

Desperately Seeking  
A National Identity:  
Philippa K Smith  
MA 2003

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Attestation of Authorship	3
Acknowledgments	4
Abstract	5
List of Figures	6
Glossary	7
Introduction	9
 Chapter One:	
National Identity	
1.1 Identity and the roots of Nationalism	16
1.2 What is New Zealand's national identity?	22
1.3 New Zealanders in the new millenium	29
 Chapter Two:	
Television, Culture and National Identity	
2.1 The power of television	40
2.2 Media cultural imperialism	41
2.3 New Zealand's National identity - in whose interests?	49
2.4 New Zealand (Identity) On Air	51
 Chapter Three:	
3.1 National identity and <i>Heartland</i>	63
3.2 Narrative theory	65
3.3 Primary research and methodology	68
3.4 Recognising the researcher as an intimately engaged participant	72
3.5 Banality has its virtues	73
3.6 Preferred reading	74
 Chapter Four:	
4.1 <i>Heartland</i> - series description	76
4.2 Riding the narrative arc - case studies	79
4.3 <i>East Coast - Towards the Light</i>	80
4.4 <i>Growing Up in Fendalton</i>	92
4.5 <i>Glenorchy - A Wet Day in Paradise</i>	103
4.6 <i>Heartland's</i> narrative structure	111

		<b>Page</b>
<b>Chapter Five:</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>Narrator's role 115</b>
	<b>5.2</b>	<b>Who is the 'real' Gary McCormick? 116</b>
	<b>5.3</b>	<b>The construction of McCormick and his relations with <i>Heartland</i>. 119</b>
	<b>5.4</b>	<b>Conclusion 133</b>
<b>Chapter Six:</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>Social actors' role 135</b>
	<b>6.2</b>	<b>Reflecting on narrative analysis 150</b>
<b>Chapter Seven:</b>	<b>7.1</b>	<b>Socio-cultural practice in <i>Heartland</i> Conclusion 152</b>
<b>List of Appendices</b>		<b>162</b>
<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>TVNZ Charter</b>	<b>163</b>
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>The Seven Bardic Roles of Television</b>	<b>166</b>
<b>Appendix C</b>	<b>Transcripts of the <i>Heartland</i> case studies. <i>East Coast Towards the Light</i> <i>Growing Up in Fendalton</i> <i>Glenorchy – A Wet Day in Paradise</i></b>	<b>167</b>
<b>References</b>		<b>259</b>

"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 nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgment is made in the acknowledgments."

Philippa K Smith

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My indebted thanks go to my supervisor Dr Alan Cocker who over the past two years has guided me through the thesis process, listened to my ramblings and philosophising, and provided me with wise and just advice. Recognition must also be paid to Janet Bedggood who provided me with references and knowledge to gain a good understanding of national identity from a cultural studies perspective, and to Professor Allan Bell who directed me into the deepest, darkest corners of the library to investigate appropriate methods of discourse analysis.

My fellow students Elna Teoh and Margaret Perkins have been wonderful sounding boards during the writing of my thesis and I thank them for their friendship and moral support. I am also grateful to my friends Sara Noble and Michael Harrington who read my final draft and contributed a 'bigger picture' view in their suggestions on my work.

Finally this thesis would not have been possible without the support of my family. Thank you to my husband Warwick who not only challenged my thinking at times, but also tolerated piles of paper invading his workspace. To my children Natasha, Alana and Simone - thank you for your patience when I have not always been able to give you my undivided attention and for graciously giving up the computer when I needed it. This thesis would not have been possible without the support of my mother Olga who has encouraged and helped me over the years to maintain an interest in academic studies at the same time as raising a family.

Gratitude must also be paid to my late father Dr. Gordon Mills who, while here only in spirit, instilled a solid work ethic in me as a child with a belief that anything is achievable if you put your mind to it.

## ABSTRACT

---

Television permeates our daily lives. Ninety seven per cent of New Zealand households have a television set and the average watching time is estimated at 20 hours per week (Grimes and Tyndall, 1999). This exposure to television has been recognised as an important factor in the way we see and identify ourselves as a nation – how we seek to find signs and symbols that construct a shared identity and culture that make us New Zealanders and distinguish us from other nations.

Using narrative theory combined with critical discourse analysis this thesis aims to show that, even in factual programmes, stories can be constructed that convey messages of nationhood and belonging, creating and recreating a national identity that present New Zealanders in a positive way and seek to bind them as a nation.

Three episodes of the television series *Heartland*, a popular documentary in the mid-1990s that explored the people and lifestyles in different locations around New Zealand, were selected for analysis focusing on narrative structure, the social actors and the role of the narrator. Critical discourse analysis was employed to look at the connection between language, image and text, and discursive practices as well as the relationship the text has in a socio-cultural context.

The analysis found that the programmes followed a similar narrative structure to that of a fictional story involving changes in states of equilibrium that created a sense of concern or anxiety associated with what it means to be a New Zealander. However the subsequent resolution of these anxieties combined with the entertaining role of the programme presenter Gary McCormick and the involvement of social actors, resulted in a version of New Zealand's national identity being represented as a reality through a positive discourse of the population working towards a socially and culturally harmonious society.

## LIST OF FIGURES

		Page
Fig. 1	<i>The Economist</i> (2001) “Post Taliban Nation Building”.	13
Fig. 2	Rakaia promotes the sport of trout fishing as a drawcard to the area with a gigantic fish.	36
Fig. 3	The framing of this Pakeha farmer surveying his land in <i>East Coast - Towards the Light</i> implies a dominating role reminiscent of colonial times.	83
Fig. 4	Maori spectators at the Ruatoria Show are framed in a more threatening light as the 'other' with their dark glasses and serious expressions compared to the 'pioneering' image of the Pakeha farmer in Fig. 3.	84
Fig. 5	This image of McCormick and a Christ's College master not only conveys the orderly, traditional English surroundings of Fendalton, but also implies an attempt to challenge the authority of the suburb's insular heritage by breaking 'boundaries' in defying the sign.	102
Fig. 6	This scene of jet-boating on the Dart River near Glenorchy helps to reinforce both the national pride associated with the 'beauty of New Zealand' ethos and the adventure park image which attracts tourists.	104
Fig. 7	Gary McCormick - narrator, presenter, Kiwi 'bloke' and 'New Zealander'.	116
Fig. 8	While sitting in on an art history class at Rangi Ruru College McCormick makes an aside to the audience about how lessons have changed since he left school.	119
Fig. 9	Di Aitkens - matriarch of the Aitkens family who are regular prizewinners at the annual Ruatoria Horse Sports competition.	138
Fig. 10	Rosie Grant - eccentric social actor from Glenorchy.	142

## GLOSSARY

**National identity** - a form of imaginative identification or sense of belonging to the nation-state expressed through symbols and discourses and which is continually reproduced through discursive action.

**Cultural identity** - a process whereby a group of people feel commonality due to shared experiences, icons, symbols and discourses relating to a common culture.

**Hybridity** - the mixing together of different cultural elements to create new meanings and identities. Hybrids destabilise and blur cultural boundaries in a process of fusion or creolisation.

**Cultural imperialism** - the imposition of one national culture upon another.

**Media imperialism** - whereby media are seen as central to carrying cultural meanings which penetrate and dominate the culture of a subordinate nation.

**Discourse** - a view of language which focuses on spoken and written texts and on the social and cultural contexts in which such language operates. Discourse can also include images and sound as part of the textual analysis.

**Critical discourse analysis** - a methodology that explores the connections between text, discursive practice (production, distribution and consumption) and the social and political context in which it occurs. It investigates ways that language constructs and is constructed by social relationships.

**Socio-cultural practice** - whereby discourse and language can be viewed as modes of action which are not only socially shaped but also socially shaping.

“No man is an island,  
Entire of itself.  
Each is a piece of the continent,  
A part of the main”

(John Donne, "Meditation 17",  
*Devotions Upon Divergent Occasions*, 1624)

## INTRODUCTION

---

The call for New Zealand television broadcasters to increase the level of local programmes which promote the country's national identity has been evident for many years from those working within the film and television production industry, literary guilds, politicians and the general public of New Zealand.

Debate on this issue has focused around the expense of producing local programming compared with the importation of cheaper products from countries dominant in television broadcasting such as Britain and in particular the United States of America. Yet despite the far higher costs of local programmes, the belief in the importance of them to promote a national identity for New Zealanders as a unique nation with a unique culture, has been a dominant and motivating factor.

When the Labour Party returned to power in 2000 it produced a Charter for the state-owned channels of Television New Zealand, although its implementation was delayed until March 2003. Among other suggestions the Charter stated the need to include not only programmes which were locally made but ones which promoted the country's unique culture, its national identity and citizenship. This emphasis on programmes that enabled New Zealanders from varying ethnic backgrounds to identify themselves as "one" nation of many people had been previously promoted by the public broadcasting funding body New Zealand On Air which concluded from its own surveys that New Zealanders wanted to see more of themselves on television.

The demand for television to embrace a greater role in promoting a country's national identity on television is not unique to New Zealand. If anything this country has lagged behind other nations who have taken a more proactive stance by regulating their broadcasters to protect their culture and their own television industries.

The move to stimulate the production of local programming has been a growing trend among a number of countries concerned about preserving their cultural and national identities in the face of the rapid growth and effects of globalisation and an associated

trans-national broadcasting of programmes through satellite and digital television technology. The threat of a country's unique identity and culture being, if not assimilated, at least influenced by exposure to the ideologies, values, attitudes and beliefs of another culture both consciously and subconsciously through television, has been a common concern (albeit on varying levels) among countries both in the developed and the developing worlds. Many countries feel threatened by the possible creation of a homogenous world culture and their fears can be seen as a further extension of earlier concerns about cultural imperialism dating back to the 1960s.

While governments of countries such as Australia, Finland and Ireland have introduced defensive regulatory measures by setting up content production quotas or a points system, (or in a more extreme move Saudia Arabia has banned satellite reception), to date New Zealand has yet to implement any of these measures. It has, however, proposed to change Television New Zealand from a SOE (State Owned Enterprise) into a CROC (Crown Owned Company) so that more emphasis can be placed on local content without the same level of commercial pressure.

This thesis focuses on the ways locally made television programmes can contribute to the promotion of New Zealand's national identity and one documentary series has been selected to investigate this.

The documentary series *Heartland* was chosen because of the nature of its format where each programme visited a part of New Zealand, speaking with the locals, showing their lifestyles, looking at the history of the area and focusing on a local festival or community activity which brought people together. The programme which first aired in 1994, rated well and received two awards. Because of its focus mainly on rural New Zealand, it seemed an appropriate programme to look at to analyse its promotion of a national identity.

The hypothesis to be tested is that *Heartland* uses narrative to construct a version of national identity that seeks to unite the nation. But before embarking on primary qualitative research using both narratology and critical discourse analysis, the thesis demanded contextualisation within the global and local environments. Defining national

identity requires a discussion of the theories of nationalism, the creation and development of nation states and what elements drive the desire of people to belong to a nation. These are discussed in Chapter One along with an investigation into New Zealand's national identity, looking at its origins and development to the present day.

Chapter Two discusses the role television plays in promoting and manipulating national identity. This covers the theories of media cultural imperialism and globalisation effects as well as a retrospective look at New Zealand television programmes and the ways they have portrayed the people and their country.

The thesis then focuses on the *Heartland* series with case studies of three selected episodes. Chapter Three explains the methodologies of narratology and critical discourse analysis used in this primary research. The final four chapters present the findings of the research beginning with an exploration of narrative structure in Chapter Four, then an examination of the role of the narrator/presenter in Chapter Five and that of the social actors in Chapter Six.

The conclusion of the thesis in Chapter Seven ties in the research with the socio-cultural practice surrounding the *Heartland* programmes. That is, how they both influence and are influenced by New Zealand society.

Research on national identity covers many different aspects. An enormous number of countries and states could be analysed. The picture is further complicated by increasing globalisation, the redrawing or redesignation of geographical boundaries with the collapse of states like the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and advances in communications technology which has resulted in a greater flow of identity construction available, for example, through the Internet.

Studies dating back to the 1950s and 1960s tended to reflect more on the historical aspects of nationalism and its development. Karl Deutsch (1966) catalogued an extensive, but what he terms a "highly selective", list of books written between 1953 and 1966 on the study of nationalism covering areas such as its psychological aspects, political development, comparative treatments of nationalism and national development,

experience of particular countries in building a national identity, communication and control, and research into supranational integration.

More recent research has often taken a retrospective view of nationalism in comparison with the events of the day. For example in the book *National Identity* edited by Keith Cameron (1999), there is a variety of essays including one by Diane Davies which explores the way the Welsh poets have used the English language to create a greater awareness of Welsh identity among their own people. Also part of this collection is Mark Blacksell's theory that even though East and West Germany are now united the years of separation have developed different identities, attitudes and lifestyles, and John Vincent's look at problems of ethnic identification through religion and language with the breaking up of the former state of Yugoslavia.

Jones and Smith (2001) studied the responses of individuals in 23 countries to questions on national identity and found their attitudes to national belonging were very similar whether they came from 'multi-cultural' or 'ethnic' nations. While national identity theory has treated countries differently because of social, historic, religious and economic diversity of experience, this study showed a commonality in belief at the 'private level of individual consciousness' (Jones and Smith, 2001, 59) that feelings and sentiment were the most important components of national identity followed by language.

World events continue to bring the concept of national identity into the public arena. The United States' invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 to seek out members of the Taliban, for example, prompted the cartoon below (Fig. 1) which shows the focus on the creation or rebuilding of nation states is still believed to be an important geo-political consideration. Consequently 'national identity' is subject to ongoing examination, research and discussion from a wide range of perspectives whether sociological, political, cultural, economic, anthropological, linguistic or media and communications.

(Fig.1) “Post Taliban Nation Building” , *The Economist*, 2001.

Research into aspects of New Zealand’s national identity has become more apparent in recent years. James Belich’s books *Making Peoples* (1996) and *Paradise Reforged* (2001) are an interpretive history of New Zealand since Polynesian settlement and address issues such as colonisation, the World Wars, recolonisation, Maori resurgence and immigration. Michael King’s publication *Being Pakeha* (1985) focused on teaching Pakeha to respect the rights of Maori in their own country and more than a decade later in his book *Being Pakeha Now* (1999) he sought to explain Pakeha New Zealanders to themselves and to Maori. Shifting identities through changes in immigration and the renewed political prominence of the Treaty of Waitangi are examined as part of the book *Changing Places: New Zealand in the Nineties* (1996) edited by Richard Le Heron and Eric Pawson. At the same time ethnic groups within New Zealand, other than Maori and

Pakeha, have received attention as in Thomas K Fitzgerald's paper *Coconuts and Kiwis: Identity Change Among Second-Generation Cook Islanders in New Zealand* (1989).

Academic research focusing specifically on national identity on New Zealand television has been limited but appears to be becoming a more popular topic as changes in the broadcasting industry occur. Investigation of national identity in other nations in this context has focused largely on a country's film industry, but now it appears more attention is being paid to the smaller screen. Both New Zealand radio and television have provided a succession of locally-made programmes over the years - though criticism on the relatively low levels of such programming has long been a cry from within the industry, in the political arena and from the public. It is also worth considering that New Zealand's national identity may have been either taken for granted or ignored as it lay in the shadow of colonial Britain and that it is only in recent years that strong feelings to have a broadcasting industry with a significant level of local programmes have become more prominent.

Trish Dunleavy (1999) conducted an in-depth examination of New Zealand television drama from 1960 to 1990 in her PhD thesis in part looking at the construction of national identity, while Jane Roscoe compared four programmes in *Documentary New Zealand: An Immigrant Nation* (1999). This looked at different immigrant communities in New Zealand, their feelings of identity and the techniques of the producers in conveying these. Allan Bell (2001) analysed texts of nationalistic New Zealand advertisements.

From a social sciences perspective Carla Wilson researched the *Heartland* episodes of Wainuiomata and Ngaruawahia in her thesis *Landscapes in the Living Room* (1996) concluding that partial, situated and mythical representations of New Zealanders are socially constructed in the programmes which reflect the particular ideologies and discourses of the producers. In conjunction with Robyn Longhurst, Wilson also investigated representations of nationalism, masculinity and femininity that emerge through the *Heartland* programmes (2002).

This thesis aims to cover new ground by examining the role narrative plays in national identity formation in the *Heartland* series by the way in which a story is constructed

around each location. At the same time this is tied in with the social and cultural positioning of New Zealand at the time and how this may have influenced the construction of the programme.

An emergence of interest in New Zealand identity formation through local programming has not only been brought about by concerns regarding cultural imperialism through the media, but also because the changes in the diversity of the population raise questions as to how New Zealanders define themselves. Identifying why people need to categorise themselves in line with a constructed national identity requires historical investigation.

## CHAPTER ONE

---

### **National Identity**

#### **1.1 Identity and the roots of Nationalism**

The concept of 'identity' implies ownership of characteristics or beliefs. It can relate to a myriad of identity aspects such as gender, sexual preferences, socio-economic background or age which can contribute to the make up of an individual. Sociologist Manuel Castells in his book *The Power of Identity* (1997) says people seek identity as a source of meaning and experience whether it is through history, geography, religion, personal fantasy or collective memory. However while this description lays a common foundation for a definition of identity, the situation in today's modern world is more complex as questions of identity have taken on a political role that ranges from movements such as 'Solidarity' in Poland and 'Civil Rights' to the extremes of ethnic cleansing in countries such as Rwanda and Bosnia (Barker, 1999). The social and political influences on identity have resulted in a move away from the Western concept of a whole person with a stable identity - seen as an impossibility by cultural theorists such as Stuart Hall - to a concept of the self as having multiple and changeable identities (Barker, 1999). (For a more detailed discussion of the political and social significance of multiple identity see Hall, 1996).

This thesis focuses on 'national' identity which in itself can be made up of many threads of identification. As already indicated identity is perceived as a changeable force and Cameron (1999) points out that defining "national identity" is also open to vagueness, paradox and contradiction because it is an evolving state without fixed parameters. Cameron associates this vagueness with symbols of identification which can be illusory and their meaning changes with context. But from an individual point of view he defines the concept of national identity as:

"...a conscious and often unconscious identification with a symbol, be it language, political system, gastronomic activity, religion, etc., which is within that person's perception common to the small or large community to which she or he belongs."

(Cameron, 1999, 5)

While this definition refers to community it lacks a focus on the word 'national' or the power relationships that are at the heart of identity construction. The important point Castells (1997) makes is that people construct their own identities (which may be a plurality of identities) through a process of individuation but these identities can be sourced from dominant institutions. In fact, whoever constructs collective identity and for whatever purpose, is responsible for determining the symbolic content and meaning for others in a "context marked by power relationships" (Castells, 1997, 7). A more straightforward definition is given by Frank L. Jones and Philip Smith (2001, 43) who define national communities as those who are included but surrounded (literally and metaphorically) by those who are excluded.

A deeper understanding of the roots of nationalism focusing on the strong emotional desire to belong to a nation is a necessary background to this thesis. Before looking at the symbols that serve to promote national identity it is essential to examine the concept of nationhood.

In order to have a national identity there must be an understanding of what the concept of a nation is. After all how can we aspire to identify with something without knowing what it is we are searching for. The process of identification may not be a conscious act and it is far easier to define the concept than the reality (Cameron, 1999).

The origins of the word 'nation', as explained by Liah Greenfeld (in Hjort, 2000,104) came from Roman times when the term 'natio' was a derogatory term to refer to foreigners who came to Rome from the same geographical regions. 'Nation' came to mean "community of opinion and purpose" and in the Middle Ages referred to "representatives of cultural and political authority". A more relevant meaning to modern times arises in the sixteenth century with the concept of sovereignty or "a people aspiring to sovereignty on the basis of unique features".

Nationalism, however, and the concept of nation-states are recognised as being relatively modern phenomena in the historical context, emerging in the late 1780s (Hobsbawm, 1990) with the French Revolution seen as a crucial starting point (Sinclair, 1986). Benedict Anderson and Anthony Birch in 1989 set out three reasons for this emergence of nationalism (Hayward, 1999). These are firstly, the reaction, particularly by German intellectuals towards the French, based on cultural and military reasons and the French Enlightenment's support for Universalism which was seen as political cultural empire-building; secondly, the dissolution of the monarchy in France and the displacement of religious modes of thought by the sovereignty of the state; and thirdly for a nation to have an identity it had to be imagined.

The nineteenth and the twentieth centuries were a time when groups of people were categorised through identification with their 'nation' (which was predominant over other associations such as tribe or religion). This occurred even in Communist countries which held the Marxist goal of internationalism at its core (Sinclair, 1986). The nineteenth-century can be seen historically in Europe as a time of nation-building when nationalism became a political ideal where it was believed that nations should be independent, have their own geographic entity and government, and that their people hold the power (Sinclair, 1986). While some countries such as Britain and France had had monarchies which contributed to the sense of belonging to a nation, most of Europe had an imperialist background and it was small groups of intelligentsia and the well educated who promoted the spread of nationalist ideas (Sinclair, 1986).

However there is another twist in the saga of nationalism in the form of the emergence and development of state-creation that appeared after World War Two (Hobsbawm, 1995). This was due to decolonisation, revolution and the intervention of outside powers, catalysed by advances in transport, communications and the development of free trade around the world which also resulted in greater international and intercontinental migration and friction in the form of racism (Hobsbawm, 1995).

While a single definition of the nation agreeable to all is difficult to establish, whether in the fields of history, anthropology, sociology or political science, it is apparent that the

formation of nations has not been an occurrence, but a process (Walker-Connor in Hutchinson, 1994). Hugh Seton-Watson (in Hutchinson, 1994) categorises nations into the old and new. The old (referring to countries such as Britain and France) acquired a national identity compared with the new (such as the United States, South Africa and Australia) where a national consciousness was formed simultaneously with the creation of nationalist movements. Gellner takes this concept further when he says that nations are in fact invented and are not simply an "awakening of nations to self-consciousness" (Gellner in Sinclair, 1986).

But rather than 'invented', the influential writings of Benedict Anderson introduced the word 'imagined'. In his book *Imagined Communities - Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991), Anderson suggests that nation, nationality and nationalism were created spontaneously through historical forces toward the end of the eighteenth century when populations looked to define their origins or where they came from. While religion and large cultural systems had dominated the way of life, a fundamental change in the way of apprehending the world was emerging making it possible "to 'think' the nation" (Anderson, 1991, 22). This is where Anderson proposes his often referred to concept of the nation as being "an imagined political community" (Anderson, 1991, 6). This talk of imagining does not seek to imply fabrication, but because it is impossible for a person to know everyone in the community they therefore imagine it, the people and the "finite, if elastic, boundaries beyond which lie other nations". A separation of 'us' and 'them' is realised and the perception of deep comradeship among members of a nation has been so powerful that people are willing to die for their "limited imaginings" (Anderson, 1991, 7).

On the surface one may classify a 'people' as a group sharing common characteristics, history, language and traditions, living within certain territorial boundaries and adhering to political, economic or cultural autonomy (Deutsch, 1966), but this is open to much variation and discrepancy. Geertz (1994) talks of the ambiguities associated with the terms nation, nationality and nationalism and refers to Coleman's example of Nigerians displaying five different sorts of nationalism at once - African, Nigerian, regional, group and cultural. The motives, he says, of having an identity that is acknowledged publicly as being important, as well as a desire for progress in the world politically and

economically, and being influential among nations, are intimately related but still have a tension between them. Competing loyalties could threaten the existence of a nation.

While the process of a people absorbing a national identity may be considered a subconscious act, the development of nationalism itself has been open to manipulation by those aware of the advantages such a state can bring. This reflects back to Castells' comment on the involvement of power relationships in creating identity. In fact Monroe E. Price (1995, 234) argues that national identity becomes "the often elegant collection of images that the government (or a series of interest groups) manufactures or encourages to keep itself in power".

Karl Deutsch (1966) says that in the twelve years since the publishing of the first edition of his book *Nationalism and Social Communication* in 1953, European countries such as Poland, Hungary, France and some in Asia and Africa have worked to achieve power and autonomy in their nations while trends in parts of Western Europe have focused on international or supranational visions. Deutsch (1996, 2) noted the increase of sovereign nations, the increase in disputes over "language, nationality, and the rights of ethnic, racial, and religious groups" and the continuing conflict of varying degrees in Africa, India, the divided Germany, Belgium and Canada. Even France continued to resist the idea of a supranatural European institution.

More than thirty years later a great deal of political change has occurred such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, Glasnost, the return of Hong Kong to China and the establishment of the European Union.

However the following quote from Deutsch appears to still hold true in spite of the passing of time:

"The nation-state, it seems, is still the chief political instrument for getting things done. The main basis of its power is, now more than ever, the consent of the governed; and this consent is easiest to obtain and to keep among populations with the same language, culture and traditions of nationality. Nation-preserving, nation-building, and nationalism or the preference for the real or imagined interests of one's own nation and its members - these still remain a major and even a still growing force in politics, which statesmen of good will would ignore at their peril."

(Deutsch, 1966, 4)

The concept that the nation-state and national consciousness have been used politically to "mobilise economic and social resources" (*The Economist*, 1990) has been widely accepted but there has also been debate on whether the nation-state may be superseded with a more homogenous, global identity.

While technology played its part in the expansion of thought and beliefs of nationalism - Anderson (1991) suggests the advent of the printing press and print languages made a particular contribution to this understanding of belonging to an imagined community and paved the way to establish a collective (if imagined) community - it is now globalisation and the influence of communications technology that has broken through geographical and physical barriers in making the world a smaller place and which some perceive as threatening the existence of nations. Globalisation can be interpreted as opening the way for world economic integration whereby governments have less power to make economic rules both within their nation's borders and outside of it. However, the concept of developing into a 'supranation' where a single governing power controls several large nation states, is a possibility but is unrealistic at present (*The Economist*, 1990).

In spite of this change in world economics nationalism does not appear to be on its last legs and may be going through another metamorphosis. According to Hobsbawm (in *The Economist*, 1990), the nation state is forging into a new arena with a strong desire for political and social identity which is reflected in areas such as lawmaking, defence and security.

Another possibility of change is the development of a world of 'infranations' consisting of existing countries that break into smaller states based on ethnicity, religion or language. *The Economist* (1990) states that this would be an unpopular and backward step and suggests that the nation-state is here to stay for the time being.

Castells (1997) certainly rejects the claim that nationalism has died out. He says that the age of globalisation has brought about a nationalist resurgence in both existing nation-states and the "(re) construction of identity on the basis of nationality" (Castells, 1997, 27). Depending on the country this resurgence is not necessarily directly linked with the original building of nation-states. In fact nations are independent from the state, they

are not historically limited to the modern nation-state and nationalism is not restricted to the elites but open to construction by the masses as well. Castells acknowledges Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities' but says it is "either obvious or empirically inadequate" and only serves analytically to demystify ideologies of essentialist nationalism.

Nationalism as a source of national identity cannot be seen as simply emerging from a specific historical period or growing from the modern nation-state as proposed by both Hobsbawm and Anderson. Castells says that ethnicity, religion, language and territory play a part in building nations and creating feelings of nationalism, but this is not enough. Whether a country is made up of different ethnic groups or is mainly ethnically homogenous, it is the 'shared experience' where historical narratives, based on areas such as social, ethnic, territorial or gender categories, which help to build a strong national identity. He cites Japan and the United States as two examples of this.

Castells also raises the point that contemporary nationalism is more reactive than proactive because an already institutionalised culture is more intent on defending this than constructing or defending a state. Many existing nations feel the need to protect their unique cultures which may be threatened by the infiltration of others, made possible through the new communications technologies of satellite television, computers and the distribution of film and television programmes.

These views set the background for looking at why Governments see the promotion of national identity as an important part of policy and lawmaking. But in addition the populace also responds to the desire to have a collective identity. With this in mind the roots of New Zealand's national identity formation are explored next and tracked to its present day position.

## **1.2 What is New Zealand's national identity?**

Pin-pointing a date to specify the birth of the New Zealand nation is questionable. Should it derive from the arrival of the first inhabitants? Was there a significant event in the country's history from which suddenly emerged a feeling of collective identity?

Or was there a gradual realisation that New Zealand had a culture that differentiated it from other nations? From a Pakeha perspective the nation was built upon a clean slate. A national identity was something that took time to develop and grow from the arrival of the first European settlers. Two New Zealand historians Keith Sinclair and James Belich, writing fifteen years apart, present different versions of the way they see this development and are the focus of this chapter.

Sinclair's book *A Destiny Apart - New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (1986) represents an older school of thought. He traces the development and metamorphosis of New Zealand's nationhood through several pathways including a belief by European immigrants of the need to be proactive in building a unique identity and that this was reflected in the arts, literature, sports, defence and politics.

Sinclair describes the early European settlers, mostly from England, as being seen as the innovative, hard working pioneers who cleared the land and broke it in during the 1800s. It was this rural experience requiring physical strength, along with the outdoor, sporting lifestyle that was enjoyed thanks to the mild climate that helped build the national character. A propensity for health and fitness plus good British genes (after all settlers were selected unlike immigrants to Australia!) were seen as positive elements useful both in sport and war, as was a high standard of living which promoted good self-esteem amongst the population and upheld the national pride during the later 1800s and early 1900s.

While the Maori were largely respected as a native people superior to the Australian aborigines and southern African peoples, Sinclair says this respect was mixed with fear, admiration and contempt. The common belief was that the Maori were a dying race which would become 'Europeanised' and soon assimilated into the creole population, that is, those who were born in Europe and their New Zealand born descendants.

The purpose of this thesis is not to provide an indepth exploration of the relationship between Maori and Pakeha or to dwell on areas such as the land wars, the pursuit of some Maori movements for separatism or establishment of their own nationalism. However it is important to mention this to understand the perceptions of the early colonists which contributed to the creation of a New Zealand national identity.

Presumably in their eyes they were coming to a country with no history of national status and it was their opportunity, whether rightly or wrongly, to pioneer a new land and stamp their vision of how they should be perceived.

In spite of the Maori being the first immigrants to New Zealand, Sinclair points out the irony that the settlers welcomed Maori as part of the nation although they were mostly rural dwellers and were "peripheral to Pakeha society" (1986, 204). There were often references to the Maori and Pakeha becoming 'one people' as in Governor Hobson's statement in 1840 at Waitangi.

Prime Minister Dick Seddon in 1905 took pride in the bi-racial society of New Zealand (Binney, Bassett & Olssen, 1990, 271). In fact it was in 1886 that there were more New Zealand born Europeans than immigrants in New Zealand (1886 census in Sinclair 1986). A growing feeling of building a nation in New Zealand became obvious with the setting up of the New Zealand Natives Association (NZNA) in the late 1880s with divisions progressively being established around New Zealand. Branches differed in their rules. Wellington for example opened ordinary membership to those who were native-born citizens of either sex and over sixteen years of age while only males could join the Auckland NZNA. Maori, too, were not admitted as members. In spite of these exclusions the aim was to unify the country through library, literary and historical groups, to instill a sense of pride in the country's achievements and prepare it for a bright future. Some groups aimed specifically to overcome local and provincial jealousies and the overall aim was to have a unified feeling as a 'nation'. This was the first indication of an immature national consciousness (Sinclair, 1986, 31). Other activities were developed such as the NZNA's sports carnival in Wellington which attracted 4,000 people in 1898. While the NZNA contributed much in the form of recording local history and providing an awareness of aspiring to be a nation, the NZNA movement was to die out in the early 1900s. Sinclair attributes this demise to a number of factors including: 1) the lack of a major nationalist goal such as the Australian move to become a federation, 2) the spread of population over the country making activities difficult to attract support, and 3) the Anglo-Boer conflict which became a more prominent cause for patriotism.

In spite of the NZNA's desire to promote the concept of nationhood, New Zealanders still seemed confused as to their actual identity (Sinclair, 1986). Much debate was apparent in the early 1900s as people sought to establish what characteristics identified a New Zealander. As discussed earlier, a national identity was often based on factors such as a common history, culture and language. Because New Zealand had been a relatively new colony the sense of a 'shared experience' was still being shaped. Sinclair quotes the words of an English born journalist Frank Morton writing in *The New Zealand Herald* in 1901, who indicated it was impossible to form a nation of typical New Zealanders. The most that could be done, he said, was to have an "interdependent association of oddly diverse cliques and factions" (Sinclair, 1986, 86). As Sinclair points out, New Zealanders defined themselves mostly in terms of their lifestyle with a high standard of living encompassing an outdoor life and a caring society.

In the 1890s New Zealanders felt a great sense of superiority in the world. They saw themselves as the Britons of the south and the "potential mistress of a great empire" (Binney, Bassett and Olssen, 1990, 244). By 1900 Prime Minister Dick Seddon, the colonists and the Government took the credit for re-creating a superior England in the south seas as well as reversing the decline of the Maori population with the intent of amalgamation. This superiority was felt and reflected in the amazing scenery of New Zealand which was a popular theme with painters and photographers. The Seddon era is recognised as a time in which the colonists became interested in colonial issues and politics, it saw the rise of New-Zealand-wide organisations, but also a continued pride in local communities. Olssen (in Binney, Bassett and Olssen, 1990, 275) says that it was through Dick Seddon and his party's dominance that "a pervasive sense of New Zealand's identity and destiny" was created and a greater interest in national rather than local politics was apparent.

Sinclair also explores the areas of literature, sport and war as great contributors to the formation of an identity for New Zealanders. A number of literary journals and magazines such as *Zelandia* and the *New Zealand Illustrated* magazine were published in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century because it was believed that a nation must be capable of expressing its uniqueness through its own national literature. Reference is again made to the

beautiful scenery which was expected to impact upon and inspire the arts in New Zealand. This was evident in what became known as the school of landscape poetry inspired by the emptiness of the unpeopled landscape which held no ruins, old cities, monuments or temples. Colonial life was a common theme in literature which not only gave insight to the way of life in the bush but also social comment could be read between the lines on the rivalry between British immigrants and the native born population (Sinclair, 1986, 56).

Perhaps the early seeds of a desire for New Zealanders to be seen as a new nation separate from the British were being sown through literature and the arts, since television as a vehicle for disseminating such a concept had yet to be invented. Well-known twentieth century artists such as Toss Woollaston, Colin McCahon and Don Binney, and writers such as James K Baxter, Janet Frame, and Keri Hulme, have carried on this contribution to New Zealanders' national identity by composing images concerned with the uniqueness of New Zealand which is acknowledged and accepted by the people.

What can be said about sport can also find its corollary in war. Both are vehicles that enable one country to test and measure itself against another. They unify the country in a common cause and instill feelings of patriotism and nationalism. Sinclair acknowledges that rugby became the national game of New Zealand. Playing in the United Kingdom in 1924 the All Blacks, which included both Maori and white New Zealand team members, won every game and achieved enormous public support from their countrymen and women. Public rituals and celebrations became part of this kiwi identification. The All Blacks had a stuffed Kiwi mascot, they performed a Haka before the game and the celebrations involved processions, a jazz ball and a parliamentary banquet (Sinclair, 1986, 153). This public pride is still evident today as was seen in the street parades to welcome home the New Zealand winners of the America's Cup in 1994.

As nations develop a national consciousness they also seek to claim the right to govern themselves as part of that nationalist movement (Williams in Cameron, 1999). New Zealand became a self-governing colony in 1907 (a Dominion), and by the 1920s New Zealanders saw themselves as New Zealanders and not Britons living in the Dominion

(Sinclair, 1986), though there were still strong feelings of loyalty and imperial bonding to the British who were the greatest receiver of New Zealand exports (80 per cent by the 1930s) and were still the source of a large number of immigrants.

World War One saw the emergence of a new phase of state creation in the former colonial world, but historians differ in their views as to whether this signified the true birth of the nation. Sinclair (1986) says a great catastrophe in the form of the war experience of the ANZACs at Chunuk Bair made New Zealanders become aware of national unity.

There had been a sense of proving themselves as fighters as there was the theory that coming from a colonist background, living in New Zealand with its temperate climate and comfortable lifestyle could have weakened the British stock. William Morrell who wrote the first history of New Zealand as a nation says that the English saw the colonists as "crude, incapable and undisciplined" (Binney, Bassett and Olssen, 1990, 319) which gave rise to a fear among New Zealanders that they would disgrace themselves at war. This doubt was proved wrong as the New Zealanders showed they could fight as well as any other and the people of New Zealand, following the details of the war through every available source of communication, were proud of them.

But more recent suggestions have been forthcoming that World War One was not the only historical event that had a significant impact on raising a consciousness of national identity. In *Paradise Reforged* (2001) James Belich challenges the influential writings of Sinclair. He says there is much debate among historians as to when New Zealand celebrated its 'birthday' as an independent nation. Some suggest it was 1856 with the establishment of an elected government, 1907 when it became a dominion, 1915 when the ANZACS fought in Gallipoli - and Belich says it could even be 1935 or 1973. He refutes Sinclair's popular nationalist view that the people of New Zealand unilaterally assumed independent nationalism themselves in a progressive manner with the advent of national feeling being apparent during war, especially that of 1914-18. Belich says that New Zealand in fact moved to a state more dependent on Britain than before. He labels this phenomenon 'recolonisation' where links between colony and metropolis were renewed and reshaped between the 1880s and 1900s, reaching its peak by the 1920s. The

forces behind this were economic, technological, political, geographical, historical and ideological. Like another Scotland, New Zealand identity was subnationalist and fitted within the British one.

Belich's argument demonstrates an interesting move in the changes affecting national identity formation. But the shift from colonisation to recolonisation was later to be followed by one of decolonisation. Belich (2001) indicates big shifts in the collective identity of New Zealanders between 1960 and 1999. Previously Pakeha New Zealanders saw themselves as 'better Britons' - that is, a derivative of Britain but with a superiority shown in war, sport and mountaineering. But challenges to this identity surfaced with the phasing out of recolonisation and the phasing in of what Belich terms as processes of external and internal decolonisation. On the one hand there was a breaking of the apron strings with 'Mother England' which entered the European Common Market and left New Zealand to become more independent economically, socially and culturally, and on the other hand a resurgence among Maori (whose presence became more obvious as they moved from rural locations to the cities) and an influence of new immigrants which were also to have an impact upon the country. Both processes, says Belich, put Pakeha in a dilemma of defining who they were and what exactly was their culture. But perhaps other ethnic groups in New Zealand were also challenged in the same way.

The divergence of opinion between Sinclair and Belich as to New Zealand's national identity development, demonstrates that the more removed one becomes from events in time, the more a comprehensive retrospective assessment can be made. Belich has the advantage of a further fifteen years from which to view the development of national identity in New Zealand and he is able to tie in further incidences which affected a dominant Pakeha society that was forced to engage in the processes of re/de/colonisation.

However a common factor between Sinclair and Belich's writings still exists. Both show that national identity does not just happen and remain static. It may be at the mercy of historical events in its shaping, but it can also be manipulated and invented. It is clear there is no finality in national identity formation and this provides an important basis for

this thesis in tracing the influences that affect its status. Standing in a retrospective position this side of the new millenium invites an opportunity to view how New Zealanders have become what they are today.

### **1.3 New Zealanders in the new millenium**

The multi-cultural nature of New Zealand society has developed dramatically. A number of different groups now 'share the nation'. Sinclair (1986) says this change can be seen in the increase in the number of Pacific Islanders who have immigrated to New Zealand, raising their own families as New Zealanders along with Maori and Pakeha. But even since the publication of Sinclair's book there have been changes in immigration, particularly with the rise in Asian migrants, which has resulted in an increase in the numbers of different cultures and races calling New Zealand their home.

According to Statistics New Zealand figures New Zealand's non-European population is predicted to rapidly increase within the next 50 years. The Pacific Island population will grow from six to thirteen per cent, the Maori population rising to twenty-one per cent (Browne, 2000). The most recent figures reported from Statistics New Zealand indicate that by 2021 there would be 604,000 Asians living in New Zealand, a doubling in the current number and reaching a total of 13 per cent of the population (Johnston, 2003). Multi-cultural societies are becoming the norm rather than the exception because of the rise of political and economic refugees and immigrants (Grainger, 2000) and also, as a consequence, intermarriage which brings a further cultural mix to society. Richstad (1998) points out that in America Tiger Woods has a Chinese-Thai mother and an Afro-American father who also claims American Indian and European heritage. Parallels of significant figures in New Zealand who are potential role models for a national identity, but demonstrate the wide variance of cultural backgrounds, could include boxer David Tua, MPs Nandor Tanczos and Pansy Wong, or singer Bic Runga.

New Zealand's sense of place has been fractured by the impact of immigration and the resurgence of Maori identities and histories according to Pawson (in Le Heron and Pawson, 1996, 349). While this thesis is not an attempt to assess or investigate bi-culturalism and the relationship between Maori and Pakeha identities, it is still important

to acknowledge the effect on national identity of the assertiveness of the Maori in seeking to regain their land and their status and the response by the Government to compensate them through the Waitangi Tribunal. Revington (2001, 20) says that the dominant Pakeha culture has been forced to re-examine itself and while "Maori discover what makes them Maori, so Pakeha increasingly question their own identity". Even the term Pakeha has been challenged, says Revington, as the 2001 census paper indicates with its dropping of the word 'Pakeha' and a redefinition to 'European New Zealander'.

Ruth Harley in her role as executive director of New Zealand On Air (Harley, 1994) wrote that the 'collisions' in New Zealand of so many different immigrants and their cultures should be seen positively as it developed international relationships and gave the country a higher profile and exposure. By the various groups learning to talk to each other, they absorb and reform and reach for a common understanding. This creates a type of 'glue' for New Zealanders and provides a dynamism to New Zealand's culture and society which makes it visible overseas.

These sentiments were also echoed by broadcaster Paul Holmes when he participated in a panel discussion on the programme *Asia Downunder* (Kingsley-Smith, 2001) which discussed the topic "Who's the real kiwi then?". Holmes said that by celebrating the differences of cultures in New Zealand that is where the similarity of people will be. He called for both the media and the government to have a greater role in breaking down prejudice. However, it is necessary to explore whether this new cultural diversity has affected New Zealanders and the way they see themselves.

A Porter Novelli study *Wave One - Kiwi Style and Icons* (1999) which interviewed 1000 New Zealand respondents found that a high proportion (83%) believed that New Zealand had its own unique culture. Characteristics highlighted were that New Zealanders were warm, friendly, laid-back and had a can-do attitude. Symbols of our culture selected by the researchers showed the most popular were the All Blacks (52%), Sir Edmund Hillary (42%), the Kiwi Bird (40%), the Silver Fern (39%), Sheep (23%), the Anzacs (21%) and the New Zealand flag (19%).

The study accepts that the 'icons' of the past signify what has "helped make our country what it is now" (Porter Novelli, 1999, 1) but it appears from the results that the symbols

of New Zealand culture and identity have changed little over the years and include no new symbols. While the study emphasises that kiwis grasp opportunities to stay up with the rest of the world as in the use of the Internet, it also highlighted that many characteristics associated with the past still exist. In addition 47% felt they had a strong sense of community, 42% agreed that New Zealand was becoming too Americanised, 43% thought New Zealand should become a republic and 35% thought New Zealand should not become more multi-cultural.

The study used qualitative focus groups and a quantitative questionnaire based on an unbiased demographic sample. This sample of 1000 respondents seems relatively small to be representative for a population of nearly four million people. Also, the questionnaire contained selected symbols and comments for respondents to merely 'agree' or 'disagree' as to what signified New Zealand. This restricted the introduction of any new symbols which the researchers may have been unaware of. While respondents came from a wide spectrum of ages and socio-economic backgrounds the study failed to detail any of their ethnic origins, accepting all respondents as 'New Zealanders'. This makes analysis difficult when it is unclear whether the study included a comprehensive representation of ethnic groups or one dominant group that call New Zealand their home.

The study quite openly talks about the enhancement of the national practical and resourceful stereotype with the modern attributes of innovation and creativity - a set of attributes which it sees as "capable of supporting a great brand". This marketing verbiage lets the cat out of the bag as the true purpose of such research appears to endorse the creation of a New Zealand stereotype for the purpose of commercial benefit.

Academics have drawn attention to such stereotyping of New Zealanders and labelled it a 'Pakeha' myth or invention. A myth defined in terms of national identity as a "preconception held by a culture to be a true representation to some aspect of that culture" (Lealand and Martin, 2001, 53). Stories that are created allow a culture to have a better understanding of itself whether it is through stereotyping, as in the typical New Zealander having a 'number 8 wire' innovativeness and a laid-back personality, or in symbols such as the Edmonds factory sunrise logo or the Buzzy-Bee toy, both of which

one writer refers to as "trash-cultural iconic scraps... stashed away in Te Papa" (Revington, 2001, 20).

However, Richard Wolfe and Stephen Barnett, authors of the book *Kiwiana! The Sequel* (2001, 9), believe that symbols such as Buzzy Bee or Pavlova - which are categorised as Kiwiana - are part of New Zealand's national consciousness and important in the understanding of the historical and social significance of "who we are and where we are going".

In her book *Inventing New Zealand - Everyday Myths of Pakeha Identity* (1996) sociologist Claudia Bell suggests that the signs and symbols which are promoted as representative of New Zealand make the country look like a brand name. The concept of the beautiful scenery and clean green image, the hardworking pioneers from the United Kingdom who helped build the nation, an egalitarian place of equal opportunity, the notion of a great safe and secure country to bring up children - are all signs of Pakeha dominance based on a "romanticised past that never was" (Bell, 1996, 193). These signs are constantly reworked and recycled, fail to deal with real issues, and neglect so many sectors of the community. From interviews with some of her students at Auckland University, Bell found that many were aware that national identity was a construction of what was considered it "should" be, but found they were attractive concepts which they liked or preferred to believe none-the-less.

Positive concepts of the nation are a form of collective egoism instilling loyalty and uniting different groups, particularly when they live in a "remote, perhaps globally insignificant, group of islands" (Bell, 1996, 17). This also supports the belief that New Zealanders like to be seen as 'different' and a people that stand out in the world.

But the fact that a number of ethnicities, religious groups, or people of varying national origin exist in one culture does not necessarily mean New Zealand is a multi-cultural society (Powles in Haas, Weber, Brown, 1982). New Zealand's first Ombudsman, Sir Guy Powles, says the notion of multi-culturalism and being 'one people', while well intended is a myth and that New Zealand is mono-cultural. In practice the country is defined by a dominant western mainly British culture. His words were written in 1982

and it would be expected that New Zealand would have moved forward since then in its realisation and acceptance of differences between people in the nation.

Rogernomics and the deregulation environment of the 1980s with its thrust towards a user-pays attitude prompted major changes in New Zealand and while these changes were economically-based the spin-off effect on New Zealand's national identity was also apparent. English broadcaster and MP Austin Mitchell wrote a book of his impressions of New Zealand in the 1970s and titled it *the Half-Gallon Quarter-Acre Pavlova Paradise*. But in 1996 Mitchell wrote the forward to a similar book written by John Ruck re-examining New Zealand twenty-five years later. The book's title *Cross-leased Chardonnay Cellphone Paradise* indicates the perceived revolutionary leap in identity transformation and Mitchell sums this up in the following passage:

"...A classless society has been transformed by extravagant wealth, a glitterati chronicled in *Metro*, and a new poor taking in each other's washing at car boot sales and op shops. The pale person's paradise is multi-hued now citizenship is sold, not bred, to the chagrin of Winston Peters. A lonely land too far away is inundated with tourists....One lifestyle, shaped by a common conditioning, has become diverse. Women have emasculated the men. Maori assert themselves and their bottoms. Different sports break the dominance of rugby union. Several television channels show the same rubbish, and hundreds of radio stations broadcast the same ranting rednecks, while agriculture is now more arduous than watching cows and sheep eat grass, then killing them. A place which was unique is more and more just part of the Universal Anywhere. But poorer."

(in Ruck, 1996, v-vi)

New Zealanders seemed to lose their communal spirit as well in the 1980s with the obsession with money. According to journalist Gordon McLauchlan (in Revington, 2001, 21) New Zealanders were "leaving small towns where they had no identity but a sense of community, and moving to Auckland, where they had nothing". Geoff Lealand (1988) too highlights the uncertain mood of New Zealanders in the mid 1980s where many were united in their cultural anti-Americanism but at the same time were questioning their own national identity.

However McLauchlan believes that this too has already changed in the twenty-first century with the emergence of an awareness of culture through the realisation that "the whole naked materialism" was false (in Revington, 2001, 22). New Zealanders were

becoming more interested in who they are, with perhaps a greater sense of their interactions as a community. This reflects back to the concept already discussed that the growth of national identity is a constantly changing and moving process.

Ruck (1996) points out that political, social and economic changes have been beneficial for some but with negative effects for others, New Zealand has had to become part of the real world.

"...we have produced an amazing turnaround. From the regimented, stultified, unenterprising, stuffy, boring society of 30 years ago - about the nearest thing to the old East Germany that the western world ever produced - we have created a vibrant, confident, buoyant, thrusting society that is game to take on anything."

(Ruck, 1996, 146).

New Zealand still has a long way to go in this process, says Ruck, with the need to cater for all groups within the country.

A combination of factors including post colonial anxieties, Maori-Pakeha relations, racial issues, the move towards multiculturalism through the 1986 Immigration Act Review, global economic changes and the resulting refocus on attracting Asian business to New Zealand, has led to a state of flux for New Zealand in inventing, constructing and defining itself as a nation (Roscoe, 1999). Eric Pawson (1996) says that as a consequence of this a multiple of identities has surfaced within the country as well as ambiguities associated with New Zealand's place in the world. Throughout its history this country has moved through a series of labels of being a European country, a Pacific nation and more recently an Asian nation. He cites a comment from Roger Horrocks that the unstable meaning of 'New Zealand' means that it is a "floating signifier open to re-definition, re-construction, re-negotiation and re-financing" (Pawson, 1996, 349).

Belich (2001, 543) believes that multiple identities serve to enrich and strengthen New Zealanders like intertwining strands strengthening a rope and that "the persisting assertion of homogeneity, the unease about ethnic pluralism, and the delusion that pluralism must mean disunity, are residues of recolonial ideology".

However the colonial myths of the past appear to linger through reinvention, as already pointed out by Claudia Bell. The business world, reliant on advertising and marketing, and the politicians, eager for a buoyant economy boosted through tourism and trade not to mention the support and dedication of a loyal nation, recognise the important role of national identity formation. Bell (1996, 12) describes the calculated building of national identity as "another tool in the arsenal the state uses to perform its role, fostering a system that advantages some groups over others".

It is important to note that the people of a nation must have a 'desire' to seek images that reflect their identity. They play their part in searching for their own identity and when it is threatened they themselves can be proactive in creating it. Claudia Bell and John Lyall journeyed through New Zealand to research their book *Putting Our Town on the Map* (1995) and recorded the numerous ways that the local communities have asserted and celebrated their local identities in an effort to be noticed. The potential homogenisation of a world culture through transport and communications technology has created the fear that many towns around New Zealand are becoming invisible not only to the rest of the country but to other nations of the world. Many New Zealand towns suffered recession through the Government's economic policies of the 1980s with the closure of factories, post offices, hospitals and industry which eroded their identity. However, in an effort to gain the attention of travellers and tourists and show their community solidarity in the promotion of their values and identity, these towns instigated a number of techniques to literally put themselves on the map.

Bell and Lyall (1995) document these methods which involve the erection of large roadside objects such as the giant carrot in the market-gardening town of Ohakune, the labelling of townships such as Taihape "New Zealand's One and Only Gumboot City" or Te Puke the "Kiwifruit Capital of the World". There is also the use of giant signage or murals that compete with the McDonalds and Coca-Cola signs extolling the virtues of the region such as "Geraldine - Gateway to Mt Cook and the Southern Lakes", and the celebration of an annual festival such as Hokitika's Wild Food Festival, the Dargaville Kauri coast Kumara Festival or the annual Highland Games at Waipu which target the involvement and/or patronage of every age group and sector of the community. It is not unusual for townships to employ all of these promotional methods. (See Fig. 2).

(Photo:Philippa Smith)

(Fig. 2) Rakaia promotes the sport of trout fishing as a drawcard to the area.

Self-promotion is neither new to New Zealand nor peculiar to this country as Bell and Lyall indicate, citing the giant Pineapple in Queensland or representations of the mythical lumberjack John Bunyan in America during the Great Depression. The important point is that New Zealand towns still employ these techniques and perhaps with greater vigour to attract attention from those outside their boundaries.

Whereas countries such as Britain and France have unique national identities dating back over many centuries which stand out with cultural representations such as language, signs and symbols and which are deeply engrained in their own national institutions, New Zealand struggles to define its own culture and is therefore more open to influence and borrowing from other countries (Lealand, 1988). This transnational cultural influence makes us appear on the surface no different from other Westernised countries such as Australia and the United States. Therefore seeking differences to distinguish a unique identity for New Zealanders is striven for in popular culture (as opposed to high culture) and associated artefacts. The increasing number of imported commodities such as McDonalds and K Mart make it more difficult for New Zealanders to find what makes them unique. Lealand (1988) says that this does not prevent New Zealanders from injecting their own feelings and emotions of identity at times, as in, for example, the televised coverage of an All-Black versus Wallabies rugby event, even though the game of rugby originally came from England and television in fact is an overseas invention.

Defining a national identity for New Zealanders is not straightforward. How does one see the face of a true New Zealander when it can encompass so many forms, is viewed through many different eyes and can be influenced by other cultures?

In a rather cynical approach academic Martin Blythe summarises his view of New Zealanders:

“Official New Zealand exists within the framework of nationalism: one small ship-of-a-nation state drifting toward Antarctica with 3.4 million people on board, sailing in search of the obligatory national identity, well stocked with sheep, kiwi fruit, sporting venues, beautiful landscapes, and a sometime great notion of a nuclear free zone.”

(Blythe, 1994, 5)

Expectations that as a nation we must have an identity are high and this need to turn ourselves into a social enclave is fed by global complexities and late-modern insecurity (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999).

Madan Sarup (1996) specified two overlapping models of identity, one based on the traditional view that identity in all its forms is produced simultaneously and is therefore unified and fixed, the other more recent view that identity formation is a process which can be fabricated and constructed. Sarup also wonders to what extent we can choose or change aspects of our identity when there is an advantage to be gained.

It appears that often, in an effort to create an identity, it is only human nature to focus on what makes our nation look good and encourage a sense of pride by 'accentuating the positive and eliminating the negative' (with apologies to Bing Crosby and the Andrews Sisters). Bell (1996, 12) recognises the most successful way of promoting public representations of a New Zealand way of life that suits the Pakeha group (being the dominant and most advantaged in New Zealand society) are through "events, celebrations, lifestyle and material consumption of the more advantaged group" such as the America's Cup. Other groups, as has been demonstrated with the local towns, are also aware of the methods of promotion which may help them from disappearing into the landscape.

What this review of national identity in New Zealand in the new millenium appears to illustrate is that many forces influence the way New Zealanders see and define themselves. Events in the country's history impact upon the New Zealand psyche creating a need to seek out or redefine ourselves whether this is due to our involvement in war, the economy and overseas trade, immigration, a desire to attract tourism or participation in international sporting competitions. From the highest level of Government, industry and commerce down to the local community committee, families or individuals, all are constantly responding to outside messages that make them question and redefine their collective identity. These levels feed off each other for various purposes whether it is the branding of a particular product, seeking support in political decision-making, or aiming to establish a common Kiwi culture involving New Zealanders of different ethnic backgrounds.

Disseminating the message about who we are is a key factor in influencing the national identity process. While the media have the power to spread the word it is television, above all, which is the greatest and most persuasive tool in promoting a national identity

(Bell, 1996). But it is a two-edged sword. Television has the ability to show New Zealanders more about themselves, but how they are constructed or represented can also be influenced by the programme makers, media institutions, the demands of advertisers and of politicians. Equally, in an era of globalisation television exposes us to other societies whose trends, music, or behaviour have the potential to influence or infiltrate New Zealand's culture. This impact of television in the construction of national identity is investigated in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO

---

### Television, Culture and National Identity

#### 2.1 The power of television

Today exposure to television in Westernised society is often within days of birth. Though recognition and understanding of images and words on television is a process learned as the child develops it is one of the ways people find out about the world around them. Television is in fact "the common coinage of contemporary culture, the media are the pervasive, taken-for-granted environment in which learning now occurs" (Perry, 1994, 3).

Because of advances in media technology, threats to cultural identity are felt in many areas and exposure to a variety of ideologies is far reaching. In particular, it is argued that the Americanisation of contemporary commercial television around the world as well as an absorption of Hollywood values, creates a 'sameness' and blurring of cultural boundaries. In May 2000 a group of filmmakers, media professionals and political and industry opinion-formers met in an international forum in Valencia, Spain, to form a statement on audiovisual and cultural diversity. Because of the rapid expansion in the global market in film and television threatening the "creation of a monocultural wilderness" they called for a form of "global governance that put cultural imperatives before the box-office bottom line" (ADC Nouveau Millenaire and the Fundacion Valencia III Milenio, 2000).

UNESCO, a year earlier, held its own symposium which reached agreement that cultural goods should be assessed as merchandise like no other because they are "vehicles of the imagination" (UNESCO, 1999). The European Commission (1999, Internet) highlighted the urgency to regulate sectors involved in the convergence of the telecommunications, media and information technology if they were to "lead to economic growth and job creation and to allow Europe to take advantage of its rich cultural diversity". This chapter examines the power of television as a vehicle for

cultural homogeneity. On a more local level the role of television in creating national identity for New Zealanders in the face of overseas programming is investigated.

## **2.2 Media cultural imperialism**

Today in a multi-media revolution where the words 'satellite', 'digitisation' and 'globalisation' are key markers of a new age of communication, the world braces itself to step from the analogue era to the post-broadcasting age – a new age of digital technology. Governments have been wary of the effects of firstly, multiple broadcasting channels invading the far corners of the earth, and secondly the convergence of telephone, computer and broadcasting technology resulting in fierce competition that signals an intensification of the “internationalisation of culture” (Silverstone, 1995, 2) and the rapid expansion of a global economy. But rather than blaming technology for social change, it is how that technology is used which is important (Silverstone, 1995). Efforts to maintain control over communication technology is uppermost in the minds of most governments.

Fear of foreign media influence on a state's culture has been apparent for many years. Even before television, politicians and communications observers were concerned about the power of global news-gathering and distribution organisations, such as Reuters and the Associated Press in the 1960s, mega media ownership, commercialisation and privatisation (Richstad, 1998). More recently with satellite-carried cultural products flooding the market, many countries, developed and undeveloped, have passed laws to give themselves power to regulate the importation of foreign programming (Lee, 1998). The French government's hostility to American television, the banning of satellite dishes by countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Bahrain and Iran (Barker, 1999), the Canadian and Australian governments' requirements for local content (Lee, 1998) and Asian countries expanding regional programmes and adapting Western programme formats in an Asian context (Richstad, 1998), are just a few examples.

These fears appear rooted in a desire to avoid contamination of a country's culture by the penetration of foreign cultures with the recognition that the audio visual world has been caught up in the rapid expansion of globalisation. While it can be argued that new

technology enhances social and cultural freedom leading to the creation of distinct and meaningful cultural identities, opponents fear that it will increase social isolation and cultural fragmentation (Silverstone, 1995). The fear of losing one's culture is also synonymous with weakness and losing power which, in the worst case scenario, could lead to domination and control by one country over another.

With the realignment of national political and trading interests in the 1990s together with changes resulting from the break down of the Cold War era, new centres of power and commercial activity promoting the removal of trade barriers have developed (Grainger, 2000). The removal of the restrictions of geographical barriers and increasing exposure to globalisation, have opened up countries to permeation by "cultural discourses from elsewhere" (Barker, 1999, 11) leading to the loss of cultural diversity and rise of cultural homogenisation (Barker, 1997).

Because technology such as the Internet, satellites and television have enabled us to become global 'armchair travellers' we are exposed to the lives and cultures of many others without having to leave our homes. Barker (1999) suggests that modern television gives way to "globalising influences and postmodern cultural fragmentation" resulting in the production of "increasingly complex and contradictory" cultural identities. Even within countries television and radio networks can be blamed for "eroding regional cultures" by focusing on a "single national accent in tone and topical coverage at the expense of idiom and interest" (Quirk, 1988, 117).

Social, political and economic forces have emerged through globalisation which have created concerns about maintaining national identities. Moran (1998, 2) defines globalisation as a "worldwide system of economic, cultural and political interdependence". National cultures may not be totally obliterated but globalisation threatens to "limit and mediate the expression and representation of diverse cultures" (Grainger, 2000) leaving the way open for a global network of cultures with blurred lines between ethnic and national contents (Smith, 1992).

Government concerns appear to be influenced by a view of television as promoting cultural imperialism (the domination of one culture by another through the media) leading to cultural homogenisation. Since the 1970s Herbert Schiller, a consistent

proponent of media-cultural imperialism, has argued that global culture is being constituted through sameness rather than difference and that the unbalanced flow of media culture was manipulative and negative (in Lee, 1998, 275). However others take a differing view and while accepting that some cultural homogenization is unavoidable, this is counteracted by "mechanisms of fragmentation, heterogenization and hybridity" (Barker, 1997, 205).

Marjorie Ferguson (1993, 53) also believed that the power of television impacting popular culture is inflated and her comparative study of notions of nationhood in Canada and the United States and their individual broadcasting systems indicates that the exposure to Canadians of American programming is not "a sufficient condition for the definition and redefinition of national (and cultural) identities". Rather, says Ferguson, it is the multicultural newcomers in both countries who search for their own identity and who are responsible for the move for a collective redefinition in North America.

The 1971 study by Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart entitled *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic* raised much discussion. The researchers claimed that in spite of their innocent appearance of fun entertainment for children, the comics and characters such as Donald Duck and Uncle Scrooge were tools for American capitalism with imperialist messages, claiming American superiority was in the best interests of all (Tomlinson, 1991). However Tomlinson says that the presence of the comic itself does not display cultural imperialism, but rather it is the way the text is read. He criticises their work for assuming that reading the comics has a direct, forceful effect without actually analysing the relationship between text and audience.

Tomlinson (1991) also refers to the empirical studies of the American television series *Dallas* by Ien Ang (1985) and then Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz (1993) which found that the popularity of the programme was due more to its melodramatic nature than the desire to see the wealth and consumer capitalist images. The outcome of the studies illustrated the audience's ability to be active, critical and resistant to any manipulation of their cultural values.

Andrew Higson (1998, 362) raises two points about the media imperialism thesis. Firstly he says that it is important to realise that many indigenous national cultures are already made up of a combination of a variety of cultural strands, and secondly that audiences actually enjoy "alien media texts" because it broadens their cultural knowledge. Geoff Lealand (1988) also points out the lack of research evidence to support the media imperialism thesis which he says is based on assumptions about the television audience rather than experience. The media imperialism thesis was used, as suggested by Herbert Schiller (in Lealand, 1988), to describe the world of the United States in the 1960s, but with the development in new communication and broadcasting technologies and a changing global structure this thesis is no longer adequate to explain a more complex and sophisticated world.

Lealand (1988) suggests a new approach to testing the theory should take into account these new technologies. He says that research should expand to encompass a wider view of popular culture in areas such as language, lifestyles, clothing and architecture on the micro level of country to country rather than on a (macro) universal level, before exploring the effects of the meeting of cultures through the media.

However, the attention given to exploring the potential long term impact on an audience of exposure to television cannot be ignored whether it is messages through a programme or the influence of others who may have a particular agenda in broadcasting. As mentioned earlier, Castells (1997) commented that identity can be influenced by dominant institutions which would include media ownership. According to NZ On Air "seventeen companies control close to 80 per cent of the global entertainment product, intensifying the focus on a global mass market and working against programme diversity and local content" (Grimes and Tyndall, 1999, vi). In the 1990s Schiller said that imperialism still existed and that the United States still dominated the world militarily and through the control of communications and definitional power (Lee, 1998, 276).

Even if governments accept that foreign programming may broaden horizons and increase understanding of different cultures, advancing technology in the form of digitisation and satellite television may have resurrected and intensified fears of media invasion particularly if the media rich nations impose their programming on the media

poor. This threat appears so significant because the orbital spacing and signal compression technologies have an immense delivery capacity compared with terrestrial television. Wang (1998) says the threat of audience acculturation is of particular concern to third world leaders as is the ability of direct-to-home delivery to bypass government controls, laws and regulations on television broadcasting. In addition local programmes are unable to compete with the low prices of foreign programming such as those from the United States that can be delivered cheaply to other markets because they have already covered their costs in their own market.

But the question remains as to just how influential the media are on the audience. The effects of the media have been the subject of much debate since technology allowed 'messages' to be screened, broadcast or transmitted. Audiences of film and radio in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were perceived as "masses" who absorb "mass culture" and could be easily influenced and manipulated (Ang in Downing et al., 1990, 156).

The hypodermic model of media effects which arose in the 1930's assumed that the audience could simply be 'injected' with messages which they would accept and absorb. However Ang (in Downing et al., 1990) points out that the concept of "mass" is just a way of identifying an audience. Further, to perceive viewers as consumers or a financial market generated by media material and identified by ratings also bypasses qualitative aspects as to what the viewer experiences, emotions that are generated or what is learned.

The uses and gratifications research tradition superseded the hypodermic model and it gave audiences more credence in their ability to read media messages. It also believed that they chose to interpret them the way they wanted to, and agreed or disagreed with what was being transmitted as the media's preferred message. Looking at the way media satisfied wants and needs signalled the move to understand media consumption as more of a "social and cultural activity" and research encompassed not only the way media texts were interpreted but also the role of mass media in everyday life (Ang in Downing et al., 1990, 158).

The move to focusing on what the audience does with messages in producing its own meanings has been termed 'reception analysis'. Some of the better known studies concerning this with regard to television include Ien Ang's *Watching Dallas* (1985) which illustrated the variety of ways different groups and viewers world-wide interpreted the massively popular programme of rich Texan oil magnates and the loves and lives of their families. David Morley's *The Nationwide Audience* (1980) showed that different groups chosen on the basis of different social, cultural and educational backgrounds interpreted information differently from the same *Nationwide* programme giving either dominant, negotiated or oppositional readings.

These studies were based on qualitative research either through questionnaires or focus groups. However further research by Morley (1986) in *Family Television* took a more ethnographic approach by observing the behaviour of families in their homes and the role television played in their daily lives.

While we can acknowledge that different social, ethnic, religious and cultural groups may interpret media messages differently it is also important to see that media influence can be over-estimated by some media theorists because television use can vary between countries in the extent to which it is used, how important it is in people's lives and what other cultural activities surround the watching of television (Barker, 1997).

Messages of national identity can be made both consciously and subconsciously by producers, writers and directors but there are also the advertisers, media owners and politicians who have an interest in how New Zealanders identify themselves because it affects how and what they sell, what programmes are made and broadcast, and how votes can be targetted and policies made. The extent the audience picks up on messages that construct a national identity is an area demanding more research.

There is considerable debate as to whether governments are motivated to regulate the broadcasting industry for the sake of economic protectionism of their own broadcasting and production industries rather than a genuine desire for cultural protectionism (Cunningham and Jacka, 1996). However there is agreement that the broadcasting media have the power to create or degenerate national identity.

Higson (1998), following the paradigm of Benedict Anderson, views the nation's attempt to see itself as a community as an imaginative process which comes to the fore particularly at times of crisis such as war. But even in times of peace this process is still active. Higson explores the view that national identity, rather than being consensual, can be seen as a hybrid as in the film *My Beautiful Laundrette* which offers a view of a multi-cultural Britain with tensions to do with race, class and gender. While it demonstrates that the nation is constantly changing and evolving, having a national identity is still about belonging and it is possible to do this in a hybrid society. The makers of media texts in Britain have responded to this multicultural representation of the country by introducing it into their works.

Michael Billig (1995) has looked at the way media 'flag' aspects of national identity on a daily basis. Because this is a familiar and almost inconspicuous process, perhaps on a subconscious level, he has termed it "banal nationalism". His exploration of texts, particularly in daily newspapers, highlights a diesis of little words which while seeming insignificant to most people could influence their concept of national identity. On inspection Billig found that the angling of articles in an 'us' versus 'them' manner, the way readers are encouraged to support their nation's sports teams, and even the reporting of 'the weather', flag the concept of belonging to the nation.

Looking at the texts of nationalistic New Zealand advertisements, Allan Bell (2001) demonstrated identity-laden characteristics across all levels of language including the language used, such as in the 'Bugger' Toyota advertisement. The mix of native and non-native pronunciations, as in the singing of *Pokarekare Ana* in an Air New Zealand advertisement, and the focus on the second and first person plural pronouns, as in the self-advertising campaign of Television One News which ran with the words "Watch your world with us".

The cultural influence of television is strong because most information is carried through this route (Williams, 1996). Television is under an obligation to offer a "flexible and universally accessible space for communal cultural explorations" because it should provide information that encourages debate as well as offering frameworks for analysis and interpretation (Murdock, 1997, 12). Or as Adrian Moynes (1999, 39) of the Irish

public broadcasting service sums it up, "...media create meaning in society, they are essential to democracy...". But this can be seen as a two-way concept. Media create meaning in society, but society too can demand meaning in the media, and in the case of this thesis society can demand programming which explores a country's national identity as shown in the following examples.

A move for Finnish domestic programmes to dominate over foreign imports was a major trend in the 1980s and 1990s according to Veijo Hietala (1996) a senior lecturer in Cinema and Television Studies at the University of Turku, Finland. Hietala says that during this period changes occurred within the broadcasting system where Finnish domestic programmes predominated over foreign imports. While American programmes have shown popularity for many years (and some, such as the soap opera *The Bold and the Beautiful*, still do) a rise in the ratings for Finnish programmes occurred. Hietala (1996, 114) suggests that this coincided with a rise of "nationalism in the mental climate of Finland in the early 1990s". Programmes such as the serial *Metsolat* (translated as *The Metsola Family* that appeared on Finnish TV2, 1993), which focused on the struggles and challenges of a farming family trying to maintain a rural lifestyle in the late 1980s, topped the ratings with two million viewers - the highest in Finnish history. This emphasis on Finland's national past appears to have been a great audience drawcard because the programme came at a time when major economic structural changes were occurring which threatened the significance of small farms in middle and northern Finland. From a cultural studies viewpoint, as a given culture enters a new stage a yearning for the old life, or earlier phase, occurs. Hietala (1996, 117) refers to this as a "collective mourning and regression in the nation's psyche". Another factor contributing to this at the same time, Hietala believes, was Finland's 1993 application for membership of the European Community which created a fear over the loss of national identity. Hietala's explanation however does not establish what forces maintained this unexpected interest in Finland's national identity beyond this initial period. Was the Metsola Family just a catalyst to turn this interest around or were there other factors involved?

Interestingly this desire for national identity has had an additional effect in influencing the range of genres of Finnish programmes. Hietala (1996) suggests that "postmodern

hyperreality” or reality hysteria has resulted in the audience turning to programmes with an everydayness and reality effect such as *The Metsola Family*, the Finnish version of *The Gladiators* (where real people compete in a series of “rough and fierce” sports), and programmes involving live transmissions with real Finnish people. Interactive television has boomed where viewers may be invited to phone or fax in their opinions on topical issues. Hietala (1996) says the resulting mix of postmodern programmes and those which counter these features through emphasising the national spirit, nostalgia and return to reality, is the reason for the exciting hybrid of Finnish television today.

Alison Griffiths (1993) examined the construction of national and cultural identity in the Welsh-language soap opera entitled *Pobol by Cwm* and lists the various points of 'Welshness', such as humour and singing, which are created in a popular generic form through shifting story lines, the characters and the community in which they live. One of her concerns is that Wales would lose its national and cultural media identity if programmes that specifically explore Welsh discourses and are aimed at a national audience like *Pobol by Cwm* are not made.

The persuasiveness and manipulative potential of television cannot be underplayed. While there is a reactive response by some countries to look for ways to counteract the effects of infiltration by other cultures through the media, changes in the ethnicities of some populations dictate the need to adapt to more multi-cultural societies.

With this in mind a retrospective look at New Zealand television, the forces that have influenced the type of programmes screened over the years and the versions of national identity that have been promoted are important in the lead up to the primary research and to place the case studies in context. This is the focus of the next section.

## **2.2 New Zealand's National identity - in whose interests?**

As national identity can be perceived in many different ways, having the ability and the freedom to manipulate audiences is recognised as a marketing tool by the media. Geoff Lealand and Helen Martin (2001) demonstrate how national pride and identity can be used by broadcasters as a pawn to achieve marketing objectives and point to the example of the 1999/2000 America's Cup yacht race held in New Zealand.

The importance of sport as an essential element in commercial television for the purpose of attracting ratings and advertising revenue for broadcasters has burgeoned. While sailing is a popular pastime in New Zealand it had not been considered a national sport and there are practical limitations in the way races can be televised. However TVNZ's involvement as a sponsor of Team New Zealand in the America's Cup held in Auckland, meant that increasing the appeal of the event to a mass audience was an important goal for the broadcaster which sought to recoup its investment through advertising profits.

Computer software was used in the race presentation to make the sport more accessible and appealing to television viewers (Pritchard in Lealand and Martin, 2001, 87) but above all the following quotation from Lealand and Martin shows that techniques were used to inspire and manipulate the New Zealand audience into believing what should be important for them as a nation:

"The coverage created and sustained a climate of opinion that it was in the national interest, and therefore our patriotic duty, to support an event that we were all somehow part of, even though it was a multi-million dollar affair in which most New Zealanders had no direct involvement. In tandem, the fallacious impression was created that the whole world was eagerly anticipating the next America's Cup. At the expense of investment in other areas of television production, a large amount was spent on digital technology so viewers could watch superior live footage of the races. An important local documentary, *Nga Tohu*, was bumped off the schedule on Waitangi Day because TVNZ decided to show live footage of the American and Italian yachts instead."

(Lealand and Martin, 2001, 88)

However the rise in the popularity of the America's Cup could also be seen as part of the process of the changing nation. While a level of manipulation is apparent, did the population really mind that their attention was turned to sailing? Winning is a great motivation and a unifying force for a nation. The sailing spirit has not died away even several years after the event which suggests it is part of New Zealand's identity evolution.

But the implication that creating a positive national identity is beneficial for marketers and advertisers in selling products cannot be ignored. The CM Research document

*Wave One Kiwi Style and Icons* suggested that New Zealanders see their positive characteristics to include friendliness, a laid-back attitude, practicality and resourcefulness. This they interpret as indicating "... a set of attributes capable of supporting a great brand. Not by accident they are also becoming increasingly prevalent in the kinds of development we see taking place in corporate identity and branding" (Porter Novelli, 1999, 5).

David McGill (in Lealand, 1988) says that mass mediated forms, and in particular television, is where New Zealand's official culture is centred. How that culture is constructed and received is open to wide interpretation. Lealand and Martin (1988) emphasise that television is responsible for communicating myths about cultural beliefs through signs and sign systems. Whether this construction is changing to present a more realistic view of New Zealand can also be debated. The creation of a national identity through New Zealand media, and in particular television, is discussed next.

## **2.4 New Zealand (Identity) On Air**

Before the existence of television, communicating messages, including those of national identity, were limited to newspapers, books, journals, other literary texts and the radio. In the 1920s however the cinema was seen as an effective way of nation-building by emergent nations such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland as well as western European nation states including Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Scandinavia - even though these countries already had unique identities supported by a strong language and culture (Jarvie, 2000). The idea of national cinema was that as mass entertainment with wide reach movies would bring the "inchoate masses to accept the sense of nation and culture possessed by the elites... creating a universal sense of citizenship and culture" to the benefit of an elite leadership and it was also seen as a suitable alternative or replacement for American movies which could confuse and influence the "emancipated masses" (Jarvie, 2000, 80). At this time in history New Zealand had little opportunity to create its own national cinema and in fact it was the advent of sound and the expensive technology which it required that largely killed off the existing film industry (Boyd-Bell, 2001, personal interview).

Local newspapers of course provided much information for New Zealanders but it was radio from the 1920s that was the most modern form of information dissemination. The local stations were often operated by amateurs in 'back rooms' and it wasn't until the 1940s that commercial and non-commercial stations were controlled by the National Broadcasting Service with its Reithian attitude to "inform, educate and entertain" (Keith, 1991). Radio was able to keep New Zealanders in touch with current events both nationally and internationally and was often a family activity as adults and children gathered around the 'wireless'.

In spite of the domination of BBC programmes and those imported from the United States (particularly in 1944 when the American forces were in New Zealand) and Australia, radio also gave New Zealanders the opportunity to have a 'voice'. John Maybury's *The Lever Hit Parade*, the game show *The Quiz Kids* and radio host Aunt Daisy with her tips, advice and handy hints are some examples.

Going to the movies was also a popular form of entertainment in the 1940s and New Zealanders were given a generous dollop of Hollywood often with the opportunity to see thirty different movies in one week (Keith, 1991). New Zealand films were virtually non-existent except for the National Film Unit's propaganda newsreel *Weekly Review* which was distributed free to theatres each week and showed marching New Zealand troops with stirring theme music (Keith, 1991).

Historian Jock Phillips (1996) suggests that New Zealanders defined themselves as a nation by looking at their past and this was made possible through literature. He refers to the highly respected under-secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs, Joe Heenan, who was responsible for the production of two publications that helped develop a sense of nationhood. These were an eleven volume publication called *Making New Zealand* written by historians employed through the Centennial branch set up in 1938 and 50 volumes of recorded experiences of New Zealanders in World War Two produced by the War History Branch set up in 1945. However, how popular the publications were and the range of readership is not recorded.

The appearance of television in New Zealand took time and while the Government first introduced it in 1961 it was a while before transmission was widespread and people saw it as a necessity rather than a luxury. Television was introduced gradually city by city and it was not until 1962 that Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington and Dunedin were able to watch it, initially for a few hours a night.

Television was a turning point for New Zealand because viewers were now drawn into the "visual mainstream of the global village" seeing both themselves and the world (Smith and Callan, 1999, 184) and this was just the beginning of a gradual expansion and exposure to seeing where New Zealanders stood out as a nation.

Former television broadcaster Ian Johnstone (1998) reminisces about the wealth of quality local programmes that existed in the 1970s and early 1980s. Television programmes which gave news and views about New Zealanders such as the regional programmes *Town and Around*, *The South Tonight*, *Mainland Touch* and *Top Half*. These were popular with the viewing audience and gave them the sense that their television service was part of their lives and the place they lived.

Johnstone himself was an interviewer/presenter on the national current affairs programme *Compass* which ran for seven years. Not only did it hold up a mirror "so New Zealand could look at itself" (Johnstone, 1998, 65), but it touched on sensitive issues such as homosexuality, land grievances and politics. Other popular local programmes included *Column Comment* which reviewed New Zealand newspaper reporting, the music shows of *C'mon* and *Let's Go* hosted by Peter Sinclair, quiz shows such as *It's In the Bag* where host Selwyn Toogood broadcast the programme from different centres around the country and *University Challenge* which tested students of tertiary institutions against each other. Other examples were *Country Calendar's* look at rural New Zealand, current affairs programmes such as *Topic* and *Gallery* and arts programmes such as *Kaleidoscope*.

Children's programming was well catered for and broadcast daily from Christchurch, major events such as budget night, party conferences, international sport matches involving New Zealand teams and royal visits were covered, comedy shows such as those featuring Billy T. James and Fred Dagg were loved, and plays and dramas such as

six-part epic of *The Governor* and *Pukemanu* were highly regarded by the New Zealand audience.

Telethons too saw the coming together of communities to support charities through television. Although they were initiated in 1975 by TV2 (known as South Pacific Television) to establish its audience and give it more publicity, Patrick Day (2000, 195) says they were one of the channel's greatest achievements "creating huge public participation in television and unifying the nation in a common cause in a way that had never happened before".

New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s was still largely Eurocentric and some programming such as *Let's Go* entailed overseas songs being performed by New Zealand singers, rather than the promotion of home grown music (Boyd-Bell, 2001). However programmes about New Zealanders were emerging and this enabled insight into their own national identity. Whether people lived in isolated areas of New Zealand or in suburbia the advent of television was an important step in bringing the nation together and thus creating the 'imagined' community which they could now feel a part of.

Even in the early 1960s local programming was recognised as having a significant input into helping New Zealanders define a sense of self. Shirley Maddock, one of the first NZBC employees to film outside of the studio went to do an item on a local arts festival in Devonport. Her comment, "I will be out in the fresh air and start to put New Zealand on screen for New Zealanders to look at ... it was time that we reflected our landscape, our culture and our people", is recorded in Patrick Day's book *A History of Broadcasting in New Zealand* (2000, 65).

Johnstone believes that the NZBC (New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation) saw service to its viewers as its main focus. "It (NZBC) made television available to every city, town, village and farmhouse and worked hard to provide programmes for and about New Zealanders, chalking up a far better record with one channel than today's networks do with five" (Johnstone, 1998, 65). This is not to say that New Zealanders did not enjoy overseas programming. Certainly there is plenty to learn about the rest of the world as long as it exists alongside local content.

The conversion of the public broadcaster to a state-owned enterprise by the Labour Government in 1989 saw broadcasting take a sharp turn down the commercial deregulated track. A new requirement was to maximise profits for the Government. New Zealand television has almost always been commercial but it now reached the stage where according to Johnstone, increased advertising and sponsorship changed the face of more than twenty years of public service television with New Zealand viewers being the losers. "They were no longer shareholding citizens entitled to service, but screen fodder to be patronised and essentially despised" (Johnstone, 1998, 213). In fact Johnstone believes that the changes in broadcasting let New Zealanders down at a time when they needed television the most to inform them of the great changes in political ideology, to develop confidence in the creative talents of their people, to encourage children to reach for goals and opportunities, to explain the electoral system, to challenge the men and women at the top on their actions and beliefs. Furthermore, and this has particular relevance to this thesis, television was needed "...to invigorate and sustain towns and communities as their people adjusted to change ...to put us in touch with Asia and the Pacific, help us learn about new immigrants, new markets and our new place in the world" (Johnstone, 1998, 234).

The regional programmes mentioned previously had been replaced by the higher budget, more up-market and controversial programme *Holmes*. It was introduced to counteract increased competition with the impending arrival of TV3, and TVNZ was determined to have strong programming to establish and maintain its audience share through prime time (Smith, 2001, personal interview).

Whereas *Compass* raised issues, presented evidence and opinions and was trusted because it left viewers to assess and form their own opinions, Johnstone (1988) says that today's television is less trusted because of the propaganda content and the continual presence of people trying to persuade or sell things.

*Country Calendar*, which first screened in 1966, is still produced but now in an updated format and with its sponsors name included in its title - that is, *National Bank's Country Calendar*. This reflects the changes that have occurred in New Zealand broadcasting. Other changes are seen in the abundance of infomercials, travel programmes which

advertise its sponsor's web address or telephone number for the audience to obtain the best package deal. Live All Black test matches, a highlight for New Zealanders whether sports fans or not, are now only available live via a paid television channel. Ratings dictate which programmes continue, are rescheduled or taken off air and which programmes are canned. Many locally-made series were replaced by cheaper imports. This is not to say that good television programmes do not screen in New Zealand, but the point Johnstone makes is that compared to other Western countries New Zealand television has declined dramatically and leaves its viewers with the short end of the stick.

New Zealand appears to have come through its 'cultural cringe' complex. This aversion to hearing the New Zealand accent and seeing New Zealand actors on television originated through feelings of inferiority to other countries such as Britain and the United States whose programmes dominated both cinema and television. Horrocks (1995) attributes such an ambivalence to local programming to a lack of familiarity, and this appears particularly so in drama. Actors, like newsreaders, were once encouraged to imitate a 'BBC' English accent considered to be more acceptable to a New Zealand audience. However it seems that as apron strings to England have become unravelled the audience has gradually matured over the years and recognises the ability of New Zealanders in television production.

While it may seem to have taken a long time, the cultural cringe seems to have subsided as audiences have become more accepting and have developed a sense of pride in the talent that has emerged in local programme production. This may be due to the success of programmes such as *Shortland Street* which has gained a following in the United Kingdom, or to the international success of films such as *The Piano*, *Once Were Warriors*, or *The Lord of the Rings* putting New Zealand, its actors and filmmakers on the map.

As an easily accessible medium in the majority of New Zealand homes it is television which tells New Zealanders who they are through its images and the kiwi accents, whether they are in advertisements, in programmes, on the news or the weather reports. In spite of fears of cultural homogeneity through overseas programming New Zealanders

are capable of recognising the signs of what unites them in common with their countrymen. However, it is the way those messages are created and from whose point of view which is important (Bell, 1996).

Roger Horrocks (1995) acknowledges the complexities of different forces at work in the production, broadcasting and funding of television in New Zealand. With so much rapid change in broadcasting history and the politics and economics which effect it, no clear consistent pattern has emerged. Furthermore, he says that creating national identity on the screen through local cultural production seems to be the only factor that prevents market forces and market ideology from taking over the film and television industry.

The broadcasting industry in New Zealand has different versions of nationalism with the two most influential being essentialist and social constructionist (Horrocks, 1995). The essentialist version focuses on New Zealand having a unique culture which binds together New Zealanders of diverse ethnicities and is reflected in the images of national sports contests, historical nostalgia, local or heroic New Zealanders and popular art/entertainment events.

Horrocks says that this version is appealing to broadcasters because it fits with the marketing/advertising branding of New Zealand and attracts large mainstream audiences, however the social constructionist version of nationalism makes a greater attempt to acknowledge the difficulties New Zealand has with its history of colonialism and looks to amend the damage that was done. Horrocks says producers of programmes based on a social constructionist vision are intent on local content involving what they believe should be screened and are not necessarily interested in attracting the widest possible audience for ratings purposes.

When TVNZ was transformed into an SOE in 1989 by the Labour Government with a requirement to return a profit, the Broadcasting Commission was established to ensure that local productions would not become obsolete in such a commercial environment. The Commission, which renamed itself New Zealand On Air, had the responsibility of reflecting and developing New Zealand identity and culture through broadcasting. Horrocks says that this nationalist view made for an uneasy relationship with TVNZ

which was not keen to have their prime time programming interfered with. But with a change in TVNZ management and a better relationship with NZOnAir new developments in local production were seen with programmes such as the documentary series *Inside New Zealand*, the pre-school children's programme *You and Me*, an art series on both TV1 and TV3 and the successful hospital soap opera *Shortland Street*.

Historically television has had colonial discourses. TV1 reinforced a belief of British cultural superiority while TV2 - targetting a younger audience - prepared the way for "American coca-colanisation" (Horrocks, 1995, 93). But Horrocks also points out that television in New Zealand has the potential to challenge these aspects and turn them around, encourage a process of decolonisation and promote a more realistic national identity. In spite of the "optimists and champions of the open market" who believe that the category of nationalism will die out, Horrocks (1995, 106) says public and political support for expressing nationalism through the media in an easy to understand social constructionist way should not be underestimated.

Including marginal social groups in mainstream primetime programming reassures New Zealand society that although the country is made up of diverse groups "we are good and liberal about acknowledging and celebrating it" (Bell, 1995, 114). Yet this type of programming is weak because it is 'about' the groups and not necessarily 'for' them. However Bell also believes that a non-commercial, public service system would provide a different type of programme development that would take the challenge of focusing on plurality. The implementation of the new Charter may address this depending on the degree of public service it ushers in.

Liebes and Katz (1993, 154) comment that "viewers typically use television fiction as a forum for discussing their own lives". This could be extended to include the concept that television programmes, whether fact or fiction, provide a forum for human interaction. Johnstone (1998, 175) gives this interpretation a New Zealand perspective and refers to it as a "marae". All New Zealand-made programming will reflect New Zealand in some way whether through images, presenters or actors, the words which are uttered, or even the credits at the end stating the names of New Zealanders of varying

backgrounds involved in the programme's production. Thousands of messages are created for the viewer to absorb and consume and develop a sense of nation.

People construct their own identities (which may be a plurality of identities) through a process of individuation but these identities can be sourced from dominant institutions. In fact whoever constructs collective identity and for whatever purpose, is responsible for determining the symbolic content and meaning for others in a "context marked by power relationships" (Castells, 1997, 7).

The Government-appointed funding body for locally produced programmes in this country, NZOnAir, has often emphasised the role of broadcasting media in supporting the rich diversity of New Zealand's culture and identity (NZOnAir, 2000a). NZOnAir conducts annual local content surveys, the results of which indicate local support for seeing more local programming on their televisions. The 2001 survey (NZOnAir, 2001) showed that most people want local content levels to rise (61%) and three quarters of respondents agreed that NZOnAir provided programmes that are important to New Zealanders. An earlier survey in 1999 (NZOnAir, 1999) indicated that 'cultural cringe' was gradually wearing off and this was most apparent in the area of local drama as indicated by focus group participants. In addition viewers liked programmes with New Zealand scenery, recognisable locations and which reflected Kiwi attitudes.

The outcomes of these annual surveys appear to have influenced the Governmental review of television in 2000. The Minister of Broadcasting at the time, Marian Hobbs, released several working papers on the broadcasting industry. Concern about the impacts of new technologies and the need to encourage a national identity in New Zealand was clear. In the paper *Broadcasting Policy: Objectives and Delivery Mechanisms* (Hobbs, 2000) the Minister justifies the Government's interest ("at arm's length, rather than politically directed" point 9) in broadcasting content on the grounds that "...certain kinds of broadcast content are goods that should be available to the New Zealand public; that Government intervention is required to ensure the availability of content beyond what the current market will otherwise provide; and the need to ensure that desired types of content are produced in a period of technological change" (point 8).

These papers, released in May 2001, were the precursor to the TVNZ Charter. (See Appendix A for the full text of the Charter.) In the TVNZ Charter the points most applicable to national identity are:

That TVNZ shall:

"provide shared experiences that contribute to a sense of citizenship and national identity.... and seek to extend the range of ideas and experiences available to New Zealanders.

In fulfilment of these objectives it states that TVNZ shall:

Feature programming that contributes towards intellectual, scientific and cultural development, promotes informed and many-sided debate and stimulates critical thought, thereby enhancing opportunities for citizens to participate in community, national and international life;

...feature programmes that reflect the regions to the nation as a whole;

...promote understanding of the diversity of cultures making up the New Zealand population;

...feature New Zealand films, drama, comedy and documentary programmes;

...feature programmes about New Zealand's history and heritage, and natural environment;

...include in programming intended for a mass audience material that deals with minority interests;

... reflect the role that sporting and other leisure interests play in New Zealand life and culture".

There are also references to Maori programming in the Charter requiring a significant Maori voice which is accessible to all New Zealanders and that addresses Maori history, culture and current issues. This discussion acknowledges bi-culturalism which is not the central focus of this thesis but its inclusion is important to note.

Media commentator and TVNZ board member Paul Smith (2001, personal interview) says the Charter deliberately emphasises the word 'citizenship' so that there is a clear move away from treating the New Zealand audience as merely consumers. TVNZ has never had a Charter before and previously the requirements to contribute to national identity were only conveyed through the Broadcasting Act and New Zealand On Air. For TVNZ there is the opportunity for risk-taking in screening programmes which are encouraged through the Charter, but Smith says that changes will not happen overnight and it will be an "evolution rather than a revolution".

Moving to a more public broadcasting model through the Charter could have important benefits. Michael D. Higgins (1999) believes a vibrant public service broadcasting system provides a rich source of creativity. With identity continually being reconstructed or reforged in the “interstices of the migrants' world” the challenge is whether television can assist in clarifying them or obliterating them (Higgins,1999,11). Avril Bell (1989, 109), in looking at the 1989 New Zealand Broadcasting Act, commented that while the importance of national identity and culture is raised there is no attempt to define what constitutes these concepts, leaving it an "empty category".

TVNZ programmer Karen Bielecki (2001) says that some committed programme initiatives had already proceeded based on the TVNZ Charter and its national identity objectives, even before a date for its formal implementation through Parliament had been announced. These include the preparation of a children's drama and a youth current affairs programme on TV2, while TV One had invested in specialist reporters, improved management infrastructure, additional current affairs debate programmes and greater depth in late News.

Arts programmes in prime time have included the *Wearable Art Awards* and *Tutus and Town Halls*, the comedy *Willy Nilly* and the satire programme *Spin Doctors* and a second series of *Life and Times of Te Tutu*. Drama saw the launch of the series *Mercy Peak* and *Clare* while a major contribution to documentary is the commissioning of the series *History of New Zealand*. Other locally-made programmes about New Zealanders funded by NZOnAir to be screened by TVNZ included a documentary looking at the behaviour of New Zealanders including their body language, a documentary/entertainment series featuring Neil Finn putting together bands in different towns, and an entertainment programme presented by bungee founder A J Hackett who searches New Zealand for "local heroes, regional icons and great kiwi characters" (NZOnAir, n.d.). Two other NZOnAir funded documentaries were to look at New Zealand historically. *Once Were Dinosaurs* focused on New Zealand's prehistory while *Pavlova Paradise Revisited* used British MP and author Austin Mitchell, quoted earlier, in an exploration of how New Zealand has changed since the publication of his book *The Quarter Acre, Half Gallon, Pavlova Paradise*. However as yet no policies or statements have been made as to how such programmes will be measured as to whether they

achieve the Charter obligations of contributing to a sense of citizenship and national identity.

All of these programmes whether documentary, drama, comedy or light entertainment demonstrate some sort of insight or impression of New Zealand's national identity whether that is the producer's intention or not. How New Zealanders perceive or react to them would be the basis for future research. This thesis looks at a documentary series of the 1990s, *Heartland*, for its primary research.

While *Heartland* is almost 10 years old, analysing and identifying the ways it promotes a national identity for New Zealanders could act as a base line or form of measurement to assess the effects of the TVNZ Charter. Producers and programmers could assess whether more recently-made programmes, along the same lines as *Heartland*, have progressed in defining a national identity for its local audience, or whether the same kinds of messages are just being re-invented, re-constructed and re-broadcast. Do they give New Zealanders a sense of a shared history, a feeling of belonging, an acknowledgement of diversity in the nation and do they evoke discussion and thought about who we really are? - and ultimately are the objectives of the Charter being realised?

## CHAPTER THREE

---

### 3.1 Narrative, National Identity and *Heartland*

People enjoy a good story, particularly when it is about someone or someplace they know or can identify with. Historically oral story telling is the oldest form of communication (apart from perhaps the visual art of cave drawings or hieroglyphics) and was the precursor to written language, the town cryer, the printing press, the telegram, radio, television, the computer and the Internet. The power of a story's ability to survive is demonstrated through the existence of the fables of Aesop who lived about 3,000 years ago. His stories were not written down for 700 years after his death and are still being published today (McGovern, 1963).

While considered a form of entertainment, 'once upon a time' storytelling was the only way of passing information on through the generations whether it involved a moral lesson dressed up as a fable, put forward explanations or interpretations of the workings of nature and the world as in religious stories, folk tales, myths or legends, included lessons in life style essential for survival, or simply recorded history.

Story telling, while providing information as well as entertaining, is also an appropriate vehicle for people to receive and reinforce messages about their own culture and identity.

In today's world television is recognised as one of the most effective ways of accessing people to unite a nation by communicating stories which help them understand and feel they belong to a country. Shared meanings of nationhood are constructed in narrative form (Barker, 1999) and it is television's use of images that adds character and places it in a superior position to radio and print in eliciting a direct response from the audience (Corner, 1995).

Fiske and Hartley (1978, 85) believe that "... television functions as a social ritual, overriding individual distinctions, in which our culture engages in order to communicate with its collective self". They coined the term 'Bardic television'. Like the classic bard television is able to communicate to members of a culture a "confirming, reinforcing version of themselves" through a series of "consciously structured messages" (Fiske and Hartley, 1978, 86).

The focus of the primary research of this thesis is the examination of one particular New Zealand television series, *Heartland*, to investigate the ways it creates or reinforces a national identity for New Zealanders. *Heartland* was chosen because as a documentary its main objective was to travel around New Zealand visiting mostly rural locations, connecting with the locals who live there to show other New Zealanders life beyond the suburbs. It was a popular programme when it started screening in 1993 as it appeared to enable other New Zealanders to 'visit' places they may have never been to before and see the other kinds of people who shared their citizenship.

While many research techniques from a variety of disciplines such as socio-linguistics, psychology and anthropology, have been used in examining national identity, the study of narrative was chosen as an appropriate way to analyse the *Heartland* programmes selected for this thesis. John Corner (1995) says there is a great deal more to be discovered about the microprocesses of television communication and that only by analysing television at a primary level can we ground generalities about the medium and confidently address the larger questions about its public character.

Carla Wilson (1996) looked at *Heartland* from a geographical and social sciences perspective in her MA thesis. She suggested that the series successfully constructed narratives on the landscape which could become part of reality and that the programmes themselves became a representation that could suggest a sense of place and a national identity. Wilson focused on the narrative of community traditions, the rural life and frontier masculinity. This thesis aims to follow a broader concept of narratology in comparing the narrative of specific episodes to determine whether a common pattern emerged in its structure and how this might relate to a construction of national identity.

Narrative can be defined as a combination of the sequences of events, settings and characters "arranged in logical order through time, the sequence being driven through cause and effect" (Abercrombie, 1996, 19). However Jan Renkema (1993) states that although stories can be defined in a number of different ways, she considers characters, or at least a main protagonist, to be the prime criteria from which to view a discourse as a story.

This suggests that narrative development, the roles of the narrator and social actors all play an important role in narrative. As a result the audience can often identify with and therefore gain a better understanding of what the story is trying to convey. The way the 'characters' of *Heartland* (including social actors and narrator) are situated in the documentary and the language used to position them are therefore also examined in this thesis to assess their contribution in creating or reinforcing a national identity. However, a closer examination of the features of narrative theory in relation to television is necessary to establish the specifics of the approach.

### **3.2 Narrative Theory**

Television producers and programme makers have an objective to keep the audience watching by ensuring what is being broadcast can be understood by making the narrative coherent and logical (Lealand and Martin, 2001). Nevertheless and critically, television imposes its own structure on what is broadcast and restricts what can be said and how it is said through the restraints of format. The fact that it avoids "normal face-to-face communication" allows it to "exercise a subtle but never-the-less real form of cultural control" (Silverstone, 1981, 8) .

Whatever the agenda it is the essential element of narrative - the way a story whether fiction or non-fiction is told, no matter what language it is presented in or how it is transmitted - that makes it memorable. Narrative discourse has a crucial role to play in human life according to sociolinguist Barbara Johnstone (1990). Narrative helps to structure and give meaning to the past, she says, but telling stories is also a comfortable and familiar way for people to converse and communicate.

Interest in narrative theory arose from the work of Russian Formalists such as Vladimir Propp in the late 1920s, though Propp's work only attracted attention with its second English translation in 1968 (Renkema, 1993). A variety of disciplines have embraced narratology (as the theory is sometimes called) or aspects of it, whether literary and film critique, semiology, sociolinguistics (Labov and Waltezy, 1967), psychology (Eakin, 1999) or anthropology (Levi-Strauss, 1987), and it is now recognised as a reputable field of study (Kozloff, 1992).

Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* (1970) treated narratology as a science. By formulating thirty-five possible different functions used to move a story along in a collection of one hundred Russian folktales, he concluded that the tales all shared a predictable pattern. Although assigning narrative to a series of units or functions may seem restrictive to apply to all genres when it was initially designed to look specifically at folk tales, Roland Barthes believes that "a narrative is never made up of anything other than functions: in differing degrees, everything in it signifies" (Barthes, 1977, 89).

More recent research has applied Propp's schema to other forms of narrative from the Bible (Barthes, 1977) to television drama such as Silverstone's (1981) morphological analysis of *Intimate Strangers*. Kozloff (1992) is conscious of the tendency to try and make other narratives 'fit' into such a schema, but at the same time acknowledges the work of structuralist narrative theorists such as Tzvetan Todorov (1971) and A. J. Greimas (1970) who believe that in spite of the range of topics and stories that can be written there still appears to be a set of conventions that are followed to make stories easily understood and that a finite number of narratives exist which are used repeatedly.

Narrative is the primary mechanism in shaping television's communication but by studying the code of how fiction and non-fiction stories are told provides a greater understanding about the nature of television.

"The everyday world is simultaneously a world of rule and transgression; but no knowledge of it is possible, just as it is itself impossible, without an understanding of those rules. Hence we are led to its structure, to the grounds of its possibility, and to the identification of the syntax and semantics of its meanings."

(Silverstone, 1981, 6)

However Silverstone (1981, 15) also stresses that an examination of "system, structure, logic, order, patterns" does not intend to "impose a static view or to reify what is forever changing", rather it recognises "that there is, simply, a consistency in the activity of man and that consistency manifests itself in social and cultural relations".

As far back as Aristotle patterns were recognised in stories such as the narrative arc of the beginning, middle and end in tragedies (Kozloff, 1992). While television is recognised as the modern world's primary storyteller with the ability to reach millions of people simultaneously (Lealand and Martin, 2001), changes in technology and the way stories are recorded does not appear to have dramatically altered actual narrative structure which relies on the construction of a beginning, a middle and an end.

Of course exceptions exist, the American film director Quentin Tarantino refreshingly makes a point of challenging such conventions by mixing the spatial sequences of narrative in his films such as *Reservoir Dogs*. Nelson Goodman (in Renkema, 1993, 100) says that a requirement to report incidents in causal order would handicap both cinema and literature. I would suggest that to make sense of a story such as *Reservoir Dogs*, the challenge to the psychology of the human mind is to subconsciously rearrange these sequences back to the format of beginning, middle and end to enhance a greater understanding of the final product. Psychologists refer to the disruption of a person's organised cognitive and psychological structure resulting in disequilibrium as 'cognitive dissonance' and there is consequently a desire to seek new information and make adjustments to re-establish the equilibrium and maintain cognitive consistency (Brooks & Heath, 1989). Kozloff reinforces this desire for logical progression when she says that the audience has an "almost unquenchable habit of inferring causality from succession" (1992, 68).

Structuralist Tzevetan Todorov (1971) describes the minimal narrative plot as a transition from one equilibrium to another. The beginning of an 'ideal' narrative starts in a stable situation (equilibrium) which is then disturbed by some power or force creating a state of disequilibrium, but equilibrium is re-instated through "the action of a force

directed in the opposite direction" though this second equilibrium while similar, is not identical to the first (Todorov, 1971,111).

Silverstone (1981, 70) says that "the mythic dimension of culture contains traditional stories and actions whose source is the persistent need to deny chaos and create order" . The world fears chaos, he says, as in the unknown and the unthought, but we constantly "revise the limits of what it is that we can take for granted, constantly incorporating more and more within our own stock of knowledge... the knowledge which guides our everyday activities, is bounded" (Silverstone, 1981, 5).

Among the seven functions of television in its Bardic role, Fiske and Hartley (1978, 88) include the concepts that the medium helps to "convince the audience that their status and identity as individuals is guaranteed by the culture as a whole" and "transmits by these means a sense of cultural membership (security and involvement)". (See Appendix B for a list of these seven functions.)

The extent of television's ability to persuade its audience to think a certain way, or guide viewers in how to react to situations, is often debated. But Ronald Berman (1987) says that television also has the power to assure viewers that changing their minds is all that is necessary to settle national problems. Berman expands on this by pointing out that people on television are seen as being rational. While they all have problems these can be resolved through a simple change in belief or behaviour.

"The strategy of the medium (television) has been to imitate limited parts of social life, to replicate certain human experiences and, emphatically to create some empathy between the characters of its fiction (and even of its non-fiction) and the audience."

(Berman, 1987, 109)

### **3.3 Primary Research and Methodology**

The methodology used in this thesis is based on an analysis of the text which not only looks at the language and images used in *Heartland* but also attempts to interpret and explain their relationship with social and cultural processes and structures as well as looking at their reception and social effects in relation to the construction of national

identity. This methodology, termed critical discourse analysis (CDA), has developed from ideological and political movements since the 1960s and is used in looking at the relationships and themes in analysing social power such as women's studies, xenophobia or politics (Titscher et al., 2000).

Discourse analysis is an examination of language (both written and spoken) as communication and can look at the wider picture of the social and political contexts it is used in and why, and any patterns that exist (Paltridge, 2000). Norman Fairclough has written extensively about CDA (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995) and says, in the case of television, visual images, sound and sound effects are also considered part of the text. CDA enables an analysis of representations, relations and identities that work simultaneously in a text which “makes it easier to connect the analysis of language with fundamental concerns of social analysis” (Fairclough, 1995, 17). Norms and values that are hidden in texts can be revealed through such analysis (Paltridge, 2000).

The analytical framework as suggested by Fairclough (1995) and used in this thesis, analyses the relationship between the text (including language, image and sound), discourse practice as in the processes of text production and consumption (taking into account the creative discourse processes of the programme makers), and finally socio-cultural practice which takes a wider look at society and culture and how it effects the communicative event (that is, *Heartland*) as well as the way the discourses of the programme influence social, cultural and political reality.

Fairclough has applied CDA to many texts such as the medical programme *Medicine Now*, the *Oprah Winfrey Show*, the *Today* programme on BBC Radio 4 (all in Fairclough, 1995), and the texts of Margaret Thatcher in constructing herself as a political leader (Fairclough, 1989). CDA has become a useful methodology which researchers have adapted for investigating national identity. Examples of this include case studies of the major linguistic strategies used by Austrians in constructing national identity (de Cillia, Martin and Wodak, 1999), the way English people talk about their country in an interview situation (Condor, 2000), how Mexican immigrants in the United States use ethnic identity as a central identification category for self and others in their stories (de Fina, 2001), and an examination of the ideological organisation of

representational processes in the presentation of us and them in op-ed articles in two Turkish newspapers (Oktar, 2001).

Many areas of difficulty in the analysis of *Heartland* can be discerned by looking at the problems perceived by other researchers in conducting similar work. Whether these are actually "weaknesses" of the research is debatable, but it is important to discuss them to acknowledge their existence and also to counteract them by the strengths of the research.

Firstly, CDA-based methodology has been criticised as being vague and an ideological interpretation rather than an analysis (Widdowson in Titscher et al., 2000,163). Fairclough (in Titscher et al., 2000, 164) has pointed out the need for open-ended results in this methodology. Because the results of CDA are not absolute, open-endedness enables new contexts and information to be applied, possibly changing the results (Titscher et al., 2000).

In defending CDA, Fairclough (1992) offers four reasons for a greater recognition of textual analysis within a framework of discourse analysis. From a theoretical point of view any investigation of social structures cannot be done without some analyses of texts. Methodologically texts provide a major source of evidence in "grounding claims about social structures, relations and processes" (Fairclough, 1992, 211). Historically textual analysis can be used to indicate social and cultural changes, and a study of texts can establish critical language awareness of the way social control and dominance can be exerted, whether this is by the media, other text producers, groups or institutions.

As has been stated in the first part of this thesis, national identity is a process which changes in relation to its socio-historical context, and it is also suggested that rapidly advancing communications technology influences identity construction. It is important that the analysis of *Heartland* is sufficiently 'open' to allow for future reinterpretation in the light of future social and cultural change and its potential impact. Also the current research could be used for comparison with other programmes and their structuring of national identity.

An important characteristic of CDA is that it is concerned with social problems and the results must have practical relevance (Titscher et al., 2000). It is proposed that one of the strengths of this research is to analyse retrospectively a programme which was produced eight years ago in light of the historical, economic, social and broadcast environment during the 1990s. While a historical perspective can investigate how the programme was produced and presented in relation to the social and cultural changes of the time, the thesis may also provide a useful document by which to measure programmes which are to be produced within the stipulations of the TVNZ Charter in relation to the projection of New Zealand's national identity.

Already there have been concerns raised as to how programmes under the charter can be measured (Menzies, 2002). In an article entitled *Let's go for fun and clarity using BBC-style feedback*, Scott Menzies states there is no baseline to compare programmes before and after the TVNZ charter. Future research may be able to establish a retrospective comparison of pre- and post-Charter programmes and this *Heartland* analysis could provide a baseline for comparison as to whether new programmes are any more effective in their national identity construction.

This thesis explores the ways in which *Heartland* represents national identity through the mechanism of the narrative arc despite being produced before the introduction of the TVNZ Charter. The following four research questions are the focus of this investigation. Firstly, do *Heartland's* narratives show a pattern of change in state from equilibrium to disequilibrium and back to equilibrium as described by Tzevetan Todorov? Secondly, what is the role of the narrator/presenter Gary McCormick within *Heartland* in influencing the development of the narrative through commentary and interview technique and his own positioning within the programme in the construction of a national identity? Thirdly, does the relationship of the social actors to the discourse help them to define themselves as New Zealanders in the same way that *Heartland* does? And finally the fourth question asks what is the message being portrayed in the text of *Heartland*, is it consistent and does it shape society?

### 3.4 Recognising the researcher as an intimately engaged participant

The three selected *Heartland* programmes examined were watched and the words transcribed verbatim, with attention also paid to the images and sound that accompanied them (see Appendix C for transcripts). The transcripts of the *Heartland* programmes record visual, audio and script details to provide the data for critical discourse analysis. They are included as appendices to this thesis. Transcripts have been used similarly in other studies by Morley (1999) and Fairclough (1995).

When Silverstone (1981) analysed the television drama *Intimate Strangers* (using Proppian analysis), he expressed the difficulty of discussing an audio-visual text in writing. This thesis faces the same problem and as video-tapes of the case studies of *Heartland* are not included with this thesis, the author's description is relied upon to convey the presentation and meaning of the programme. As a consequence, these descriptions must be recognised as interpretations and cannot be considered definitive. However, it is important to note that any such analysis of audio-visual texts is a qualitative examination through which points are raised and discussion aroused. It is anticipated that this may act as a springboard for future research.

Silverstone (1981) identified a second methodological question in relation to his work which applies to this study of *Heartland*. Both the text and the analysis have originated from and are expressed within the same culture, so does this imply a conflict of interest in the analysis? The fact that New Zealand's national identity is being examined raises the point that the author of this thesis finds it virtually impossible to disconnect her own identities of being female, second generation New Zealander and a mother raising her children in this country. The author's roots are of a rural, farming background with English descent on her father's side, while her mother was born in Vienna, Austria and moved to New Zealand as a Jewish refugee in the 1930s. It is therefore deemed important in this thesis to not only reveal the researcher's background, but also to be as objective as possible and provide as much supportive evidence as possible in the analysis. However, it must also be recognised that such research serves to create a heightened cultural self-awareness in the analysis.

Mary Jane Collier (1998, 144) chose to move from "third person to first person, from the objective overviewer of postcolonial scholarship to the intimately engaged participant in research on cultural identity", to avoid the "reinforcement of the invisible assumptions that form her own identity as a Euro-American woman as well as her positions and biases and places of privilege" in her research. However, a conservative approach is still warranted when revealing information about the author as there is a danger of turning the focus of attention away from the subject of research. Furthermore the weight of academic convention as an objective researcher still requires the use of the third person.

Fairclough (1989) points out that when involved in CDA methodology to interpret and explain the discourses of participants, an analyst can only gain access to the processes in people's heads by engaging in the discourse processes which are being investigated. An analyst must draw upon their own interpretive procedures which he terms "members resources", and at the same time be sensitive to what resources they are relying upon to do the analysis. Self-consciousness is all that distinguishes an analyst from the participants s/he is analysing and an understanding of social theory is important to avoid assumptions about society.

### **3.5 Banality has its virtues**

Silverstone (1981) raises the point that those who read analytical research about television culture are equally likely to be members of the culture and society responsible for either producing or analysing television programmes themselves. While he does not raise the point of 'vague' interpretations he does highlight the danger for the author in producing work that in his terms is 'banal' or 'obvious' and says, "the conclusions should be illuminating, but they are unlikely to be entirely surprising" (Silverstone, 1981, 116).

David Morley and Charlotte Brundson (1999) have taken a retrospective look at the *Nationwide* television studies that they worked on in the late 1970s and early 1980s. While the controversial focus of the studies was "conventionally seen as unimportant and trivial" it has since proved its significance beyond the life of the programme. They suggest that *Nationwide* actually anticipated the construction of English Heritage and

has become an example of the "construction of a particular type of white lower middle class national (ethnic?) identity as Englishness" in the 1970s (Morely and Brundson, 1999, 11-12). In addition aspects of the programme's format are now visible in similar programmes that were produced later on demonstrating the evolution of national identity construction and reconstitution.

The title of Michael Billig's book *Banal Nationalism* (1995) indicates that the nature of the construction of national identity often takes a banal or familiar form within the media that the audience may not be conscious of because they are so used to it. These may be a shot of a flag wavering in the background of an action scene, the stripes on an officer's coat or the mere use of pronouns such as 'ours' and 'we'. However by pointing out such banalities in this research on *Heartland*, more pieces of the puzzle come together to make the bigger picture and the critical awareness of language and image used by those with social or political agendas are made more obvious. Recognition of banality has its part to play.

This thesis has drawn on a number of different disciplines in its analysis of *Heartland* and attempts to cover new ground. While some with knowledge of the *Heartland* series may expect a deep analysis of country versus city, gender representation or an examination of *Heartland's* Wainuiomata programme which became responsible for a widely publicised public outcry through its representation of the suburb, these areas have already been covered in Carla Wilson's *Landscapes in the Living Room* (1996). These aspects are acknowledged and referred to where relevant in this thesis, but are not focused on because of the desire to explore new areas about the series.

### **3.6 Preferred Reading**

It also needs to be stated that in this analysis of *Heartland* the preferred reading theory described by John Fiske (1992) is followed. While audiences, depending on their background, social or cultural identities, may interpret or decode a programme in different ways, this theory suggests that the programme makers have a set of meanings that are preferred in an effort to maintain dominant ideologies. However, these meanings cannot be imposed. Fiske (1992, 298) also suggests that for a television text

to be popular it must be open enough for different social groups to access and negotiate different readings which enable "meaningful articulations of their own relationships to the dominant ideology".

Barker (1999) says that while television can carry multiple messages they are not necessarily equal and that the text is structured in dominance which leads to the preferred meaning. In Carla Wilson's study of *Heartland* she argues that documentary representations do not produce one universal truth and that they are partial and subjective. However media representations can become "real" through the "rhetoric of objectivity embedded in documentary discourse" (Wilson, 1996, 2).

This thesis does not aim to demean other interpretations of the producer/audience relationship, but the focus of this study is on the programme makers' intentions as part of the process of constructing a national identity within the commercially-driven television environment that existed at the time. In determining the preferred reading of the *Heartland* series this thesis has had the advantage of being able to access insights and comments about the programme and its production through presenter Gary McCormick's book *Heartland* which was published in 1994. In it he shares his experiences of making the programmes, his thoughts and reasoning behind various aspects which are not apparent in the television series itself. This, as well as comments gleaned from articles in newspapers and magazines from the producer and series director, is able to provide a useful guideline as to the preferred reading of the programme makers.

## Chapter Four

---

### 4.1 *Heartland* - series description

The first series of *Heartland* was broadcast nationally in New Zealand in 1993. It continued and developed into a 24-part series winning a bronze medal at the 1994 Film and Television Awards in New York as well as the best factual series award at the 1994 New Zealand Film and Television Awards. Its popularity resulted in the production of a further series which screened in 1995 and a video compiling highlights from the series titled *Journeys in the New Zealand Heartland* (Anson Grieve, 1995). Journalist Simon Cunliffe considered *Heartland* as one of the great recent success stories of locally produced television rating regularly in the top five programmes for the week and attracting between 550,000 and 650,000 viewers (Cunliffe, 1994). A selection of some of the *Heartland* programmes was rescreened on Prime Television in 2001 and for the purpose of this thesis a total of 22 programmes were watched, with three episodes being transcribed and chosen for close analysis.

Gary McCormick is the presenter of the majority of the *Heartland* programmes though this role was also taken by other New Zealand broadcast personalities at times including Annie Whittle, Maggie Barry and Kerre Woodham. William Grieve and Bruce Morrison were the producers of *Heartland* with Bruce Morrison directing many of the episodes or acting as series director. Anson Grieve was the company that produced the series with principal funding provided by NZ On Air.

*Heartland* is a documentary which focuses on what it sees as the 'real' heart of New Zealand, namely the rural and provincial spaces (Longhurst and Wilson, 2002). It travels the length and breadth of the country visiting areas in each episode looking at the history, lifestyles, and problems that are faced and meeting the people who have made these places their home.

In *On Film Magazine* (February, 1992, 5) a short article on the *Heartland* series titled "Pics from the Sticks" promoted it as a "lighthearted look at the richness and diversity of New Zealand and its people" focusing on local events and characters. Claudia Bell (1996, 141) too acknowledged the programme's positive positioning describing its tone as "determinedly celebratory" and providing "something of a showcase for a way of life that has achieved mythical status in New Zealand".

In spite of the diversity of backgrounds of the people who live in New Zealand whether they are the Maori of Hokianga, the residents of the Chatham Islands or the descendants of Scottish settlers in Waipu, the producers of *Heartland*, Morrison and Grieve, aim to show the culture that binds New Zealanders together.

"It is our contention that it helps for a resident of Huntly or Whangarei to be able to see the life and concerns of the people of Haast, Fendalton, or Bluff. To see the gulf of customs which separates him from them, but to also realise that there are shared attitudes, references and certainties, the mixture of intangibles that let you know your culture, and your part in it."

(Morrison and Grieve in McCormick, 1994, 7)

The majority of viewers are likely to be urban, and as armchair travellers they are taken to selected places that were not normally found in mainstream television programmes at the time (Bell, 1996).

McCormick is quoted in an newspaper article in *The Christchurch Press* as saying he has a growing interest in "things New Zealand" and an awakening by New Zealanders to take pride in themselves as a people:

"Now it is becoming fashionable to be a New Zealander, which is quite comforting ... I'm just delighted to be moving among a nation of people who at long last feel quite happy about being who they are."

(Cunliffe, 1994)

The majority of the programmes focus around one single event that is idiosyncratic to the area whether it is a competition, involves sport or a social occasion. Examples within the *Heartland* series include "The Whitebaiters Ball" on the West Coast, "The

Golden Axe Competition" in Tokoroa, "The Big Three Easter Hunt" in Ohakune, the "Opunake Beach Carnival" or the rodeo at Omarama. Some programmes focus on a smaller one off event such as election night in Jim Bolger's electorate of Te Kuiti, the "Festival of the Sea" debate on Stewart Island or the celebration of the final payment of Wainuiomata's \$600,000 rugby league headquarters.

Abercrombie (1996) suggests that sport is a presentation of national unity and that through its structure, in the use of rules, fair play and self-control, is a unifying force and those who defy it through cheating or breaking the rules are disapproved of. This framework can also be applied to the community events within *Heartland*. An event is central to the narrative of each episode. As other issues are explored in the programmes, all have a common thread with the narrative build up to a community event that brings various parties together in spite of differences whether political, cultural, racial or economic. It is something the community has in common and can share.

Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz (1994) reflect on live broadcasts of media events in their paper *Defining Media Events: High Holy Days of Mass Communication*. While the *Heartland* events are not broadcast "live" as such, there is similarity in the message of reconciliation Dayan and Katz refer to where "participants and audiences are invited to unite in the overcoming of conflict or at least in its postponement or miniaturization" (Dayan and Katz, 1994, 339).

Some of the later episodes of *Heartland* broke away from the mainstream rural aspect that dominated the series and focused on locations such as the suburb of Grey Lynn and the Pacific Island groups that live there. Another programme follows a group of immigrants from Aitutaki in the Cook Islands on a visit back to their Pacific heartland. These episodes highlight the changing times in New Zealand with an increase in immigration since the 1970s as well as the effects of the internal drift to urban environments. Thus the meaning of *Heartland* takes on less of a rural interpretation but one that suggests the importance of the place where people have come from and still see as an important part of their identity. These programmes are not deemed "typical" of the series but as an attempt to stretch the meaning of 'heartland' to its limits. Series director

of *Heartland*, Bruce Morrison has commented that he wanted to "push the idea of community as far as it will go and see where it takes the show" (in Wichtel, 1994a, 64).

## 4.2 Riding the narrative arc - case studies

Taking into account Todorov's description of the minimum narrative structure with its changes in the state of equilibrium, along with the suggestion that through narrative we seek to find order in a world of chaos, three episodes from the *Heartland* series were chosen to analyse whether this pattern existed within its discourse and what influence it would have in promoting a view of national identity.

Rather than choosing programmes at random, the three episodes were selected based firstly on geographic location, that is, one from the North Island, one from the South Island and the third from a city location. This last example was a divergence away from the usual focus on rural areas in the series. Secondly different approaches from a national identity perspective were sought.

The North Island programme *East Coast - Towards the Light* was chosen not only because of its rural location but also because it was filmed in the aftermath of much negative publicity about the violence over land claims by a splinter group of Maori which appeared to create tension amongst the community. This situation of conflict highlighting racial tension between Maori and Pakeha was deemed an interesting aspect of the programme which would impact on notions of national identity.

The programme titled *Growing Up In Fendalton* was chosen as a direct contrast to the East Coast. This city versus rural New Zealand episode targeted the wealthy suburban location of Fendalton in Christchurch because it focused on the stereotype of a wealthy, private school, English-influenced community. It had the potential to highlight a national identity that had grown from the first European settlers and could answer questions as to how it related to the 1990s.

The third programme titled *A Wet Day in Paradise*, focused on the South Island location of Glenorchy because it used the symbolic role of nature as an idealized vision of New Zealand. It was chosen not only because it was situated in a particularly

scenic area - which some researchers see as reinforcing the mythic clean, green image of New Zealand's beauty - but also, because an unpredictable flood during the filming of the programme turned the focus away from the annual horse races to how the people in the devastated area coped as a community and how they, as New Zealanders, dealt with a disaster situation.

The analysis found that the narrative of the *Heartland* programmes progressed through a change in the state of equilibrium identified by Tzevetan Todorov. In the beginning a state of equilibrium is achieved by introducing us to people from a particular part of New Zealand to demonstrate that this country is a nation made up of different groups (whether this be ethnic origins, socio-economic status, or even gender) co-existing in one country. A move to a state of disequilibrium is achieved as some concern or problem is raised within the programme that disturbs the status quo and builds to a climax or high point. This is evident about three-quarters of the way through the programme.

By the end of the programme a state of equilibrium is once again achieved. However, rather than a complete resolution of the problem this equilibrium is gained by presenting a positive prognosis for the future as the people within these communities seek to face up to a change, a challenge, or take better control of their circumstances.

### **4.3 East Coast – Towards the Light**

This episode is an exploration of the area known as the East Coast, on the eastern coast of the middle of the North Island. Presenter McCormick journeys through the communities of Tolaga Bay, Tokomaru Bay, and Ruatoria to reach his destination, the East Cape lighthouse.

In analysing the text in *East Coast - Towards the Light*, it is important to be aware of the social/political times in which it was set. James Belich (2001) relates that between 1960 and 2000 New Zealand underwent a domestic process of decolonisation where a "coming out" of differences and dissent was matched against a "coming in" of new influences and new migrations. Part of this coming out was a Maori cultural resurgence

and, prior to the *Heartland* series, activities such as protests at Waitangi Day and Bastion Point in Auckland attracted a great deal of media coverage.

In addition Belich says a tendency was apparent for some younger Maori men to form gangs with names such as the 'Mongrel Mob' and 'Black Power' and these groups were associated with illegal drugs and violence.

The East Coast also drew a lot of attention with negative publicity regarding racial conflict over the possession of land. McCormick refers to this in his book (1994) as a period of turbulence when arson and unlawful acts were conducted by a band of young Maori in a desire to "drive others off 'their' land and away from the sacred mountain Hikurangi" (1994, 72).

The leader of the Rastafarians at the time, 'Diesel' Maxwell, claims he was kidnapped and threatened by policemen and later another leader Chris Campbell was fatally shot. With this background and the media attention these events received, the audience at the time *East Coast – Towards the Light* was originally broadcast would already have had an image of the East Coast as being a wild part of New Zealand which is depressed, dangerous and threatening with a lot of racial tension created mainly by Maori.

McCormick travels through the East Coast in a rusty old Holden car – a tongue-in-cheek underlying 'text' indicative of his Kiwi bloke persona and humour (discussed later under narrator's role) as he tries to blend in with the area known for the run down cars which sit in the front yards of many homes. In other words it is a "when in Rome..." attitude whereby a visitor will gain greater acceptance by the locals if seen to be, or attempting to be, like them.

The programme begins by displaying the beauty of the East Coast using a montage of shots of beautiful scenery, beaches, cliffs, rural scenes, local people and aerial shots of small townships. McCormick helps establish the state of equilibrium of the narrative as he comments to the viewers that this part of New Zealand is unlike any other:

- 00.50 View of waves pounding on beach, cliffs behind. Gary McCormick walks into view, surveys scene then turns and faces the camera in direct address.  
GM: "When you drive north to Gisborne up to East Cape - you feel like you are entering another world, which to some extent you are. The communities of the East Coast are spread out over some 200 kilometres."
- 01.01 Aerial shots  
"We are going to be travelling these 200 kilometres all the way up to the lighthouse at East Cape."
- 01.21 (Title: Tolaga Bay)  
Montage shots of local people. Their dress and housing indicate that this is a low-income region.  
GM V/O: "This is the Heartland of the Ngati Porou. Although this is a sparsely populated area consisting of remote and scattered farms and small towns, the people who live on the Coast do tend to feel that they are all part of the same community..."
- 01.45 " One of the things that connects many of them is their interest in horses and one of the big events on the East Coast calendar is the Horse Sports Competition... "

Setting the scene, McCormick's words have already constructed a sense of community and togetherness by the people who live there, although the area is so sparsely populated. In addition he has also suggested that the Ngati Porou are the people who 'belong' to this area – it is their *Heartland*, which also suggests a spiritual ownership. Already a discourse of cultural/racial tension is running through the programme as it attempts to turn the audience from blaming Maori or viewing them negatively, to seeing another side of the story than the discourses of the national news media.

McCormick proceeds to interview a variety of social actors throughout the programme, some as they practice on their horses and enter preliminary events for the horse sports competition and others as representative of their groups whether farmers, residents, Maori elders or a local photographer. The social actors are both Maori and Pakeha but the differences between the two are made apparent and certain anxieties are built up as the narrative moves towards a state of disequilibrium. While the Maori are interviewed riding in paddocks with no indication as to whether they own the land or not, the Pakeha are portrayed as being the owners of large farms as indicated by the images and captions (see Fig. 3). Their farms are captioned as 'stations' and cut away shots are made to aerial views of their land and the large farm houses. Discussion with Pakeha

social actors also shows that they are forthcoming in announcing their rights to living on the East Coast:

17.50 GW (V/O and Title: Graeme Williams): "I was born here but my father came here about 34 years ago from the family farm ... my grandfather farmed further up the coast and then he had three sons who all wanted to go farming... so they acquired two other farms and this being one of them... so yeah I've spent all my life here. My father and his father and his father and his father were all down here. So we've been here for a day or two."

QuickTime™ and a  
Photo - JPEG decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

(Fig. 3) The framing of this Pakeha farmer surveying his land in *East Coast - Towards the Light* implies a dominating role reminiscent of colonial times.

QuickTime™ and a  
Photo - JPEG decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

(Fig. 4) Maori spectators at the Ruatoria Show are framed in a more threatening light as the 'other' with their dark glasses and serious expressions compared to the 'pioneering' image of the Pakeha farmer in Fig. 3.

This deliberate representation of Maori and Pakeha not only implies that such groups are spatially separated within the community but Wilson (1996) claims that it also reinforces and critiques the colonial discourse of the Pakeha. In her analysis of *Heartlands'* Ngaruawahia episode she says Maori were portrayed as victims of a Pakeha-dominated society. Wilson says the East Coast programme showed that race issues were being dealt with more positively by the community there but this could also be as a result of different directors involved in the programmes.

McCormick raises various issues with people appearing in the programmes such as changes in New Zealand's economy over the years which saw the closing of industries such as the local freezing works that resulted in many families moving to the cities. Soil erosion is highlighted with aerial shots displaying dramatic slips and bare earth and McCormick apportions blame for this (either through voice-over or directly to the

camera but never in front of social actors) to the pioneers who cleared the virgin bush for farming. But he also admits that in more recent years Cyclone Bola also caused devastating erosion.

As the issues of erosion and unemployment are introduced a sense of guilt and colonial anxiety for Pakeha viewers is suggested. It is not an onslaught of accusation but the comments come from McCormick rather than the people he meets.

Although the narrative moves closer to the climax of disequilibrium it does so in fits and starts. That is, highlighted issues are often dealt with superficially and when the social actors are questioned they merely give their opinion and there is no further probing for more serious comment.

For example, when McCormick interviews a local Maori, Phil Aspinall, on their housing problems, a response is given but never dealt with in depth as the scene quickly changes to an interview with a local photographer about her work:

23.15 Gary McCormick interviews a local Maori Phil Aspinwall:

GM: "There was a bit of a fuss made about housing problems here. In fact there was a bit of a fashion here for a while to talk about your housing problems."

PA: " I guess the media seeks sensationalism. I must say that they showed all the Maoris living in these squalid conditions but they didn't show the Pakehas living in Tokomaru Bay living in the same conditions in beat up caravans and what have you. They only showed us Maoris. But

we're happy. Money is not everything, but happiness is more important and we are very happy here in Tokomaru Bay I can assure you of that."

Cut away to shots of black and white photos of scenes from the Coast.

Programme makers are mindful of maintaining their audience and particularly when the majority of viewers would be Pakeha. If this episode becomes too accusatory they are at risk of losing ratings.

Also, the issues never dominate the programme because they are interspersed with lighter, more entertaining topics, such as the history of the Tolaga Bay wharf which was built in 1929, field trials for the horse sports, or some 'hamming it up' by McCormick as he attempts to catch a sheep to enter in the Ruatoria Show.

It is at the midpoint of the programme that McCormick confesses that he has been misled as to the true nature of the East Coast with the implication that the audience, in as much as we identify with him as our guide through this journey, are also victims of misconception:

23.58 GM: "Well I'm halfway through my trip up the coast - in fact I'm just entering Tokomaru Bay and I'm starting to wonder whether the myth of the Coast as a sort of depressed area is exactly that - a myth. I'm wondering whether, - if I've been sold a line for example in Gisborne where I come from, the expression "up the Coast" is sort of synonymous with backwards or in decline... In point of fact people seem to be remarkably cheerful about their predicament. I'm starting to wonder whether or not the judgements made about the Coast aren't sort of European ones."

It is at this point that McCormick attempts to persuade the audience to take a more positive look at the notorious East Coast. Rather than just stating this directly he uses language that conveys that he has been the victim of "misconception" as has the audience and been "sold a line". His repetition of 'I' focuses on his apparent self-revelatory process of seeing evidence which is contrary to what he has been led to believe and implies that a revised opinion of what he is seeing is in order. This journey has been a process of self-discovery which the audience are witness to and part of. In this passage he uses the word "wonder" on three occasions - "I'm starting to wonder..." , "I'm wondering...", "I'm starting to wonder" - which draws the audience into his thinking as they seek to answer his inquiries for themselves.

This repetition is a form of lexical cohesion, demonstrating a relationship between words in a text (Paltridge, 2000, 134). Repeating the word 'wonder' within a short space of time is a subtle form of persuasion led by the narrator. It suggests to the audience that they should 'wonder' too and perhaps make similar judgments to those of the narrator. It also assists in the construction of national identity by persuading the audience to take a

more positive view of East Coast inhabitants, namely Maori, who seem so different from them.

The programme tends to swing back and forth touching on both negative and positive aspects of the area through images and interviews. There is an attempt to show how happy the local people are whether Maori:

24.26 Phil Aspinwall: "Money is not everything, but happiness is more important and we are very happy here in Tokomaru Bay I can assure you of that..."

or Pakeha such as Deb Higgins on Ihungia Station:

39.06 GM: "It's a pretty nice set up here Debs - does this come with your job or with Cooch or what?" (laughs) "How did you come by this attractive setting?"  
 DH: "Well it came with him."  
 GM: "Yeah very good choice if you ask me. It's lovely out here ..."

However, because of recent media publicity the audience is aware that Ruatoria will be the telling point of the programme because that was the centre of violence. It is two-thirds of the way through this episode that the state of disequilibrium becomes very apparent as McCormick enters the domain of the Ruatoria Rastafarians.

Anxiety reaches its peak as a montage of images is shown backed by Rastafarian music. Shots of their communal living, tattooed faces and leather clothing, a graveyard with the flag of Maori sovereignty flying, and smoke rising from their chimney (perhaps a subtle reminder of arson). A sense of intimidation or unease can be implied in this part of the programme through their image of being the 'other'. Prior to meeting with the Ruatoria Rastafarians McCormick states that he can't help but notice a certain tension in the air and this creates a sense of curiosity as to what McCormick will find on his visit.

Even before the introduction of the Ruatoria Rastafarians the programme has, by these sinister images and the accompanying reggae music which may be associated with the smoking of marijuana, already created a dark image of them. However McCormick appears to seek sympathy for them and shows he is willing to listen to their side of the

story by happily sitting down, accepting their hospitality and discussing their lifestyle while sharing their breakfast.

When McCormick questions them on their views his language is phrased from their point of view as in the following example where he actually articulates what he believes they would say:

13.10            GM: "Do you believe the land has been taken off you and you should have more of it?"

John Heeney paints a picture of reverse intimidation by the authorities with his reply:

42.31            JH: "I believe I have a birthright, eh, and I can walk upon my ancestral lands without fear of being, you know, plucked off, you know, by people coming in helicopters and landing in trees and wearing guns and black clothes and just and away and gone, eh, without them having to issue trespass notices, contesting my rights. Right from the start I was saying to the people, we have every right to be on this land, this is why we wear the moko, this is our citizenship."

The interview with John Heeney, leader of the Rastafarians, is juxtaposed with that of Jeremy Williams whose home was burned down in an arson attack on his wedding day. While there may be an expectation of resentment to be voiced by either party both appear to put the past behind them and want to learn to live together.

45.31            GM: "One of the things that has hit me in my trip up the East Coast is, that an interest in things Maori is very strong... they are very strong on their traditions and values... and the other thing is the intensity of feelings with which people have about issues here."  
                     JW: "I would agree - ah we've had our troubles as everybody knows in real terms that has tended to polarise views but ... you know, put the worst of our trouble behind us and everybody is trying to get on with their lives now really."

McCormick in a peacemaking/mediating role with his questioning suggests words for the social actors to explain their predicament. This is seen with Jeremy Williams whose house burned down in an arson attack on his wedding day:

- 46.40 GM: "So the troubles you had in the past are being exceptional in a sense you got dragged into something...?"  
 JW: "Oh, yes...yes - we're quite comfortable... obviously things weren't pleasant for a few years when we got married... but... things have settled down and we have adjusted. Put it this way. I don't have any trouble remembering my wedding anniversary."

as well as John Heeney:

- 47.36 GM: "And so in the next 10 years or so do you see yourself being able to co-exist with the Williams, the visitors who come here, your own elders? Do you see yourselves walking forward?"  
 JH: "Put it this way... We can co-exist with anyone that doesn't set themselves against us...because to me if people set themselves against us, it brings the other quality out of the tattooed man to defend himself eh, against whatever he hoped to do to us. The way I see it is if they want to be a part of it, there is a place set aside in this land where they can go to find it. But all those that don't want to be a part of it, well there is the rest of Aotearoa where they can go and their oyster eh... you know... it's enough... you know... there's enough area over here to provide for everyone."

Jeremy Williams also explains that his children have attended Kohanga Reo and that his daughter is in a Maori total immersion class, seeking to imply that his family embrace the Maori culture as part of their life. Even the Ngati Porou elder Tom Te Maro, interviewed at sunrise in a spiritual scenario with Mt Hikurangi in the background, says he would welcome more communication with the younger people who have split away from their iwi.

McCormick makes no direct comment on these interviews. Rather, it is through his questioning that an empathy for each group has been raised and there is a sense that his unthreatening approach to the Ruatoria Rastas was an attempt for them to have some faith in the programme in spite of bad experiences in the way they were portrayed by other media.

The willingness of the representatives of each group (Pakeha, Rastas and Maori elders) to co-exist is apparent and this relaxes the tension in the programme. However, none of these social actors has contact with each other within the programme and are interviewed separately. Their individual comments imply an attempt to live side by side

rather than an overt friendliness to each other. Jeremy Williams' comment that he won't forget his wedding anniversary because of the arson attack suggests he is willing to forgive but not to forget and there is still an underlying threat that conflict could rise again when John Heeney says:

47.36 "We can co-exist with anyone that doesn't set themselves against us...because to me if people set themselves against us, it brings the other quality out of the tattooed man to defend himself eh, against whatever he hoped to do to us."

A sense of equilibrium is restored. Though this is on a different level from that established in the introduction of the programme as it relates more to a sense of resolution in relation to racial conflict whereas the the first stage of equilibrium dwelt on scenes of beautiful landscape and a peaceful way of life.

However the final state of equilibrium also picks up on these aspects with the cut to the scene of the Ruatoria Show demonstrating the happier members of East Cape communities joining together in an activity that they can share and enjoy together. McCormick's success in the best sheep competition lightens the atmosphere as he jokes around with Graeme Williams.

The end of the narrative is marked by a coda – part of the narrative structure where the writer or narrator expresses his or her own perspective on the story and provides a summary to his exposition. Walking around from the East Cape lighthouse, McCormick delivers his assessment of the East Coast and highlights the meaning of the programme's title *Towards the Light*:

57.45 GM walks towards camera:

GM: "The East Cape lighthouse - the end of our dusty and rather warm journey along the East Coast... I've always tended to think of the East Coast as being the last frontier but that may be because I live in Gisborne and have a romantic notion about these things. None-the-less it will be the first in the world to see the New Year light in the year 2000 to welcome in the new millenium which is appropriate in a sense because it's also the area in the country which is dealing with one of the great issues facing New Zealand today. The relationship between Maori and

Pakeha..." (shots of Maori and Pakeha girl together) "...and for that matter between Maori and Maori. But it is an area which contains amongst the people a sense of warmth, or hospitality and an overwhelming sense of spirituality and for these reasons it will be resolved."

Credits with shots of farmers mustering sheep, the beach, playing rugby.

McCormick speaks authoritatively as he ties in the metaphor of the East Coast being the first to see the light of the new millennium with the concept that (and he stresses this emphatically) relationships between Maori and Pakeha and Maori and Maori "will" be resolved. The metaphor of the light can also be tied in with his "warm" journey and the warmth of the people.

The cultural-racial discourse has been carried along through the narrative development and McCormick's role as peacemaker by attempting to present a balanced view of the East Coast that is not dominated by a Pakeha perspective. The programme's narrative has resolved in a state of equilibrium as it has displayed a resolution by East Coasters to get along. A move to a more homogenised national identity has been constructed which leaves a positive outlook for the future. Wilson (1996) suggests that the rural landscape is valued and that in the construction of national identity it is seen to be a place where lifestyle, space, spirituality and healing contribute to the working out of racial tension.

It is useful at this point to reflect back on the comments by Berman (1987) quoted earlier. He said that television has the power to assure viewers that changing their minds is all that is necessary to settle national problems and that it can do this by creating an empathy between the characters and the audience. It can be seen that through the narrative arc and changes in the tension and equilibrium of this programme, viewers (in particular Pakeha viewers) are encouraged to think about the situation of people living on the East Coast and to be persuaded that the problems can and will be positively resolved. The director Bruce Morrison said in a *New Zealand Listener* article (Wichtel, 1994, 145) that the purpose of the programme was not to dig for dirt because there was a "cultural agenda" in its production.

This programme could be seen as one way of exposing the audience to different views that may affect the way they see themselves as collective New Zealanders and as being part of the New Zealand 'culture'. It was made at a time when there was a move to a greater realisation by Pakeha of the complex and rich relations of Maori iwi and hapu identity with place (Bedford, 1996, 360).

However, attempts are made in the programme to construct a national identity with a positive outlook. While it can be argued that it is up to the audience to decide to what degree they accept this representation, it is still reliant on the resources or knowledge at their disposal within a programme. The media can tell people not what to think, but what to think about (Cohen, 1963, 13), however this episode of *Heartland* provides a limited version of how a diverse community has become unified, frames it in a very positive way and suggests that this is the way in which it should be viewed - leaving little room for debate.

#### ***4.4 Growing Up in Fendalton***

This episode diverts from the usual rural locations of *Heartland* to an urban setting – perhaps to demonstrate that everyone has a heartland which is not necessarily based in the countryside.

The programme about the suburb of Fendalton in the South Island city of Christchurch opens with a montage of images including ducks on the Avon River, a stately home and boys in school uniform – all accompanied by majestic, orchestral music. McCormick's introduction sees him standing in an upmarket shopping mall implying the wealth and spending power associated with this area of Christchurch and he is quick to identify what this particular programme is about:

00.45 GM: "Christchurch, Fendalton - Our national stereotype example of our English heritage. What we see as stereotype is in fact the remnants of the vision of Christchurch's founders. A vision of a civilised new society in the antipodes. This was to be the best of England transplanted to the temperate southern Pacific

and free to flourish. This is a programme about stereotypes and definitions about a particular strand of Kiwi culture that is alive and well and living in Fendalton."

The discourse is one of a historical/cultural lecture with clauses such as, "what we see..." and the emphasis on "our" national stereotype. McCormick's assumption on behalf of the audience is that we have a collective identity as New Zealanders but that we need to learn about ourselves and the way many of us used to be - though as we are to find out, some are slow to change. It seems somewhat contradictory that McCormick talks about stereotyping, which is defined in a negative sense, but then the programme itself is responsible for reinforcing the identity of the community using that same device.

This introduction hints at the change in the state of equilibrium to come. What is highlighted is a group within New Zealand which, through its heritage and comfortable lifestyle, is stereotyped as snobbish, thinks itself superior to other groups of New Zealanders and is unwilling to 'grow up' and become involved in the move towards a more multi-cultural society. McCormick never directly states these elements of the stereotype but implies it within the programme by the people he interviews, the tasks they are involved in and the questions he asks them. It is much later in the programme when social actors become more defensive about their 'positioning' that a state of disequilibrium is achieved.

Initially a state of equilibrium is apparent as the narrative introduces the audience to Fendalton in the 1990s. McCormick focuses mainly on the children and teenagers, (hence the title *Growing Up in Fendalton* – though its double meaning will be revealed later), how they are being brought up with an emphasis on justice and family values by parents and teachers based on a traditional English heritage.

His interviews with various people and the locations they are set against - plush homes, beautiful architecture, tennis courts and the idyllic Avon River – create an impression of wealth and expectations of a high standard of living. We are shown grand homes with beautiful furnishings, the counting of money at the school fete where it was hoped to raise \$100,000, the auction of an English-style home, or the tales by an elderly Christchurch woman about the days when they had servants and would call tradesmen by their first names.

This lifestyle is also apparent with the children. Interviews are conducted with teenage girls while having elaborate evening dresses fitted by a Couturier (this label is used instead of an ordinary 'dressmaker'), or having their hands manicured or hair styled for the ball. The environment of the schools with computers (note that in the early 1990s individual computers were not a common occurrence in a lot of schools), the grand school buildings with historic significance, the formal Church services and prizegivings, or boys participating in games of tennis and cricket, or playing the violin. McCormick even questions pupils on what they want to do when they leave school and is given answers associated with the high expectations of a higher socio-economic group of going to University, becoming a lawyers or a veterinarian, or travelling overseas.

This is particularly apparent when McCormick speaks to a group of primary school children:

- 06.23            GM: "...Now what are you going to do for careers?"  
                     SJ: "I'm going to go to University..um and I want to be a lawyer."  
                     (Cut away shot to a boy playing cricket).  
                     SJ: "...my Dad's already a lawyer at Whitecliffe and Jones."  
                     GM: "Why a lawyer?"  
                     SJ: "I want to go down to Otago University ... and I want to play for Otago."  
                     GM: "What about you Fletcher?"  
                     FB: "I would actually like to travel around the world, specially Europe and stay there for a while... study there. Then I want to come back to New Zealand and I want to be an architect."

The move to a state of disequilibrium is slow to appear. The programme takes time to demonstrate what the stereotype of the inhabitant of Fendalton is based on and why this stereotype still exists. The emphasis on a Pakeha English Heritage is portrayed in various ways. One example can be seen when, in a primary school classroom, the camera focuses on a school project hanging on the wall relating to the First White Settlers on Banks Peninsular. In another example to demonstrate the English influence is when the programme devotes several minutes to the Cathedral School choir practicing traditional Church hymns. Gradually as the programme constructs that stereotype as a reality, disequilibrium becomes apparent through the discourse of the interviews and through the images and music used in the programme.

McCormick's look at private school life in Fendalton revolves to a large extent around his interviews with pupils. He joins a group of boys in the dining room at school, chats to a boy on duty in the kitchen, watches sports, choir practices and cricket games. He is reserved in any commentary about the way people live which probably relates to the difficulties the programme makers had when planning this episode as described by Cunliffe (1994). Living such a lifestyle appears distant from that of average New Zealanders and this is projected mainly through the imagery and the way people are positioned in their environment against elegant architecture and English styled gardens.

McCormick attempts to challenge Fendalton's concept of reality and introduces a sense of disequilibrium as he raises issues such as how pupils will cope in the real world when they leave a society couched in English heritage and attitudes. For example, McCormick talks to a group of boys at the Leavers' Dinner at Christ's College:

- 20.02      GM: "How do you find dealing with the rest of the world. I mean - this is quite a different sort of group of people."  
               MB: "Yeah - a lot of people don't like us... you know and it's probably private schools in general you know."  
               GM: "Why do you think that is?"  
               MB: "A lot think we're arrogant and some people are and you... It's just a stereotype and that's not right."  
               GM: "What about when you do get out in the rest of the world. I mean for example, the rest of the world is not quite like this. I don't see any Maori People ..."  
               Boys: "There's one..." (laughs)  
               GM: "There's one is there." (laughs) "How do you find this when you get out into the world. Is it difficult that the rest of the world is not quite like this?"  
               MB: "Um... yeah... you just get these perceptions of the people outside our community and for some people it would be difficult to mix with other cultures that we're not used to seeing."  
               GM: "And even worse possibly?"  
               MB: "Oh yeah."  
               GM: "Have you got a lot of problems in this area?"  
               MB: "Not that I'm aware of."  
               GM: "Well obviously he's aware of a few."

As in other *Heartland* episodes McCormick uses his humour to make social actors feel comfortable about sensitive subjects and the informality of the conversational discourse

assists in the creation of a relaxed atmosphere. McCormick holds back on his criticism in an effort not to offend or because he too feels out of place in this environment.

As has been noted McCormick has designated himself an 'outsider' and often asks social actors for explanations about various rituals or why things are done a certain way. He attempts to participate in some activities, such as the school fete where he comically dons the girl's headband he won in the lucky dip. But when it comes to the auction of a stately home he is quick to put on his dark glasses in a 'Blues Brothers-like manner' in case he is mistaken for a bidder and he stands aside from the crowd that has gathered there.

McCormick seems hesitant to voice opinions in this programme due to problems they had in making it. He makes few asides to the audience as compared with other programmes and there are only a couple of times when he uses monologue in direct address to the audience. But this absence of opinion is a technique whereby what is not said can be more revealing than if something is spelled out. For example, when he recites a piece from the *London Times* which, because he makes no comment about it, he lets speak for itself about the rigidity of the community's origins:

07.52            Shots of statues (founding fathers?)

GM (V/O): "The London Times wrote in 1851..."

(Title: 8.00am) Shot of boy riding his bike to Church.

GM: "... a slice of England cut from top to bottom was dispatched in September last to the Antipodes. Between deck and keel were elements of a college, the contents of a library, the machinery for a bank and the constituent parts of a constitutional Government and of course the trappings and restraints of the Church of England."

In a second example, McCormick does give an opinion but this is added as a comment after reading out a portion from the Christ's College prizegiving programme.

47.00            GM inside the huge hall at Christ's College speaks to camera reading from the prizegiving programme. He has exaggerated head movements as he talks in a grand tone while the boys enter the hall behind him.

GM (to camera): "'Come all ye jolly College boys, Sing lustily I pray and recollect your battle cry and ring it out today. Upraising with a mighty

sound of hip, hip, hooray...' We're going to hear that tonight and in addition we're going to see all these books given out to pupils who have won prizes. Now I make a list of some 170 names who are going to win prizes in this carefully laid out forty minutes of this presentation. It'll be a miracle if they can do it, but if anyone can Christ's can I'm sure..."

The war/military discourse of the verse from the College song emphasises the strict traditionalism that is maintained at the school and McCormick's comment can be seen as a slight mocking one which touches on the sense of jealousy associated with the stereotypical view held of Fendalton.

A sense of disequilibrium develops as the audience, through McCormick's responses realise the 'otherness' of Fendalton society. McCormick's own discomfort at the differences between him and the people he meets is seen through his body language and his restrained commentary compared with other episodes. This influences the audience who are led to trust him more as their guide than they trust the people of Fendalton.

The climax of disequilibrium is reached in the narrative with an interview that indicates a feeling of frustration and a defensiveness by two Fendalton adults. McCormick politely describes his difficulty as an outsider in understanding Christchurch culture and asks for some explanation.

Elizabeth Moody is quite pointed in her response to McCormick's questions:

39.25 GM (V/O): "I've actually come here today to talk about Christchurch culture as such because for an outsider it's quite difficult to understand in some areas ... How would you describe Fendalton - Christchurch in a matter of a few words."

Cross to GM interviewing Elizabeth Moody and Chris McVeigh at a small table in café.

EM: "Money... is that crisp enough for you..."

GM: "Do you think there is anxiety about, and I must be frank, we picked up a certain amount of defensiveness, is this part and parcel of life in this area that people feel they are defending something that's important to them?"

EM: "They have had so many jealous slurs and sort of, oh, you know a sort of academic unpleasantness about their way of life and I think they

are quite right to be defensive. I don't like hearing slurs against them because they are always coming from people who absolutely have no idea what they are like. You hear Christ College jokes all over the place and I am sick to death of them. To me it's just a way of a busy little weevil being handed a mozzie."

Elizabeth Moody is quick to reinforce, albeit unintentionally, the stereotype by implying that Christchurch is synonymous with wealth but then she complains about stereotyping. Her use of words "unpleasant", "jealous slurs", "jokes" and "sick to death" heighten both the state of disequilibrium and the tension within the programme.

It is at this point that the state of disequilibrium has reached its high point. McCormick does not respond to her comment and the narrative begins to turn when he talks to Chris McVeigh, the other adult seated at the table. Chris McVeigh, who is a Christ's College Old Boy, appears more conciliatory as he agrees that Fendalton needs to adapt to keep up with the changes in New Zealand.

- 40.00 GM: "You do get the impression that Christchurch and Fendalton have managed to maintain a certain kind of safe and secure lifestyle while a lot of changes are going on in other parts of New Zealand. Do you think these changes in other parts of New Zealand will eventually permeate society here?"
- CM: "I think that Christchurch at large and this area as a whole will just be slower to adapt than other places that's all."
- EM: "You can't be forced... then we'll feel put upon."
- GM: "Right - so you think a well reasonably ordered, educated society can cope well with those changes?"
- CM: "It will mean a phase that they will have to change from dark blue to denim. In the Merivale Mall...so...more quickly than they think... but this place does have an identity which is unique to New Zealand but one can't help the feeling that it's transplanted England and that will change... "

Further examples illustrating that Fendalton must and is already changing occur in the final part of the programme when McCormick meets a group of onlookers in the early morning as they watch a house being moved off a site to make way for a new town house development.

GM and Robert Berry stand side by side watching the house.

- 52.20 GM: "So is this town house development arrangement symptomatic of what's going on around Fendalton?"  
 RB: "Very much so yes, yes. Yeah a lot of it is sad in a lot of ways, but ... it's the 90's isn't it?"  
 GM: "Sure. It's on the move anyway."

A new state of equilibrium develops with an indication that while such a way of life exists in Fendalton the people there cannot resist or ignore the changes that are happening in New Zealand. A resolution of sorts surfaces as the audience realises that the people there are faced with trying to maintain their identity based on English heritage and tradition in a society marked by change. They react against the stereotype created through their past and their founding fathers, but the implication is that they will need to do more to break out of this mould and the signs are that this is beginning to happen, albeit slowly.

McCormick provides no concluding remarks to this programme. It ends with the presentation of the girls at the Rangi Ruru College Leaver's ball. They dance with their fathers to the music of Eidelweiss which ironically is a nationalistic song from the musical 'The Sound of Music' about Austria at the time it was absorbed by Germany prior to World War II. It is likely that some of the audience would know the words of this popular tune, (though are not sung on the programme), which say "Bless my homeland forever!" This could be interpreted that a song, being used at a significant point in the evening but which has no relevance to New Zealand whatsoever is another indication of Fendalton's cultural difference, identifying itself with a British 'homeland'.

There is no verbal coda to this episode. But the absence of words allows the programme to convey a message without direct attributable comment by McCormick and thus mitigates against the programme makers getting into trouble with a community which had already been wary of them (Cunliffe, 1994). The ambiguity of the title *Growing Up in Fendalton* has become apparent. The more obvious association can be seen to relate to the programme's focus on the pupils of private schools which have a very traditional, English grounding, and in particular the leavers who have finished their final exams and

are about to celebrate this period of growing up and entry into the wider world. However a more subtle, underlying meaning is apparent from the point of view that the upper classes of Fendalton appear trapped in a time warp of English tradition and heritage instituted by its founders and that it is time for this part of New Zealand to 'grow up' and become part of and more accepting of the changes in New Zealand society. But this association does not become obvious until the latter sections of the episode.

This episode is the only one in the sample of programmes that were watched for this research where the *Heartland* theme was not played when the credits roll at the end of the programme. The only sound is that of a cacophony of girls' excited voices after having their photograph taken together at the ball and throwing their bouquets in the air. It is interesting that the programme makers have excluded this programme from their usual format of finishing with the *Heartland* theme. Again this may suggest that this community is not fully accepted into the *Heartland* family because of its attitudes and traditions or even by its own resilience to change.

While superficially the narrative closes with a celebration of the end of school life for these leavers - a resolution to the chapter in their lives where they have been bound by school rules, traditions and expectations - now they have also reached a state of equilibrium by the closure of this part of their lives. In this programme the sense of equilibrium is that of the people of Fendalton themselves rather than a shared sense with the wider community of New Zealand. The move to disequilibrium showed the social actors' defensiveness about the way others saw them, but at the same time the programme reinforced these images of wealth, formal education and upper-class lifestyle. Again a sense of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' is apparent. For the viewer seeking a national identity where we are all seen to belong to a group known as 'New Zealanders', it is recognised that to move away from such stereotyping the people themselves must change. A sense of hope or resolution becomes evident in the knowledge that the people of Fendalton are prepared to change (albeit slowly) and become one of 'us'.

Bell (1996 ) says that television likes to give the impression that we live in a homogenous and egalitarian nation. Where there are many diverse groups who consider themselves New Zealanders, television is able to simplify identity through the use of stereotyping. It would be fair to say that all of the *Heartland* programmes involve stereotyping to some extent. Each episode visits a region and the people of that area become labelled whether it is through the Scottish presence in Waipu, the hardiness of Chatham Islanders or the beer drinking, football playing and lingerie party attending people of Wainuiomata! McCormick himself is a stereotype of the Kiwi 'bloke' and this is discussed later in this thesis under the narrator/presenter's role in the programme.

However it is the Fendalton episode that overtly points to the traditional English stereotype of the people who live in the suburb. This focus may have been feared by the community itself which was concerned that the programme may have portrayed it unfairly. In agreeing to be filmed certain ground rules were set by some members of the community. McCormick says that they were warned not to upset the people of Fendalton and Rangi Ruru College students circulated a petition to keep the programme makers away from their Leaver's Ball. As a result the style of the programme is more distanced than some other episodes and has a narrative structure that allows the audience to draw its own conclusions, assisted by the absence of McCormick's comments and the reliance on what the people themselves say and how they are framed against the background of their environment.

In fact McCormick is far more revealing in his book about his attitude to the community than he displays in his television presenter's role. While he states that Fendalton is no more 'English' than the rest of Christchurch which is 'remarkably English' (1994, 178), he marvels at the sense of comfort and security the people have built up in their suburb through their wealth and elegant surroundings:

"Perhaps Christchurch, or Fendalton, will never become a huge Polynesian or Maori centre, in which case I suppose a life might be lived without having to come to terms with New Zealand as a multicultural nation. But can they go on avoiding it? Rangi Ruru boasts Taha Maori programmes but there is still a feeling in the area that there is no real need to face up to an ethnically evolving society."

(McCormick, 1994, 179)

These types of comments are never stated in the programme which seems more positive in its inferred prognosis for the suburb compared to McCormick's book. The programme implies that the people of Fendalton are just a little slow in changing with the rest of New Zealand, while McCormick's book suggests that the suburb will have little choice and that "Fendalton will inevitably be forced to get to know the rest of us" (McCormick, 1994, 180).

The programme makers may have been pre-occupied with not overstepping the limits of the programme's formula by alienating a group of New Zealanders. Claudia Bell says that by enjoying a belief in an identity in common, where "any notions such as class consciousness, a priority of the problematic identities, is surpassed" (1996, 189). This is a form of social control in a capitalist society such as New Zealand. Reinforcement of national identity helps to maintain order and put down resistance that has the potential to rise out of the large gap between rich and poor in a society where profit making operates in an ordered society.

QuickTime™ and a  
Photo - JPEG decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

(Fig. 5) This image of McCormick and a Christ's College master not only conveys the orderly, traditional English surroundings of Fendalton, but also implies an attempt to challenge the authority of the suburb's insular heritage by breaking 'boundaries' in defying the sign.

It is doubtful that the producers of *Heartland* set out to make a programme about Fendalton with an agenda to encourage an ordered society for New Zealand. But they were feasibly constrained by the demands of commercial television where television stations are wary of controversy which may upset or disturb advertisers and thus impact on revenue. These pressures clearly lead commercial stations to require 'positive' formats which will not upset viewers or advertisers. The programme has foreshadowed a move towards change (see Fig. 5) and concludes with an attitude that diverse groups in New Zealand do indicate some willingness to break from their traditional cultural constraints and move with the times and this is seen as a positive move.

#### **4.5 *Glenorchy – A Wet Day in Paradise***

This episode of *Heartland* has two discourses based on New Zealand myths running through it. Firstly, the dramatic natural landscape with its clean, green image is a dominant factor in the programme and secondly, a discourse about the pioneering spirit of a resourceful and fun loving people who live in the country is also constructed. These two myths complement each other in the programme but their relationship is heightened through the narrative development and changes in equilibrium as one challenges the other.

Firstly a discourse reminiscent of a travel log or tourist promotional film dominates the beginning of the programme which is set in the isolated but wonderfully scenic area of Glenorchy situated on Lake Wakatipu in the South Island (see Fig. 6). The episode opens with peaceful, idyllic shots of vegetation and forest the only background noise being a gently bubbling stream. This is followed by dramatic aerial shots as seen by a local farmer flying his homemade gyrocopter (rather like a microlight with helicopter blades) accompanied by racy instrumental music. There are impressive views as the camera speeds over mountains which suddenly drop away, races above a stony river bed, over tree tops, and along a straight road.

Even before McCormick has verbally introduced the programme this is a reinforcement of New Zealand's clean, green image and fabulous scenery which Bell (1996) calls a romanticised version of the landscape that is both beautiful yet dangerous, to be

admired, enjoyed, photographed and left. This myth - that has been repeated and recreated over the years stemming right back to paintings which encouraged both early colonisation and tourism - contributes to a sense of national pride in a unique landscape and strengthens national identity.

QuickTime™ and a  
Photo - JPEG decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

(Fig. 6) This scene of jet-boating on the Dart River near Glenorchy helps to reinforce both the national pride associated with the 'beauty of New Zealand' ethos and the adventure park image which attracts tourists.

Belich (2001) says the landscape was an easy way for people to find something uniquely New Zealand. You only had to look at the bush or the mountains to find it and an association with nationalism that went with it. Bell (1996) calls it a myth because it assumes egalitarianism, promoting shared access to publicly owned natural resources when in reality there are still Maori land grievances about significant parts of the country. Also, we promote iconic natural features as part of our culture and we have not actually created these ourselves. An identification with nature suggests positive things about the population and helps to validate who we are.

As Bell points out:

"National identity based on physical geography, and on idealisation of lifestyles within nature, is persistently used as our claim to fame" (1996, 34).

These images, Bell says, are further reinforced through their representation on stamps, books, calendars and in advertising, and in this case study of *Heartland* through documentary discourse. It is by the use of this 'nature ethos' as a dominant thread in national identity imagery that New Zealanders can feel "valuable by association" (Bell, 1996, 38) and the programme reinforces this when setting up an initial state of equilibrium in the narrative.

McCormick's introduction also helps build this state of equilibrium as he provides information as to the location, history and the current status of Glenorchy:

- |       |   |
|-------|---|
| 02.15 | <p>Shot of people riding horses on country road with Glenorchy stores in background.</p> <p>GM (V/O): "Glenorchy - at the head of the lake. Gateway to the two great river valleys of the Rees and the Dart."</p> <p>(Mountain shot in background with statue of WWI soldier foreground)</p> <p>GM (V/O): "... an access way to the heart of the Southern Alps since the 1860s"</p> <p>(shot of a person on a pushbike, pushing another empty bike along)</p> |
| 02.24 | <p>shot of small building - Glenorchy Library)</p> <p>GM walking along road in front of modern buildings (town centre) talking to camera</p> <p>GM: "...In the old days people used to come here by boat, but in the 60s a road was put around from Queenstown. Aside from this the community has remained much as it was - as a service centre for the large sheep stations and a visitors centre."</p>  |
| 02.34 | <p>Aerial view of town with lake and mountain backdrop.</p> <p>GM (V/O): "But as in other parts of New Zealand, many visitors now are foreign tourists."</p>  |

McCormick's language is backed by nostalgic images of the past (the World War I statue), the simple life (man pushing a bike) and Glenorchy's status today (shots of modern but modest buildings) implies that this is part of the old New Zealand that has

avoided the influence of commercialism or development mainly through its isolation but that it is a focus for local people and tourists.

Words such as "gateway" and "accessway" used by McCormick suggest Glenorchy's purpose was as a last staging-post before entering the mountains. A part that the rest of New Zealand knows mainly through the images of beauty and splendour on television, in books or magazines, but an area which many may never have visited. His reference to visitors being mainly foreign tourists has an underlying impression that the secret of New Zealand's beauty has finally been discovered by 'foreigners' who not only share in experiencing the scenery of New Zealand which we feel belongs to us and which we are so proud of, but their presence is welcomed because the tourist dollar helps the country economically and these foreigners, of course, will return home.

With the reference to tourists the glorified concept of clean, green, nature being central and unique to New Zealand and to eco- and adventure tourism, not only stimulates a pride in a national identity but is also beneficial to the economy of the nation by attracting tourists. One scene takes McCormick on a jet boat ride down the Dart River. Aerial camera shots zoom in and out of the river, the boat and the countryside as the audience too is taken on this exciting trip. In another scene McCormick rides in a helicopter up to a mountain hut to talk to two local mountain climbers, Robert Koch and Mark Hasselman, who are resting and admiring the view before advancing to the summit of the mountain.

But besides this emphasis on the environment, McCormick announces that his purpose in visiting Glenorchy is to attend a "classic Otago institution - the Glenorchy Races". His interviews are not only with some of the key people organising the event, such as Malcom and Andrea Roy from Woodbine Station and Peter "Slack" Lucas, but also with other 'entertaining' locals.

The second discourse about the pioneering spirit comes through McCormick's interviews with the social actors who appear as down-to-earth, hardworking people with a sense of humour. Whether this is farmer/pilot/mountain climber Robert Koch who not only has family connections in Glenorchy going back several generations but also showed his Kiwi resourcefulness in building his own gyrocopter, an eighty-eight year

old eccentric woman Rosie Grant who was born and bred near Glenorchy and lives in a run down old cottage with twelve cats, or Dave Somers who lives in a place actually named on the map as Paradise and who shows McCormick virgin bush and points out the mountain peaks which have been unofficially assigned the names of Roman and Greek Gods – an indication of their magnificence and power as well as a claim to ownership by giving them (European mythological) names.

The pioneering spirit of the people of Glenorchy is apparent when they speak about their connection with the land. For example, Rosie Grant recounts her father's occupation:

- 11.00        GM: "You're part of an old saw-milling family from these parts is that right?"  
                RG: "Yeah, yeah... (indistinct) Grant had his mill over there. Turner's Creek .... Other side of the River"  
                GM: "your father ... your father first saw-miller of the Grant family?"  
                RG: "Yeah - until about 1920 I think. And he stayed there then he went off shiite mining up the mountain here and that occupied him for a good many years... "

Milling and mining experience are two jobs which intimate a physical prowess involved with the conquering of nature and the taming of the environment to be productive and self-sufficient, to support a family. This not only helped in the 'Pakeha' goal of "transforming nature into a nation" but also contributed to the country's economic success (Bell, 1996, 37).

Several social actors relate their historical connections over the generations particularly in relation to farms with long family traditions. This can be seen in the following example when Robert Koch meets Gary McCormick:

- 03.15        GM: "Now there's a name I've seen around the town. Have your family been in these parts for a while?"  
                RK: "Yes, good? Relations go back to the first run-holder here William Gilbert Rees."  
                GM: "Right."  
                RK: "The Koch name has been here for around 150 years."  
                GM: "Still that's quite a long time isn't it?" (Laughs) "And you're obviously a very modern branch of the family..."

While McCormick has fun with the Glenorchy races which are a parody of the very formal Royal Ascot races in England (an indication that the locals are laughing at what they are not – that is, they may be derived from English roots but now see themselves truly as New Zealanders), a foreboding sense in the change of equilibrium has been signalled with hints of bad weather noticeable during some of the interviews.

Apart from the visual mist and heavy cloud that develops over the mountain and increasing wind gusts during interviews and race preparations, McCormick makes occasional comments about the weather. "I love to be in Glenorchy in the middle of summer," he quips when picking cherries with Rosie Grant in a downpour. But no real threat is evident and this fuels the sense of irony later on when a storm strikes. The title *A Wet Day in Paradise* has also indicated what may come, but the audience is unaware as to how extreme this will be.

However the increasing bad weather on race day which results in its postponement half way through clearly signals the narrative's move to a state of disequilibrium. Yet this is a gradual move. As in the other case studies of this thesis, niggling anxieties are built up but the interspersing of light hearted scenes slows this process down. For example, when most people head for the pub at the postponement of the races, three 'brave' Kiwi blokes make a game of sliding naked through large rain puddles on the grass. Scenes of rain pelting down outside are contrasted with the community and visitors living it up in the pub with music, dancing and drinking. This shows that New Zealanders know how to enjoy themselves even when things do not always go according to plan.

The state of disequilibrium reaches a high point when the scene suddenly changes to the devastation and damage shown the next morning. McCormick describes some of the destruction:

49.50           Scenes of flooding the next morning. Dirty, muddy flood water running in the river.  
                   GM (standing by a washed out road, torrential waters behind him): "Well this was an ambling perambulating stream which trickled its way beneath the bridge beneath the road to Queenstown. But as you can see the road to Queenstown is no more and our stay in Glenorchy has been somewhat extended."

McCormick interviews the people in the area - some of whom were forced to evacuate their homes during the night to avoid being swept away in mud slides, while others desperately built up walls of sandbags to try and stem the swelling river. While there is almost a sense of disbelief by the social actors as they reveal their individual stories, the scenes of devastation often speak louder than words.

But it is the way people react to their predicament which demonstrates the discourse of the pioneering spirit that is so evident in the programme. They are philosophical about their predicament. For example, Ann Percy points out that worse things could have happened:

54.30        Ann: "But I think the creek above the house must have burst but luckily there are some trees there which would have filtered it. Otherwise we would have had big logs like that all through it."

In another example Malcolm Roy is already working on a plan to remove piles of rocks and debris that have overwhelmed his property, though he is aware that nature has the ability to repeat its tempest:

56.36        GM: "So you think you're going to be able to push enough stuff out of the way to....?"  
               MR: "I'm really not sure ... the trouble with a repair like this is quite often it's temporary because mother nature is a lot stronger than we are."  
               GM: "This is actually a major engineering feat you are undertaking here. This is the local equivalent of the Clyde Dam by the looks of it ha."  
               MR: "The trees have already have fallen in there so hopefully what I'll do is I'll push up rocks against the gate and that will hold it, fingers and toes crossed really."

In spite of the devastation there is still humour to some of the interviews, often prompted by McCormick, as this example demonstrates when McCormick inspects some of the flooded sheds on Robert Koch's farm:

54.44        GM: "Oh I see ... look at this in here ... an indoor swimming pool in there now."  
               (GM opens a shed door to see the interior full of water.)  
               RK: "Where I can teach the sheep to swim."

The programme makers even had the advantage of capturing some dramatic action as a woman rescues a dog from the swollen river surrounded by on-lookers who cheer her on (52.55).

In resolving the state of disequilibrium the narrative of the story picks up the pace, creating a sense of movement and motivation as people take charge of the situation and accompanied by the same racey, soul lifting music associated with the speeding aerial shots of nature at the beginning of the programme, they immediately get to work clearing up the mess and attempt to get things back to normal.

McCormick is shown having difficulty hiding his emotions at the destruction of property and walks off camera because of his distress while interviewing Andrea Roy (this is discussed later under narrator's role). As people clear up and the stranded tourists and visitors leave by bus and ferry, McCormick concludes the programme with a coda that reinforces the nature myth that it can be beautiful but dangerous:

50.20            GM standing in front of the flooded Glenorchy waterfront reserve and talking to camera.  
                  GM: "Well there we have it. The best laid plans of mice and men. I came here to enjoy a day at the races and I've ended up in some kind of natural disaster. It just goes to prove, as generations have known long before me, that the high country is a wonderful place, but it pays to respect it."

The unforeseen storm and devastation that took the programme makers by surprise actually proved useful in the construction of a dramatic narrative that brought the two discourses of nature and pioneering spirit together. Whereas nature with its associated dramatic scenery is seen as a dominant theme in national identity building, the other discourse of the pioneering spirit is heightened when the local people are faced with having to deal with the effects of nature at its worst. No matter how proud they are of their country they are still at the mercy of the forces of nature but seem able to accept and deal with it.

Sociolinguist Barbara Johnstone in her book *Stories, Community and Place* (1990) devoted a chapter to how stories come to represent places with the example of a disastrous flood that occurred in Fort Wayne in 1982. While the initial stories of the

flood were purely factual reporting in the newspapers, as time went on more personal stories of bravery and fortitude appeared which began to identify the community. The language used in stories evolved with the swollen river taking on a villainous persona that "ignored its weaving course" and "plundered neighbourhoods" (Johnstone, 1990, 117) and the people of the community became heroes with battle imagery of "fighting" back and not willing to "surrender" to the rivers.

But on yet another level Johnstone sees the flood story as an American story of communities of the heartland working together to defeat an unjust outside force whether it be farmers rising against banks wishing to repossess their land or even the story of the American Revolution. The collective stories of Fort Wayne's flood, Johnstone argues, helped to define the community.

Glenorchy's community is defined through the discourses of this *Heartland* episode which demonstrated their love and respect for their environment but also their pioneering spirit. Nostalgic connections are made which help to reinforce the myth of the pioneering and adventurous spirit of New Zealanders and create a nationalistic pride in the fact that these people, even though they live in a different place from the viewer, are one of "us". The drama that developed through the narrative has helped to construct and define not only this community, but identify a collective membership as New Zealanders who have the ability to cope with a 'wet' day in Paradise.

#### **4.6 *Heartland's* narrative structure**

Fairclough (1995, 188) says that "intertextual analysis shows how texts selectively draw upon orders of discourse – the particular configurations of conventionalised practices (genres, discourses, narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers...". In the analyses of the three *Heartland* case studies, narrative within the documentary form was examined based on the pattern of construction suggested by Todorov. This took each programme through the states of equilibrium, ultimately leading to the creation of a sense of security about New Zealand's national identity.

Each programme was found to have a similar pattern that established a state of equilibrium by building a discourse of national pride through scenic images of the

landscape and community, followed by an introduction by narrator McCormick who presented historical information on the area and explained the intended focus of the programme. The state of equilibrium was consolidated as McCormick moved around the community meeting social actors, looking at the lifestyle and developing a specific theme.

However, a gradual move to a state of disequilibrium was signalled when elements of anxiety, some subtle and some more overt, were raised concerning issues in each location that suggests that everything is not always perfect in paradise. These issues however were never pushed to the limit. There were no intensive interviews, deep probing or in-depth exposition. An example to illustrate this position can be seen by a case study on the Ngati Porou and forestry on the East Coast (Wall and Cocklin, 1996) which outlines the barriers the Ngati Porou has faced in attempting to have full participation with the government funded East Coast Forestry Project. This is not mentioned at all in the East Coast episode of *Heartland* and only superficial opinions of local farmers and Ngati Porou are sought.

*Heartland* backed off from attention to issues, often by reverting to a positive or humorous topic. Yet a residue of anxiety had still been left allowing a sense of disorder or disequilibrium to be built. This tension was swiftly dispersed by a resolution at the conclusion of the programme that left the audience feeling more at ease with the return to the state of equilibrium and the prospect of a bright future for their fellow New Zealanders.

This narrative format successfully constructed a sense of national identity because the state of disequilibrium provided a dilemma for the audience which they felt could be resolved. It also presented a promising future for all New Zealanders no matter which part of the country they lived in. In addition the programme enabled the New Zealand audience to feel it was experiencing, exploring and resolving the issues of their 'imagined' community through the television screen and in the comfort of their own home.

Any anxieties were tempered through the entertainment factor in the programme particularly through the community activities and McCormick's humour and the

conversationalised style of interview, as well as a more intimate, sympathetic discourse relating to problems or issues that affected fellow New Zealanders. By reinforcing pre-existing popular myths such as the pioneering spirit, resourceful Kiwis, the beautiful scenery, the sharing of culture and the attempts to create racial harmony and unite the nation; the programme makers are almost guaranteed good ratings, funding from NZ On Air and support from advertisers.

The first research question aimed to establish whether a narrative pattern existed along the lines of Todorov's description of equilibrium change more often associated with fictional texts than non-fictional. The three case studies of *Heartland* have focused on different areas of New Zealand and also posed different scenarios in their narratives. However, each has shown that a pattern exists whereby the narrative moves through states of equilibrium.

From the scenic beginnings of the programmes, the introduction of social characters and the establishment of the journey McCormick will take us on, the move to disequilibrium is gradually built upon as different issues or anxieties are raised. While issues reach a climax they are never dramatically threatening as the topic is touched on and referred to, but then backed away from avoiding any 'pushing' of the point or developing it to any extreme. A story is created surrounding each episode enabling the audience to identify with the 'characters' and feel that they are part of the story.

Although this thesis allowed for the closer examination of three episodes, viewing of other programmes within the series also identified similar narrative development surrounding issues on varying levels of intensity. Exmples include: the Northland episode highlighting unemployment, domestic violence and a lack of resources for education; the programme on Waipu emphasising the ability of the small Scottish community to survive within the small community of Waipu, within the small country of New Zealand; the town of Lawrence showing its efforts to recover from economic troubles in the 1980s by thinking of new industry and tourism, and Reefton recalling its community spirit in its protest against the closing of its local hospital and its hopes that a new gold mining venture would bring life back to the small West Coast town's economy.

The underlying text of *Heartland* has been shown to construct a national identity through the narrative exposing different lifestyles and backgrounds of the people who are all New Zealanders. The intention appears to be that any anxieties or negativity should not dominate the programme in order to keep a positive focus. To do otherwise would in fact detract from the entertainment aspect of the programme and risk a loss of its wide audience appeal. The conclusion of each episode, each with its own coda (albeit non-verbal in the case of the Fendalton episode) leaves us with the impression that nothing is ever perfect, but that as New Zealanders we have a special ability to adapt to whatever changes or obstacles come our way. There is a very strong sense conveyed in *Heartland* that through diversity there can be unity. To reject this would lead to chaos and a return to disequilibrium. The implication is that, making the 'right' choice - to be accepting of others and to strive for unity - will ultimately lead to a positive and healthy future for the nation.

## CHAPTER FIVE

---

### 5.1 Narrator's role

Documentaries have developed in form over the years and moved away from the conventions and boundaries once seen as the standard for this genre (Nichols, 1991). The role of the narrator has expanded in many directions. Some documentaries use a voice-over narrator whom we never see or know, others will use a narrator who appears before the camera and establishes a more direct relationship with the audience in an effort to emphasise or make more meaningful the exposition in question, and some may use no narrator at all as in the 'cinema verite' or 'fly on the wall' documentary form.

A documentary structure based on interviews "produces a looser, more dispersed logic of development than with the focused particularity of observationalism or the highly defined, verbal order imposed on a documentary by a full commentary" (Corner, 1995, 98). The 'string-of-interviews' mode is still able to organise exposition, presenting themes and raising issues for thought and discussion, but in *Heartland's* case the informality of its narrator/presenter Gary McCormick serves not only to entertain but encourage the audience to feel 'at home' in viewing the lives of other New Zealanders, allowing them to be open and have opinions on the issues that are raised.

Fairclough (1995) says that a single participant can have a complex identity in a programme that may revolve around a multiplicity of simultaneous social purposes and that the various identities and relations involved have the potential to be contradictory. In the case of the *Heartland* series Gary McCormick acts as both presenter and narrator in the majority of the programmes, developing a more intimate relationship between himself and the audience, and the characters and the environment, than is usually expected in the documentary genre. Such interactions can be seen as part of media discourse which sets up various identities and relationships of the people involved in the programme.

Equally however, McCormick provides the 'glue' which brings the various participants together into a structure and a coherent narrative. He seeks to entertain, inform, guide and educate the audience as the humorous, witty 'McCormick' New Zealanders have become accustomed to in the media marketing of his person. At the same time he seeks to portray himself as an ordinary 'kiwi'.

QuickTime™ and a  
Photo - JPEG decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

(Fig. 7) Gary McCormick - narrator, presenter, Kiwi 'bloke' and 'New Zealander'.

## **5.2 Who is the 'real' Gary McCormick?**

To New Zealanders who were around in the 1990s, Gary McCormick was already a known identity because of his celebrity status promoted through his standing as a poet, comedian, his frequent appearances on the television as a host/presenter of documentaries and talk shows and in advertisements for the hardware store Mitre 10.

He first came to recognition as a writer and a poet in the early 1970s when he won a PEN poetry award in 1971 for his first published book. Along with fellow New Zealand poet Sam Hunt he toured the country in a nomadic, bardic type of role appearing in

small towns and cities in pubs, halls and at universities reciting poems and themes "recognised and understood by 'every Kiwi'" (Smith and Callan, 1999, 203).

The biographical information contained in McCormick's book titled *Heartland* (1994), gives an insight into his experiences travelling around New Zealand and making the programmes. He relates that he ventured into comedy in 1977 and provided the supporting act for touring rock bands as well as acting as a compere at rock festivals.

He filmed the documentary *Raglan by the Sea* with *Heartland* director Bruce Morrison which won the 1987 Documentary of the Year Award. He appeared as a presenter on the travel programme *Holiday* and had his own talk show titled *McCormick Country* which lasted for 12 episodes. Increasingly recognised as a New Zealand personality known for his sense of humour and down to earth appeal, he appeared on programmes such as *Nightline* in 1992 and in the TV3 charade game show *Give Us A Clue* in 1993. His appearance in advertisements for hardware chain store Mitre 10, where he led a group of 'kiwi blokes' in the search for building equipment and products, reinforced his image as the mythical kiwi male with a number 8 fencing wire attitude who could turn himself to fixing or making anything. But it was the documentary *Gisborne Strikes Back*, which told the story of a group of Gisborne and East Coast people who took a concert to Auckland and presented a positive view of them, that used McCormick as a narrator/presenter and provided the model which later became the *Heartland* series.

There is little doubt that viewers familiar with *Heartland* identify McCormick as 'Mr Heartland' because of his dominant role as presenter. However, it should be noted that three female presenters, Kerre Woodham, Maggie Barry and Annie Whittle, each experienced New Zealand broadcasters with a similar 'on-camera' style to McCormick, were used in a small proportion of the programmes. Woodham says she liked to "hitch the occasional ride" (on the programme) and saw the female role as "the Supremes to Gary's Diana Ross" (Wichtel, 1994). This similarity in presentation, which can be interpreted as in keeping with the style of the programme, can equally be recognised as an example of personality transforming into a product (Fairclough, 1995, 147). In other words McCormick's presentation was recognised as a successful formula that could be superimposed on others.

McCormick personified the series because of his 'ever present' role in the programme. He was positioned in every aspect whether talking direct to camera, interviewing, providing voice-over or commentary. His image was sustained and reinforced by the length that the series ran and by the interest in the programme and the publicity that sometimes surrounded it. The public furore created by some in the community of Wainuiomata, who objected to the way they were portrayed (Wilson, 1996), or the protest by some residents of Fendalton who feared a biased representation of their lifestyle, helped to establish a sub-text to the programme that fuelled its popularity. New Zealanders were keen to tune in each week to see how their 'country cousins' might be portrayed.

McCormick came to the programme with a developed television personality and, in fact, could be seen to be acting his television character because it was expected of him. Wilson (1994) observed McCormick when he was performing poetry and says his kiwi bloke, 'matey' persona and his popularity with the public was even evident after the show when he mingled and drank with audience members. She noted that McCormick, as well as the audience members, would refer to his role in *Heartland* illustrating his strong identification with the programme. However, speaking with him privately away from the attention of fans Wilson says McCormick's celebrity persona was not as obvious and he appeared more businesslike with his briefcase and cellphone. A shift in both language style and in behaviour can be put down as a speaker's response to his audience (Bell, A, 2001) which Fairclough (1995) says is a move in a populist direction within some television programmes as the defined role of presenter takes a lesser role to that of having an 'attractive personality'.

Another side of McCormick can be seen in his poetry which the 1998 edition of *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature* says "reveals more emotional anxiety than the irreverent and compulsively ludic public persona" (Robinson and Wattie, 1998). For the *Heartland* programme makers it was not necessary to create McCormick's persona as it had already been established through previous media exposure. They had a presenter who was already a 'national identity' and gave him the task to seek out the 'true' identity of New Zealanders. This was an advantage in

fulfilling a programme aim to make it comfortable and acceptable for viewers to learn about the rest of their country through their television screen.

### **5.3 The construction of McCormick and his relations with *Heartland***

To investigate how McCormick influences the development of narrative in positioning himself in the programme and in constructing a national identity there are a number of aspects to look at using CDA which are contained in this section.

McCormick's tone in *Heartland* picks up on this public familiarity with his persona and his use of conversational language. This is a style which is considered typical of television because it is a domestic medium largely received in private homes. It also has the effect of breaking down the barriers between the public and private spheres of society (Abercrombie, 1996). This colloquial language is used by McCormick both when he talks to the social actors as well as when he faces the camera, addressing the viewer directly. Sometimes when he is making asides he intimates through his body language that the comments are appropriate only for the viewer to hear. This personal 'confiding' suggests a more intimate relationship with the audience and builds up the sense of trust between presenter and viewer (see Fig. 8 below of McCormick making an aside to the audience about how lessons have changed since he left school).

Another example of an aside in *East Coast - Towards the Light* shows McCormick appealing for sympathy from the audience when local Maori matriarch Di Aitkens insists McCormick run alongside her horse while she demonstrates the potato race:

02.56        DA: "Now you give me a leg and I'll get on."  
               GM: "I'm pleased to do anything to help. Do I win a prize if I do this right?"  
               DA: "Just shove me straight up and I'll do the rest."  
               GM: "Right. You do the rest. I like that idea. I'll stand right over here, that will be wonderful."  
               DA: "Now are you going to follow me around those pegs?"  
               GM: "I want to see what you do out there."  
               DA: "Well come on then."  
               GM: (looking towards camera while running) "I'll just trot along behind the horse all right? Yes here we go." (skips) "... look at that."

This also demonstrates McCormick's willingness to be involved in other New Zealanders' activities when asked. To turn down an invitation by social actors would be the equivalent of not having the 'kiwi' spirit, rejecting their way of life or not wishing to be one of 'them'. Whether it is running a race with a dead pig strapped to your back in the celebrations of the Ohakune Easter Hunt, being thrown into the air by a mechanical bucking bronco in an Omarama pub in front of an enthusiastic audience, or merely sipping tea with an elderly Christchurch woman as she relates tales of her life along the Avon River when she was a young girl, McCormick's role as a New Zealander and a presenter is to join in. However there have also been times in *Heartland* when he has taken on a role as one of the social actors. In the Stewart Island episode, for example, he participated alongside other New Zealand broadcasting personalities Jim Hopkins and Kerre Woodham in a public debate with the locals on the topic "Size is not important".

The social actors acknowledge, at times, their familiarity with McCormick. For example in the East Coast episode when McCormick sits alongside the Ruatoria Rastafarians at their communal dining table to discuss their ancestral claims to Mt Hikurangi, one member proudly pipes up in conversation with the comment: "I see your ads all the time!". Another example is when one of the East Coast farmers Graeme Williams recites a poem he has made up. After espousing the benefits of living on the

East Coast in the poem he concludes it by addressing 'Gary' directly as well as referring to the Mitre 10 shops McCormick advertises:

17.50           GW: “....So Gary as a place to live,  
                  I’d give it 10 from 10,  
                  As there is a hell of a lot more to offer  
                  than you would find at Mitre 10...”

The social actors regardless of their ethnic background or social standing also commonly call McCormick by his first name 'Gary' as if he were a long time friend. McCormick is familiar enough to be included in their comfort zones so that he is welcomed into their 'space'. There is also the appeal that he gives ordinary people the opportunity to voice their opinions as well as tell their stories about the heartland. In *North and South* he once commented:

"(My *Heartland* experiences)... also strengthened my conviction that there is a good set of values here about fair play and giving everyone a fair go: Jack's as good as his master or Jill's as good as her mistress. All those things are still very important to hold on to. I've become quite militant about these values, even more so than I was before. I'm pretty quick to leap into the fray when I think people are being taken advantage of, or these values are being neglected or abused."

(*North and South*, Nov, 1994 )

With New Zealanders, according to NZOnAir surveys (1999, 2000, 2001), wishing to see more of themselves on television, the effects of constructing and reinforcing a national identity through McCormick's role in searching out and showing different communities located in rural areas, cannot be denied (though this is difficult to prove empirically) and certainly contributed to the programme's success. *Heartland's* debut was in the 1990s. This was a time when Treaty of Waitangi and Maori rights' issues were coming to the fore and the doors to New Zealand were being opened in particular to catch the flow of wealthy Asians from Hong Kong (Bedford, 1996). New Zealanders were arguably keen to look back and seek the security of a nostalgic rural past.

To many, McCormick represented a New Zealander with an honest face - a person who could be trusted to be fair and a friend to all New Zealanders no matter what their ethnic

origin or belief, who recognised the historic roots of the population and yet could still raise issues and investigate different points of views such as the economy, land rights, racial tension or stereotyping. The fact that he was Pakeha, had lived in Gisborne (an area with a large Maori population) and had the image of the macho kiwi bloke which was reinforced by his appearance in the humorous Mitre 10 advertisements, meant that Gary McCormick had wide appeal. Interestingly McCormick was surprised and uncomfortable at his identity as the archetypal kiwi bloke which is used in the specific construction of masculinity associated with rural life in *Heartland* (Longhurst and Wilson, 2002).

The bloke stereotype which has rubbed off onto McCormick from popular media characters that have gone before such as Fred Dagg, Barry Crump, or cartoon characters Bogor or Wal from *Footrot Flats*, is a further reinforcement of the resourceful rural 'Man Alone' male myth. By keeping this image comic, an acceptability has been maintained particularly in the face of criticism by feminists who can be portrayed as lacking a sense of humour (Bell, 1996). McCormick is not a black-singleted, gumboot-wearing type of guy and he is both fascinated by and at times even abhors this 'blokeness' (Longhurst and Wilson, 2002). It is the residue of former characters and his 'blokey' humour which the audience perhaps recognises as the kiwi male in him. Also the fact that he is not shy in seeking out the male blokes that are (re)presented in the programme that have contributed to his identity. But just as the personality-driven news reading of Television New Zealand news anchors Richard Long and Judy Bailey on TV One helps increase the ratings (Campbell, 1992), McCormick's persona as a major contributing element in his relationship with the audience has similar implications.

Kozloff highlights the charm, credibility and humanness of on-camera hosts in "personalising the impersonal" and they tell us "what we are seeing or what to think about what we are seeing, providing the commentary or exposition we are accustomed to from narrators in novels" (1992, 79). She discusses the two types of narrators: those who are situated outside of the story they relate, and those who also double as characters within that story. According to Kozloff (1992) and her definition of narrators in both fictional and non-fictional programmes, homodiegetic narrators are those who are a

character in the story he or she tells, as opposed to a narrator outside of the story world (heterodiegetic).

McCormick's role in *Heartland* sits somewhere between these two definitions. While he has the credibility of being a real and known person and reinforces this persona by wearing an outrageously patterned shirt, driving a rusty Holden car, riding a horse, or taking the role of a guide for the audience into the heartland of New Zealand, McCormick is in fact a character that has been constructed and become familiar over the years by building this image through his work and appearances on television and radio. He forms a bridge between the rural and urban societies of New Zealand which helps to emphasise a unity within the nation.

He is well known to the audience who develop a fondness and trust in him which reinforces his homodiegetic role as being personally involved in the stories that are related, and being there when things happen. While acting as narrator McCormick steps into the stories of the people he meets. He participates in their activities such as attempting to ride a horse, sitting with Christ's College pupils and joining in their rather 'foreign' end of year 'hum', or putting on a cowboy hat so he can look like one of the 'locals' at the Glenorchy races. However, he still makes it clear that he is an outsider or just a visitor to a community. He attempts to distance himself at times in order to maintain credibility because of the programme's documentary status. This can be demonstrated by those occasions when he states his outsider position:

39.25            GM (V/O): "I've actually come here today to talk about Christchurch culture as such because for an outsider it's quite difficult to understand in some areas ..."

*(Growing up in Fendalton)*

At other times he tries to blend in with the locals and is able to use this as a tool for humour. For example at the races in Glenorchy he purchases a hat so he can look like the rest of the cowboys, but in the following quotation from the programme, shows he needs to make it look more authentic:

37.00 GM: "Well looks like the weather is going to clear for us and I've got a new hat. In fact it's a tad too new, looking at some of these blokes... they're pretty tough looking. Give it a bit of a working over..." (He screws up his hat and stamps on it to make it look older and tougher and then puts it back on.) "...There we are... and the first race is about to get underway."

*(A Wet Day in Paradise)*

In another example he attempts to join in with Christ's College boys end of year 'hum' - an English school ritual where they sit in a circle on the floor and appear to conduct a sort of word association exercise, though it is never properly explained. While McCormick attempts to participate he has difficulty and the school master is somewhat condescending.

42.03 Everyone: "Hmmm...."  
 Boy 1: "First metaphorrrrrr...."  
 Master: "First metaphorrrr...."  
 GM (next in line and looking sheepish): "Ahhh...pronounnnnn...."  
 Master 2 (rolling his eyes at GM's pathetic response):  
 "Pronounnnn....hmmmmmm"  
 Everyone: "Hmmmm...."  
 GM (sarcastically): "That was a popular one wasn't it?"  
 Master 2 (ignoring GM, speaking in a monotonous tone): "Titles of Katharine Mansfield Stories going around the circle starting on my left  
 hmmmmmm"  
 GM (sitting on his left and somewhat confused): "Ummmmmm.....State school educationnnn..."

*(Growing up in Fendalton)*

This example demonstrates to the viewer the gap that exists even between different groups of Pakeha in New Zealand and the discomfort that McCormick feels in this situation.

However McCormick's complexity of identities, that is being observant narrator, an entertainer and a New Zealander, become apparent both when he wants to be involved with social actors to experience what other New Zealanders do, and at other times when he faces the dilemma of not getting emotionally involved as with the flooding at Glenorchy. While the production team avoided any (on-screen) involvement in the

emergency and appeared merely as observers, McCormick says that there were times in the making of *Heartland* that "if there are problems, you get caught up in them. If there are tensions, you take them on board." (McCormick, 1994, 133).

There are also times when the programme makers chose not to hide McCormick's emotion from the audience. For example when talking to Andrea Roy about the devastation to her property and in particular the driveway which she had only just finished by hand. He ends the interview with the following comment:

58.40 GM: "This is a tragic bad luck story. I admire your courage and your spirit and you still have a smile on your face. I'm getting choked up - I think I'll need to go and have a lie down."

GM walks out of camera shot seemingly distressed.

*(A Wet Day in Paradise)*

While his comment is tongue-in-cheek in expressing his need to lie down, (or possibly this is indicative of the Kiwi male stereotype who may have difficulty expressing his emotions and needs to involve humour in an attempt to cover up any 'wimpy' softness) evidence of McCormick's sincerity in this scene is genuine when he says in his book:

"It was also upsetting.....Perhaps because of having met her (Andrea Roy) before, or because theirs was the last unhappy scene we managed to get to, it was very disturbing. We made our way back to the chopper exhausted and depressed. And we had to leave them behind to repair the damage."

(McCormick, 1994, 133)

Homodiegetic narrators are considered less objective and less authoritative than a heterodiegetic narrator who plays a passive, more observational role. To intrude into the lives of others would see Gary McCormick lose credibility, however he is playing his part as a 'New Zealander' seeking out the national identity and, in mostly light hearted humorous ways, he appears to enter the world of other communities so that people will not only accept him but as a result of his familiarity be more open with their views and comments when interviewed.

One of the key elements in speech making is the ability to have ethos (Bradley, 1991). This ethos which Bradley defines as the listener's perceived image of the speaker is one of the most powerful tools of persuasion if used positively to create credibility. Bradley also comments that if a person has a pre-speech ethos then listeners are more likely to accept his/her ideas.

Researchers have identified five main sources of ethos. These are listed as being competence, trustworthiness, similarity, attraction and sincerity (Bradley, 1991) and are evident in the construction of McCormick's image in the programmes. He already has a pre-speech (or pre-programme) ethos because of his previous media exposure. This ethos puts the audience in a position to be more accepting of what he has to say and open to rethink along the ways of McCormick. He is aware of people's ability to change their attitudes and credits his communicative technique as well as openness of the people themselves:

"There is, amongst the great majority of New Zealanders, a willingness to listen and to be persuaded. One of the most intellectually satisfying aspects of life here is that many people with what appear to be 'hard-line' views display a charming willingness to think again, if they themselves are charmed".

(McCormick, 1994, 202)

While McCormick says he finds New Zealanders charming, he too displays an ability to gain rapport with his interview subjects. This not only assists the social actors in feeling comfortable and opening up in their interviews but it is also more appealing to the audience who will be more receptive to McCormick's views and the angle of the programme.

McCormick's charm is mostly evident in the style of language he uses. His interviews are informal and conversational, but in addition McCormick has an idiosyncratic habit of using quaint old fashioned phrases which, while they may seem incongruous with his kiwi male image, affords him a distinctive personality. Phrases such as "would that be the case?" rather than a more colloquial "isn't it", are used to turn a statement into a

question. For example, when he speaks to a Fendalton woman Dee Wilson, sitting with her in the beautifully furnished lounge of her stately home:

- 16.43            GM: "It appears to be a very sort of leisurely rambling sort of lifestyle, would that be the case?"  
                     DW: "It's very good for the woman, yes. I think most of the men in the area are out working all the time to pay for it. They all work extremely long hours."

This example indicates that McCormick is inferring a point of view about her lifestyle but invites her to agree with this view. In a soft approach he can be seen to be putting words into her mouth as it is doubtful that she would voluntarily announce "I live a leisurely rambling lifestyle."

Another example of 'quaint' phraseology can be seen when he is talking to two Glenorchy men, Robert Koch and Mark Haselmann, about their love for mountaineering:

- 29.28            RK: "We've got our own life to live ... um... why try and live everyone else's through a television set or other communications, sure we like communication but by and large we can ignore everybody else's problems... we've got our own problems to take care of."  
                     GM: "Oh well ... I'm glad that you, as you say, you've both emerged untroubled or unbowed by the rest of the world's problems to be able to spend your time up here in the mountains. I'm slightly envious in a way."  
                     RK: "And so you should be ... this is..."  
                     MH: "Don't tell too many people."  
                     RK: "This is just a great life ... you've just got to get out and enjoy it."

McCormick's comment and his use of the phrase "emerged untroubled and unbowed" is a polite response to the men's defiant attitude that they don't want to think about the rest of the world's problems. While Robert Koch may seem uncaring McCormick dissipates any further interrogation as to whether in fact they should have more of a conscience about other people less fortunate than themselves. The emphasis is turned to the beauty of the mountains and how lucky these men are to live there.

However McCormick's use of quaint phrases is acceptable because it is already part of his established personality which is identified with politeness, charm and his ability to get on with anybody. There is a subtle link here too with his nostalgic look at many regions of New Zealand. Such quaint terminology suggests a fascination for things past and ties in with the process of constructing a New Zealand identity from a sentimental, historical point of view.

Fairclough (1995) says interactional control features in texts such as language that is associated with 'politeness' are used to moderate questions but also in turn to construct relations and identities within texts. The examples above indicate the construction of an upper-class Fendalton woman proud of her lifestyle which her husband provides. In the second case the two 'salt of the earth' mountain men are happy to leave the rest of the world behind without guilt when they are up in their mountains.

McCormick also uses politeness to broach what would be considered 'delicate' topics. For example, when wishing to challenge Rastafarian John Heeney on the arson attacks by his people in the East Coast episode, McCormick rather than giving a direct, challenging question, makes a statement that moderates his accusation :

45.00            GM: "There's been a lot of tragedy along the way though, the reality is that people have died and people have had their houses burned down."  
                      JH: "That's been really unfortunate and sad that everything had to go to that stage, eh, because people weren't willing to listen..."

Through this type of questioning which makes way for a 'this is my side of the story' response, the construction of Heeney's identity, and by association that of the Ruatoria Rastafarians, has been softened compared to the presupposition of the violent, intimidating image of them portrayed in the media.

The programme makers, however, see McCormick's style as an ability to get social actors to open up about themselves. Series director Bruce Morrison says the following about McCormick's social interlude with the Rastas of Ruatoria:

"I haven't actually seen them be so open and candid with TV as they were with Gary on that trip. When Holmes is in Gisborne everybody knows he's there to roll some rock back and expose the festering cesspools underneath, or whatever. We were there, if you like, with a cultural agenda."

(Wichtel, 1994, 45)

McCormick too interprets his approach as lending a sympathetic ear to New Zealanders no matter what their background:

"One of my most moving experiences was finding the Rastafarians on the East Cape and talking to them. I was very impressed with a chap called Heeney who is now acting leader. He's obviously had a bit of a rough time, he's been in jail and has the full facial tattoo. I thought he had some very wise things to say and he appeared to be very generous in his interpretation of what was going on in the area."

(*North and South*, Nov, 1994)

McCormick uses a combination of question styles in the programmes depending on the purpose of the interview. He mostly uses a form of open questioning which requires a more explanatory response from the interviewee than just a few words. Often he will ask "What is happening here?", "What's going on at the moment?" or "What's this ritual here?". While it is acknowledged that he is a New Zealander, through this questioning McCormick attempts to show the many different cultures that exist in New Zealand society by seeking explanations of different types of behaviour.

McCormick does appear to play the devil's advocate in his interviewing at times where he raises items of concern such as the state of the economy, erosion or racial tension - but with the purpose of eliciting a response from the interviewee in an attempt to get a social actor to open up and give his/her side of the story. Leading questions are often useful to test a respondent's understanding of or commitment to a topic (Brooks and Heath, 1989). It is noticeable that while issues are raised and responses are elicited, there never appears to be probing, in-depth questioning, or a deep challenging of opinion. There is no arguing of points, though McCormick has strong opinions himself which are often not voiced in the programme. For example, in the dining room at Christ's College during the filming of the Fendalton programme McCormick asks a

group of senior boys: "What about when you do get out in the rest of the world. I mean for example, the rest of the world is not quite like this. I don't see any Maori people?"

The seriousness of the question dissipates in the interview with humour when a boy points out that there is in fact one Maori boy at the school and "he's over there". Everyone laughs and no further probing of the issue is made. However McCormick is more vocal in his assessment of this specific interview when he retells it in his book. He elaborates on this situation that the people of Fendalton do not realise how "English" they still are and questions whether they can continue to go on avoiding the fact that New Zealand is a multi-cultural nation (McCormick, 1994, 179).

McCormick also uses 'politeness' as part of his humour. On meeting social actors he often introduces himself and shakes their hands (although they already recognise who he is, this is a way of establishing a social relationship). In the following example he approaches a man wearing his pyjamas and dressing gown in a Fendalton Street, who has come to investigate the early morning removal of a house. McCormick politely comments tongue in cheek:

52.10 GM: "Excuse me. You're obviously from the neighbourhood..."

However, while McCormick appears to have a positive ethos there are also instances of a negative ethos created in the production of some of the programmes which had to be overcome. For example, after the screening of the Wainuiomata episode there was a much publicised outcry by some locals that the suburb had been ridiculed with its focus on events such as lingerie parties. A complaint by MP Trevor Mallard who said the programme portrayed the residents as "a lot of nutters ... eccentric, negative and lacking in intelligence" was upheld by the Broadcasting Standards Authority and resulted in the rescreening of an edited version of the programme a year later (*The New Zealand Herald*, 1995).

This episode appears to have contributed to creating reservations among other communities in New Zealand who feared that *Heartland* would take liberties with the way they were portrayed. This was particularly evident in the events surrounding the

Fendalton episode. Simon Cuncliffe's article in *The Christchurch Press* (1994) titled "They're a wary lot after Wainuiomata", quotes McCormick as saying that the *Heartland* production team were warned, "from various quarters", that "under no circumstances were we to convey anything about Fendalton that might upset people in Fendalton..."

As a result the programme was constructed carefully to restore McCormick's ethos. His approach to people in the programme is handled sensitively with little direct comment on his part. Again it is the response from the social actors to McCormick's moderated questions that constructs their identity. For example in a Fendalton wine bar McCormick interviews a couple:

39.25 GM (V/O): "...How would you describe Fendalton - Christchurch in a matter of a few words?"

Cross to GM interviewing Elizabeth Moody and Chris McVeigh at a small table in café.

EM: "Money... is that crisp enough for you?"

McCormick was warned not to offend anybody. But by giving an open question the woman has taken the bait and can only blame herself if she comes across as snobby, arrogant and affluent.

McCormick personally identifies himself with the imagined community of New Zealand he is presenting in the programme. This is backed up in his introduction to the viewer in the video compilation of *Heartland* programmes titled *Journeys Through the Heartland* (Anson Grieve, 1995). He says his expedition is:

"A personal ramble through a country that I love. Through communities and meeting characters who are celebrating their own way - what we call a Kiwi way of life."

In addition he states in his book that he has spent many years travelling around New Zealand whether as a surfer or a poet and that "You may assume correctly from the outset that I love New Zealand and most of its people..." (McCormick, 1994, 18).

It is when McCormick speaks on his own away from social actors, either through voice-over or directly to the camera, that his tone becomes more authoritarian and expository. It is similar to a theatrical or Shakespearean play where he, as narrator, is able to be more intimate with the viewers by making asides to explain, persuade and enlighten them about issues raised in the programme or to merely lead the narrative on to the next scene. He sounds more formal, more rational and the speech is more structured compared to his informal interview technique. This can be illustrated in the following excerpt from the Glenorchy episode:

17.15            Modern car driving along metal road.  
                     C/u of GM inside as he talks to the camera.  
                     GM: "We'll I've crossed the River Jordon and I'm on the other side on my way to Paradise. I'm not the first person to have travelled this way. In fact this is one of the oldest tourist routes in New Zealand dating back to the 1860s."

Speaking directly to the camera also gives McCormick the opportunity to express a more personal humour and develop that familiarity with the audience. For example, when East Coast farmer Graeme Williams tells McCormick that the sheep he selected won first prize for being the 'Best in the Breed', he turns to the camera and says:

57.15            GM: "Best in the breed. The one I chose? The one with personality - the looks and everything going for it? Good on ya! Here, this is the one - my friend, I want to go over and hug it."

These examples show how directly speaking to the viewers reinforces his relationship with the audience. He comes across not only as the audience's friend, guide and teacher (and in some cases appears like the court jester as he seeks to send himself up), he is also willing to share his elation of 'his' sheep winning first prize.

The audience is made up of people of many different backgrounds and identities, but McCormick is a common denominator. He embodies a national identity that binds New Zealanders together in their mutual recognition of him and in their belief in what they are watching confirms their shared culture. While this is what is portrayed to the audience, there are tell-tale signs from other sources that demonstrate how much the programme relied on McCormick to 'play' his role. For example, in his conversation

with John Heeney, the Ruatorian Rastafarian leader explains that "my moko is my citizenship". However, in the already quoted passage from *North and South* McCormick, speaking of his admiration for Heeney, ties in his 'rough time' with being in jail and having a "full facial tattoo". These two interpretations are at odds. Heeney calls it a moko and a sign of his identity as a Maori New Zealander - McCormick, whether intentionally or not, calls it a tattoo and associates it with criminal behaviour.

## 5.4 Conclusion

The above analysis has served to demonstrate the complex role of Gary McCormick as narrator/presenter of *Heartland* to answer the second research question which seeks to define McCormick's role within *Heartland*. It has looked at areas such as language, interview technique, commentary and image to describe how he influenced the development of the narrative within the programme to help construct a sense of national identity.

McCormick's presupposed image as a jovial, male New Zealander helps establish both his social identity and his relationship with the audience who see him as guide, teacher and entertainer. Just as in his Mitre 10 advertisements where he leads a team of men in search of hardware tools, in *Heartland* McCormick is the audience's leader in a sojourn to the far corners of New Zealand in search of other real 'kiwis'. Even after *Heartland* had screened McCormick was typecast in similar roles, complete with outrageous sweater, as when he appeared as presenter in a documentary called *Kiwiana, Kiwi As!* (Laing and Horrocks, 1996) that looked at the objects that have become icons of the New Zealand way of life.

His easy going, conversational style and communicative ethos serves in the imaginary ideological construction of the audience-presenter relationship in what Fairclough (1995, 148) terms a "shared membership of a common-sense lifeworld". That is, he aims to be seen as an ordinary person sharing the same culture and environment of the audience. However his position as narrator/presenter still gives him the credibility and authority to persuade and lead the audience to particular understandings.

McCormick's politeness and charm through his use of 'quaint' language appears to reflect an era of political correctness when an avoidance of offending people because of their ethnicity or background was very much a factor in the 1990s. *Heartland* has been criticised for not going far enough in its probing of issues (Bell, 1996; O'Shea, 1999). Perhaps this was because it was not in line with the way the programme makers intended to construct this series – as an entertaining documentary which would be popular with a wide range of New Zealanders and score highly in the ratings.

In short *Heartland* was a successful television series but a lot of its uniqueness was due to the involvement of McCormick because of his friendly image, his identification with the audience, the way he positioned himself as a New Zealander among New Zealanders and therefore his ability to interview informally in a conversationalised style which helped to create a positive national identity.

An informal style of television is indicative of the changes within New Zealand broadcasting when the audience is addressed in terms of the nation using terms such as 'us' and 'our'. This is noticeable in a TV1 News promo which calls on the audience to "Watch your world with us" (Bell, 2001) or the current affairs *Holmes* show where presenter Paul Holmes ends each programme with the words: "Those were our people tonight". However Fairclough (1995) also points to the element of the media artists entertaining the viewer as consumer and it is important to realise the ulterior motives at work in the construction of a programme which is produced in a commercial environment where ratings play a major role in whether a programme continues to receive funding. This is discussed further in the conclusion to this thesis.

## CHAPTER SIX

---

### 6.1 Social actors' role

A novel could not exist without its characters. As Propp showed in his *Morphology of the Folktale* (1970) the hero and villain were central to the narrative of the story. In television documentary too, the social actors, (the people interviewed who give their story or viewpoint on a subject), play an important part in carrying the narrative from beginning to end and can influence how popularly a programme rates.

In documentaries which seek to develop a general theme through interviews and have a choice of interviewee, Corner (1995, 98) says "... there is also frequently considerable effort put into selecting personable subjects, ones who will project engagingly to the viewers and who are able to give their response in a way which will seem both authentic and coherent." In pointing to Foucault's remarks that the truth and power of discourse comes from not what is said but who said it and how, Sarup (1996) says the same thinking should be applied to narratives. This leads us to see that social actors shape what they say about themselves and where they live for the public sphere (that is, a documentary programme) and that these narratives in turn shape us.

Fairclough (1995) raises the point that personality has overtaken the institutionalised roles of participants in contemporary media. He relates this foregrounding of personalities mostly to the presenters of programmes such as reporters or newsreaders who may take on several roles such as authoritative informer, entertainer and an "ordinary" person in commonsensical society. Such a shift in the construction of identities assists in "projecting and spreading ideas and values of individualism within contemporary society" (1995, 147). However, the personalities of other participants in programmes whether they be politicians, experts in a particular field, representatives from an institution, or social actors can also be foregrounded. The construction of the identities of social actors in *Heartland*, their relations with the audience and the impact this has on national identity construction is the purpose of this chapter.

In this analysis there are several areas of social actor identity construction within the text which are examined. These are how the social actors are framed in the construction of the programme, how they talk about themselves and how they sometimes take a defensive attitude to the way others may see them. The social actors are the real people (read: ordinary New Zealanders) who are seen and interviewed in *Heartland*. It is not surprising that some of these social actors are real 'characters' in personality and provide entertainment value because they were selected to enable the programme to adhere to the old egalitarian myth:

“... that while some folks may live in odd places and do unglamorous jobs, they are no less human for it. They are good blokes and good women, all doing their bit for the country and making a valuable contribution to national character.”

(Bell, 1996, 141)

Fairclough (1995) has indicated a move to increasing informality and an increase in conversationalisation of discourse in the public sphere in broadcasting while Thornborrow (2001) talks of the requirement of lay participants in programmes such as TV talk shows and radio phone-in programmes to be seen as authentic and truthful by constructing relevant identities for themselves within the first few moments of their talk. This includes defining who they are, where they are from and what knowledge they may have on a certain topic.

While the social actors in *Heartland* are already presupposed by the audience to be real (and therefore truthful) there is still a need for them to be constructed in a relevant, situated identity through which their roles are discursively constituted. Whether we meet a local photographer, farmer, jet boat driver, policeman or school leaver the audience needs to get a sense of their role in the community - who they are and what they represent - before putting meaning to what they say. Though in one case in *Growing Up in Fendalton*, Robyn Radcliffe, who runs a couturiere business designing and making ball gowns, has three different roles in the programme. Not only is she a couturier, but she appears as a homeowner selling her gracious home at auction and then she is a volunteer helper at Rangi Ruru school's village fete. She is interviewed in the programme on a total of five separate occasions.

To orientate the audience the opening scenic shots in each of the programmes plays an important part in displaying the location, the type of geography that exists, whether the buildings are modern, antiquated or run down and often a broad overview of the types of people who may be walking the street or participating in certain activities. Before interviewing each social actor McCormick either introduces them in a short preamble as to why they might be able to provide information about life in their town or suburb, or on camera introduces himself directly to the person (seemingly on behalf of the audience). Sometimes both methods are used as in the following example:

- 01.45        GM: "One of the things that connects many of them [the people of the East Coast] is their interest in horses and one of the big events on the East Coast calendar is the Horse Sports Competition. This is the eve of the last heat of this annual event before the final at the Ruatoria Show later in the week. The Aitkens family have been amongst the most successful riders over the past years."
- 02.05        GM walks towards a Maori woman leading her horse in the paddock.
- GM: "Di, pleased to meet you."  
              Di Aitkens: "Yes"  
              GM: "Lady Di, I understand."  
              DA: "Well my name is spelt like hers but I'm not a Lady Di."  
              GM: "Well you look like a Lady Di to me... This is a pretty exciting time isn't it...what the night before the last trial?"

*(Towards the Light)*

Here McCormick gives authenticity to Di Aitkens (see Fig. 9) in his introduction because her family have participated in and been successful in the horse sports competition over the years. At the same time he interviews her by entering her space, she is on her own property while leading her horse and McCormick sets a mood of familiarity by quipping that she is Lady Di. Here he is intimating a connection with New Zealand's past relationship with Britain and the fact that everyone would know who Lady Di is, while at the same time displaying a contrast between a Maori woman in a paddock with a member of the Royal family who shares her first name. McCormick then launches into a question that sets Di Aitkens up to talk about the competition which appears to be an important event in her life.

QuickTime™ and a  
Photo - JPEG decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

(Fig. 9) Di Aitkens - matriarch of the Aitkens family who are regular prizewinners at the annual Ruatoria Horse Sports competition.

At other times a social actor will only be preceded by visual shots of their environment before talking to McCormick. In this example there is no introduction of the person by McCormick and his opening question has not been included:

14.05      Cross to another classroom of girls at work in uniforms.  
Cut to computer class with flash technology for the time and every pupil is using a computer.  
GM interviews Gillian Heald, Principal of Rangi Ruru.  
GH (close up shot): "It's an exciting school. It's perhaps come a long way from the image of a private girls school..."  
(Title: Gillian Heald, Principal Rangi Ruru)  
GH: "...when it started as Miss Gibson's school for Young Ladies... you know it's come a long way in 105 years. The technology, the opportunities that they have. They always like something to be at the front of the field so it is a very exciting place to be."

Unlike the first example with Di Aitkens, a formal introduction of Principal Gillian Heald may not have been entertaining enough to include or could be seen as being a technique which becomes too repetitive and may use up valuable documentary time. However, the preceding shots of the school orientated the audience to see private school education at work with excellent facilities and opportunities for the pupils and the implication that only children from wealthy backgrounds attend here. The Principal is then determined to impress the audience with her modern day attitude of providing girls with an education that puts them on a more equal footing with boys in what they can achieve.

Both the above examples show the construction of different identities by the programme makers in authenticating social actors by positioning them in their environment and setting the tone of the interview. The social actors then contribute to their identity construction through their own discourse and body language.

It is useful to note that the programmes used captioned titles of people who are interviewed, though usually only of their names and not their positions. Captions of place names such as 'Paroa Station' or 'Cathedral Grammar School' are often included which helps to avoid confusion when camera shots jump from one location to another. Captions will often include nicknames though these seem to be used almost exclusively for men such as Neville 'Cooch' Higgins or Peter 'Slack' Lucas. Longhurst and Wilson (2002) attribute this to the acknowledgement of these men as being 'mates' and 'kiwi blokes' – a rural, frontier notion of masculinity that runs throughout the *Heartland* programmes and ties in with McCormick's relationship with many of the male social actors.

Such 'matey' bloke talk is expressed mostly by males in the farming community as the following example illustrates of John Nolan talking about the Glenorchy races in a lighthearted tone but indicating he is serious about competition and winning races:

07.00 JN (V/O while camera pans inside of woolshed): "We've been coming here for six or seven years now and ah we've had some good times here, always a good crowd here in Glenorchy, anything can happen - and no rules, the only rule is to turn up here virtually..." (Title: John J.J. Nolan

and close up of him talking.) "...and have a horse and have a heap of fun."

GM: "You've a bit of honour to defend over here. I see there are at least three cups."

JN: "Yeah we had a pretty good year last year. Debbie Sacks won the ladies' gallop and the Haast team won the relay and then I won the quarter mile sprint at the end, like only just, there was only an inch in it, but a win is a win."

GM (laughs): "and there's no points for second and third I suppose?"

JN: "No, no there's none. You just gotta win and that's it. Yeah, by fair means or by foul..."

*(Towards the Light)*

It is interesting to note the territoriality of John Nolan, an outsider from Haast who has come for six or seven years to Glenorchy to defend his title. This makes the competition all the more fierce. There is much emphasis on fun and having a good time, but words like "you just gotta win..." stresses his male competitiveness.

A sense of good fun amongst social actors is prevalent in many of the interviews and it is this entertainment value which often carries through from one interview to the next. Presenter/narrator Gary McCormick holds a foreground position in the programme because of his personality and celebrity ethos, but the social actors are also drawn into a similar position through their association with him in interviews. It is as if some of the people he interviews knowingly become part of his act, perhaps because they may feel there is an expectation that they respond to his questioning in a like manner. For example, at the horse sports trials on the East Coast McCormick approaches Morris McDonald who is organising the races for the children:

12.10 MM V/O: "It's for the kids really you know - a day for the kids becoming horse riders...so that's what it's all about I suppose."

GM: (out of shot, close up of MM) "Good for you. I like the fact you don't use a p.a. by the way it's nice to go to a show and you don't have p.a.'s blaring in your ears all along."

MM: "No they'd rather hire me... I'm cheaper!" (laughs)

In all three case studies of *Heartland* a variety of age groups is interviewed suggesting a cross section of the community was presented on television. However in reality only seventeen people were interviewed on the East Coast and eighteen in the Glenorchy episodes, which gives a limited view of those who lived there and questions how representative of the population the programmes actually were. The Fendalton episode interviewed a total of thirty-seven people, but in this situation groups of children were often interviewed collectively because of the focus on school life. As a result this increases the numbers of interviewees in the Fendalton episode compared with the other episodes but does not necessarily indicate a larger cross section of people. The limited number of people interviewed may assist the viewer in an easier understanding of the programmes. Too many different people can make it difficult to comprehend - the boundaries of the myths or stereotypes reinforced in the construction of the nation's identity enable the viewer to 'imagine' the community with greater ease.

The elderly social actors in *Heartland* appeared to be the most entertaining as they often seemed the most eccentric by the way they talked, the way they dressed and the fact they had the more entertaining stories to tell of what New Zealand used to be like. For example, in McCormick's *Heartland* book (1994) he says that looking at native bush is not as interesting as people such as eighty-eight year old Rosie Grant from Glenorchy, who wears a tea cosy type knitted hat, old sheepskin boots and a pinny over her dress (See Fig. 10). She lives in a run down old cottage along with fifteen cats and when McCormick asked her why she never married she exclaimed: "I've had enough trouble looking after myself without having a blimmin' man to look after."

QuickTime™ and a  
Photo - JPEG decompressor  
are needed to see this picture.

(Fig. 10) Rosie Grant - eccentric social actor from Glenorchy.

An elderly, but very fit looking Fendalton woman is another entertaining character. McCormick attributes Christchurch to providing the nation with a number of humorists and characters but says that “none (were) more magnificent than the very charming Bessie Seymour Porter” (McCormick, 1994, 179). She recounted tales about her days as a young girl living next to the Avon River and the strict Victorian household she grew up in:

26.37      BSP: "... It was all slightly idyllic, the meadows with buttercups - we played cricket and there were cows. It was lovely. We had tea out on the lawn and people would come gliding past in their boat - 'Oh hello come and have some tea'. Well we'd start off with about ten because we were a fairly large family and end up with about 30 and of course the poor maid was battling backward and forwards to the kitchen with fresh tea and scones and mother simply sat there and poured tea."

*(Growing Up in Fendalton)*

The personalities of the elderly, which in the above example shines through with the descriptive language, insertion of reported speech and humorous contrast of the battling maid and the relaxed mother, are also reflected in the way they look, the way they talk and what they say about old times. This ties in with the nostalgic theme that runs through *Heartland* and serves to affirm and reinforce preconceptions of the mythology of a past that was "... (apparently) unified and comprehensive, unlike the confusing, divided present" (Bell, 1996, 79). The impression of a quaint, untroubled and secure past is the part of New Zealand that people like to hear about and are not keen to let go of in case they are overwhelmed by the global village where cultural borders begin to blur.

As a contrast the younger social actors fill a role of showing the quality of the youth of the 1990s who will be the future adult New Zealanders. It is the seriousness with which they respond to McCormick's questioning, in spite of his attempt at humour, that show the children of today as responsible, level-headed adults of the future whether they be Maori, Pakeha or a New Zealander of Asian descent. This is illustrated in the following two examples, first when McCormick interviews two teenage Maori boys after a horse race on the East Coast:

- 45.15            GM (out of shot) talks to two boys sitting on horses in shot: "Is there a lot of rivalry between you two?... Is it pretty competitive?"  
                     (Title: King Love) KL: "Yeah, yeah I'd say that."  
                     (Title: Joe Queen) JQ: (nods in agreement)  
                     GM: "Right but you're still on talking terms obviously. Is that because you've done most of the winning so far?"  
                     KL: "Yeah...no...we're friends...we don't worry about...we're like the All Blacks...we keep all the bad sportsmanship out of the road."  
                     GM: (now in shot turns to camera) "Very, very, very silly of me to ask that question... I feel ashamed...sorry" (walks out of shot).

*(Towards the Light)*

In the second example in discussing music with a young chorister, Nicholas Ling from Cathedral College, McCormick gets some straightforward answers when he inquires about choir practice:

- 29.49 NL: "Well Saturday is the only free day unless we go on special occasions and we have a one hour practice on a Friday night after the service ...we have an early service on the Friday at 4.30."  
 GM: "You must be quite looking forward to sort of giving that all up and getting into rock and roll or something?"  
 NL: "No... it doesn't interest me."  
 GM: "Oh well (laughs) what sort of music do you like most of all ... what's your favourite?"  
 NL: "Church music probably ... yeah. It's good to sing and there are many varieties to sing, so... we sing all the time."

*(Growing Up in Fendalton)*

New Zealanders' historical family ties to the land are a dominant feature that is consistently referred to by the social actors in *Heartland*. It is not only an opportunity for them to express their identity as New Zealanders but also to provide self-justification of their right to live in this country. For example, a group of Fendalton Primary School children talk about their connections:

- 06.23 GM: "Now are any of you related to the people who came over on those first four ships?"  
 Children in unison: "Yes." (One girl nods.)  
 (Title: Fletcher Bowley)  
 FB: "My great granddad and my great grandma and my great uncle Bowley - a few more greats they came, they came on the third ship."  
 GM: "Is that right Fletcher? Stephen and you have...?"  
 (Title: Stephen Jones)  
 SJ: "Yes my great, great, great Grandma and Grandpa came over on the Charlotte Jane."

*(Growing Up in Fendalton)*

or Graeme Williams, framed within the setting of his farm, reaffirms his ties to the East Coast:

- 17.50 GW (V/O and Title: Graeme Williams): "I was born here but my father came here about 34 years ago from the family farm ... my grandfather farmed further up the coast and then he had three sons who all wanted to go farming... so they acquired two other farms and this being one of them... so yeah I've spent all my life here. My father and his father and his father and his father were all down here. So we've been here for a day or two."

*(Towards the Light)*

McCormick never directly challenges farmers such as Graeme Williams on their colonial forefathers. But the above interview was preceded by a direct address by McCormick to the audience while driving his car on the way to Williams' farm. He positioned Graeme Williams as a descendant of European settlers who changed the face of the coast with the following words:

15.50 GM driving in car.

GM: "Before the Pakeha came to the coast, local Maori tilled and worked their own gardens. Captain Cook was astonished at the neatness and extent of these cultivations but the face of the coast was to change dramatically with the arrival of the European settler... You cannot consider European history unless you consider the Williams Brothers."

*(Towards the Light)*

McCormick does not outwardly state that the Williams family were wholly responsible for changing the face of the coast through erosion (a subject he has already described as being the result of stripping of the land for farming). But this is the frame in which Graeme Williams is set in prior to his friendly interview which followed.

Maori spirituality, on the other hand, and its connection with the land is expressed in this example where elder Tom Te Maro is positioned against a serene background of Mt Hikurangi at sunrise where he has come to pray:

52.10 GM: "Obviously Hikurangi behind us over there has particular significance to the Ngati Porou. What is that significance?"

TT: "The prestige of the tribe, the mana of the tribe and it is recognised not only throughout the land... It was a very important mountain to our people. This is why we are very happy that we are investing the title of the mountain back to the tribe."

GM: "Is it an important thing in Ngati Porou to stand tall like the mountains, isn't it? ..that's the expression people use."

(long shots of GM and TT talking amongst the misty scenery)

TT: "It's always has been in our tribe, in genealogy."

*(Towards the Light)*

It is interesting in the examples above that those New Zealanders of European descent uses the proposition 'my' referring to their families within a few generations, whereas Maori Tom Te Maro uses 'we' and 'our' referring to the tribe and the Ngati Porou

people. Although all of the social actors would consider themselves New Zealanders there is a greater emphasis by the Maori of being a race of people within New Zealand with its own specific culture and spirituality compared to those who are more 'recent' immigrants.

Whether they see themselves as representing a group, a community or just as individuals the social actors are all keen to convey the pride they have in the special place where they live. Photographer Jill Carlyle on the East Coast, when challenged by McCormick that some people see the area as run down and depressed says: "It's not relevant you know. The quality of life here is fantastic and most people can see that..."

Climbers Mark Hassleman and Robert Koch express their views on the Glenorchy area:

- 29.28        RK: "I love it, I love the views ... that's one of the reasons I so much like Glenorchy. Just the scenery."  
               GM: "And how about you Mark... how long have you been in Glenorchy and climbing."  
               MH: "I came here 20 years ago and I climbed Mt Earnslaw and I sat on the top and thought 'Shit this would be a nice place to live'...so I've been here ever since I'm afraid."

*(A Wet Day in Paradise)*

Apart from Bessie Seymour's nostalgic look at her youth, the social actors in the Fendalton programme appear to be more excited about preparing to leave school than the place they live, as ball gowns are made, hair styles coiffed and leavers' services attended. However, because Fendalton is a suburb of Christchurch and not a rural area the focus of the programme is on the English influence of the beautiful architecture and homes and the Avon River. There is little doubt that the people of Fendalton enjoy living there but they are also aware of how other New Zealanders see them.

As Elizabeth Moody exclaims when asked about the community's defensive nature:

- 39.25        EM: "They have had so many jealous slurs and sort of, oh, you know a sort of academic unpleasantness about their way of life and I think they are quite right to be defensive. I don't like hearing slurs against them because they are always coming from people who absolutely have no idea what they are like. You hear Christ College jokes all over the place and I am

sick to death of them. To me it's just a way of a busy little weevil being handed a mozzie."

*(Growing Up in Fendalton)*

Such attitudes are echoed by some of the younger people interviewed in the programme and the suggestion of 'us' and 'them' in relation to outsiders is apparent:

- 53.34 GM: "There seems to be some sensitivity about how the school or how people are portrayed. What do you think that people have (indistinct) idea?"  
 Girl: "This would seem as though this is what we do every, sort of, day and all the effort we are putting in which isn't true at all. Looking at this from an outsider this could come across as very extravagant and over the top. I mean this is great for us to go out on such a high note as this ball, but um, we do not want to seem like little ..I don't know...snobs. I suppose you'd call it."  
 GM: "I'm sure you'll come across fine."  
 Girl: "...I think the school has a reputation for snobbery which doesn't, it's not right. We have a bit of a reputation."  
 GM: "It's not earned in your opinion?"  
 Girl: "No, no definitely not."  
 GM: "Where do you think the idea comes from?"  
 Girl: "Probably the fact that it's a private school and we're paying to go to school."

*(Growing Up in Fendalton)*

Demonstrating the tendency of national identity formation to focus on which groups are socially inclusive and exclusive (Moran,1998), the *Heartland* series repeatedly promotes the view that through diversity there can be unity. Even people, which some New Zealanders may have felt intimidated by because of the way they dressed or the tattoos they bore, are brought into the limelight and shown to be one of 'us' in the wider sense of New Zealanders living together in one country.

But the Fendalton community is not the only group to be defensive about the way others may see them. On the East Coast, Maori Phil Aspinall explains his dissatisfaction with the media:

- 26.30 GM: "There was a bit of a fuss made about housing problems here. In fact there was a bit of a fashion here for a while to talk about your housing problems."
- PA: "I guess the media seeks sensationalism. I must say that they showed all the Maoris living in these squalid conditions but they didn't show the Pakehas living in Tokomaru Bay living in the same condition in beat up caravans and what have you. They only showed us Maoris. But we're happy. Money is not everything, but happiness is more important and we are very happy here in Tokomaru Bay I can assure you of that."

*(Towards the Light)*

The use of music in the *Heartland* programmes is influential in constructing the identities of different individuals and groups. For example, in the East Coast episode, not only is the traditional Maori music played between interviews when visiting predominantly Maori communities but there is also the inclusion of modern Maori music. This especially includes songs that were written and performed by Emma Paki who, at the time, was recognised as a rising star and was named best songwriter at the 1993 New Zealand Music Awards. The use of her music in *Heartland* and its association with the Maori of the East Coast is indicative of the Maori resurgence and implies that their culture is not necessarily old and traditional to be relegated to entertaining tourists or being displayed in a museum. It is a live culture which can move with the times and compete with other cultures.

Another example of the use of music to convey identity is Reggae music which precedes the interview with John Heeney in Ruatoria. Interestingly the programme showed some of the Rastas singing to guitar accompaniment but the Reggae music that was heard was not the music they were playing. Whether their music was Reggae or not was not revealed, but in order to stress the influence of Rastafarianism within their group and give them authenticity it appears the programme makers sought to background scenes with a reggae music soundtrack.

Classical music, whether played by social actors or added later, dominates the Fendalton episode which seeks to emphasise the cultured up bringing of the children who display talent in playing instruments or singing Church music. The fact that all of the music is classical European suggests that this too can be seen as part of New Zealand's culture which makes up the identity of people such as those in the Fendalton community.

As a contrast there is the racy 'travel log' instrumental music in the Glenorchy episode. This accompanies scenes of wonderful scenery as farmer/pilot Robert Koch surveys the beauty of the area from his gyrocopter and it creates excitement reinforcing a national pride in the beauty of New Zealand. The association with Robert Koch reinforces his identity as a proud New Zealander which the audience shares. It is interesting to note that this racey music also accompanies the scenes when Glenorchians, once over the shock of the effects of the flood, appear to pull together as a community as they work to clear the damage and rebuild their properties. Their positive 'can-do' attitude to cope with the situation once again instills a pride that we, as New Zealanders would do the same.

An analysis of social actors within the *Heartland* series has been used to answer the third research question that sought to establish the relationship of the social actors to the discourse, the way they were presented and how they defined themselves within the narrative as New Zealanders.

A building of familiarity and identification with social actors is ongoing within the *Heartland* programmes. It enhances the audience's sense of community as referred to in Benedict Anderson's 'imagined' community. He suggested the impossibility of knowing everyone in a community, therefore it has to be 'imagined'. By becoming repeatedly acquainted with some members of a community the audience is encouraged to imagine that the wider community is made up of similar people. As a result certain stereotypes are promoted in *Heartland*.

Austin Mitchell sees New Zealand's smallness as an idiosyncrasy of the nation.

"Small society is personalised and warm. People draw together, not to embrace - this is New Zealand afterall - but to make the contacts avoided in big societies...In small societies people know each other and know every bit of gossip about everyone...So many people are related to each other, know each other, went to school together, played rugby, hockey, cricket or strip poker with each other, or have friends in common...(on meeting other kiwis overseas) ...the Kiwi just wants another Kiwi to share their common knowledge and the joy of being a New Zealander."

(Mitchell, 2002, 49-52)

However while a sense of a unified community is often conveyed in the *Heartland* programmes, the discourses of 'us and them' still exist. This can be seen on different levels. The people who live in the area justify their existence in a special place and see themselves as locals compared with other New Zealanders. Also there is the acknowledgement that different groups make up the community.

There are many facets at work within the text that build the identity of what it means to be a New Zealander. The focus seems to be very much on the Pakeha and Maori New Zealanders and the move to a more bi-cultural nation, though some attempt is made in other programmes to highlight other groups such as Pacific Islanders. However it is the foregrounding of the presenter and the social actors against a narrative back-drop of beautiful New Zealand scenery and a nostalgic past that is the focus of the *Heartland* programmes.

*Heartland* relies on its social actors to provide the pieces that make up a picture of New Zealand's national identity - or rather, they are the parts of the picture that the programme makers want to create. These characters, because they are genuine people who do not recite rehearsed lines, are the back bone of the programmes and give it authenticity through their actions, their appearance, and the way they talk about their lives. Rather than recent immigrants, most of the social actors in these three case studies are born and bred in New Zealand, some being descendants going back many generations, and each one speaks positively about where they live. In essence, the programmes suggest that for each individual social actor home is where the heart is - the New Zealand Heartland.

## **6.2 Reflecting on narrative analysis**

Narrative structure is “dynamically created in the mind of the viewer as they interact with the television programme” (Burton, 2000, 106). Yet it is a form which perhaps we are conditioned to. From the time we are told stories as children we seek to identify and place ourselves in the world. This thesis has aimed to show that the interrelationship between narrative structure, social actors and the narrator’s role in the *Heartland* case

studies have worked to present a positive outlook on being a New Zealander in the 1990s.

Although it was demonstrated that the narrative arc in each episode moved through a state of disequilibrium where anxieties were raised, it was suggested that this was instrumental in showing that any difficulties whether economic, racial, social or cultural could be dealt with by New Zealanders because we are reasonable people. Presenter Gary McCormick's ability to mediate between audience and the social actors contributed to a greater sense that we, in spite of differences of background and lifestyle, are overcoming any 'problems' and that we can all get along as a nation.

How realistic or representative this portrayal of New Zealanders is in *Heartland* is not the issue. It is the fact that it is presented as a believable concept that contributes to a construction of national identity that is important. Johnstone (1999, 28) says that stories help people to make sense of their lives as individuals as well as making sense of the external social world which is a "key to the communal existence of groups of people". The *Heartland* episodes are stories in themselves as McCormick visits and experiences each particular location. But equally the programmes contain stories about and by, not just people, but New Zealanders. The stories that are told, even though these may just be snippets from their lives, enable people to recreate and revise themselves as well as recreate and revise others. They are "rooted in and constitutive of social communities" (Johnstone, 1990). It is at this point that critical discourse analysis is used to take a wider view of the texts of *Heartland* as a form of socio-cultural practice.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

---

“I'm nobody! Who are you?  
Are you nobody, too?  
Then there's a pair of us - don't tell!  
They'd banish us, you know.”

(Emily Dickenson)

### 7.1 Socio-cultural practice in *Heartland*

Discourse and language can be viewed as modes of action which are not only socially shaped but also socially shaping. Socio-cultural practice is the final dimension of Fairclough's analytical framework for critical discourse analysis which will be applied to this study of *Heartland* (Fairclough 1995). Huckin (in Paltridge, 2000, 156-157) points out that texts are neither produced nor interpreted in isolation but in the complexities of real-world contexts and an attempt to “unite the levels of text, the discursive practices that create and interpret a text, and the social context in which texts occur”. This is a distinctive feature of CDA compared with other forms of discourse analysis. CDA goes beyond the level of description to a deeper understanding of texts and attempts to explain “why a text might be as it is and what it is (really) aiming to do” (Paltridge, 2000, 159).

To investigate the fourth research question - how do the texts of *Heartland* shape society? - it is important firstly to survey the points that have been raised as to the influence society had on the construction of *Heartland*. There are two assumptions on which this thesis is based. First, as demonstrated in Chapter One of this thesis, national identity is a process that is continually being recreated, reinforced, and modified. This national identity process goes hand in hand with the evolution of history as it responds to events, new ideas and cultural change. Second, as discussed in Chapter Two, is that television undergoes a constant metamorphosis. It responds not only to meeting the

changes in technology, but also demands from the station owners for high rating programmes which attract advertising, and from governments who recognise the influence television has on society in dispersing information and impressions it has about itself and others.

*Heartland* is a programme that responded to the historical, economic and social status of New Zealand at a time when the population seemed to be 'desperately' seeking an identity. Chapter two showed that New Zealanders in the 1980s and early 1990s found themselves in an environment where they had to cope with post-colonial anxieties, face up to the challenges of the Treaty of Waitangi and a rise in Maori nationalism, and adapt to various waves of immigration such as the 1987 Immigration Act which opened entry to more non-traditional sources of immigrants such as Asia and promoted a move to multi-culturalism within New Zealand (Roscoe,1999). With a sense of insecurity brought about by these changes, New Zealanders became a receptive audience for a programme that would meet their needs by affirming a national identity.

Roger Silverstone in his book *The Message of Television - Myth and Narrative in Contemporary Culture* (1981) describes the importance of television in society. He calls the television medium a 'cultural institution' which communicates messages that help give a greater understanding of the world we live in. He also talks of the sense of security television conveys by indicating clearly the "boundary of the acceptable and the known" and by its ability to translate "history, political and social change, into manageable terms" (Silverstone,1981,181-182).

The role of television as a medium for communicating messages about national identity demonstrates another stream of influence which impacted on the way *Heartland* was constructed. Here the effects of developing technologies which opened the doors to fears of cultural and media imperialism through the infiltration of overseas programming were examined. Chapter Two also described the evolution of New Zealand television with the obvious BBC influence in production and programming in the early days of the medium in this country in the 1960s and 1970s, the expansion in the number of channels, changes of ownership, the role of NZOnAir, the development of local

programming and the metamorphosis of TVNZ from public broadcaster to a State-owned Enterprise.

*Heartland* was produced in the 1990s when the broadcasting environment was driven by commercialism and competition to gain advertising revenue was much greater because of the increase in television channels. In an effort to satisfy the commercially-driven television stations and the public funding body NZOnAir, high ratings had to be achieved by local programmes and consequently the *Heartland* series worked to a successful formula.

To put it succinctly, there appears to be a simultaneous building of three areas which influence each other. These are the relationship between the changing role of New Zealand's identity, the development of New Zealand television, and the structure and appearance of local programmes themselves. Just as national identity has been defined as a process rather than a status, television and the production of programming have also responded to change being influenced by market forces and the structuring of broadcasting in New Zealand. While this may be seen as part of the industry's development and could be seen in a positive light because television broadcasting is adapting to the needs of society, equally it must be realised that society is also influenced by changes in ideology which are reinforced through the medium of television.

This brings us to the point of examining how *Heartland* shaped society. This thesis has considered how the programme *Heartland* contributed to the (re)creation of a national identity for New Zealanders by looking at narrative theory and structure (as described in Chapter Three) and the way it induced a sense of security in the audience that whatever our background with a bit of effort and kiwi spirit, we as New Zealanders can all get along together.

The analysis of the three *Heartland* episodes in Chapter Four showed a pattern in the structure similar to that of fictional narrative which progresses through the stages of equilibrium, disequilibrium and back to equilibrium. Levels of anxiety were raised within the narrative concerning problems within communities. This built a momentum within the programmes. However with resolution at the end of each episode the

audience was left with the message that both diversity and commonality existed amongst New Zealanders and through facing different challenges a national identity was a reality.

Chapter Five focused on the role of McCormick as narrator/presenter. Through his created persona as a New Zealand 'everyman' he guided, educated, persuaded and entertained the audience. Adopting a mediating role between the social actors and the audience he conveyed a positive construction of how New Zealanders would like to see themselves - happy, tolerant and willing to share their nation. His friendly personality along with a reputation as a happy-go-lucky New Zealander who is fun yet sensitive saw him accepted by all social actors whether elderly, young, eccentric or off-beat. In turn this contributed to the ideology of the programme whereby the audience saw itself as belonging to a nation of New Zealanders who are good-humoured, reasonable, tolerant and able to overcome any problems which stand in our way.

An examination of the social actors in Chapter Six showed their essential role in demonstrating the different types of New Zealanders who live in the country. The way they spoke about themselves and the way the programme makers framed them reinforced the concept that, although they may represent different groups whether due to socio-economic status or the way they spoke or dressed, diversity could result in unity. Whatever their background the social actors all appeared to share the same attributes associated with positive New Zealand national identity. They were friendly, hospitable, social and genial. Even the anticipated 'baddies' as in the tattooed, reggae-playing Ruatoria Rastas came across as a group, misunderstood victims of the media, but who made the point that they were willing to live harmoniously with others.

Silverstone (1981) points to the logic of narrative on television. Like the old form of folktale and myth, television is not a dissimilar form of oral communication. Through it we can recognise our identity but television also has an advantage in making these identities (through our heroes and anti-heroes) appear on the screen and become "estranged and in a sense more attractive" (Silverstone, 1981, 183).

As an 'easy-going' documentary *Heartland* had a format that New Zealanders enjoyed watching. At the same time it provided them with a representation of people from 'their'

country that contributed to their formation of a national identity. *Heartland* could be considered an innovative programme for its time in that it covered new ground, literally and figuratively, by exploring parts of New Zealand that many New Zealanders may have only heard about, let alone visited. It was a programme about our past, our present and our future. It was about 'us' and not about Americans, Australians, or the British that had so often frequented our airwaves.

While *Heartland* is a construction (as are all television programmes), it was a construction that people wanted to believe. Problems and issues were raised within the programmes but were often superceded by the suggestion, through images, text and sound, that New Zealand is a beautiful and wonderful country, where people with different backgrounds can live together harmoniously. *Heartland* is an idealised vision of New Zealand created through the reinforcement of mythologies that represent this country as a wonderful nation and uses memory as a construction of reality that contributes to the collective imagination of the way the community wishes to see itself (Bell, 1996). Silverstone (1981) suggests that such a security conveyed by television has the potential to be misplaced and unjust because television also has the ability to mask the reality of the real world.

It has been identified that the politicians see the benefits of having a positive national identity which unites the nation. Programme makers see the advantage of producing a documentary that will be popular with the audience (as consumer) and attract great ratings as well as advertising. Finally the people of New Zealand themselves can be seen to, both consciously or subconsciously, desperately seek a national identity.

*Heartland* is a documentary text which combines a mixture of the genres of information, persuasion and entertainment. This thesis emphasises a selective socio-cultural analysis of *Heartland* which reflects the changes in society and culture experienced by New Zealanders as they attempt to define (or desperately seek) themselves. Fairclough (1995, 62) explains that sociocultural practice is selective because the researcher is a discourse analyst and not a sociologist or cultural analyst, though these areas are still of interest.

The features that have shaped the analysed *Heartland* episodes have been social, cultural, economic and political. But at the same time the discourses within the text of *Heartland* itself have served to shape society. This thesis tested the hypothesis that narrative in *Heartland* constructed a national identity that sought to unite a nation. It has shown the homogeneity in the construction of a documentary about New Zealanders that presents a positive version of their nationhood. The building blocks of narrative - structure, narrator and social actors - contributed to the creation of stories that suggest that although New Zealanders are a diverse community they can live as a united nation. This examination of socio-cultural practice in *Heartland* looks for a deeper understanding of the texts to show the multiplicity of levels in what it was attempting to do and say. On the surface *Heartland* provided entertainment and factual information. It was shaped by those who produced it to meet their own agenda of feeding into the needs of the audience and achieving good ratings for the broadcaster. But in turn *Heartland* has shaped society by representing a 'sanitised' version of what it means to be a New Zealander and presenting it as 'real'.

Although a different methodology was used, this thesis backs up the finding of Wilson (1996) that *Heartland* produced representations of ourselves which were constructed by the programme makers as being a 'reality'. An intimacy was created between the presenter, the social actors and the audience set against a backdrop of 'places' that are New Zealand. Narrative structure was used to raise questions that the audience was challenged to answer concerning the way they saw themselves as a nation. In each case study it was shown that the programmes were constructed in such a way that the audience was led to conclude that while the formation of national identity can be faced with many obstacles - racial tension, stereotyping associated with romanticised notions of the past, or a struggle against natural disaster - it is a quality of being a New Zealander that we can overcome such problems.

The title of this thesis *Desperately Seeking a National Identity* is derived from Ien Ang's book *Desperately Seeking the Audience*(1991), where she sought to show how television institutions categorize audience members in an effort to both conquer and control them as consumers in a market oriented approach. However this thesis while

wishing to emphasise the existence of a desire and search for a national identity through the text of *Heartland* purposely remained ambivalent as to exactly 'who' is so desperate.

While it may be presumed that it is New Zealanders - as in the people who are citizens here no matter what their ethnic origin, religious or political beliefs or whether they were born or immigrated here - who continually seek to reassure and assert themselves in a role that unifies them as a nation, there are others who realise the importance of national identity. Programme makers and politicians are also participants in the socio-cultural practice surrounding *Heartland* and also have a vested interest in 'desperately' seeking, constructing, and disseminating a national identity for New Zealanders because it creates a stable society of consumers.

At the time of the writing of this thesis, the introduction of a Charter for Television New Zealand had just been formally implemented (March, 2003) after some delay resulting from the bringing forward of the General Election to June 2002 and the assignment of a new Minister of Broadcasting, Steve Maharey. On the basis that the TVNZ Charter seeks to encourage the production of locally made programmes that instill a sense of national identity, it was felt that an examination of a programme such as *Heartland* could prove a useful baseline for future research to see whether a more 'public service' orientated influence as suggested by the Charter would in fact make a difference in the way programmes constructed New Zealand's national identity.

TVNZ indicated that changes to their programming were already being made in line with Charter recommendations prior to implementation in 2003 (Bielecki, 2001). Two documentaries about New Zealanders were televised in 2002 which were presented in a similar vein to *Heartland* where a personality/celebrity travels around New Zealand meeting people. In fact, *New Zealand Herald* reporter Frances Grant (2002) suggested (when reviewing *Havoc and Newsboys Sell Out Tour* where these television personalities sought out New Zealand's most "extraordinary normal people") that "the highways and byways of the country seem clogged with TV personalities eager to give us the lowdown on the real New Zealand, from the Tamaki Brothers to travelling art shows to Jim Hickey in his flying machine".

The series *Flying High* was presented by TV One's weatherman Jim Hickey who freshened up visits to the heartland by flying to each destination from Cape Reinga to Stewart Island. *The New Zealand Herald* labelled this programme "a sort of Heartland meets Country Calendar in the Big Blue" (Dixon, 2002). British MP Austin Mitchell who once lived in New Zealand as a university History lecturer and wrote the book *Pavlova Paradise*, presented a two part television documentary *Pavlova Paradise Revisited* where he reassessed his impressions of the country and the people by travelling through New Zealand. He concluded that life had improved a great deal here and this was not such a bad place after all.

Although produced eight years after the beginning of *Heartland*, these programmes do not appear to have advanced the way national identity is portrayed and hardly add anything new to what New Zealanders already know about their country. They still show New Zealanders as resourceful, forward thinking 'nice' people and very few realities such as unemployment or race relations are raised. A detailed comparison of these programmes with *Heartland* would be useful in future research. It could be argued that more investigative programmes of New Zealand's national identity may be directed to a different style of documentary. But this still does not get away from the fact that a harmonious, unified representation of national identity is still being promoted as a 'reality'.

It is necessary to emphasise that this thesis has examined only three episodes of the *Heartland* series and that this is far from representative of local New Zealand programming. It explores just one style of the documentary genre and future research into the construction of national identity in other genres such as drama, current affairs and children's programming would make an interesting comparison.

Nobody wants to be a nobody. But as in Emily Dickenson's poem *I'm Nobody who are you*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter - there is comfort in finding others like ourselves. People want to belong, they want to be included, they want to be one of 'us' rather than one of 'them'. Fears of cultural imperialism continue to be fuelled by people such as New Zealand First politician Winston Peters who raises concerns about immigration. In targeting Asian and Middle Eastern immigrants to this country he was quoted as saying "...if immigrants insist on bringing their culture they can enjoy

another one of our great freedoms – the freedom to go back home", and he predicted that such third world influence was dividing society and could result in ethnic violence (Char, 2002).

It is programmes such as *Heartland* which help to restore a sense of security through their construction of national identity. Although there is hybridity in the New Zealand population, Bell (1996) says a strong awareness still exists of being distinctive as 'New Zealanders', of wishing to belong to this country because we do not belong anywhere else and that, through a process of self-validation, both the national and personal identities are protected. She also stresses that growing globalisation makes an assertion and celebration of national identity more urgent.

Defining a national identity for New Zealanders during a period of decolonisation (Belich, 2001) and changing historical, social, political and economic factors, can be seen as virtually impossible. Already some academics recognise further changes in process. C.K. Stead (2000, 99) believes that demanding a distinct New Zealand culture has "... (taken) on the feel of a new provincialism, a constriction, a retreat inward upon ourselves, a closing of doors rather than opening" and that Pakeha New Zealanders should stop apologising for their European culture and trying to invent a local identity to replace it. Michael King (1999) too hints at a change in direction in the process of decolonisation when he says that now Maori grievances and aspirations are being accommodated, Pakeha New Zealanders need to learn about their right to live in this country with their own values and culture. The changes brought about by the country becoming more ethnically diverse, as indicated by the 2001 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2002) will also need to be taken into consideration.

The media appear to lag behind in social change. The idealised images based on the reconstruction of old myths may not be the best way for New Zealanders to seek out a national identity but when people become desperate media texts which apparently (re)construct and reaffirm their collective image can be a comforting placebo.

If a more realistic view of New Zealand is to be sought and the pressures on broadcasting to be so commercial are relieved through the Charter, then the

recommendations of Barker (1997) should be noted. He believes that a diversity of representation on television should be sought which in turn suggests the need to produce "transgressive" programmes which offer competing ways of looking at the world.

Film-maker John O'Shea recognised the need for New Zealand to have a more focused vision as to who and what we are and refers to the limitations of programmes such as *Heartland* in the following quotation:

"If we had in *Once Were Warriors* a Dickensian evocation of Maori urban misery, our television documentary on social issues seem blunted and diffuse. Apart from the political compilation documentary, *Someone Else's Country* (never shown on network television), we do not seem to find, even in Bruce Morrison's *Heartland* series, a focused vision apart from an intimation that there is a Kiwiana out there somewhere.

We're too polite, not stroppy enough. Of course, it's a small country and people are fearful. Gotta mind your Ps and Qs. ...With documentaries, maybe it is because television determines the subjects and the way they will be handled - and market forces call the tune."

(O'Shea, 1999, 133)

Change may be in the wind with the implementation of the TVNZ Charter. But this is a process which can take some time to create a noticable change in programming (Robert Boyd-Bell, 2001). Until there is a break in the cycle of New Zealanders, programme makers and politicians all desperately seeking a national identity that satisfies their various agendas rather than exploring its many hues and contestations, then the future of New Zealand television appears confined to dishing up 'more of the same'.

## LIST OF APPENDICES

<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>TVNZ Charter</b>
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>The Seven Bardic Roles of Television</b>
<b>Appendix C</b>	<b>Transcripts of the <i>Heartland</i> case studies. <i>East Coast Towards the Light</i> <i>Growing Up in Fendalton</i> <i>Glenorchy – A Wet Day in Paradise</i></b>

## APPENDIX A

### TVNZ Charter

**01 May 2001**

The following charter shall apply to all those parts of TVNZ's operations that contribute to its broadcast content. It shall be predominantly fulfilled through free-to-air broadcasting.

TVNZ shall

- \* *feature programming across all genres that informs, entertains and educates New Zealand audiences;*
- \* *strive always to set and maintain the highest standards of programme quality and editorial integrity;*
- \* *provide shared experiences that contribute to a sense of citizenship and national identity;*
- \* *ensure in its programmes and programme planning the participation of Maori and the presence of a significant Maori voice;*
- \* *feature programming that serves the varied interests and informational needs and age groups within New Zealand society, including 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 setting standards of programme quality and encouraging creative risk-taking and experiment;*
- \* *support and promote the talents and creative resources of New Zealanders and of the New Zealand film and television industry*

In fulfilment of these objectives, TVNZ shall

- \* provide independent, comprehensive, impartial, and in-depth coverage and analysis of news and current affairs in New Zealand and throughout the world and of the activities of public and private institutions;
- \* feature programming that contributes towards intellectual, scientific and cultural development, promotes informed and many-sided debate and stimulates critical thought, thereby enhancing opportunities for citizens to participate in community, national and international life;
- \* in its programming enable all New Zealanders to have access to material that promotes Maori language and culture;
- \* feature programmes that reflect the regions to the nation as a whole;
- \* promote understanding of the diversity of cultures making up the New Zealand population;
- \* feature New Zealand films, drama, comedy and documentary programmes;
- \* feature programmes about New Zealand's history and heritage, and natural environment;
- \* feature programmes that serve the interests and informational needs of Maori audiences, including programmes promoting the Maori language and programmes addressing Maori history, culture and current issues;
- \* include in programming intended for a mass audience material that deals with minority interests;
- feature programmes that provide for the informational and entertainment needs of children and young people and allow for the participation of children and young people;

- maintain and observe a code of ethics that addresses the level and nature of advertising to which children are exposed;
- \* feature programmes that encourage and support the arts, including programmes featuring New Zealand and international artists and arts companies;
- \* reflect the role that sporting and other leisure interests play in New Zealand life and culture;
- \* and feature programming of an educational nature that support learning and the personal development of New Zealanders.

**(Source: [www.executive.govt.nz/minister/hobbs/tvnz/charter2.html](http://www.executive.govt.nz/minister/hobbs/tvnz/charter2.html))**

## APPENDIX B

### **John Fiske and John Hartley's seven bardic roles of television**

"We suggest that the function performed by the television medium in its bardic role can be summarized as follows:

1. To articulate the main lines of the established cultural consensus about the nature of reality (and therefore the reality of nature).
- 3 To implicate the individual members of the culture into its dominant value-systems, by exchanging a status-enhancing message for the endorsement of that message's underlying ideology (as articulated in its mythology).
3. To celebrate, explain, interpret and justify the doings of the culture's individual representatives in the world out-there; using the mythology of individuality to claw back such individuals from any mere eccentricity to a position of socio-centrality.
4. To assure the culture at large of its practical adequacy in the world by affirming and confirming its ideologies/mythologies in active engagement with the practical and potentially unpredictable world.
5. To expose, conversely, any practical inadequacies in the culture's sense of itself which might result from changed conditons in the world out-there, or from pressure within the culture for a reorientation in favour of a new ideological stance.
6. To convince the audience that their status and identity as individuals is guaranteed by the culture as a whole.
7. To transmit by these means a sense of cultural membership (security and involvement).

From *Reading Television* John Fiske and John Hartley (1978, 88)

## APPENDIX C

**Transcripts of the *Heartland* case studies.**

***East Coast - Towards the Light***

***Growing Up in Fendalton***

***Glenorchy – A Wet Day in Paradise***

**Key: V/O = voice over**

**Title: = caption appears on screen**

## References

- Abercrombie, N. (1996). *Television and Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- ADC Nouveau Millenaire and the Fundacion Valencia III Milenio. (2000). *The Valencia manifesto on globalisation and cultural diversity*. April 11, 2000. Retrieved October 17, 2000 from <http://www.audiovisualforum.net/menu.htm>.
- Allen, R. C. (Ed.). (1992). *Channels of discourse, reassembled*. London: Routledge.
- Ang, I. (1991). *Desperately seeking the audience*. London: Routledge.
- Ang, I. (1985). *Watching Dallas: Soap opera and the melodramatic imagination*. London: Routledge.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anson Grieve Ltd. (Producers). (1995). *Journeys through the Heartland* (Video). TVNZ, Distributed by Roadshow Entertainment.
- Barker, C. (1997). *Global television: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Barker, C. (1999). *Television, globalisation and cultural identities* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image, music, text*. London: Fontana Press.
- Bedford, R. (1996). International migration and national identity. In R. Le Heron and E. Pawson (Eds.) *Changing places - New Zealand in the Nineties* (pp.350-360) Auckland: Longman Paul Ltd.
- Belich, J. (1996). *Making peoples: A history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the Nineteenth Century*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Belich, J. (2001). *Paradise reformed – A History of New Zealanders*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Bell, Avril (1995). "Mainstreaming the Margins: The Nation in the 1989 Broadcasting Act" in *Sites* no 30 (Autumn 1995) (pp.108-118)
- Bell, Allan (2001) "Bugger!: Media language, identity and postmodernity in Aotearoa/New Zealand" in *New Zealand Sociology* Vol 16 number 1.

- Bell, C. and Lyall, J. (1995). *Putting our town on the map* Auckland: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Bell, C. (1996). *Inventing New Zealand - Everyday myths of Pakeha identity*. Auckland: Penguin.
- Bell, C. (Ed.). (2001). *Sociology of everyday life in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Berger, A. (1998). *Media analysis techniques* (second edition). California: Sage.
- Berman, R. (1987). *How television sees its audience - A look at the looking glass*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Bieleski, K. (30 November 2001) Speech at *New Frontiers – New Zealand Television in a Digital World Conference*, held at the University of Auckland.
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Binney, J., Bassett, J. and Olssen, E. (1990). *The people and the land: Te tangata mme te whenua*. Wellington: Allen and Unwin.
- Boyd-Bell, R. (1985). *New Zealand television – the first twenty-five years*. Auckland: Reed Methuen Publishers.
- Boyd-Bell, R. (2001). Private interview. 6 December, 2001.
- Blythe, M. (1994). *Naming the other - images of the Maori in New Zealand film and television*. London: The Scarecrow Press.
- Bradley, B. E. (1991). *Fundamentals of speech communication*. Iowa: W. C. Brown Publishers.
- Brooks, W. D. and Heath, R. W. (1989). *Speech communication*. (sixth edition) Iowa: W. C. Brown Publishers.
- Browne, A. (2000). The Colour of the Future. *The New Zealand Herald* Sept 23-24, 2002, I: 3. Auckland.
- Burton, G. (2000). *Talking television*. London: Arnold/Hodder.
- Cameron, K. (Ed.). (1999). *National identity*. Exeter: Intellect Books.
- Campbell, G. (1992). Inside the Richard and Judy Show. *The New Zealand Listener and T V Times*, August 15, (pp.16-20).
- Castells, M. (1997) *The information age. The power of identity. Economy, society and culture* (Volume II). MA, USA: Blackwell Publishers.

- Char, P. (2000). What Winston Peters will tell the country today: 'War on our streets, fear in our homes'. *Sunday Star Times*, November 10, 2002, A1.
- Chatman, S. (1978). *Story and discourse narrative structure in fiction and film*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Cohen, B.C. (1963). *The press and foreign policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton.
- Collier, M. (1988). Researching cultural identity: Reconciling interpretive and postcolonial perspectives. In D.V. Tannpo and A. Gonzalez (Eds.). *Communication and Identity Across Culture*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Condor, S. (2000). Pride and Prejudice: identity management in English people's talk about 'this country'. *Discourse and Society*, 11 (2), April. (pp.175-205).
- Corner, J. (1995). *Television form and public address*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Corner, J. (1999). *Critical ideas in television studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cunliffe, S. (1994). They're a wary lot after 'Wainuiomata'. *The Christchurch Press*, December 24, 1994.
- Cunningham, S. and Jacka, E. (1996). *Australian television and international mediascapes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahlgren, P. (1995). *Television and the public sphere - Citizenship, democracy and the media*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Day, P. (2000) *Voice and vision – A history of broadcasting in New Zealand* (Vols. 1 and 2). Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Dayan, D. and Katz, E. (1994). Defining Media Events: High Holidays of Mass Communication. In H. Newcombe *Television the critical view* (pp.332-351). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Cillia, R., Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identities. *Discourse and Society*, 10 (2), (pp.149-173).
- De Fina, A. (2001). Orientation in immigrant narratives: the role of ethnicity in the identification of characters. *Discourse Studies*, 3 (4), November. (pp.131-157).
- Deutsch, K. W. (1966). *Nationalism and social communication - An inquiry into the foundations of nationality*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

- Dixon, G. (2002) Jim Hickey's winging it. *The New Zealand Herald*. (June 6, 2002). Electronic copy. Retrieved July 4, 2002 from [www.nzherald.co.nz/storyprint.cfm?storyID=2044907](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storyprint.cfm?storyID=2044907)
- Downing, J. , Mohammadi, A. and Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (Eds). (1990). *Questioning the media - A critical introduction*. California: Sage
- Dunleavy, T. (1999). New Zealand television drama – the first thirty years 1960-1990. Unpublished PhD thesis. Auckland, New Zealand: University of Auckland
- European Commission. (1999) *Communication to the European Parliament, the Council, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the convergence of the telecommunications, media and information technology sectors and the implications for regulation*. March 10, 1999. Retrieved 23 September. 2000 from [http://www.ispo.cec.be/convergencecp/com\(99\)108/com\(99\)108enfinal.htm](http://www.ispo.cec.be/convergencecp/com(99)108/com(99)108enfinal.htm).
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. Longman Group: Essex.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 3 (2), April. (pp.193-217).
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. Hodder: London.
- Eakin, P. J. (1999). *How our lives become stories - Making selves*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Ferguson, M. (1993). Invisible Divides: Communication and Identity in Canada and the US. *Journal of Communication*, 43 (2), Spring. (pp.42-51).
- Fiske, J. (1992). British cultural studies and television. In R. C. Allen (Ed.) *Channels of discourse, reassembled*. (pp.284-326). London: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Fiske, J. and Hartley, J. (1978). *Reading television*. London: Methven and Co Ltd.
- Fitzgerald, T. K. (1992). Media, ethnicity and identity". In P. Scannell, P. Schlesinger and C. Sparks (Eds.) *Culture and power - a media, culture and society reader*. (pp.112-133). London: Sage Publications.
- Fitzgerald, T.K. (1989). "Coconuts and Kiwis: Identity and change among second-generation Cook Islanders in New Zealand. *Ethnic Groups*, 7 ,(pp. 259-81).
- Geertz, C. (1994). Primordial and civic ties. In J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith (Eds.) *Nationalism* Section 1, Chapter 5 (pp.29-34). Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Grainger, G. (2000) Globalisation and cultural diversity: The challenge to the audiovisual media. Retrieved May 1, 2001, *Internet*. (www), from <http://www.audiovisualforum.net/backgroundmaterials/article03.htm> (Chairman of the Australian Broadcasting Authority).
- Grant, F. (2002). Lives less ordinary. *The New Zealand Herald*. (June 25, 2002). Electronic copy. Retrieved July 4, 2002 from [www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?thesection=entertainment&thesubsection=&storyID=2048402](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?thesection=entertainment&thesubsection=&storyID=2048402)
- Griffiths, A. (1993). Pobol by Cwm: The construction of national and cultural identity in a Welsh-language soap opera. In P. Drummond, R. Paterson, and J. Willis (Eds.) *National Identity and Europe: The television revolution*. (pp.9-24). UK: BFI Film Institute.
- Gunter, B. (2000). *Media research methods measuring audiences, reactions and impact*. London: Sage Publications.
- Greimas, A.J. et al. (Eds.). (1970). *Sign, language, culture*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Grimes, A. and Tyndall, J. (1999). Forward. *Counting the Beat: Culture, Democracy and Broadcasting*. Paper Four. (pp. iii-vi). Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University.
- Haas, A., Webber, A. and Brown, P. (1982). *People like us – Celebrating cultural diversity*. Wellington: Asia Pacific Books.
- Hall, S. (1996). Who needs identity? In S. Hall and P. Du Gay (Eds.). *Questions of cultural identity*. London: Sage.
- Harley, R. (1994). Gluing New Zealand together. In W. Ihimaera(Ed.) *Vision Aotearoa Kaupapa New Zealand*. (pp.76-84). Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Hayward, S. (1999). Questions of National Cinema. In K. Cameron (Ed.) *National identity*. (pp.92-106). Exeter: Intellect Books
- Hietala, V. (1996). Finnish Television today. In I. Bondebjerg and F. Bono (Eds.) *Television in Scandinavia – History, politics and aesthetics* (pp.112–126). Bedfordshire: John Libbey Media.
- Higgins, M. D. (1999). Active citizens or passive consumers? Culture, democracy and public service broadcasting in the era of an unaccountable market. In A. Grimes and J. Tyndall, *Counting the beat: Culture, democracy and broadcasting* (Paper Four). (pps.1-12). Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University. pp1-12.
- Higson, A. (1998). Nationality. in A. Briggs and P. Cobley (Eds.) *The media: an introduction*. (pp.354-364). London: Addison Wesley Longman Ltd.

- Hjarvard, S. (1993). Pan-European television news: Towards a European political public sphere? In P. Drummond, R. Paterson and J. Willis (Eds.) *National identity and Europe: The television revolution*. (pp. 71-94). London: British Film Institute Publishing.
- Hjort, M. (2000). Themes of Nation. In M. Hjort and S. MacKenzie (Eds.) *Cinema and Nation*. (pp.103-117). London: Routledge.
- Hobbs, M. (2000). Retrieved July 14, 2000, from <http://www.executive.govt.nz/minister/hobbs/tvnz/news.htm> July 6, 2000.
- Hobbs, M. (2001). Retrieved May 3, 2001 from [www.executive.govt.nz/minister/hobbs/tvnz/chapter2.htm](http://www.executive.govt.nz/minister/hobbs/tvnz/chapter2.htm) May 1, 2001.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Nations and nationalism since 1780 – Programme, myth, reality*. (Second edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horrocks, R. (1995). Strategic Nationalisms: Television Production in New Zealand. in *Sites* 30 (Autumn, 1995): 85-107.
- Hutchinson, J. and Smith, A. D. (Eds.). (1994). *Nationalism* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ihimaera, W. (Ed.). (1994). *Vision Aotearoa – Kaupapa New Zealand*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd.
- Jarvie, I. (2000). National cinema: a theoretical assessment. In M. Hjort and S. MacKenzie (Eds.). *Cinema and Nation*. (pp.75–87) London: Routledge.
- Johnstone, B. (1990). *Stories, community and place - Narratives from Middle America*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Johnston, M. (2003). Ad firm leads campaign to fight racism towards immigrants. *The New Zealand Herald*. June 3, (p.A4).
- Johnstone, I. (1998). *Stand and deliver – Ian Johnstone on television*. Queen Charlotte Sound: Cape Catley Ltd.
- Jones, F. L. and P. Smith, (2001). Diversity and commonality in national identities: An exploratory analysis of cross-national patterns. In *Journal of Sociology*, 37 (1), (pp.45-63). London: Sage Publications.
- Keith, H. (1991). *A lovely day tomorrow - New Zealand in the 1940s*. Auckland: Random Century NZ Ltd.

- King, M. (1985). *Being Pakeha: an encounter with New Zealand and the Maori renaissance*. Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton.
- King, M. (1999). *Being Pakeha now: Reflections and recollections of a white native*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Kingsley-Smith, R. (Producer). (2001). *Asia Down-Under* "Who's the real kiwi then?" TV1 Part One screened 24<sup>th</sup> May, 2001, and Part Two on 31 May, 2001. Auckland: Asia Vision Ltd.
- Kozloff, S. (1992). Narrative theory and television. In R. C. Allen (Ed.) *Channels of Discourse, Reassembled*. (pp. 67-100) London: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Labov, W. and Waltetzky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In J. Helm (Ed.). *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts* (pp12 – 44). Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Lang, R. and Horrocks, S. (Producers). (1996). *Kiwiana Kiwi as!* Television programme. Auckland: Point of View Productions.
- Le Heron, R. and E. Pawson, (Eds.). (1996). *Changing places: New Zealand in the Nineties*. Auckland: Longman Paul.
- Lealand, G. and Martin, H. (2001). *It's all done with mirrors: About television*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Lee, P. S. N. (1998). Toward a theory of transborder television. In A. Goonasekera and P. S. N. Lee (Eds.). *TV without borders: Asia speaks out*. (pp.274-286). Singapore: Asia Media Information and Communication Centre.
- Levi-Strauss, C. (1987). *Anthropology and myth: Lectures 1951-1982*. (translated by Roy Willis). New York: Blackwell.
- Liebes, T. and Katz, E. (1993). *The export of meaning – Cross-cultural readings of Dallas*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Liebes, T. and Curran, J. (Eds.). (1998). *Media, ritual and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Longhurst, R. and C. Wilson, (2002). Heartland Wainuiomata: Rurality to suburbs, black singlets to naughty lingerie. In J. Farnsworth and I. Hutchison (Eds.). *New Zealand Television - A Reader*. (pp.50 – 61). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- McCormick, G. (1994). *Heartland*. Auckland: Moa Beckett.
- McGovern, A. (1963). *Aesop's fables*. (retold by Ann McGovern). New York: Scholastic Book Services.

- McQueen, D. (1998). *Television - A media student's guide*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Menzies, S. (2002). Lets go for fun and clarity using BBC-style feedback . *The New Zealand Herald*, June 28, A15. Auckland.
- Mitchell, A. (1996). Forward. In J. Ruck *The cross-leased chardonnay cellphone paradise* (pp. v- vi). Auckland:Harper Collins Publishers.
- Mitchell, A. (2002). *Pavlova paradise revisited*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Moran, A. (1998). *Copycat television*. Bedfordshire: University of Luton Press.
- Morley, D. (1980). *The Nationwide Audience*. London: British Film Institute.
- Morley, D. (1986). *Family television: Cultural power and domestic leisure*. London: Comedia Publishing Group.
- Morley, D. and C. Brunson (1999). *The Nationwide television studies*. London: Routledge.
- Moynes, A. (1999). Forging policy in the age of convergence. In *Intermedia*, 27 . October.
- Murdock, G. (1997). Public broadcasting in privatised times: Rethinking the New Zealand experiment. In P. Norris and J. Farnsworth (Eds.). *Keeping it ours*. (pp.9-33). Christchurch: Christchurch Polytechnic.
- NZOnAir. (1999). *Local content survey 1999*. Retrieved November 16, 2000 from [www.nzonair.govt.nz/pubs/1999localcont.html](http://www.nzonair.govt.nz/pubs/1999localcont.html).
- NZOnAir. (2000). *New Zealand television viewers send clear message*. (News release, 30 October). Retrieved May 5, 2001, from [www.nzonair.govt.nz](http://www.nzonair.govt.nz).
- NZOnAir (2000a) *Chairman's Overview*. Retrieved November 17, 2000 from [www.nzonair.govt.nz/annual199/index.html](http://www.nzonair.govt.nz/annual199/index.html).
- NZOnAir (n.d.) *Funding the famous and not so famous*. (News release). Retrieved on 21 October 2001 from [www.nzonair.govt.nz/pag.cfm?i=530](http://www.nzonair.govt.nz/pag.cfm?i=530)
- NZOnAir . (2001.) *New Zealanders want to see more of New Zealand programmes on free-to-air television channels according to NZ On Air*. (News release). Retrieved November 20, 2002 from <http://nzonair.govt.nz/pag.cfm?l=571>
- Nichols, B. (1991). *Representing Reality* . Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

- Norris, P. and Farnsworth, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Keeping it ours - Issues of television broadcasting in New Zealand*. Christchurch: Christchurch Polytechnic.
- North and South*. (November, 1994) From the Heart to the Heartland - Interview: Gary McCormick's. 104, (pp.140-145). Auckland: Australian Consolidated Press.
- Oktar, L. (2001). The ideological organisation of representational processes in the presentation of us and them. In *Discourse and Society*, 12 (3),
- On Film Magazine*. (February, 1992). Pics from the Sticks. 9 (1), 5.
- Ono, K. A. (1998). Problematizing 'Nation' in intercultural communication research. In D. Tanno and A. Gonzalez (Eds.). *Communication and identity across cultures*. (pp.193-202). California: Sage Publications.
- O'Shea, J. (1999). *Don't let it get you - Memories - Documents*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Perry, N. (1994). *The Dominion of signs: Television, advertising and other New Zealand fictions*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Robinson, R. and Wattie, N. (Eds.). (1998). *The Oxford companion to New Zealand literature - Gary McCormick*. Retrieved August 14, 2003 from [www.vuw.ac.nz/nzbookcouncil/writers/mccormickg.htm](http://www.vuw.ac.nz/nzbookcouncil/writers/mccormickg.htm)
- Paltridge, B. (2000). *Making sense of discourse analysis*. Gold Coast, Qld.: Antipodean Educational Enterprises.
- Paterson, R. (1993). Introduction - Collective identity, television and Europe. In P. Drummond, R. Paterson and J. Willis (Eds.). *National identity and Europe - The television revolution*. (pp.1-7). London:British Film Institute Publishing.
- Pawson, E. (1996). Senses of place - Introduction. in R. Le Heron and E Pawson (Eds.). *Changing Places: New Zealand in the Nineties*. (pp 348-349). Auckland: Longman Paul.
- Perry, N. (1994). *The Dominion of signs: television, advertising and other New Zealand fictions*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Phillips, J. (1996). Our history, our selves, the historian and national identity. *The New Zealand Journal of History*, 30, (pp.107-123).
- Porter Novelli. (1999). *Wave one - Kiwi style and icons*. (June). Auckland: C M Research.
- Price, M. E. (1995). *Television, the public sphere and national identity*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Propp, V. (1970). *Morphology of the Folktale*. (Translated by Laurence Scott). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Quirk, J. J. (1988). The mythos of the electronic revolution. In J. Carey (Ed.). *Communication as culture – essays on media and society*. (pp.113-141). London: Routledge Press.
- Renkema, J. (1993). *Discourse studies - An introductory textbook*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Revington, M. (2001). "White Man's Burden" in *The New Zealand Listener* February 3 – 9, (pp.18-23).
- Richstad, J. (1998). Asian values and transnational television: The battle in the sky for markets and cultures. In A. Goonasekera and P. S.N. Lee (Eds.). *TV without borders: Asia speaks out* (pp.287–306). Singapore: Asia Media Information and Communication Centre.
- Roscoe, J. (1999). *Documentary New Zealand: An immigrant nation*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Ruck, J. (1996). *The cross-leased Chardonnay cellphone paradise*. Auckland: Harper Collins Publishers
- Sarup, M. (1996). *Identity, Culture and the Post Modern World* Athens: The University of Georgia Press
- Selby, K. and Cowdrey, R. (1995). *How to study television*. London: Macmillan Press:
- Silverstone, R. (1981). *The message of television myth and narrative in contemporary culture*. London: Heinemann Educational Books .
- Silverstone, R. (1995). Future imperfect: media, information and the millennium. In N. Miller and R. Allen (eds.). *The post-broadcasting age: New technologies, new communities*. UK: University of Luton Press.
- Sinclair, K. (1986). *A destiny apart - New Zealand's search for national identity*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin.
- Smith, P. (1996). *Revolution in the Air!* Auckland: Longman.
- Smith, P. (2001). Private interview, November 27, 2001.
- Smith, P. and Callan, L. (1999). *Our people, our century*. Auckland: Hodder, Moa, Beckett Publishers Ltd.
- Sproule, M. J. (1981). *Communication Today*. Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company.

- Statistics New Zealand. (2002). A Changing New Zealand. In *Profile of New Zealand* Retrieved October 31, 2002 from [www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/Prod\\_serv.nsf/htmldocs/A+Changing+New+Zealand](http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/Prod_serv.nsf/htmldocs/A+Changing+New+Zealand).
- Stead, C. K. (2000). *The writer at work*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Taylor, S and Weatherell, M. (1995). Doing national construction work: Discourses of national identity. *Sites*, 30 (Autumn, 1995), (pp69-84).
- The Economist*. (1990). The State of the Nation-State. December 22. (pp27-30).
- The Economist*. (2001). Post Taliban Nation Building. Oct 27-Nov 2. (p7).
- The New Zealand Herald*. (1995). 'Heartland' censored second time round. August 2. Section 1. (p18).
- Thornborrow, J. (2001). Authenticating talk: Building identities in audience participation broadcasting. *Discourse Studies*, 3 4, November. (pp.459-479).
- Titscher, S. and Neyer, M. , Wodak, R., Vetter, E. (2000). *Methods of text and discourse analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Todorov, T. (1971). *The poetics of prose*. (translated by Jonathan Culler - 1977). New York: Cornell University Press.
- Tomlinson, J. (1991). *Cultural imperialism*. London: Pinter Publishers .
- UNESCO. (1999). *Cultural goods and globalisation: Promoting diversity*. News Release. Retrieved 9 September, 2000, from <http://www.unesco.org/opi/eng/umescopress/99-130e.htm>.
- Wall, M. and C. Cocklin. (1996). Ngati Porou and forestry on the East Coast. In R. Le Heron and E. Pawson (Eds.). *Changing place: New Zealand in the Nineties*. Auckland: Longman Paul.
- Wang, G. (1998). Protecting the Local Cultural Industry: A Regulatory Myth in a Global Age. In A. Goonasekera and P. S.N. Lee (Eds.) *TV without borders: Asia Speaks Out*. (pp.259–273). Singapore: Asia Media Information and Communication Centre.
- Wichtel, D. (1994). Black velvet town Heartland it may be, but Bluff's heart took a bit of finding. *The Listener*. April 9, (pp44-45).
- Wichtel, D. (1994a) Holding Our Own . *The Listene.r* August 27, (p64).
- Wilson, C. (1996). *Landscapes in the living room: Heartland documentaries and the construction of place*. Masters thesis. Hamilton: University of Waikato.

- Williams, R. (1996). *Normal service won't be resumed – The future of public broadcasting*. NSW: Allen and Unwin Pty Ltd.
- Wolfe, R. and Barnett, S. (2001). *Kiwiana! The sequel*. Auckland: Penguin Books.

## *East Coast - Towards the Light*

**Director: Sean Duffy**

**Producer: William Grieve**

**Series Director: Bruce Morrison**

Time	Transcript and Images	Sound
00:00	Montage of scenes quickly fading into each other beautiful landscapes, happy people of all ages, mostly Maori and Pakeha, workers, the elderly. Montage begins with sunrise, ends with sunset.	Heartland Theme music
00:23	Title: "Heartland" with Gary McCormick. Graphics of farming fence staples form into the shape of a heart, over film shot of rural scenery.  Old rusty Holden drives along country coastal road.  Title: "East Coast - Towards the Light" Montage scenes of rural, scenic, aerial shots and of local people in the town	Modern Music "System Virtue", Emma Paki, Tangata Records.
10:05	View of waves pounding on beach, cliffs behind. GM walks into view, surveys scene then turns and faces camera in direct address.  "When you drive north to Gisborne up to East Cape - you feel like you are entering another world, which to some extent you are. The communities of the East Coast are spread out over some 200 kilometres."	

O1:01      Aerial shots  
 "We are going to be travelling these 200 kilometres all the way up to the lighthouse at East Cape."

O1:21      (Title: Tolaga Bay)  
 Montage shots of local people, look poor economically by dress and housing.

GM V/O: "This is the Heartland of the Ngati Porou. Although this is a sparsely populated area consisting of remote and scattered farms and small towns, the people who live on the Coast do tend to feel that they are all part of the same community..."

O1:45      " One of the things that connects many of them is their interest in horses and one of the big events on the East Coast calendar is the Horse Sports Competition. This is the eve of the last heat of this annual event before the final at the Ruatoria Show later in the week. The Aitkens family has been amongst the most successful riders over the past years."

O2:05      GM walks towards a Maori woman leading her horse in the paddock.

GM: "Di, pleased to meet you."  
 Di Aitkens: "Yes"  
 GM: "Lady Di, I understand.  
 DA: "Well my name is spelt like hers but I'm not a Lady Di."  
 GM: "Well you look like a Lady Di to me... This is a pretty exciting time isn't it...what the night Before the last trial?"  
 DA: "Pardon"  
 GM: "You've got the final trials tomorrow."  
 DA: "Yes I'm going to enter tomorrow and all the other events over there."  
 GM: "Is that right - now what other events will you be taking part in?"

O2:28      Title: Di Aitkens  
 DA: "Oh well they're all maidens because it's not an open horse this one. They've got maiden events

like potato race, beanie race, nag race.  
(Cross over shots to children on horses coming through the gate.)

O2:38 GM: "I have to ask what a potato race is. What's that?"  
DA: "You get a stick - and you gallop up with a stick and stab a spud and bring it back and put it in the barrel. I'll show you (laughs)."  
GM: "You're going to have a practice run?"  
DA: "Yes I'll do a practice. Yes I'll show you rather than stand here."  
(Cross over shots to boy sitting on horse watching.)

O2:56 DA: "Now you give me a leg and I'll get on."  
GM: "I'm pleased to do anything to help. Do I win a prize if I do this right?"  
DA: "Just shove me straight up and I'll do the rest."  
GM: "Right. You do the rest. I like that idea. I'll stand right over here, that will be wonderful."  
DA: "Now are you going to follow me around those pegs?"  
GM: "I want to see what you do out there."  
DA: "Well come on then."  
GM: (looking towards camera while running) "I'll just trot along behind the horse all right?  
Yes here we go (skips) look at that."

O3:29 Shots of different people watching - a man, a boy, a dog looking out of its kennel)  
GM: "Okay Di, Let's see you do this?"  
DA: Ready? You take one of these sticks in your hand - and then you go to the pole .... (rides off)  
and you try to stab the spud (Shot of horses and dogs watching)... You stab the spud... and then you  
bring it back " (gallops towards the camera) "And you whack it into there."

O3:56 Cut to a view of a wharf, fishing lines leaning against the rail, scenes of people on the wharf.  
GM approaches a man and woman sitting on the wharf. The man's reel has fallen into the water.  
GM: "Now this seems to be a fairly unusual fishing concept ... you're tossing the reel in"  
Man: (Indistinct comment)

Music is upbeat  
and jazzy.

GM: (laughing) "was this some sort of accidental mishandling was it... at the critical moment?"

(Shots of reel in the water)

Man: (English accent) " It slipped out of my hand."

GM: "So now you have to pull in a 100 miles of nylon thread and hopefully the reel will attached to the end of it ... is that right?"

Man: "The reel was just out here before" (points to water) "I'm going somewhere...I've got the end here."

GM: "That's a good idea, you bring the bait up first and hope the fish will hold on to the reel... is that the idea?"

O4:35

Cross to two teenage boys jumping off the rail of the wharf into the water

GM: (V/O) "The Tolaga Bay wharf is not just a pleasant place to fish. But before the road was pushed up the coast it was wharves like these which were the only outlet for commercial activity on the East Coast." (Shots of people fishing off wharf)

O4:49

Cross to GM sitting on rocks at the end of a wharf talking to a Maori man in his 60s.

GM: "You had a long history in this area in particular, you worked here for many years...?"

MB: "1947 to 1967...." (Title: Milton "Dwarfie" Brown) "...in 1947 I started out here after my father had an accident at Paupara Pa and died" (Shots of the wharf)

GM: "It was already open then... what year did it open?"

MB: "Well, five years after I was born Gary"

(Shot of waves rolling in under the wharf)

GM: "Right. So it's been here all that time. It's a pretty big wharf isn't it?"

MB: "...I think it is er... if I can remember correctly ... it is a couple of metres short of half a mile."

(Shot of baby in back-pack on his father's back while he walks down the wharf)

GM: "It would be one of the larger wharves around?"

MB: "Yes at the time it was one of the largest in the southern hemisphere - this wharf here - it was built in 1929.."

(shots of Tolaga Bay township)

GM: "Let's move on to Tolaga itself... where does the name Tolaga come from?"

MB: "Captain Cook came here for water after he left Bay and he came and anchored around here at Cook's Cove... and he had an interpreter..." (aerial shots of Tolaga Bay)

MB: (V/O) " you know...what wind was blowing ... Tarahi was the name so when it was translated back to Captain Cook the feel called it Tolaga because of the way it was pronounced at the time - it's not an English word, nor is it a Maori word."

GM: "You've seen the last 10 - 15 years in this community. Have they been good? ... have they been hard years?"

MB: "Oh... it's been very hard here Gary - it's been very hard here....ah... what makes it hard... lack of work. A lot of the families here ... 300 families left Tolaga Bay to go to the cities and work."  
(Shots of derelict buildings)

MB: "It's more or less just a sort of skeleton... prior to the last 10 years... now they are starting to come back slowly."

O6:49      Advertisements

10:49      Rural scenes - GM driving his rusty Holden to (Title) Paroa Station, Tolaga Bay.

GM: (while driving speaks to camera in interior shot) "Well it's Saturday morning and I'm driving to Paroa Station, just outside of Tolaga Bay."

Cut to scenes of men on horses practicing events.

GM: "This is the last preliminary event for the Horse Sports gathering along the coast at Ruatoria next week. And there are people from all over in the area who are giving their last great shot in the hope that they will get into that final in Ruatoria."

Shots of people practicing/arriving/spectating/women entrants/children on miniature horses.

- Voice of MC: "Anybody else for the 9 to 11 year olds.." (Close up of MC) "Have I forgotten anybody?"

11:40	<p>Cut to GM who approaches a young boy sitting on a horse.  GM: "How are you doing this morning? Are you ready for the big event?"  Boy looks sad.  Di Aitken (out of shot): "He's not very good...his horse played up on the way here, now I've got a..."  GM to boy: "Your horse played up - what did he do?"  Boy: "He pulled back."  GM: "He pulled back did he? That's what I don't like about them... But you're a good horseman..."  (pats boy's leg reassuringly) "...you'll be right."</p> <p>MC's voice calling preparations for race over shots of contestants getting ready: "Barrel number one...  Barrel number 2.... Right oh....Go!"</p>	
12:10	<p>Scenes of children racing  MC V/O: "It's for the kids really you know - a day for the kids becoming horse riders...so  That's what it's all about I suppose."</p> <p>GM: (out of shot, close up of MC) "Good for you. I like the fact you don't use a p.a. by the way..  (Title: Morris McDonald) "...it's nice to go to a show and you don't have p.a.'s blaring in your  ears all along."</p> <p>MM: "No they'd rather hire me... I'm cheaper!" (laughs)</p>	Traditional Maori Music
12:54	<p>More scenes of people preparing for the race. A man shoeing a horse - GM watches him.</p> <p>GM: "So a bit of running maintenance here."  Man: (laughs)  GM: "You've obviously done this before."  Man: "Yes... I've done this before."  GM: "Look at that eh ....retread and all ready to go."</p>	Music continues.
13:13	MC calling out to participants for races, scenes of children preparing to start.	

13:20 Shot of start of adult race, people cheering.

13:35 GM (out of shot) talks to two boys sitting on horses in shot: "Is there a lot of rivalry between you two?... Is it pretty competitive?"

(Title: King Love) KL: "Yeah, yeah I'd say that."  
 (Title: Joe Queen) JQ: (nods in agreement)  
 GM: "Right but you're still on talking terms obviously. Is that because you've done most of the winning so far?"  
 KL: "Yeah...no...we're friends...we don't worry about...we're like the All Blacks...we keep all the bad sportsmanship out of the road."

GM: (now in shot turns to camera) "Very, very, very silly of me to ask that question... I feel ashamed ...sorry" (walks out of shot).

13:57 Cross to more race scenes - one of the participants being Di Aitkens.

GM: "I'm gonna talk to you...You're one of Di's family aren't you?"  
 BA: "Yeah, yeah."  
 GM: "...the number?"  
 BA: (Title?) "The oldest."  
 GM: "You're the oldest are you?"  
 BA: "Yeah, yeah."  
 GM: "And you're pretty successful at this horse racing?"  
 BA: "Try to be."  
 GM: "Are you running a points total at the moment in the lead up to the final?"  
 BA: "Yeah."  
 GM: "That's right - you've won before."  
 BA: "Yeah... last year."  
 GM: "Last year?... so you got a saddle last year and you're hoping to get a saddle this year. What does a man do with two saddles?.. that's the point."  
 BA: "Ride them!" (laughs)

	GM: (laughs)	
14:31	Horse racing scene of Boy Aitkens, spectators watching. He wins.	
14:58	Cross to views of barren hills - aerial shots. GM (V/O): "One thing the East Coast is renowned for is extensive erosion... the result of Stripping the land of its native forest cover for farming."	Droning Sound of plane
15.:07	Rusty Holden drives along the road, towards the camera. GM: "Cyclone Bola ravaged this area and valuable farmland was lost. Recently efforts have been made to halt the trend through large scale reforestation."	
15:16	GM stops car and gets out. Speaks to camera. GM: "Hark the sound of distant chainsaws. If some people had their way the East Coast would be alive with the sound of chainsaws. Some people are predicting this will be...end up the equivalent as one large state forest... and there are arguments for and against."	
	(aerial shots of erosion and land slips)	
	GM: "Some people say that forestry is a good idea because it helps stabilise erosion and create Employment..." (view of a man starting a chainsaw by a tree)	
	GM: "...other people say employment created is at the best inconsistent and that the life of a tree between the age of 12 and 28, there is very little that can be done to it.... And other people are arguing that it's starting to take up valuable farmland." (Shot of tree falling) GM: "No doubt we'll be hearing more about this."	
15:50	GM driving in car.  GM: "Before the Pakeha came to the coast, local Maori tilled and worked their own gardens."	Modern Maori music.

Captain Cook was astonished at the neatness and extent of these cultivations but the face of the coast was to change dramatically with the arrival of the European settler... You cannot consider European history unless you consider the William's Brothers."

(Close up of Gm in car talking to camera)

GM: "They both came out as missionaries from the Midlands - Henry Williams and William Williams. Henry Williams became Bishop of Paihia - William Williams went on to become Bishop of Waipu. Together they formed an enormous dynasty and some of the larger stations in these parts are still owned by the Williams."

GM (walking amongst sheep approaches Graeme Williams) : "Now these two sorted out for any particular reason?"

(Title: Mangaroa Station)

GM: "These two pens, are they slightly uglier looking ones than the ones in there or how is it working?"

GW: "I'm not too sure ... they're all pretty ugly Gary...um... if you could pick out three anyway... what you think might win this competition."

GM: "Well... I need your advice here."

GW: "It's the jersey and the chop really."

GM: The jersey and the chop. Well let's show us the chop thing first. I mean how does one tell looking from the outside of a woolly sheep what the chop is going to be like?"

GM (V/O): "With the Ruatoria Show just a few days off, the coast farmers are going through their flocks to pick out their contender for the best sheep competition."

GM: "I'm immediately drawn to this one over here." (He starts chasing sheep).

GW: "That's cheating Gary... that one shouldn't be in there."

(the sheep gets away)

GM: "Well, shall I let it go?"

GW: "Nah - don't look at that one."

GM: "I think I'm looking for your more thoughtful looking sheep... I think I'd prefer a more thoughtful looking chop. Um... there's one... I'll just get him."

(GM runs after sheep again, grabs hold of one by its wool)

GM (to camera): "You see he was a smart one that's why I had a lot of trouble with him."

(the sheep pulls GM along)

GM: "At least he'd heading in the right direction. Thank you...no...sorry...sorry..."

(Gm struggles with sheep but puts it through the gate to separate it from the others.)

17:50

GW (V/O and Title: Graeme Williams): "I was born here but my father came here about 34 years ago from the family farm ... my grandfather farmed further up the coast and then he had three sons who all wanted to go farming... so they acquired two other farms and this being one of them... so yeah I've spent all my life here. My father and his father and his father and his father were all down here. So we've been here for a day or two."

(Long shot of GM and GW waling on farm together)

GM: "What about the supposed advantage of this forestry thing where it's going to provide employment and stop erosion and things like that?"

GW: "There's no doubt that forestry does stop erosion and it's extremely beneficial doing that, but it's not the only alternative. This place here in particular ... what we've been here for 34 years... well we've put in over 50,000 Poplar and Willow trees, which are an alternative to forestry, which means you can continue to pastorally farm is and you get the benefits of the trees without blanket covering it all in forestry."

(Shots of sheep mustering over farmland)

GM: "I'm wondering around the hills here not to imply that you merely wander around when you do your work... It must be quite an inspiration. I know you write down a bit of verse... have you got a poem on you at the moment?"

GW: "Yeah I have actually ... I've got one about the coast...obviously the coast is a special place to me. It's called "Toast to the Coast"... it goes um...

Well I'm certainly not a professor although I'd know I'm mad as most,  
When I say there is a future for a region like the Coast.  
And sure we have our problems,

In fact a real host.  
 But likewise she has assets, that we can also boast.  
 Now we know it's off the beaten track,  
 And to get here is a trek.  
 And it's not a yuppies haven with computers or high tech.  
 And the pace of things is casual,  
 Your lives it will not wreck.  
 As you haven't ten thousand people,  
 Breathing down your neck.  
 So Gary as a place to live,  
 I'd give it 10 from 10,  
 As there is a hell of a lot more to offer than you would find at Mitre 10.  
 The wild pork and puha,  
 The crayfish and the Paua,  
 And scenery that's more beautiful than your luscious Lynne of Tawa.

19:40

Advertisements

23:15

(Title: Tokomaru Bay)  
 Montage of shots - rural street scenes, market day, large Maori man pushing a lawn mower,  
 car with graffiti on it, Maori woman hanging out the washing, beach scene collecting seafood,  
 Maori children without clothes on swimming in the sea.

Modern  
 Maori  
 music

23:58

GM (driving in car speaking to camera): "Well I'm halfway through my trip up the coast - in  
 fact I'm just entering Tokomaru Bay and I'm starting to wonder whether the myth of the Coast  
 as a sort of depressed area is exactly that - a myth. I'm wondering whether if I've been sold a  
 line for example in Gisborne where I come from, the expression "up the Coast" is sort of  
 synonymous with backwards or in decline... In point of fact people seem to be remarkably  
 cheerful about their predicament. I'm starting to wonder whether or not the judgements made  
 about the Coast aren't sort of European ones."

24:26

GM walks around derelict buildings with a Maori man. Both are wearing bright, patterned shirts.

GM: "Phil... people looking at us now probably think we got up this morning and decided we'd have a best dressed shirt competition. I want people to know this wasn't planned."

(Title: Phil Aspinall)

PA: "Well Gary... on a day like this what else can you wear but a nice looking shirt."

GM: (Laughs) "Exactly... my view exactly.... Now this building which we are walking along which is quite an important and impressive landmark on the Tokomaru Bay scene... what is it?"

PA: "It used to be the old freezing works run by Borthwicks which closed in 1952."

GM: "This must have been a very prosperous and thriving community at some point?"

PA: "Well that's right... I would say they had about 2000 people here at Tokomaru Bay in its hey day at the freezing works. Lot of fun things happened in those days."

GM: (laughs) "And is there work starting to develop here now with the forestry?"

PA: "Well there is... work is starting to pick up again. It was doing very well when the Government had the forests and when they sold the forests things sort of died down a bit. With the Ngati Porou forest getting into step, work seems more available to people and I would say about 80 per cent of our young men in Tokomaru Bay are working."

GM: "And what about the argument we hear about the pros and cons of forestry? Some people say well it doesn't (bring) a lot of work and others say its going to be good. How do you see it?"

PA: "So far I can see its only been doing good for our young people. They're running around in motorcars and working regularly. I go for a bike ride every morning at about... between half past five and six o'clock. I ride from home down to here and you see the boys going to work at that hour everyday."

GM: "There was a bit of a fuss made about housing problems here. In fact there was a bit of a fashion here for a while to talk about your housing problems."

PA: "I guess the media seeks sensationalism. I must say that they showed all the Maoris living in these squalid conditions but they didn't show the Pakehas living in Tokomaru Bay living in the same condition in beat up caravans and what have you. They only showed up Maoris. But we're happy. Money is not everything, but happiness is more important and we are very happy here in Tokomaru Bay I can assure you of that."

27.00 In a dark room Gm talks to photographer Jill Carlyle as she develops photographs.  
 GM: "How long have you been taking photographs here?"  
 JC: "Oh about 12 years in Tokomaru Bay." (She holds up a photograph out of developing solution.)  
 JC: "Wow... looks good to me." (she puts it into a solution) "This has got to be washed for about 20 minutes before we even start to dry it, but we can have a look now."  
 (cut away shot of the red light - "do not enter" sign outside door lighting up)  
 GM: "Wow"  
 JC: "...any good?"  
 GM: "Isn't that something."  
 JC: "Well let's see."  
 GM: "Must be wildly exciting every time this happens. Who is this person?"  
 (Shot of photograph showing a close up of a Maori woman sitting with three children in the water at the beach.)  
 JC: "It's Auntie Aida Haig. One day I was down at the beach just across the road here and she saw me with the camera, and her kids were in the water and she said to me..." (Title: Jill Carlyle)  
 "...Shall I jump in too? And I said yeah, yeah do it so in she charged."  
 GM: "Fantastic. It's a great photo."

27:57 Exterior shot of the photoshop called "The F Stop"  
 GM (V/O): "Oh... this is the F Stop."  
 JC: "Yeah"

Cross to JC and Gm standing in front of black and white photos displayed on the wall.

GM: "These photos... are they largely of Tokomaru Bay?"  
 (close up of photographs)  
 JC: "Oh I've covered the whole Coast really. I've covered from Te Arohoa to Tolaga Bay."  
 (Shot of many photos scattered on a table)  
 GM: "Did you originally come from this area?"  
 JC: "Ruatoria - that's my home town. Yeah... born and raised in Ruatoria."  
 GM: "What's it like to live on the Coast though?"

JC: "Oh I feel privileged. I feel totally privileged to be here as a photographer I think... um... the people here are really special."

GM: "You've obviously won the trust of people who are allowed to be photographed in this manner. Was this difficult to come by? "

(Close up of photographs)

JC: "Oh I think it helps that I'm born and raised as on the Coast and people know I'm not just going to come and take photos and then go again. They know that I'm here to stay. Since I've opened up the F Stop people are coming in and going through all these proof sheets. There are 500 of them there...finding all sorts of stuff.. you know... yeah."

GM: "And then ordering the photos from you."

JC: "Yeah... They see them in here and all that and I print them up which is the purpose of the whole thing really what I really want to do is get these photographs into the family where they belong because they are all photographs of people and I think it is really important that the families have them... there's not point in me having thousands and thousands of pictures."

GM: "What about public perception that the East Coast is generally run down. Do you get much comment on that?"

JC: "A lot of tourists with romantic notions about falling down houses, different reactions to the housing... some wonder how people could possibly live in those sorts of conditions and others can see it for how it really is... and it's a choice that people here make.."

(Shots of houses)

"...and housing and those back packers hostel sorts of things aren't important... much more to our lives here than whether there's a coat of pain on their house - nice toning colours..."

GM: "A butterfly on the front.."

JC: "It's not relevant you know. The quality of life here is fantastic and most people can see that..."

30:24

View of older houses

sound of some-  
one knocking

Jill Carlyle enters Aunt Ada's (Ada Haig) house to show her the photographs.

AH: "Oh nice..." (glances through the photographs of herself and grandchildren)

JC: "Shall we sing our song?"

AH: "Mm?"

JC: "Our Marotiri song."

AH: "Which one is singing?"

JC: "No me and you."

AH: "Me and you. You might know the words better. I think I can't remember."

JC: "Because this is quite something... special about their picture like she says..."

(Jill Carlyle and Aunt Ada sing a Maori song, but don't look at the camera.)

31:16

Cut to views of a girl horseriding on beach.

Song overlaps into scene.

Ada Haig talks to GM outside.

AH: "The erosion... it went right down to the beach." (Title: Ada Haig)

AH: "But the erosion has built up over there and the sea has come right in."

GM: (off camera) "So it's filled in the bay to some extent."

AH: "That's right."

Camera pans the beach and stops at GM sitting on the beach interviewing AH.

GM: "Is there much seafood left here? ... for your people?"

AH: "Yes it's enough for us - but it's at the other end. We know where they are but we don't tell anyone else... we just tell certain families because we have a custom here of getting our seafood... you get enough for a meal. Our young people lately they get it for a deep freezer at home... and they come and put it in the bottle for the sea egg... put them in the bottle and put them in the deep freeze. Whereas when we were going we would only take enough for a meal and we would bring them ashore and leave them in a running creek to get the saltiness out of them and I'd say about half a dozen little children

would go and collect them and we knew our bundles, we never ever tried to pinch somebody else's... the heap... we knew our own heap and while we were taught that way that's the only way to preserve your food."

32:30      Advertisements.

36:00      Shots of Pakeha man on horses with plastic pipes, mustering cattle.

(Title: Ihungia Station)

GM: (standing among cattle) "This is Ihungia Station - one of the last great stations on the coast. They shear over 30,000 sheep here and have over two and a half thousand cattle. At a time when forestry is encroaching, much of the land along the coast they've still managed to maintain a shepherd's way of life."

(more scenes of dogs mustering cattle)

36:40      Back view of GM walking with farmer Neville Higgins, his horse and dog.

GM: "I feel slightly underdressed here Cooch not having my own bit of plastic pipe. I hope you don't mind?"

(Camera turns to frontal shots of the men)

NH: "Here you can have mine."

GM: "All right - now I feel better. I have to ask you this too. This name, presumably a nick name "Cooch" isn't it?"

(Title: Neville "Cooch" Higgins)

NH: "Yeah"

GM: "You're not the fellow upon whom the Footrot Flats Murray Ball cartoons are based?"  
 NH: "Nah, well, it did come from there eventually."  
 GM: "What's the connection?"  
 NH: "Like... well yeah."  
 GM: "I find that hard to believe. You're a gentleman of the soil as far as I'm concerned Cooch.... And is the farming thing going to stay here do you reckon or is it all going to give way to forestry in the end?"  
 NH: "I hope not." (they both laugh) "I'll be out of a job."  
 GM: "You don't see yourself as a tree fruiterer?"  
 NH: "No well I've got the thing that I might be able to dig the holes..."  
 GM: "Yeah right... and how many dogs have you got?"  
 NH: "Seven."  
 GM: "I suppose you must build up a certain affinity between your horse and the dogs... I mean... you're a bit of a team really aren't you?"  
 (Cut away shots of dogs mustering cattle)  
 NH: "You can't do much work without them so..."  
 GM: "But am I overstating the ? here. It's not really one of these romantic relationships that you read about in books. It's just a working relationship."  
 NH: "Oh no you do fall for them a little bit."  
 GM: "Yeah."  
 NH: "You do fall for them a little bit. You get your good ones and you get the ones you don't like - the good ones usually stay longer than the other ones."  
 GM: "Got any problem ones at the moment?"  
 NH: "Yeah I got seven of them." (Both laugh)

38:09      Mustering scenes.

GM (V/O): "It's at places like Ihungia Station that you realise why horse sports have such a following on the East Coast."  
 GM standing in paddock talking to camera: "Unfortunately while I was talking to Cooch we have had, as is called in the trade - a break. They have broken away from the main mob and now hundreds of cowboys and other people are trying to get them back again. It may have

been my fault - it could have been my shirt. " (GM looks worried)

Mustering shots. Then cross to GM pointing his finger indicating to the cowboys where to go.

GM: "Well fortunately they've managed to find them - they've managed to turn the bulk of them back before they hit Tauranga. I feel a bit better now."

Mustering shots.

39:06

Long shots of a farmhouse nestled into the countryside.

Shots of cowboys (all Pakeha) coming in from mustering with dogs. They sit down on the ground with beers discussing the days work amongst themselves. Small talk about the day, laughing and joking.

NH: "Okay, well for tomorrow what we'll do then... Shane - you and Bruce can get those two from the (indistinct) up to the yards, check these bulls and bring those bulls down which are in that mob...yeah.... And we'll have a four o'clock breakfast."

- Cut away shot of a black kitten. Then to GM sitting with Debbie Higgins on the farmhouse steps with her husband Neville Higgins sitting in a chair behind.

GM: "It's a pretty nice set up here Debs - does this come with your job or with Cooch or what?" (laughs) "How did you come by this attractive setting?"

DH: "Well it came with him."

GM: "Yeah very good choice if you ask me. It's lovely out here. Is it in fact idyllic or are there some associated difficulties with all this?"

(Title: Deb Higgins)

DH: "Oh there are and there aren't. Um.. okay you haven't got the shop down the road, you've got like, it takes 25 minutes to get to the nearest shop but most of the necessities that we need

are delivered to our doorstep. We milk the cows twice a day so you've got milk - fresh milk every single day. Cream on Wednesday and Saturday when they use the separator - so really you haven't got any drawbacks."

GM: "Hair salon?"

DH: "Can't you tell - no." (laughs)

40:30

(Title: Ruatoria)

Montage of scenes - man riding down street on horseback, shots of different Maori people On the street, children playing ball, roller skating, people getting food from a roadside stall. Shot of a skinned pig on a wrought iron roof, an old miniature windmill.

Traditional  
Maori music  
sung by  
children.  
"Mami Waiata"

40:55

GM's rusty Holden drives down the road.

GM (V/O): "When the East Coast greets the new day this mountain is the first touched by the sun." (Shot of Mt Hikurangi) "Mt Hikurangi and besides being the highest point of land on the East Cape it has deep significance for the Ngati Porou."

41:11

GM walking down town street towards camera, his Holden parked in the background.

GM: "Mt Hikurangi is the spiritual home of the Ngati Porou and Ruatoria is the local township. But in recent years it has been a township divided... a small faction of young people decided to challenge the traditional values of the local people. As a result there was a spate of arson attacks and violence. That appears to have abated. But you can't help but notice a certain tension in the air and the feeling there is still some matters unresolved."

41:39

Shot of GM's Holden parked outside residential buildings.

Shot of graveyard and flagpole with Maori sovereignty flag. Two Maori men play Guitars but we don't hear the music. Shot of smoke coming out of the chimney.

Rastafarian  
music

41:56 GM (V/O): "It was these people who put Ruatoria into the media spotlight in the 1980s after a spate of arsons. They've become known as the Ruatoria Rastas and their blend of Christianity, Rastafarianism and Maoritanga led them into conflict not only with their own people but also the Pakeha farmers of the district."  
(Shots of women with moku, children and tattooed men setting up the communal dining room.)

GM: "The Rastas claimed their birthright free access to the sacred Mt Hikurangi but the question of ownership of land around the base of Mt Hikurangi led them into a well publicised conflict. After the trouble of the 80s the Rastas have found themselves outsiders in their own community."

42:31 GM sits at the communal dining table with the Rastas and their families.

GM: "This is all right... we don't get breakfast like this in the jobs we do." (Laughs)

Cross to shot of four Rasta men sitting opposite GM at the table. One taps his cutlery on the table to indicate everyone to be quiet. He points upward indicating to God and Grace is said in Maori.

Baby cries in background.

Close up of Rasta passing food to Gary.

Rasta 1: "There we are Gary."

Rasta 2: "I see your ads all the time."

GM interviews Rasta leader John Heeney sitting next to him at the table.

GM: "What do you call yourselves as a group... to refer to one another?"

JH: "Dred." (Title: John Heeney)

GM: "Dred?"

JH: (nods) "I wake up in the morning and call them Dred."

GM: (smiling) "Right, right. .... Is this a movement peculiar to this area in terms of New Zealand or did it start in another area and move here... how did it all begin??"

JH: "It was born here... with Brother Bob eh... when we were brought up... like we were brought up listening to Bob Marley and nothing else... just had Bob Marley the songs? In our lives. But sort of you know what our own culture eh, our own history... but what I think it is, the closest interpretation I can get to our culture, that's the big wide gap between the elders and us."

GM: "Land is obviously central to this, I gather it's been central to the conflict for some time, has it not?"

JH: "Well, that is the heart of everything eh... you know."

GM: "Do you believe the land has been taken off you and you should have more of it?"

JH: "I believe I have a birthright, eh, and I can walk upon my ancestral lands without fear of being, you know, plucked off, you know, by people coming in helicopters and landing in trees and wearing guns and black clothes and just and away and gone, eh, without them having to issue trespass notices, contesting my rights. Right from the start I was saying to the people, we have every right to be on this land, this is why we wear the moko, this is our citizenship."

GM: "There's been a lot of tragedy along the way though, the reality is that people have died and people had had their houses burned down."

JH: "That's been really unfortunate and sad that everything had to go to that stage, eh, because people weren't willing to listen, like what we had is ah, that we still have today and we stole the same thing back from them but now people are beginning to understand, once the moko went on that gave a better idea of what was pushing us, eh?"

45:31

GM (V/O): "Jeremy Williams farms the base of Mt Hikurangi."

(Shots of GM and JW walking along a farm road)

GM (V/O): "On his wedding day at the height of the conflict his house was burned to the ground. Jeremy's family are hoping that this is now in the past."

JW: "My great grandfather came here in 1890 with the farming operation."

(Title: Jeremy Williams)

JW: "... and he employed a lot of Maori people in the early days and we're still employing Maori people."

GM: "One of the things that has hit me in my trip up the East Coast that an interest in things Maori is very strong... they are very strong on their traditions and values... and the other thing is the intensity of feelings with which people have about issues here."

JW: "I would agree - ah we've had our troubles as everybody know in real terms that has tended to polarise views but ... you know put the worst of our trouble behind us and everybody is trying to get on with their lives now really."

GM: "So the troubles you had in the past are being exceptional in a sense you got dragged into something...?"

JW: "Oh, yes...yes - we're quite comfortable... obviously things weren't pleasant for a few years when we got married... but... things have settled down and we have adjusted. Put it this way. I don't have any trouble remembering my wedding anniversary."

GM: "That was when your house was burned down?"

JW: "Yes."

GM: "Right, right."

46:52

Cross to a blue station wagon pulling up outside a farmhouse. Jeremy Williams greets his wife and children who have come home from school.

JW (V/O): " Our children go to the local Kohanga Reo and they're involved in things Maori and ... I'm comfortable with that. My grandmother sang Maori action songs and put Maori

songs on record - so it's nothing new from that angle."

GM: "And you have a daughter now in a sort of a total immersion class, is that right?"

JW: "Yeah, yeah ... she did well with her Kohanga Reo songs and language so we thought we'd have her in the immersion class to keep it going and then we can assess her school a little bit later."

47:36 Cross back to John Heeney interview.

GM: "And so in the next 10 years or so do you see yourself being able to co-exist with the Williams, the visitors who come here, your own elders? Do you see yourselves walking forward?"

JH: "Put it this way... We can co-exist with anyone that doesn't set themselves against us ...because to me if people set themselves against us, it brings the other quality out of the tattooed man to defend himself eh, against whatever he hoped to do to us. The way I see it is if they want to be a part of it, there is a place set aside in this land where they can go to find it. But all those that don't want to be a part of it, well there is the rest of Aotearoa where they can go and their oyster eh... you know... it's enough... you know... there's enough area over here to provide for everyone."

48:30 Advertisements

52:10 Scenic shots in the mountains at sunrise with Mt Hikurangi in the background. Voice over of a Maori prayer. Close up of Maori elder reciting it on top of a hill.

GM out of shot: "Is that something you always do when you come up here?"

(Title: Tom Te Maro)

View of Gm with back to camera interviewing Tom Te Maro.

TT: "Last night, this morning and then up here ... then when I get home... I think it's proper we mustn't forget...mood. Most important."

GM: "Obviously Hikurangi behind us over there has particular significance to the Ngati Porou. What is that significance?"

TT: "The prestige of the tribe, the mana of the tribe and it is recognised not only throughout the land. It was a very important mountain to our people. This is why we are very happy that we are investing the title of the mountain back to the tribe."

GM: "Is it an important thing in Ngati Porou to stand tall like the mountains, isn't it? .. that's the expression people use."

(long shots of GM and TT talking amongst the misty scenery)

TT: "It's always has been in our tribe, in genealogy."

GM: "You get the feeling walking down the street that there are a number of people with quite a few facial tattoos which you don't see in other parts of the country anymore. They seem to be very strong."

TT: "Not anybody can have the moko... a person who has the moko has to be in the senior line of the whanau and (indistinct) as much as anybody. But it's happening and what do we do about that?... The only problem with that is when they put them on I don't know how you are going to change it... I think we won't stop them having the moko but I think it would be valuable to come and have a discussion with their elders and I would prefer my own nephews and nieces to come and talk about it and that the moko

be done properly."

- 54:32      Montage of horse show scenes showing Maori/Pakeha/ adults/ children at the Ruatoria Show Day. Some people are shown with moko, drinking beer.      Modern Country Music with Maori words.
- (Title: Ruatoria Show Day)
- Shots of side shows, flying seas, buying ice-creams from Mr Whippy, girl with white face paint on painting another face of a child with blue paint. Photographer Jill Carlyle is there smiling showing her photos to people. Scenes of the horse sports competition - people spectating, standing in front of a blue Port-a-loo. Boy Aitkens Racing, the potato race with Di Aitkens racing. Shot of judges.
- 55:50      Graeme Williams looking at sheep in pens. GM wearing a hat calls out.
- GM: "Graeme!"  
GW: "Gary, how are you?"  
GM: "I'm good, I'm good." (They shake hands)  
GW: "I must say I'm not a hell'uva happy with you Gary really."  
GM: "Why? What have I done wrong?"  
GW: "Well funny old sheep job, those three sheep you picked out... well you've let me down really."  
GM: "I didn't want to let you down - what's the problem?... Yeah well what's the problem?"  
GW: "Well, it's not that we came last Gary, but it's a helluva lot worse than coming last really... Your three beat mine!"  
GM: "Ha, what?"  
GW: "And you got third prize with those three that you pulled out. Gary that one in the middle which you reckoned had a cheesy grin..."  
GM: (He laughs, looks at camera) "Oh.. yeah the good looking one."  
GW: "I'd like to be straight up about t his.. you know...the judge wasn't bribed at all and we stuck this on later... we stuck this on later, we put you incognito. We called you Mr Rusty Holden... We had 20 entries in that.."

GM: "Hey that's pretty good."  
 GW: "You're wasted really. You're quite a Little Bo Peep... and it you think that's bad, well I've got more bad news for you."  
 GM: "What else, why what happened to my other ones?"  
 GW: "Yeah - that's another story really Gary. You actually did... as hard as it is for me to say you did reasonably well in that too."  
 GM: "What? What did I do there?"  
 GW: "No you didn't come third Gary, no, you didn't come second either. You won it!"  
 GM: "What? I won - my sheep won?"  
 GW: "You did. Look."  
 GM: "I have won a red ribbon."  
 GW: "Best in the breed."  
 GM to camera: "Best in the breed. The one I chose, the one with personality, the looks and everything going for it. Good on ya. Here this is the one - my friend, I want to go over and hug it."

57:22      Scenes of people clapping at horses ports. Close up of Di Aitkens watching.  
 MC: "First prize with 53 points and of course the winner last year. Boy Aitkens of (Tolaga Bay). Well done Boy!" (shakes his hand and gives him the prize saddle)... "See you next year."

57:45      Aerial shots of GM's car travelling on country roads.      Rural scenes, driftwood sculptures.      Traditional Maori music.  
 (Title: East Cape)

Beach coastal shots. View of the East Cape lighthouse.  
 GM walks towards camera:

GM: "The East Cape lighthouse - the end of our dusty and rather warm journey along the East Coast... I've always tended to think of the East Coast as being the last frontier but that may be because I live in Gisborne and have a romantic notion about these things. None-the-less it will be the first in the world to see the New Year light in the year 2000 to welcome in the new millenium which is appropriate in a sense because it's also the area in the country which is

dealing with one of the great issues facing New Zealand today. The relationship between Maori and Pakeha..." (shots of Maori and Pakeha girl together) "...and for that matter between Maori and Maori. But it is an area which contains amongst the people a sense of warmth, or hospitality and an overwhelming sense of spirituality and for these reasons it will be resolved."

Credits with shots of farmers mustering sheep, the beach, playing rugby.

### ***Growing Up in Fendalton***

**Director: Bruce Morrison**

**Producer: William Grieve**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Transcript and Images</b>	<b>Sound</b>
00:00	Credits	Theme music
00:25	montage of shots of ducks on the river (Title: "Growing Up in Fendalton") stately home, boys in school uniform,	ceremonial music majestic, stately, orchestral
00:45	GM (V/O) montage of shots of tennis courts, stately home, cat sitting in sun, Pakeha baby, people in a shopping mall, bridge over the Avon River, flash shop windows GM: "Christchurch, Fendalton - Our national stereotype example of our English heritage. What we see as stereotype is in fact the remnants of the vision of Christchurch's founders. A vision of a civilised new society in the antipodes. This was to be the best of England transplanted to the temperate southern Pacific and freed to flourish.	
01:10	GM: "This is a programme about stereotypes and definitions about a particular strand of Kiwi culture that is alive and well and living in Fendalton. In point of	

fact this isn't Fendalton. It's Merivale - Merivale is where Fendalton does its shopping.

At the risk of offending the locals we'll include Merivale in our survey of the realities of modern Fendalton and what remains of those ideas of the men who founded this city.

Shot of statue of William Rolleston the Superintendent of Canterbury 1858 - 1876.

O1:35 (Title: Merivale Couturiers)

Shot of woman at a sewing machine and teenage girl Jenny Gowan being fitted with ball dress by dressmaker Robin Radcliffe, speaking to GM who is out of shot.

GM (offering advice on dress): "...your throat there to there...sorry"

JG: "Do you think that's about right?" (Title: Jenny Gowan)

GM: "Thank you for asking my opinion. I was rather hoping you would. I think that's good - you just lose it a bit there at the top."

RR: "This is a Lady Di number."

GM (looking at picture): "Oh it is, it's Lady Di - I'll grab hold of that."

JG: "I'm not gonna quite look the same."

GM: "No, no you will, and the legs gong to go up about the same distance?"

JG: "Yeah but that's at the back."

RR: "Yes, that's at the back. We've got Jenny fairly right because when she does walk we want it to split." (laughs)

GM: "Robin, how many of these dresses have you made this year?"

(Shot of seamstress)

RR: "I counted up to 200 I think... up to September. We've about 196 which we have put through... and (Title: Robyn Radcliffe) "... that was from January."

GM: "Must be quite a thrill to see these young women transformed."

RR: "Yeah, it's not just... it's not just the school kids... but that's sort of the adults and the cancer ball and things like that ... but you see we can do 20 or 30 for the cancer ball alone... you know. That's a very big ball in Christchurch alone and that will take them on to Dancing Under the Stars which is a Park Royal Ball and um.. we have lots of charity balls here as well."

Cross to Lucy Wills parading her ball gown in the dressing room.

GM: "Look at that... doesn't that look wonderful."

(GM appears only briefly in view of camera while looking at photos of gowns.)

GM to Lucy: "Is it the sort of thing that appeals to you? Do you look forward to this sort of ball thing... the idea of a ball...?"

LW: "Yeah."

GM: "What do you like about... what is it about balls that you think you like?"

LW: "We can watch our parents get drunk!" (smiles)

GM: (laughs) "...and you're allowed to drink yourselves in the course of the ball?"

LW: "Yeah."

GM: "Oh that's acceptable is it?"

LW: "Oh yes, but we'll be very restrained about it."

GM "In moderation, decent ladylike manner I guess."

LW: "Yeah."

O3:O8

(Title: Fourth Form Final Exams, Christ's College)

Camera view from above showing rows and rows of boys at desks, all looking the same, ceiling, windows reach up high, majestic looking architecture

only the sound of huge  
boys pens writing and  
Shuffling of feet.

Sound of classical  
Music.

Shot of three boys playing piano, cello and violin together.

O3:35

Cut to a shot of two men (GM and School master Richard Bromley) walking over a neat lawn where a sign beneath their feet reads "Keep Off Lawn".

RB: "There are five day boy houses - 65 boys in each house...ah they're looked after by a house master that is their base for their time at College."

(Shots of school buildings, gracious-looking)

GM: "Right... and this building here in the middle?"

RB: "That's the oldest educational building in the country. I think 1863. The whole school originally was taught in there.." (Title: Richard Bromley Senior Master Christ's College)

"...when the headmaster with the staff down the side with canes..." (he smiles) "...which made it a very peaceful library."

GM: (laughs) "You've done away with the Masters with the canes?"

RB: "Absolutely!"

GM: "Do you think from your experience as a teacher, I know you've talked that this sort of set up with tradition, boarders ... in other parts of the world as well and such like, is a good working environment for student and teacher alike?"

RB: "Oh yes, I don't think the boys here are too aware of an oppressive tradition. I mean under the traditional facade there are a lot of very modern things going on."

O4:27      Cut to a noisy dining hall of Christ's College. Montage of shots of boys in uniform drinking and talking. GM is sitting at one table with the boys eating.

GM: "Excuse me spitting bun all over you but it's quite hard to talk to you."

Boy1: "It's all right. I'll eat as well." (laughs and stuffs a bun in his mouth)

GM: "All right. We're into it now. Tell me what sort of interest do you have outside your school work?"

Boy 1: "I don't really do any school work. Oh cricket... rugby."

GM: "Is that right - you skip the school work by and large do you? Oh well a professional athlete we need more of those."

Boy 1: "Yeah."

O4:58      Cut to the kitchen where a boy is on butter duty.

GM (holding cake in his hand): "Oh here we are - here's a helpful chap. Look this is an example of the sort of cooperation that you find in Christ's College. What's your job here?"

Boy: "Um... filling the butter."

GM: "Filling the butter. How long have you been on butter filling?"

Boy: "Um, about two weeks."

GM: "Two weeks of butter filling. You'd be quite good at it I'd imagine."

Boy: "Yeah, it's real skill."

GM: "What happens, do you move on to another job?"

Boy: "I move on to marmite and then the top ranks are vegemite."

O5:24

Cut back to dining hall which is now deserted except for one boy Duncan McFarlane sitting eating at a table.

GM (still holding food): "Well it's sort of got deathly quiet in here hasn't it really. Oh there's only one poor chap or two left. What, what's the problem mate. Are you a bit of a slow eater or have you been working in the kitchen or something?" (he kneels next to him)

DM: (Title: Duncan McFarlane) "I've been sitting up there and you don't get much food up there."

GM: (laughs) "So you've had to wait, have you until all the others have cleared out of the way so you could come down and have some food yourself?"

DM: "Oh no not really. I'm just hungry."

GM: "Well, okay, okay. What about your mates. Don't they all stick around at least until you've had your lunch and things?"

DM: "Oh no they go away and have fun at lunch time."

GM: "And you just stay here on your own and just eat do you?"

DM: "Yup."

GM: "Are you a boarder or one who goes home at the end of the day?"

DM: "Yes I'm in Jack's House?"

GM: "Is this your first year?"

DM: "Yes."

GM: "How are you enjoying it?"

DM: "Oh it's quite good."

GM: "Yeah."

DM: "It's fun."

GM: "Yes... Do you come from a farm or something - where do you come from?"

(Shot of bread and butter on a plate)

DM: "Yes. I come from the other side of the Rakaia River."

GM: "Oh really. Have you got any idea of what you want to do when you finish school? Have you got any job in mind?"  
DM: "I'll be a farmer."

O6:23 (Title: Fendalton Primary School)

GM sits on grass and interviews six primary school children about 10/11 years old.  
Cut away shots of children playing with plastic hockey sticks.

GM: "Now are any of you related to the people who came over on those first four ships?"

Children in unison: "Yes." (One girl nods.)

(Title: Fletcher Bowley)

FB: "My great granddad and my great grandma and my great Uncle Bowley - a few more greats - they came, they came on the third ship."

GM: "Is that right Fletcher? Stephen and you have...?"

(Title: Stephen Jones)

SJ: "Yes my great, great, great Grandma and Grandpa came over on the Charlotte Jane."

GM: "And how about you Julia?"

J: "Dunno (laughs)

GM: "Tim?"

T: "I don't know."

GM: "You don't know... Now what are you going to do for careers?"

SJ: "I'm going to go to University...um and I want to be a lawyer."

(Cut away shot to a boy playing cricket).

SJ: "...my Dad's already a lawyer at Whitecliffe and Jones."

GM: "Why a lawyer?"

SJ: "I want to go down to Otago University ... and I want to play for Otago."

GM: "What about you Fletcher?"

FB: "I would actually like to travel around the world, specially Europe and stay there for a

while... study there. Then I want to come back to New Zealand and I want to be an architect."

GM: Julia?"

(Title: Julia Giblin)

JG: "I just want to ... um be a vet when I grow up because I like being around animals I think they're cute."

GM: "How about you Tim?"

(Title: Tim Page)

TP: "I want to be a sea captain of an ocean liner - especially P and O if I can get the chance."

GM: "And how about you Maddy?"

(Title: Madeline Wilson)

MW: "Well I did want to be a pilot, but then I thought I want to be an astronaut because, well I want to be an engineer designing spaceships and I also want to be an astronaut."

O7:52      Shots of statues (founding fathers?)

GM (V/O): "The London Times wrote in 1851..."

(Title: 8.00am) Shot of boy riding his bike to Church.

GM: "... a slice of England cut from top to bottom was dispatched in September last to the Antipodes. Between deck and keel were elements of a college, the contents of a library, the machinery for a bank and the constituent parts of a constitutional Government and of course the trappings and restraints of the Church of England."

O8:20

Piano music

Choirmaster comes up the winding spiral wooden staircase with boys. Boys sing a hymn.

(Title: Cathedral Grammar School - Choir Rehearsals)

Cut to GM interviewing (Title: The Very Rev John Bluck, Dean of Christchurch Cathedral).

GM: "You have a particular relationship here with Cathedral Grammar which is quite unusual. How does it work exactly?"

JB: "Well it's basically a choir school. There are only two of them in the Southern hemisphere, like this, which were founded to train boys for the Cathedral Choir and that's how it began back

in 1880 and that is how it continues today."

Cut away to choir master instructing boys: "Now let's see if you remembers this from last year."

They sing.

Choirmaster: " Okay that's rather nice, but it's a bit fast. I want it much slower like this...

So in fact you are crescendoing throughout those minims...1,2,..."

Shots of roll of honour and of initials carved in desks.

09:39

Cut to a French lesson with a female teacher with boys in the Cathedral Choir.

Teacher: "Si'l vous plait... now what do we mean by that..?"

GM interviews (Title: Rev Canon R B Couper, headmaster of Cathedral Grammar).

CC: "The boys who are in the Cathedral choir feel they are part of something which is very good and it is one of the few activities really that a child of this age...9, 10, 11, 12 years old is able to do at the same level as an adult. Singing with the adult men in the choir at a professional level really. There are very few activities that boys of this age can be involved in at that level."

10:20

Shots of boys singing in the church service. Parents sits in pews listening.

10:45

Advertisements

13:45

Shots in an art history class, looking at the Mona Lisa.

Teacher's voice: "She's leaning. It looks like she's breathing wide."

Pupil: "It's because of her expression."

Teacher: "It's because of the expression so again it because of the use of sfumato. The way he's treated the skin."

(Title: Rangi Ruru School 10.15am)

GM sits at the back of the classroom.

GM (whispering to the camera): "I didn't do any of this stuff at school. I must have been doing woodwork." (looks back to the class)

14:05	<p>Cross to another classroom of girls at work in uniforms. Cut to computer class with flash technology for the time and every pupil is using a computer.</p> <p>GM interviews Gillian Heald, Principal of Rangi Ruru.</p> <p>GH (close up shot): "It's an exciting school. It's perhaps come a long way from the image of a private girls school." (Title: Gillian Heald, Principal Rangi Ruru) GH: "...when it started as Miss Gibson's school for Young Ladies... you know it's come a long way in 105 years. The technology, the opportunities that they have. They always like something to be at the front of the field so it is a very exciting place to be."</p>	
14:31	<p>GM (out of shot) interviews students: "Is this the very last class for you?" Girl: "the very last class." GM: "How do you fell, are you feeling a bit tearful and emotional?" Girl: "Oh yeah... a wee bit." (both laugh)</p> <p>Cross to interview with other girls coming out of class. GM: "How does it feel to be on your last day?" Girl 2: "Oh um great actually." (both laugh) GM: "You've go that sort of look about you of laughter... of happiness welling up within you." Girl2: "Oh yeah it will be sad to get going, yeah ... but it will be good to get out of school."</p>	
14:52	<p>Shots of girls in their common room practicing dancing in a line in preparation for the Leaver's Ball. Other girls clapping and laughing.</p>	<p>"Dancing On Sunshine" Song</p>
15:12	<p>Cross to outdoor shots of school building. High shot of younger girls playing jump-rope in neatly designed brick courtyard.</p>	

15:25	<p>Scene of girls hugging each other and giving presents.</p> <p>GM (V/O): "I know there's still a lot of hugging and a few tears there. What's going on at the moment? What is this ritual?"</p> <p>GH: "What they're doing... is they're finding somebody perhaps not somebody who is their special friend... but just somebody they want to give a message to either saying goodbye, wishing them luck ... something like that... so if you look at them you see there are a lot of tears because some of these girls have been together for seven years. Some of them have been boarding together so it's a lovely time for them.</p> <p>Girls take photographs of each other.</p>	
15:53	<p>Final Church service for Rangi Ruru girls.</p> <p>Chaplain (unidentified) gives speech: "Rangi has given you a gift. And this gift is the gift of yourself fully developed. Be thankful. Always believe in yourselves. Go out and follow your dreams. Take hold of your future with both hands. Be everything you can be."</p> <p>Cross to shot of choir singing.</p> <p>Girls take communion. All Pakeha except one Pacific Island girl.</p>	Choral singing.
16:43	<p>Cut to shots of old homestead, scenes of tennis court and garden. Elderly couple sweeping porch. Shot of young girl Madeline Wilson playing violin in lounge. Cut to a woman (Dee Wilson) petting a large St Bernard dog on the sofa in the same house. GM sits in a chair behind her with a teacup looking very relaxed in beautiful surroundings.</p> <p>DW: "Isn't it darling... you like booboo - yes you do!"</p> <p>Cut back to girl playing the violin in another room.</p> <p>GM (V/O): "Careful, careful." (Laughs) "Does Socky-poos realise he's not a lap dog. That he shouldn't</p>	Amateur Violin playing

really leap onto people's knees and things?"

Camera pans around from violinist to view Dee Wilson and GM in other room.

DW: "Well, well. Can you stop him from doing this?"

(Title: Socky-poos)

GM: Well that would be a hard concept to explain I think. Must be a source of great delight for you to have a daughter who is keen on the violin?"

DW (stroking and petting dog): Yes, Yes it is... um. I think any... like someone musical in the family .. we're not all musically inclined but it's nice that she's got that interest."

GM: "It appears to be a very sort of leisurely rambling sort of lifestyle, would that be the case?"

(Title: Dee Wilson)

DW: "It's very good for the woman, yes. I think most of the men in the area are out working all the time to pay for it. They all work extremely long hours."

Shot of soda bottle sitting next to a photo of the Wilson family with four children, husband and wife, and flower arrangement.

DW: "... and all us wives and mothers sort of carry the can at home."

I7:53

Cut to GM helping Maddy open the gate from her house to the road, wheeling her bicycle out.

Maddy: "Thank you."

GM: "I'll close the gate quickly in case the horse (dog) will get out."

Maddy: "Yeah."

GM: "I hope I haven't made you late for scripture, have I?"

Maddy: "Oh no, it doesn't matter anyway."

GM: "Oh it doesn't matter anyway."

Maddy: "No."

GM: "Now, ah. Other thing I remember you telling me, you were going to be an astronaut."

You're a fairly serious young woman."

Maddy: "Yeah"

GM: "How do you find the world generally. You obviously think about a lot of things."

Maddy: Oh, yeah. Well being an astronaut is just an option. I don't think I'm really going to be an astronaut, but I don't know really in a way."

GM: "Do you worry about the world much?"

Maddy: "No."

GM: "You don't, you're not worried about the environment - the hole in the ozone layer?"

Maddy: "No ... I don't care about the hole in the ozone layer."

GM: "What's your biggest concern?"

Maddy: "Um - probably my family."

GM: "A pretty good family from what I see."

Maddy: "Yeah - a good family."

GM: "And a good dog."

18:47 Cross to a primary classroom with all Pakeha pupils. A man is playing the guitar and the children are singing an old English song "Christmas is coming, the goose is getting fat. Please to put a penny in the old man's sack."  
Camera views shots of children's art work on the wall including one project with the title "When was the first white settlement in Banks Peninsula?"  
Cut to shots of children painting.

Church bells  
Chime.

19:24 Cross to Church where groom is waiting for his Bride on their wedding day. One groomsman is standing there with his video camera. It is raining.

(Title: Saturday 11.00am)

The Courtier Robyn Radcliffe is standing outside the Church and talks to GM who is out of shot.

RR: "It's a lovely dress. It's in a shrimp... I shouldn't tell you but Touffant silk - just a nice simple,

elegant design. My job isn't done until it is perfect when they go up the aisle, so I'm quite busy on a Saturday.

Shot of bridal car arriving. Bride gets out of car. Cut to interior shot of Minister waiting inside the Church)

RR: "If we just keep the rain off the hair does well be right."

Robyn Ratcliffe goes to bride with an umbrella and helps her out of the car.

20:02

Cut to exterior shot of Christ's College. Waitresses in black skirts and white shirts are setting the tables in the dining room. Cross to shot of boys laughing and talking outside. Then all seated in the dining room.

(Title: Leaver's Dinner Christ's College)

Noise of  
talking and  
eating.

GM dressed in suit and tie sits with boys at table.

GM: "How does it feel to be leaving school after all this time?"

(Title: Nick Guthrey)

NG: "A big relief actually. A lot of... it was a hard 10 years of work, especially here at College. They kept you very busy, um busy doing homework, sport on Saturdays."

Shot of masters sitting at their table.

GM: "The only think I know about these systems is what I read about in Billy Bunter books, you know how the Captain of the First 15 is always the head prefect, the good guy and the cads and bounders were the bad guys, you know. Do you have that sort of thing here?"

Boy 1: "There are... we're all nice guys you know. We're great."

Boy 2: "The rugby guys - the first 15 boys hang around together. There's a little group over there."

GM: "Yeah, I see them over there. I don't think they like this. They're listening to you."

Boy 3: "They are - and there are heaps of different groups. Sporty guys, the academic guys."

GM: "Is there a bit of rivalry between the different groups?"

Boy 2: "No ... we get on really well, you know."

(Title: Mathew Burgess)

MB: "We're all good mates. No bullies, you know. No complete dickheads, you know... They're just all good."

Shot of paintings of headmasters hanging on the wall. Camera moves down to the masters sitting at the dining table with the school prefects.

GM: "How do you find dealing with the rest of the world. I mean - this is quite a different sort of group of people."

MB: "Yeah - a lot of people don't like us... you know and it's probably private schools in general you know."

GM: "Why do you think that is?"

MB: "A lot think we're arrogant and some people are and you... It's just a stereotype and that's not right."

GM: "What about when you do get out in the rest of the world. I mean for example, the rest of the world is not quite like this. I don't see any Maori People ..."

Boys: "There's one..." (laughs)

GM: "There's one is there." (laughs) "How do you find this when you get out into the world. Is it difficult that the rest of the world is not quite like this?"

MB: "Um... yeah... you just get these perceptions of the people outside our community and for some people it would be difficult to mix with other cultures that we're not used to seeing."

GM: "And even worse possibly?"

MB: "Oh yeah."

GM: "Have you got a lot of problems in this area?"

MB: "Not that I'm aware of."

GM: "Well obviously he's aware of a few."

22:28 Adult male voice: "Can I ask you to be upstanding and toast the leavers of 1993. The leavers!"

Everyone in the dining hall rises and toasts. Cut to the boy's barbershop quartet singing.

22:52

## Advertisements

25:15

Scenes of people ponting on the river, immaculate garden setting.

Serene chamber  
Music with flute.

Shots of the garden and a summerhouse in perfect symmetry.

26:37

GM (V/O): "Now this is a very Christchurch sort of thing isn't it? Cups of tea in the summer house."

Interview with (Title: Bessie Seymour Porter), an elderly woman who grew up in Christchurch high society.

BSP: "Oh the tea and cucumber sandwiches are part of the Sunday afternoon ritual. We had tea on the lawn under the trees. It was visiting time. Do people visit today or do they just drop in and say Hi - Bye. Cards were left. Visiting cards."

GM: (sitting at table with BSP, a silver teapot in front of him) "The river in those times were quite a centre of social life and transport - the punting, the boating... and things like..."

BSP: "It was... until you have lived on the river in Fendalton in the early days..."

(Cut away shot of GM and BSP framed by the architecture of the summer house - everything symmetrical, perfect and in balance)

BSP: "...it was like a private road. We all had our boat and canoes you see..."

(Cut away to old black and white photos of ponting on the river.)

BSP: "... It was all slightly idyllic, the meadows with buttercups - we played cricket and there were cows. It was lovely. We had tea out on the lawn and people would come gliding past in their boat - 'Oh hello come and have some tea'. Well we'd start off with about ten because we were a fairly large family and end up with about 30 and of course the poor maid was battling backward and forwards to the kitchen with fresh tea and scones and mother simply sat there and poured tea."

GM: "The social position was very important I take it. You only mixed with your own kind..."

BSP: "Yes we did and until we'd been introduced to people we didn't even know them ... you knew their names of the tradesmen and they were always known by their surnames, you see (indistinct)

and the classes were just the classes. There were trades and professions..."

GM: "and what was the role of the women in all this? How much freedom did women have?"

BSP: "Practically none. A father of Victorian household - his word was law and you have never known anything of what he said was law. My mother was very musical - she played and sang beautifully. She never worked from what I remember. She was simply ornamental - sweet, charming and had no say in anything. This was the whole thing you see...The visage was everything. Anything unpleasant was swept under the carpet because we don't want to talk about that dear, as though it couldn't be talked about by the fact that she said we don't talk about that, that she didn't... and various things happened. I remember when I first discovered Shakespeare - which of course completely bowled me over and still does you see. And I said, 'Oh Gran, I've got a lovely thing. I must tell it to you' - Oh Lord can I say this? Do you think I can?"

GM: "Go right ahead."

BSP: "'What, how my guts do boil. Now by my morning sickness have I lost my virtue to this dull and ravished town.' She said to me 'I think dear, you'll find there are very few occasions when you can say that. I advise you to forget it.'...So every now and then I'm going to be very bad before I'm 100. I do warn you - I've told them all - you watch out - anything can happen. I mean - it makes for fun don't you think?"

GM: (chuckles)

29:49 Cross to a boys tennis match. GM interviews Nicholas Ling watching the game,

GM: "Who's playing out here?"

NL: "Well James Ross and (indistinct) Campbell are up the far end and Angus Jennings and James Barfoot are playing down this end."

GM: "I thought I recognised Angus... he's in the choir isn't he...with you? Is he the head chorister? Is that the expression?"

(Title: Nicholas Ling)

NL: Yes, he's the head chorister."

GM: "And pretty good tennis player ... is this the final is it?"

NL: "Yes."

GM: "The music that you sing n the choir - it appears to be pretty complicated. You have to work quite hard at it don't you?"

NL: "Yes."

GM: "How many days a week... what happens?"

NL: "Well Saturday is the only free day unless we go on special occasions and we have a one hour practice on a Friday night after the service ...we have an early service on the Friday at 4.30."

GM: "You must be quite looking forward to sort of giving that all up and getting into rock and roll or something?"

NL: "No... it doesn't interest me."

GM: "Oh well (laughs) what sort of music do you like most of all ... what's your favourite?"

NL: "Church music probably ... yeah. It's good to sing and there are many varieties to sing, so... we sing all the time."

31:05

Shot of big old home with swimming pool and lovely garden.

GM interviews Robyn Radcliffe (the Courtier) who owns the home and is selling it.

RR: "This is actually an England Brother house of wooden construction ... and large."

GM: "And this garden over here ... you'd describe this as an English style garden ... would you?"

RR: "Yes this was... the house was actually built by a retired schoolteacher who came out from England and he was one of these literary fellows who retired and came out here. He built it very much on an English style."

GM: "Must be difficult to maintain something like this?"

(Shots of beautiful roses, pool, fountains, trees, house etc)

RR: "When we first came here it had been let go. It was actually rubbishy trees .. was ... we planted this part here ourselves .... I planted 3,000 tiny wee bucks like that."

GM: "Three thousand of them?"

RR: "Three thousand at least... I keep cultivating them every year. They've only really taken about six or seven years to get to this state where you can start clipping and boxing them."

GM: "And having said all this, in point of fact, we are about to witness an auction here."

RR: "Yeah. "

GM: "You're leaving."

RR: "I know, it's been a big decision. We've been here 12 years and um all my children have been brought up here. But... they ride horses " (laughs) "And we've got three and I'm out sitting in the paddock waiting for them to plait up."

(Cross over to shots of people in their garden waiting for the auction to start)

GM: "And you're going to pass up all of this."  
RR: "Pass up all of this..."  
GM: "For horse riding."

32:30

Auctioneer rings bell.

Auctioneer: "So are we ready? We're ready to conduct the auction for no 61 Russell Street. Well Ladies and Gentlemen I'd like to extend a very warm welcome to you on behalf of Robyn and Stephen Radcliffe.

GM (close-up, makes an aside to camera): "I don't mind saying I'm a little bit nervous. One twitch here and this house could be mine."

GM slips on his sunglasses as if to look mysterious and inconspicuous.

Auctioneer: This house Ladies and Gentlemen comprises of six bedrooms with a main having an ensuite plus a walk in dressing room. Three living rooms plus a formal dining and a study. Some of the features include some magnificent settings such as the wood paneling, the fireplaces - we've got character and we've got charm."  
(Cut away shots to various rooms as he describes them) .

Auctioneer: "I'm opening on behalf of the vendors at \$600,000 - at \$625,000, at \$650... \$650,000, \$675. \$675... at \$700,000... taking 20s at \$725,000 at \$750, at \$775. New blood thank you."  
(Camera pans across crowd standing in the sunny garden while GM steers clear standing in the shade, wearing sunglasses)  
Auctioneer: "I'm at \$795, Ladies and Gentlemen - are you all finished at \$795?"

33:33

Sudden cut to shot of Nicholas Ling in back room of Church putting on his chorister regalia.

Voice over of Angus Jennings describing his final candlelit service as a boy chorister.

AJ (V/O): "After you have been in the choir for a year you get your surplus - this white thing."

Close-up of AJ in chorister uniform (Title:Angus Jennings)

AJ: "And when you become more senior you sit tests. You get the blue ribbon, then when you are in the third form you get a red ribbon. Head chorister gets a special ribbon and head soloist gets a green ribbon."

(Cut to choir master giving them instructions for the evening)

AJ (V/O): "This will be the last candlelit service I'll attend as a boy chorister. I might come back as a man chorister, but this is it as a boy."

Shots of boys lining up, entering the Church holding candles.

AJ: It's an advent so we're waiting for Christ to come. It's dark with the candles and we're walking up the aisle... we start at the ..."

(Shots of the stained glass windows)

Background  
choral singing

AJ: "...front of the cathedral and walk all the way up to the high alter..."

Shots of choir being conducted and views of the Church interior.

Choir sings.

Priest: "The blessing of the God Almighty, the son, the father and the Holy Spirit be with you and remain with you this night and forever."

Choir sings  
"Amen".

35:49

Advertisements

39:25

View of trendy café/bar, people eating inside.

GM (V/O): "I've actually come here today to talk about Christchurch culture as such because for an

outsider it's quite difficult to understand in some areas ... How would you describe Fendalton - Christchurch in a matter of a few words."

Cross to GM interviewing Elizabeth Moody and Chris McVeigh at a small table in café.

EM: "Money... is that crisp enough for you..."

GM: "Do you think there is anxiety about, and I must be frank, we picked up a certain amount of defensiveness, is this part and parcel of life in this area that people feel they are defending something that's important to them?"

EM: "They have had so many jealous slurs and sort of, oh, you know a sort of academic unpleasantness about their way of life and I think they are quite right to be defensive. I don't like hearing slurs against them because they are always coming from people who absolutely have no idea what they are like. You hear Christ College jokes all over the place and I am sick to death of them. To me it's just a way of a busy little weevil being handed a mozzie."

GM (to Chris McVeigh): "You were a Christ College Old Boy - a student of Christ College... did... you..."

CM: "I still am a Christ College Old Boy Gary."

GM: "That's right it never stops. Taking that area of life, did you find that education equipped you well for life in New Zealand as you know it?"

CM: "...Very much. You could depend on it. Life as I know it consisted of by and large, to generalise but by and large consists of the people I rubbed shoulders with both at school and university. I really, with a few exceptions, as like any kid. I really enjoyed my school days. They instilled in me certain values and ... they weren't sort of looking after people who were less well off. They were simply understanding... I came out of that school, I think, believing firmly in justice."

GM: "You do get the impression that Christchurch and Fendalton have managed to maintain a certain kind of safe and secure lifestyle while a lot of changes are going on in other parts of New Zealand. Do you think these changes in other parts of New Zealand will eventually permeate society here?"

CM: "I think that Christchurch at large and this area as a whole will just be slower to adapt than other places that's all."

EM: "You can't be forced... then we'll feel put upon."

GM: "Right - so you think a well reasonably ordered, educated society can cope well with those changes?"

CM: "It will mean a phase that they will have to change from dark blue to denim. In the Merivale Mall... so...more quickly than they think... but this place does have an identity which is unique to New Zealand but one can't help the feeling that it's transplanted England and that will change because we are not... in the Dominion (?) of New Zealand."

42:03

GM and Christ's College master walking up wood paneled staircase - shot from above.

GM: "Now this is the last day for some of your people and the last class of the last day is that right?"

Master: "It is Gary, yes. Sixth formers handing their books back today.."

Shot of boys handing in their books in a classroom.

Master: "They've finished their year, their academic programme's over for the next couple of weeks. They'll be going off on expeditions - work experience... we're in here."

They walk into a classroom where six boys and a master are sitting on the floor in a circle humming.

GM and the Master sit down and join in.

Everyone: "Hmmm...."

Boy 1: "First metaphorrrrrr...."

Master: "First metaphorrrr...."

GM (next in line and looking sheepish): "Ahhh...pronounnnnn...."

Master 2 (rolling his eyes at GM's pathetic response): "Pronounnn...hmmmm"

Everyone: "Hmmmm...."

GM: "That was a popular one wasn't it?"

Master 2 (ignoring GM): "Titles of Katharine Mansfield Stories going around the circle starting on my left hmmmmmm"

GM: "Ummmmmm.....State school educationnnnn..."

Master 2: "From the right"

Boy 2: "The Garden Party."

Boy 3: "Garden Party Hmmm..."

GM cracks up laughing.

Boy 4: "The Doll's House"

GM: "Could you just explain..." (Humming stops) "... to those people who have not been through this ritual, what this means in terms of Christ's College life. What was happening here?"

Master 2: "It's still happening. Have you been around any other classrooms?"

GM: "No well we've been around buildings, we haven't actually really come across a group such as this."

Master 2: "You know the school motto?"

GM: "No."

Master 2: "Bene tradita, bene...." (gestures to boys for the next word)

Boys: "Servanda"

Master 2: "Good traditions well maintained... End of term hum."

GM: "Oh is that right ... this is one of them... one of those lovely things..."

Master 2: "End of term hum... if you look around the classrooms today you'll see them all humming."

GM: "This is fantastic ... I had no idea. I suppose this is the wonderful thing about having the opportunity to share this with you because a lot of people out there would not know."

Master 2: "It's an old English tradition."

GM: "Are there any others that are being enacted?"

Master 2: "no."

GM: "That's it?"

Master 2: "Yes, sorry... It's a block."

GM: "A crash course..." (laughs) "that's very good."

43:56

(Title: The 'Village Fete' Rangi Ruru School)

Outdoor scenes at the school of the fete with girls dressed as clowns, a bunch of balloons is released into the sky with lots of cheering.

GM: "Fantastic... way to go... so this is it, we're on now are we?"

GM squeezes a girls clown nose.

GM: "very attractive, very good."

44:14

GM rifles through the Lucky Dip box.

GM: "The trick with lucky dips is to go right down to the bottom. That's where all the important

things are...Probably keys to a BMW here I wouldn't be surprised... Here we go, this will be exciting and what is it?"

He opens the parcel to see a girl's headband and hair clip. He puts the band on his head. A girl passes him a ribbon and he puts it on his pocket.

GM: "Oh that goes with it."

Cut away shots to various activities at the fete. People throwing balls to dunk an adult in a pool. A man gets dunked. Scene of the garage sale in the hall. Robyn Radcliffe is there selling items.

RR (to a woman): Fifty cents for the lot... okay... put it in a bag. Everything has to go out."

GM (to camera): "Bargains galore, bargains galore."

GM approaches Robyn Radcliffe.

GM: "Did you realise Robyn that it was going to be as busy as this?"

RR: "Yes, I think I did ... I'm not done ... but grab a bag."

GM: Grab a bag. I'll try to be useful."

45:16

Cross to the pie throwing competition ...

MC: "Ladies and gentlemen ... remember at 12 o'clock is a bridal wedding dress parade in the small quadrangle ... there are some very interesting wedding dresses.."

(Montage of shots of people, crowds, babies... all Pakeha faces)

MC: ".. including one from 1912."

GM approaches the MC Simon Williams.

GM: "I take it you're the MC here for the day are you?"

SW: "Yes indeed I am."

GM: " It's a big job ... and you look like just the man for it in that tartan, I must say..."

SW: "Well there is a certain ... a certain appropriateness in a Presbyterian school ."

(Close up of his kilt)

GM: "So I believe. What are they hoping to make? Any idea?"

(Title: Simon Williams)

SW: "A sum of \$100,000 has been mentioned which is quite a lot of money."

45:53

Cut to a montage of shots of the fete, sponge throwing, bridal dress parade, clown on stilts, GM eating at the barbecue, chips, candy floss, toy car races and sweet stall.

Girls barbershop  
singing provides  
Background music.

46:38

Four women count out bags bursting with money, coins falling on the table.

Robyn Radcliffe talks to GM:

RR: "The people helping out on my store are saying they have come from all over New Zealand ... the raffle tickets are selling with addresses from all over the South Island. I mean that's really terrific... it means people have come all this way to come to the fair so you know..."

GM: "You're pleased?"

RR: "Yes, we're really thrilled. It's been great fun."

47:00

GM inside the huge hall at Christ's College speaks to camera reading from the prizegiving programme. He has exaggerated head movements as he talks and boys enter the hall behind him.

GM: "'Come all ye jolly College boys, Sing lustily I pray and recollect your battle cry and ring it out today. Upraising with a mighty sound of hip, hip, hooray...' We're going to hear that tonight and in addition we're going to see all these books given out to pupils who have won prizes. Now I make a list of some 170 names who are going to win prizes in this carefully laid out forty minutes of this presentation. It'll be a miracle if they can do it, but if anyone can Christ's can I'm sure..."

47:30

Teachers proceed to stage in lines, dressed in robes.

(Title: Principal Dr Max Rosser) gives a speech.

MR: "Wardens, Fellows of the College, Distinguished Guests, Members of the Common room, ladies and gentlemen..."

Organ music.

Cut to boys receiving prizes. Pupil sings using the words GM read out from the programme.  
The boys join in the chorus.

Cut to scenes outside the school at conclusion of the ceremony. A Master and boy conversing.

GM interviews Mathew Burgess.

GM: "You got a prize then. What was that for?"

MB: "A book on the All Blacks. I'm quite keen on the All Blacks and I'm going to England in about five weeks so I'll be hocking this off for a few bucks and.." (GM and MB laugh)

MB: "...and it's for Geography."

GM: "And you've picked up a few books over the years have you?"

MB: "This is my first prize, so..."

GM: Oh congratulations. Put it right there. Well done!"

They shake hands.

49:10

Advertisements.

52:10

Early morning in a Fendalton street as a small crowd watch a house being moved off a site.

GM walks up to a man Warwick Wyatt in his pyjamas and dressing gown.

GM: "Excuse me. You're obviously from the neighbourhood..."

(loud laughing by man and onlookers as they are caught unawares by GM)

GM: "no, no I think it's rather charming that early morning Fendalton people get out in the community .. You live nearby I take it?"

WW: "Nearby... yes," (Title: Warwick Wyatt)

GM: "What's going on here, is Fendalton moving out of town or something?"

WW: "What time did you get up?"

GM: "Very early like yourself. I had time to get dressed unlike yourself...so"

GM (approaches a woman Nicky Dabner who is videoing the house moving): "I suppose..."

Woman: "Oh hell!" (She turns around and point the video to the camera.)

GM: "I suppose you must be feeling fairly tense at this point. There's a lot at stake here obviously - your house on the move."

(Title: Nicky Dabner)

ND: " I just don't want it to fall off."

GM: (V/O): "It's always a struggle to find land in Fendalton now obviously some of the old Houses have to go."

GM and man Robert Berry stand side by side watching the house.

GM: "So is this town house development arrangement symptomatic of what's going on around Fendalton?"

RB: "Very much so yes, yes. Yeah a lot of it is sad in a lot of ways, but ... it's the 90's isn't it?"

GM: "Sure. It's on the move anyway."

RB: "Yeah probably going to a nice home. Probably see it out in the country amongst the native bush."

GM: "Right."

RB: "Never really suited this site I thought."

GM: "Well the problem is certainly solved now." (laughs)

53:34

Shot of a girl's hands being manicured.

Beautician (V/O): So what are you getting done beforehand... are you going to get your hair done now?"

Girl: "Yes."

B: How are you having your hair?"

Close up of the two talking over the manicure.

Girl: "I was thinking of having it pulled back - put in those little twists in a bun."

B: "Yeah, that's nice but the only thing with it is it's hard to get out and it's not very full."

Girl: "Do you think?"

B: "Yeah, well it's a personal thing. I think back combing or petalling would look really good with your dress. Put your hand in there just to soak."

GM interviews hairdresser.

GM: "Are you just feeling your way here or have you something in mind?"

H: "Hopefully it'll be like a picture which you showed me before."

GM: "Oh I see, we're working off a picture are we?"

H: "Yeah."

GM: "Oh right... Is that the one you go for?" (looks at photos)

Hair: "Yep."

GM: "She doesn't look as friendly I think I'd go for the other one myself, Do you ..."

H: "Yeah... sort of."

Cross back to the beautician.

B: "No more school huh? No more study until you go to varsity."

Girl: "Oh."

B: "Wait until you hit varsity. You won't know what study is."

Girl: "Oh ... really."

B: "That's scary."

Girl: "I don't know what study is anyway."

B: "Of course you do."

GM: "There seems to be some sensitivity about how the school or how people are portrayed. What do you think that people have (indistinct) idea?"

Girl: "This would seem as though this is what we do every, sort of, day and all the effort we are putting in which isn't true at all. Looking at this from an outsider this could come across as very extravagant and over the top. I mean this is great for us to go out on such a high note as this ball, but um, we do not want to seem like little ..I don't know...snobs. I suppose you'd call it."

GM: "I'm sure you'll come across fine."

Girl: "...I think the school has a reputation for snobbery which doesn't, it's not right. We have a bit of a reputation."

GM: "It's not earned in your opinion?"

Girl: "no, no definitely not."

GM: "Where do you think the idea comes from?"

Girl: "Probably the fact that it's a private school and we're paying to go to school."

55:17

GM walks out of building with Mathew Burgess to go and watch the last cricket match of the school year.

GM: Well are you looking forward to the game Mathew?"

MB: "Yeah, last day and all."

GM: "The very last day of the very last cricket game, a few games eh?"

MB: "Yeah."

GM: "So you are you actually playing today?"

MB: "We're playing St Bedes - they're the Catholics and we're sort of the Anglicans... if you want to get right down to the roots."

GM: "So the matter of pleasant antagonism is there?"

MB: "Oh not really that pleasant." (laughs) "Nah, it's not too bad. It's pretty full on."

GM (as they walk past a large residential house) : "So was there originally was there one big house located here?"

MB: "Yeah right - like this house here had an orchard on it and they decided to subdivide it and they built three houses around the back ... and one of them is ours."

GM: "That seems to be the way this has gone with a lot of the old houses around here."

MB: "Um it has ... they've still got a tennis court and a swimming pool so... it's probably tough ...it's a tough life." (laughs) "But they get wealth out of it I guess."

GM: "great to have the trees here and..."

MB: "Yes they're still here. So this is the Boys' High hostel right here."

GM: "Oh you're other arch rivals?"

MB: "That's right."

GM: "Right across the road."

MB: "We've got lots of them haven't we? Every morning I'm biking to school I get hassled."

Every night I come back, I'm getting hassled."

GM: "Hassles? What sort of hassles?"

MB: "What sort of hassles? Well they call me syrup and I sometimes call them sogs. Well under my breath anyway."

GM: "Syrup? Short for what?"

MB: "Just syrup."

MB and GM together: "Golden syrup!"

GM: "And what do you call them?"

MB: "I call them sogs or soggy biscuits."

GM: "So this sort of thing goes on everyday does it?"

MB: "Everyday." (laughs)

56:45

Shots of boys practicing cricket, coach watching.

56:58

Cut to GM interviewing boys in the changing rooms.

GM: "What do you do out there on the field Nick? Do you have any particular job?"

Nick: "Oh just basically I'm a bowler."

GM: "Is this your last day too?"

(Cut away shots of cricket practice)

Nick: "Yeah it is and then I'm going to Australia with the tour."

GM: "Oh your off on a tour of Australia?"

Nick: "Yeah - the same as (indistinct) Sydney and I'm playing in the Sydney Youth Festival over there for ten days or so."

57:28

Cut to the evening of the Rangi Ruru Leavers' Ball. Some boys wearing kilts and playing bagpipes outside the function centre as guests arrive. Girls in beautiful ball dresses, boys in suits. Scenes of students drinking inside.

GM interviews Robyn Radcliffe who is there.

GM: "Tell me has the house gone through?"

RR: "Not yet. Not settled."

GM: "Right. Mind you, you have had plenty to occupy yourself."

RR: "Oh."

GM: "And all these dresses ... they look wonderful by the way.

RR: "They're all terrific.. they've all scrubbed up really well." (laughs) "It sort of...quite a transition but you see them in their uniforms, the pimples, sock..." (laughs) "And then they come along looking so elegant and so mature you sort of feel they are ready to leave school, you know."

58:18 GM (to girl standing with her father): "I think I saw your limousine sweep into view out there. It was very impressive.

Girl: Oh yes."

GM: "You could get used to that sort of thing if you weren't careful couldn't you."

Girl: "Oh yeah."

GM: "And how do you feel now we are getting closer to the time - looking forward to the dancing and such?"

Girl: "Oh yes. Dad and I are very good at the waltz, aren't we Dad? All our hard practices and everything." (both laugh)

58:40 Bagpipes signal the presentation of the girls.

Woman standing on stage announced: "It is my very great pleasure tonight to read all the names of the 1993 Rangi Ruru Leavers."

One by one they come forward as their names are called out, curtsy and receive some flowers.

58:45

Band plays Edelweiss "...Bless my Homeland forever..." as the girls dance with their fathers?

All the girls group together as they have their photo taken, then they throw their bouquets in the air.

Cacophony  
of girls  
Excited  
voices.

Credits roll without "Heartland" theme. No final comment from GM.

***Glenorchy A Wet Day in Paradise***

**Director: Bruce Morrison**

**Producer: William Grieve**

Time	Transcript and Images	Sound
00:00	Credits and music	
00:30	Montage of shots - green moss lit by sunlight, one green leaf backlit with sunlight, close up of rushing river. Camera pans up from forest floor, through trees to the tree tops. (Title "Glenorchy a Wet Day in Paradise") Forest scenes	thundering sound of rushing water
00:50	Magnificent mountain scenery. Three different views of the same mountain. Shot of a man putting on a helmet.	Peaceful bird sounds
01:00	Small propeller started by hand. Close up of man's hands starting a propeller. Then view of gyrocopter moving along ground speeding up for take off.	Noisy propeller

O1:10	<p>High shot looking down on hay making machines in field.</p> <p>Gyro copter with pilot takes off from farmland. Camera on plane..shots</p> <p>Close up of pilot with scenery behind him. Then ground view of plane in the sky.</p>	
O1:35	<p>Landscape aerial shots as if taken from gyroplane.</p> <p>Views over mountains then sudden drops, views racing along close to stony river beds and tree tops and flying above the path of a straight road.</p>	Speedy music, rather like a travel log tourism film.
O2:15	<p>Shot of people riding horses on country road with Glenorchy stores in background.</p> <p>GM (V/O): "Glenorchy - at the head of the lake. Gateway to the two great river valleys of the Rees and the Dargach?"</p> <p>(Mountain shot in background with statue of WWI soldier foreground)</p> <p>GM (V/O): "... an access way to the heart of the Southern Alps since the 1860s"</p> <p>(shot of a person on a pushbike, pushing another empty bike along)</p> <p>shot of small building - Glenorchy Library)</p>	
O2:24	<p>GM walking along road in front of modern buildings (town centre) talking to camera</p> <p>GM"...In the old days people used to come here by boat, but in the 60s a road was put around from Queenstown. Aside from this the community has remained much as it was - as a service centre for the large sheep stations and a visitors centre."</p>	
O2:34	<p>Aerial view of town with lake and mountain backdrop.</p> <p>GM (V/O): "But as in other parts of New Zealand, many visitors now are foreign tourists."</p>	
O2:50	<p>Shots of gyroplane flying over the township</p> <p>C/U of pilot - scenes from above. Buildings, statue of a WWI soldier below.</p> <p>Pilot lands in field. Beautiful scenery.</p>	Speedy music again.

O3:15

GM approaches pilot Robert Koch.

GM: "I don't believe this. Looks like Glenorchy has its own UFO."

GM walks across to the pilot who is adjusting his propeller.

GM: "Hello there." (Pilot with helmet disguising his face, nods.)

GM: "What have we got here then?"

RK: "This is a gyroplane or gyrocopter...."

GM: "Gyrocopter - is that what it's called. Quite an impressive sight in the skyline over Glenorchy. What do you use it for?"

RK: "Well it started out just as a hobby." (Title: Robert Koch) "...and since I've taken over the farm here it's become a useful tool for checking over the stock."

GM: "Is that right?"

RK: "... and a lot of fun as well."

GM: "And on what principle does this work exactly? Is there... is the engine attached to that ... the rota...or the back?"

RK: "No... the engine just provides the forward speed... the air speed... the rota provides the lift... it's an auto rotational (indistinct)."

GM: "Good heaven ... well it's a bit flimsy by my standards. I mean you don't even have a hostess or a seat tray for a cup of coffee if you need one."

RK: "It's all a lot of fun though."

GM: "Oh Gary McCormick."

RK: "Robert Koch." (shake hands)

GM: "Now there's a name I've seen around the town. Have your family been in these parts for a while?"

RK: "Yes, good? Relations go back to the first run-holder here William Gilbert Rees."

GM: "Right."

RK: "The Koch name has been here for around 150 years."

GM: "Still that's quite a long time isn't it?" (Laughs) "And you're obviously a very modern branch of the family. I see you've got - presumably that's your shed down there isn't it?"

RK: "Yes, yes."

GM: "Is that your house across the way?"

(Camera cuts to old house)

RK: "Yes behind the pine trees over there."

GM: "It looks as though it's been around for a while too."

RK: "Oh yes... it's been here for over 100 years."

GM: "And this business of farming in these parts, is it a good sort of farming area is it?"

RK: "Oh it can be fairly tough ... good lifestyle."

O5:05

(Title: Routeburn Station)

Shot of a land cruiser driving across paddocks. Two horses are being ridden in front of it.

GM (V/O): "Every year at this time Glenorchy is host to an event which has become a classic Otago institution - the Glenorchy Races."

O5:15

GM interviews Stuart Percy outside at Routeburn Station. Camera shots of interview with cutaway shots of people preparing horses, brushing them, putting on bridles etc.

GM: "Now any particular horse your or do you get on any of these horses?"

SP: "This one or that one there." (points to a horse being prepared by a girl) "That's actually Anne's horse that one."

GM: "And do you put them through any particular paces before you go down there for the race?" I mean do you get them into training or do any of that stuff?"

SP: "No."

GM: "No? They just wonder in cold?"

SP: "Well we're using them all the time so they are pretty fit anyway."

Cut away shot of a man and a girl putting a bridle on a horse.

Girl: "Careful, careful, careful."

Cross to GM interviewing Anne Percy.

GM: "There's a rumour going round town that you are actually quite good at this and you're one of the cup winners from previous years."

AP: "Only twice."

GM: "Only twice. I mean that's twice more than most of us. What is the race you go in, what is the race called that you are in?"

(Title: Anne Percy)

AP: "Oh well that is the local gallop."

GM: "The local gallop, so this is not a woman's gallop or a men's gallop?"

AP: "No, all hacks from just around the Lake - no thoroughbreds or anything like that are allowed."

GM(V/O shot of couple preparing horses): "What's the history of this Glenorchy, so called well it used to be called a sporting day didn't it, rather than a race day?"

AP: "I think one person said well I'll bring my horse because it can go faster than yours and it's just grown from that."

GM: "Right, right."

AP: "...and everyone else comes as well."

GM: "Yes everyone else meaning there are people coming from other parts of the country I take it?"

AP: "Yes."

GM: "What's ...where do they come from?"

AP: "Everywhere." (laughs)

GM: "Is that right?"

AP: "It's just getting bigger every year really."

GM: "And what about the tote?"

AP: "I don't want to comment about the tote."

GM (turning to camera, raising his eyebrows): "No comment about the tote, all right no further questions about the tote."

O6:40

GM on horse which is walking alongside other riders. Stuart and Ann Percy.

GM: "Obviously this sports day is a very big event on the social calendar. Is it the biggest social event?"

AP: "Yeah it is."

GM: "Great ... are you looking forward to it?"

AP: "I'm not because I get pretty nervous."

(Cut away shots of landscape and horse and cow grazing, ducks.)

GM: "Just about the racing, but the social part must be fun?"

AP: "Oh yeah, yeah."

GM: "Big party?"

AP: "Yeah."

GM: "Good. I like the sound of that."

SP: "Just to get together with everybody."

07:00

GM (V/O): "In sheds and shearing quarters all around Glenorchy there are various groups of contestants preparing for the big race tomorrow..."

GM (close-up): Behind us over here in Slack Lucas's woolshed is a group known to us in Heartland - the Haast group."

JN (V/O while camera pans inside of woolshed): "We've been coming here for six or seven years now and ah we've had some good times here, always a good crowd here in Glenorchy, anything can happen - and no rules, the only rule is to turn up here virtually..." (Title: John J.J. Nolan and close up of him talking.) "...and have a horse and have a heap of fun."

GM: "You've a bit of honour to defend over here. I see there are at least three cups."

JN: "Yeah we had a pretty good year last year. Debbie Sacks won the ladies' gallop and the Haast team won the relay and then I won the quarter mile sprint at the end, like only just, there was only an inch in it, but a win is a win."

GM (laughs): "and there's not points for second and third I suppose?"

JN: "No, no there's none. You just gotta win and that's it. Yeah, by fair means or by foul... A mate of mine, he was in the double banking race won year ..."

(Cut away to two teenage boys, sitting and listening in the woolshed) "... and he galloped down and this little dog ran out on the track and he scuttled it on the way down and he picked up mate up the other end and scuttled it again and that was history you

know... that was it... but ah..." (Cut away to man drinking beer) "...history you know... that was it... but ah..." (Cut away to other men drinking beer) "...things like that sort of you know they add to ..."

GM: "How was the owner feeling at the time?"

JN: "Not a hell uv a happy, but we sort of ....

GM: "(Indistinct) sense of humour ... you like seeing small dogs bowled on the race...?"

JN: "It doesn't really matter if you win at Glenorchy. You come here for a really good time which we always have and ah if you win something that's a real bonus."

08:22

Ads

11:00

GM outside an old house in a rural setting calls out to Rosie Grant, an elderly lady wearing old clothes, cardigan and tea-cosy hat.

RG: "Shoo, scat..."

GM: "Rosie, Rosie - you weren't telling me to show away, were you?" For a moment I thought you were..."

RG: "I thought you were John Rand and bolted ... but you didn't."

GM: "I bought you mail down. Rosie ... it was getting a bit damp out there."

(Title: Rosie Grant)

RG: "I heard your thing ... I thought it was....mail"

GM: "No well here I am. Do you mind that I popped in to say hello? I just happened to be passing by."

RG: "Yeah, yeah."

(Cut away shot to view of rain and mist hanging over the mountains)

GM (V/O): "What a view ... what- a-view. Good day to be inside."

(Cut back to RG's old cottage with stone chimney)

GM: "... all things considered."

(Cut to inside shot of Rosie Grant's house and lots of cats lying around.

GM: "Oh ... look at these cats, lovely kittens. How many have you got here Rosie?"

RG: "Oh about 12 here... counting them..."

GM: "Aren't they lovely little things ... two little kittens.... Three little kittens. They are everywhere."

RG: "These are the next..."

GM: "I'll have to be careful not to sit down."

RG: "Oh you can chase them off."

GM: "Is that all right?"

RG: "Yeah - they're not the boss...darn it all, you've got plenty of places to go without coming here little ..."

GM: "Well you don't like to push in when you come to other people's houses. The cats have been here longer than me ... How long have you lived here Rosie?"

RG: "Since 1916."

GM: "1916 in this very same house."

RG: "Yes."

GM: "And was this house in the family before then?"

RG: "No, no my mother bought it."

GM: "Right."

RG: "When they shifted."

GM: "You're part of an old sawmilling family from these parts is that right?"

RG: "Yeah, yeah...? Grant had his mill over there. Turner's Creek .... Other side of the River"

GM: "Your father ... your father first sawmiller of the Grant family?"

RG: "Yeah. - until about 1920 I think. And he stayed there then he went off shiite mining up the mountain here and that occupied him for a good many years... "

(Cut away shot of a kettle on an old stove, washing hanging indoors to dry.)

GM: "And what's been occupying you for a good many years. What have you been doing?"

RG: "Just one darn thing after another!"

(Both laugh together)

Cut to RG and GM outside looking at the mountains.

GM: "You've got that area all the way down to there?"

RG: "Boundary's way over there."

GM: "So this is the sort of terrain that you walk around?"

RG: "Yes ... I walk down here ... you can slide down too of course.." (Both laugh)

"....after rain. I've had a horse go down in the quick sand... I was on it.... I got off

thinking oh in fact I stayed on it...."

GM: And what happened?"

RG: "It couldn't?"

GM: "So you had to abandon horse."

RG: "So I had to get off and..."

GM: "Did the horse eventually get out?"

RG: No I had to get some people.. that was way down near Glenorchy ... and there was people doing hay not far away, they brought a tractor or something to pull the horse out."

Cut away to GM and RG looking at Cherry tree in her garden.

GM: "Can I have..."

RG: "I'll break it off."

GM: "Don't do that."

RG: "I'll break it off."

GM: "Oh right."

RG: "They're not very sweet this year ... not much sun I suppose .... (indistinct)"

RG: "...look at them... there are heaps up there."

(Cut away shot of cat watching)

GM (turns to camera in the rain): "I love to be in Glenorchy in the middle of summer."

(GM pops a cherry in is mouth)

GM: "mmmm...beautiful"

RG: "They're very sweet... these kind of berries."

GM: "Shall we get out of the rain? .... I hate to be a spoil sport but... we'll take them inside."

RG (carrying small bunch of cherries): "Yes .... I think that's the best place."

GM: "What a lovely idea."

(Cut to GM and RG inside her house with a close up of wild cherries in RG's hand.

RG: "They are wild cherries ... and originally came from way down in the lake there below Kinloch, there was a mill there in the early days and they grew wild cherries ... and there was hundreds of them."

GM: "And so you transplanted them or your father did or something?"

RG: "Oh he brought them and I dunno ... they're all round the district perhaps he got them..."

(Cut away to shot of cat and then to old black and white photographs of RG as a young girl up in a ladder picking cherries.)

Cut to GM and RG looking at her old photographs.

GM: "Now what are these, some of your family member or..."

(Photograph of people in a sack race)

RG: "Oh...friends... that was up at Camp Hill ... that's where the school ...ah... always had their picnic."

GM: "Was this a forerunner of the Glenorchy races or was this a separate event?"

RG: "Yeah... it was some ... much the same thing ... yeah."

GM (V/O) close up shots of a young woman wearing a hat): "Is that you?"

RG: "Yes that's me."

GM: "That's you ... where were you then?"

RG: "At Sydney ... the Harbour seeing a visitor off."

GM: "This is a lovely little exercise book dated..."

RG: "Yeah but you can't read it."

GM: "October 22nd ... why it's all in hieroglyphics or some sort of code... why is that?"

RG: "Yeah... I invented that for sure."

GM: "Why did you do that?"

RG: "Because my cousin used to come along and read my diary and I didn't like that ... I made my diary so they couldn't read it."

GM: "Can you read it now?"

RG: "No I can't ... I know a few ... it's just an alphabet really."

(Close up shots of the diary)

GM: "It's very clever."

RG: "I think I was darn clever in those days because I can't read it now. I'm not so good now."

GM: (laughs)

GM: "We've fooled everybody with the code here.."

RG: "Yeah... even myself."

Both laugh.

Cut to RG and GM walking outside as the rain begins to team. GM holding a jar of preserved cherries RG has given him.

GM: "There are the wold ones minus the stones are they?"

RG: "Yeah ... supposed to be but I never guarantee stones or not cause sometimes they're all out."

GM: "Well I've got my own teeth so it should be all right."

RG: "Oh yeah... it's a case of spit..."

GM: "Oh well nice to see you... I'll see you next time round."

RG (waving): "Cheery."

17:15

Modern car driving along metal road

C/U of GM inside as he talks to the camera.

GM: "Well I've crossed the River Jordon and I'm on the other side on my way to Paradise. I'm not the first person to have travelled this way. In fact this is one of the oldest tourist routes in New Zealand dating back to the 1860s."

17:35

Views of mountains the cut to GM standing outside a run down old house which was the first guest accommodation in the area.

GM: "Well here we are - Paradise House... the first guest accommodation in the area and its now owned by Dave Miller.

Shot of old house which is run down.

Dave Miller and GM walk across the paddocks.

DM: "Alfred Duncan named it Paradise ... about 1862 when he and George Simpson brought the first mob of sheep to the head of the lake and he wrote a lovely romance about

meeting a lovely wahine on the shore of Diamond Lake... he spoke of the shores being like Paradise and Paradise is the name it retains to this day."

Camera pans from the top of a magnificent mountain down to farm sheds below made from rusty corrugated iron.

GM: "How have you managed to hold on to all the trees and the bush and things when other people seem to have lost theirs?"

DM (V/O): "It wasn't burnt... it was the last ... it was burnt very close to us."  
Cut to shots of native bush and trees.

DM: "The paddock above by Diamond Lake down here, called Aitkens paddock after some of our very early predecessors was burnt and that was the closest ... all the rest of this has remained virgin to this day."

GM and DM walk through bush with five dogs.

DM (Reaching out to a tree and pulling down a branch): "This is Matai and here's a bunch of them in about 100 feet in elevation and they go along the edge of the hillside here above Diamond Lake - and they're just in a very pre-determined band and we've asked why that should be and apparently we're told that when the lake level was up here the seed drifted on the surface of the lake and departed at this area... at this level ... and that's why they grow here."

GM: "Is that right? How long ago was the lake level up to here?"

DM: "Thousands of years ago after the glacial period... right through there is Mt Erebus... not to be confused with Antarctica but that's our Erebus..." (points to various mountain peaks) "This is the sugar loaf, the massif in front of here and there's a very pointed rock peak behind here, there's Mt Somers God of Sleep ... see the big ice cap here... and Aries the Chisel that's the beginning of the rock band. Then we have Knox and Chars ... see the two lovely twins right here... Mt Chaos, Poseidon God of the Sea,

Naioli Tautilus, then we're on to the ? saddle and the valley ahead which most people think is the Dart, is actually the Berswick and the Dart swings around between .... See the grey block in the middle distance?"

GM: "Yes, yes."

DM: "That's actually Chinaman's Bluff where the Chinese had their depot in 1902. The Dart is at the back of Chinaman's and the large Massif in the centre is Mt Cartermas - see the big one in the middle dividing the Dart and the Beansberg and behind here you can't see them but we have Pluto God of the Underworld that looks very much like the Matterhorn ... resembles the Matterhorn in shape, Cerebos the three headed dog ... this whole quadrant ... sort of rings us with Roman and Greek Gods of formidable stature and nature ... we don't have any Dianas, there's no Goddess of Love ... in my day we could saddle a horse and go across the river and shoot three or four deer or whatever you wanted."

GM: "Has your attitude to hunting changed now that you've managed this area?"

DM: "I suppose time decrees that, yes... because we've always regarded Paradise as a sanctuary so... we haven't always been too popular. I even like to have a rabbit or two around... to be able to get a rabbit for the dogs ... The dogs that I have or the cats ... but we can't anymore... we can't... there aren't any rabbits ...hares are scarce... and behind bars... so it's all changed."

GM: "But aside from that it's pretty well... in pristine condition."

DM: "Yes it is."

21:15

Advertisements

24:I4

Scenes of horses gathered by the lake in preparation for the races the next day. GM talks to people taking part.

GM (to Malcolm Roy standing with horses): "Whereabouts are you from?"

MR: "Oh just down ... I just manage the place here."

GM: "Oh right. So you're heading across to take part in the big event tomorrow?"

MR: "Mmm."  
GM: "Have you been in it before?"  
MR: "Yes a few times." (Title: Malcolm Roy Woodbine Station)  
GM: "How have you got on?"  
MR: "Oh average."  
GM: "Average?"  
MR: "I always got a spot at the start anyway."  
GM: (laughs) "Well I have to warn you that the Haast crew over there are looking pretty fearsome."  
MR: "Oh really?"  
GM: "They are out there training..." (cut away shots of ferry on the lake in the distance) "... and doing their push ups..."  
MR: "Oh good on them."  
GM: "...and a bit of running and jogging and things. They obviously want those cups back they won last year."  
MR: "We're taking it quite seriously too." (MR holds up a beer can and they both laugh.  
(Cut away shot to girl looking through binoculars supposedly at the incoming ferry.)

25:00

GM (to MR's wife Andrea Roy): "I'm sorry we haven't met."  
AR: Andrea Roy."  
GM: "Hi Andrea. Are you taking part tomorrow?"  
AR: "Oh, you never can tell."

Cut away shot of the ferry.  
GM: "You're thinking you might?"  
AR: "Yeah, may do yes." (Shot shows AR sitting on the ground between two horses)  
(Title: Andrea Roy)  
AR: "I've got two horses."  
GM: "Any particular ... any particular ... well you've got two horses, well that would be an incentive for a start."  
AR: "But he's 27 so ..." (laughs)  
Cut away to a little girl sitting on a horse.  
GM: "Well I'm 42. Let's not draw attention to people's ages at this point."

AR: "That's about 90 in human years."  
 GM: "Poor old thing ... we're coming across for a look anyway."  
 Cut away shot of ferry coming in to shore.  
 GM: "If you really decide to go in tomorrow what sort of races will you go in?"  
 AR: "The double banking."  
 GM: "Could you explain this to me... people use this expression and I don't know what it means."  
 AR: "Two on a horse... two up."  
 GM: "Oh is that..."  
 AR: "Yeah ... bareback."  
 Cutaway shots of ferry lowering draw-bridge off the back.  
 GM: "Do you actually have to help them on board or sometimes do they leap on of their own accord ... the other person?"  
 AR: "Perhaps five minutes before the race we'll work out some method..."  
 Shot of about 15 people on shore watching and waiting for the ferry.  
 AR: "... of hauling her up, but Malcolm's trying to make his partner become... what is it?... a swandri and make him lie across the saddle like a swandri."  
 GM (laughs): "Oh that's a cunning ploy."  
 Cut away shots of men shovelling stones on to the ferry drawbridge so horses don't slip when they climb on.  
 AR: "He just has to find somebody who's willing to be a swandri."  
 GM: "And what happens tomorrow night?"  
 AR: "I'd say a lot of drinking!" (laughs).

26:IO

Bell on ferry rings. Close up of horse's head. Then shot of ferry backing away from the shore. Shot of young female captain on the boat. GM on ferry i/views a young girl taking her horse across. GM on ferry interviews a young girl taking her horse across.  
 GM (V/O): "Is it true that you have done a three day trip?"  
 Girl: "Yeah, we trekked from the ? Lakes to Glenorchy."  
 GM: "Like one of those adventure trips you ride through the day and then you set up camp,

don't you... or where did you stay, overnight?"  
Girl: "Oh they had huts ... we stayed... they had all the stuff we needed."  
GM: "Must have been pretty exciting?"  
Girl: "Yeah."  
GM: "And you're looking forward to the day... are you going to be racing at all, yourself?"  
Girl: "Oh ... I don't know."  
GM: "Thinking about it still?"  
Girl: "Yeah."

Shot of ferry on the water.

Ferry docks and horses are let off. Women standing around, drinking beer, watching  
The horses off load.

Woman: "Where have you guys come from... from where?"  
Voice (out of shot): "Greenstone."  
Woman: "Oh Greenstone?"

26:51

Cut away to GM helping Rosie Grant put a life jacket on to go jet boating.  
GM: "Why have you decided to do this at 88 years of age?"  
RG: "Oh need to have a look at the scenery around up that way. I've seen it before... and  
plenty of other places.  
I was born over there..."  
GM: "Over there being where exactly?"  
RG: "Turner's Creek."  
GM: "Oh, oh right."  
RG: "Do you know where that is?"  
GM: "I know where Turner's Creek is ... so this is our first chance to have a look from the  
river as it were?"  
RG: "Yeah."  
GM: "Should be a hoot out there I reckon."  
RG: "Yeah."  
GM: "What's the speed.... You must have watched these people doing this before have

you.. seen them going flying by?"

RG: "Oh I suppose I have... yeah."

GM: "So you're not totally unprepared?"

RG: "No... I suppose not..." (laughs) "... my only experience of going over there is on a horse."

Shots of a group of people including GM and Rosie Grant jet boating on the river, combination of aerial shots as well as from in the boat.

RG holds on to her hat while GM sits next to her in the front of the boat with his arm around her.

Fast, racy  
music like a  
Travel log,

GM: "Did you ever imagine you'd be going as fast as this on the river?"

RG: "No I jolly well didn't..." (laughs)

GM: "Are you enjoying it?"

RG: "Oh yeah."

More jet boating shots finishing with a 360 degree turn.

GM (V/O): How did that feel now... did that feel better?"

RG: "Oh yes."

GM: "What do you think of this mad speed trip we're been doing?"

RG: "Oh I was worried we might be finding ourselves way out on the gravel somehow."

GM (to Rod Wright the driver of the boat): "We've made it into this lovely part. Where are we Rod?"

RW: "We're just cruising in to the Routeburn Chasm..."

GM: "It's a beautiful spot isn't it Rod?"

RW: "It's a bit different."

GM: "How far does it go Rod?"

RW: "Think it's a bit big to go right in, but we've got a smaller boat which would probably get in another 20 metres I guess." (Title: Rod Wright)

Shots from above the chasm looking down at the boat in the water.

GM: "Right... Oh I think we've come in as far as we can go Rosie, any further in and I think we'd be stuck."

RG: "Looks like it.." (Chuckles)

GM: Here we are now in peace ... we should savour this peaceful moment."

RG: "It's great all those rocks and all those scenes behind them...great."

29:28

Scenic mountain views from inside a helicopter, which flies up to the mountains.

GM i/views gyropilot Robert Koch and his friend Mark Hasselman from Temple Peak Station outside an old hut they have climbed to.

RK: "I love it, I love the views ... that's one of the reasons I so much like Glenorchy. Just the scenery."

GM: "And how about you Mark... how long have you been in Glenorchy and climbing."

MH: "I came here 20 years ago and I climbed Mt Earnslaw and I sat on the top and thought 'Shit this would be a nice place to live...so I've been here ever since I'm afraid."

(Title: Mark Haselman, Temple Peak Station)

GM: "So was it the climbing that actually brought you here in the first place?"

MH: Yes."

GM: "Good heavens."

MH: "We lay down and went to sleep on top and woke up and the valley just unfolded ... out of the mists and there was Glenorchy..."

GM: "And what about the economics?" (Cut away shots of beautiful mountain ranges capped with snow) "...that have been affected in the rest of the country... I mean is it talked about in Glenorchy?... is it something the people worry about the state of the economy or..."

RK: "Well you just sit back here and look at the rest of the world and you do your own thing really ... it effect us to a certain..."

MH: "Neither of us have got TV which helps."

GM: "I noticed that ... there doesn't seem to be a lot of television about, nor does there seem to be many radio broadcasts."

MH: "Radio reception's pretty ... scratchy."  
 GM: "Right."  
 RK: "But we find we don't need to know all that ... about what's on television."  
 MH: It doesn't matter."  
 RK: We've got our own life to live ... um... why try and live everyone else's through a television set or other communications, sure we like communication but by and large we can ignore everybody else's problems... we've got our own problems to take care of.""  
 GM: "Oh well ... I'm glad that you, as you say, you've both emerged untroubled or unbowed by the rest of the world's problems to be able to spend your time up here in the mountains. I'm slightly envious in a way."  
 RK: "And so you should be ... this is..."  
 MH: Don't tell too many people."  
 RK: "This is just a great life ... you've just got to get out and enjoy it."

30:28	Mountain scenic shots from helicopter. A mountain is circled looking down on Robert Koch and Mark Hasselman climbing to the summit with amazing scenery behind.	Racy music
31:00	Ads	
35:00	<p>Montage of shots of people on race day. Horse hooves being checked, manes brushed outdoors. Horses being brought in from the fields. A sunny day. Busy country street scenes.</p> <p>Two men discuss spray painting numbers on the rumps of horses.          Man 1: "I'm 10."          Man 2: "Ten is choice so whatever colour..."          Man 1: "I don't know."          Man 1: "Both sides isn't it?"          He goes up to horses sump and sprays the number 10 on it., but wind makes this task difficult.</p>	<p>Birds sing.          Sounds and chatter of people.</p>

Montage of shots. People arriving in cars, trucks, by ferry carrying chilly bins and bags.  
Boxes of beer stacked by the fence. Sunny day but overcast in the mountainous background.  
General hum of activity.

GM introduces himself to Peter (Slack) Lucas one of the organisers of the horse races allocating their numbers

GM: "Peter."

PL: "Gary." (They shake hands)

GM: "Are you the track steward, or captain ... President or something is that right?"

PL: "I'm President of the Rugby Club that's only..."

GM: "But obviously you're in charge of a very important job here allocating the numbers. Is this how it all begins today?"

PL: "That's the start of it ... yeah... yeah."

GM: "How many do you think you're going to have in the races today?"

PL: "We've got about 60 entered."

Cutaway shots to people waking with deck chairs, pushing baby strollers for a family day out.

GM: "Is this the complement of cups they'll be competing for?"

PL: "Yeah, there should be more, but they'll eventually arrive."

GM: "Oh yes, we met a few Haast people on the other day who were hoarding a few up in the headquarters in the woolshed. Have you got these back yet?"

PL: "No but I'll get them next shearing." (Both laugh)

GM: "And how would you describe the conditions here today in racing terms?"

PL: "easy."

GM: "Easy?"

PL: "It gets easier every year." (laughs)

Cutaway shot to a man trying to spray paint a number on a horse, but it won't keep still. It is also windy which makes it difficult to write the number.

GM (enters scene): "What are you doing there?"

Man (points at horses rump): "That's 63."

GM: Is it?"

Man: "Yeah."

GM: "How's anyone ever going to tell that?"

Man: Well it won't get anywhere so it won't matter."

GM laughs.

Cutaway shots to people around sitting on couches set up on the backs of a trailer with sun umbrellas to get a good view. Cut to a close up of GM.

GM: "Well looks like the weather is going to clear for us and I've got a new hat. In fact it's a tad too new, looking at some of these blocks... they're pretty tough looking. Give it a bit of a working over..." (He screws up his hat and stamps on it to make it look older and tougher.) "...There we are... and the first race is about to get underway."

Camera rises on a big crane so it lifts high about the makeshift racetrack.

Loudspeaker introduces the horses and riders.

37:33

GM i/views people about their involvement in the races

GM: "Now what's the drill here?"

Man (sitting on horse): 'We get down to the end as quickly as we can, saddle up our horse, gallop back and finish

MC announces the start over the loud speaker. Entrants dressed in old clothes, such as rugby shirts and shorts. Spectators drinking beer out of cans and bottles.  
Races.

MC gives commentary, people fall off horses.

MC: "They're off ... we're racing now... some are going the wrong way ... most are going the right way...two horses are going by themselves here today."

Shot of Andrea Roy coming in last over the finish line.

GM i/views Andrea .

GM: "What a star, what a star ... I mean there were hundreds of people who couldn't even get a saddle on their horse."

GM: "You came back with great style, you must be pretty excited?"

AR: "Well I stayed on. That was the main objective."

GM: "You rode with tremendous grace

... I thought under pressure there you must be feeling quite elated?"

AR: "Well I am, but he's still got the life in him to perform like this."

GM: "Oh absolutely fabulous..... and I think ... take fair credit for yourself. I didn't think we should over look the fact that its often the driver who's responsible for the success. So you'd be quite buoyed up now ... looking forward to going in the next race."

AR: "I came last but I enjoyed it."

Cross to shots of more racing with MC voice over.

MC: "... and they're racing, this is a trotting cup very hard to hold their horses back, it'll be three times past the post here - down the track ... here then twice around the course..."

Cut away shots to spectators.

40:35

GM interviews Iris Scott of Rees Valley Station who is making hamburgers on a make-shift BBQ for sale at the races.

GM: "Are you here on duty all day?"

IS: "We all drift in and do a turn and wander off when we get tired ourselves."

GM: "Right. Where have you come in from today Iris?"

(Title: Iris Scott - Rees Valley Station)

IS: "Rees Valley Station about six kilometres up the road from here.":

GM: "Did you ride down like some of the other cowboys and cowgirls around here?"

IS: "No I'm afraid my horses aren't well mannered enough to be seen in public."

GM: (laughs) How big is your station?"  
 IS: "Eighteen thousand and something hectares."  
 GM: "Hectares ... what's that in the old measurement in terms of acres?"  
 IS: "Forty-six thousand acres."  
 GM: "That's quite big isn't it?"  
 GM: Yeah it's not the biggest around but it's ...  
 (Cutaway shot to men putting beetroot in the hamburgers)  
 GM: "Must be great though to have all that space to roam around in?"  
 IS: "Yes, yes."  
 GM: I don't suppose you see it like that but an outsider might see it like that."  
 IS: "Oh yes ... we can understand people wanting to come to the back country to get away from the crowds once a year is enough for us in terms of crowds." (Laughs)  
 GM: "This is it."

41:00

Cut to Mark Hasselman when it's his turn to make hamburgers.  
 GM: "Mark, this looks like a very, very responsible job... I wondered who the person was going to be who got the job."  
 MH: "It's a slow racehorse from last year ... do you realise that?"  
 GM: It's a very ...? Rumours going round these parts at the moment too"  
 MH: "I'm not good with people you see, so this is sort of a compulsory burst and then away."  
 GM: "This is the best job that an anti-social person like yourself can get."  
 MH: Yeah ... with your back turned to the crowd."

Shots of spectators. Only appear to be one Maori in close up who looks like Billy T James wearing a large sombrero and dark glasses.

42:15	GM (to camera): "Well we have the finals of the relay, a much sought after cup this one and we have three fine teams. We have the Roys from Woodbine, the Percys from Routeburn Station and of course from Haast J.J. Nolan and Debbie Saxton.	
42:33	<p>Horn announces the race.</p> <p>Thunder scares a horse. A big mist appears to be getting closer. (camera on crane pans down from mountains to racetrack.)</p> <p>People head for cover from rain under umbrellas, tarpaulins and even trucks.</p> <p>Race commences.</p> <p>MC: "And they're racing .... The Haast (has) one horse down, he's okay, the rider's fine, going for the second change now ... they're all close."</p> <p>Crowd shouts and cheers.</p>	<p>loud noise of thunder</p> <p>More thunder.</p>
42:55	<p>Shot of puddles with heavy rain drops.</p> <p>People getting wet.</p> <p>Shots of people standing with coats and hats on.</p> <p>MC to race organiser: "They're not normal conditions for racing are they? "</p> <p>Race organiser to another man: "What do they do at Ascot when this happens, do you know? Apart from the rain it's too dangerous for the horses anyway."</p> <p>Man: "Oh yes."</p> <p>Race organiser speaks directly to camera: "I think we'll flag it today and have another go tomorrow".</p>	<p>sound of rain and Very noisy thunder.</p>
42:23	<p>Crane shot of racetrack, deserted and rained out.</p> <p>MC (over loud speaker): "The passing shower doesn't seem to be passing as quickly as what we had expected... The races will be abandoned for the day and we'll</p>	

start tomorrow morning commencing at about 9 o'clock. If you'd like to stay in Glenorchy there will be entertainment in the hall tonight with (indistinct)"

MC to friends: "We'll go to the pub."

Shot of the outside of the pub.

45:15 Three naked men with genitalia disguised through camera out of focus, slide face down in mud puddles for a laugh. People still jovial - disappointed but determined to have fun.

45:30 Band in pub playing to a big crowd, people dancing.  
Exterior shots of lightning, thunder, continuous rain and leaking roof outside pub.

46:05 GM interviews local policeman Senior Constable Gavin Jensen at the pub.  
GM: "I can imagine nothing worse than standing among a group of people after the races have been cancelled at midday and have to stand here perfectly sober and keep a calm eye on things, as a dreadful experience."  
(Title: Senior Constable Gavin Jensen)  
GJ: "Well we knock off later on so we probably make up for it then. But ... certainly it hasn't dampened the spirits anyhow. The spirit still going all over the place (although it's) flooded out."  
GM: "Speaking of which ... is the road still open back to Queenstown?"  
Cut away shots of people drinking. Andrea Roy doing a "Biggles" impersonation in the pub, and shot of Ann Percy.  
GJ: "As far as I'm aware... I was speaking to Queenstown just before and yeah it's still open which is unusual with the amount of rain we've been having .. there's normally some washout along the way."  
GM: "Where do all these people stay? I mean, there are a lot of visitors who obviously aren't

going to drive to Queenstown over that road. What happens later on?"

GJ: "Well you get up early in the morning and you'll find out."

GM laughs.

GJ: "Just mind you don't stand on them."

(cut away shots to people having fun in the pub despite the weather conditions).

46:55

Ads

49:50

Scenes of flooding the next morning. Dirty, muddy flood water running in the river.

GM (standing by a washed out road, torrential waters behind him): "Well this was an ambling perambulating stream which tricked it's way beneath the bridge beneath the road to Queenstown. But as you can see the road to Queenstown is no more and our stay in Glenorchy has been somewhat extended."

GM interviews Mark Hassleman .

GM: "Do you think it would have come down in a wave?"

MH: "Oh it must have come down in a wave... there's obviously been a big build up in the hills here and it's just thousands... millions of tonnes of water that's come down and just spewed everywhere."

GM: "There's people in a van over there... I'm going to give them a wave to cheer them up ... I think they've been there all night. They're probably between slips over there."

MH: "I'd say so ... yeah, yeah They're stranded... yeah, yeah."

49:55

GM talks to Iris Scott.

IS: "This is flowing through my place."

GM: "Oh this is all your property here?"

IS: "This is where our homestead is."

GM: "Right."

IS: "And my rams are marooned there ... I've got ewes and lambs marooned further down but they're not in danger at this stage so I'm one of the lucky ones."

Cut away to a big digger coming to clear mud and rubble away.

51:09

GM interviews Doug Reid while watching the digger move mounds of mud and rubble  
(Title: Doug Reid)

GM: "Where were you when you got called?"

DR: "We were enjoying ourselves at the hotel. Yeah ... well when we came home and started sand bagging up over there to stop it going down the paddock to our house..."

(Cut away shot of flooded paddocks) "... God knows how many sheep and cattle have floated over our side of the river there."

GM: "So, what ..."

DR: "... drive up there to see our sheep up there ... and there's no way you could get up there."

51:42

Shots from above of people in raincoats and gumboots checking out the flooding.

GM interviews Deborah Kennett.

GM (V/O): Did you have any idea that the water was going to get so close to the house as this?"

DK: "Well, no but we kept a look out."

GM: "At what point did you think that sandbagging might be in order?"

DK (Close up): "Oh about half past two." (Smiles)

GM: "Is that right. So you have been up since then?"

DK: "Virtually yes... we moved up to the neighbours place about four."

GM: "Right."

DK: "We've got three small children so we moved out before things got too crazy."

GM: "I notice you didn't have any chance to get the washing in on the way past."

Cut away shot of washing drenched on the line)

DK: "No not a good day to do the washing."

GM: "Well this piece of machinery here should do the job. I gather the idea is to block off the steam a bit so it goes around your place."

DK: "Yes."

GM: "Is the forecast any better for later today, do you know, have you heard it?"

DK: "It's no better."

GM: "No better."

DK: "It's another whole twenty four hours at least ."

Shots of the digger moving and digging up trees to block the fast flowing river.

51:18

Says he heard the forecast is bad for another 24 hours at least. But the rain appears to be lighter. Shots of swollen lake, floating birds and picnic tables submerged.

GM interviews with men in a car who appear to have been involved in the clean up.

Man: "I understand the lake is rising pretty fast now and I was talking to the Harbourmaster before ... he was expecting it to rise another metre so that could cause a few problems for the houses closer to the lake and Queenstown as well."

GM (V/O cutaway shots of docking at wharf coming to pick up people): "I gather most of the people they are trying to get out, also are visitors here, is that the story? There's been one boat here so far."

Man (V/O shots of people getting on boats with luggage and umbrellas): "Yeah... I think there are another three boat loads fully booked ah... to actually lift the visitors out ... get them back out to Queenstown."

52:55

Crowd on wharf watch a dog, struggling to swim amongst the floating debris, unable to get out and in danger of drowning. People watching from bus. A woman bravely lowers herself into the water fully clothed and rescues the dog to the cheers of the crowd. As she is pulled back on to the wharf GM approaches her and she is surprised to see him. They shake hands.

GM: "Magnificent effort there."

Woman: "Thank you."

GM: "Do you do this sort of thing a lot?"

Woman: "Every day of the week."

GM: "well done."

53:29

Aerial shot of wharf, boat, swollen river and township. Camera zooms out from the

Slow, electric guitar

township to show the enormity of mud filled river surrounding it.

music, then speeds  
up

54:55

People band together to clean up - make sandbags, walking in water up to their waists.

GM interviews Robert Koch on his property.

GM: "What about livestock?"

RK: "Well I've got sixty odd cattle out on the river flats and it's just a sheet of water at the moment and I won't know until the weather clears... what they're up to."

GM: "Right, so you can't go up in your gyrocopter in these conditions?"

RK: "Well now the rain's stopped perhaps I can."

GM: "Right."

RK: "But ah ... I better get up there soon before it starts again."

GM and RK walk around the property.

GM: "Oh I see ... look at this in here ... an indoor swimming pool in there now."

GM opens a shed door to see the interior full of water.)

RK: "Where I can teach the sheep to swim."

GM laughs.

GM: "You can hear the water draining away down below."

Koch says conditions are right yet to take his gyrocopter up. They walk around Koch's property to inspect it, look at the "indoor" swimming pool inside a shed which appears to be draining.

54:30

GM greets a woman Ann (Percy) holding her child Michelle who are surveying the river and washed out bridge and road with a sign behind which says "One Lane Bridge" and a car at the edge on the other side.

GM: "Hi Ann, Michelle.... Find my way gingerly across the swamp ... dear, dear, dear what a scene of devastation. This is rather a shame to have to meet you under these circumstances given that the day we were having on Saturday ..."

Ann: "Yeah I know it's amazing ... we were in the lounge and one flash of lightning and we looked out the window and it was coming down the lounge window..."

(Aerial view of house surrounded by mud) "...you could see about a foot and a half on the lounge window. We just all panicked, were just lucky they didn't come through. If

it had come through it would have filled up the whole room just about."

(Camera zooms in to man digging mud from the front of the house)

Ann: "But I think the creek above the house must have burst but luckily there are some trees there which would have filtered it. Otherwise we would had had big logs like that all through it."

Cut away to shots of debris and logs.

GM: "Where are we here. What's the name of this creek or river?"

(Cut away shots of metal and sealed road collapsed)

Ann: "This is Scott's Creek and yeah it usually, the creek runs over there where that bridge it ... and it's changed course completely and the bridge is just totally moved.

Close up shot of mangled concrete, showing the force of the flooding.

Racy music starts

55:25

Robert Koch in his gyrocopter is now flying in the air (conditions presumably okay now).

Aerial shots of the flooding.

Cut to Robert Koch and GM on the ground finding three cattle stuck in mud up to their hips. Shot shows blue sky reflected in the water.

GM: "Oh here's a third one... got its front feet bogged down as well."

GM, RK and a woman try to roll cow out of mud, but their efforts are fruitless.

RK: "Actually we'll leave her now, she's actually got stuck... This one over here could be in trouble... cows have got horns but that's the only case they've got to hook a rope on to."

GM: "Right, right... well wouldn't pay us to get too near there by the look of things."

RK: "No, no."

GM: "So it's back to the tractor then."

RK: "Back to the tractor I'm afraid.

Ground shots as they try to help the stock out, but it is fruitless so they return to their tractor.

Music starts.

56:36

Aerial view of the Roys' homestead

GM interviews Andrea and Malcolm Roy outside their home.

AR: "It was like somebody had died, you know. The place just looks terrible, it's done

so much. It was just awful."

MR: "Two o'clock... something like that it came through the house and ...yeah I suppose that was where the main damage was done."

GM: "Did you hear it? Did you, is that how you...?"

MR: "No I didn't... I'm a very sound sleeper." (laughs) "... so there was all this screaming and bashing downstairs and I didn't realise something was up " (laughs).

GM: "And when you went downstairs what did you find?"

MR: "Quite a lot of water, you know it was sort of flowing everywhere really."

GM: "So where was all this gravel originally? Right up here somewhere?"

MR: "It came up off the hill... just..."

GM: Well how on earth do you start to resurrect...No?"

MR: "Well I'm not quite sure at the moment... yeah, I'm not quite sure, but we've got plenty of gravel for roads and things like that so we're pretty well set up for a while."

GM (laughs): "At least 250 years!"

MR: "Yeah I don't think we'll have to go far will we."

Cutaway shot of MR driving a bulldozer, but next shot cut backs to GM interviewing him outside his home again.

GM: "So you think you're going to be able to push enough stuff out of the way to....?"

MR: "I'm really not sure ... the trouble with a repair like this is quite often it's temporary because Mother Nature is a lot stranger than we are."

GM: "This is actually a major engineering feat you are undertaking here. This is the local equivalent of the Clyde Dam by the looks of it ha."

MR: "The trees have already have fallen in there so hopefully what I'll do is I'll push up rocks against the gate and that will hold it, fingers and toes crossed really."

Cutaway shots of a dog climbing over a rushing stream.

57:35

Bulldozer tries to move rubble.

58:00

Gm interviews Andrea Roy who is carrying a bucket.

GM: "Where are you going with the bucket?"

AR: "In search of water for flushing the toilets."

GM: "Is that right... so it's come down to that now has it?"

AR: "Yes."  
 GM: "How many miles do you have to go and get it?"  
 AR: "UM..." She looks around. "A long way."  
 GM: "Redirected stream over there somewhere."  
 AR: "Now that everything has dried up."  
 GM: "And tragically we are standing on your drive."  
 AR: "yes."  
 GM: "That you've just finished constructing I believe."  
 AR: "Yes... it took me many days to gravel this driveway by hand ... it was looking beautifully white, small pebblestones ... all the way along here."  
 GM: "So you have shoveled stones..."  
 AR: "Shoveled and shoveled off... got stuck... had to shovel it on again ... carried it on. Good for the waistline and the soul."  
 GM puts his arms around her.

GM: "This is a tragic bad luck story. I admire your courage and your spirit and you still have a smile on your face. I'm getting choked up - I think I'll need to go and have a lie down."  
 GM walks out of camera shot seemingly distressed.  
 AR: "That's life though." (laughs nervously)

58:54

Aerial shots of the devastation and receding waters, cars trapped in mud, people clearing up.

59:20

GM standing in front of the flooded Glenorchy waterfront reserve and talks to camera.  
 GM: "Well there we have it. The best laid plans of mice and men. I came here to enjoy a day at the races and I've ended up in some kind of natural disaster. It just goes to prove as generations have known long before me, that the high country is a wonderful place, but it pays to respect it."

GM turns around and walks back toward the wharf as the camera pans up to show the scene of the flooded lake.

The ferry departs - people give a friendly wave and shout farewell.