according to Castillo (2009) could lead to sampling bias. Sampling bias in this instance however, was not considered to be problematic given the relatively small section of the population the study was targeting. From the outset it was envisaged that Māori connected to the researcher via Facebook would undertake the survey and then re-post for other Māori they are connected to, to participate also. This method known as ‘snowball’ sampling is effective in research concerned with locating smaller subgroups of a population, or ‘hidden’ populations (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981), including marginalised and minority groups.

As envisaged, the snowballing method allowed for the recruitment of potential participants through the initial participants, and my access to Māori viewers of Māori Television, was greatly increased. Within two days of the initial ‘post’, the survey received 282 responses. Aside from the increased access to Māori research participants, the decision to conduct the survey through snowballing and online, presented two primary benefits, in that it provided the platform for participants to self-identify as Māori and as viewers of Māori Television, but it also presented the opportunity for potential participants to choose to take part without obligation to do so, because friends or acquaintances had directly requested it. Although diverse representation is by no means guaranteed in this study, the method allowed for access to a large group of Māori viewers, and in this instance facilitated two primary objectives I had initially set: that participants could choose freely and without obligation to respond, and that they could self-identify as Māori and viewers of Māori Television. Moreover, an additional

benefit of 'sharing' the post via Facebook, was that it enabled participants to communicate with me directly, although they were not 'connected' to me directly. Several participants did contact me in order to have *kōrero* surrounding the survey questions.

The survey was facilitated by Survey Monkey, an online surveying tool which enables anonymous survey responses. Participants were informed that they would be consenting to participation by submitting their responses electronically via notification at the beginning of the survey. The survey was 'posted' to Facebook on the 21st of September 2015, and was subsequently 'shared' by 52 participants connected to the researcher. As before mentioned, in two days the survey been taken by 288 respondents. In recruiting survey participants on social media, it was not foreseen that I would obtain a cross-section of demographics to use in this study. One of the potential biases the snowballing method is largely criticised for, is representativeness of the sample it can yield. The reason for this is that people tend to nominate those they know well, and if the majority of the sample group share similar traits and characteristics, it may not yield diverse results (Heckathorn, 1997). It was anticipated that because participants would 'post' the survey, rather than ask their connections personally to undertake the survey, this bias may be mitigated. However, the results yielded a larger ratio of female to male respondents; of every 10 participants 7.5 were female, and 2.5 were male. Furthermore, 40 % of all respondents were in the age bracket of 35-44 years of age. This may be significant as I am both female and I fall within the majority response age bracket. Nevertheless, the study does contain a range of participant demographics and represents some diversity and variety.

As the survey was quantitative in nature and primarily concerned with a complete view and context using numerical data and Likert scales, there were less opportunities to incorporate *kaupapa* Māori. Nevertheless, *kaupapa* Māori was incorporated in several ways. This included lines of questioning around *whakapapa* and tribal affiliations, which all participants were able to articulate. There was an optional question for those who identified as Māori but were unsure of their tribal affiliations, however of the 288 participants, not one claimed to fit into this category. Additionally, as Smith (2012, p.187) has outlined, there are culturally appropriate ways of conducting *kaupapa* Māori research:

4.7 TABLE 8: HOW THE SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED

Culturally appropriate	How the survey was conducted
1. Is related to being Māori	The entire survey is concerned with being Māori and Māori perceptions of Māori Television
2. Is connected to Māori philosophies and principles	Māori philosophies and principles were drawn on when constructing the survey questions; respondents were required to draw on their own knowledge of Māori philosophies and principles to form an opinion
3. Takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture	The survey affirms the validity and legitimacy of Māori and the importance of Māori language and culture, as it essentially what the study is about
4. Is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing'	Participants were asked specifically questions about Māori self-determination regarding Māori Television

4.8 THE VISUALISATION OF SURVEY DATA

With a background in Māori media and design, coupled with a strong interest in visual communication, I was interested in being able to represent the data in such a way that could represent the knowledge as uniquely Māori, but would also enhance the understanding of the data produced. McCandless (2014) argues that the art of visualising information is key to understanding it:

Understanding is the key. When you understand something, you're able to perceive its structure: its connections, its relationships, and its significance relative to everything else. How it fits. You see-feel-intuit the fit... when something is contextualised, we can suddenly get it. It feels meaningful to us because it fits into the network of what we already know and understand and can relate to. Our knowledge. (McCandless, 2014, p.1).

The purpose of visualising the survey data is so that it can be understood easily. Accordingly, it should also aid in contextualising the information and demonstrate how it connects and relates to other data. The motifs *nihoniho* and *niho taniwha* in Māori art, specifically in *tāniko* weaving are unique to Māori and are references to 'small teeth' and 'large teeth' (Te Kanawa, 2014). The interplay between the two forms was chosen to demonstrate larger numbers and smaller numbers, and also to represent tension and contrast in the design.

4.9 FOCUS GROUPS

In accordance with a mixed methods approach, the focus groups were conducted to gain qualitative data that would assist in providing depth to this study. At its core, qualitative

research focuses on making meaning and has to do with defining characteristics, people, interactions, setting and experiences. According to Berg (2007, p.3) “quality refers to the what, how, when, and where of a thing – its essence and ambience. Qualitative research thus refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things.” Through this method, I sought to uncover the perceptions of Māori viewers of Māori Television. It was also important, as a *kaupapa* Māori researcher, to ensure the direction of the research held some relevant outcomes for Māori.

Although I had a list of topics for discussion, the participants were actively involved in deciding what key issues were of importance and relevance. The samples of potential focus group participants was a mix of the researcher’s personal networks, and were recruited from AUT University, however it is important to note the participants were unacquainted with each other. The groups were varied in terms of age, ranging from 18 to 57. Both male and female participants were weighted equally, and all had varying degrees of knowledge on Māori Television and Māori media in New Zealand, from advanced to novice. The focus group sessions consisted of ten participants in each, as Cronin (2007) suggests this is the ideal number of participants and is generally agreed upon as the optimum number for free flowing to occur (Bouma, 1996; Carey, 1994; Cronin, 2007). The focus groups were held in October and November, 2015. All participants were given the option to remain anonymous and to withdraw their contributions from the research at any time, however all have been happy to remain a part of the study.

A familiar shared space located in the Faculty of Māori Development provided a comfortable space for the discussions to take place, and discussions were recorded with both a video camera and iPad. The sessions were structured around a focus group schedule (see Appendix C) which outlined a list of topic areas. I began each session with a *mihimihi* and overview of the research project. Participants were then given handouts which included a Consent Form, Participation Information Sheet, and a Discussion Agenda (see Appendices D, C & E). The Consent Form outlined the terms of agreement for participation and provided the necessary authorisation for the focus group data to be used for research purposes. In accordance with the standard ethical procedure outlined by AUT University, participants were asked to sign the consent form prior to the commencement of the session. The Participant Information Sheet (Appendix E) was included to inform participants of potential risks and benefits that may result. The Focus Group Schedule (Appendix C) contained a brief outline of proceedings. This was included in case participants required a sense of direction within the discussions.

After I had completed my *mihimihi* to the group, each participant was invited to do their *Mihimihi* in *te reo* Māori or English to whatever extent they wished. As well as being aligned with a kaupapa Māori research paradigm, the *mihimihi* served as a ‘group activity’ which Kitzinger (1995) suggests helps participants build a rapport with each other, rather than focus on the facilitator. Participants were then shown an 8 minute 2015 Māori Television ‘show reel’ in order to stimulate the discussion. Each session ran for the duration of one hour. On completion of each session, each participant was thanked for their contribution and invited for lunch.

In following a kaupapa Māori paradigm, the sessions were held to according to the principles as discussed in the methodology section (Smith, 1999, p.120):

4.10 TABLE 9: KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH ETHICS

Aroha ki te tangata	Respect for people
Kanohi kitea	Face to face
Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero	Look, listen then speak
Manaaki i te tangata	Be generous
Kia tūpato	Be cautious
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not trample the mana of the people
Kia māhaki	Be humble, do not flaunt your knowledge

The kaupapa Māori principles as outlined by Smith (1999) were easily integrated within the structure of the Focus Groups.

1. Aroha Ki Te Tangata

This was expressed in the provision of a familiar space to the participants. It was important to locate a space where participants were comfortable, and a space which was not strictly the realm of the researcher - this was important in terms of power dynamics. In this way, the space the sessions were held, helped me to assume the position of *teina*, while the research participants became the *tuakana*. In following a kaupapa Māori framework, Bishop (2004) locates the relationship between the researcher and the researched within the paradigm of *tuakana/teina*. In *te ao* Māori, this refers to the relationship between older and younger siblings, in that the more experienced sibling will guide and facilitate the learning of the less experienced, or younger sibling (Salter, 2000). In this instance, it is the researcher who is seeking the knowledge from the participants, so firmly holds the position of *teina* (Ormsby, 1996). From the outset of the group session, the *tuakana/teina* concept was explored with the intention that participants would understand their intrinsic value to the study.

2. Kanohi Kitea

'Face to face' is the preferred method of communication in *te ao Māori*, therefore the Focus Groups were well suited to this kaupapa.

3. Titiro, Whakarongo, Kōrero

This principle was demonstrated during the sessions, through the organic use of facial expression, tone of voice, times of silence, and varying emotions used to facilitate the discussion. As the researcher and facilitator, I tried to only speak when offering encouragement or support, query, evaluate, offer explanations, challenge and acknowledge, yet allow for the flow of *kōrero*.

4. Kia Tūpato

By ensuring the Focus Groups were conducted in culturally safe ways, *kia tūpato* was observed. This was achieved through consultation with Māori within the University, in order to ensure *tikanga* (a Māori of doing things) was followed correctly according to the protocol of the physical space. For example, both the researcher and the participants introduced themselves according to *tikanga* Māori, by identifying their tribal boundaries by river and mountain; if they could not do this, they identified the area in which their *whakapapa* came from. Furthermore, the ethical objectives when conducting research with Māori as outlined by AUT University were also outlined in order to establish ground rules for the discussion.

5. Kia māhaki and Kaua e Takahia Te Mana o Te Tangata

These principles were invoked by the before mentioned *tuakana/teina* positioning of the researcher and the researched, and was honoured by carefully listening, recording and affirming what was said and allowing the research participants to freely offer their experiences and tacit knowing.

6. Manaaki I Te Tangata

Manaakitanga is the expression of love and hospitality and ensures that people are looked after. This was demonstrated throughout the duration of the session, after which the participants were invited to share a lunch in order show appreciation for their time and expertise. Barlow (1994) affirms that is important that peace is prevalent throughout a gathering and sharing kai is one way this is accomplished. As we shared *kai*, the participants volunteered feedback about the experience, which was overwhelmingly positive.

4.11 THEMATIC ANALYSIS

The *Kaupapa* Māori theoretical framework informs and shapes this research, however the raw data from the focus group was analysed thematically. Thematic analysis according to Boyatzis (1998, p.4) may be understood as “a process to be used with qualitative information”: it would seem appropriate given the data gathered from the focus group is qualitative in nature. Undertaking Boyatzis’ (1998) model of thematic analysis, this process is broken down into four stages: “sensing themes”, “doing it reliably”, “developing codes” and “interpreting the information and themes” according to the wider context in which the research sits (p.11). In this way, recurring themes are identified across the raw data set and then organised into ‘codes’. The code is used to analyse the information and is then interpreted within the theoretical framework from which the research emerges. Braun and Clarke’s (2006) model of thematic analysis in particular, has been instrumental in the refining and organisation of ideas and concepts surrounding Māori perceptions of Māori Television.

4.12 TABLE 10: PROCESS OF THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Phase	The Research Process	Researcher Notes
1. Familiarisation with data collected	On completion of the focus groups, tapes were carefully listened to and transcribed. The transcription process allowed for the themes to emerge. Once this process was complete, extensive notes were taken on initial impressions, recurring patterns and interesting features. On completion, this was reviewed again in order to gain familiarity with the data collected.	The focus groups were instrumental in regaining momentum during the research process. Carefully listening, connecting and revising, allowed the perceptions as told by participants, to unfold.
2. Generating initial codes	The initial note-taking phase after the transcription process allowed for the generation of codes. This process allowed for the collation of themes.	The initial note-taking phase identified common words, experiences and standout comments. This process was carried out across all transcripts.
3. Searching for themes	The codes initially established, totalled about 15. Then, after the reviewing and refining process, key themes were categorised from the initial codes.	Once the initial list of codes was established, searching for commonality among them reduced the list and allowed key themes to emerge. This process of ‘back’ and ‘forth’ ensured all

		participants' perceptions were covered.
4. Reviewing themes	At this stage, the transcripts were again reviewed to ensure that the raw data, the initial codes and key themes aligned. This process also allowed for the data to be contextualised within the research.	Again reviewing the transcripts helped to affirm that the codes were aligned with the themes and firmly grounded in the research.
5. Defining and naming themes	The definition and naming of themes became evident by this stage. The five themes that were clearly defined and named were: 1. Accessibility 2. Inclusivity 3. Connectedness 4. Identity 5. Autonomy These themes gave voice to the participants and allowed their insights to become the focus of the thesis discussion, as aligned with <i>kaupapa</i> Māori research paradigm.	Once the codes were converted into themes, the themes were then carefully named. This was a very important aspect of the process, as it needed to convey participant perceptions as accurately as possible, and reflect the discussions that took place.
6. Producing the report	Writing of the thesis allowed for further analysis. Providing a selection of quotes and examples ensured the material was relevant to the research question	The writing up of the thesis confirmed that the five themes were sufficiently aligned with the data obtained.

4.13 CONCLUSION

This section has provided a description of the methods employed to collect the data. This research design entails a mixed methods approach, whereby both quantitative and qualitative tools are undertaken for analysis of the data. A series of visualisations inspired by *tāniko* motifs are used to represent the quantitative data, from which it is intended the numerical descriptions will provide a broad perspective for analysis (Tewksbury, 2009). Thematic analysis is employed to categorise the qualitative data, the aim from which is to gather in-depth data for rich analysis (Berg, 2007). In the amalgamation of the two methods, it is hoped produce knowledge which honours the kaupapa Māori research paradigm and benefits Māori communities, while providing a sense of academic rigour and the usage of all tools available to Indigenous researchers.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis Phase One: Survey

Chapter Introduction:

The analysis followed the collection of the data. Through these processes, the data in its raw state was transformed into useful sets of information, which could then be used to interpret Māori perceptions of Māori Television. This section describes the various processes and methods of interpretation used for analysis. Although informed by *kaupapa* Māori, this research utilizes a mixed methods approach so has therefore been divided in to two parts: this section examines the quantitative data in the form of an online survey, with the aim of providing a broad view of Māori perceptions of Māori Television.

5.1 SURVEY FINDINGS

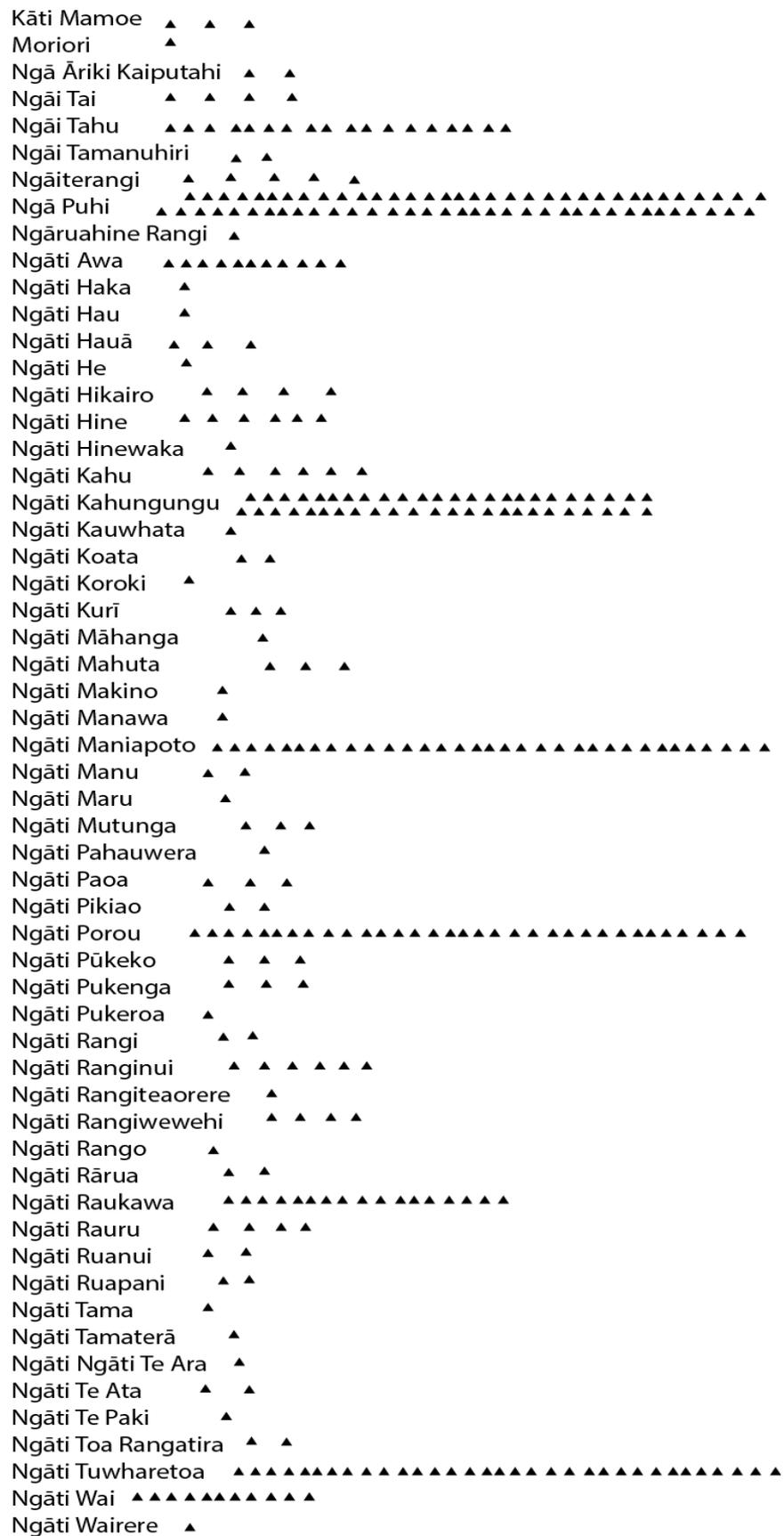
The survey was facilitated by Survey Monkey, an online surveying tool, and then ‘posted’ on my Facebook page with a spiel, which called for Māori to participate. The survey was ‘posted’ to Facebook on the 21st of September 2015, and was subsequently ‘shared’ by 52 participants connected to my Facebook page. Within two days the survey yielded 288 responses. The survey findings are represented visually by graphs, the design of which has incorporated of the Māori motif, *nihoniho* found in *tāniko* weaving patterns; the size of each *nihoniho*, correlates exactly to the percentages outlined by the survey. While the colours that have been selected to illustrate the motif do not have specific meanings, they are familiar colours, which are often used in *tāniko* generally and add shape and form to the design.

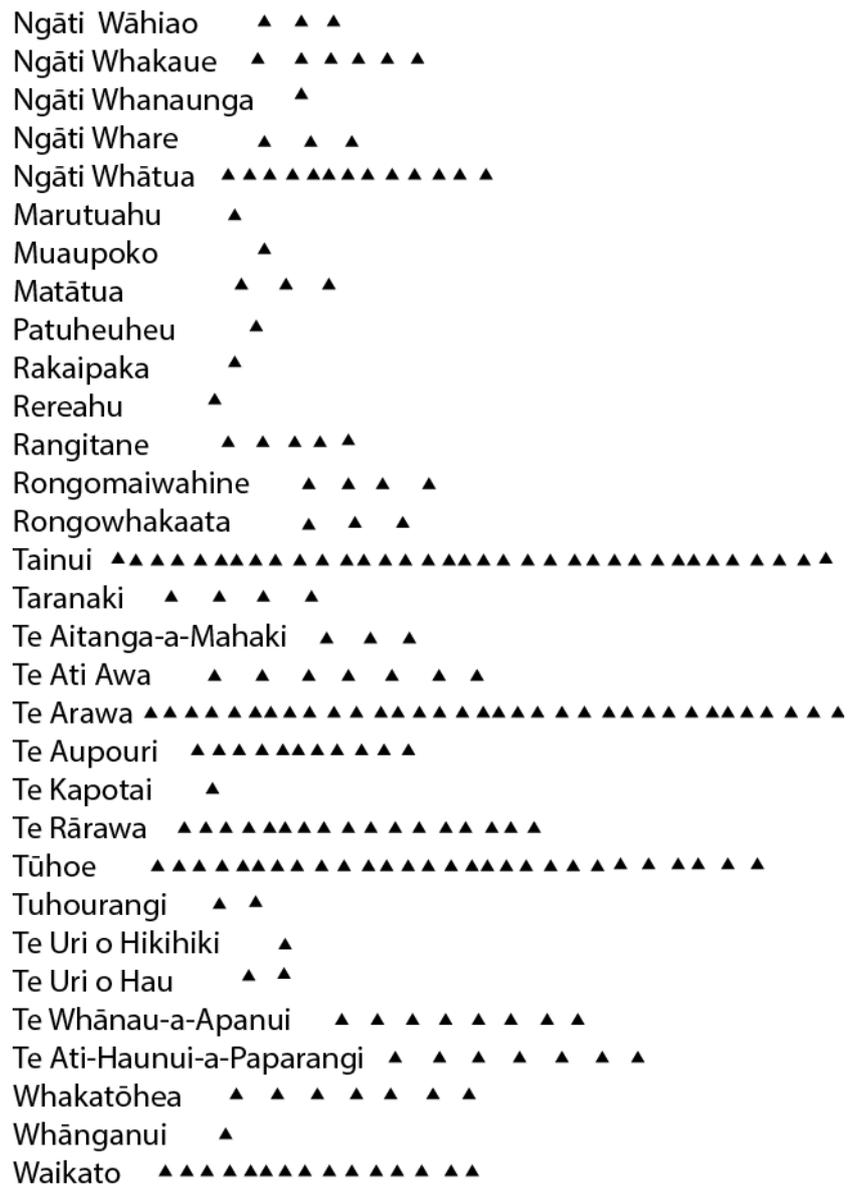
In accordance with *kaupapa* Māori, an important way to identify as Māori is to know *whakapapa*, or *iwi* affiliations (Royal, 2013). All participants were able to identify their *iwi*, however it is important to note that many participants identified with more than one *iwi*, so the amount of people included in each *iwi* group, does not reflect the amount of participants, rather it shows which *iwi* groups are represented in the study, or in other words the *iwi* which participants have identified with. Significantly, Statistics New Zealand (2013) has identified the largest 9 *iwi*, which mirror the results of identified *iwi* in this study:

TABLE: 11. IWI REPRESENTATION

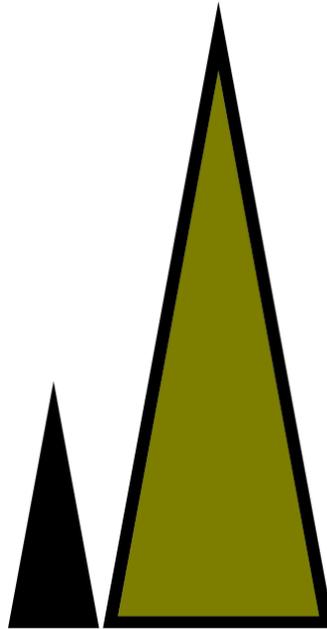
Largest Iwi Identified by Statistics NZ	Largest Iwi Groups in the Study
1. Ngā Puhī	1. Ngā Puhī
2. Ngāti Porou	2. Ngāti Kahungunu
3. Ngāi Tahu	3. Ngāti Tuwharetoa
4. Waikato	4. Ngāti Porou
5. Ngāti Tuwharetoa	5. Ngāti Maniapoto
6. Ngāti Maniapoto	6. Waikato
7. Tūhoe	7. Te Arawa
8. Ngāti Kahungunu	8. Tūhoe
9. Te Arawa	9. Ngāi Tahu

5.2: FIGURE 2: IWI REPRESENTED IN THE STUDY





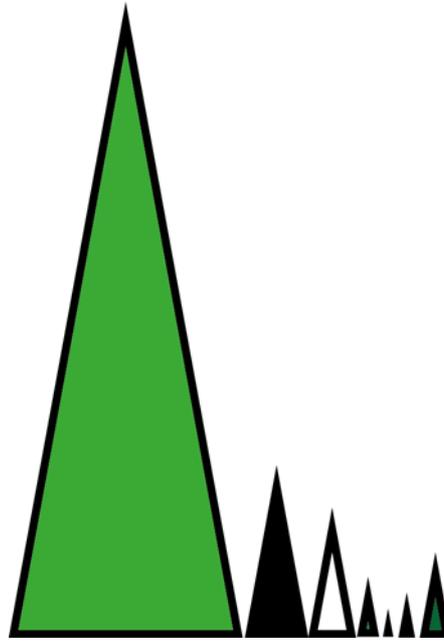
The purpose of this visualisation is to illustrate the *iwi* represented in this survey. The Māori motif *nihoniho*, used specifically in *tāniko* weaving, represents the number of participants who identified with a particular *iwi*.



Visualisation 1: Ratio of Female to Male Respondents

Answer Choices	Responses	
Female	73.68%	210
Male	26.32%	75
Total		285

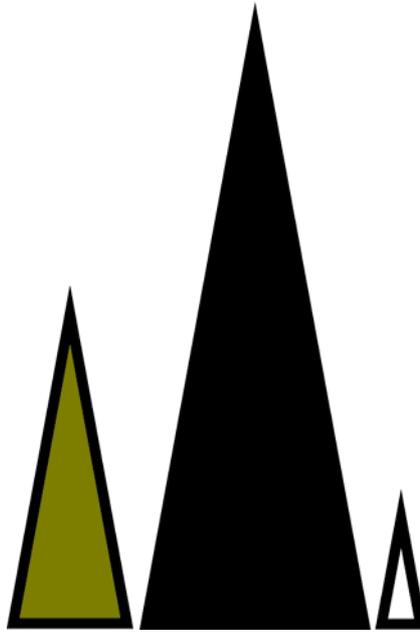
It should be noted, from the 288 participants, 211 were female and 74 were male, with a total of 3 participants who chose not to reveal their gender. According to the 2013 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), the ratio of Māori woman to Māori men is slightly higher, with 51.8 % of the Māori population being woman, and 48.2% being men. Although the sample does not reflect the population sample per se, nevertheless does include some diversity within the sample. Further, the dominant age group of survey participants does reflect that of the researcher, a sampling bias that can sometimes occur with the ‘snowballing method’ (Castillo, 2009). However here, it was perceived that the chosen method provided access to Māori communities and allowed for them to self-identify as Māori. In this way, the benefit is seen to outweigh the potential sampling bias.



Visualisation 2: Participant Age Ranges

Answer Choices	Responses	
18 to 24	5.56%	16
25 to 34	23.96%	69
35 to 44	39.93%	115
45 to 54	17.36%	50
55 to 64	9.72%	28
65 to 74	3.13%	9
75 or older	0.35%	1
Total		288

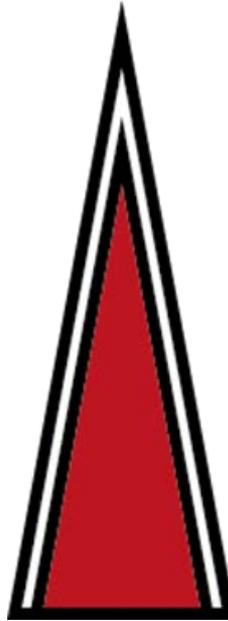
The dominant age group is 35-44, followed by ages 25-34, closely followed by the 45-54 age groups. According to Statistics New Zealand (2013), Māori are a youthful population, with a median age of 25 years old. However, the largest increase in the Māori population since 2006 has been the working age group, particularly those aged 30 – 64 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2013, para. 4). Although the median age is the second largest group represented in the survey, those aged 30 – 64 are well represented.



Visualisation 3: Viewing Habits – Tuning In Specifically or Surfing?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	59.03%	170
No	10.42%	30
Sometimes	30.56%	88
Total		288

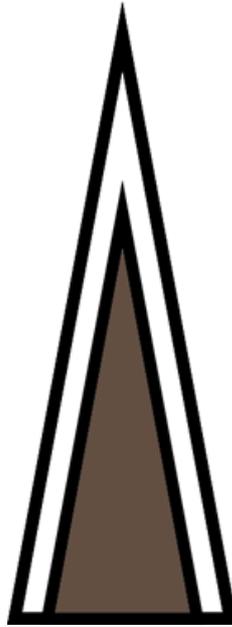
This data suggests the majority of those undertaking the survey tune in to watch specific programming on Māori Television. Participants were asked if they tuned in to watch Māori Television intentionally, in other words, the purpose of this question was to gauge if Māori viewers are tuning to watch specific programmes, or if their viewing habits are a result of ‘channel surfing.’



Visualisation 4: Likert Scale, Connectedness with Te Ao Māori

Likert Scale	1	2	3	4	5	Total	Weighted Average
Percent	1.39%	7.64%	15.63%	38.89%	36.46%		
Participants	4	22	45	112	105	288	4.01

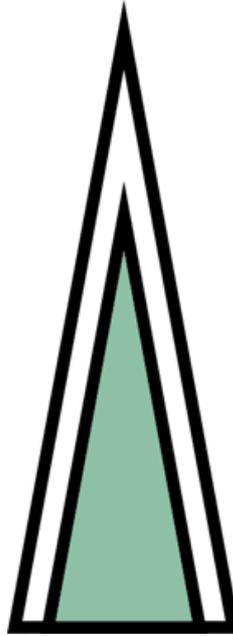
This question was asked in order to gauge how ‘connected’ Māori felt to their culture and serves the purpose of measuring the sample’s general interest in MTS. Participants were asked to measure the amount of connection they felt through a Likert scale of 1 to 5, 1 representing little or no connection, and 5 representing the strongest connection possible. The outer *nihoniho* represents the largest amount of connectivity allowed for by the scale (5), while the inner *nihoniho* shows the average level of connectivity felt (4.01). This question was asked in order to explore whether participants felt a sense of connection with *te ao Māori*, and at very least to gauge whether they had an interest in Māori language and culture, at most to explore whether their sense of connection correlated in any way with viewing habits. In this instance, the majority of participants felt a relatively high connection with *te ao Māori*.



Visualisation 5: Likert Scale: Māori Television’s Effect on Knowledge of Te Ao Māori

Likert Scale	1	2	3	4	5	Total	Weighted Average
Percent	2.43%	7.99%	36.11%	35.07%	18.40%		
Participants	7	23	104	101	53	288	3.59

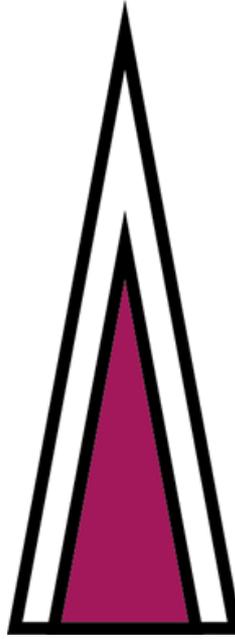
The purpose of this question is to gauge whether Māori perceived that Māori Television has in any way, directly affected personal understanding and knowledge of *te ao* Māori. Again, this graph visualises the data in the same way as the previous Likert scale with the inner *nihoniho* representing the average response, and the outer *nihoniho* representing the highest score possible; participants were asked to rate, on a scale of 1-5, (1 equating to ‘least’, and 5 equating to ‘most’). In this case, the average response indicates an above average score in Māori Television’s influence on knowledge of *te ao* Māori, with an average score of 3.59.



Visualisation 6: Likert Scale: Does MTS Represent Your *Whānau* and Māori Community in its Programming?

Likert Scale	1	2	3	4	5	Total	Weighted Average
Percent	3.13%	11.46%	37.50%	30.90%	17.01%		
Participants	9	33	108	89	49	288	3.47

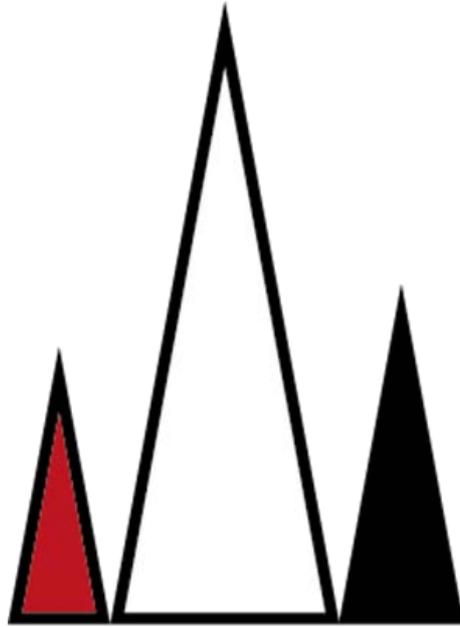
The graph visualises the Likert scale, the inner representing the average response, and the outer representing the highest score available. In this case, participants were asked to rate how well they thought Māori Television represented their *whānau* and wider Māori communities, with a score of 1 equating to 'least' and 5 equating to 'most'. On average, participants rated MTS as representing their *whānau* and wider Māori communities with 3.47 out of a possible 5; therefore scores indicate an above average result.



Visualisation 7: Likert Scale: Do the Stories on MTS Reflect your own experience?

Likert Scale	1	2	3	4	5	Total	Weighted Average
Percent	3.82%	19.10%	38.89%	26.04%	12.15%		
Participants	11	55	112	75	35	288	3.47

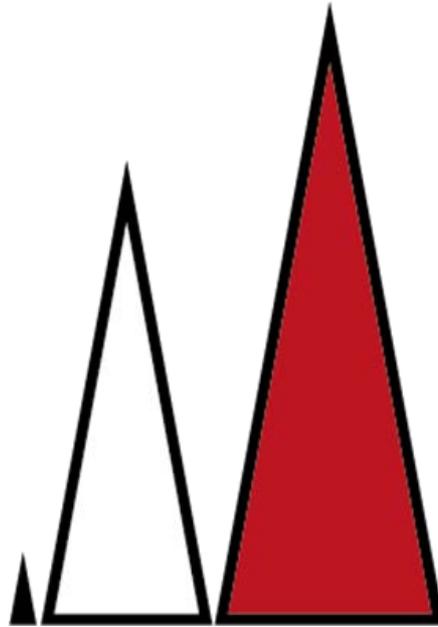
The graph visualises the data in the same way as the previous Likert scales. Participants were asked to gauge whether MTS reflects their own experience of being Māori on a scale of 1 to 5, 1 being 'least', and 5 being 'most'. In this particular instance, the average rating shows an above average result of 3.23 out of a possible 5, thus indicating that participants perceive the programming on Māori Television reflects their own experience of being Māori relatively well.



Visualisation 8: Does MTS represent Māori Diversity in its Programming?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Represents diversity	52.08%	150
Unsure	26.74%	77
Programmes are similar	21.18%	61
Total		288

The question posed for evaluating whether Māori perceived MTS as taking into account the wide variety of Māori identity. In this case, over half of respondents saw the service as representing diversity in its programming, while 21.25% perceived MTS as portraying Māori similar ways. Roughly around a quarter (26.83%) were unsure.



Visualisation 9: Do You Think MTS Offers Public Service Style Broadcasting Unavailable Elsewhere?

Answer Choices	Responses	
Yes	55.79%	159
Not Sure	40.70%	116
No	3.51%	10
Total		285

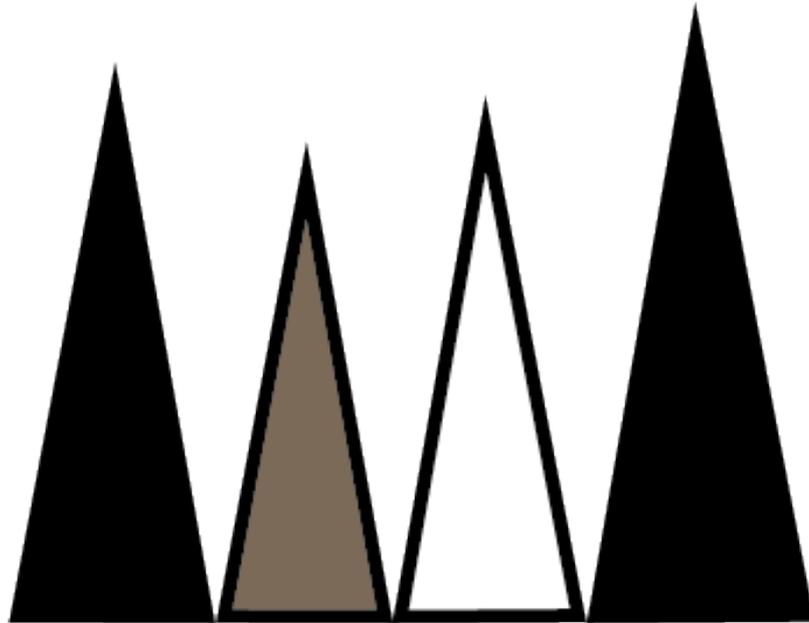
Māori Television is often described as the Nation’s de facto public broadcaster (Smith, 2014). This question was posed in order to gauge whether or not Māori perceived their Māori Television Service as providing the nation with public service broadcasting, akin to the Reithian values. In this case, just over half thought MTS offers a public service for all New Zealanders, however 40.70% were unsure and just 3.51% thought MTS does not provide a public service.



Visualisation 10: What Programmes Do You Like watching on Māori Television?

Documentary	246
Te Reo Māori Learning Shows	197
International Films	154
Cooking	131
Comedy	132

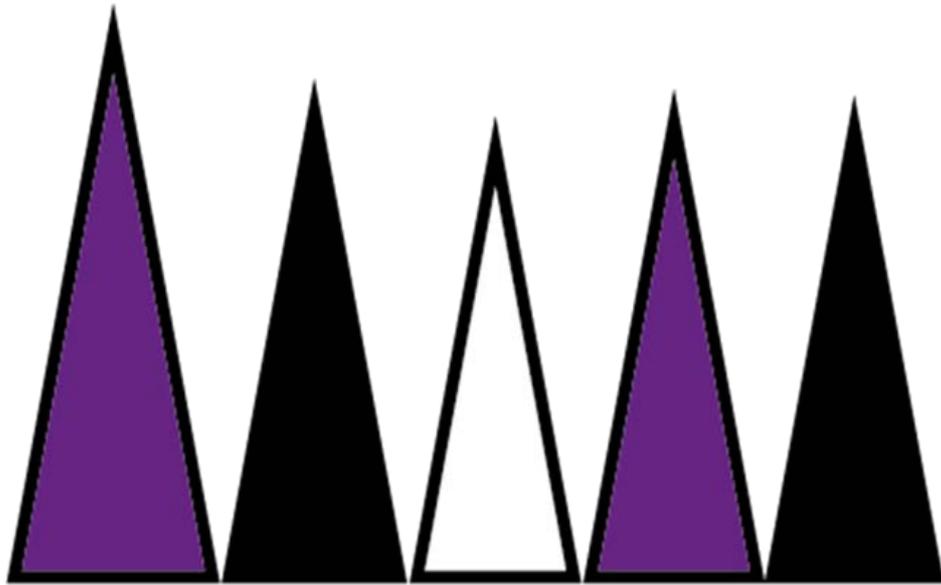
Participants were given a full list of genres offered by the Māori Television Service, and were then asked to what kinds of programming they liked to watch. Documentary was cited as the most popular, followed by *te reo* Māori language learning shows, then international film, along with comedy and cooking shows. It should be noted that news was not listed, as this was included as a separate question.



Visualisation 11: Are There Particular Genres You Don't Like to Watch on Māori Television?

Answer Choices	Participant Numbers
Quiz Shows	87
Game Shows	78
Magazine Shows	73
Reality Shows	66

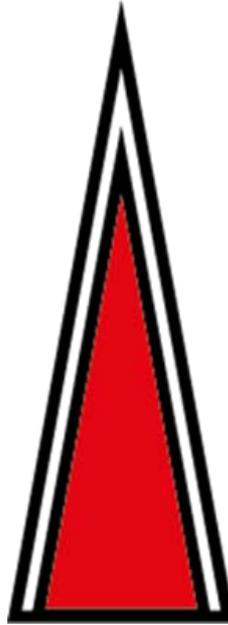
As participants were asked about shows they liked to watch on Māori Television, the opportunity was given for them to express if there were any particular genres of programming they did not like to watch. This question certainly did not garner as high a response rate as the question on what genres participants did like; however, quiz shows ranked as the most disliked, followed by game shows, then magazine shows and lastly, reality television. However, given not all participants responded to this question, this data could merely indicate small groups which have a dislike for these genres in general.



Visualisation 12: What Do You Like Most About Māori Television?

Answer Choices	Percent	Participant Numbers
Māori Stories Told from Māori Perspectives	89.90%	259
Seeing a Māori Presence on Television	77.35%	223
Locally Produced “Home-Grown” Content	74.61%	218
The Māori Language Content	74.56%	215
Learning About <i>te ao</i> Māori	71.08%	205
Total		288

Respondents were given a list of 10 reasons they could choose from to denote what they like most about watching Māori Television, and these rated as the top 5 choices. Māori stories told from Māori perspectives was rated as the top choice, followed by seeing Māori faces on television, then the locally produced content, with Māori language and learning about *te ao* Māori as the other two most popular reasons.



Visualisation 13: Likert Scale: Impression of Māori Television?

Likert Scale	1	2	3	4	5	Total	Weighted Average
Percent	0.70%	4.88%	22.65%	47.04%	24.74%		
Participants	2	14	65	136	71	288	3.90

Participants were asked to rate their overall impressions of Māori Television on a scale of 1 to 5, (1 being poor, and 5 is outstanding). The outer motif *nihoniho* represents the total scale allowed, which is 5, and the inner *nihoniho* represents the average response, which in this instance is relatively high, with respondents rating the service overall at 3.9.



Visualisation 14: Do you think Māori Television Enriches Culture and Identity for All New Zealanders?

Yes	93.46%
No	6.54%
Total	288

According to the network’s vision, “Māori language is a *taonga* and at the heart of Māori culture and New Zealand’s unique cultural identity. Our vision is for Māori language to be valued, embraced and spoken by all” (Māori Television, 2016). The purpose of this question is to gauge whether Māori perceive the network as fulfilling this role. Participants were also given space to answer how they felt about this and why. The responses, as the figures indicate, were overwhelmingly positive. There are few comments that capture the essence of the majority of perspectives:

“Absolutely. It gives a voice to not just Māori but also other minority groups... perceptions not just in NZ but internationally too with foreign films, documentaries and news coverage - a voice that is lacking on other Freeview channels.”

Although this viewer has answered “absolutely” in that MTS fulfils this role, their perception is interesting for two reasons: it comments on the void of alternative worldviews in mainstream media, and alludes to MTS as a vehicle for “talking in” (Barclay, 2005), Indigenous talking to the Indigenous through the medium of broadcasting. However, other respondents recognise the importance of MTS’s universal appeal:

“Yes, because there are programmes for everyone, from the babies to the oldies from the non-Māori speakers/listeners to the proficient”.

“Exposure to Māori things are important for everyone.”

“It helps others to connect to and understand our culture.

“Yes. It gives Māori a presence in media. It provides an alternative proposition than mainstream that is Māori-centred. Giving us a voice (that others can listen to) and a place for us to share our stories (with each other) enriches conversations. But to do that, Māori TV needs to get wider audiences to choose Māori TV over mainstream channels”.

These comments are particularly insightful because the viewers’ recognise the value in exposing non-Māori to Māori language and culture; the more it is seen and heard, the more normal it becomes for all. It is interesting to note that these remarks indicate an understanding akin to the views expressed in the review of literature; that is the perception that Māori language and culture remains tokenistic and of little importance to non-Māori in New Zealand (Fox, 2002; Liu, 2005) because they have generally had such little exposure to it. It would appear that these viewers perceive Māori Television’s expression of Māori culture in the televisual space is a vital function for all New Zealanders. This view is also reflected in the following comment, which perceives mainstream media’s portrayal of Māori in news media as largely negative:

“Yes it gives a more positive outlook on Māori compared to the news which only shows the negative.”

This comment confirms the views expressed in the review of literature, by researchers in the field of media representational research (Abel, 2006; Cochrane, 1990; McCreanor, 1993; Spoonley, 1990; Stuart, 2005; Walker, 2002), in that the mainstream news media represent Māori in particular ways which frame Māori as a threat to an otherwise benevolent society. In this way, MTS could serve the Māori community as a vehicle for Fourth Media as described by Hokowhitu (2013); yet given its mandate to ‘enrich culture for all’ leaves the potential for transformation limited, as expressed by these survey participants:

“It comes at the expense of Māori culture because the channel is trying to please the Pākehā and the government.”

“It could do more to attract a different group of society, but it would be at the expense of *te reo* and Māori relevant TV”.

These viewers’ have recognised that MTS, in fulfilling its mandate to ‘enrich culture for all’, it cannot be a conduit for Fourth Media. In being inclusive MTS benefits Māori, in that it introduces Māori cultural perspectives to non-Māori who chose to watch it however; in servicing non-Māori audiences, MTS cannot “talk in” and be a medium for Māori self-

determination; such a dichotomy remains difficult to negate. Nevertheless, viewers' have expressed the perceived value in its inclusivity:

"It provides a different cultural perspective from mainstream TV. From what I have seen Māori TV is inclusive. I was watching code the other day and they use a lot of reo, but also use English. It seems that if you didn't understand *te reo*, you would still know what was going on and would benefit from hearing more *reo*, and also the cultural perspectives that go beyond language use."

The introduction to Māori cultural perspective through MTS, lends itself to the perception that Māori hold a significant position in Aotearoa, as expressed by this viewer:

"Yes. *Te iwi* Māori has always been a minority in this country, I love how Māori Television makes me feel like the whole world revolves around us (well a whole channel anyway lol)"

Furthermore, the mandate set for MTS to enrich culture for all, ensures that Māori can affirm aspects of Māori culture for its non-Māori audiences. In this way, Māori are afforded the opportunity to re-present Māori language and culture to New Zealand and the world. MTS is a powerful platform for ensuring *te ao* Māori is presented in ways that are both *tika* and *pono* (correct and true), as articulated by this respondent:

"Yes. I think it is important that there is a easily accessible and popular platform where Māori can ensure its culture is represented correctly (pronunciation, history, etc.) because it is a way of Māori controlling and affirming their own culture on their terms - not a dominant culture representing what they think Māori is, but Māori actively representing who they are, expressing that richness free from tokenistic or selective gestures. So I think by keeping the culture authentic it is enriching the culture and sharing it, not just the parts that suit."

These comments demonstrate that vast majority of viewers understand the importance of inclusivity in enriching culture for all New Zealanders. Additionally, these insights highlight a tacit understanding of the position of Māori in the mainstream mediascape as explored in the review of literature. The provision of a platform for Māori to represent their culture, language and identity through broadcasting, affords access to *te ao* Māori and validates a Māori worldview. Moreover, Māori viewers not only perceive MTS as enriching culture for all New Zealanders, they see it as a necessary feature in the New Zealand mediascape. The small percentage that did not agree that Māori Television enriches language and culture for all did not comment, aside from these remarks:

"*Kao, Kua ngaro te hohonu o ngā whakaaro mo ngā hōtaka*"

This can roughly translate to “No, it has lost the depth of thought in its programming.” This reflects the dichotomy mentioned earlier, in its endeavour to appeal to a wide audience, some of those who are *matatau* in their knowledge and practice of *te reo* and *tikanga* might not be serviced through MTS programming. Conversely, for this Māori participant, MTS the significance in enriching culture for all New Zealanders’ is located in its ability to enrich culture for those Māori who have not have access to it.

“Sometimes Māori TV is the only time I get to watch or learn the culture. At work & school I am not exposed to it or learning it unless I am watching it on Māori TV”.

While there are some Māori who may feel that depth in programming is lost due to its mandate to service a wide audience, others appreciate it for the access it provides to *te ao* Māori. Māori language and culture that was once invisible, has now become visible.

While this participant feels Māori Television is exclusive and does not service a wide audience:

“no only enriches Māori culture for Māori people, as the channel name suggests - it's exclusive in its very inception.”

Overall however, the results were overwhelmingly positive in the network’s role in enriching culture for all in New Zealand.



Visualisation 15: Do You Watch MTS News and Current Affairs?

Yes	79.49%
No	20.51%
Total	288

As the negative portrayal of Māori in mainstream news media has been well documented, this question was posed as a way of gauging Māori perceptions of how MTS approaches its news media. In the survey, space was provided for participants who wished to elaborate on their responses; the following excerpts capture the general perceptions.

“Yes because it gives a more accurate worldview that fits with my worldview
Yes, because they cover stories that mainstream news don't.”

“To get a view from reporters and a show who may have similar views as my own and my *whānau*, unlike some mainstream media.”

“I tune in to watch *Te Kaea* as this focuses on Māori issues, or things relating to Māori. A Māori perspective of things is what I seek out from shows like that and *Native Affairs*”.

This viewer expresses a tacit understanding that there is an absence of a Māori worldview in mainstream news media and acknowledges the vital role MTS plays in disseminating an Indigenous perspective in news media. Moreover, participants have acknowledged the negative portrayal of Māori in mainstream media as uncovered in the review of literature:

“Yes, because I want to watch positive news about Māori. If a Māori event has happened, I want to be updated on it - I know this will not happen in the mainstream media.”

“I expected it won't come with the usual mainstream bias against Māori like mainstream TV does”.

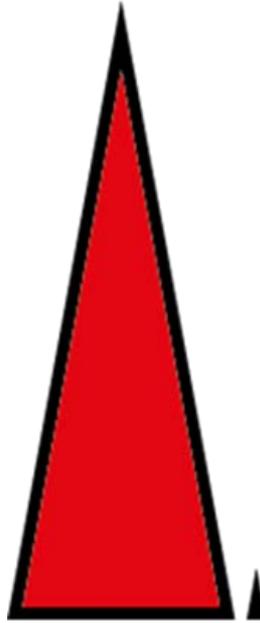
“Yes. Because other TV stations/options largely fail to provide balanced and informed Māori perspectives on current affairs.”

These viewers' comments are significant, as they confirm the perspectives of scholars in the field of representational research in media and communications studies. Furthermore, it highlights the importance of an outlet for the Māori-centric news media MTS provides. In like manner, survey participants have identified the importance of broadcasting news items that are significant to Māori:

“To catch the news within our Māori community from a Māori perspective
Yes - we value the perspective of Māori on current affairs and like to keep informed on issues that affect Māori.”

“Yes because it is only Māori TV that promotes and covers stories specific to us. Mainstream media represents us poorly and negatively as well.

Interestingly, the survey participants have demonstrated a tacit understanding of mainstream news media's portrayal of Māori: in that there is a lack of Māori perspective, it is usually negative and reports does not include issues which are relevant or specific to Māori. This affirms the views of researchers in the field (Abel, 2006; Cochrane, 1990; Loto et al., 2006; McCreanor, 1993; Spoonley, 1990; Stuart, 2005; Walker, 2002). Therefore in presenting news media which is Māori-centric, MTS validates Māori perspectives, reports on issues which concern Māori less negatively, and lastly, it reports on issues of interest to Māori unavailable in mainstream news media. The participants who answered no, either did not elaborate on why, and those who did provide an answer, have said it was because they do not watch news and current affairs in general.



Visualisation 16: Indigenous Media

Yes	98%
No	2%
Total	288

As explored in the review of literature, an important aspect of Indigenous broadcasting centres on its transformative powers for the Indigenous communities serviced. Participants were given a description of ‘Indigenous media’ as articulated by Hokowhitu (2013), which is media produced by Indigenous peoples as a vehicle for communication, cultural preservation, artistic expression, as well as political self-determination. Survey participants were asked if Māori Television was an appropriate medium for Indigenous media, and if so, why. The overwhelming majority thought it was an appropriate medium, but that it should not be restricted to Māori Television only; all networks should have a component of Indigenous media content. Additionally, participants pointed out that in being ‘for all’ limits the potential for Indigenous media on MTS. These comments encapsulate the perceptions of the participants particularly well:

“Yes. This is the definitely the right medium to promote this. Where else can we dedicate Māori agenda so freely?”

“Yes, at this time there is no other television channel that does this”.

“Yes and no. I believe Māori TV can do their best to represent Māori BUT still have rules and regulations within the media/television industry that could possibly restrict what we can and can't screen”.

These remarks acknowledge the void of Indigenous media on mainstream networks, as well as the institutional and commercial constraints that may inhibit Indigenous media or Fourth

Media's impact on its Māori audiences. Moreover, it is acknowledged that for Indigenous media to have a real impact, mainstream networks must participate in its dissemination also:

"Absolutely, but I don't think that this should be solely limited to Māori Television. Yes, because it was founded on the basis that it serves the principles of the Treaty, which is an agreement between *tangata whenua* and *tauiwi*, a struggle that is shared by many Indigenous peoples all over the world."

"Yes. If the majority audience is Māori then Indigenous media being shared through MTV is a good way for Māori to communicate shared values and cultural experiences. I think broadening appreciation for Māori culture and breaking down prejudices means that while MTV should be the home and champion of Indigenous media, it shouldn't be limited to this channel."

"All media should be the appropriate medium.... this country is governed by media... the actual government know this and manipulate the media to sell their policies... so yes Māori television is the appropriate medium but so should the rest be...we are legally a bilingual country...just 80 odd per cent of the country need to accept that and get on with it."

The following participants articulated a dual view on MTS's capacity for Indigenous media:

"Māori TV survives at the whim of whichever government is in power. The executive and board bow to obvious political pressure and have watered down our broadcasting vision to just *te reo* and culturally safe content. We need an independent funding and executive structure if we're ever going to get close to having an impact on cultural and artistic expression, political self-determination, and cultural sovereignty."

"Absolutely - BUT it must not allow the government and mainstream systems to interfere or expect compliance that compromises."

"Yes because it is helping to preserve our language. It represents us culturally and artistically with the help of *Te Matatini*. No, because it tries to, but it's stymied by the government to have political self-determination"

This viewer points to the institutional and governmental constraints imposed on MTS, which inhibits the potential for Indigenous media, however acknowledges that in preserving the language and culture, certain aspects of Indigenous media are upheld. The following participants voice a similar perception that MTS is synonymous with Indigenous media because it is Māoricentric:

"Yes. A significant portion of programming appears "by Māori for Māori", encompassing several different facets of *te ao Māori*. Therefore I believe MTS is well placed to uphold *tikanga*, *mātauranga* and *kaupapa* Māori - key concepts for upholding Indigenous values through media."

While the following respondent points out the correlation between Māori oral tradition and the medium of television, therefore rendering it the an appropriate vehicle for transformation.

“Absolutely. Television is a powerful medium, especially for a cultural rooted in oral tradition”.

Again, other participants recognise the lack of Indigenous voices in the New Zealand mediascape; so view it as a necessary component of MTS:

“If not for Māori TV, the Indigenous media voice would be marginalised even further.”

“Yes, at the moment there is little other Indigenous media available to the large sections of the NZ. So Māori television is all some viewer’s experience”.

“Yes. It is very important. Free to air TV is accessible to most and Māori TV is the perfect platform to promote aspects of Indigenous media. Mainstream media often does not do a good job of covering these issues”.

In aggregate, these comments are overwhelmingly positive and can be categorised into three dominant perceptions of Māori Television as a vehicle for Indigenous media:

1. It is currently the only outlet for Indigenous media in New Zealand
2. Māori Television should not be the only outlet for Indigenous media, it should appear on mainstream networks also
3. Māori Television is limited in their capacity for political self-determination, due to the government’s role in funding the service

5.3 CONCLUSION

This section has described the process of analysis for transforming the quantitative data into usable sets of information with the purpose of providing a snapshot of Māori perceptions of Māori Television. The method of analysis was informed by kaupapa Māori; and as such, has been recorded in a series of visualisations incorporating specifically Māori motifs inspired by the Māori art of *tāniko* as a mechanism for communicating the broad data. The final three survey questions gave participants the opportunity to comment on Māori Television’s news and current affairs, the viability of MTS as a platform for Indigenous media or Fourth Media as defined by Hokowhitu (2013). The third and final subject included the network’s mandate to enrich culture for all New Zealanders. The comments chosen were those which best represented the majority views of the respondents, and aided in providing insight into Māori perceptions of Māori Television.

Chapter 6: Data Analysis Phase Two: Focus Groups

Chapter Introduction:

This section is the second part of the data analysis process and is concerned with the qualitative data. The process was again informed by *kaupapa* Māori however; thematic analysis was used to categorise and interpret the focus group data as described in the methods section. Five themes emerged from the raw data, which are: accessibility, inclusivity, connectedness, identity and autonomy. This section locates and categorises the participants' remarks within each theme, in order to further understand and gain insight into Māori perceptions of the Māori Television service.

6.1 FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS:

There are five themes that have emerged from the raw data:

1. ACCESSIBILITY
2. INCLUSIVITY
3. CONNECTEDNESS
4. IDENTITY
5. AUTONOMY

1. Accessibility

The first theme that emerged from the research was accessibility. MTS was perceived as a gateway to *te ao* Māori. According to their Statement of Intent, Māori Television must:

Provide broadcast services that are technically available throughout New Zealand and practically accessible to as many people as is reasonably possible.

Although this objective refers to accessibility in a practical sense, it perceived as providing access to *te ao* Māori in an almost ethereal sense, akin to Anderson's 'imagined communities' surveyed in the review of literature. Participants felt a major strength of MTS was situated in accessibility to *te ao* Māori for all New Zealanders:

“I think that's definitely an important role for us to work as a bicultural society. We do need the other half to be more exposed to more Māori things and to see some of our content – we are saturated in the Pākehā mediascape; Pākehā don't really get to see as much of the Māori side, and this is one tiny little opportunity for them to get some exposure at the very least, and that doesn't mean we have to dumb down what we are doing to aim at a wide audience, even if it's something as simple as giving the

option of English subtitles, like on digital television. My Pākehā family watch Māori TV just because a lot of the programming is good”.

Significantly, in having access to Māori Television, both Māori and non-Māori audiences are exposed to the *tikanga*. This includes cultural practices such as *whakawhanaungatanga* imbued in many of the programmes made by MTS. In research conducted by Houkamau and Sibley (2011) suggests that by promoting positive Māori cultural aspects in the New Zealand mediasphere can work to disrupt some of the negative outcomes experienced by Māori.

“One thing that Māori Television does really well, is bring in a lot of mainstream TV broadcasters and include them in the shows, like John Campbell – you see heaps from all different races- they seem to be able to bring them in better than what mainstream seem to be able to do bringing in Māori. It’s the culture, it’s the *whanaungatanga*, a culture thing that they seem to be able to do a lot easier than the other way around”. “Like the ANZAC footage specials you get, like Judy Bailey, high end presenters you get, they actually look like they are enjoying it too. You don’t see that on mainstream channels do you, not to the same extent”.

In this way, exposure to Māori cultural elements can serve to break down barriers and promote cross-cultural understanding. In the perceived accessibility for all to *te ao Māori*, Māori viewers feel empowered. As this participant mentions, MTS shows programmes that would not necessarily appear on mainstream networks. As a result, viewers are exposed to more than just *te reo* and *tikanga*, but Māori humour as well:

“You have shows like *Find Me a Māori Bride* and it’s getting to that wider audience, and its bringing Māori humour into it and I think its showing a different side; there is a stereotypical view of Māori and shows like that are breaking the mould. I have heaps of Pākehā mates who watch MTS for shows like that.”

The access MTS provides to *te ao Māori* is perceived as providing some much-needed diversity in the televisual space:

“I can’t imagine life without it now, without (MTS) life would be very monocultural and very boring.”

Fostering exposure to *te ao Māori* is seen to spark interest in aspects of Māori culture that may previously have been unknown, as articulated by this participant:

“There’s a lot of stuff we learn off there that really peak’s your interest... it makes you want to pick up the phone and talk to your *kuia* and *koroua* to talk and say ‘oh you never told me that”.

However, the vast majority of participants felt MTS should not be the only network responsible for maintaining access to *te ao Māori*. As highlighted in previous comments, the

New Zealand mediascape has been saturated with monocultural offerings (Fox, 2002; Smith, 2008). Significantly, in providing to access and exposure to *te reo me nga tikanga* for all is essential; not only for Māori to assert themselves as *tangata whenua*, but for non-Māori to feel pride in Māori culture also. Currently, Māori content on mainstream networks totals less than 3 per cent (Nga Matakiiterra, 2010). As suggested by Dunleavy (2005), there is dearth of Māori content on mainstream network. This creates a chasm between Māori and non-Māori in the televisual space. Focus group participants voiced concern than access to *te ao Māori* should be available on mainstream networks also:

“I don’t think it should only be left up to Māori TV to promote *te reo*, I don’t think we should only speak it one week of the year, and I think that by them pushing it to one channel it allows them to push it out of our primaries. It allows them to push it out of everything that is normal.”

This participant’s remark highlights what Māori scholars such as Fox, (2002), Walker (2002; 2004) and many others have maintained; that the omission of Māori content from mainstream networks is not only detrimental for Māori, but for the nation. In the New Zealand media’s efforts to cater to majority audiences, it excludes Māori language and culture from its viewership and dislocates it from the mainstream mediascape. As both Fox and Walker have mentioned, mainstream media has a lot do with the disintegration of Māori language and culture in New Zealand; as such it should play an active role in its revitalisation currently. With the inception of MTS however, there are fears that all Māori content will be relegated to Māori Television:

“I actually think one of the things is that Māori Television has a double edged sword – because Māori TV is there, other networks are disinclined to do Māori content and what would be done on their networks gets cut if it’s not picked up by Māori TV”.

According to research commissioned by NZoA; since the inception of MTS Māori content has decreased from 6 per cent to 3 per cent from 2004 to 2010 (Nga Matakiiterra, 2010), however it is difficult to assess unequivocally if that is a direct or indirect result of the establishment of MTS. Further, the following participant perceived that MTS should not be the only network to provide access to *te ao Māori*; mainstream networks should share in responsibility:

“TVNZ now is that, programmes like *Waka Huia* and stuff being cut by TVNZ doing it itself and getting handed out to independent contractors... their whole Māori and Pacific content has been cut, although I’m not sure if that is a reaction to Māori TV per se... but it’s the official language of the country... Māori Television does carry the biggest burden because as Māori we really need to look after it ourselves before we

can expect others to look after the language... I don't see that they (MTS) have to carry it completely".

This participant is referring to the State owned broadcaster TVNZ's 2014 decision to close its Māori and Pacific department. TVNZ maintains outsourcing Māori and Pacific Island programming will provide opportunity for independent production companies. Conversely however, Ngā Aho Whakaari (the national representative body for Māori in screen production), questions: "as the State broadcaster, what is TVNZ's long term commitment to the Māori and Pacific voice when it cuts its own arm off?" (Ririnui-Ryan, 2014). In this way, the lack of access to *te ao Māori* through mainstream networks, omits the Māori element from the majority culture in the televisual space (Fox, 2002).

Although it was perceived mainstream networks have failed to provide access to *te ao Māori*, in Māori Television's objective to provide access to *te ao Māori* for all, Māori participants have perceived clear benefits:

"We've got to remember that there are only a small proportion of fluent *reo* speakers, so it's not like you can go out and start putting all of your content in *te reo*, because you're actually going to disassociate yourself from a huge per cent of the population. So I think there is a lot of catering to non-Māori speakers – even with the translations; sometimes it's not the *reo* we are picking up but the feel of the *reo*, the feel of Māori or those stories, which are just so interesting. I'm not fluent whatsoever... but it's connecting with those stories".

This remark illustrates the importance of access; this participant has indicated her *reo* is limited, yet through the network, she is able to "connect with the stories" and connect with the "feel of the *reo*", an experience that might have been unavailable without MTS. As explored earlier, there are Māori who carry a sense of shame and self-doubt in their lack of Māori identity (Ramsden, 1994). In like manner, the access to *te ao Māori* cultivated by MTS serves Māori who have been privy to growing up with Māori language and culture in that it nurtures and normalises *te reo me nga tikanga* to a wide audience; this helps to facilitate an environment conducive to Māori expression. This point is highlighted in the following remark:

"Normally if you want to have access to that information, you have to go through *wānanga* and go through process and that, whereas if it's on TV it's accessible."

Prior to the advent of MTS, there were specific settings in which Māori culture and *reo* could be experienced. Most culture revolved around the *marae* and *wānanga*, and the knowledge could often be considered sacred, meaning to not everyone could have access to it. Similarly, there are many Māori are disconnected from their *marae*, *hapū* and *iwi*; further still, there are

some who lack the knowledge of which of these they *whakapapa* to, at all. Access therefore, provides special insight into other Māori arenas, for Māori:

“*Reo*, shows like *Paepae* and that, that are ‘hundy as’ *reo*, I am an average speaker but I find it quite intimidating in those kind of arenas... like giving others a little insight into those kinds of *korero*.”

In this instance, it is revealed that although the participant has knowledge of *te ao Māori*, but in some circumstances can be intimidated by those who he might consider have more knowledge of *te ao Māori*; yet, MTS provides access to this realm. Moreover, these kinds of programmes offer opportunities for exposure to certain kinds of subject matter previously unavailable to Māori unless in a *marae* or *wananga* environment. Additionally, the access MTS offer to Māori provides a sense of comfort in knowing it is available ‘on demand’ as this participant points out:

“Regardless as to how much I watch it during the week or whether I am picking up things online, I’d be absolutely heartbroken if I found out that Māori TV was to lose their funding or something”.

This remark affirms that accessibility to *te ao Māori* is a key function in the development of Māori identity. Accessibility is vital for many Māori contemporarily, in order to maintain a connection with their language and culture; for some participants it was their only access to *te ao Māori*. Other participants, especially those who have access to *te ao Māori* outside of the televisual space, spoke of its value in that it created access to realms of knowledge within *te ao Māori* which would have previously been available on the *marae* or in *wananga*. Navigating the space between providing accessibility for all to *te ao Māori*, and maintaining integrity in “talking in” (Barclay, 2005) to its Māori audiences, is no doubt an arduous task. However it is perceived that MTS achieves this objective.

2. Inclusivity

The second theme that arose from the focus group session was ‘inclusivity’. According to their Statement of Intent (2016, p.5), MTS is “Māori language broadcaster for all New Zealanders.” Moreover, MTS’s vision is:

Māori language is a *taonga* (treasure) at the heart of Māori culture and New Zealand’s unique cultural identity. Our vision is for Māori language to be valued, embraced and spoken by all (Māori Television, 2016).

In its objective to promote a unique cultural identity for all New Zealanders, I was particularly interested in understanding Māori perceptions of MTS's accessible and inclusive approach. In the mandate to fulfil such a wide aspiration, I speculated as to whether or not MTS could achieve this vision, without missing its target Māori audiences entirely. The general consensus of the discussion was that Māori television should service its Māori audiences first; that is to say, MTS should hold true to telling Māori stories from Māori perspectives, regardless of how non-Māori audiences will relate to or appreciate the content. The following participant captures the reasoning behind that discussion with this insight:

“If you don't target an audience, if you go too wide, it becomes a scatter gun approach and you don't get anyone. So I think it's great if you can target and if people come in from the outside, that's great as well. If you go too wide, you are going to miss everyone so you are better to target and be sure to get a certain audience”

In the aim to capture to a wide viewing audience, MTS may risk alienating its Māori viewership in similar vein to the conflicting values in commercial broadcasting and public service broadcasting examined in the review of literature. For instance, programming which “talks in” as described by Barclay (2005), Māori talking to Māori, may alienate mainstream audiences, and lead MTS to eliminate these kinds of programmes from being scheduled during primetime.

Notably in all focus groups sessions, it was predominately perceived that following mainstream formats, is instrumental in normalising *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* for its audiences. In emulation of mainstream formats on MTS, viewers felt the programmes were relatable and attracted viewership. For instance, *Marae Kai Masters* is a program is akin to *Master Chef*, and research participants expressed that the familiarity of the programme encouraged them to watch. Furthermore, it enabled them to feel a sense of inclusivity, in that there was programming similar to that found on mainstream networks but was specifically aimed at Māori audiences.

“I like that we have talk shows, reality shows on there, they've come up with a few more these days, like KOMTR (*Kia Ora Mo Te Reta*, a comedy chat show), we are seeing more things, new documentaries and not so many all at once. It was like, pure documentaries in the beginning and all we saw was facts, history and all of that.”

The latter part of this comment refers to the formative years of MTS, when aside from children's' shows, news, documentary and Indigenous programming dominated its screen. Significantly, participants voiced when programming featured more serious programming, or shows that were considered 'low budget', participants were less inclined to watch.

“When it started, I found it quite *hoha* really, because it just seemed like, to be honest, real low budget, but as they’ve started to get better it’s evolving, obviously as the station grows up.”

However, as the station has evolved and programming is made to suit a wide viewing audience, participants perceive MTS as inclusive of their viewing needs:

“For me, it’s like whereas once it was maybe an alternative option like when it first started, it was OK, but now it’s actually a choice, you don’t just flick around to see if there something on, you actually go there for a reason, you tune in for a reason now.”

As captured by this comment, contemporarily MTS has become a viable viewing option, which is significant given the programming is predominantly Māori-centric. As examined in the review of literature, since its inception, the New Zealand mediascape has been saturated with monocultural offerings (Smith and Abel, 2004). In the twelve years since the inception of MTS, participants affirm their perception that Māori television is fast evolving in terms of its programming and ability to compete with mainstream networks. However, there was a question posed by a participant surrounding the ‘Māorification’ of mainstream programmes, which is what Smith (2004) refers to as the indigenising of mainstream formats, with particular reference to reality TV. Smith argues, that Indigenising mainstream programmes could perhaps lead to the dilution of Māori culture, a point which this participant has articulated here:

“Have we gone and taken a mainstream programmes and put Māori in it, like *Homai te Pakipaki* and *X-Factor* for example... does that not perpetuate bad culture? So we take something that’s rubbish and then make it Māori rubbish?”

This particular comment supports the scholarship surrounding reality television, in that its lexicon of emotions is located in the realm of ‘light entertainment’, and is often perceived as a ‘dumbing down’ of programming which effectively distances itself from the Reithian ideal of public television (Small, 2010). Notably however, the younger participants voiced the indigenising of mainstream formats was a way for Māori Television to remain relevant and relatable. Interestingly, in this study it was observed that older members of the focus group tended to agree with this Statement, while younger members of the focus group were more inclined to agree with the following Statements:

“pop culture is pop culture”

However the sentiment captures the point, that pop culture is popular, whether you are Māori or not. The general feeling of the discussion, was that if participants tune in to MTS, they want

to opportunity to watch television which is both current and relevant; available to them as mainstream viewers have in the mainstream televisual space:

“It’s relevant to people – you know there are certain Māori people that might love dogs, so it gives them that option” (in reference to Kina’s k9’s, a dog show on Māori Television).

It stands to reason that programming on MTS which is inclusive of contemporary Māori viewers preferences, encourages them to watch more on the network and emboldens a sense of inclusivity, as illustrated by this participant:

“I tune in because of some of the new programmes like *Find Me a Māori a Bride* and the reality TV shows like that family out west *Keeping Up With the Tumoana’s*, I like stuff like that so I will tune in for stuff like that, and it’s only been recently they started doing those kinds of programmes. Before these programmes, most of the time it was all that Indigenous stuff, I don’t mind it but it wasn’t really something I wanted to watch, the same with *Native Affairs* and all of these current affairs types shows, I just want something relaxing and entertaining. Now they are coming up with so much better stuff for people our age”.

Clearly, this participant feels a sense of inclusiveness because MTS have programs, which specifically relate to her tastes and age group. In this instance, participants’ did not perceive the ‘Maorification’ of mainstream formats as a dilution of culture as suggested by Smith (2004), rather they perceived it as in aligning Māori culture with popular culture. In this way, Māori culture is kept alive, current and relevant. For example, this participant affirmed:

“Yeah I find myself watching forklift wars – but I enjoy it because my association is that I know many Māori men that are my father’s age that drive the fork lifts or are on the wharves, so it’s relevant”.

In this way, programming such as ‘reality TV’, keeps Māori culture relevant and relatable. In the inclusion of such programming, participants voiced a sense of place and belonging, as the shows illustrate some of their lived experiences. Therefore, in the ‘Māorification’ of mainstream formats, the programmes have become no less valid; as pointed out by one participant in the discussion: “Māori did not invent the medium of Television”, but, as Stuart (2005) suggests, Māori are able to adapt the medium to suit their own ends. For this reason, te ao Māori remains a living and relevant culture, rather than frozen at the point of European ‘discovery’. In this way, it is possible to include *te ao Māori* in popular culture.

Additionally, participants perceived MTS as having original programmes which were unlike mainstream shows and catered specifically to Māori audiences:

“I think with some shows, yes that happens, although I do think we do have original shows also, like *Paepae*, *Karanga* and *Kuia*. All of those shows are for us... I don't see that happening on any other mainstream TV show. So we take a bit of what that they do to get some younger audiences and to get parents tuning in for their for their kids which is what we want, and that is the younger generation to be influenced by *te reo*, but it's also for other groups like *Kuia*, I bet other *Kuia* like watching *kuia* also – *Paepae* is an amazing show and I have friends trying to learn *whaikōrero* so they watch it intentionally to pick up learning, so I think there is a balance, there has to be”.

This comment illustrates the difficult terrain MTS must navigate: Māori and non-Māori audiences, young and old, the varying degrees of reo capability, whilst assuring the programming stay current and relevant. Moreover, this must be achieved while upholding its integrity to *te ao* Māori. For the following participant, MTS maintains that balance through its programming:

“I like the grass roots feel of most of the programming, like it attracts a lot of the rural Māori like *Hunting Aotearoa*, they've got that real rustic, grass-roots feel to it. Also when I first started watching MTS, when they used to play the Indigenous documentaries, I used to be like, 'oh what... that's not us' but then started to watch them and they were really good – like, I wouldn't have watched them anywhere else if Māori Television wasn't playing them and now I quite like watching the Indigenous stuff – especially with all of the Indigenous awareness now”.

As illustrated in this remark, Māori Television's inclusive approach in its programming, has allowed exposure to Indigenous media for its core Māori audiences.

Similarly, Māori Television's approach to fostering *te reo* in children and young people is reflected in its programming; this was widely perceived in the focus group sessions, as both inclusive and effective. One participant sparked a discussion on *Pukana*, an award winning bilingual show aimed at Māori children, which follows a similar format to *What Now* or *Sticky TV* shown on mainstream networks:

“I think we can agree that back in the day when we were younger *Pukana* was one of the shows we used to watch”.

Notably, *Pukana* was a show almost everyone could relate to, or had memories of watching.

[On *Pukana*] “The fact that the presenters spoke *te reo* helped me want to learn Māori too, so I could understand what it was all about it. That helped me understand it a bit cause I wanted to watch it so I had to try and learn it. That was my basic way of learning it, was through watching that”

“Not only that, but it was fun as well. They made it entertaining for young ones to watch like Nanny Juju and Nanny Boo Boo”

Although the programme was aimed at young audiences, there were certain aspects of Māori culture imbued in its framework; for example, ‘Nanny Juju and Nanny Boo Boo’ is a reference to particular relationships with grandparents or elders that many Māori children can relate to. In this way, their Māori ways of being and knowing are both embedded and validated.

In like manner, parents viewed Māori television’s Māori adaptation of popular American cartoons such as *Sponge Bob Square Pants* and *Dora the Explorer*, as inclusive and therefore fostering and normalising of *te reo* Māori for both children and their families:

“Shows like *Sponge Bob* available in *te reo* which is really just normalising it, hearing it on TV, like my kids, they go to *kura kaupapa* but they watch it all the time, its normal for them. But the other cousins are like, what, why is *Sponge Bob* talking Māori? They love it, it’s really normal for them as well”.

In Māori Television’s adaptation of *Sponge Bob Square Pants* and *Dora the Explorer*, it is perceived that Māori children are able to be entertained by popular cartoons in the same way non-Māori children are, and as such aids in the validation and normalisation of *te reo me nga tikanga*. As the following participant articulates, more *reo* is spoken as a direct result of its inclusion:

“What I know is that with the language, *te ao Māori, tikanga, kawa, kapahaka*, all of those things help to guide the *reo* so that you can’t have one without the other... kids programmes are relevant for me because I have a two year old, and those shows like *Dora* are on in our *whare* from the moment we get home, *Dora Dora Dora* all in the *reo*, our whole family has to watch *Dora*. So I know as a result of that, more words, although they are just *kupu*, but that’s how you learn a language, just by words and the words become sentences and so on... So I know that more *reo* is being spoken in our house as a direct result of the programmes we have watched on Māori television”.

In these particular focus group sessions, inclusiveness has been perceived as an important aspect of Māori Televisions’ ethos. That is to say, rather than diluting the culture as scholars such as Smith (2008) have postulated, in this instance it maintains the culture as both current and relevant. In according with its aspiration to enrich culture for all New Zealanders, MTS includes programming to suit a broad viewing audience. These focus group sessions, found that its inclusiveness served to nurture Māori language and culture for a wide range of Māori identities also; Māori are as a diverse group as any other and inclusivity is vital in its promotion of *te reo me nga tikanga*. Moreover, in its inclusiveness of non-Māori audiences in the

televisual space, they are exposed to positive Māori cultural aspects, which can serve to improve real world outcomes for Māori (Houkamau and Sibley, 2011).

3. Connectedness

In providing accessibility and nurturing inclusivity, MTS cultivates a connection to *te ao* Māori for its viewership. This perception of connectedness is the third theme to emerge from the focus group research. For instance, this participant remarks:

“It provides a huge connection to *te ao* Māori, I can’t imagine life without it, before that television media was very monocultural and very boring.”

This participant perceives MTS as fostering a connection to *te ao* Māori and in doing so, imbuing diversity into the New Zealand mediascape with its Māori programming. As confirmed by the review of literature, the televisual space in New Zealand has been dominated to suit the tastes of its mainstream audiences and as such, has some of the highest levels of imported programming and lowest amount of local content in the world. For New Zealand audiences, this has created what Stephens (2004) describes as a passive invasion of foreign thought in the televisual space, resulting in an erosion of pride in New Zealand national identity.

By the same token, some participants found that MTS reinforces a connection with their *iwi*, especially those who have moved to urban centres and no longer live in their tribal areas near their *marae* and extended *whanau*. As mentioned in the review of literature, as a direct result of colonisation and urbanisation, in many instances Māori have been alienated from their tribal homelands, or have had to migrate to cities in order find work, as traditional ways of living could not be sustained. As such, many have experienced a loss of connection with their people (Walker, 2004).

“If I know that something is going to be aired on my *iwi* specifically, I will purposefully watch or make an effort to go and watch that. Possibly because I am looking for people I know and or places that I am familiar with that I can really connect to.”

In connecting to *te ao* Māori in the televisual space fostered by MTS, Māori have a sense of maintaining links to their tribal homelands. In some instances it is a way for Māori to explore lost connections to place and people, and could spark the interest in re-establishing those links. For others who are strongly connected to their *iwi* in the physical space, this kind of Māori programming serves to affirm their stories from their perspectives, and allows other Māori to connect to their stories also.

Similarly, participants expressed the perception of connectedness solely through the act of listening to *te reo* on Māori Television:

“It’s getting the sounds and the feel, the ways of talking and the ways of being”

This is significant because for some Māori, it is the only way they get to experience Māori ways of being and knowing, and hear *te reo* spoken. The following participant illustrated in the following remark:

“In that way, I turn on Māori Television for it just to be heard. I’ll switch it for it just to be on and my partner would walk in and ask why do you always put the TV on when no one’s watching it? I’d say it’s just so we hear it”.

In this way, *te reo me nga tikanga* becomes pervasive and connection to *te ao Māori* can be fostered in the home without having to physically be in a *marae* or *wananga* environment. The perceived connectedness afforded by MTS to *te ao Māori* is captured well by this remark:

“I prefer to listen to it (Māori Television) than mainstream programming, just so we absorb it subconsciously, and even more so now I’ve got the girls, it’s that powerful.”

The ability to absorb of *te reo me nga tikanga* Māori in the televisual space, is by no means a suggestion that it can replace it in the physical world. However, for many it is a daily opportunity to connect to *te ao Māori* while living in an ordinary, urban New Zealand setting. Currently it is estimated that 84 % of Māori live in urban areas, with one in six Māori not knowing their tribal affiliations (Meredith, 2015). For these Māori, MTS provides a connection the Māori world, which would otherwise be unavailable. This participant illustrates the ways in which her family connects to *te ao Māori* through MTS:

“I prefer to listen to Māori being spoken so I’ll just turn that on. What they (referring to her two year old twin daughters) really love watching is the weather on Māori TV, because they have Māori music, a *waiata* while that happens they sit there having a kai and a little boogie... even with the *kapahaka* they’ll stop, so there is something about that sound or that rhythm or the *wairua* within that Māori language that they are connect to”.

These accounts demonstrate specific ways that Māori use the service to connect with their language and culture. The ability to connect with *te ao Māori* via the medium of television remains an invaluable resource for immersing Māori in Māori culture, particularly so for those who may not have *te reo* or confidence with *tikanga* Māori. Through the televisual space,

Māori can connect to Māori ways of being and knowing, and for some it is their only experience of being Māori.

In like manner, this participant perceived connectedness to *te ao* Māori through the sense of community offered by MTS:

“The likelihood of knowing someone on Māori TV is quite high, it’s that recognition... We watch because we know who that person is, you are looking for that; so we usually watch *Ako*, *Te Kaea* and then *Haka Nation*, we are also checking to see who what people we know.”

For Māori who are well connected in Māoridom circles, the likelihood of recognising friends and *whanau* on Māori Television is highly likely. In this way, a sense of connection to specific Māori communities is fostered and affirmed. Since television aids in the construction of a social imaginary of a nation (Anderson, 1991), it can reinforce positive Māori identities for the consumption of Māori viewers (Stuart, 2005). As explored in the previous section, the connection to a positive cultural identity contributes significantly to the wellbeing of Māori.

4. Identity

A perceived connection to *te ao* Māori can help to foster a positive Māori identity (Houkaumou and Sibley, 2011). In nurturing the positive aspects of Māori culture and its broadcast of positive Māori role models, MTS empowers Māori to feel a strong sense of cultural pride and sense of place and belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand:

“I like to watch TV where I see that there are more people that look like me”

From this participant’s perspective, there is a lack of Māori presence on mainstream networks. As explored previously, Māori content on mainstream equates to less than 3% of total programming on mainstream networks (Nga Matakiiterra, 2010). Furthermore, Dunleavy (2008) affirms there have been “shamefully few” shows featuring, written or directed by Māori on mainstream television (p. 802). Therefore, outside of the news media and sport, it can be assumed Māori are rarely seen on mainstream television. The exclusion of Māori in the mainstream mediascape has a negative impact on Māori identity (Loto et al., 2006; Mita, 1996; Stephens, 2004). Therefore the act of watching Māori on Māori Television is empowering for Māori and reinforces positive Māori identities.

Additionally, for some members of the focus group, Māori Television's coverage of *kapahaka* is seminal in affirming a positive Māori identity:

"I think a big one today is *kapahaka* and that's been shown heaps for Māori people. *Te Matatini* is one of the big *kaupapa* that we come together for, it's also exposing to everyone else what we are about and what we support. Our generation, the younger generation are into *haka* these days, in that way it's a direct reflection of what we like to do".

The perception of this participant is reflected in the programming offered by MTS: *50 Haka Moments*, *Haka Nation*, and *Iwi Anthems* are all focused on *Kapahaka*. In addition, MTS describes itself as "the Home of Haka" (Māori Television, 2016) and offers *haka* news, *haka* on demand and *haka* photo galleries.

"Those *haka* programmes really are a goldmine for MTS, and really reach their target Māori audience, young and old, everyone's into it, everyone's got a *whānau* member in there or in it themselves, have at least have a favourite team they like. I did a *haka* binge during *Te Matatini* and all my mates did the same, then you go on Facebook and everyone's posting about it".

This participant articulates a real sense of community in Māori Television's coverage of *haka*, and as such, fosters positive expression of Māori identity that filters from the televisual space, to the social media space, to the physical space. Most of the participants agreed *kapahaka* was one of the powerful ways in which Māori identity is positively reinforced:

"I think most of us agree, we all tune in to watch *haka*."

Notably however, not all focus group participants could relate to Māori identity through *kapahaka*; but found it on MTS in all kinds of programmes, such as: hunting and fishing shows, cooking shows and DIY shows. Indigenous media scholar Jo Smith (2004) has suggested there could be a danger in that Māori Television homogenises Māori identity through some of its programming; however most participants felt diverse Māori identities were supported by MTS. That view is captured by this comment:

"I don't think it homogenises one way of being Māori necessarily, I've always felt that from the shows I have watched."

This participant points to the diversity of the presenters on MTS:

"You have the *Kai Time* presenters who are very sort of jokey and blokey and they go out and fish and hunt, then you have those presenters who sit down with *kaumatua* and get their story and they are quite different."

In this participant's view, presenters on Māori Television can be as diverse as they are on mainstream networks. As previously mentioned in the first section, participants felt the programming available on MTS is diverse, so therefore diverse Māori identities are broadcast; from reality shows such as *Songs From the Inside* which looks at way Māori culture can empower prison inmates, to *Matangi Rau* which records conversations with tribal elders. This participant articulates the point well:

"I don't think it homogenises us, but we are Māori so there are similarities which connect us, we will watch and understand the humour and the tribal differences. So for me, I've been blessed in my job, which takes me across the country, and I see a lot of different *iwi*, so when I hear them start to talk, I know where they are from or can make assumptions about where they are from. However, we are all people and have red blood, but I don't think it stereotypes us because there are so many different types of Māori programming, from animals, to *kai*, to politics, to children's shows."

The perception that Māori Television allows for diversity Māori identity is positive for Māori; as Walker (2004) affirms there are aspects of culture which bind Māori as people yet they are has inherently diverse as any other people. As explored in the review of literature, mainstream media imagines Māori identity stereotypically as the Black Other (see Wall, 1997). With new and diverse Māori identities broadcast, new words and pictures are manifested in the televisual space, giving audiences new ways to 'see' and think Māori identity, transcending negative stereotypes. Significantly, diverse identity contributes positively to Māori self-perceptions that again, contribute to Māori wellbeing (Barnes, et al., 2012). Lastly, an added benefit it Māori Television's broadcast of diverse Māori identities, the definition of 'Māori' widens. In this way, Māori who are not connected with their *iwi*, are urban or don't look particularly Māori in their appearance, are presented with the opportunity to have their Māori identities validated also. This connects directly to the fifth and final theme of autonomy.

5. Autonomy

Thus far, the themes that have emerged from the focus group sessions include firstly, the theme of accessibility. MTS provides a perceived gateway to *te ao Māori*. The second is inclusivity, which refers to programming to suit all age groups, levels of *te reo* and both Māori and non-Māori. The third theme is connectedness, which follows the previous two: in having access and inclusiveness to *te ao Māori*, connectedness to *te ao Māori* can be nurtured. Next is the fourth theme of identity, in that establishing a connection with *te ao Māori*, Māori identity can be constructed, affirmed and reinforced for audiences. The final theme to arise

from this section of the research is autonomy. This looks at the ways in which MTS supports Māori autonomous practices in the media, and how it may affect viewers.

As previously explored in the review of literature, the establishment of Māori media is largely a response to the hegemonic practices of the mainstream media (Barnes et al., 2012). With particular reference to news media, Māori are stereotyped as the Black Other, portrayed as a threat to an otherwise benevolent society, or excluded completely (McCreanor, 1993; Spoonley, 1990; Wall, 1997; Walker, 2004). Academic scholars such as Walker (2002) argue that the ideological function of the media supports the hierarchy of Pākehā domination and subordination; and his and others' research suggests it is particularly damaging to Māori social and cultural wellbeing. Interestingly in the focus group sessions, Māori appeared to have a tacit knowing or rather, an inherent understanding of mainstream media's negative portrayal of Māori; it was 'taken for granted' in the discussions. Therefore it was both relevant and important to gauge Māori perceptions of how Māori Television is using the medium to tell Māori stories:

"It's nicer to listen to stories about us, you know, like good stories about us as opposed to the more stories which appear in the press... I like to watch what's relevant to me, like the Māori boarding schools are a big thing, so I will watch items on that, whereas mainstream media aren't reporting anything on our Māori boarding schools."

Interestingly, two other members of the focus group then added immediately after this participant's remarks:

"Or if they do its biased."

"And usually negative."

Clearly, these remarks demonstrate a tacit knowing of how Māori are portrayed by the mainstream networks. Similarly, comments were made during the discussion:

"I prefer my news from Māori Television or Al Jazeera, it is less biased."

"I like that Māori news because it's more positive."

This particular participant illustrates the way in which Māori worldviews affect the way in which Māori stories or news items are told:

"I think it depends on the lens that goes on the story because you could actually have the same story but the context around that story in non-Māori media would be different, you are using a non-Māori lens to look at it so you've got all these other

things going on within a Māori Television context; you are going in with your *aroha* and that's the way you are viewing it because that's the understanding you have of that [Māori] lens."

When this participant speaks about stories being filtered through a 'Māori lens', it alludes to an understanding of the world through a Māori perspective. For example, when presenting a news item on Māori Television, it may be taken for granted that structural inequalities exist in New Zealand, thus a news item on Waitangi day protests will look very different to one presented on mainstream television, whereby it is not taken for granted that Māori may in fact, experience inequality.

During both focus group sessions, participants' highlighted Māori Television's premier current affairs show, *Native Affairs*, for their coverage on the alleged mismanagement of funds by the Kōhanga Reo Trust. Although there was no criminal charge laid, and investigators from the Serious Fraud Office and Inland Revenue uncovered no illegal activity or wrongdoing, the *New Zealand Herald* (2015) claimed Internal affairs had described the situation as a "gross mismanagement" (para.7). *Native Affairs* aired the investigative piece in 2014, however a decision was made by the MTS management to 'pull the plug' on the second episode of the story. It is speculated this move prompted the resignation of the show's star broadcaster Mihingarangi Forbes, and not long after, the show's producer noted journalist Annabelle Lee-Harris (New Zealand Herald, 2015).

"With *Native Affairs* and Mihingarangi that really became a big thing because the *Kōhanga* movement, it needed to be told from a Māori view and a realistic view and then it got swept under the carpet, people left, some lost their jobs. Some people were trying to say Mihingarangi had a Pākehā view of it. They were just telling it like it was, and I guess as Māori, maybe we didn't want to know how it was."

In this participant's view, Māori Television has 'covered up' a story that needed to be told from a Māori perspective. Although Māori now have a degree of autonomy in the news and current affairs media they present, in this instance it has been viewed as interfering with a story that should have been told:

"When you think of the *kohanga reo* story, when they blew the whistle on the Kōhanga Reo Trust, and it was like, why are you beating down on our own? Well, we needed to highlight those issues, I don't know the intricacies of that issue, but they got a beating down from our own, because MTV showcased something that wasn't right within our culture and what was going on there."

Again, in this instance, the participant holds the view that the story should have been told, and the Māori media as the 'fourth estate' - which (should) guard against the abuse of power, needed to hold those involved accountable. This view is affirmed in the following Statement:

"I think it tries to force us into one way of thinking, and we don't all think like that. That last episode of *Native Affairs*, trying to say that we have to look after our own, but we also have to hold our own accountable - sometimes I find with Māori TV that we don't, we sweep it under the carpet; we'll sort it ourselves".

Although the role of mainstream media and their negative portrayal of Māori was well recognised within the focus groups, both groups also recognised that when issues arise in Māoridom, Māori Television has an obligation to report the news, despite exposing any wrongdoing. Additionally, there were some positive aspects that arose from the discussion, such as the perception that because it appeared on Māori Television, it sparked conversations surrounding the issue, rather than ignoring it because it was reported on by a mainstream network, which participants agreed they have a tendency to do:

"We actually engaged in it more, rather than think oh it's just another Māori bashing story."

"If that news had broken on channel 3, we wouldn't have even paid attention, it would have been like "oh here we go again" but because the story had broken on our own network..."

When reporting on the issue, mainstream media outlets focused on the resignation of its presenter and producer, however one participant perceived the incident as positive:

"The great thing was that Pākehā actually saw that Māori can have diverse opinions. I thought that was really healthy, that the outside world could see that there can be some dissent among the ranks and still work together and continue - the world doesn't end. I thought it was a really positive outcome of that whole situation."

As explored in the review of literature, the notion that Māori are as diverse as Pākehā is of key importance in breaking down negative stereotypes disseminated by mainstream media (Wall, 1997). Although perhaps this effect was not intentional on the part of Māori Television, it was perceived as a positive outcome of a difficult situation. Furthermore, in examining this particular story from a Māori worldview, the following participant offered this perspective:

"I think it's how you approach it as well, I think some people are really conscious about another person's *mana* and you don't want to do that to them in a public form like media."

This is an important aspect in conducting kaupapa Māori research also, in that the *mana* of others must be respected (Smith, 2012). From this perspective, it can perhaps be construed that Māori Television was exercising its autonomy, its right to address the story according to *tikanga* or a specifically Māori process. It was articulated further by a participant, that when addressing more ‘staunchly Māori’ agendas, Māori Television would not be an appropriate vehicle:

“If you wanted to have maybe a ‘more staunch’ Māori agenda that didn’t fit with ‘for everyone’ agenda of Māori Television, then it wouldn’t be entirely appropriate for the kind of message you want to get across. But it can also go the other way, so if you want to share something more broadly, it can begin a conversation.”

This view is interesting because in acknowledging Māori Television as a potential vehicle for Fourth Media as articulated in the review of literature, this participant recognises that this kind of media cannot be aligned with its tagline ‘*Ma Tatou - For Everyone*’, and therefore cannot wholly support or promote Māori independence. However, as pointed out by the following participant, there are certainly some very positive changes that Māori Television can and does make for the betterment of Māori people, outside of the promotion of Māori language and culture:

“What I like about it, is from a mainstream network we might hear that we are overrepresented in prisons. However on Māori TV, we’ve got these documentaries like *Songs from the Inside* so they go in and say, OK we are going to do some rehabilitation using our culture and that might be with *waiata* or *haka* and then document the transformation that happens with the inmates – so it’s like, yeah that’s happening, and that’s the reality, but at least we are doing something... we’ve got an issue here, let’s try a programme or trying something, let’s document it and let’s put it out there and show that we are looking after our own. Your ways don’t work; so let’s try to show our ways of using *waiata*, of using storytelling to ‘*piki ake te mauri*’ (lift the spirit) of these people who have lost their way. So I think it’s their way of bringing balance back, cause you know it’s not all positive and we shouldn’t assume that its euphoric [in Māoridom] or anything, but I think that is where Māori TV does well”.

This participant has encapsulated a Māori world view in terms of how it can be used to not only make interesting programming, but to ‘*piki ake te mauri*’ lift the spirits of people who have lost their way, using in a uniquely Māori cultural aspects, filmed in such a way that is conducive to Māori communities. This particular kind of programming acknowledges the social problems Māori experience and endeavours to address it in positive ways that can uplift inmates and provide some kind of understanding for viewers as to some of the struggles faced by those affected. As previously mentioned by a participant in an earlier comment, when Māori stories are produced through a Māori lens, they can be received with more compassion from people who understand struggle.

6.2 CONCLUSION:

In conclusion, there are five specific and recurring themes, which have emerged from the focus groups:

1. INCLUSIVITY
2. ACCESSIBILITY
3. CONNECTEDNESS
4. IDENTITY
5. AUTONOMY

To summarise, this research confirms that Māori perceive MTS as providing a porthole to *te ao* Māori. Indeed, some of the participants expressed it was their primary access to *te ao* Māori and for a few, it was their only access. Furthermore, MTS caters to the programming needs of wide audiences, young and old, different levels of *te reo*, Māori and non-Māori. In its inclusive practices, viewers are compelled to watch MTS. Māori Television's capacity for access and inclusivity and diversity, enables its audiences to establish a sense of connectedness to *te ao* Māori. The perception of connectedness affirms a sense of pride and place, and can therefore affirm and normalise Māori identity. The fifth and final element, autonomy, lends itself to the perception of a 'normalised culture', which is able to self-represent positively in the televisual space. In this way, Māori wellbeing is increased through positive representation.

Participants agreed Māori Television cannot be the correct platform for Fourth Media in terms of political independence given its mandate to enrich culture for all. However, they did agree that MTS certainly aids in personal autonomy; Māori ways of being and knowing are affirmed and validated in a Pākehā-centric society. In this way, MTS transcends its capacity for Maori language and culture revitalisation; it empowers Māori people to 'be themselves'. Throughout the duration of the *kōrero* in the focus groups, it was clear that participants perceived the Māori Television Service as fostering these attributes for its viewership across all ages. As such, participants maintained that despite its mandate for inclusivity, MTS should cater to its Māori audiences first.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Chapter Introduction:

This research has been a journey that began with a question about the impact of Māori Television in the lives of Māori people, and how the people the network is designed to service perceive that service. Throughout the journey of this thesis, it has become evident that Māori Television is indeed a very powerful force, which is integral to the lives of many Māori given the political and cultural context from which it arose. The *Kaupapa* Māori paradigm, that is Māori ways of 'being' and 'knowing', is central to the research design, treatment, conduct, analysis and execution. In order to guide this discussion it is important to reiterate the initial research purpose, and to briefly examine whether the cultural and political context in which MTS arose is evident within the responses of the Māori participants.

This study set out to investigate Māori perceptions of Māori Television, and to gain an understanding of 'what' and 'how' Māori perceive the service, and if it has indeed impacted their lived experience. Given the social and political context in Aotearoa New Zealand from which Māori Television arose, it is important to have a measure of how it has impacted the lives of Māori people. As before mentioned, *Kaupapa* Māori theory lies at the core of this study, and requires that the research is conducted according to specific sets of *tikanga*, or ethics, and that the knowledge produced must in some way benefit the Māori communities it has researched. This concluding chapter summarises the key findings from both the survey and the focus groups, and discusses what potential meaning this may hold for Māori.

7.1 MĀORI TELEVISION'S VALUES AND STRATEGIC DIRECTION

As the research is concerned with perceptions of Māori Television, it is important to reiterate the network's values and strategic direction. As New Zealand's Indigenous broadcaster, Māori Television endeavours to provide a wide range of local content and international programming for its audiences. The vision of MTS according its website is:

Māori language is a *taonga* (treasure) at the heart of Māori culture and New Zealand's unique cultural identity. Our vision is for Māori language to be embraced and spoken by all (Māori Television, 2016).

Now in its twelfth year, Māori Television has two key long-term objectives:

To significantly contribute to the revitalisation of the Māori language; and
To be an independent Māori television service that is relevant, effective and widely accessible (Māori Television, 2016).

Māori Television's primary strategy is based on inclusivity, in that it strives to build a connection to Māori culture for all New Zealanders through its mix of locally produced programming, free-to-air sport, intelligent and entertaining international documentaries and coverage of significant events in New Zealand (Māori Television, 2016). As a part of its founding legislation, Māori Television embraces the Reithian values of informing, educating and entertaining while broadcasting mainly in *te reo* Māori with special consideration given to children and others who are learning *te reo* Māori. It is important to reiterate the goals and objectives of Māori Television at this point, in order to provide a measure by which to discuss key findings.

7.2 KEY SURVEY FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Notably, the majority of the 288 Māori participants reflected the age and gender of the researcher, with 40% of participants locating themselves within the 35-44 age bracket, and 73% of survey participants being female. As previously mentioned, Castillo (2009) argues 'snowballing' can lead to sampling bias, but it was thought that access to Māori communities and the ability to self-identify as Māori outweighed any potential bias. And although this survey was self-selected, respondents were still able to offer valuable insights. On the other hand however, the *iwi* represented within the group reflected *iwi* data from Statistics New Zealand; that is to say, the largest *iwi* groups as identified by Statistics New Zealand, were also the largest *iwi* groups represented within the study.

As the visualisations suggest, the results from each question asked were overall very positive. Significantly, over half of all respondents indicated they tune in to watch specific programming offered by MTS, felt that it does a 'good' job in representing themselves, their *whānau* and wider Māori communities, and it has also done well in increasing their general knowledge of *te ao Māori* including *te reo me ngā tikanga*. Over half of all respondents felt that Māori Television did well in representing diversity in Māoridom. The most popular shows on the network were reported as being documentaries, Māori language learning, international film, cooking and comedy, while the least popular were game shows, quiz shows, magazine shows and reality television. Overall MTS rated highly on all scales, and overall impressions of the

service received a score of 3.9, out of a measure of 1 (poor) to 5 (outstanding). In terms of its vision for Māori language and culture to be valued by all, and strategic direction to remain accessible and relevant, Māori perceive it as achieving its vision and keeping to its strategic plan.

Significant insights were offered within the survey when respondents were given the opportunity to elaborate on three of the questions: these questions were:

1. Do you think Māori Television enriches culture for all New Zealanders?
2. Is Māori Television an appropriate vehicle for Indigenous media, not only for expression and cultural preservation, but for political independence as well?
3. Do you watch Māori Television's news media?

There were some very powerful insights articulated by the respondents, which have been included in the previous section. Overwhelmingly, respondents maintain that Māori Television does enrich culture for all New Zealanders, as captured by this respondent:

“Yes. It gives Māori a presence in media. It provides an alternative proposition than mainstream that is Māori-centred. Giving us a voice (that others can listen to) and a place for us to share our stories (with each other) enriches conversations. But to do that, Māori TV needs to get wider audiences to choose Māori TV over mainstream channels”.

This comment is particularly insightful, as it highlights the fact that Māori have not had a voice in the media, so MTS therefore a platform that gives Māori a voice in the media in such a way that is inclusive to all, however for it to be more effective, it needs wider reach. However, in being ‘all inclusive’ there are fears it may not be able to adequately service the needs of its Māori communities. Further, as Prentice (2013) points out, Māori Television stipulates “[Māori] culture that is the birth right of every Māori and the heritage of every New Zealander” and indicates that “agency within a national mediascape is dispersed across the values of Māori cultural identity, the politics and condition of indigeneity, a unique New Zealand (national) identity, and their shared participation in a global society” (p.184). The point here, that its inclusiveness indicates ‘shared participation’ and the extent to which that exists, even superficially in New Zealand is arguable.

Moreover, respondents were given an outline of what constitutes Indigenous media, which has to do with cultural preservation, creative expression and importantly, political self-determination (Hokowhitu, 2013), and were asked if Māori Television was an appropriate vehicle for Indigenous media and why they thought so. The overwhelming majority (98%)

agreed that it was the appropriate platform for this, while simultaneously recognising two reoccurring threads: the first is that it is an appropriate forum but it cannot be a vehicle for political change principally because of its mandate to have wide appeal. If MTS has a commitment to Indigenous broadcasting then, it must maintain a degree of independence from government. Secondly, it was pointed out that MTS is currently the only forum for Indigenous media, but this should not be the sole responsibility of Māori Television. If indeed, 'Māori culture is the birth right of every Māori and heritage of every New Zealander' then space should be made for it on mainstream networks. Throughout the articulated responses, it is evident that Māori have had the lived experience of the misrepresentation or complete omission of their culture in mainstream media. This brings to mind Abel's (2013) argument on national identity, in that it is the Māori component which differentiates New Zealand culture, but the power to decide which aspects of *te ao Māori* "lies beyond the control of Indigenous hands" and is likely to be tokenistic (p.204). Māori Television then, is limited in its capacity to produce Indigenous media due to its mandate for 'wide appeal', while mainstream networks show around 2% general Māori content – which would be safe to assume it contains very little which could be classed as Indigenous media within it.

The third and final survey question centred on Māori Television's news and current affairs, and unsurprisingly the vast majority (79.5%) of Māori in this study, prefer to watch via the medium, as it is perceived as less biased and reports Māori news items extensively. Although this is hardly an earth-shattering insight, it is an important insight, which confirms the hegemonic practices of the mainstream media highlighted in the review of literature (Abel, 1997; Abel, 2007; Cochrane, 1990; McCreanor, 1993; Wall, 1997). Further, as Comrie (2012) points out, Māori are "14.6 per cent of the 4.4 million population and are significant in the country's identity and economy" (p. 3). The respondents' insights reflect Stephens (2004) argument that there is "a disgracefully small amount of media time for the television needs of people who are ostensibly equal partners in Aotearoa" (p.108). In this way, the asymmetry of the so-called bicultural partnership is once again revealed.

Prentice (2013) raises an important insight, that while biculturalism is not necessarily detrimental for Māori, the very establishment on which this country was predicated supported settler monoculturalism. The point being that the preservation and promotion of Māori language and culture was repeatedly resisted by the State however; New Zealand as a nation is now supported and strengthened by Māori culture on a global scale. He writes:

I suggest that it is important to mark a political shift from one of challenge, protest, and petition – the political charge of the call for representation, inclusion, agency, from a position “outside” the system being called on – to one of institutional (ized) participation of Māori language and culture in the fortunes of the nation, and of both of these in the context of a global cultural economy. If the latter thrives on expansion though diversity, the question remains open as to the significance of Māori postcolonial agency (Prentice, 2013, p.184).

The argument points to the commodification of Māori which culture has being beneficial to New Zealand on a global scale that seeks difference in the form of the exotic Other; in the review of literature, this is what Scherer (2013) refers to as “trading the other” (p.42). And it further it alludes to Abel’s (2013) previous point that not only do Māori have little control over what aspects of their culture are used, but the usage remains largely tokenistic. As mentioned in the review of literature, Spivak (1988) argues that the subaltern lacks the position from which to speak and the infrastructure from which to be heard; in other words, post-colonial discourse is deeply rooted in elitism, power and politics, so therefore these are beyond the control of the subaltern (or the Indigenous). This is significant, because although Māori have the tools and the medium to ‘speak,’ from the data that has emerged the question must be asked; to what extent are they able to ‘speak’? Certainly in terms of political change, their voices are stifled.

7.3 KEY FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Mintzberg (p.356) suggests “we must choose our theories according to how useful they are, not how true.” In the case of the focus groups, there were five themes that emerged from the data, which indicate that Māori viewers perceive the attributes of Māori Television as:

1. ACCESSIBILITY
2. INCLUSIVITY
3. CONNECTEDNESS
4. IDENTITY
5. AUTONOMY

It is important to point out here, that it is from the perspective of historical loss (Whitbeck et al., 2004) as mentioned in the review of literature that brings these themes to the fore. The vast majority of participants perceive themselves as having experienced a loss of culture, or fragmented culture; therefore, MTS is a significant tool in reconnecting Māori with *te ao Māori*.

Accordingly, these five themes show that the Māori Television Service has a significant influence on participants' perceived relationship with *te ao Māori* because of the existence of MTS. As before mentioned in the review of literature, Anderson's (1991) theory on 'imagined communities' suggests television media in this way, shapes and influences the social imaginary of a nation, and in this case it has aided in the construction of a Māori social identity, within a nation (Stuart, 2005). This theory is important for two reasons: the first is that throughout this research, Māori have consistently recognised their negative portrayal, or omission altogether by mainstream networks. This has been mentioned throughout the review of literature, and is captured by Mita when she writes:

[Māori] are aware of how negatively we are portrayed in television, in film and in newspapers...[and] are becoming increasingly aware that at some stage in this media game we must take control of our own image. And the reason that that is important is because only when we do that, only when we have some measure of self-determination about how we appear in the media will the truth be told about us. Only when we have control of our image will we be able to put on the screen the very positive images that are ourselves, that are us. Merata Mita (1992) cited in Pihama, (1996, p. 57).

Participants in this study recognise the disintegration of Māori language and culture in Aotearoa, and as such, are fully able to conceptualise the inherent value of television media dedicated to *te reo me ngā tikanga*. The second reason, is that Māori perceive MTS as a way of 'plugging in' to the social imaginary of the Māori nation.

In order to guide the discussion, at this point it is important to clarify the meaning of the 5 themes in the context of this study:

1. Accessibility – although this can refer to access in terms of frequency and technology, in other words, everyone with television set and Freeview capability can access the MTS. More specifically, perceptions of accessibility are thought of in an ethereal sense - in that MTS provides to *te ao Māori*. As pointed out in several instances, to gain access to knowledge from *Kuia*, for example, it was necessary to be physically present with them; to experience *whaikōrero*, requires a formal gathering. Moreover, Māori who are urban may not have had the experience of pig hunting or gathering shell fish, so programmes like *Kai Time on the Road* provide an accessible 'Māori' experience. For some, it is a reflection of themselves, for others, it is a kind of portal into *te ao Māori*. Notably this is not

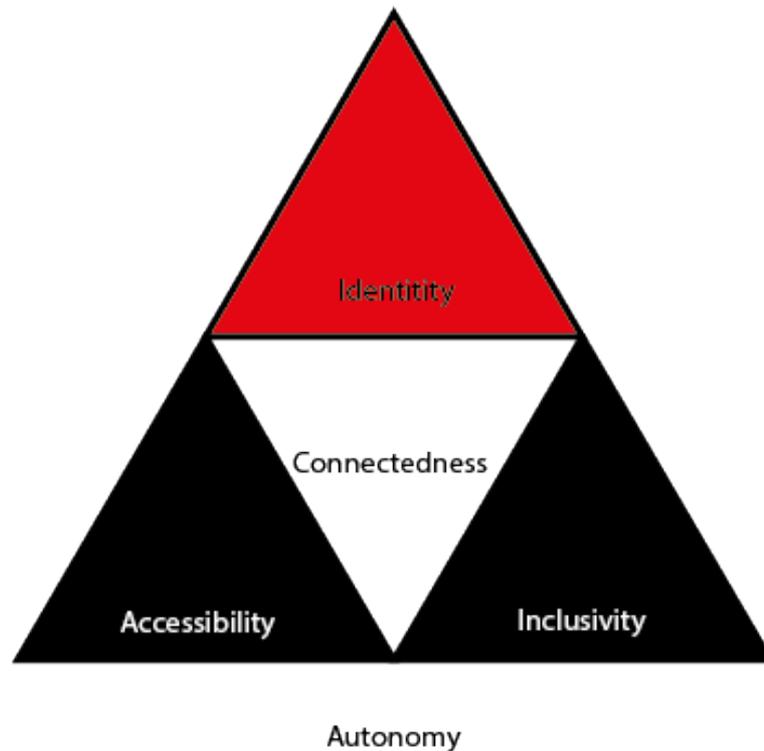
to say MTS can replace the lived access to *te ao Māori*, but for some, this is the only access they have on a daily basis.

2. Inclusivity – this refers to the networks tagline ‘Ma Tatou – For All’ and the data which has emerged from the focus groups, found MTS to be inclusive of all ages, levels of reo, diverse Māori identities, and both Māori and non-Māori. For instance, the parents felt included because of the children’s programming, for the *rangatahi* it was shows such as *Swagger*, *Find Me a Māori Bride* and *kapahaka*, for those with better command of *te reo*, *Paepae* was important, while learners of *te reo* tune in for *Kōrero Mai*, while those with little *reo* felt included through the international films and documentary shown on the service. In this way, broad viewership is encouraged and in some ways, is aligned with PBS broadcasting of which there is little of in the New Zealand mediascape.
3. Connectedness- as one focus group participant put it “As an urban dweller immersed in monocultural surroundings, I can look at Māori Television and remember that I am Māori.” This is especially true for those living away from *hapū* and *iwi*, MTS is a way for Māori to perceive a connection to *te ao Māori*. For the parents in the group, the connectedness to *te ao Māori* was solidified through engaging in Māori children’s programming with their children. For the *rangatahi*, connectedness to *te ao Māori* is sparked through the celebration of *kapahaka*, and the discussions and banter which followed on social media newsfeeds after competitions such as *Te Matatini* were aired. MTS allows Māori to ‘plug in’ to *te ao Māori*. In this way, these common threads bind Māori as a people allowing for real connection to *te ao Māori* outside of MTS, as in the case of the ‘*haka* discussions’ on Facebook.
4. Identity- in forging strong connections with *te ao Māori* in the televisual space, participants indicated that this increases their pride in identifying themselves as Māori. Furthermore, most participants perceived MTS as celebrating and portraying diverse Māori identities. This is significant, as it widens the definition of what Māori can be, and encourages and enables Māori to embrace their own Māori identity, or in other words, how they choose to identify as Māori. The ability to relate to the stories and programming shown on MTS, affirms and normalises Māori ways of being and knowing and therefore strengthens Māori identity.

5. Autonomy- this theme relates to Māori aspirations in terms of the ability to self-represent, to tell Māori stories, news items and current affairs all from diverse Māori perspectives. It is important to note however, that although participants recognised MTS as aiding in Māori autonomy in terms of self-representation, they also recognised it is not to be confused with self-determination. In other words, it was perceived that MTS allows for some autonomy, but within a limited capacity. This is because of its mandate to service a broad viewing audience and to be inclusive and enrich culture for all New Zealanders. Notably, MTS cannot be divorced from Māori cultural politics given the political context in which it arose. However, the ability and capability for Māori to positively self-represent in the televisual space is significant, as it can directly contribute to Māori wellbeing.

In addition, the five themes that have emerged from the focus groups can also be viewed as a process in personal identification with *te ao Māori*. Although televisual culture, in its capacity to protect and promote Māori culture and language, can be seen as a simulation rather than experience grounded in the real world (Prentice, 2013). However, the research shows that the themes can also be perceived as a process in the recovery of lost or fragmented culture, predominantly for those who have had little experience of it. It is important to note, this model may not fit all Māori; however it was certainly relevant to the Māori participants in this study.

7.4 FIGURE 3: DEVELOPING AUTONOMY IN MĀORI WAYS OF BEING AND KNOWING



The objective to protect and promote Māori language and culture through broadcasting, MTS fosters accessibility, inclusivity and connectedness for Māori viewers to *te ao Māori*, and significantly contributes to the development of a Māori identity. In aggregate, these attributes enable personal autonomy in Māori ways of being and knowing. This model illustrates how each attribute represented by the *tāniko* motif *nihoniho*, connect to form a *niho taniwha*. The *niho taniwha* represents personal autonomy in Māori ways of being and knowing.

To reiterate, the accessibility of MTS and its inclusive approach, enables Māori to reconstruct, reconstitute and strengthen a connection with *te ao Māori*. From this perceived connectedness to *te ao Māori*, Māori identity is strengthened, which can lead to greater autonomy in an individual's expression of being Māori. As a result of this study however; I suspect Māori with a greater knowledge of *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori*, may feel less connected with this model because they may not have a need for a platform such as Māori Television to connect with *te ao Māori* as it is already a fundamental component of their lives. However, the model may still apply to that particular group by varying degrees; it certainly aids in the normalisation of the language and culture, which allows for freedom in their expression of Māori ways of being and knowing.

After careful analysis of the data that has emerged from the focus groups, participants repeatedly identified these specific perceptions, irrespective of the particular 'subject' discussed during the focus group sessions.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter contains the final evaluation of the study in the culmination of both qualitative and quantitative data informed by *kaupapa* Māori research paradigm. Next, the section explores some final thoughts on the study. Lastly, this section discusses the limitations of this study and makes recommendations for future research.

8.1 EVALUATION

From the outset of this research, it was important to investigate how Māori perceive MTS, and discover what impact, if any, it had made in their daily lives. This study has uncovered Māori perceptions of Māori Television in ways I had not initially anticipated. That is to say, it is far more significant in the New Zealand mediascape and for Māori, than what I could have possibly imagined. Māori produced media that operates within a *kaupapa* Māori organisation supports more than language revitalization and cultural learning: it nurtures cultural wellbeing through inclusive practices, connects Māori to *te ao* Māori and the Indigenous world, supports Māori identity and finally, holds potential for Māori autonomy, in whatever capacity that might be.

Further, the existence of MTS highlights the asymmetry inherent in State sanctioned biculturalism; for the simple reason that there is a separate network for things Māori, and that things Māori are so lacking on mainstream networks. However, MTS represents more than what has been lost, what is unequal, and that which remains unseen by the mainstream; it also represents the continual unfolding of *te ao* Māori through the broadcast of a living culture to its Māori viewers. In this way, MTS emboldens reclamation of Māori language and culture, which has been lost to large proportion of Māori people. Significantly, MTS affirms Māori ways of being and knowing, which serves to normalize it for both Māori and non-Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Although it can be argued, MTS is restrictive in terms of Fourth Media and somewhat simulative in that it is *te ao* Māori in the televisual space; it is the beginning of autonomy for Māori, in whatever capacity that may be. Through MTS, Māori people have the capability to self-represent positively, which research suggests has a direct influence on Māori wellbeing (Barnes et al., 2012; Houkamau and Sibley, 2011).

Given mainstream media's persistent treatment of Māori in negative ways, the ability to self-represent in the televisual space is of utmost importance. For instance, Devadas's (2013)

analysis 'Tuhoē terror raids' as explored in the review of literature, is a prime example of the ways in which Māori are portrayed as a threat to society. He writes:

The operations of the mainstream media around the "anti-terror" raids tell a particular tale: for an officially self-declared bicultural, postcolonial nation that champions its race relations as exemplary, the media circuit's perpetuation of a Manichean view of terror clearly demonstrates that New Zealand has not dismantled leftover colonial processes of subject and identity formation. In short, it is not quite postcolonial.

Coverage of this story evoked fear for public safety and thus serves racialized discourses. Had the 'Tuhoē terror raids' been covered from Māori perspectives, it would not have evoked so much fear for public safety (Devadas, 2013). Further, participants of this research both in the survey and the focus groups, expressed a tacit understanding of mainstream media's treatment of Māori and that for real change to occur, Māori content should be available on mainstream networks also.

In aggregate, MTS has a mammoth undertaking: it must protect and promote *te reo* Māori, enrich culture and heritage for all New Zealanders, appeal to a broad viewership, manage programming for all levels of *te reo* mastery, tastes and ages. This research suggests that Māori perceive MTS exceeding these undertakings, and is a significant in maintaining connection to *te ao* Māori. However, there is a danger in that with its aspirations to become a fully independent broadcaster, its capability for "talking in" (Barclay, 2005) could be seriously impaired. A prime example of this has already occurred within the New Zealand mediascape, with TVNZ's commercial objectives overtaking its public service objectives to the point where it has become one of the most commercialized markets in the world (Thomson, 2010). In this way, important Māori programming, which is perceived to draw limited audiences, or have little appeal to non-Māori viewers, could be relegated to 'ghetto time slots' or removed from scheduling completely. This, I suggest, would be highly detrimental to its Māori viewership. In its aspiration to become fully independent, commercial directives would surely disrupt the clear benefits MTS supports as discussed in this research.

Very recently, I watched as my 7-year-old nephew play clips of a *haka* that he had recorded from Māori Television, and preceded to perform the *haka* with conviction and completely in-sync with those performers on screen. Although Māori, this child was born and raised in Australia, and had come to live in New Zealand with his parents six months prior. This child has never had the opportunity to attend *kura*, or learn *kapahaka*. His parents, although Māori, do not speak *te reo* or 'do' *kapahaka*; yet this child was able to actively engage with his culture

and learn a *haka* through the televisual space, even in the absence of a person there to teach him. It could be argued in this instance the situation was somewhat simulated, and that perhaps there is a danger that learning about culture in this way. For instance, as expressed in the survey comments, this kind of behavior may lead to values and behaviors which could be perceived as Māori, but are not true and correct ways of being Māori. However, what is important here is that MTS sparked this child's interest in Māori culture. In engaging his interest in this way, MTS could be the catalyst to inspire him to want to learn Māori ways of being and knowing one day, which are *tika*. In the absence of MTS, this child would not have had the same kind of access to *te ao Māori*.

The Māori populous who have and know *te reo me ngā tikanga*, and have daily access to *te ao Māori* whether that be through *kapahaka*, living in their *papakāinga* or in Māori communities, MTS can only serve as a function to strengthen that connection *te ao Māori*. Although there are those who criticize MTS's function in promoting and validating culture for all New Zealanders, this study shows that the existence of MTS alone serves Māori communities in vast and varied ways. Of course, MTS has scope for improvement in terms of Fourth Media and servicing its Māori audiences so that connections to *te ao Māori* can be further strengthened, however this is where I suggest opportunities for future research would be most valuable. In the final analysis, the important question must be asked, has this research added value to the field of knowledge? In validating the *kaupapa* Māori research paradigm, it is of utmost importance to ask 'does this research benefit Māori?'

In acknowledging the loss of culture that has occurred through colonisation, in affirming the value that MTS brings into the lives of Māori (albeit in varying degrees), in enriching the culture of New Zealand on a global stage, one must certainly answer yes.

Interestingly, in a recent study Indigenous media scholar Jo Smith (2015, p.2) asks how has Māori Television contributed to the media cultures of Aotearoa in its first 10 years onscreen? Summaries of her key findings are:

1. Needs to be understood within the longer history of language and cultural struggle and the wider media environment and established television practices in relation to the diverse political and cultural desires attached to MTS
2. Is a crucial actor in supporting language and cultural shifts and is often framed as an important vehicle for Māori development

3. Offers *kaupapa*-driven media within a competitive commercial media environment
4. Helps set Māori agendas within the public spheres of Aotearoa that private diverse Māori perspectives
5. Remains accountable to its many stakeholders – the Crown and diverse Māori communities
6. Needs to continue to develop Māori driven programming and practices
7. Encourages wider discussion about the state of New Zealand media more generally, and the politics of Indigenous television in Aotearoa and beyond

While Smith's (2015) research is not specific to Māori perceptions of MTS, parallels can be drawn between her research findings and those found in this study:

1. An understanding of the historical and political context and a review of the New Zealand mediascape was essential in understanding perceptions of MTS
2. Participants voiced the importance of MTS language learning and normalization of Māori of language and culture
3. *Kaupapa* driven media is crucial in having access to aspects of te ao Māori previously available through formal forums (such as marae and wānanga)
4. MTS supports diverse Māori identities and perspective, and encourages discussions of Māori issues in the public sphere
5. MTS perceived as having a responsibility to its Māori audiences first
6. Identified that MTS has room for growth and development
7. Participants demonstrated a tacit understanding of the New Zealand media and its treatment of Māori

The results of this study show how truly valuable MTS is to Māori viewers yet; it also highlights the fundamental position it occupies in the New Zealand mediascape.

8.2 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Te ao Māori comprises many of diverse groups, including *whanau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, urban, and can include *kura*, *wananga*, *kōhanga reo*, *kapahaka* groups, and many other kinds of Māori collectives, organisations and subcultures constructed on the basis of being Māori. Therefore, the sample of Māori in this study cannot be understood as representative of a singular Māori world-view; the perspectives offered however are still useful in understanding how some Māori perceive MTS. The research findings are supported by much of the literature surveyed in the review of literature, which would suggest that the results of this study are relatively generalizable for Māori perceptions of Māori Television and production and portrayal of Māori in the mainstream media. In other words, the opinions expressed by many of the participants aligned with existing research in the field, thus adding credibility to this study.

A further potential limitation to this study is the selection of research participants who were selected on the basis of access. The survey participants were self-selected, self-identified Māori who had to have internet access and a Facebook account in order to participate. Furthermore, the use of the 'snowballing' method, although providing access to minority or 'hard to reach' communities, can encourage a sample of people who share similar characteristics. This was reflected somewhat in the survey results, with 72 % of participants identifying themselves as women, and 41 % in the 35 – 44 age range, which corresponds to the age and sex of the researcher. However, it was decided that access to Māori communities and providing a platform which would allow participants to self-select and self-identify as Māori outweighed this potential sampling bias. Notably, the *iwi* represented in this study was a direct reflection of *iwi* populations across the country. Further, a strength of this method however was that the survey was completely anonymous, and therefore encouraged participants to express their true perceptions and opinions, given that individuals could not be identified with any certainty, and would have nothing to gain from deception in the survey. Likewise, conducting the survey online via the medium of Facebook, allowed all participants direct access to the researcher, should they wish to discuss any aspects of the study, which some of them did.

Moreover, another potential limitation to this study is located within the focus group participants. The researcher had to largely rely on personal networks in order to secure participants. It was initially thought from the outset of this research, that posters strategically posted around the Campus asking for Māori research participants would be enough to secure

volunteers; however this was not the case. There was very little response, with little or no commitment to the dates and times stipulated. Further, the focus group had to be rescheduled on account of not enough focus group participants coming to the session. Therefore, as the researcher, I had to rely on my personal networks of Māori to come and participate in the sessions. Nevertheless, in both sessions the sexes were equal, with no one particular age group (the ages were widespread, ranging from 60 to 18 years of age in both sessions) and although they mostly came from my personal networks, participants were not necessarily familiar with each other. Likewise, there was no need for participants to self-identify as Māori because I knew with certainty that the participants from my personal networks identified as Māori, which mitigated the risk of making of incongruous assumptions about the identity of the participants.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has identified some of the key processes by which Māori Television strengthen links to *te ao Māori* for Māori viewers, and in turn how this affects the lives of its Māori audiences. Therefore, it may be useful for future research to be conducted about how MTS may better service its Māori communities in terms of ‘fine tuning’ its programming in order to intensify the perceived connection for Māori to *te ao Māori*. Currently, there has been very little research conducted on historical loss, a theory introduced by then Māori party politician Tariana Turia in her address to the New Zealand Psychological Association in 2002. The theory of historical loss was based on a study conducted by Native American scholar Brave Heart (1993), in a Native American community, which demonstrated how historical loss could have wide implications on current generations. Research into historical loss pertinent to Māori communities could potentially be a useful starting point in identifying ways in which MTS could work to help repair and reconstitute the loss of culture that has occurred through the process of colonisation.

As previously Stated, Māori Television’s key mandates are imposed by its stakeholders, the Crown and the Māori Electoral College: it must significantly contribute to the revitalization of Māori language and “be an independent Māori Television Service that is relevant, effective and widely accessible” (Māori Television, 2016). What is important in future research, is to find ways that will ensure ‘independence’ in terms of commercialisation and ‘wide access’ do not come at the cost of its primary objective to contributing to the revitalization of the Māori language. Derek Fox (2004) writes:

Our language has been brought to the very brink of extinction, more than anything else by the influence of monolingual broadcasting... So broadcasting has an enormous responsibility in the recovery of a language it has helped to push toward extinction (p.266).

Therefore, it is essential to find a balance between commercial imperatives and properly servicing its Māori audiences, so that building an independent Māori broadcaster that is 'widely accessible' does not negate its responsibility in repairing the damage that has occurred through monolingual and monocultural broadcasting.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A: ETHICAL APPROVAL



16 June 2015

Rosser Johnson
Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies

Dear Rosser

Re Ethics Application: **15/151 Maori viewership of Maori television**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTECS).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 15 June 2018.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTECS:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 15 June 2018;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 15 June 2018 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTECS is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence.

AUTECS approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTECS grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this.

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

All the very best with your research,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K O'Connor', is positioned above the typed name.

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
Cc: Jessica Paul jpaul@aut.ac.nz

APPENDIX B: SURVEY QUESTIONS



1. Are you male or female? M/F
2. What is your age group? 18 – 25 / 26 – 36 / 37 – 47 / 48 – 58 / 59+
3. What are your tribal affiliations?
4. Do you watch television? Yes/No
5. If so, how many hours per week? 1-5 / 5-10 / 11-16 / 20+
6. Do you watch Māori television? Yes/No
7. If so, how many hours per week? 1-5 / 5-10 / 11-16 / 20+
8. What time of the day do you watch Māori television? Morning / daytime / after work / after dinner
9. Do you like the programming on Māori television?
10. If so, what programs do you enjoy watching?
11. Do you think Māori television represents Māori people positively or negatively on a scale of 1 – 5? (1 being very negatively and 5 being very positively) 1 2 3 4 5
12. What is your reason for this?
13. Has Māori television increased your knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori?
14. Has Māori television increased your connection with te ao Māori?
15. Does Māori television encourage you to feel proud of being Māori?
16. Has Māori television made a difference to you personally?

APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP SCHEDULE



Focus Group Schedule

1. Mihimihi: Introductions
2. Outline of group conduct
3. Warm up exercise
4. Which free-to-air television channel do you spend the MOST time watching (TV1, TV2, TV3, Four, Prime, Māori Television, Te Reo)? Why?
5. What kinds of programmes do you watch on television? Why do you watch them?
6. In a few words, how do you feel Māori are portrayed generally, on television (positively or negatively)?
7. Research suggests Māori are often portrayed as violent offenders or radicals holding on to the past. Do you think Māori Television provides alternative, more positive representations of Māori, or not? Why?
8. What are the differences / similarities between Māori programming on MTS and mainstream networks? Why do you think this is?
9. What shows do you watch on MTS?
10. How do these programmes reflect your own experience as a Māori? How? / Why not?
11. Do you see Māori stereotypes on Māori Television? – If so, how does this reflect on your experience of as Māori?
12. Do you think Māori issues in the news and current affairs are portrayed differently on MTS compared to the mainstream media? If so, how?
13. In your opinion, has viewing Māori television made a difference to your knowledge of *tikanga me te reo Māori*?
14. In your opinion, has Māori Television affected your attitude toward being Māori? If so, why?
15. Has MTS helped in any way, to reinforce your connection with *Te Ao Māori*?
16. How does MTS cater to your needs as a Māori viewer?
17. Final thoughts: Has Māori Television made a difference to you personally?
18. Wrap / wharekai for meal

APPENDIX D: CONSENT FORM



Consent Form

Project Title: An Empirical Study of Māori Viewership of Māori Television

Researcher: Jessica Paul

Supervisor: Rosser Johnson

Your contribution of knowledge to this research will be regarded as a tāonga; a treasure which is to be guarded by the researcher. Your thoughts and opinions will be valued and respected, and it is the researcher's responsibility to ensure comments are not taken out of context, and to facilitate a safe environment for all participants.

I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 12 May 2015.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

I understand that the identity of my fellow participants and the content of our discussions in the focus group are kept confidential, and I agree to keep this information confidential.

I understand that notes will be taken during the focus group and that it will also be videotaped. This material will then be transcribed.

I understand that all videotaped material created during the focus groups sessions is deemed to be owned by the researcher and that I do not own any copyright of these materials.

I understand that the videotaped materials will be used for academic purposes and as data to inform this project only.

I understand that I am not obliged to participate in a follow up interview and may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

If I withdraw, I understand that records of the focus group discussion of which I was part will be kept for 6 years. However I am aware that the relevant information about myself including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will not be used.

I agree to take part in this research.

I wish to receive a copy of a summary of findings from this research once it has been completed (please circle one):

Yes/ No Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

Date:

APPENDIX E: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION



Participation Information sheet

Date information sheet produced: 21/04/2015

Project title: An Empirical Analysis of Māori Viewership of Māori Television.

Invitation

You are invited to participate in a research project examining Māori perceptions of Māori television in New Zealand. The purpose of this research is to find out firstly, if Māori audiences are viewing the Māori television service, and if so, how this impacts on Māori identity and engagement with te ao Māori. Your decision to participate is completely voluntary, and should you agree to participate in this study you are free to withdraw at any time with no adverse consequences. The researcher's name is Jessica Paul (Maniapoto, Tainui). Jessica is Bachelor of Communications Studies (hons) and Bachelor of Māori Media/Māori Development graduate from the Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand. Jessica is currently in her second year of her Master of Communication Studies degree at the Auckland University of Technology. She is of Māori and European descent and has a strong interest in te ao Māori and also in media studies.

What is the purpose of this research? This research is being conducted in order to fulfil the course requirements of the researcher for the completion of a Master of Communication Studies degree at AUT University. The aim of this research is to explore different understandings of Māori television documentary in Aotearoa. Focus group sessions, with participants like yourself, will provide information about audience perceptions of Māori television documentary, answering the main questions put forth by this study. The final study will be in the form of a written thesis (report). This research will benefit current and budding Māori documentary filmmakers as well as contribute to national and international literature on Indigenous documentary. The researcher will endeavour to publish the results of this study in a scholarly journal.

The purpose of this research:

The purpose of this research in the first instance, is to being conducted in order to fulfil the course requirements of the researcher for the completion of a Master of Communication Studies degree at AUT University. Further, the aim of the study is to explore how Māori perceive the Māori television service. In choosing to participate in this focus groups session, you will provide valued information about audience perceptions of Māori television. There will be a series of open ended questions, and the resulting discussion will be collected, collated and analysed. The final study will be in the form of a written thesis. This research will benefit Māori people as well as Māori broadcasters, as well as contribute to literature on indigenous television networks.

What are the benefits of my participation in this research?

The information you provide will be used to contribute to literature on Māori perceptions of Māori constructed media. In the field of media and communication studies, there are very few empirical studies which investigate this topic. Your participation will provide much needed data, and contribute not only to te ao Māori, but to New Zealand society in general. Your input will help academics and researchers understand how Māori media can be constructed in ways which will benefit Māori audiences, and how it can assist in normalising Māori language and culture to the mainstream. Your contribution will be acknowledged in the final submission, as well as any further submissions which may result from this project.

Why am I being invited to participate in this research?

Local universities were identified as the best places to find and attract potential participants. You also identify as Māori, and have an interest in te ao Māori. As such, your input will be highly relevant to this research.

What will happen in this research?

You will either be asked to fill in an anonymous survey, taking about 5 minutes, or asked to participate in a focus group, taking about an hour (maximum). The focus groups will be the discussion resulting from a list of questions asked by the facilitator.

What are the discomforts and risks?

It is possible you may experience some minor discomfort when answering certain question. It is also possible there may be conflicting opinions within the group.

How will risks be mitigated?

If at any stage you do not want to answer a question or participate in discussion, you will not be pressured to do so. It will also be emphasised that participant identity and focus group information will be kept confidential. Participants will be asked to respect each other and act accordingly. Guidelines and appropriate behaviour will be explained to you before the focus groups begins, so that any potential discomfort can be avoided. However, should conflict and

discomfort arise, you can choose to leave the focus group. Furthermore, if you experience any distress, a counsellor will be provided to you free of cost.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your name, or any other personal details, will not be used in the final thesis. Pseudo-names will be used when transcribing the data, so that I am able to differentiate between the information of each participant. The video footage will be stored securely for six years at AUT University, after which they will be destroyed. Only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the video footage. You can withdraw your contribution at any time without negative consequences, however the footage or recordings cannot be destroyed as you are a part of a group discussion, and it will affect the information provided by other participants. That said, no information provided by you will be used in the final submission should you choose to withdraw.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The costs will be up to a maximum of two hours of your time.

How long do I have to consider this invitation?

You are requested to notify the researcher of your decision within one week. Your decision to participate is entirely voluntary. If you require any additional information about this research please contact the researcher, Jessica Paul.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

You can agree by return on email, text or verbal consent. On the day, you will be asked to sign a Consent Form.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You will not formally receive any feedback on the results of this research. If you wish, you can be provided with a brief summary of the research and its outcomes at the conclusion of this project (September 2015).

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding this research project can be directed to Project Supervisor, Dr. Rosser Johnson, rosser.johnson@aut.ac.nz, 0064 9 921 9999 ext 6267.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 0064 9 921 9999 ext 7818.

APPENDIX F: CALL FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS



Kia ora whānau!

Participants wanted for a Masters Research project! This will include a discussion on Māori viewership of Māori Television.

Participants must identify as Māori, and be aged 18 years and over. Participants will be requested to take part in a focus group session.

This session will include:

A 45-minute ‘question and answer’ discussion about Māori Television and how it relates to notions of Māori identity, and the place of Māori in New Zealand.

Audio and videotaping of this session will be conducted. Kai will be provided after the session.

You will need to be available for ONE of the session times below.

WHERE: Ngā Wai o Horotiu marae

WHEN: Tuesday 12 May, 12pm-2pm OR

Tuesday 19 May, 12pm-2pm

If you are able and willing to attend please contact the researcher as soon as possible: Jessica

Paul

jpaul@aut.ac.nz Mob: 022 650 9262