Ngā Kaikawekōrero*: Producing Māori television documentary in Aotearoa New Zealand

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* Term coined by Tainui Stephens in discussions for this thesis. Translates as 'the storytellers' or 'the story carriers'.

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Attestation of Authorship

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

Sophie Aroha Johnson

Acknowledgments

Ethical Approval

Ethics Approval (11/32) from the AUT University Ethics Committee was gained prior to commencement of the study and written informed consent was obtained from each participant prior to the commencement of data collection.

As the aims of the research changed during the course of my study, amendments to my original ethics application was made and two separate approvals were obtained.

Interviews: March 11, 2011

Focus groups: September 5, 2011

Terminology

Some of the key terms used in this thesis are attributed to certain contexts and require clarification. A list of these terms and their intended meaning are outlined below.

Māori documentary: refers to a specific sub-genre of television documentary that is produced by, with and for Māori.

Māori documentary producer: describes those who fulfill the key creative roles within Māori television documentary production including writers, directors and producers. Māori practitioners are understood to perform a combination of these due to the lack of Māori in the industry and the varying levels of cultural, linguistic and technological proficiency. The term is also used to describe the working role of interview participants, although the galvanizing of Māori documentary production culture through MTS is recognized as having contributed to further specialization of creative roles among practitioners.

Māori broadcaster: refers to television broadcasters who have the core purpose of promoting te reo me ngā tikanga Māori while providing Māori perspectives. Māori Television Service is currently the only television broadcaster of this kind, providing Māori programming through its two channels Māori Television and Te Reo.

Cross-cultural: understood as the intertwining of Māori and non-Māori culture through forms of communication. More specifically but not exclusively, it refers to the crossover between Māori and Pākehā in their unique relationship as Treaty partners.

Mainstream: refers to Tier 1 channels as defined by NZ On Air (2012). For example, TVNZ and TV3 are considered mainstream broadcasters.

Māori: the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Te reo, te reo Māori: the Māori language.

Indigenous: people of the land. A capital 'I' is applied to indicate the use of the term as a proper noun, following Barry Barclay's (2003a) conception of Indigenous peoples as a unique entity.

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

He Kupu Whakataki

Karakia

E oho e oho ngā atua!	Stir awake the gods
E oho e oho ngā tāngata!	Ensure humans are alert
Kawea te kura ki Rangi	Convey this knowledge through the heavens
Kawea te kura ki Papa	Convey this knowledge across the land
Ka rongo ki pōuriuri	To light up the dark recesses of ignorance
Ka rongo te ao hurihuri	To inform this turbulent world
Tīkina atu ngā tāonga o ōku tīpuna	Reach for the treasures of my ancestors
Kia tīramarama ai	To ensure clarity
Kia māramarama ai	To instill understanding
Te pāho o tōku ao!	In the transmission of my world!

Mihi

He mihi he maioha aroha ki ngā toa i whawhai ki te pāho pakipūmeka ki runga i ngā ngaruhau. Tēnei te whiwhi a ngā hāpori ki te wānanga a o tātou tīpuna.

This is a tribute, a deep token of love and respect for those combatants who fought valiantly to broadcast documentaries on the airwaves. Our communities are richer for partaking of the knowledge from our ancestors.

Abstract

In Aotearoa New Zealand, television documentary is a particularly significant genre through which Māori stories can be told from Māori perspectives. Additionally, the wide reach of mainstream television makes it an ideal platform for communicating Māori stories in a way that can advance inter-iwi and cross-cultural dialogue in Aotearoa. However, for decades, the ability for Māori documentary producers to have their stories told on mainstream television has been a very difficult task. This stems from the fact that te Ao Māori presents a different worldview from that of mainstream – predominantly Pākehā – audiences. Opportunities for Māori programming on State-owned broadcaster Television New Zealand (TVNZ) have been limited further since the advent of the Māori Television Service (MTS) in 2004.

Focusing on the period 2000 – 2010, this study draws from interviews conducted with Māori documentary producers about the nature of their work and the challenges they have faced within the context of New Zealand television broadcasting. Further analysis situates producers' experiences within relevant institutional and political contexts. Focus group sessions with young Māori media students supplement discussions about television documentary representations of Māori, and a formal documentary analysis of *Hīkoi: Inside Out* seeks to demonstrate the possibilities for kaupapa Māori documentary on mainstream television.

Māori documentary producers understand their main role to be that of 'storyteller', a role that entails specific responsibilities to Māori. Challenges of access to mainstream television were mainly due to the increasing commercialization of networks and the disparate requirements of funders and broadcasters. Although policy initiatives have improved issues of access, variance between stakeholder demands limited the extent to which practices of tikanga Māori can be incorporated into production processes, further inhibiting the development of distinctly Māori narratives. While this study recognizes that the increased presence of Māori documentary across Tier 2 channels may be a future way forward, it also sees value in further discussion regarding the significance of TVNZ's Treaty obligations alongside those of MTS to ensure adequate provisions are made for the inclusion of Māori documentary storytelling on mainstream television.

Chapter One: Introduction

In media and communications research, it has long been recognized that the ability of television to reach a national audience makes it a powerful communication tool (Fiske, 1987; Hall, 1980; Hartley, 1999; Spoonley, 1990). Television is particularly useful for providing information to citizens through factual programming, which includes news, current affairs, magazine and documentary. For Indigenous peoples, having the ability to disseminate information via the medium of television is crucial for maintaining iwi communication and for speaking cross-culturally (Hodgetts, Barnett, Duirs, Henry & Schwanen, 2005; Reweti, 2006; Te Kawa a Māui, 2005). Documentary, a unique genre of factual programming that is creatively flexible, is ideal for Indigenous and minority groups wanting to speak about issues that are important to their communities in a way that is palatable for them.

Māori documentary may be understood as a distinct storytelling genre that is produced by, with and for Māori. It functions primarily as a means of communication between Māori, but can also be used for speaking with others from a Māori perspective. Communicating stories from a Māori perspective serves to combat discrimination and diversify understandings of Māori identity (Wilson & Stewart, 2008), and the inclusion of these perspectives on mainstream television has the potential to disrupt hegemonic discourses about the truth of who we are as a nation and how we have come to be (Hartley, 2004; Smith, 2006). With roots in social and political activism (Nichols, 2010), the documentary genre is a key mode of Indigenous expression, having the capacity to adequately address the structural inequalities that have resulted in the oppression of Indigenous peoples (Smith, 1999). It also appeals as a reasonably fluid format that allows for alternative forms of creative expression. The sub-genre of television documentary necessarily imposes more restrictions than that of film in its preferred format, due to the inherent time constraints of the television medium. However, the continued commitment to this genre by Māori programme makers suggests an ongoing passion for telling real Māori stories in creative and compelling ways.

Currently, Indigenous broadcaster Māori Television Service (MTS) is the main television outlet for Māori documentary in New Zealand. MTS provides a range of local and international Indigenous documentary in its programming schedule, including one-off documentaries, documentary series, and feature length documentaries. Having

Māori stories included on mainstream television continues to be a struggle for producers of Māori documentary, mainly because of the limited audience numbers such content is understood to attract. This issue has not gone unrecognized, however, and certain policies have been specially designed to improve mainstream access for Māori documentary producers. Whether their implementation has instigated any genuine change is another matter, but the fact that there have been attempts to improve the situation for Māori indicates some acknowledgement of the inequalities that exist within New Zealand television broadcasting.

Problem Identification

Previous representational research about Māori and the New Zealand media has focused on the specific representations that are produced or reinforced through print and television texts, with a particular emphasis on the news genre (Abel, 2006; Barclay & Liu, 2003; Fox, 1992; McCreanor, 1993; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Te Kawa a Māui, 2005; Wall, 1997). The idea that Māori have been historically misrepresented on New Zealand television, and that these misrepresentations have had a significant effect on Māori wellbeing, is well documented in Aotearoa media studies and social commentary (Abel, 1997; Nairn, 2006; Spoonley, 1990; Walker, 1990; Walker 2002). At the same time, little attention in the literature has been given specifically to Māori television production contexts, and even fewer works locate the representational distinctiveness of the Māori television documentary genre.

A cultural studies of production approach is adopted by Abel (1997), who examines the perceptions and working conditions of television news producers to gain an understanding about how television news produces a dominant ideology of monoculturalism. As in Abel's work, studies that do use a production studies approach, such as McGregor and Comrie's (2002) anthology of news producer interviews, or Dunleavy & Joyce's (2011) extensive study of New Zealand's screen industry, have concentrated on Pākehā television production contexts, and the few projects that explore Māori contexts of production are not specific to television documentary. Māori television documentary, as this thesis seeks to demonstrate, is a distinct form of production that requires specific consideration in research as well as practice.

This study also shares similarities with a thesis on Māori television documentary by Angela Moewaka Barnes. Although this research was conducted as part of a Masters degree, the dearth of work in the field has meant that opportunities for providing a

useful comparison to the present study is limited, and it is important to consider thesis research in the area. Similar to this research, Barnes (2003) also seeks to investigate how producers of Māori documentary negotiate access restrictions to primetime free-to-air television, using a kaupapa Māori framework. In addition to this, the present study will also address the contemporary contexts from which New Zealand television broadcasting has developed, in order to shed light on the renewed role of Māori documentary producers. The impact of a Māori television channel, for example, provides a key dimension that differentiates this study from Barnes' work. New Zealand's unique television broadcasting system, which is largely under the rule of the State but is also highly commercial, makes it an interesting case study for examination – one that is specific to and not transferrable from the national context.

New Zealand media studies literature recognizes the television broadcasting industry as one that yields significant power within society, so the notion that national broadcasters have a social responsibility to provide adequate information programming for a diverse range of audiences is widely conceded (Cocker, 2006; Cocker 2008; Comrie & Fountaine, 2005; Dunleavy, 2008; Dunleavy, 2009; Horrocks, 2004b; Murdock, 1997; Thompson, 2012, June 28). Commentators have referred to the rights of citizens to have access to a range of quality information programming and the democratic ideal of television broadcasting as a public service that inform these ideas about broadcaster responsibility. The link between these ideals and the realities of television production contexts is often not made explicit in the literature, and broadcasters' dual obligations to Māori – under general citizen's rights as well as those under the Treaty of Waitangi – are rarely discussed in any depth. Although this level of policy analysis is not viable within the confines of this particular study, departures between policy and practice will be identified in order to assess the effectiveness of specific political interventions for the production of Māori documentary.

International literature about Indigenous media production focuses on the various ways in which Indigenous identities can be expressed through media – mostly through film and community video rather than television – over a variety of genres (Elder, 2010; Leuthold, 1997a; Leuthold, 1997b; Stewart, 2007; Wilson & Stewart, 2008; Worth & Adair, 1972). In a study on Native American documentary film, Leuthold (1997a) found that the underlying values informing documentaries by Indigenous filmmakers, such as the desire for Indigenous sovereignty and a concern for communicating an Indigenous understanding of history, were fundamentally different from those arising in non-native

film, indicating the emergence of a distinct Indigenous documentary genre. Wilson and Stewart (2008) also identify some of the underlying purposes for which Indigenous peoples produce media content, such as advocating for resources and rights as well as preserving language and culture. Indigenous media production literature from New Zealand is mostly concerned with film as distinct from Māori television programmes (Gauthier, 2008; Kelly, 2011; Mercier, 2010, July; Murray, 2007; Peters, 2007, 2011; Pihama, 1996; Waititi, 2008, Walker, 2006). Some studies have considered the Māori Television channel as a key vehicle for Indigenous expression (Smith, 2006; Smith & Abel, 2008; Stephens 2004), but the use of mainstream television broadcasters for vocalizing Māori experiences is not regarded with the same level of conviction, suggesting a level of complacency about the inequalities that exist within New Zealand television production even with the presence of an Indigenous broadcaster.

Researcher Reflexivity

Research is inevitably affected by the subjectivities of the researcher, including their background, past experiences, knowledge and attitudes. My position in relation to the research is clear. As I am of both Māori and European descent, I have had to navigate between two very different worlds. Although my dual identity as Māori and as Pākehā has caused some internal confusion as to where I might fit in, it has also meant that I have been able to locate myself within each cultural landscape, subsequently working towards an understanding of both Māori and Pākehā worldviews. This has opened up opportunities for me to facilitate communication between the two cultures, which has lead to aspirations for utilizing media as a tool for cross-cultural understanding at a national level. My interest in "talking in" (Barclay, 1990, p. 74), or Māori communicating with Māori, came from an eventual recognition from my experiences within different Māori communities that te Ao Māori is comprised of a diverse range of peoples, and that misunderstanding and discrimination between Māori was also occurring. For example, my own hapū Ngāti Pikiahu Waewae of the Rangitīkei area is a dual representative of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Paranihi, 2008). Disagreement over the original formation and nature of this inter-iwi relationship has stimulated division between the descendants of Raukawa and those of Tūwharetoa, even within individual whānau. It seemed to me that unless we were speaking to ourselves first, we would be in no position to speak about ourselves to others.

My identity as Māori enabled interview participants to feel comfortable expressing their desires and fears about the future of Māori media production. In addition, I could

appreciate the amount of time, energy and resources involved in production from my background as a television production major. I also share the demographic profile of the young Māori media students who participated in the focus group sessions, which helped me to understand the nuances and subtle inflections in their methods of communication. As a kaupapa Māori researcher, I displayed a clear agenda in my work that corresponded with those of participants – that is, to shed light on and to work towards improving the current situation for Māori television documentary production, and for Māori people in general.

I have witnessed in the lives of whānau and friends the devastating impact of the ongoing processes of colonization. My father, a storyteller to his core, cannot express himself in his own reo. Descendants of chiefly lines live in poverty, while urban Māori youths turn to criminal gang culture for that yearned-after sense of belonging. This study is anchored within a critical research paradigm, which acknowledges the structural inequalities that have resulted in the oppression of Māori and Indigenous peoples (Smith, 1999). More specifically, the research is informed by a kaupapa Māori approach that is both critical and transformative (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006; Mahuika, 2008).

Through research, I strive toward a better future for my people. I strongly believe in the empowering potential of self-representation through media and am a staunch advocate of the documentary genre. My own experience of producing and disseminating Māori documentary is limited to university projects, however these have opened up for me a whole world of Indigenous media production in which I have met a relatively small but fiercely passionate group of Indigenous storytellers who work tirelessly for their kaupapa. They inspire me to continue in what feels like a never-ending uphill battle, and to do so with absolute purpose and conviction.

Research Purpose and Objectives

Few studies in New Zealand have examined the specific contexts in which Māori television documentary production takes place. As a distinct form of Indigenous production, it is important that Māori television documentary is considered on its own terms and situated within the appropriate contexts. This thesis considers the generic distinctiveness of Māori television documentary, and illustrates these characteristics through a textual analysis of the documentary *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (Ellmers, 2004).

As State-owned television is a taxpayer-funded medium that has the ability to reach wide audiences, it is important to map the political environment that governs its production. This includes an examination of the various policies that have been designed to encourage Māori television documentary production, as well as an acknowledgement of the wider economy within which television broadcasting operates. As stated earlier, it is necessary to make explicit connections between policy and practice in order to assess their effectiveness; therefore selected policy documents have been analyzed alongside the real-world experiences of producers working in the field.

Prior to 2004, research in the area of Māori television production focused on content made for mainstream television. Indeed, as Ella Henry points out, Television New Zealand's (TVNZ) Māori Programming Department can be readily credited for having archived the most extensive source of Māori television documentary in the country (personal communication, January 20, 2012). Since the advent of MTS, however, the research focus has largely been on media production for the Indigenous channel, and questions remain over the relevance of Māori documentary for mainstream television. This research seeks to revive discussions about the relevance of Māori documentary production for mainstream broadcast in light of the Indigenous broadcaster's presence, supporting the idea that Māori documentary has a place on both TVNZ and MTS as State-owned broadcasters.

This study employed a kaupapa Māori approach to production research. This approach was considered particularly appropriate for the investigation of Māori documentary production, which operates under the auspices of kaupapa. Furthermore, it provided a framework that acknowledges the right of Māori as tangata whenua to have equal access to apparatuses of the State that enable them to have a voice. This study also drew from a critical cultural studies of production approach that enables examination of the relationship between Māori documentary producers, audiences and texts, with a focus on the role of individual producers within the wider field of television production.

Thesis statement:

As the country's mainstream State-owned broadcaster, TVNZ has specific Treaty obligations to make available a diverse range of Māori programming. Māori documentary is particularly important for providing the necessary historical information to contextualize Māori perspectives that have otherwise been misrepresented or neglected, particularly through mainstream news media. Despite recognition within governmental and institutional policy about the importance of documentary and of having a strong Māori presence on national television, the genre of Māori documentary is one that continues to be under-represented on TVNZ. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Indigenous broadcaster Māori Television Service (MTS) is currently recognized as the main outlet for television documentaries intended primarily for Māori audiences. While the advent of MTS has provided a key avenue for Māori documentary storytelling, it has also signaled fewer opportunities for mainstream broadcast of this type of programming. The documentary *Hīkoi: Inside Out*, which broadcast on TVNZ in 2004, provides an important example of a Māori documentary for mainstream television. Despite attempts to improve access by funders, broadcasters, and other key members of the Māori screen production industry, Māori documentary producers have continued to struggle to have Māori stories accepted by TVNZ.

The research study will answer the following research questions:

1) How do producers of Māori documentary conceive of their role within the New Zealand television landscape? What are their motivations for producing Māori documentary?

2) What are the challenges for producers wanting to make Māori documentaries for television? How are Māori producers meeting these challenges?

3) How is Television New Zealand catering for Māori audiences in their documentary programming given the context of Māori Television Service? In what ways might *Hīkoi: Inside Out* be considered an example of a kaupapa Māori documentary for mainstream television?

The research questions for this study have been shaped by two key methodological interdisciplinary positions – kaupapa Māori and production studies. Both perspectives have contributed to the design and implementation of this research.

Thesis outline

This thesis has been divided into six chapters.

Chapter Two, the literature review, contextualizes Māori television documentary production in Aotearoa New Zealand. It explores the various conceptualizations of Māori and Indigenous documentary storytelling and addresses the historical representation of Māori in the media. The chapter considers how television documentary is appropriate for telling Māori stories, tracking the emergence and contemporary contexts of New Zealand television broadcasting.

Chapter Three, methodology, provides a detailed analysis of the philosophy underlying the use of kaupapa Māori and production studies, followed by a description of the qualitative methods used for acquiring and analyzing data.

Chapter Four evaluates the motivations of Māori documentary producers and their self-perceived role within the New Zealand television broadcasting landscape. Challenges for the production of Māori documentary is discussed alongside perceptions of young Māori media students about how Māori are represented on television.

Chapter Five outlines Māori producers' conceptions of Māori documentary as well as its perceived social and cultural significance. A textual analysis of the documentary *Hīkoi: Inside Out* is supplemented by discussions among young Māori media students, demonstrating its distinctiveness as a kaupapa Māori documentary for mainstream television. The chapter also examines the infrastructure within which Māori documentary producers operate. It makes use of aspects of policy document analysis and content analysis to discuss past attempts within television broadcasting to promote Māori documentary storytelling.

Chapter Six, the conclusion, summarizes the main findings, identifies the strengths and limitations of the study, and considers future directions for Māori documentary. Final comments on the research are made.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter opens with an exploration of the various ways in which Māori and Indigenous documentary storytelling is conceptualized, followed by a discussion of the historical representation of Māori in the media. Next, the chapter looks at television documentary in New Zealand and considers how this genre may be appropriate for telling Māori stories. The chapter then tracks the emergence of New Zealand's highly commercial television broadcasting environment and reflects on past attempts to employ a more public service approach. Finally, the impact of Māori Television Service (MTS) is considered in relation to some of the key policy initiatives for the inclusion of Māori documentary on TVNZ.

Framing Māori and Indigenous Film

Māori and Indigenous film has a short history, especially in comparison with that of Western film. This has been widely understood as a reflection of the power imbalances within the world of media production, a world where Indigenous peoples have been misrepresented as inherently athletic and exotic sub-species through the idealistic lens of the non-Indigenous filmmaker (Barclay, 1990; Mita, 1996; Pihama, 1996). Following the Indigenous renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s, Māori and Indigenous filmmakers gained further access to resources that would enable them to produce their own material (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). Questions arose, however, about how the technologies might be used in Indigenous hands. Would we simply replicate the images presented to us by the dominant culture? In what ways might Indigenous film differ from other forms, both in process and content? After decades of fighting for Indigenous control over Indigenous resources, these were all questions that required careful consideration.

In his book 'Our Own Image', Māori filmmaker Barry Barclay introduced one of the most influential philosophical discussions to date surrounding these questions about Indigenous film. Barclay (1990) conceived of Māori and Indigenous film as distinct from any other, and later referred to it as 'Fourth Cinema' (Barclay, 2003a). He observed that the complexities of Māori and Indigenous film could not simply be relegated to the existing categories of First, Second and Third Cinema – Hollywood, Art House and Third-World films respectively (Solanas & Getino, 1969). Barclay purported that Indigenous film necessarily occupies a distinct space in the cinema spectrum for the

fundamental reason that Indigenous cultures "are outside the national outlook *by definition*" (Barclay, 2003a, p. 7). In other words, Indigenous cultures have a way of knowing and seeing the world beyond that which prevails in the modern nation State. They carry with them the remnants of an ancient culture that, to varying extents, informs their beliefs and worldviews, forming a distinct Indigenous perspective (Barclay, 1990).

Barclay (1990; 2003a) describes this unique Indigenous viewpoint through metaphor – as a 'Camera on the Shore.' First Cinema is seen as having its camera "firmly onboard the ship" (Barclay, 2003a, p. 9), looking across to the native land-dwellers with an air of superiority. Fourth Cinema, with the camera in the hands of those people on the shore has another view altogether, which may not have anything to do with the men arriving from the sea. In his Camera on the Shore narrative, Barclay critiqued the way in which Indigenous peoples are represented, particularly in First Cinema. Perhaps more significantly, he introduced a framework from which to develop an understanding of the processes and content distinctive to Indigenous film.

In a comparative analysis of documentaries by non-Indigenous and Native American filmmakers, Leuthold (1997a) addressed the question of whether Native American documentary constitutes a distinct genre of film. He tested the theory developed by visual anthropologists Worth & Adair (1972) that Indigenous identities are expressed differently through the documentary medium than non-natives. He found that the formal structure of the documentaries did not vary significantly, however the traditional values and methods of expression in the Native American documentaries were distinct from that of non-Indigenous film. Leuthold's findings supported Barclay's idea of the existence of a Fourth Cinema, and gave clues as to how Indigenous film may be recognized. The Indigenous filmmaker is seen as unique in their practice; they draw from the traditions and values passed on by their tīpuna to guide the processes and outcomes of the film. According to Leuthold's (1997a) analysis, these values emerge through Indigenous documentary as an apparent desire to "achieve economic, political and social autonomy, as well as "equal rights" in the context of the larger society" (p. 87).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, this desire might better be understood as tino rangatiratanga, the sovereign State of the Māori people. As this thesis will seek to demonstrate, *Hīkoi: Inside Out* provides an example of a Māori documentary that expresses a strong desire

for tino rangatiratanga as well as other principles of kaupapa Māori. Previously, *Hīkoi* was the subject of a case study analysis that sought to identify the social relevance of the documentary's framing of Māori protest action, with reference to dominant Pākehā portrayals of the same phenomena (Hodgetts et al, 2005). The establishment of historical context, reframing of relationships between Māori and the Crown, and promotion of the legitimacy of Māori grievances through positive portrayals of protestors demonstrated the ways in which *Hīkoi* offered an alternative view to dominant narratives being promoted in the media (Hodgetts et al, 2005). *Hīkoi* may be understood as a key example of a Māori documentary for mainstream television that promotes Māori interests and draws from a distinctly Māori perspective.

It appears intention is an important factor when deciding what is and what is not Fourth Cinema. In Leuthold's (1997a) research, textual analysis has brought to light some of the common themes within Native American documentary that suggest a collective Indigenous agenda. Ideas about how the filmmaker's intention might be connected to this specific genre would need to be explored through the use of interviews with the Indigenous filmmakers themselves. The absence of interviews in Leuthold's research limits the extent to which claims about the distinctiveness of Native American documentary can be substantiated, but a common thread is evident. Barclay (2003a) himself acknowledged that the difficulties involved in deciding what is and what is not Fourth Cinema are numerous, particularly as the field has not yet acquired a large enough body of work to enable comparison. On the other hand, the desire for self-determination is revealed as a common trait in Indigenous film production, which presents an opportunity for producers to communicate and collaborate beyond their national boundaries. This is not a phenomenon that should go unnoticed, and certainly deserves further investigation in the area of film and media studies.

In the New Zealand context, Waititi (2006) investigated the effectiveness of Western modes of representation in Māori film. She compared Nichols' modes of documentary representation alongside Māori values and beliefs, and found that the existing modes were not ethically or culturally appropriate to Māori. Waititi (2006) contended that the inadequacies of these modes in Māori contexts highlighted the need for Māori communities to develop their own genre. It is clear that Waititi draws from a tikanga Māori perspective, namely what is considered right or wrong within a Māori context. What this does not address, however, is the different perspectives that exist between

different iwi on ethical issues that arise from filmmaking – what is acceptable in a Ngāpuhi context may be completely inappropriate when filming in Tūhoe land.

An inadvertent danger in establishing a formal 'Māori genre', then, is the demand for concrete definition. Interview participants for this research were of a similar view, stating that the need to define originates from requirements of the funders than from Māori themselves. Difference in tikanga between iwi and hapū is at risk of being diminished to a list of pointers for the unsuspecting filmmaker. Barclay had similar concerns about pan-Māori definitions in his critique of the role of the cultural advisor in Māori film: "the Indigenous camera is grounded in the community, not Hollywood coming along with their cultural advisor telling you how the people are" (Barclay as quoted in Tuckett, 2009). In any case, Waititi (2006) is drawing from her own tribal background in determining a set of documentary ethics. Considerations of tikanga will vary between different iwi, hapū, and whānau, suggesting the need for individual communities to establish how their tikanga should be translated in the context of film and video production.

In a later article, Waititi (2008) examined how the external processes of filmmaking influenced the wairua, or 'inner essence', of Māori film. Firstly, she discussed the ways in which her own documentary processes were influenced by kaupapa Māori values. In contrast with traditional documentary methods, Waititi's process included having whānau members as the film crew and interviewing kaumātua in groups. These processes are illustrative of what Barclay (2003a) discusses in his 'Camera on the Shore' narrative – the Fourth Cinema camera operates in a manner that is fundamentally different to that of the ship people. Such practices as maintaining a long distance between the camera and participants and allowing people to speak in groups demonstrate how the Fourth Cinema camera behaves as a 'listener' (Barclay, 1990). In the context of Waititi's (2008) documentary interactions, the camera was positioned in such a way that minimized any sense of intrusiveness, so that the production was more receptive to Māori values. Waititi advocates a kaupapa Māori approach – films made "by, with and for Māori" (Smith, 1999) – when filming in iwi, hapū and whānau contexts. This allows an 'Indigenous interiority' to develop and be revealed to the audience as a distinct characteristic of Māori film (Waititi, 2008).

Indigenous interiority, or 'essence', is understood to be a distinguishing factor of Fourth Cinema, although to define it is problematic. There is the suggestion, for example, that

only those who are connected to the film can be in any position to judge it (Barclay, 1990; Waititi, 2008). Who else but the community concerned can decide whether Waititi's documentary accurately portrays their lived experiences? In a wider context, perhaps the most pressing issue is in the very act of definition. Dominant Western culture has demanded hard and fast definition for everything that is held sacred in the Indigenous world, including one's sense of Indigenous identity (O'Sullivan, 2004). Creating a universal definition of Māori or Indigenous documentary is not what is important here. Rather, it is about creating an understanding for ourselves as Māori for what we want it to be. If we are to combat the effects of negative representation, we must position ourselves as gatekeepers of our own image, "lest others speak for us" (Gauthier, 2008, p.58).

Television documentary has received less attention in Māori and Indigenous media production research. In a thesis conducted prior to the advent of MTS, Barnes (2003) sought to find out how producers of Māori documentary negotiate access restrictions to primetime free-to-air television. Drawing from a kaupapa Māori methodology, Barnes employed a case study approach in which three television documentary texts were analyzed to reveal how the political complexities of television production affect the resulting documentary product. This is supplemented by interview commentary from Māori programme makers about their experiences producing television documentary. Barnes found that Māori programme makers were driven by a passion for telling Māori stories, but that their capacity to have them produced was limited by political and institutional forces. For those that were produced, the final product eventually emerged as the kind of story acceptable to the demands of the broadcaster, which did not necessarily coincide with the original vision of the producer. Furthermore, Barnes asserted that a dualistic approach to documentary-making, which employs techniques to generate the interest of mainstream audiences while also providing enough narrative depth to satisfy a Māori audience, is a necessary consideration for Māori programme makers and may be understood as a distinct characteristic of Māori television documentary production.

Preliminary work has looked at the intentions of Māori storytellers who employ the documentary genre. In a 2003 report for the New Zealand Broadcasting Commission (NZ On Air) the most common topic areas in Māori documentary storytelling for television were said to be history, geography, culture, and politics (Horrocks, 2003). According to Horrocks (2003), Māori documentary storytellers are mainly driven by

their desire to explore whakapapa, represent minority views, and normalize Māori culture. This can be recognized in some of the earlier documentary work on TVNZ by Māori storytelling pioneers Barry Barclay, Ernie Leonard, Selwyn Muru, Whai Ngata and others. Barclay's *Tangata Whenua* (Barclay & King, 1974) was groundbreaking as a series, and allowed New Zealanders to experience a depth of Māori culture never before seen on television. Each of the six episodes focused on a particular iwi, which included interviews with kaumātua of that rohe (NZ on Screen, 2012a). Māori magazine and current affairs programme *Koha* (Leonard, 1980) explored a wide range of issues including tribal history, social problems, and the development of te reo Māori. *Koha* was the first regular Māori documentary series for mainstream primetime television, and was significant in that it provided the opportunity for both Māori and Pākehā audiences to keep informed about current Māori issues from all over the country.

Māori and Indigenous filmmakers may be understood to have a particular affinity with the documentary genre because, as Hodgetts et al (2005) contend, it "has a long history of use among political movements for foregrounding grievances and promoting social change through the projection of suppressed perspectives into public dialogue" (pp. 195-196). Political documentaries continue to be largely neglected by mainstream broadcasters because they are seen as 'risky' (Horrocks, 2003; Ngā Matakiirea, 2010), but there have been significant attempts to explore political issues through film. Māori filmmaker Merata Mita explored the issue of racism in her feature-length documentary *Patu!* (Mita, 1983), which documented New Zealand's anti-apartheid movement during the 1981 Springbok Tour. When asked in an interview about being a 'political filmmaker', however, Mita replies:

> Most of the films I have worked on have dealt with social issues rather than political ones. You make a film about a social issue and that causes a political stir, so it's more truthful to say that I'm not a political filmmaker but that my film makes politics. (Jesson, 1983, p. 8)

As Peters (2007) explains, Mita's motivations for making film were principally informed by cultural rather than political concerns, situating the articulation of Māoritanga *in relation to* political discourses rather than under the broad umbrella of 'politics.' *Patu!* can therefore be understood as a Māori woman's account of the events surrounding the 1981 Springbok Tour. It directed people's attention from the overtly racist apartheid system in South Africa to the more implicit forms of racism within New Zealand society and it's various institutions (Peters, 2011). In any case, the film was seen as too controversial by New Zealand broadcasters of the time and was not screened

on television until eight years later. Fortunately, there is now a presence of this kind of programming on Māori Television and other regional channels.

Māori and the Media

Researchers from a range of academic disciplines have undertaken research about the relationship between Māori and the media in Aotearoa. Within the realm of media and communication studies, there have been few research projects that deal specifically with Māori documentary in New Zealand, and fewer still that address the complexities of the television documentary genre. There is, however, a substantial body of media studies research that concentrates on media representations of Māori (Abel, 1997; Abel, 2006; Hodgetts et al, 2005; McCreanor, 1993; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Spoonley, 1990; Te Kawa a Māui, 2005; Walker, 2002; Walker, 2004). A principal thread running through this research is the misrepresentation of Māori through mainstream news in print, radio and television. Researchers in the field approach the issue from varying perspectives, from institutional constraints on news workers that produce a Pākehā bias, to the specific ways in which mainstream media articulate topics concerning Māori (Abel, 1997; Abel, 2006; Cochrane, 1990; McCreanor, 1993; Walker, 1990; Walker, 2002; Wall, 1997). One media commentator expressed a more cynical view about the way in which New Zealand's news media report Māori stories:

> There's nothing [the media] handle quite so badly [as Māori news]. They bungle it in all sorts of ways - playing down big issues (Māori language teaching), missing Māori implication in other issues (immigration), ignoring stories completely (major hui and festivals), quoting people who aren't Māori authorities (Winston Peters or Bob Jones) and neglecting those who are, blowing up negative stories, getting them wrong and denying they did. (Wilson, 1990, p. 49)

A prevalent theme in news media representational research is the framing of Māori as a 'threat' to Pākehā dominance. This is achieved through the type of language used by mainstream news workers that counter the validity of Māori voices (McCreanor, 1993; Spoonley, 1990; Walker, 2002). These language patterns include the construction of commonsensical Pākehā discourses, which rely on audience familiarity with Pākehā notions of commonsense (McCreanor, 1993). These kinds of representational research, which identify some of the challenges Māori face in having their voices heard through New Zealand's mainstream media, have provided the foundation from which this study arises. Concerns over Māori access to mainstream television broadcasters may seem invalid with the presence of the Māori Television Service (MTS), which has made possible for Māori a clear voice in television broadcasting. An intention within this

research is to justify the need for Māori modes of communication to be disseminated through mainstream television networks *alongside* those already being catered for by MTS. It is important, therefore, to understand how we may conceive of Māori documentary storytelling within the wider context of Indigenous storytelling and media production.

The ideological function of the media supports the hierarchy of Pākehā domination and Māori subordination (Walker, 2002). Mainstream media operates hegemonically to circulate messages to different audiences, who may or may not interpret these messages in ways that were intended (Hall, 1980). Hall (1980) proposes three hypothetical positions for the interpretation of media discourse to occur, one of which is the "dominant-hegemonic encoding/decoding which accepts the 'preferred meanings'" (p. 136). This is a very simplistic categorization of the complex decoding process, but it does serve as a departure point for understanding different ways in which messages can be read. Television is of particular interest because, as Hodgetts et al (2005) highlight, television "helps create public images of intergroup relation in society" (p. 195). In this respect, television documentary can work to either reinforce the dominant hegemonic model or to challenge it.

As Spoonley (1990) indicates, media have the power to influence the nature of intergroup relationships through these representations, and this must make them at least partly accountable for the state of race relations in New Zealand. Wall (1997) argues that some of the most common television media constructions of Māori are contemporary derivations of the 'Black Other' stereotype, and that negative associations with such stereotyping preserve and intensify discourses of Māori as the 'Black Other' in New Zealand. People who are distanced (either socially or geographically) from Māori people and culture may rely exclusively on media for information, and ongoing negative portrayals of Māori in the media can adversely affect or reinforce false perceptions of communities and individuals (McCreanor, 1993; Spoonley, 1990).

Documentary storytelling for television

The presence of Māori documentary on television has somewhat been saved by the advent of MTS, but it is a double-edged sword – while Māori Television and Te Reo channels have created a space for Māori documentary and serve as appropriate platforms for such content, the perceived need for mainstream broadcasters to also include a Māori voice seems to have diminished. In 2007, *Police Ten/7* (TVNZ, 2003b)

was cited as an example of TVNZ's commitment to Māori programming by then CEO Rick Ellis (nzherald.co.nz, 2007), further contributing to the idea that TVNZ lacked a sense of social responsibility to Māori audiences.

Noteworthy efforts to achieve mutually satisfying outcomes for both broadcasters and funders include the development of the commercial or 'popular' documentary, for which former television commissioner Geoff Steven was the driving force (NZ on Screen, 2012b). In the early 1990s, with primetime documentary virtually non-existent overseas, documentary strands *Inside NZ* (TV3, 1991) and *Documentary NZ* (TVNZ, 1998) surprised local and international broadcasters with their ratings success (Horrocks, 2003). Steven, who was known in the television industry for his vigorous commercial mindedness, said about the popular documentary strands:

> They were accessible, populist and provocative. They were also huge raters… The strands gave doco a chance to build up as a business. The next thing was to make sure the docos meet the schedulers' needs. We're talking about broadcasters not narrow-casters. That is what TV3 and TVNZ are. (Brown, 2012, May 1)

Key characteristics of Steven's popular documentary format include having a broad appeal, a strong 'throughline', emotional triggers, and a five-act structure that encourages the viewer to keep watching before and after advertisement breaks. Criticism of the popular format came largely from the independent production sector, which ridiculed the tendency of broadcasters to underestimate or 'dumb down' the viewing audience by insisting on a tabloid-style presentation (Horrocks, 2003). *Piercing – The Hole Story* (Peacocke, 2002), which broadcast on TV3 as part of the *Inside NZ* strand, was a clear example of the tabloid documentary format in use. The programme was topic-based to appeal to a very broad audience, and scenes of an enthusiast having his back pierced with two large hooks and being suspended above a raging river before performing a bungee jump provided a kind of 'shock value' that would capture audiences' attention. Rigorous promotion of this populist documentary format has made it difficult for Māori documentary producers wanting to explore alternative ways of telling stories through television documentary, and the effect of unequal power relations on Māori and Indigenous storytelling continues to be reflected within television broadcasting in Aotearoa.

Contextualizing television in New Zealand: The impact of Deregulation

In June 1960, Aotearoa was introduced to the emerging world of television viewing. For the first time, citizens would be able to see the faces of those whose voices had already become familiar through the medium of radio. The New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation (NZBC) was established as a public corporation in 1961, and in 1973 the Labour government introduced the Broadcasting Act, which created three independently operated public corporations for two television channels and radio. TVNZ was formally established in 1979, taking under its control the only existing television channels of that time – TV1 and TV2. By the early 1980s, there was intense political pressure to deregulate foreign ownership of television broadcasting. Although the report of the Royal Commission advised against deregulation out of concern for the 'public interest', this was rejected by the Labour party and TVNZ became a State-Owned Enterprise (Cocker, 1992).

The deregulation of broadcasting in New Zealand was both drastic and swift (Comrie, 1996; Cocker, 1992). Without regulation of media ownership, broadcasters' accountability to Māori would diminish, and Māori feared that their voices would become further marginalized. Comrie (1999) states that the government's move to deregulate was made in response to "pressures for economic stringency" (p. 42) and technological developments. By 1991, all restrictions on foreign ownership had been lifted. The Crown failed to discuss such decisions at length with Māori, which is required under the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori communities did, in fact, voice strong opposition to deregulation for fear of being further marginalized, but their protests fell upon deaf ears (Fox, 1992). As Cocker (2008) explains, deregulation occurred with a lack of guided response, a lack of acknowledgement of media as a distinct sector, and a lack of consultation with the public before and after the policy was implemented.

The effect of deregulation for Māori is well recognized in New Zealand media studies (Abel, 1997; Comrie, 1999; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine & Barnes, 2006). The process of deregulation was so rapid that potential issues could not and were not identified and resolved. The lack of acknowledgment of media as a distinct sector ignores broadcasting as more than a business, which in turn ignores citizens as more than consumers. As Māori programming is considered 'special interest', it is less likely to broadcast during primetime, where maximum audience numbers are the priority for broadcasters (Ngā Matakiirea, 2010). In contrast, Rennie (1992) highlights the benefits of deregulation, including the development of regional services and a wider range of

television services. Indeed, the argument that deregulation of worldwide media markets has brought about more choice is also used by McChesney (2008), but he does so in a cautionary manner: "all our most treasured values – democracy, freedom, individuality, security, cultural diversity, equality, education, community, love, health, human development – are reduced in one way or another to commodities provided by the market" (p. 280).

One example of how deregulation had a direct impact on Māori programming can be seen in the case of *Koha* (Leonard, 1980), the first regular Māori programme shown in primetime on New Zealand television. As Māori broadcaster Whai Ngata (2009) recalls, "after government deregulation of the industry, the programme moved later and later until it disappeared off the schedule." Driven by commercial interests, the cultural value of *Koha* was outweighed by the need to attract the widest audience possible. The conceptual shift of television broadcasting from a public service to a commercial enterprise has resulted in less diversity within programming, which works against the inclusion of Indigenous and minority voices.

A Public Service? Māori on television

Five decades of television broadcasting in New Zealand has seen various political changes and phases of broadcasting. Having survived deregulation of the market in the late 1980s and the commercialization of networks that ensued, public service within television has taken a different shape (Cocker, 2008). As Horrocks (2004b) notes, television broadcasting in New Zealand has always operated under a hybrid model of semi-commercialism, and the country's main broadcaster TVNZ has never been a "pure public service broadcaster" (p. 58).

Public service broadcasting is defined by its core principles; universality of availability and appeal, autonomy from vested interests, diversity of programming and perspectives, creative experimentation, incorporation of 'minority' experiences in primetime and the inclusion of viewers as participants (Murdock, 1997). According to Horrocks (2004a), public service broadcasting is "a model of broadcasting that aims to 'inform, educate and entertain'" (p. 27), tends to be organized through a State corporation, and is meant to enjoy a high degree of independence. Ideals of public service in television trace their roots from the British system of public service in radio broadcasting – famously embodied through the BBC – but have since emerged as hybrid versions. The original model was pioneered by Lord Reith, founding Director-General of the BBC from 1927

to 1938 (Dunleavy, 2008). Reith's philosophy on the conditions of public service broadcasting was that it should be controlled by government and be free of commercial pressures. This, he believed, set the foundation for "greater equality between citizens through shared experiences" and "cultural uplift for the lumpen masses" (Hendy, 2003, p. 5). These ideals were by no means a static set of requirements, but rather, part of an overarching philosophy about the purpose of television.

In Aotearoa, content was highly regulated until television broadcasting was made into a public corporation in 1961 (Horrocks, 2004a). By the late 1970s, notions of public service broadcasting (PSB) had shifted, and the government was of the view that "PSB should centre on the provision of services, was best facilitated by a pluralist approach, and should work harder to meet the needs of the full range of groups in society" (Dunleavy, 2008, p. 796). This shift from complete government control to relative autonomy provided the foundation by which television media could serve the needs of people as citizens in a democracy, acting as a 'watchdog' on the activities of the government.

The return of public service within broadcasting has been hailed as the saviour for fair and adequate representation in mainstream media (Dunleavy, 2008; Easton, 1997; Norris, 2002). These ideals include autonomy of the broadcaster "from both the State and commercial sector"; recognition and respect for difference through the "incorporation of minority experiences and views", and "a genuine diversity of representation" (Dunleavy, 2008, p. 797). The Labour Party attempted to revitalize TVNZ's public service role in the form of a Charter, which was introduced into broadcasting policy in 2003 to acknowledge the cultural importance and democratic role of television (Cocker, 2006).

The TVNZ Charter was a key document for the inclusion of Māori documentary storytelling on the mainstream State-owned broadcaster. Developed by NZ On Air and the Ministry of Broadcasting in 2001 and formally implemented in 2003, the Charter provided a list of public service objectives to which TVNZ was encouraged to adhere. These included the objective to "ensure in its programmes and programme planning the participation of Māori and the presence of a significant Māori voice" (TVNZ, 2003a). TVNZ was to fulfill this objective by featuring programmes that "enable all New Zealanders to have access to material that promotes Māori language and culture" and that "serve the interests and informational needs of Māori audiences, including

programmes promoting the Māori language and programmes addressing Māori history, culture and current issues" (TVNZ, 2003a). The extent to which these were actually implemented is questionable, however the Charter did provide a potential avenue for Māori documentary storytellers in their attempts to access the mainstream broadcaster.

In his report for NZ On Air, Horrocks (2003) describes widespread dissatisfaction from viewers and the production industry about the limited range, sensationalism, and overall decreased quality of documentaries on television. He states that the "problems most often cited are a declining quality of (1) storytelling and (2) research" as well as "the range of documentaries which seems to [be] equally important" (Horrocks, 2003, p. 1). A major contributing factor to the documentary dilemma in New Zealand is the discrepancies between the objectives of the broadcasters and those of the funders (Horrocks, 2003). The documentary genre is given special attention through government policy, which requires NZ On Air to "ensure that, in its funding of the production of television programmes, reasonable provision is made to assist in the production of drama and documentary programmes" (Broadcasting Act 1989, s 37). NZ On Air is also required under the Broadcasting Act 1989 to "reflect and develop New Zealand culture and identity" among a number of other objectives that echo public service principles of diversity and universal accessibility. The main objective of Māori Broadcasting Commission Te Māngai Pāho (TMP), on the other hand, is to protect and promote te reo Māori through broadcasting.

Broadcasters must consider commercial viability in their choice of programming in order to secure high ratings, and the degree to which this is emphasized by free-to-air broadcasters TVNZ and MTS differs according to their statutory obligations. Commercial broadcaster TVNZ, who as a State-Owned Enterprise is required to provide a significant return to the government, invests in programming that will attract as wide an audience as possible (State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986). MTS is required under its founding Act to promote te reo me ngā tikanga through Māori and English language programming that "informs, educates and entertains a broad viewing audience" (Māori Television Service Act 2003). Swinging political expectations for the primary role of broadcasters, from commercialism to a more public service approach, make it difficult to form a sustainable broadcasting environment where a wide range of high quality New Zealand documentaries may be produced and disseminated (TVNZ7, 2012b).

By and for Māori: Māori Television Service

Currently, MTS is recognized as the main provider of Māori documentary for Māori audiences. This includes documentary content in both English and te reo Māori across the two channels, Māori Television and Te Reo. According to its founding statute the main objective for MTS is to "preserve, protect, and promote te reo Māori me ngā tikanga Māori" (Māori Television Service Act 2003). The presence of Māori Television calls into question the relevance of 'Māori issues' for TVNZ; if Māori stories are being represented by and for Māori, the mainstream broadcaster may simply 'opt-out' of the responsibility to include a range of Māori programmes.

In a 1997 report of the various hui that discussed the possibility of a Māori channel, broadcasters acknowledged that "the continued presence of Māori language and culture on the mainstream networks and in primetime is fundamental," and considered that Māori "have a unique perspective or 'worldview' which should be seen as contributing to a wider 'national' culture, and portrayed on national television as a part of everyday life" (Ministry of Economic Development, 1997). The availability of an Indigenous broadcaster is a necessary step for rangatiratanga of Māori images on television, however a strong Māori presence on mainstream networks is necessary too, particularly for communicating with a wider audience (Hodgetts et al, 2005).

Māori Television Service was the result of a long and arduous struggle for Māori in their claims for use of the broadcasting spectrum (Easton, 1990, October). The oral transmission of information, a tāonga in te Ao Māori, is considered a valuable resource for the revitalization of te reo Māori, and it was decided by iwi authorities and Māori funding agencies that this would be the primary objective for a nationwide service. In July of 1991, Cabinet took decision on the development of a special purpose Māori television (Te Māngai Pāho, 2010). The Crown accepted that "the principles of the Treaty impose a continuing obligation on the Crown to take such active steps as are reasonable to assist in the preservation of the Māori language by the use of both radio and television broadcasting" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Such obligations included the delegation of $15 million to iwi radio stations and towards the development of a Māori channel (Easton, 1990, October).

That channel became known as Aotearoa Television Network (ATN), a short-lived Māori television pilot that was transmitted throughout the Auckland area (Poihipi, 2007). As Peters (2011) explains, directors of the company faced the challenge of

"having to navigate bureaucratic impediments, inadequate funding, limited time frames, and the negative biases of mainstream news organizations" (p. 311), which led to ATN's ultimate demise. In spite of its downfall, many deemed ATN a success for what it set out to achieve – it piqued the interest of Māori viewers and showcased the talent that existed in Māori television production (Burns, 1997; Poihipi, 2007; Stephens, 2004; Walker, 2004). It also provided the impetus for the setting up of MTS under the Māori Television Service Act 2003. The Act establishes the channel as a statutory corporation, so that its principal function is to promote Māori language and culture. MTS has responsibilities to two reporting stakeholders - the Crown and Te Pūtahi Pāoho, the Māori Electoral College (Māori Television, 2009).

MTS has certainly had an impact with its contributions to national culture. Using semiotic analysis, Smith and Abel (2008) examine a Māori Television promotional advertisement to investigate the potential of the channel to both disrupt and reinforce the hegemony of New Zealand settler society. The advertisement tracks the channel's establishment, and includes images of peaceful protest by Māori alongside successive images of significant anti-colonial leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela. While the link between Māori struggles for political autonomy and those of international leaders is made clear, an image of Māori and Pākehā unity at the end of the advertisement confuses the message. As Smith and Abel point out, the final image in this advertisement situates the Crown in partnership with Māori, suggesting that the channel was established through this partnership. In fact, as Smith and Abel argue, it was with great resistance from the Crown that the Māori Television Service was finally established, and in the end it did so forcibly by rule of the Privy Council in London. As well as the potential to empower through the normalization of reo and tikanga, Smith and Abel (2008) express concerns about the potential of Māori Television to conceal the "structural inequities that are the result of colonization" (p. 6).

Smith and Abel's (2008) research takes a critical stance to demonstrate the ways in which Māori Television can both disrupt and reinforce hegemonic ideas of nationhood. Smith's (2006) earlier writings on the Indigenous channel offer a more optimistic account, highlighting its potential to counteract discourses about nationhood being projected through mainstream networks (for example, TV One's "We are one" slogan that depicts national unity as congruent with sameness). Similarly, Stephens (2004) emphasizes the channel's potential to facilitate relative creative freedom for Māori

programme makers. Māori documentary, as a specific mode of television representation, can contribute further to this discussion about the potential power of television to negotiate and transform national relations and notions of nationhood from the unique and important perspectives of tangata whenua.

Conclusion

Five years after the establishment of MTS, the incoming National government abolished the TVNZ Charter and diverted its funding to NZ On Air. The public service role that the Charter had once promoted within TVNZ suddenly became more pronounced in the information programming and commercial-free viewing provided by MTS. However, as Thompson (2009, March 30) points out, the provision of local content is only one aspect of public service broadcasting. Other principles include those that promote more diversity in the range of programming available, with particular attention to Māori programming. The redirection of funds to NZ On Air, whose principal role is to provide funding for the production of local content, was not an adequate replacement for the Charter, which set out to extend the range of programming "beyond what would otherwise be commercially viable, and beyond the range of content typically funded by the NZ On Air contestable fund" (Thompson, 2009, March 30).

In acknowledgement of the difficulties being faced by Māori producers, NZ On Air developed Te Rautaki Māori (Māori Strategy) to increase the amount and range of Māori programmes being made for mainstream television, mainly during primetime but including off-peak times across the programming schedule. As NZ On Air primarily focuses on the funding of content for Tier 1 (mainstream) channels, the strategy effectively enforces a quota for Māori programming within strands for TVNZ and TV3, although some MTS programming is also Rautaki-funded. NZ On Air's definition of a Māori programme is "one that makes a conscious effort to reveal something of the past, present or future Māori world" (NZ On Air, 2008). Furthermore, for a project to be eligible for Rautaki funding at least two of the key creatives (producer, director, or writer/researcher) must be Māori in recognition of the importance of authentic Māori authorship. Although it is not specifically concerned with documentary, the Rautaki does state that NZ On Air (2008) will "identify gaps in the current range of Māori programmes available to audiences and seek to ensure these gaps are addressed."

Although the existence of a quota has been useful for getting more Māori programmes to broadcast, the fact that it was needed at all is disheartening for Māori working in the

industry. This was perhaps best articulated in a letter written by Barry Barclay (2006) to the NZ On Air Board and the Prime Minister:

> *Rautaki Māori* hurts because it serves to remind you as a Māori communicator just what a second-class citizen you are; that, no matter how much good work you do, no matter how inclusive you aim to be, no matter what new vistas you succeed in opening up for your fellow New Zealanders, white or brown, no matter how many awards you may win over a lifetime, you are working within a white authoritarian system that tolerates your being there only because it has been forced to do so by regulation. This is the wider darkness I have been talking about. To those who may be tempted to exclaim, 'No, no, the system is not like that,' I can only say, 'Then why has it been necessary to put *Rautaki Māori* in place at all?' (pp. 18-19).

In the full version of this letter, entitled 'A Pistol on the Table', Barclay explains how the need for a Māori programming quota does not, contrary to appearance, highlight a fundamental flaw in the system within which it operates. Instead, he goes on to suggest the exact opposite: the fact that a quota is required shows the system to be operating "as intended" (Barclay, 2006, p. 22). The failed integration of public service principles within mainstream commercial broadcasting – or, as Barclay might contend, the successful operation of the national system – continues to present a significant challenge for Māori documentary producers wanting to make content for broadcast on TVNZ. Māori documentary, a distinct and specific sub-genre of television programming, is one that is best facilitated by a public service approach to television broadcasting that emphasizes broadcaster responsibility to provide a diverse range of information programming from a diverse range of perspectives. Unfortunately, however, the incorporation of public service ideals within television broadcasting is extremely difficult to achieve in a country that operates one of the most deregulated broadcasting environments in the world (Cocker, 2006).

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter begins by highlighting production studies and kaupapa Māori as the key methodologies that have influenced this research. The main aim of the study is to gain an understanding of how Māori documentary producers conceive of their work and the challenges that they face within the context of New Zealand television broadcasting in the period 2000 – 2010. This ten-year period encompasses the television broadcasting environment both pre and post-Māori Television Service (MTS), and represents a time of major change for Māori documentary producers. The experiences and perspectives of producers have been investigated alongside relevant policy documents that situate their experiences in the political context of television broadcasting, and more specifically within Television New Zealand (TVNZ). In addition, focus groups with young Māori media students helped to inform the direction of the interviews, so as to make more relevant the research findings for emerging Māori media practitioners. Information from the focus group sessions provides another dimension to discussions on how Māori are represented on television and how Māori documentary may be defined. This also demonstrates an attempt to be inclusive of a range of voices on key issues surrounding Māori documentary for television.

The research used qualitative tools such as semi-structured interviews, focus groups and document analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between producers, audiences and texts. Focus group transcripts and policy documents were analyzed using a basic method of thematic data analysis; interview transcripts were analyzed using a combined inductive-deductive approach to thematic data analysis; content analysis tools were used to analyze funding reports; and a hybrid form of textual analysis – drawing from both formal documentary analysis and kaupapa Māori theory – was used to analyze the television documentary, *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (Ellmers, 2004). Production studies literature has informed the selection and use of specific methods, while principles of kaupapa Māori affirm the position of the research in the wider, critical project of decolonization.

Methodology

This section describes the main methodologies from which this research arises, namely kaupapa Māori and production studies. It also outlines the ways in which these methodologies informed the overall research design for this study.

Kaupapa Māori: A Philosophy and a Strategy

As Henry & Pene (2001) point out, it is necessary to speak about 'kaupapa Māori' in terms of its cultural origins in order to understand more fully the implications of a kaupapa Māori approach to research. Kaupapa Māori literally means "the Māori way or agenda, a term used to describe traditional Māori ways of doing, being and thinking, encapsulated in a Māori world view or cosmology" (Henry & Pene, 2001, p. 235). As in any culture, the 'Māori way' is comprised of traditional practices that stem from culturally specific values and beliefs. It is difficult to describe 'a way of doing things' if you have not been nurtured in such a way from birth. Indeed, my own understanding of kaupapa Māori was influenced largely by institutional definitions, and is continuing to evolve as my experiences in te Ao Māori deepen. Understandings about what kaupapa Māori means in a research context continue to be shaped and developed within an institutional framework, which may be exclusive of understandings developed at the community level. Although these definitions have been useful in recognizing the connections between theory and practice, there is also a need within research to state explicitly any discrepancies so as to further develop conceptualizations of kaupapa Māori that are more inclusive.

Kaupapa Māori research grew out of a growing frustration between Māori who wanted to conduct research by, with and for Māori but found the existing research structures restrictive and inconsistent with kaupapa. Debates about what constitutes kaupapa Māori research have been ongoing. Researchers working with a kaupapa Māori approach have made various attempts to explain what it might look like and how it can be seen to function. It has been understood as a form of resistance, reclamation of mātauranga Māori, and an important vehicle for telling Māori stories from a Māori perspective (Mahuika, 2008; Smith, 2005b). Others have conceded kaupapa Māori research to be that in which Māori maintain conceptual, design, methodological and interpretative control – research by Māori, for Māori, with Māori (Cram, 2001; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Smith, 1999; Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). As Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002) explain, a kaupapa Māori approach is principally about the affirmation and legitimation of being Māori. Principles of kaupapa Māori that inform this research

are consistent with the philosophy behind my own self-identification as a Māori researcher which, as Irwin (2004) points out, is different to being a researcher who happens to be Māori. As well as being Māori, a Māori researcher privileges a Māori worldview in the interpretation of phenomena, and draws from tikanga to guide the research process.

According to theorists of kaupapa Māori, research falling within its framework must be critical, transformative, and beneficial to Māori (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Mahuika, 2008; Smith, 2005a). Others have suggested that from a Māori perspective, doing research simply to obtain knowledge is pointless, and should have clear and real outcomes for the whānau, hapū or iwi concerned (Stokes, 1985). These assumptions that underpin a kaupapa Māori approach to research have not been without scrutiny. According to Walker, Eketone & Gibbs (2006), questions frequently arise about whether the data produced is reliable, whether collectivity of ownership can ensure quality control and whether its strategic aims produce biased results. As kaupapa Māori is an empowerment-focused approach, questions of credibility commonly arise. While these issues are not distinct to a kaupapa Māori approach, it is important for researchers to address them and make explicit their research agenda. My research agenda for this study, in its broadest sense, is to illuminate potential pathways for Māori into mainstream television broadcasting. Although ways in which this might be achieved are multiple, I specifically advocate the ongoing presence of Māori documentary on mainstream networks as a key strategy to fulfill this overarching goal. In correlation with the proposed functions of kaupapa Māori research as outlined above, this study stems from a critical paradigm that seeks to instigate real-world change and, ultimately, to be of some benefit to Māori.

There is a belief among some kaupapa Māori researchers that only Māori should conduct Māori research (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003). Bishop & Glynn (1992) have responded aptly to the critique that kaupapa Māori research is ethnically exclusive: "Insisting that researchers should have Māori ancestry was not seen as 'biological essentialism' but rather as a safeguard against obvious exploitation of Māori material, and as a means of guaranteeing accountability of the researcher to those being researched" (p. 128). On the other hand, many kaupapa Māori researchers have welcomed non-Māori participation, and have actively sought to demonstrate biculturalist aims in their work (Stokes, 1985). As Jahnke & Taiapa (2003) highlight, whether the researcher is Māori or non-Māori will have an impact on the research, as

well as other factors such as their gender, age, and level of cultural competence. Regardless, it is important for any researcher undertaking kaupapa Māori research to acknowledge the responsibilities they have to the communities involved, and to honour that partnership by adopting an appropriate system of ethics and accountability. The following section highlights the kinds of ethical considerations that were deemed necessary (and indeed appropriate) to ensuring that my responsibilities to the participants – and by extension, to my own people – were upheld to the best of my ability. There are several key principles of kaupapa Māori theory that have been developed over a number of years by researchers in the field. These have been identified as:

- Tāonga tuku iho: the principle of cultural aspiration
- Ako Māori: the principle of culturally preferred pedagogy
- Kia piki i ngā raruraru o te kāinga: the principle of socio-economic mediation
- Whānau: the principle of extended family
- Kaupapa: the principle of collective philosophy
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi: the principle of the Treaty of Waitangi
- Āta: the principle of growing respectful relationships; and
- Tino Rangatiratanga: the principle of self-determination (Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999).

This set of principles is better understood as the foundation from which the research occurs than as a comprehensive definition of what kaupapa Māori research 'is'. For example, the principle of āta is about growing respectful relationships. Rather than engaging in relationship building for the express purpose of gathering data, nurturing of meaningful and ongoing relationships is what underpins the research (Rangahau, 2006). The relationships that have developed between myself and participants of this study are not only understood to provide the foundation from which meaning is constructed in relation to the topic, but also in relation to one another as people. Demonstrating mutual respect, by means of adhering to processes of tikanga, has allowed for the solidification of these relationships beyond the boundaries of the project at hand, extending the possibility for ongoing communications and collaboration.

Kaupapa Māori researchers may use these principles as guidelines on which to base their research process and philosophy. Through the principle of tino rangatiratanga, kaupapa Māori research adopts a specific agenda that seeks to empower. This principle of self-determination and empowerment for Māori and Indigenous peoples may be

achieved by using a Māori-centred approach that places Māori people at the heart of the research (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003) while sharing Māori experiences with Indigenous peoples worldwide. Smith (2005a) emphasizes the importance of retaining relationships with other Indigenous communities in which the shared experience of colonialism brings people together and empowers them to exercise their rangatiratanga. Accessibility, therefore, is crucial to the transformative potential of kaupapa Māori research. For this reason, I will endeavour to make available this report for Māori communities in Aotearoa and other Indigenous peoples overseas.

As Barlow (1994) states, the term 'kaupapa' can mean several things, and how it is used is dependent on the context. In a research context, kaupapa can be broadly understood as a term that describes "the type of work or functions to be carried out" (Barlow, 1994, p. 43). Yet, it is not merely a set of ideals for the unknowing researcher – it is a mode of iwi advancement; it is a way of life for some (Te Wāhanga, 2011). The key motivations for my embarking on this journey were underpinned by a strong desire to support, by way of research, the cultural and political movement that is kaupapa Māori. This research report provides a potential resource document for activists and policy-makers who are working directly toward positive change for Māori.

Production Studies Research and Cultural Production

This research is also informed by a production studies methodology that derives from the wider field of cultural studies. Production studies – also known as media production studies or media industry studies (Hesmondhalgh, 2010) – is principally concerned with the making of culture through media production, and examines the people and processes within media production to provide links to more macro issues regarding the role of media in society (Mayer, 2009). The cultural studies critique of 'top-down' theorization prevalent in classical media industry studies has meant that works stemming from a critical cultural studies paradigm has traditionally favoured texts and audiences as objects of investigation (Caldwell, 2006; Levine, 2001). As Caldwell (2006) notes, this cultural studies tradition of studying phenomena "from the ground up" (p. 112) may also be applied to media production research, which recognizes producers to be making cultural products in much the same way. The relative absence of cultural studies research in media production has led to calls for a renewed emphasis on the investigation of media industries, reconnecting audiences and media products (texts) to the people and processes involved in their production (Caldwell, 2006; Havens, Lotz & Tinic, 2009; Levine, 2001).

This study engages with a critical cultural studies approach to the investigation of Māori documentary production and its producers. Much of the research in this area examines the practices, beliefs and discourses of media producers (Caldwell, 2008) to critically investigate the power relations that are reflected in, and are constitutive of, culture (Mayer, Banks & Caldwell, 2009). Therefore, people who make content for the media industries are considered in terms of their capacity to produce culture rather than their ability to produce capital, the latter of which represents the main focus for political economists. One means of producing such knowledge is through interviews, which is the principal method employed for this research. Although interview has been useful for gaining insider knowledge into the production industry, there are also some methodological limitations that will be explored later in the chapter.

Common approaches to media research include discourse analysis and content analysis, which examine cultural texts (or media 'products') to make inferences about how meaning is encoded by producers and decoded by audiences. In his article about media discourses, McCreanor (1993) examines Pākehā discourses of Māori/Pākehā relations from a specific newspaper article. The article is one of many that covered the protest events at Mimiwhangata Lodge in January 1990 (see McCreanor, 1993 for background information on the protest). Using discourse analysis, McCreanor focuses on the ways in which print media use language that produces a predominantly Pākehā bias, and how audience familiarity with these language tools assist in developing biased interpretations. Although findings from the analysis of a single article are not automatically transferrable to all media accounts, this approach was effective in illustrating precisely how seemingly commonsensical discourses can result in the perpetuation of negative stereotypes about Māori. McCreanor's approach exemplifies how analyzing text in media research can be useful for highlighting producer subjectivities within media texts and making inferences about audience interpretation. It was considered appropriate to use textual analysis for this research, firstly to provide an example of the ways in which Māori producers engaged with the television documentary genre, and also to demonstrate an interpretation of the documentary text.

A production studies approach, on the other hand, takes "the lived realities of people involved in media production as subjects for theorizing production as culture" (Mayer, Banks & Caldwell, 2009, p. 4). For this reason, methodologies that involve interaction between researcher and subject are privileged in production studies (Mayer, Banks & Caldwell, 2009). A production studies approach to McCreanor's research would have

necessitated the use of interviews or focus groups with news media journalists to reveal the beliefs and discourses circulating within the context of the article's production. McCreanor's use of discourse analysis provides useful qualitative information on how Māori/Pākehā relations may be perceived by a Pākehā readership, however as Cottle (2007) emphasizes, "the cultural studies theorization of discourse and identities embedded into news texts needs to be reassessed in light of findings from in-depth news production and producer research" (p. 1). Further investigation into the beliefs and attitudes of cultural producers would provide a richer account of how certain discourses are produced, interpreted and maintained through the media, while acknowledging human agency in the communications process.

Another thread of production studies research is that of media industry studies. Dunleavy and Joyce (2011) conduct an in-depth investigation of the development of the local film and television industry in their book, 'New Zealand film and television: Institution, industry and cultural change.' Their investigation covers a fifty-year timeline (1960 – 2010), examining the governing institutions, production industries, and creative cultures within the New Zealand screen production industry. According to Dunleavy and Joyce, cultural studies emphases on audience and texts have dominated Aotearoa media studies, with relatively little research focusing on media institutions and media industries. The authors employ the use of Golding and Murdock's (2000, as cited in Dunleavy and Joyce, 2011) proposed 'critical political economy' approach that, while continuing to favour institutional over textual considerations and retaining a macro-level focus, differs from the traditional political economy perspective. Instead, it recognizes the distinctiveness of media industries as producers of culture as well as capital, which necessitates at least some consideration of audience. Aspects of the critical political economy approach have informed this research, such as the use of document analysis in consideration of the political infrastructure in which Māori documentary producers work. In contrast with Dunleavy and Joyce's approach, however, this study employs more ethnographic methods that reflect its micro-level and context-specific focus.

News media is another key focus within production studies research. Although different forms of media production require specific considerations, extensive work in the study of news media "have generated some of the most penetrating insights into the complexities and levels of analysis required in the empirical exploration of media production" (Cottle, 2007, p .12). Using a cultural studies of production approach, Abel

(1997) presents a detailed case study of New Zealand television news coverage of Waitangi Day over the period 1990 – 1995 and attempts to gain an understanding about how local television news produces a dominant ideology of monoculturalism. In her book *Shaping the News: Waitangi Day on Television*, she interviews television news workers about the conditions in which they work, and engages in participant observation to see first-hand the way in which newsrooms operate. Abel also draws from a more traditional cultural studies approach in her in-depth textual analyses of Waitangi Day news stories, which demonstrate how dominant ideologies are projected through television news.

Together, the data provides a rich account of the various ways in which monoculturalism prevails in seemingly unbiased news media reports about New Zealand's national day. Interviews with commissioners and producers of news content reveal these processes of production to be largely dictated by the commercial demands of the broadcaster. In later work, however, Abel (2006), more pessimistically notes that there is little understanding among journalists about the nature of covering things Māori, which represents "a failure to seriously examine practice, rather than just a mere ignorance" (p. 18). Information about the people and processes of media production is revealed using a cultural studies approach, which employs a range of methodological tools to investigate cultural phenomena. The research design of this study may be closely aligned with this approach with its production focus and choice of methods. In the present research project, however, more emphasis is placed on the information gathered from interviews rather than textual analysis or focus groups, instead using these latter sources to supplement interview data.

A Struggle for Power

Central to both production studies and kaupapa Māori research is the notion of struggle, albeit different kinds of struggle. As Mayer (2009) describes, production studies approaches are interested in how power operates through media production to "reproduce social hierarchies and inequalities" (p. 15). Concepts of ideology, hegemony and cultural politics, which are constitutive of a wider cultural studies paradigm, reveal a liberal agenda that seeks to empower the disenfranchised (Barker, 2008). Likewise, the notion of struggle is significant for Māori, who have suffered in areas of health, education and cultural wellbeing due to the ongoing processes of colonization (Kirkwood, Liu & Weatherall, 2005). Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002) describe struggle as inherent to a kaupapa Māori paradigm, stating that through struggle

"comes the desire to critique and transform" (p. 34). The desire for change through kaupapa Māori research also allows for self-transformation, from seeing ourselves as passive victims of research practices to "activists engaging in a counter hegemonic struggle over research" (Smith, 2005a, p. 87).

Production studies, which may be located as a cultural studies of media industries, is interested in the different kinds of struggle around creative labour. For example, Mayer (2011) is critical of the way in which the term 'producer' is used in media organisations that serves as a justification for the increased labour value of scriptwriters, directors and other television elites in the 'creative class'. Meanwhile, the labour of other workers – such as television set assemblers, soft-core videographers and reality-programme casters – goes unrecognized as having contributed directly to production outputs. Mayer locates these television workers as being dual producers, both of television content and of their own labour, which services the capital growth of media industries. The inequality that exists within the world of media production is one source of critical inquiry for production studies research. This type of research draws from critical tools of investigation that stem from the field of cultural studies, but is specifically concerned with the people and processes of media production.

From an Indigenous perspective, the concept of 'research' is not one that was introduced with the arrival of the colonizers. The institutionalization of research and subsequent ethical and procedural standards, however, are embedded in Western values and assumptions. As Smith (1999) explains, decolonization in research is concerned with a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values that inform research practices. Therefore, Indigenous research must be undertaken with the understanding that research is about power (Mahuika, 2008). In research, power is exercised with every decision that is made and every constraint that is imposed upon it.

As Smith (2005a) identifies, researchers who employ a kaupapa Māori approach are "consciously employing a specific set of arguments, principles and frameworks that relate to the purpose, ethics, analyses, and outcomes of research" (p. 90). Therefore, research is "not just a highly moral and civilized search for knowledge" but a "set of very human activities that reproduce particular social relations of power" (Smith, 2005a, p. 88). Reflection and critique of one's own research practices is necessary to underline the dynamics of power that exist throughout the research process. The wide array of

critical vocabulary and conceptual tools within cultural studies combined with the overarching philosophy of kaupapa Māori create an ideal framework for exploring issues of power both within the topic under study and in the research process itself.

The use of both production studies and kaupapa Māori methodologies offer a hybrid research framework that reflects a kind of biculturalist agenda. According to Hill (2009) the study of New Zealand-based phenomena must concern itself with both Māori and Pākehā (New Zealand European) peoples, "given our increasingly bicultural nation" (p. 1). As Bell (2006) explains, biculturalism developed in the 1980s "as a State response to Māori political aspirations for greater recognition and autonomy" (p. 254) and the bicultural nation rhetoric has since dominated ideas about New Zealand nationalism. A prominent critique of the biculturalist ideology is the lack of recognition given to Aotearoa's colonial history, which in turn ignores the social injustices that continue to permeate New Zealand society today (Bell, 2006; O'Sullivan, 2004; Turner, 1999).

For my purposes, biculturalism makes specific reference to the unique status of tangata whenua in relation to tangata Tiriti, the people here by virtue of the Treaty (Abel, 1997; Phillips, 2009). In this respect, I am primarily concerned about connecting with Māori, but that is not to diminish the importance of engaging in cross-cultural communication. Kawharu (2008) argues that a fuller understanding of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives is required to achieve biculturalist aims. Thus, ongoing exchanges between Māori and Pākehā are a necessary part of research development. It is hoped that this research may bring about more understanding among Pākehā about the significance of having a Māori voice on mainstream television, and create an awareness of the obstacles Māori communities face in having their voices heard.

Methodological Tools

This section provides a description of the methods employed to collect information. The key methodological tools used for this research were focus groups, interviews and document analysis.

Focus groups

Focus groups were conducted to gain qualitative information that would assist in the development of interview questions and also contribute to initial understandings about audience reception of Māori television documentary. It was used as a secondary information source only, however it was also found to be useful in guiding the overall

direction of the research. This method was selected for its capacity to source many opinions about the topic under study in a given session. Through this method I sought to find out how young media Māori students engaged with television documentary and how they saw themselves being represented on television. It was also important for me as a kaupapa Māori researcher to ensure the direction of the research held some relevance for Māori. Māori media students who participated in the focus groups were actively involved in the research process by helping to decide what key issues required further investigation. This particular group of students was selected to participate because they represent the future of Māori media production. It was my intention to use the focus group sessions as a tool to connect and compare ideas presented by young emerging practitioners with those of senior media producers who were established in the industry.

Two focus group sessions consisting of four to six participants were held in Auckland. As Cronin (2008) suggests, the ideal number of participants for a focus group session is between six and ten. This has generally been agreed upon as the optimum number for free-flowing discussion to occur (Bouma, 2000; Carey, 1994; Cronin, 2008). It was intended that each focus group would include six participants, however in the second session two of the respondents did not show for unknown reasons. It has also been acknowledged, however, that larger groups can be overwhelming for some, which can result in 'social floating' where participants do not feel the need to participate (Morgan, 1997). Smaller groups were ideal for the focus group sessions as participants had more time to express their views in detail. The focus groups took place in September and October 2011, prior to interviews with producers. All participants were given the option to remain anonymous from the final report, or to withdraw from the research at any time prior to the writing stages. All participants were happy to be identified.

It was necessary for participants to be familiar with basic media studies terms for ease of reference during the questioning phase, and it was preferable to include people who were genuinely interested in talking about issues concerning Māori. Students at Te Ara Poutama (Faculty of Māori Development at Auckland University of Technology), who compulsorily undertake both media and te Ao Māori papers in their first year, were seen as ideal candidates for the project. In addition, as their choice of study suggests, Te Ara Poutama students were more likely to find the discussions interesting and potentially useful for further study. Participants were recruited via written Advertisements

(Appendix A) that were distributed in student common areas within Te Ara Poutama's WB building as well as in-class reminders from their lecturers.

Ngā Wai o Horotiu marae provided a comfortable whānau space for participants to engage in meaningful conversation both during and after the focus group session. The sessions themselves were conducted in the wharenui, Te Pūrengi. Focus group sessions were recorded on a video camera with an additional field microphone for audio clarity. The sessions were structured around a Focus Group Schedule (Appendix B), which outlined a list of topic areas and potential questions for participants. An intermediary, who had signed a Confidentiality Agreement prior to each session (Appendix C), took notes of the actual proceedings. This enabled me to concentrate on the discussions taking place and give my undivided attention to participants. I began the session with a mihimihi and a brief overview of the research project. Participants were then directed to their handouts, which included four documents – a Consent Form, a Participant Information sheet, a Discussion Agenda and the Synopses of the documentaries that were to be screened during the session (Appendices D, E, F & G).

The Consent Form (Appendix D) outlined the terms of agreement for student participation and provided the necessary authorization for focus group data to be used for research purposes. In following with standard ethical procedure, participants were asked to sign the Consent Form prior to the session's commencement. Copies of the signed Consent Form were sent to each participant via email on the same day. The Participant Information Sheet (Appendix E) provided a more comprehensive explanation of the research project, as well as information on the potential risks and benefits that may result. For this reason, this document was emailed to each respondent prior to the focus group sessions.

The Discussion Agenda (Appendix F) contained brief notes on what was going to happen during the focus group. This was included in the handouts to give participants a sense of direction, in case they needed an indication of the remaining duration of the session. The agenda also specified which topic areas would be covered in the discussion. The final document in the handout provided Synopses (Appendix G) of the three television documentaries to be screened – *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (Ellmers, 2004) *Stopping the Bash* (Royal, 2001) and *The Flight of Te Hookioi* (Kahi, 2009). It included the date and channel on which they were originally broadcast, and provided participants with the information needed to situate the excerpts within the appropriate context.

Participants were allowed ten minutes to read over the information and ask questions before the session commenced.

Next, I conducted a group activity. Pairs or threes were given a set of cards, and each card had an image and a statement that pertained to a certain stereotype about Māori. For example, one card included a picture of Māori comedian Billy T. James with the accompanying text: "Māori's are laid-back, funny fullas." Teams then were asked to explain whether they believed the statements to be true or false. Kitzinger (1995) suggests the use of such exercises to "encourage participants to concentrate on one another (rather than on the group facilitator) and force them to explain their different perspectives" (p. 301). I used this time to practice techniques that would help to include all participants in the discussion and better facilitate communication among participants. Feedback that I received from the group at the end of the session indicated a positive response to effectiveness of the exercise in gaining confidence for the discussion section. After the activity, participants viewed the documentary excerpts. Questions surrounding themes of media representation and power relations followed, during which participants were able to refer to the documentary excerpts as examples. The duration of each session amounted to approximately one hour and twenty minutes.

On completion of the discussion, I thanked everyone for their participation and invited them to join me in the wharekai for a meal of pork bones, watercress and fry-bread. The principle of manaakitanga, the expression of love and hospitality, ensures that participants are looked after properly and according to tikanga during their 'stay' in the research journey. As with any hui, showing hospitality is important to ensure that "peace prevails during the gathering" (Barlow, 1994, p. 63). The sharing of kai is also a way of 'giving back' – a koha to those who have given their time and effort for the research project. As we shared kai, participants volunteered their feedback about the focus group experience. All of the feedback received was overwhelmingly positive, with participants expressing that they found the experience to be enjoyable as well as useful for their current and future studies.

Films used to explore audience response

The documentaries selected for use in the focus group sessions included *Hīkoi: Inside Out*, *The Flight of Te Hookioi* and *Stopping the Bash*. These particular documentaries were selected to fulfill the objectives of the focus group sessions, which required:

- that the documentary involved at least one key Māori creative (ie. writer/director/producer);
- that the documentary featured a strong Māori presence (in terms of people or themes);
- that the documentary had been broadcast on New Zealand television;
- that the documentary represented a common sub-genre of Māori documentary.

Hīkoi: Inside Out was considered as an example of a kaupapa Māori documentary that broadcast on TVNZ. It screened during a time of heightened political activity for many Māori – including the formation of the Māori Party as a direct result of the hīkoi, and the newly introduced Māori Television Service, which made Māori faces and Māori voices more visible than ever on New Zealand television. Later in the thesis, I will demonstrate that *Hīkoi* is an example of a kaupapa Māori documentary that broadcast on mainstream television.

Hīkoi made comment on issues that were highly relevant to the anticipated research audience (Māori and non-Māori, 18-25yrs). Firstly, the political movement that eventually led to the en masse march to parliament was a highly publicized series of events that included the participation of many young Māori, so participant familiarity with the event itself was seen as a potential opening for group discussion. Furthermore, *Hīkoi's* use of the observational format – following the people as they journey across the North Island – was an approach I wished to engage with as one that was particularly meaningful in a Māori context.

The three documentary excerpts chosen for screening in the focus group sessions exemplify some of the more common sub-genres of Māori television documentary – political documentary, social issues documentary and historical documentary. *Hīkoi: Inside Out*, *Stopping the Bash* and *The Flight of Te Hookioi* were selected to find out how audiences engaged with different types of Māori documentary. I also wanted the documentaries to be spread across the time period of research focus (2000 – 2010), and to have broadcast on different television channels. The purpose of this was to develop an understanding about how Māori documentary has evolved since the pre-MTS television broadcasting environment and to determine audience perceptions of these developments.

Māori historical documentary *The Flight of Te Hookioi*, which broadcast on Māori Television, differed from the more traditional format for television. This was partly due to the fact it was a feature-length piece, but also it employed some of the Māori

storytelling techniques that seem to differentiate Māori Television documentaries from mainstream formats. This was manifest through its engagement with history, the emphasis on people and conversation, and the steady and timely pace with which the narrative of the film unfolded. The narrative structure is guided by the journal entries of Hemara Te Rerehau who, along with his uncle Wiremu Toetoe, set out on a Viennese scientific frigate in 1859 and returned to Aotearoa with a special gift from the Emperor of Austria – a printing press. The filmmaker himself sets about retracing the steps of these men, journeying from New Zealand to Austria and back again, frequently citing Te Rerehau's writings and engaging in interactions with various historians and curators who supplement these accounts with further historical evidence.

Te Hookioi also exemplified a more cinematic approach to Māori storytelling using the documentary genre. The filmmaker is often situated within the same or similar surroundings of which he speaks – the difficulty of the men's 114-day return journey to Aotearoa, for example, is emphasized by the placement of the filmmaker below the ship deck, giving the audience visual and audio cues as to how it might have felt for Toetoe and Te Rerehau. Music and sound effects accompany close-up panning shots of 19th century sketches that depict the kinds of situations in which Toetoe and Te Rerehau found themselves are also used to breath life and movement into their story. It was significant that this documentary broadcast on Māori Television as its method of storytelling was quite distinctive from the other documentaries, which had broadcast on mainstream networks. The relative flexibility of Māori Television's formatting requirements is briefly discussed in Chapter Five.

In contrast to *Te Hookioi*, *Stopping the Bash* centred on domestic violence in New Zealand and featured in the focus group session as an example of a Māori social issues documentary. It was made before the arrival of Māori Television, and broadcast on TV3. The standardized format of this documentary was fairly characteristic of its time, and reflected elements of the 'popular television documentary format' that thrived on mainstream New Zealand television in the early 1990s (Hill, 2008; Horrocks, 2003). Such elements include a strong throughline (the story of domestic violence victim Moana provides the main thrust of the documentary narrative) emotional triggers that evoke audience empathy (re-enactments of scenes of physical abuse) and a general appeal (centres on a 'universal' topic that is likely to attract a broad audience). As Māori are positioned as 'victim/perpetrator' in the documentary, *Stopping the Bash* also provided a case study for looking at issues of stereotypical representation. This style of

popular documentary was one that I expected audiences to be very familiar with, and I hoped to be able to challenge participants' assumptions through the focus group sessions.

Interviews

As the principal method used in this research, interviews with Māori documentary producers were used to explore perceptions about their role within the New Zealand television broadcasting industry and the various challenges that they faced. Participants were chosen for their level of experience within television and their specific involvement in Māori documentary production, all of whom gave consent to have their identities revealed in this research. Interview participants included:

- Kay Ellmers (*Ngāti Tamateraa, Ngāti Raukawa*): Managing Director of Tūmanako Productions; Producer/Director

- Dr Ella Henry (*Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa, Ngāti Kurī, Te Rarawa*): Senior Lecturer, Māori Media, Auckland University of Technology

- Hineani Melbourne (*Tūhoe, Tainui*): Producer/Writer

- Christina Milligan (*Ngāti Porou):* Producer/Writer

- Eruera Morgan (*Te Arawa, Tainui*): Executive Producer of Te Reo channel

- Robert Pouwhare (*Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu*): Director/Writer

- Tainui Stephens (*Te Rarawa*): Producer/Director

Davis (2008) identifies interviewing as one of the key methods for investigating cultural producers. It differs from other approaches in that "data is generated during the research process rather than collected for analysis" (Davis, 2008, p. 60). In other words, it is the interaction between interviewer and subject that constructs knowledge, hence the term 'inter-view' (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Thus, each interaction bears certain repercussions for the type of knowledge that is produced. From an ethnographic perspective, discussions between researcher and subject in the interview process are regarded more as conversations than an attempt by the researcher to unearth hidden truths (Barker, 2008). Similarly, Kvale (2007) conceptualizes the research interview as a conversation that serves a specific purpose. That purpose is dependant on the topic and nature of the research, which in this case is to find out how Māori documentary producers manage and conceive of their role within television. Kvale (2007) offers two metaphorical positions that researchers may adopt during the course of interviewing. The interviewer as miner, where the interview is viewed as a knowledge collection

process, and the interviewer as traveler, in which the interview process itself forms the basis for knowledge construction (Kvale, 2007; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Where the interviewer-miner unearths preexisting truths, the traveler conception involves a conversational approach to research that is based on a postmodern constructive understanding (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). From this postmodern perspective, "knowledge is neither inside a person nor outside in the world, but exists in the relationship between persons and world" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 53). In line with my research aims to improve the communicative potential for Māori, my conception of the interview process is likened to the latter category, in which knowledge about how Māori documentary producers conceive of their professional roles is constructed through conversation. The focus on relationships throughout the interview process also coincides with the principles of kaupapa Māori that underpin this research.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted for the purposes of this research. This method of interviewing was considered ideal for providing both structure and flexibility where needed. The use of an Interview Schedule (Appendix H), for example, provided the general topic areas to be covered without restricting the conversation to a set list of questions and answers. Like everyday conversations, there are no rigid rules for conducting interviews. There are, however, general principles and ethical standards that must be acknowledged, particularly with regards to kaupapa Māori processes in interview.

All seven interviews were conducted kanohi ki te kanohi, face-to-face, which is significant for two reasons. Firstly, exchanging ideas face-to-face is considered a key form of communication in kaupapa Māori research. This idea is perhaps best expressed in the whakataukī:

> He aha te mea nui o te Ao? He tangata! He tangata! He tangata!
> *What is the most important thing in this world? It is people!*

Principles of kaupapa Māori research place an emphasis on people – aroha ki te tangata, manaakitanga, āta – all of which have to do with the building and nurturing of relationships. Therefore, communication with participants throughout the research process was not seen solely in terms of what knowledge or insights they could contribute. Face-to-face communication was valuable for nurturing existing

relationships and establishing new ones. Second, from a more pragmatic perspective, the practice of kanohi ki te kanohi allowed me to see their expressions and reactions as they spoke. This was very helpful when I was confronted with the decision to pursue a particular area or to move on with the interview. In keeping with the principle of āta, I allowed for kōrero to unfold beyond the parameters of the interview schedule out of respect for their knowledge and wisdom that they had chosen to impart onto me. Furthermore, it was appropriate to maintain a level of humility as I took on the position of teina (younger sibling) who is being gifted the whakaaro of my tuakana (older sibling or mentor).

Five of the seven interviews were conducted in the staff meeting room of Te Ara Poutama, Auckland University of Technology. Here, I was able to manage the environment in which the interviews took place, making refreshments available and ensuring that sessions would not be interrupted. The other two interview sessions were conducted at the participants' place of work by their request and in both cases disturbances were minimal. I began the sessions with an informal introduction of myself and spoke briefly about my motivations behind the research. The disclosure of my position to participants was seen as a necessary step for demonstrating a degree of reflexivity within the research. As Barker (2008) states, a reflexive and dialogical approach demands that researchers "elaborate on their own assumptions, views and positions" (p. 33) so that their own subjectivity can be acknowledged while eliminating any claim to an objective truth.

My agenda as a kaupapa Māori researcher was clearly established – that is, to produce positive outcomes for Māori. As discussed later in the chapter, knowledge produced within an empowerment-focused approach to research has come under scrutiny in arguments over research validity (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). Through self-disclosure of my position, however, I learned that this was an agenda shared by all of the participants, which is also evident through the nature of their work. This self-disclosure did not go beyond my personal motivations for embarking on this research and the remaining part of the sessions focused entirely on the whakaaro of participants. Yet, by displaying a level of honesty about how I situated myself in relation to the study, participants seemed more open about their own views on the subject than they might have otherwise been. With a focus on the building and nurturing of relationships throughout the interview process, dialogue between the interview participants and

myself felt comfortable and unrestricted by formality, resulting in some honest and frank accounts of their experiences working in the television industry.

Each participant was provided with a Participant Information Sheet (Appendix I) and asked to read and sign the Consent Form (Appendix J). I used the Interview Schedule (Appendix H) to guide the interview while remaining open to other relevant discussions that may not have been anticipated. Interviews ranged from one to two hours in length, with most of the interview participants indicating a willingness to engage in any follow up interviews if necessary. Although this was not required, I contacted participants where I felt certain terms or concepts needed further clarification. All interviews were taped on an audio recording device.

Document Analysis

Document analysis may be defined as a "systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents" (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). Rather than being used on its own, its use as a research method often serves to complement other methods of qualitative inquiry, such as interviews and focus groups. Government and institutional policy documents were used as sources of information in the research. These included the State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986, the Broadcasting Act 1989, the Television New Zealand Act 2003, the Māori Television Service Act 2003, the TVNZ Charter and NZ On Air's Rautaki Māori. Annual funding reports from NZ On Air and Te Māngai Pāho were also analyzed, albeit quantitatively.

According to Bowen (2009), documents can provide context, suggest further questioning, supplement research data, track development, and corroborate evidence from other sources. The various Acts outlined the framework within which television producers operate, thereby contextualizing information gathered from the interviews. In addition, the TVNZ Charter and Rautaki Māori documents provided information about specific initiatives to which interview participants referred when discussing their experiences in producing Māori documentary for television. As well as tracking the development of Māori television production, information from these documents led to questions about the effectiveness of Māori programming initiatives. To complement this information, NZ On Air and Te Māngai Pāho funding reports were selected for quantitative content analysis. These documents provided information for the time period June 2000 – June 2010 about the amount of funding dedicated to Māori documentary production for TVNZ and MTS. These details further supplemented interview

information by illustrating the impact of key policy developments for Māori documentary within the nominated time period.

Analysis and Interpretation Processes

The analysis and interpretation of information followed information collection. Through these processes, information was transformed from its raw state into relevant sets of information to help answer the research questions (Boyatzis, 1998). This section describes the various approaches to analysis and interpretation, and highlights the specific processes employed for this research.

Thematic data analysis

According to Boyatzis (1998) thematic analysis may be understood as "a process to be used with qualitative information" (p. 4). Thematic analysis as a process organizes information that is produced through qualitative research methods, such as interview transcripts, which allows for the further process of interpretation (Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic analysis is a common process in qualitative research, and there are many ways of analyzing information thematically. For example, processes may be inductive or deductive, or a combination of both (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

In this research, two different forms of thematic analysis were used to transform different sets of information. Focus group transcripts and policy documents were analyzed using Boyatzis' (1998) model of thematic analysis. Boyatzis (1998) breaks down thematic analysis into four stages: "sensing themes", "doing it reliably", "developing codes", and "interpreting the information and themes" (p. 11) within the wider context of the research. Using this model, recurring patterns are identified across the data and organized to form a 'code'. This code is used to process and analyze information that may eventually be interpreted within the theoretical framework from which the research stems. As a relatively straightforward process, this model was considered ideal for developing basic themes from secondary information sources, which included focus group transcripts and selected policy documents. Themes derived from the focus group transcripts informed the nature of the interview schedule and contributed to general discussions regarding Māori representation, while the systematic analysis of policy documents shed light on some of the key issues discussed by interview participants.

When analyzing the interview transcripts, a combined inductive-deductive approach of thematic analysis was used that enabled the development of themes to be both theory and participant-driven, resulting in rich, multi-layered information. This model proposed by Attride-Stirling (2001) involves the development of 'thematic networks', each of which consists of three levels of themes. This includes basic themes, identified by recurring patterns such as those discussed in Boyatzis' model; organizing themes, which groups together basic themes into adjoining categories; and global themes, which captures the essence or main idea that establishes a set of themes as a network. Thematic networks, as a tool of analysis, assisted greatly in refining the organization of ideas and concepts surrounding Māori documentary for television.

Content analysis

Content analysis is a commonly used tool in media communications research as a "method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003, p. 141). Using content analysis, the frequency of a particular unit of analysis is measured – this might be a phrase recurring over a sample of newspaper articles or a particular programme genre appearing on specific television channels (Rourke & Anderson, 2004). In this research, the units of analysis were Māori documentaries that received funding from Te Māngai Pāho and NZ On Air over a ten-year period. The conditions for their selection were as follows:

- Must have been funded and reported by New Zealand on Air and/or Te Māngai Pāho within the period June 2000 – June 2010 for television broadcast
- Must be classified as documentary by the funding body and/or broadcaster
- Must not be any other factual genre (ie. magazine, sports, children, current affairs)
- Must reflect a significant level of Māori culture, language and people
- Must have been made by a Māori production house **or** has had significant creative and directional input by Māori
- May be either one-off or series of documentaries

For each funding year, the number of one-off or series of Māori documentaries reported by each agency was counted, and the number of episodes within these made explicit. The percentage of those made for Māori Television Service, TVNZ and 'Other' (including TV3, Prime, MTV, and Sky) was calculated according to the number of individual episodes. The proportion of Māori documentaries to total documentary

expenditure of each agency was also calculated for each funding year (see Figures 1, 2, 3; Table 1, pp. 89-90). The purpose of this content analysis was to gather the numerical data necessary to assess the level of commitment to Māori documentary within New Zealand television broadcasting during 2000 – 2010. Content analysis data pertained to the State-owned organisations on which this thesis focuses, namely TVNZ, MTS, TMP and NZ On Air.

Textual Analysis (Hīkoi: Inside Out)

As stated earlier, the television documentary *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (Ellmers, 2004) was considered as a kaupapa Māori documentary that broadcast on TVNZ. An analysis of *Hīkoi* was necessary for gaining further understanding about the conditions in which this could be achieved while providing an exemplar of what Māori documentary for mainstream television might look like. Specific characteristics identified *Hīkoi* as being a Māori documentary. At least two key creatives were Māori (and was made by a Māori production company), it included Māori people and themes of significance for Māori, it privileged Māori worldviews, and it resulted in positive outcomes for Māori.

Hīkoi was analyzed using a particular form of textual analysis for factual television called 'formal analysis'. Formal analysis is an approach that looks at "how documentary television is constructed involving the critical investigation of its uses of image and language" (Corner, 2006, p. 60). The analysis draws from a shot deconstruction of the *Hīkoi* excerpt (Appendix K) that was shown to focus group participants. Through this form of textual analysis, ways in which *Hīkoi* speaks to multiple audiences may be revealed and specific Māori storytelling techniques identified using the appropriate terminology for the documentary genre.

The usefulness of a formal documentary analysis in and of itself is limited in that it neglects the contextual factors involved in the production of documentary. The surrounding discussion therefore draws from a production studies approach, in which media texts are placed within the context of their production (Hesmondhalgh, 2010). Recognition of the relationship between texts and contexts in the interpretation of Māori television documentary is regarded as particularly important, as its very existence relies heavily on exterior forces that often work to marginalize Indigenous forms of expression.

Combining Methodologies: Possibilities and Limitations

The foundations of the research are located through a crossing over of production studies and kaupapa Māori methodology; a hybridized methodology that reflects the complexities of the phenomenon it seeks to investigate. Whereas a classic positivist tradition of combining methodologies, known as triangulation, seeks to establish validity or 'trueness' in research based on the understanding of a 'fixed reality' and corroborating evidence, a dialogical approach recognizes the possibility for multiple validities, and is thereby more effective for "attending to the complexity of social phenomena" (Saukko, 2003, p. 32). From this dialogical perspective, a combined methodological approach to investigating the social realities of Māori documentary producers acknowledges the existence of *validities* in research while rejecting notions of a fixed truth.

Validity in Qualitative Research

Dialogue can be understood as a qualitative alternative to the concept of validity in research. It is important to recognize that the notion of validity and what is considered valid or legitimate knowledge has been a key issue of contention between quantitative and qualitative researchers, and its meaning within specific contexts continues to be negotiated (Angen, 2000; Creswell, 2007). According to Angen (2000), the notion of validity – how one strives for trustworthiness and correctness in research – stems from a foundational epistemology (the belief of an external reality from the self) in which positivist criteria are imposed upon the research and used to measure the trustworthiness of the information that is produced. From an interpretivist or non-foundationalist perspective, in which the understanding of human reality is socio-historically embedded and inextricably linked to the self, questions arise about whether validity is appropriate or even necessary for qualitative works. Angen (2000) calls this "the validity quandary" (p. 380).

Qualitative researchers have had many different responses to the validity quandary. These approaches range from the replacement of positivist criteria for qualitative equivalents, to the absolute rejection of the positivist notion of validity (Angen, 2000; Creswell, 2007). In a similar vein to Saukko's (2003) concept of a dialogical approach, Angen (2000) talks about the 'validation' of research, which repositions validity as a *process* (rather than a static set of criteria) through ongoing dialogue among the research community. Lincoln & Guba (1985) use the term *credibility* instead of validity, and others such as Hammersley (1995) and Silverman (1993) redefine validity as

confidence in what has been identified as a form of "subtle realism" (Angen, 2000, p. 382). In subscribing to subtle realism, qualitative researchers acknowledge the usefulness of validity requirements while insisting on terms that more accurately reflect the interpretive nature of qualitative work.

In kaupapa Māori research, approaches to the validity quandary have also been varied. As the very existence of a kaupapa Māori approach critiques "the dominant hegemony of westernized positivistic research" (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006, p. 332), it is important to consider who is setting the criteria by which the validity of knowledge is judged. Jahnke and Taiapa (2003) suggest that the relevant communities should define validity criteria in research involving Māori. In this case, the researcher is required to establish clear research goals and objectives, to gather reliable information from Māori sources, and to work with participants in making research decisions. This collaborative approach to the validity quandary has been critiqued for lack of researcher control, which exposes the research to the risk of failing to meet the rigorous requirements that undertaking an academic project involves (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006). In this research, a dialogical approach is employed in which the validity of the research is evaluated in terms of "how truthfully it captures the lived worlds of the people being studied" (Saukko, 2003, p. 20). As Saukko (2003) highlights, allowing participants to validate what it being said about their lived realities (or 'member-checking') is a key form of dialogical validation. Open dialogue was encouraged and maintained during the course of this study so that participants could contribute to the direction of the research as well as have a say in how they were represented.

On the other hand, kaupapa Māori researchers Smith (1999) and Pihama (1996) draw from a range of perspectives in their analyses of cultural phenomena, while continuing to uphold kaupapa Māori principles of collectivity and accountability to respective communities. As Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002) emphasize, it is not a "one-or-the-other choice" (p. 33) between theoretical and methodological sources in kaupapa Māori research. For this study, knowledge and the sharing of knowledge are regarded as tāonga, so the validity of knowledge is not conceptualized as something that can be measured against a set of static criteria. Instead, a dialogical approach was employed as a more suitable alternative to positivist validity measures.

Theories within cultural studies also bring into question the validity of a production studies approach. According to Havens, Lotz and Tinic (2009), research on media

industries has been mostly conducted from a political economy perspective, which "emphasizes macrolevel structural issues of regulatory regimes, concentration of media ownership, historical change, and their larger connection to capital interests" (p. 234). As Caldwell (2006) explains, cultural studies theory developed as a reaction against top-down theories of culture – such as that of political economists – and instead emphasized the role of subjects, citizens, consumers and audiences in an approach that favoured theory development 'from the ground up'. From this perspective, the practice of allowing producers of media content to speak for themselves "seemed to give the high-ground back to the very people who were responsible for perpetuating the dominant ideology on television" (Caldwell, 2006, p. 113).

A critical cultural studies approach to production studies, however, "emphasizes the complex interplay of economic and cultural forces, as well as the forms of struggle and compliance that take place throughout society at large and within the media industries in particular" (Havens, Lotz & Tinic, 2009, p. 235). Therefore, media producers are also considered as audiences, for example, and the content they produce is understood as being created 'from the ground up' (Caldwell, 2006). The culture of production can therefore be productively studied in much the same way, and it is the paradigm of critical research that the present study draws from in the investigation of Māori documentary production for television.

Other validity concerns include the ways in which producers might conduct themselves in a research interview – an experienced media practitioner, for instance, will be well-versed in the art of self-promotion and spin (Caldwell, 2006). However, as the nature of this topic spans beyond producer's professional roles within industry and into the realm of culture and identity, interview participants entered into the research process both as media producers and as Māori. Their enhanced ability to communicate ideas and articulate the self was therefore viewed as a potential advantage to understanding the way in which their identity as Māori contributed to the formation of an Indigenous "industrial subculture" within television production (Caldwell, 2006, p. 112)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have given a detailed description of the research processes of this study, including methodological considerations, choice of specific methods and processes of analysis. This research draws from both kaupapa Māori and critical cultural studies of production to investigate Māori television documentary production.

Interviews with Māori documentary producers will provide insights into the people and processes involved in the production of Māori documentary and focus groups will help to shape the direction of the research. Document analysis will aid in establishing the political context surrounding Māori documentary production as well as providing statistical data to support information gathered from the interviews. These aspects of research are supplemented with a textual analysis of *Hīkoi: Inside Out*, which is significant for demonstrating how Māori documentary for mainstream television may be achieved.

Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion (Part One)

Introduction

This chapter begins by using information gathered from interviews with Māori documentary producers to discuss their self-perceived roles within New Zealand television and their main motivations for working in the field. Next, the challenges for Māori documentary producers are identified and discussed in relation to young Māori media students' perceptions on the representation of Māori on television.

Kaupapa Māori: Duty to the People

The interview participants involved in this research consisted of documentary producers and academics. All of them, at some point or another, have had a significant level of involvement with Māori documentary production. Discussions about the role of Māori documentary producers within New Zealand television centred on producers' sense of duty to Māori, while the perceived potential of the genre provided the main motivations for working in Māori documentary production.

Role of Māori documentary makers

Participants cited researching, writing, shooting, editing and funding of Māori documentary as the main tasks required of them in their varying roles. Beyond this, however, descriptions of themselves as storytellers – ngā kaikawekōrero – emerged as a key term for how they saw their working role:

Stephens: I see myself and my colleagues as being storytellers. Sometimes I've been called a filmmaker and I kind of feel a bit uncomfortable; it feels like a grand kind of label. Even as a broadcaster – I mean, I'm not a broadcaster. I don't have a TV station or anything like that but it's become a phrase for people who work in broadcasting. And so with certain discomforts I have about certain appellations I ultimately just think of myself as just being a storyteller, kaikawekōrero.

In this research, I have used the term Māori documentary producer to be inclusive of the various working roles of interview participants. This self-perceived role of 'storyteller' demonstrates a shift in focus from the genre or medium that is utilized (which may be signified through terms such as 'broadcaster' or 'documentary filmmaker') toward an emphasis on storyline and content. The use of this term indicates a level of humility about their role, which contradicts previous notions of glamour and fame associated with the television industry.

At the same time, participants acknowledged the weight of responsibilities involved in being storytellers. These responsibilities include the guardianship of people's stories and teaching values through programming:

Morgan: It's more than just a programme – you've got a job to protect that kōrero.

Pouwhare: You have to take some responsibility. You are able to reach deep into the minds of young people. What are we feeding them? What sorts of programmes? I want our kids to have at least something Māori – we have to create the values within the programmes that we give them. We have to give them the history, the politics and the social issues; whether they act on it or not, the fact is that we're being responsible by including that in their viewing diet. Even if they don't want it, sometimes you have to lead them.

Kōrero that is shared with Māori storytellers is regarded as tāonga that must be treated with care and respect. Storytellers must undertake the responsibility of informing and educating their people about issues that may affect their physical, emotional, social, or spiritual wellbeing. They must contemplate what messages are being conveyed through programming, and demonstrate vigilance in the accuracy of information being presented. The intention to serve one's own people through storytelling is recognized by Leuthold (1997a) as a common thread among Indigenous documentary producers. How this will be achieved, however, will differ according to the specific protocols of the hapū or whānau being filmed. Based on these perceived duties, the fundamental role of storytellers to serve one's own people is about recognizing that it is the people who are the main stakeholders for the stories being produced. Therefore, the level of satisfaction among the people about the documentary programme is regarded as more important than that of the funder or the broadcaster. Interview participants expressed their sense of responsibility to their own people as the main influencing factor for their choice of career and for decisions made in production:

Melbourne: We've got a responsibility to our own people because no one else is looking after them. And it's one of the reasons why a lot of us get in to film and television media.

Morgan: I think for a Māori practitioner, first and foremost you must be serving your people, and serving your subject matter. I'll tell you if they're not happy, then you need to do something about it. But if you've got them satisfied, hey, what more can you ask for really. You do justice to their story and they're pleased with it – I'm pleased.

Others articulated feelings of being 'boxed in' as Māori programme makers, where funders and broadcasting networks came to expect only Māori programmes from their production companies. Nevertheless, participants expressed this perceived responsibility to serve their own people as a necessary one for ensuring the cultural survival of Māori, and this surpassed any personal aspirations for their career pathways.

This intention to serve the interests of Māori audiences is an important factor for considering Māori television documentary as a mode of Fourth Cinema (Barclay, 1990; Leuthold, 1997a). The need for definition by funders as to what constitutes a Māori programme, however, although necessary for accountability purposes, lends itself to the problematics of defining Indigeneity. Given New Zealand's colonial history, in which Māori have been the subjects of categorization and definition, it has been thought inappropriate for non-Māori to decide what is and what is not a Māori programme (Barclay, 1990; Waititi, 2008). In correspondence with Barclay's (1990) concept of "talking in" (p. 74), Māori documentary producers are principally motivated by their sense of accountability to Māori audiences rather than to funders and broadcasters. However, as Māori producers work within the communications structure of the majority culture, constant pressure to instead "talk out" negates the possibility for a "talk in" approach, particularly on mainstream television (Barclay, 1990, p. 74-75). Given the context of Māori Television Service (MTS) and in particular Te Reo channel, there are at least some opportunities for this type of programming:

Morgan: Te Reo channel has taken the role of Māori authenticity and iwi. So I look at the two channels, Te Reo channel as being 'iwi', and Māori Television as being 'kiwi'.

Te Reo channel provides an essential service for Māori-speaking communities such as individual hapū and whānau as well as reo immersion education groups. A "talking in" approach is reflected in its programming, which is iwi-specific and mostly in te reo Māori. According to the 2006 census conducted by Statistics New Zealand (2010), over 76% of Māori reported they could not hold a conversation in te reo. In an ideal world, Te Reo channel would be the first port of call for Māori documentary producers wishing to "talk in" (Barclay, 1990, p. 74), however the reality is that most Māori do not have the language capacity that would enable them access to this type of programming. Although Māori Television is aligned with a "talking out" (Barclay, 1990, p. 75) approach, some of the channel's documentary content, such as Rautaki-funded programmes in the *Pakipūmeka* strand, exhibits an attempt to engage specifically with English-speaking Māori audiences, which serves as a promising avenue for Māori documentary in English.

Potential of Māori documentary

Participants identified a number of potential outcomes for the ongoing production of Māori stories through television documentary. These included providing counter-hegemonic voices and alternative viewpoints within the media landscape, empowering

Māori audiences, nurturing and developing Māori storytellers entering television, and securing healthy partnerships between tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti. These are not described as being actual results of their work, and several obstacles to achieving these outcomes are discussed in the following theme. Rather, these are the ideal outcomes for which Māori documentarians strive that exemplify the full potential of telling Māori stories through television documentary. Here, the potential to challenge dominant television narratives is discussed:

Ellmers: We only ever hear the crap news story of making fun of the fact that somebody thinks that there's a taniwha on the road and no context for that. So it's just providing a different cultural paradigm I suppose, and challenging that very monocultural, dominant culture view of the world, because I really believe it's so ingrained in people they don't even know they're doing it.

The inclusion of Māori documentary on New Zealand television offers a different perspective on issues, which may otherwise be represented unfairly or without the depth of understanding required to explain them. This potential is also increased with the presence of Māori Television, which, as Smith (2006) highlights, further contributes to viewer conceptions of New Zealand's people and sense of nationhood. The potential to disrupt hegemonic discourses and to acknowledge culturally specific complexities in the presentation of ideas was regarded by participants as a highly desired outcome of their work. This desire stemmed from a strong recognition of the historical misrepresentation of Māori on television and the harmful effects of such conduct. The potential of Māori documentary to empower Māori audiences was also discussed, particularly in relation to the younger generation and those unfamiliar with their Māori heritage:

Milligan: I think there are an awful lot of Māori who grow up without their own whakapapa, without their own whānau. Maybe they don't watch Māori Television, I don't know, but anything that puts our own stories out there empowers all of us.

Melbourne: Māori are really diverse as a people. We've got those who are steeped in tikanga and reo and everything right through the spectrum to those who know nothing, really, I mean they may as well be Pākehā except that they aren't, and they know they're Māori, but just in terms of knowledge. And so we've got to try to empower them, and you've got to know whether your programmes are for those at that end or those there.

Recognizing the diversity of identities within Māori audiences is an important consideration for Māori documentary producers. These different audiences may require different forms of empowerment, whether they are in need of reconnecting with their Māori heritage, gaining an understanding about the historical struggle for reo immersion education, or being informed about national issues in a way that is palatable for them. Furthermore, recognition of difference between individual hapū and whānau by Māori

documentary producers also serves to negate television constructions of pan-Māori identities. The potential to empower, therefore, is contemplated along with the understanding that the Māori audience consists of multiple identities that have varying understandings of whakapapa, tikanga, and reo, which necessitates the representation of a variety of Māori identities through television documentary.

Another potential advantage of the ongoing production of Māori documentary is that it provides work opportunities for emerging storytellers. Several of the interview participants recalled entering the television industry through documentary and current affairs work, and recognized this as an important pathway for new practitioners:

Henry: Interestingly, documentary tends to be a pathway for Māori filmmakers into broadcasting because it is a cheaper format than drama. So you will find if you look at most of the senior practitioners in the Māori industry today that most of them will have started in television, in broadcasting, because that was really the pathway into production, and as a result of that they will either have come from a news journalism, current affairs or documentary background. So, to some degree documentary is a primary pathway for Māori into film and television, and screen production.

Morgan: In terms of Māori, national, and local content, it's important not only to develop new stories, but also to develop new practitioners into the industry. And there's a huge capacity-building that's taking place as we speak in terms of identifying key storytellers and researchers, and within the last ten years there's been a lot of practitioners come through the documentary strand.

The production of Māori documentary is viewed as a potential pathway for members of the younger generation wishing to pursue a career in television production. Having more Māori in the television industry, whether they choose to produce Māori programming or otherwise, is seen as important for balancing the range of views that are influencing what is being produced for the national audience. Mentoring arrangements, in which senior practitioners are teamed up with new entrants, were also described as a commonly used method for developing young storytellers in documentary. Although it was acknowledged that these pathways are perhaps not as readily available as they might once have been, the importance of retaining these through documentary was emphasized by all participants.

Māori documentary was also considered for its potential to establish understanding between peoples. Some participants regarded this as a fundamental part of their storytelling kaupapa:

Stephens: That's what storytelling can do; it can bring peace between peoples. That happens to be my kaupapa. All sorts of storytellers have their own kaupapa, their own style. That happens to be mine and I'm very grateful for that.

Milligan: I think documentary, more than anything, opens those doors. So if you wanted to get carried away I think it can do all sorts of fundamentally wonderful things like improving race relations in this country, because anything that opens our eyes to minority experience is a valuable thing.

Sharing Māori stories through documentary has the perceived potential to improve relationships between different cultures. As Hodgetts et al (2005) suggest, storytelling through television documentary is deemed particularly appropriate for this purpose with its capacity for providing contextual information as well as the wide distribution that television broadcasting offers. This focus on cultural awareness and understanding through Māori documentary demarcates the work of contemporary practitioners in the field from earlier television documentary, for which Māori and Indigenous programme makers were principally informed by political concerns (Peters, 2007). Producing Māori documentary, for many of the participants, was more specifically driven by the desire for improved communication between Māori and Pākehā as Treaty partners. Rather than recycling the "us and them" narratives used in mainstream news (Abel, 2006, p. 19), open dialogue about past grievances serves the purpose of encouraging mutual recognition of the relevance of the Treaty in the everyday lives of New Zealanders. Maintaining open lines of communication between Māori and non-Māori is a potential outcome of the ongoing transmission of Māori storytelling through documentary, which is especially significant for the relationship between Māori and Pākehā.

Decolonizing the Screen: Ideological and Political Challenges

Participants identified many challenges to fulfilling the potential of Māori documentary for television. The term 'decolonizing' illustrates the foundation from which these themes have emerged. It represents the combined aspirations of the interview participants and highlights the notion of struggle as a site of significance within the wider context of kaupapa Māori (Smith, 1999). Interview participants identified numerous challenges for Māori television documentary production. These included lack of audience reception, difficulty of accessing mainstream television networks, conflicts about broadcaster responsibilities, lack of Māori in decision-making positions, challenges within production, institutional racism, language requirements within Māori programming and mismanagement or lack of resources. All of the challenges identified are implicated in and by one another, however for the purpose of presenting these ideas clearly they have been categorized as eight individual sub-themes.

Challenges to audience reception

Beyond the issue of access for Māori storytellers to the medium of television are concerns about accessing Māori audiences. Participants saw Māori viewers as being disinterested in documentary programming as well as a sense that television content in New Zealand was becoming less relevant for the national viewing audience:

Henry: Most Māori don't watch documentary, so it's a bit of a one-way conversation. Unless you are able to put Māori audiences in front of Māori documentary, it is quite literally a one-way conversation.

Stephens: I find as a viewer I don't watch TV1, 2 or 3 anymore. I go to YouTube. Or I'll go to their websites to go there, *Te Kāea,* the news or whatever. As a viewer, a consumer, I'm feeling myself change, and one reason I'm changing is because I just cannot relate to that character identity of TV1, 2 or 3 or any others, and I find their attempts at empathy kind of squalid, really.

The perception that Māori do not watch documentary in general is a useful area for further research. This was partly reflected in the opinions expressed by young Māori media students in the focus group sessions conducted for this research. They described their general viewing diet as consisting mainly of drama and reality series programmes, such as *Shortland Street* (TVNZ, 1992) and *Police Ten/7* (TVNZ, 2003b). For them, television viewing was seen as an activity for relaxation, and documentary programmes, although deemed both interesting and important by participants, required of the viewer a level of concentration and mental engagement that exceeded their ability to simply 'blob out' or relax while watching. At the same time, in situations where they were placed in front of a documentary – for example, at university or at another person's house – they found the content to be highly satisfying.

For the time being, this raises questions about why Māori audiences do not view television documentary as a particularly useful or relevant source of information, and whether this has anything to do with limited access to relevant programming on television. Perhaps this may be explained in the second quote, which reveals a sense of disconnectedness with the vision of national identity expressed through mainstream television. Focus group participants also alluded to this idea, stating that for the most part they saw only superficial constructions of national character identities on mainstream television:

Participant A: On mainstream TV we all wear grass skirts. Like at the pōwhiri for all the international visitors – we all have our piupius on.

Mainstream attempts to portray Māori character identities as treasured national symbols coincides with Wall's (1997) construction of "the quintessential Māori" (p. 43) that romanticizes Māori spirituality and affinity with the land to the extent that "problems of the present are decontextualized, and where differences within Māori are erased" (Wall, 1997, p. 43). The general consensus among interview participants and the focus group participants was that only Māori Television provided an identity with which Māori were able to relate, with several participants pointing out that they did not see themselves reflected on television at all until the arrival of MTS. This underlines the importance of the Indigenous channel for the national viewing audience, but it also indicates a failure on the part of mainstream networks to adequately address their specific responsibilities to Māori audiences.

Māori and Television New Zealand

Interview participants regarded the inclusion of Māori programming on mainstream television as necessary and important for having Māori voices heard on a national scale. One of the key arguments put forward was that there is no space for Māori documentary programming on TVNZ. This had to do with the various requirements of both TVNZ and the funders that impeded the ability of producers to have such material broadcast, particularly during primetime. For instance, in order to secure funding from NZ On Air, the programme must be presented in such a way that appeals to a broad viewing audience. Immediately, the content would no longer be a Māori programme for a Māori audience, but a 'window into the Māori world' for the general audience, much like that of *Koha* (Leonard, 1980) and *Tangata Whenua* (Barclay & King, 1974). TVNZ may also require that, in order to justify scheduling during or around primetime, the programme provide entertainment by highlighting any controversies around the topic and illuminating the spectacle of events rather than delving into underlying issues via "talking head" interviews. The expected result is a documentary programme that has been altered to the point where it can no longer be recognized as a Māori documentary. Although the same was said of TV3, TVNZ was described as having specific obligations to Māori as outlined by the Waitangi Tribunal, as well as having a moral duty to harness and protect the stories of tangata whenua. The struggle to include Māori stories for Māori audiences within mainstream television is an ongoing one for these documentary producers:

Pouwhare:	The mainstream television channels demand a certain type of documentary about the natives, and it's got to be made in a way that is palatable for their viewing audience. I think it'd be far better if they trusted the Māori documentary-makers and gave us the opportunity to put our stories on the way that we want to present it. My argument is, why don't you go and do it? What's the point of contracting us to do it if you want to tell us what to do, and you tell us how to do it? All you're doing is paying for a service.
Ellmers:	TVNZ make a lot of money out of *Te Karere, IamTV, Marae*, and *Waka Huia*. So why would they then be open to independents coming in and taking that spot? It's always been a totally locked-up shop; that Māori have never had the opportunity to make Māori programming for Māori that's going to be screened on TVNZ.

Ways of defining Māori stories are seen to vary greatly between Māori documentary producers and television broadcasters. Ellis' categorization of *Police Ten/7* (TVNZ, 2003b) as a Māori programme provides a more extreme example of this, but it highlights the discrepancies nonetheless. As Barnes (2003) has identified, many of the Māori documentaries that have been produced for mainstream television did not coincide with the original vision of producers, who have had to alter their storytelling approach to suit broadcaster demands. While the producer tells stories with a Māori audience in mind, the broadcaster is concerned with reaching the widest audience possible. Therefore, the way in which mainstream stories are constructed must cater to the tastes of the 'wider viewing audience'. Interview participants loosely defined this audience as white, working to middle-class citizens who are used to a standard viewing diet of British and American television formats. According to participants, Māori programming as defined by mainstream broadcasters is melodramatic, action rather than character-driven, and is often associated with negative social issues such as gang culture and crime.

It is also stated that the opportunity for independent producers to make Māori documentary for TVNZ is simply not there as the required amount of Māori programming is already being produced internally. This was seen to reduce the diversity of voices within its Māori programming by largely excluding the independent Māori production sector, thereby monopolizing the agenda for which programmes are being produced. All Māori-for-Māori programming on TVNZ is produced by a relatively small group of people who, while their efforts should indeed be commended, cannot provide the range of perspectives that an entire industry of Māori producers could offer. In addition, a regular documentary strand is yet to appear among TVNZ's Māori-for-Māori programming, which almost exclusively concentrates on news and current affairs genres. Although this in itself may be for valid resource and logistical purposes, the lack

of attention to other factual genres limits the extent to which different forms of Māori storytelling can be expressed on the mainstream State-owned broadcaster.

Commercial imperative vs. Cultural imperative

Participants considered television broadcasting as a means to reflect and promote the composition of New Zealand's diverse population, with special consideration for Māori as tangata whenua. Participants also stated that the government did not currently recognize the value of this and that this is reflected by the steady decline of funding being made available for the screen industry. Although they do not account for the screen industry as a whole, annual reports by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage indicate that funds being made available for public broadcasting services – including NZ On Air, TVNZ, Broadcasting Standards Authority (BSA), Freeview and public radio services – have remained fairly steady since the beginning of the 2007 financial year (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011). The number of organisations receiving government funding under public broadcasting, however, is only made explicit in the last two reports compiled by the Ministry, within which a decrease in funding of approximately 4% is evident (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010; 2011). Furthermore, funds allocated to TVNZ dropped by 36% between 2010 and 2011, which may have been partly in anticipation for the loss of TVNZ7 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010; 2011). Nevertheless, participants considered that TVNZ – which, as a State-Owned Enterprise, is required to produce an annual dividend to the government – focused primarily on profit maximization over and above developing ideas about culture:

Henry: Now we have a State-owned broadcaster with an identity crisis. It does not know whether it is a State-owned broadcaster using the BBC model or a State-owned Enterprise, which has to generate revenue.

Melbourne: The whole screen industry in New Zealand's been under review by the government. We're a bit suspicious because it could be just so they can try and shave more money off it because culture is not seen as important, which is a real tragedy. So New Zealanders – and I'm talking mainstream generally – don't see themselves as having a culture, which is really weird.

In a broadcasting system where commercial interests undermine the value of culture, a sustained commitment to include Māori stories on mainstream television is not seen to be very likely. Although TVNZ has never followed a pure BBC model, the seemingly schizophrenic nature of New Zealand's mainstream State-owned broadcaster – to promote and enhance New Zealand culture and identity whilst simultaneously making a profit – makes it difficult for Māori practitioners wanting to make content for

mainstream television since their programming is aimed toward a minority section of the national audience. In a wider context, participants felt that Pākehā New Zealand were being let down by their own storytellers, who continued to import overseas narratives in their attempts to reflect Pākehā identities. This has resulted in what has been referred to as the 'cultural cringe' – the belief that New Zealanders do not have a specific culture. Almost by default, the dominant Pākehā culture is deemed as 'the norm' in New Zealand and, as Mikaere (2005) notes, has even resulted in some Pākehā claiming a status of Indigeneity. Participants identified storytelling through television broadcasting as having the potential to change how we think about national and cultural identity in Aotearoa by being more inclusive of narratives that acknowledge rather than neglect our colonial heritage. The potential to develop national understandings of culture, however, has been impeded by commercial imperatives.

The Gatekeepers

Several concerns about the kinds of decisions being made by both broadcasters and funders were expressed. Māori are under-represented (if represented at all) within these groups and an obvious pitfall is having unrepresentative groups judge what Māori stories may be suitable or unsuitable for broadcast. However, it was also mentioned that decisions being made by Māori organizations did not necessarily correlate with the kaupapa of Māori documentary producers either:

Ellmers: You've got the whole irony that still we have non-Māori sitting in a place of deciding which Māori projects get made or not made. So they're going to say, 'No, that's not of interest.' Well, not to you maybe! And yet they still are the gatekeepers, ultimately.

Henry: My major concern about Māori screen production is the quality and calibre of decisions being made by key decision makers within that orbit, and that is I sometimes have concerns about the decisions made by Te Māngai Pāho, what programmes get made, what don't get made.

The people operating at various levels of decision-making within the New Zealand broadcasting industry are identified here as potential obstacles to the inclusion of Māori documentary on television, especially in the sense that the power to decide the future of Māori documentary production lies predominantly in the hands of non-Māori. The lack of control over resources is a continual source of frustration for many Māori, and in many areas over and above television broadcasting. For Māori producers, it is this desire for more control over resources and programme content that has spurred many of them to start their own production companies or to join organisations that are managed by Māori. Nonetheless, it must also be recognized that within these groups of decision-

makers lie potential allies. Having more Māori within these positions would be the ideal scenario, but this does not address the concern that decisions currently being made by Te Māngai Pāho (TMP) also contribute to the lack of Māori documentary being produced. It is clear that the kaupapa subscribed to by some of the Māori production community is different from that of broadcasting funding agencies. Ongoing communication between these groups is necessary in order to advance discussions about what is trying to be achieved for Māori within television broadcasting and how this can be implemented effectively.

Production challenges

Participants also identified challenges within production contexts that impeded the potential for Māori documentary storytelling. This set of challenges was described as distinct to Māori productions, occurring across pre-production, production and post-production phases. These included challenges of formatting Māori stories in a way that was deemed suitable for television, but perhaps more significantly there was the challenge of encouraging Māori to tell their stories. Although te Ao Māori was described as being full of wonderful stories, arguments over what constitutes 'truth' within documentary can quickly arise, and not everyone is willing to share their version of it with television producers. A certain distrust of media workers is still perceived to exist, with one participant stating that it was a good thing for Māori to be discerning about whom they choose to share their stories with:

Melbourne: The first *Waka Huia* we did we were having problems getting kaumātua to agree to be interviewed. There was still a lot of feeling about how would we use it, would it be taken out of context, all this kind of stuff. And rightly so, they should be still be asking that.

Morgan: Quite often film crews go into rohe and not know who they're going to visit. Where people are uninformed or misguided, quite often bridges are burnt, and going back in to restore some of these bridges is quite a tricky thing to do. That's what Barry writes about in his book and some of the techniques that him and Mike King used with the *Tangata Whenua* series, how they didn't want to be too intrusive, and respected the space. Some of philosophies are practiced today, but probably what happens is that people are rushing to quick deadlines.

Barry Barclay's practices of production are referred to explicitly here as a model to which Māori producers have aspired. Such techniques include establishing a greater distance between the camera and the documentary participants, as well as demonstrating the role of 'listener' by allowing participants to tell their stories without interruption or explicit direction (Barclay, 1990). The extent to which these are practised in actuality is limited due to the time constraints, however they remain highly valued among Māori

documentary producers for their appropriateness to Māori contexts. Their transformation from a set of ideals to the normative standards within Māori television production has yet to be fully realised.

The 'Black Other'

Participants were especially concerned about television representations of Māori across the viewing schedule. Cited examples of the most common television documentary representations of Māori corresponded with derivations of the 'Black Other' construction – Māori as "the comic other", Māori as "the primitive natural athlete", Māori as "the radical political activist" and "the quintessential Māori" (Wall, 1997, pp. 41-42). According to participants, these stereotypical representations came to be expected within Māori programming by mainstream broadcasters, which were mainly being produced by non-Māori. In addition, interview participants felt that little consideration was given by broadcasters to balancing out these negative representations with more positive ones:

Stephens:	I had a lot to do with the various doco strands for TVNZ and TV3, and one of the depressing things was the degree to which they wanted stories about Māori and trouble. And there was a time when people would show – Pākehā people – would show Māori how to get out of trouble.
Ellmers:	There's a lot of talk about journalism ethics and stuff; that a programme itself has to be balanced. But we don't actually look at the balance across a schedule, so that if we've got a television schedule that is full of *Gang Girlz* and all of that, which is not balanced by other stuff, then the primary way in which Māori see themselves on screen is through negative characters.

Mainstream understandings of Māori documentary as social issues programmes that show Māori how to get out of trouble provides a clear example of institutional racism. This is perhaps more damaging than overtly racist views, as it is often not recognized as a form of patronization – rather, it is understood to be a way of 'helping the natives help themselves.' The issue of balance within and across programming that is addressed here is an ethical one; broadcasters are seen to be failing in their social responsibility to Māori viewers by presenting a disproportionate number of Māori in a negative light. Similarly, focus group participants described mainstream television representations of Māori as homogenous and almost always negative, portraying Māori as 'Hori*', 'uneducated' and 'violent'. This was perceived to occur across a range of factual genres, including news, current affairs and documentary. In one of the focus group sessions,

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* A former derogatory term used for a Māori person meaning poor, rugged or underclass.

over-associations with domestic violence was viewed as one of the most common stereotypes about Māori within mainstream factual television:

Participant A: It's weird how Māori are portrayed with domestic violence as opposed to other cultures. There's been just as many European babies who have been killed but they're not portrayed in the media.

Participant B: My sister-in-law works for CYFS taking care of the emergency kids, and the most recent one was a three month old Pākehā baby with facial burns and neglectful parents. Now I didn't hear anything about that on the news, but imagine if that was a Māori child.

Participant C: That's what sells, that's why they portray us so badly in the media. If you think about Māori, we will show everything – the good, the bad and the ugly. But TV1 and TV3 will just show real negative stuff about us.

Although Barclay's (2003a) discussion of First Cinema is within the context of film, it can also be applied to contexts of mainstream television, in which the glare of the ship camera points itself at the native Māori population. The way in which this occurs on television may be more implicit than it might once have, but for these young Māori media students at least, negative representations of Māori continue to be the norm on mainstream television. As they have pointed out, Māori are being over-represented in media stories about child abuse, which supports the ideology that Māori are inherently violent. At the same time, Māori are described as being much more open about negative issues within their communities compared with Pākehā. This apparent lack of critical self-reflection reinforces ideologies of cultural superiority, and further emphasizes the representational imbalances that exist within and across mainstream factual programming.

Interview participants also felt that the emphasis on balancing views within programmes was not relevant to documentary – Māori documentary in particular. Firstly, the construction of an argument or particular view about a topic was described as a core characteristic of documentary that serves to differentiate it from other factual genres and makes it appealing for producers and audiences alike. Furthermore, subjectivity was described as inevitable for kaupapa Māori documentary, which actively promotes the validation of Māori people, language and culture through positive media representations in an attempt to restore balance across the programming schedule. Ongoing negative portrayals of Māori through mainstream news, such as being framed as a 'threat' to Pākehā (McCreanor, 1993), are particularly damaging to the social and cultural wellbeing of Māori (Nairn et al, 2006). With the recognition that a level of bias within

any genre is simply unavoidable, participants favoured a more holistic view of balance rather than subscribing to any journalistic notions of story objectivity.

The Language Debate

Under the current television funding structures, a certain level of te reo Māori is required in Māori programmes funded by Te Māngai Pāho (TMP) and NZ On Air. Participants expressed the view that Māori programme proposals taken to NZ On Air were being referred directly to TMP. Although TMP identifies itself as a Māori broadcasting funding agency on the organisation website (Te Māngai Pāho, 2010), participants considered them more in the capacity of a Māori language revitalisation agency. Therefore, Māori television documentaries are largely structured around the specific language requirements of the Māori funding agency.

Participants were divided over whether the reo quota was working to protect the interests of Māori through opportunities to develop storytelling. On the one hand, programmes focussing on the language were perceived as being undervalued, and language requirements within Māori programming considered essential to cater to Māori-speaking audiences as well as honouring the founding mandate of the Māori Television Service:

Pouwhare: What people forget is that MTS is predicated on the reo and on viewing audiences who have the reo, and that, I'm afraid, has been sidelined for other interests.

Morgan: We have in one case certain amount or levels of funds that are high-end, and a language programme is way down here, so there's that separation and disparity. There needs to be a sense of equity – a language programme should never be undervalued.

From another perspective, reo quotas were seen to be inhibiting and restrictive for Māori storytelling, particularly for Māori stories in English. Participants stated that it was necessary for some Māori programmes to be in English as the majority of Māori viewers are not fluent speakers of te reo and yet, there was no known television outlet for this type of programming. Māori storytelling was therefore limited by language prerequisites:

Ellmers: More and more Te Māngai Pāho are saying, "We're not a broadcasting agency, we're a Māori language revitalization agency." So who holds the responsibility for kaupapa Māori programming that's in English? It should've always been NZ On Air. But it kind of had a bit of a slide of them going "Oh no we don't have to do that anymore. That's a TMP Bag." Definitely the current funding structures do not work well.

Henry: A lot of money's been put into Te Māngai Pāho, and Te Māngai Pāho is increasingly being seen as a funding body for MTS. So if you go with a documentary idea to NZ On Air that has a strong Māori focus, unless there are tits and bums in it and with something that they can see that is going to have a 'broad appeal', you're going to be sent to Te Māngai Pāho. You go to Te Māngai Pāho, then you get caught up in the whole language delivery/tension, and the reality is 85% of Māori do not speak Māori.

Melbourne: When NZ On Air give money to TVNZ there's not allowed to be more than 30% Māori language content; when Te Māngai Pāho give money it's got to be above 50%; so what's going to happen to that 20% between? The language at the moment is shaping how your story's going to go. Māori Television has a quota for reo, and that's one of the things that is a plus and a minus because it does negate some storytelling and you have to alter it to fit into the criteria.

It should be stated that all of the participants acknowledged the importance of Māori language programming for television. The difference in opinion centred on the quota for te reo Māori that exists within funding agencies and broadcasting networks, and what that meant for the majority of Māori who speak only English. It is perceived that the main broadcasting funding agency NZ On Air is simply passing on Māori proposals to Te Māngai Pāho, even where it is stated that the story would be told in English. Content analysis conducted for this research revealed that NZ On Air have funded a total of 59 individual episodes of Māori documentary between 2000 and 2010, while in that same period TMP have funded 469 episodes. As the Māori Broadcasting Commission, it is not surprising that TMP have been responsible for funding the majority of Māori documentary. However, participants felt that NZ On Air was automatically transferring Māori proposals to TMP without any real consideration, although this is partly due to the limited audience for which Māori documentary is likely to appeal. It must also be understood, however, that funding from these agencies can only be allocated to those projects that have gained broadcaster commitment. Therefore, unless a commitment to broadcast was indicated by a mainstream broadcaster, which had its own implications in terms of how the story would be shaped, Māori documentary producers would again find themselves in the position of negotiating how the story must be delivered according to reo requirements.

Resource Management

Lack of resources is an ongoing issue in most television contexts, and Māori television production is certainly no exception. Participants stated that resources made available for the New Zealand film and television industry are very limited, especially next to their Australian counterparts. Resources for Māori programming are even scarcer, which makes the efficient management of Māori resources crucial to sustaining a Māori

screen production industry. Here, it is contended that the misallocation of Māori resources is working against the industry's already threatened sustainability:

Melbourne: When you make Māori programmes, first of all they try to make it back, but then the chances of making a profit are virtually nil, so you're not actually doing something that's sustainable.

Henry: I'm increasingly concerned that documentaries and dramas being made for MTS are being made by non-Māori production companies, which flies in the face of authentic Māori authorship. But TMP has never been swayed by that principle – it is simply there, it believes, to protect te reo me ōna tikanga. And so if you are a Pākehā and can make a programme in the Māori language, then that's fine. So, until TMP inculcates those principles of authentic Māori authorship, then we will find increasing amounts of what I call 'the brown dollar' going into the 'white pocket.' That, for me, is problematic.

The issue of authorship is described here as one that is non-consequential for the Māori broadcasting funding agency, which has resulted in Māori funding being distributed to non-Māori production houses. It was of some concern to participants that non-Māori were being given the opportunity to make Māori stories using Māori money, particularly as there is barely enough funding to bring in regular production work for existing Māori companies. This begs the question: What is it that non-Māori production companies can offer for Māori storytelling that is not being offered by the Māori ones? The interview participants also stated that the skill capacity of Māori production workers should be nurtured and developed, and that this could be achieved with the ongoing support of Māori funders. The effective and creative management of Māori resources was considered crucial for retaining Māori storytellers within the industry and ensuring the overall sustainability of Māori television production. The political infrastructure within which Māori documentary production occurs, as well as discussion about what constitutes Māori documentary, is addressed in the following chapter.

Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion (Part Two)

Introduction

This chapter outlines Māori producers' conceptions of Māori documentary and discusses the genre's significance as a means of telling Māori stories. A formal textual analysis of the documentary *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (Ellmers, 2004), which is supplemented by a shot deconstruction of a five-minute excerpt (Appendix K), attempts to demonstrate how kaupapa Māori documentary storytelling for mainstream television may be achieved. Lastly, the chapter looks at the specific policy initiatives that sought to encourage Māori documentary production for Television New Zealand (TVNZ), followed by producers' suggestions for a way forward.

Māori documentary as storytelling device

Discussions about ways of defining Māori documentary highlighted the main conceptualization of documentary as a means of telling Māori stories. This was underpinned by a particular set of beliefs about what constituted a Māori story, both in theory and practice. Here, distinctive characteristics of Māori storytelling are identified as well as the notion that to tell one's own stories is important and significant for providing authentic perspectives.

Distinct Characteristics

Participants concurred with Barclay's (1990) conception of Māori and Indigenous film as distinct from any other, stating that their beliefs and worldviews as Māori informed their method of storytelling through documentary. Māori documentary storytelling, as a specific mode of telling stories, was characterized by its non-linear structure and exploratory narrative:

Morgan: In terms of how do we format a Māori story, a natural story; I think Māori tend to explore more of a revolving narrative. It's quite circular, as opposed to a certain 'structure'. And that's what we've got to appreciate about Māori storytelling.

This idea of a circular format in Māori storytelling was contemplated in two ways. The documentary producer must first be aware of and familiar with this type of cultural disposition when they are interviewing documentary participants. They should not expect to receive a strictly chronological or compact response to their questions. Māori storytelling places an emphasis on the contextualization of information, and its circular (or spiral) structure also serves as an important reminder of the virtues of patience and

respect when entering the Māori world. According to Barclay (1990), this circular way of communicating is also inclusive as it allows many perspectives to surface. This inclusivity is important to Māori ways of discussion and decision-making, and as Barclay (1990) points out, "the bankers and accountants, the farm labourers and the road workers – they all have voices" (p. 10). The perception of a distinct narrative format within Māori documentary storytelling is in contrast with Leuthold's (1997a) findings about Native American documentary, which showed very little difference between Native and non-Native structure. Whether this is the case in an Aotearoa context may be revealed through comparative textual analysis of mainstream and Māori television documentary. On the other hand, distinct correlations between the narrative style of traditional and contemporary Māori storytelling arts have previously been observed (Metge, 1998), suggesting a pattern within Māori narratives that continues to be used in modern-day contexts.

A circular structure may also appear evident in the final cut of the documentary itself, however the extent to which this may be achieved in television is limited due to strict time constraints. Horrocks (2003) talks about television's "obsession with slottism" (p. 11); a critique of the medium's over-accommodation of commercial breaks and the subsequently airtight storytelling formats to which documentary producers must adhere. As one interview participant suggested, producing a television edit to satisfy the demands of the broadcaster as well as a 'director's cut' is one way of allowing for non-linear narratives to develop. Re-versioning, or producing different versions of the material for different markets, is now common practice among documentary producers. Māori Television was also mentioned in several cases as being more flexible with documentary narratives than mainstream networks as it is less constrained by commercial imperatives. Māori storytelling was described as an organic process that repositioned the documentary subject as storyteller over and above the producer:

Morgan: A true Māori perspective could possibly be that, as one where the storyteller is allowed to tell the story. There's a number of ways of crafting but certainly if the subject matter – the artist – can then tell its story, and breathe organically, I think you've done a reasonably good job to tell that story.

Pouwhare: I chose from a very early start to defy the conventions of documentary making – that you, as the director or the reporter, had to create a presence on the actual documentary. I came to a conclusion right from the start of my career that there was precious little time as it was, and that actually the people don't want to see me. They don't actually want to hear me. I decided that what's more important was the subject and the talent; the people who were appearing in the documentary were far, far more important.

As the main sources of information, the documentary participants (or 'storytellers') are seen as the most important people in the production. Narratives within Māori documentary are described as subject-driven, whereby minimal interference by the director is evident in longer takes, plenty of interview footage (in what is crudely termed "talking heads") and little or no voice-over commentary. Interview participants did not relate this form of editorial practice to any grand claims of objectivity. Instead, it was noted that subjectivity within documentary was a necessary and inescapable element of producing media works. This is an important consideration within a mainstream television context that, according to participants, often supports journalistic notions of objectivity in factual programming. The decision not to cut a piece of interview footage was viewed as an equal measure of the director's influence on the production as would be the decision to insert a cutaway, for instance. Participants stated that Māori documentary narratives are largely influenced by Māori philosophies. The way in which Māori conceive of time, for example, is underlined here as an important aspect of the way in which Māori view and interact with the world, which impacts upon documentary production:

Pouwhare: For Māori, our idea of time stretched back centuries, so a war that occurred 300 years ago remains live in the Māori mind. Those are the differences that I have to engage with and navigate around because sometimes I can go to another tribal area and they were our traditional enemies, where we loathed and hated each other. But I have to deal with that as the documentary-maker knowing that they are hostile to me because of what happened 200 years ago. It's still alive in their minds, as it is indeed with us.

A Māori perspective or worldview is described as one in which events of the past bear the same level of significance as they had when they occurred. Past events continue to impact the lived realities of Māori, and so influence present relationships Māori have with one another. Building and sustaining relationships with documentary participants is seen here to be crucial and certainly desired in production, but what is also highlighted is the necessity for a shared understanding between producer and participants about where their relationship is situated from a historical standpoint. Indeed, if we are to take into account the historical relationship between Māori and the media, there is justification for a certain level of hostility or wariness toward media producers. However, where both producer and documentary participant have the same underlying values and understanding about the dynamics involved in these relationships, it is more likely that clear communication pathways can be established and participant's viewpoints can be represented fairly and accurately. The desire for

equal partnership between producers and participants in the storytelling process is apparent in how Māori documentary was being defined:

Henry: Māori production is grounded in a Māori worldview, it has an authentic Māori authorship, and it delivers some positive outcome for Māori.

Melbourne: A Māori documentary to me is a Māori voice, and a Māori opinion, and a Māori vision.

The issue of authorship in Māori documentary was viewed differently among the interview participants, however the contention here is not one that excludes non-Māori from making stories about Māori. Instead, what is being proposed is that only Māori can tell a Māori story, which is explored further in the next sub-theme. What is also implied here is the need for Māori documentary to have a transformative function – primarily for Māori but also for non-Māori – whereby the kaupapa or vision for the production is to legitimate Māori worldviews and strengthen Māori identities. Interview participants had differing views on how this should be achieved and whether or not this necessarily excluded the participation of non-Māori, but the overall strategic aspirations were the same. The existence of a shared kaupapa among producers of Māori documentary is significant because it transcends the authorship debate and establishes common ground from which further discussion can be built.

Another way Māori documentary was identified as distinct was in the practices of production, which involved specific types of engagements with the people involved. These engagements were centred on tikanga Māori, or a Māori way of doing things, which were believed to result in more harmonious relationships between the producer, documentary participants, and members of the production crew:

Stephens: I've kind of broken down my management philosophy into KKK – Karakia, Kōrero, Kai. You have karakia because that's a moment of oneness and reflection and humility; you have kōrero so your editor, your camera operator, your sound man, can do their job because they know what you want them to do; and then you have a kai to give thanks, acknowledge good work, well done, and all of that. It is a simple kind of thought but I've found by and large it's worked.

Morgan: I'd actually like to go and meet with them beforehand – kanohi ki te kanohi. And that's very important. You can do so much over the phone but you do much more by just getting off your chair and going up there. I think in terms of kaupapa Māori, that's really important.

In following with a kaupapa Māori approach (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003), people and relationships are highlighted as the key component within Māori documentary production. The underlying values that informed participants' work practices were not viewed as mere formalities that would produce the desired outcome for any given

production. For example, the principle of kanohi ki te kanohi is understood as a means of displaying respect and openness within Māori communicative contexts. Barclay (1990) describes this process as crucial during the pre-production phase within Māori documentary. In a TVNZ documentary directed by Barclay, he and his crew were allocated two weeks for pre-production and five weeks for shooting. Instead, Barclay decided that six weeks pre-production time was necessary for developing relationships with the old people. Having spent that time with the production crew the people of Tūhoe participated willingly, which effectively resulted in a speedy shoot. These external practices create what Waititi (2008) considers to be a unique characteristic of Māori film – the wairua or 'inner essence'. Although this may be considered an essentialist position, understandings of wairua within film and television programming are context-specific, and may differentiate between Māori communities. Participants stated that kaupapa Māori could more accurately be understood as a way of life, with its application in documentary production a natural progression from these same principles.

Importance of telling our own stories

Interview participants emphasized the importance for Māori to tell their own stories in documentary storytelling for television. Three levels of contemplation stem from this theme – firstly, the importance of this in philosophical terms; secondly, the significance of the documentary genre; and finally the perceived value of television as a medium. Here it was considered that Māori worldviews and values could be better expressed through stories produced by Māori:

Melbourne: We actually look at the world differently. You know, when we look at a hill we don't see a hill, that's a tribe's sacred mountain which really means something to them. So, our vision is also totally different, and to capture that I think you need a Māori crew, you need Māori writers; you need a Māori consciousness within that production.

Stephens: What I'm most interested in a way is the degree to which any programming can normalize the Māori experience. And so the more we can tell stories of ourselves, the better. I just think that Māori are in a better position to do that better.

Telling our own stories is important for thinking about *how* Māori stories can be told. When this is done frequently, it can give more weight and presence to different Māori worldviews. As explained earlier, the specific methods that are used to craft the story may vary, but the philosophy or vision for Māori storytelling is the same. For some documentary producers, a Māori consciousness in documentary production enhances the value of the story for Māori viewers, and a greater visibility of Māori experiences on television can work to defeat the negative stereotypes that also exist. The desire for

Māori control over Māori images coincides with Leuthold's (1997a) assertion that Indigenous documentary makers are driven by the desire for Indigenous autonomy, or tino rangatiratanga in a New Zealand context. The extent to which this has been achieved in New Zealand television broadcasting, however, is debatable. Māori Television Service (MTS) is a case in point – the establishment of MTS was based on an agreement between Māori and the Crown (Māori Television Service Act 2003) in which the broadcaster is accountable to the government. Although day-to-day operations are managed principally by Māori, this shared ownership model limits the extent to which MTS might be considered an autonomous Māori broadcaster. On the other hand, authentic Māori authorship ensures Māori sovereignty of our own image, at least within the genre of Māori documentary.

Documentary is identified as an ideal genre for Māori to tell their own stories because it has the capacity to adequately contextualize and express Māori ideas. The genre enables Māori storytellers to explore the complexities within stories that have otherwise been misrepresented through other factual genres:

Pouwhare: On the news it was just a newsbyte, you never got the context. With documentary you have time to delve into the issues, provide context, get opinion, come to some conclusion or for me, often I'd leave it for the viewer to make up their own minds.

Milligan: Anything that gets a minority voice heard is valuable, and documentary I think is probably the most valuable genre. It's been said so often it's almost a cliché, but it is about telling our own stories; it's utterly about telling our own stories.

Interview participants frequently cited their disappointment with current representations of Māori in news and current affairs genres, underscoring their choice of documentary as the preferred factual genre for Māori storytelling. The ability to contextualize information was seen as important for combating negative views about Māori people and ideas, and for establishing the foundation for cross-cultural communication – in particular, communication between Māori and Pākehā as Treaty partners. Some interview participants consider that the use of commentators within television media, such as self-proclaimed iwi spokespeople or Māori politicians, runs the risk of suggesting that all Māori share the same views about everything. The documentary genre is considered important for its ability to counter this tendency and promote a range of Māori views on a given topic.

Television as a medium is valuable because it commands large audiences. Its ability to reinforce or challenge ideas about nationhood and race relations through programming

was considered alongside the issue of equal access rights to the airwaves, which is guaranteed to Māori under the Treaty:

Henry: Television is a form of literature – we have all been colonized by American pap, followed closely by English pap. And our kids and our future generations are equally victims of that colonization process. It's not just directed at us as Māori or a minority group; post-colonialism is about colonizing the minds of the ill-informed. The reality is that those of us who are aware of this tend to be middle-class Māori who are in fact the least in need of empowerment. It's a self-perpetuating cycle of coloniality and oppression, which good television documentary can break through.

Morgan: I think it's important that we have a clear voice and identity on mainstream television or any platform for that matter. It's crucial. We're in NZ, we are the people of the land, here to take care of the land and it's various waterways. So it's really simple to me why we should have some presence. Our voice should be heard and seen in a way that's unique to NZ.

Stephens: It's significant because it expresses the truth of who we are as a nation. The truth of who we are involves Waitangi – I'm interested less in the clauses of Waitangi than I am in the fact that two peoples of difference agreed to get it on, and like any relationship it's an ongoing work in progress. Just keeping up the lines of communication is all we can ever hope to do – I think that's a reality of the human experience.

Each of these statements alludes to the ideological power of television documentary – in the first instance, the power to colonize or decolonize the mind, in the second, the power to project an Indigenous identity, and in the third, the power to influence the relationship between Māori and Pākehā. Television enables Māori documentary to be disseminated to a wide audience, which can make Māori experience more visible and thus foster better understanding. On the other hand, negative portrayals of Māori or the complete lack of Māori representation in some television programming continues to negate these attempts. Television documentary is consequently viewed as a double-edged sword – it can be both empowering and disempowering.

Hīkoi: Inside Out – An example of a kaupapa Māori documentary for TVNZ

Hīkoi: Inside Out (Ellmers, 2004) was one of ten episodes made for the *One News Insight* series on the State-owned broadcaster TVNZ. The series, which began in 2004, presented an array of independently produced documentary journalism programmes that looked at contemporary national issues in more depth than was possible in a standard news format. *Hīkoi* looks at the mass mobilisation of iwi across the North Island that occurred in 2004 in response to the Labour government's proposed Foreshore and Seabed Act. It focuses on the journey of two young Māori women, Te Whenua Harawira and Tere Harrison, as they march in protest along with tens of thousands of others to the parliamentary steps in Wellington.

In 2004, TVNZ's Māori programmes department was already producing informative programmes for Māori, including *Te Karere*, *Waka Huia* and *Marae* (now *Marae Investigates*), and the floor was rarely opened up to the independent sector. As *Hīkoi* director Kay Ellmers explains, the *Insight* series provided a unique opportunity for Māori documentary producers:

> In terms of their Māori-for-Māori programming, there's never been an opportunity on TVNZ for Māori to do that as independents because that's all sucked up by their internal productions, and they've got a vested interest in that. There'd been some pressure from the industry put on TVNZ that they'd like some opportunities to be allowed to do that. So they created a one-off trial of making available funds for five episodes for the *Insight* series, and unlike with normal documentary funding, this was a little test case where they said, 'We're just going to create this fund and then we'll just respond as people come to us', rather than 'here's your round deadline and you've got to have your idea.'

Hīkoi was broadcast at 9.30pm on Wednesday 21st July, 2004. Ian Fraser was Chief Executive Officer at this time and, having come from an arts and investigative journalism background, encouraged public service principles within TVNZ's programming. Additionally, the TVNZ Charter was still in existence, which was intended to "extend the range of local content beyond that provided by the NZ On Air contestable mechanism" (Thompson, 2011, July 26) and to broaden notions of public service broadcasting that solely emphasized the provision of local content. The Charter also reminded TVNZ of its obligations to Māori audiences, stating that the broadcaster should strive to "ensure in its programmes and programme planning the participation of Māori and the presence of a significant Māori voice" (TVNZ, 2003a). Further pressure for TVNZ to uphold a level of commitment to Māori programming came with the arrival of the Māori Television Service (MTS) which, having enjoyed four months of transmission by the time *Hīkoi* was broadcast, offered audiences a wide variety of fresh, local content with fewer commercial breaks. The foreshore and seabed hīkoi was a catalyst for the formation of the Māori Party, which also contributed to a greater Māori presence in New Zealand's television media.

Formal textual analysis

The following discussion draws from a shot deconstruction of a five-minute excerpt of *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (Appendix K) to analyse the ways in which the programme communicates to different audiences. Comments from focus group participants about how they perceived *Hīkoi* are also included.

A variety of documentary modes are used to tell the story of *Hīkoi: Inside Out*. Its structure as a piece of enquiry but also of exposition involves the use of commentary,

piece-to-camera, interview, observation, archive film and graphical image (Corner, 2006). Laced with interview providing contextual information, *Hīkoi* largely employs the use of piece-to-camera and observation in which the production crew is immersed in the hīkoi itself. Ellmers talks about this approach in her initial conversations with TVNZ:

> I said that this wouldn't be your normal newsy 'what are those natives doing over there?' I wanted to do something that's far more from the participants' point of view. We were seeing all these news reports about these crazy protestors, but nobody had any context or understanding of what the issues were about.

There is a very deliberate attempt in the documentary to promote a particular point of view about the foreshore and seabed debate – that is, that Māori have always been the rightful guardians of te takutai moana (the foreshore and seabed) and the proposed Act would be in breach of the Crown's agreement with Māori as outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi. The audience is encouraged to align itself with that point of view through the experiences of Te Whenua and Tere as we 'follow' them on their hīkoi journey.

Interviews provide another means of promoting this point of view. These are divided into seven thematic segments: 'The Legislation', 'History', 'The Marlborough Sounds Case', 'Who Owns What?', 'Customary Rights', 'The Waitangi Tribunal' and 'Due Process'. The segments are introduced with a title graphic and music to signal the transition away from the midst of the hīkoi and into discussions with relevant informants about the issues driving the movement. Interview commentary defending the Labour Party's proposed Act by then Deputy Prime Minister Michael Cullen is wedged between commentaries that counteract the government's stance. These commentaries, which include the insights of prominent Māori lawyers Moana Jackson and Annette Sykes, provide compelling evidence that supports and legitimizes the perspective of hīkoi participants. For example, shots 23-26 shows how the interview segment is constructed so that Jackson and Sykes have the first and last say on the legislation; that it is 'heinous' and 'unjust'. They contextualize their argument with the necessary legal information as well as explore the moral issues involved. Cullen's attempt to justify the legislation, which includes the argument that it works to "protect public rights and public access" (Appendix K, shot 25), insinuates that Māori interests are at odds with public interests. The placement of this argument in between that of Jackson and Sykes serves to highlight the inaccuracy of these underlying assumptions, as pointed out by one focus group participant:

Participant A: It was good when you'd have Mr Jackson having his say, then straight after that you'd
                   have the European point of view, which was totally opposite. But then you'd come in
                   again with Annette Sykes to sort of smooth things out a little bit, so it was good
                   techniques.

Hīkoi: Inside Out speaks to two audiences in its expositional style. Firstly, it speaks to
Māori. The majority of documentary participants are Māori, and the use of 'presenters'
Te Whenua Harawira and Tere Harrison provide strong character identities with which
Māori viewers may recognize in themselves and their whānau. Conversely, according to
one focus group participant, the use of these presenters reinforced stereotypical views of
Māori as uneducated radicals:

Participant B: The lady who was hosting it was not very articulate, like she was referring to people as
                   'the bro here', and 'chur my cuzzy' and all this sort of stuff. When someone's watching
                   that they go 'oh it's those bloody Māori's on the protest walk', whereas if it was
                   someone in a suit talking about the legal aspects of it or whatever they might take it a
                   bit more seriously.

This view makes reference to the perceived illegitimacy of Māori worldviews for non-
Māori audiences, for whom the use of colloquial terms such as 'bro' or 'cuzzy'
demonstrate an inability to articulate oneself in an informed manner. Many of the focus
group participants agreed that this representation of Māori further invalidates Māori
perspectives for non-Māori audiences. This revealed a perception among participants
that it was particularly important for *Hīkoi* to communicate effectively with non-Māori,
so that they could fully understand the underlying issues involved in the protest
movement.

What is also apparent is the casual and taken-for-granted use of Māori words and
concepts in the vocabulary of these women. These are not subtitled or translated as
might be necessary for a non-Māori audience, but are interwoven throughout the overall
discourse of the documentary. An example of this might be when Te Whenua describes
a situation in which there is some disagreement between some of the hīkoi participants
and the people of Raukawa marae: "Okay, finally arrived, it sounds like there was a bit
of a face-off with the haukāinga and our boys that came through, but that's all cool
cause it just shows, you know, that there's heaps of mauri and heaps of wehi involved in
this whole kaupapa" (Ellmers, 2004). There is an assumption that the audience is
familiar with the usage of such terms, which indicates that this programme is aimed
primarily toward Māori audiences or to audiences familiar with te reo Māori.

This documentary also employs techniques for communicating to a wider audience.
More specifically, it aims to speak to the other Treaty partner that the foreshore and

seabed debate concerns - Pākehā New Zealand. One such technique is the use of well-known journalist Simon Dallow, who also fronts the *Insight* series, to provide voice-over within the programme. This is designed to establish in the minds of Pākehā audiences a sense of credibility and trustworthiness of the information presented in the documentary that they would associate with a respected television journalist. Ellmers was well aware of the benefits of using Dallow to voice the documentary:

> I made a deliberate choice to have Simon Dallow voice it so it was stamped with establishment, because mainstream viewers were going to be watching it. They trusted and thought of Simon as an establishment journo. And I actually think he's a good journalist, so I didn't mind that, so by using an in-house guy I thought it would make it more palatable. Whereas if a mainstream audience came to something and just saw some radical-sounding person they'd never heard of before telling them stuff, it's likely they wouldn't believe them.

This links to the earlier comment by Participant B, which highlights the need for credibility for a Pākehā audience. Through its expository narrative, *Hīkoi* presents a particular point of view that most Māori need no convincing of, but which Pākehā audiences may be unfamiliar with or do not have prior knowledge on which to base the information. There were also concerns that news reports of the time focussed solely on the spectacle of the event, such as the approach taken in this New Zealand Herald article: "The hīkoi protesting at the proposed foreshore and seabed legislation has police permission to march over the Auckland Harbour Bridge at a cost of tens of thousands of dollars and huge disruption to motorists" (Orsman, 2004, April 26). Rather than explaining the issues involved, the action of the hīkoi is emphasised, with hīkoi participants being effectively portrayed as 'troublemakers' causing 'disruption'. Through its persuasive style and explicit bias toward Māori worldviews, *Hīkoi* aims to create a more informed understanding between Pākehā as to what the hīkoi actually represents. Ellmers backs up this sentiment in her description of the documentary's aims:

> It set out to explain what it was that people were actually concerned about and what they were actually protesting about. And to illustrate that it was actually people who cared and were really genuinely concerned, that they weren't just creating a fuss for the hell of it.

Māori media students in the focus group sessions also felt that the documentary spoke to both Māori and Pākehā in the way it was presented – the observational style of the hīkoi sequences and the use of Māori presenters were seen to resonate with Māori, while the inclusion of law experts provided a sense of legitimation that participants believed was necessary to effectively communicate with Pākehā audiences. As Hodgetts et al (2005) highlighted in their analysis, *Hīkoi* offers an alternative view to what was

being said about the protest movement within mainstream television at that time. Focus group participants also acknowledged *Hīkoi* as providing an alternative perspective:

Participant C: It's a different view than the European perspective of just a bunch of protesters. It's more about whānau and family – that played a big part in what I just saw.

Hīkoi provides the background information required to clarify to audiences the underlying issues that spurred the protest movement in the first place. The emphasis on whānau that is described here places the documentary within a kaupapa Māori framework, which seeks to extend basic understandings of hīkoi as a form of 'Māori activism' to its cultural and spiritual significance for Māori whānau.

A kaupapa Māori documentary?

According to kaupapa Māori theory (Henry, 2010), a Māori documentary must:

- Be produced by, with and for Māori
- Empower Māori
- Validate Māori language and culture
- Result in positive outcomes for Māori people, language, culture and society

Hīkoi: Inside Out can be understood to achieve all of these things. It was written, directed and produced *by* Māori, was made *with* Māori participants and *for* Māori audiences, although not exclusively as I have indicated. It empowers Māori to stand up for what they believe in, and not simply accept the government's interpretation of Māori rights. The use of kupu Māori in everyday language as well as the various tikanga associated with each marae is taken-for-granted in the documentary. *Hīkoi* validates Māori language and culture because its very foundations are located within it. Finally, the potential to produce positive outcomes for Māori people, language, culture and society through documentary is enormous when there is a conscious effort to do so. Ellmers speaks of her explicit intention to promote a particular perspective throughout the documentary:

> I was open from the outset that this was not a balanced piece, you've got every other news and current affairs outlet that you want that's providing a Pākehā perspective, whether you like it or not they are the ones reporting from the roadside watching the hīkoi walk past, and I wasn't attempting to do that. I will do commentary and I will interview others like Michael Cullen, but I'm not trying to be balanced - I'm trying to provide a perspective.

As the documentary is grounded in a Māori worldview, it produces specific positive outcomes for Māori, such as increasing political awareness about the issues surrounding the foreshore and seabed debate. Furthermore, *Hīkoi: Inside Out* is itself a positive

outcome for Māori. It acts as a form of recognition and validation of Māori perspectives, promoting the principle of tino rangatiratanga. *Hīkoi* may be formally defined as a kaupapa Māori documentary in that it complies with the requirements of kaupapa Māori theory. More importantly, however, the producer's intention to promote Māori interests by means of mainstream television reveals a kaupapa Māori agenda that is embedded in the documentary's inception and production.

Hīkoi: Inside Out is an example of a kaupapa Māori documentary that speaks primarily to Māori, and also to Pākehā, from a Māori perspective. It highlights the importance of providing for Māori and mainstream audiences contextualized information programming from the point of view of Māori. The fact that it broadcast on mainstream television is significant because this is a rare occurrence for kaupapa Māori programming. Although TVNZ does produce kaupapa Māori programming internally, the independent production sector is limited in its ability to make kaupapa Māori programmes for mainstream broadcast. *Hīkoi* is significant because it exemplifies how kaupapa Māori documentary for mainstream broadcast can be achieved.

Past efforts, a way forward

As discussed in Chapter Four, there are considerable challenges to fulfilling the perceived potential of Māori documentary to contribute towards the decolonization of television broadcasting in Aotearoa. Past efforts to increase Māori content for television and promote accountability for broadcasters are acknowledged by participants in their evaluation of the TVNZ Charter and NZ On Air's Rautaki Māori. These were regarded as significant developments for Māori documentary production, although the effectiveness of these efforts for long-term change was arguable. Past attempts to overcome these challenges were assessed and recommendations for future directions suggested.

The TVNZ Charter

One of the outlining principles of the TVNZ Charter was to "ensure in its programmes and programme planning the participation of Māori and the presence of a significant Māori voice" (TVNZ, 2003a). This addresses some of the obstacles identified earlier by Māori documentary producers, such as the difficulty of accessing mainstream networks, conflicts about broadcaster responsibilities, lack of Māori in decision-making positions and mismanagement of scarce resources. Questions arose during the interviews as to

whether the document had had any real impact on the programming decisions made by TVNZ. Interview participants recalled their reactions to the Charter:

Pouwhare: I think that the Charter was really important because it forced TVNZ to accept that they had to be a lot more proactive, in terms of the public broadcasting concept. And for me, that public broadcasting discourse is about creating a mechanism where we are able to speak with each other and ascertain the major issues that are facing this country – if there are problems, how do we get around them? The way of getting round them is dialogue, information.

Stephens: I remember thinking then as I do now, that it was a mostly well-meaning effort to do something, but doomed. Because the reality of the world that it existed in was one where the bottom line has a greater importance than any betterment for society, and so I just see it as frippery; it's just a window dressing. Having said that, I don't want to deny the goodwill of a whole bunch of people who were involved in it, and who made the best they could out of it.

Melbourne: I thought the Charter was a mess – it was like a sticking plaster to try and ensure that some of the programmes were about New Zealand culture, which included Māori, cripples, gays, deaf people… they kind of just slapped it on there, and TVNZ just happily spent their time and our taxpayers money trying to get around it.

Milligan: The Charter's gone now anyway, but even while it was in place I was very cynical about it – I do not think TVNZ ever set out to observe it. I don't think that Marian Hobbs was a very effective Minister of Broadcasting, and therefore I don't think that TVNZ listened to her very much, I don't think they had to because the government had a schizophrenic attitude towards TVNZ. They put the Charter in there and said 'Well you still have to give us $20 million to go into a consolidated fund every year.' Those two things are completely contradictory.

Participants recognized the potential of the Charter to reintroduce public service principles within TVNZ, however the expected outcomes were deemed to be unfeasible given that TVNZ operates as a commercial enterprise (State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986). This, along with the fact that the Charter was nonbinding, led participants to believe that the scrapping of the Charter was not only an inevitability, but was relatively inconsequential. In 2007, a proposed Charter redraft was published on TVNZ's website to generate public feedback, which was subsequently incorporated into a review of the redraft by a delegated working party. One of the main themes identified from the public submissions was that the existence of MTS superseded TVNZ's Māori and te reo obligations (Thompson, 2007). The working party, which consisted of one representative each for TVNZ and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage as well as independent delegate and Chair Peter Thompson (2007), had another view:

Clause 3a concerning 'a significant Māori participation and voice' was interpreted in different ways in different public submissions. The working party decided to include the phrase 'by, for, and about' here to ensure that the wording covered Māori production, Māori audiences and a Māori focus in the content. 'Voice' was likewise considered to be potentially ambiguous, and was replaced by 'perspectives', the plural indicating that there may be different points of view within the Māori community (pp. 7-8).

The recommendations put forward by the working party were to no avail, and the government's amendment to the Television New Zealand Act 2003 was passed into law in July 2011. According to TVNZ, the amended Act "removed the TVNZ Charter but enshrined TVNZ's obligation to provide high-quality content for New Zealand audiences and to maintain a strong commercial performance" (TVNZ, 2011). Perhaps it was unrealistic to expect any significant changes in TVNZ's programming during the Charter era, but the fact that it was formed at all indicates at least some recognition of the broadcaster's social responsibilities to the New Zealand public. On the other hand, it is particularly discouraging that the government simply removed the Charter without properly addressing the issue of why it was not working in the first place. The amended Act states that "TVNZ must provide high-quality content that is a.) relevant to, and enjoyed and valued by, New Zealand audiences" and "b.) encompasses both New Zealand and international content and reflects Māori perspectives" (Television New Zealand Act 2003, s. 12). These proposed functions are fairly open to interpretation, and no direct attempt to revive the specific principles of the Charter seems to exist. Thompson's (2011, July 26) response to the amended version was more adamant, stating that it "strips New Zealand's principal free-to-air television operator of any substantive obligation to serve the public interest beyond returning a dividend to the Crown." The Charter itself may not have resulted in the effective integration of public service principles within TVNZ, however those same principles remain relevant and important for serving the interests of the public and more specifically the interests of Māori.

Te Rautaki Māori

Interview participants cited Te Rautaki Māori as another potentially key document for Māori programming, however lack of accountability for Rautaki programming continued to be of major concern for interview participants:

Ellmers: They've had a lot of problems with the Māori projects falling over. Who's holding them accountable and saying what's happened to that Māori money? Where did that ever go? In terms of that quota, it'd be interesting to find out what fulfilled that quota. In the latest report now there is a Section that says what was classified as Māori programmes, but in the docos all you've got in there is 't.b.c.' – that never gets reported on. So does that money just end up getting absorbed back in again? Do they ever really have money, and who's keeping account of that?

Transparency as to which programmes are receiving Rautaki Māori funding – and in cases where production ceases, transparency as to where the funds are redirected – is regarded here as important to ensure that funders are held accountable for the decisions

they are making about what constitutes a Māori programme. According to the definition under the Rautaki, "a Māori programme is one that makes a conscious effort to reveal something of the past, present or future Māori world" (NZ On Air, 2008, p. 1). This definition could be said to be rather vague, however the additional requirement of having Māori practitioners in at least two of the key creative positions provides a potentially measurable outcome. On the other hand, as not all Māori practitioners are culturally fluent, their self-identification as Māori does not necessarily guarantee the 'authenticity' of Māori authorship that NZ On Air's Rautaki Māori promotes. Participants stated that a public record detailing NZ On Air's specific funding decisions under the Rautaki would enable more open dialogue between the Māori production community, funding bodies and other interested parties about how Māori documentary content is being defined. The sentiments expressed by Barclay (2006) in his letter 'A Pistol on the Table', which highlighted the existing inequalities that necessitate initiatives such as Rautaki Māori, were also reflected among interview participants:

Morgan: We're straight away selling out to a government song that they wish to implement or enforce on us. If you're talking about independent producers, well you've got to meet a certain criteria.

Here, the participant describes the Rautaki as a 'government song', and that to subscribe to this quota system is, to some extent, admitting defeat. Also being referred to is the criteria for producers of Rautaki Māori programming – at least two of the key creatives (producer, director or writer/researcher) must be Māori for a project to be eligible. This directly addresses the concern expressed earlier about the need for authentic Māori authorship, however what is also stated in the document is the focus on Māori programmes in English "for the general audience which includes Māori" (NZ On Air, 2008). This has been interpreted by participants as another way of saying the aforementioned wider viewing audience, which may include Māori but does not specifically cater to their needs. The Rautaki, although useful for delivering authentic Māori perspectives for a general audience, neglects to provide opportunities for Māori programme makers wanting to produce programmes specifically for an English-speaking *Māori audience* for broadcast on mainstream television. Therefore, Māori documentary storytelling for Māori is perceived as virtually non-existent on mainstream networks.

Māori Television Service

Participants described the Māori Television Service as having had a huge impact for both Māori and New Zealand storytelling. In making content for MTS, perceived benefits for Māori documentary producers included having more editorial control and flexibility with narrative construction as opposed to the strict programme demands of mainstream broadcasters. Some participants, while respecting the necessity for a special purpose Māori broadcaster, still viewed te reo requirements as a potential barrier for some Māori stories, particularly those told in English. Overall, however, participants conceded that Māori Television Service (along with TVNZ7) was achieving in its programming the closest example of a public service television in New Zealand, which is demonstrated through its high level of local content and factual programming. Participants viewed this rather critically – although there was no deliberate attempt by the broadcaster to be 'the public service television' for New Zealand they have become so by default and with fewer resources:

Henry: The Māori voice to some degree is protected through MTS and through TMP. Internally there are issues but they're not catastrophic. But the New Zealand voice is also being threatened. The quality of the programming on TVNZ7 is unbelievable – it's fantastic, and it would be catastrophic to lose it.

Stephens: It's kind of like the public service channel in a way, even though it doesn't want to be, it's become that in Māori storytelling. And it knows the kind of mix of stories that our people want to see, hear, experience. Pākehā New Zealand have been badly served by their own storytellers and they see the benefits of what we have to offer.

Ellmers: Everyone's starting to look to MTS as the only PSB standing. Because why? Because it's now the mainstream hijacking Māori money again and trying to put a demand on the channel that it is there for. Not saying there shouldn't be one, but it's not our job. It's now putting it onto us to be the be-all of all PSB with a tiny amount of money, and in the meantime NZ On Air are given money to do all sorts of very lightweight mainstream stuff.

Mainstream broadcasters and funding agencies are seen to be failing to provide for their own audiences stories that reflect Pākehā New Zealand. Meanwhile the Māori Television Service, who have much less funding at their disposal, are catering for both Māori and the wider viewing audience in their diverse range of factual programming. It is viewed as a gross injustice that this responsibility has fallen into the hands of the Māori broadcaster – the establishment of which was heavily resisted by the Crown in the first place – due to mainstream's negligence to fulfill their social responsibilities. What has resulted now, according to one participant, is recognition by TVNZ that changes needed to be made in its Māori programming:

Stephens: I think it's pretty much caused TVNZ to up its game. Certainly from a news perspective, right away this became apparent. I actually think now *Te Karere* is better than *Te Kāea*. I think that the awareness around the quality of MTS's work has had an impact on what happens on TVNZ and TV3.

There is an apparent interest by mainstream broadcasters in what Māori Television are doing and how they are doing it, which perhaps indicates a willingness to reassess their own programming objectives, but is also an inevitable outcome in a competitive environment. Another key function of Māori Television identified in the interviews is communicating with other Indigenous groups:

Morgan: With Māori Television being part of the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Network, we have crossed that divide to creating programmes that are part of the Indigenous network. We can connect with other iwi other than ourselves; we're a part of a wider circle of Indigenous peoples.

Again, this exemplifies an area that is not being specifically catered for by any other New Zealand broadcaster. Communicating within the wider Indigenous network is a key function of Māori documentary storytelling, which is made possible through Māori Television's association with the World Indigenous Television Broadcasting Network (WITBN). Stories from Indigenous groups around the world may also be shared with New Zealand audiences. What was once a relatively rare occurrence – unless you were closely affiliated with Indigenous film festival circuits – has now become a regular feature through Māori Television's international documentary strand. Implicit in the idea of sharing Indigenous stories is the recognition of a wider struggle beyond our national boundaries. This may be somewhat difficult for New Zealanders to imagine, given our relative isolation from the rest of the world. Having these stories exposed through the visual medium of television can only serve to assist in broadening our understanding of Indigenous issues, as well as exploring other ideas about what it means to be Indigenous. Although the full impact of Māori Television Service is yet to be fully understood, some incremental yet crucial steps for New Zealand television broadcasting are already taking place.

Māori storytelling and the Internet

Participants viewed the Internet as a particularly valuable outlet for those Māori stories that were not being reflected on television. Although it was seen to be less effective than television in terms of drawing a national audience, the Internet has provided a platform that is more democratic in terms of access. That is, those who were traditionally consumers of media products are now creating and disseminating their own

content. Young, technologically sophisticated Māori were seen as the driving force for online Māori storytelling:

Morgan:	There are a lot of people out there that are already producing their own programmes with what they've got, and I think we need to harness that. If we've got more people out there telling the stories it'll be better for the message and our stories, our voices.
Milligan:	People are just getting out there and making feature documentaries on the smell of an oily rag. I think finally the NZ film and TV industry is starting to wean itself off public funding – Film Commission, NZ On Air and TMP. The young people coming through are far more savvy about just getting out there and doing it; not going 'I can't do it because I can't get any funding,' which in my generation has been something that has governed a lot of thinking.

Anyone with a camera phone has the ability to create and upload video content to the Internet. As this technology is relatively inexpensive and easily accessible, it widens the possibility for Māori wanting to share stories that would otherwise be excluded from traditional media. Participants saw this to be happening already among young people and encouraged more Māori to record and share their experiences with the online world. They also described the Internet as a useful source for viewing other Indigenous content, with its diverse range of stories available through video platforms such as *You Tube* and *Vimeo*. Participants stated that their own viewing habits had changed significantly now that programme content was posted online, although it was not seen as a replacement for the older medium.

Improving the picture for Māori television documentary

Participants described Māori Television Service and the Internet as being the main outlets for Māori documentary storytelling at present. Even with these available, it was still perceived as important for mainstream broadcasters to provide opportunities for Māori storytelling. With access to a very broad audience, mainstream broadcasters have an increased potential to influence national relations (Spoonley, 1990). This level of power cannot be taken lightly; nor the responsibilities associated with how that power is exercised. As Hodgetts et al (2005) state, television documentary can work to either reinforce the dominant hegemonic model or to challenge it. Steven's popular television documentaries of the 90s, although successful in attracting high ratings, reinforced ideologies about audiences as consumers and set normative standards for mainstream television documentary formats to the detriment of alternative modes of storytelling. Furthermore, the level of dissatisfaction expressed by producers and viewers about the quality of documentaries on television in Horrocks' (2003) report suggests a demand for

new and innovative storytelling methods that is not currently being given airtime on mainstream television.

Although concerns over Māori access to mainstream television broadcasters may seem invalid with the presence of MTS, the relative audience reach of Tier 1 channels make them an attractive platform for Māori documentary producers (NZ On Air, 2012). Initiatives developed to improve access, such as the TVNZ Charter and Te Rautaki Māori, demonstrate an attempt to incorporate principles of public service such as recognition and respect for difference through the "incorporation of minority experiences and views", and "a genuine diversity of representation" (Dunleavy, 2008, p. 797). Although the Rautaki is still in existence, participants were not satisfied that everything was being done to ensure a stronger Māori presence on mainstream television. Content analysis of NZ On Air and TMP's funding reports from 2000 – 2010 revealed a general lack of improvement in the field of Māori documentary production (see Figures 1, 2, 3, and Table 1, pp. 89-90).

The total number of Māori documentaries funded by NZ On Air averaged at less than 6 individual episodes per year compared with TMP's 46. On average, Māori documentary accounted for less than 5% of NZ On Air's annual documentary expenditure. Perhaps more surprisingly, an average of 88% of TMP's documentary expenditure was invested in Māori documentary, highlighting the view that some Māori funding is being diverted to non-Māori production companies. In the first full funding round since the advent of MTS, and in every year until June 2010, no new Māori documentaries were made for TVNZ. In fact, all Māori documentaries within this period that received funding after 2004 were broadcast on MTS. However, the presence of MTS also resulted in an overall increase in the total number of Māori documentaries being funded, primarily through TMP. Furthermore, it is important to note that both NZ On Air and TMP can only distribute funds to projects that have already been guaranteed broadcast. In effect, funding decisions made by each commissioning organisation reflect only those Māori documentaries that had gained prior broadcaster commitment. Qualitative research into the decision-making processes of the broadcasters would be necessary to draw more conclusive results.
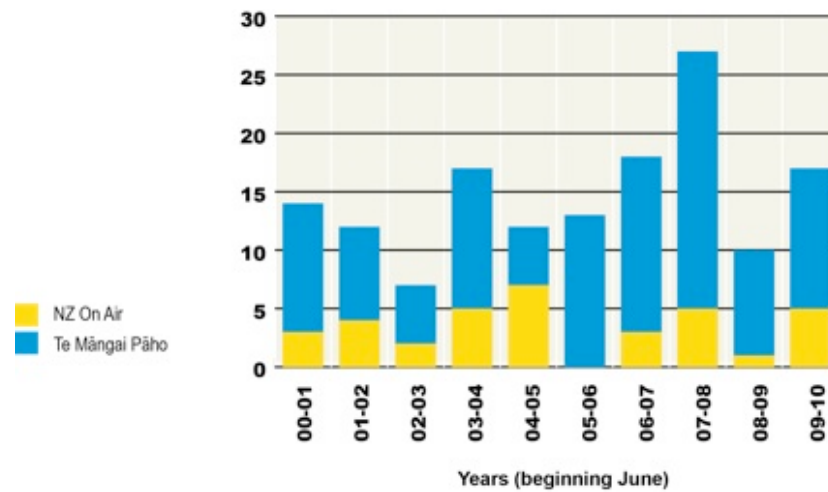
Figure 1: Total number of Māori documentaries funded
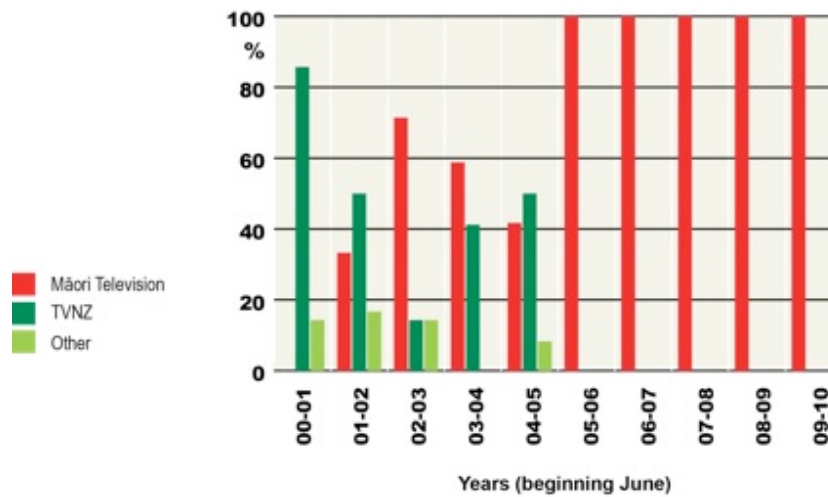
Figure 2: Percentage of Māori documentaries made for State-owned broadcasters
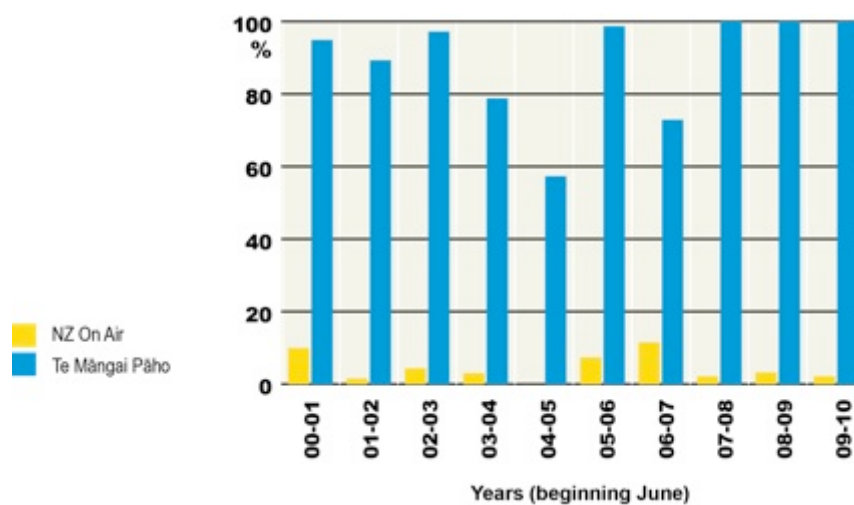
Figure 3: Percentage of documentary expenditure spent on Māori documentaries

Table 1: Summary of Funding Round data for Māori Documentaries*

Annual Funding round ending 30 June	No. of Māori Documentaries† (and episodes) funded by NZ On Air	No. of Māori Documentaries (and episodes) funded by Te Māngai Pāho	Total No. of Māori Documentaries (and episodes)	Made for Māori Television Service	Made for TVNZ	Other	% of documentary expenditure spent on Māori documentary	
							NZ On Air	Te Māngai Pāho
2001	3 (3)	11 (20)	14 (23)	-	85.7%	14.3%	2.1%	100%
2002	4 (4)	8 (29)	12 (33)	33.3%	50%	16.7%	3.2%	100%
2003	2 (2)	5 (27)	7 (29)	71.4%	14.3%	14.3%	2.1%	100%
2004	5 (14)	12 (89)	17 (103)	58.8%	41.2%	-	11.5%	72.9%
2005	7 (10)	5 (14)	12 (24)	41.7%	50%	8.3%	7.3%	98.7%
2006	-	13 (42)	13 (42)	100%	-	-	0%	57.3%
2007	3 (3)	15 (57)	18 (60)	100%	-	-	3.0%	78.8%
2008	5 (5)	22 (65)	27 (70)	100%	-	-	4.3%	97.2%
2009	1 (1)	9 (30)	10 (31)	100%	-	-	1.5%	89.3%
2010	5 (17)	12 (96)	17 (113)	100%	-	-	9.9%	94.9%

Drawing from their experiences within the New Zealand television broadcasting industry, participants voiced their suggestions about the kinds of changes that would be necessary to improve the overall picture for Māori documentary production. For the most part, participants emphasized the importance of having more Māori in decision-making positions:

Morgan: If Māori are part of that decision making it'll hopefully change things, you need a majority there though, not a small voice, to ensure that the Māori perspective is upheld.

Stephens: We should have things like 'Iwi Co-Producers', so you have Māori at producer level making decisions, rather than being just a consultant. So it's a sharing of power. Sharing of rangatiratanga, kind of thing.

Henry: A bit better business acumen around the way that money is spent, around the kaupapa of who its spent on, and what it's spent for, at the highest levels of decision-making, could I believe make Māori broadcasting and screen production more sustainable and more culturally sound.

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* Based on data from NZ On Air and Te Māngai Pāho annual funding reports 30 June '00 – 30 June '10.
† As defined within a kaupapa Māori framework.

The suggestion of having Iwi Co-Producers as a means of sharing rangatiratanga exemplifies a bicultural model of production in which Māori and non-Māori work together in producing Māori documentary. Rather than being relegated to an advisory position, Māori producers have equal control over production processes, contributing to a more authentic Māori perspective. It is also suggested that at least half of the commissioners for Māori programming would need to be Māori in order to have a significant impact for Māori documentary storytelling. This was in fact one of the principles stated in the Charter; to "ensure in its programmes *and programme planning* the participation of Māori and the presence of a *significant Māori voice*" (TVNZ, 2003a, emphasis added). How this might have been interpreted by TVNZ and whether this was actually implemented remains unclear, but as a principle it was considered as important among participants. A change in the way decisions are being made within Māori broadcasting is also suggested, which would necessitate a review of the larger kaupapa to which various stakeholders aspire.

There are issues with these suggestions for a way forward. A quota system would need to be initiated for a bicultural decision-making model to work, which in itself is likely to be met with severe resistance. Similarly, an overarching kaupapa for Māori organizations involved in broadcasting would be ideal, but extremely difficult to establish given the conflicting demands and obligations of each of the stakeholders. Nonetheless, it is recognized that the underlying issue of unequal power relations within television broadcasting must be addressed in order to advance Māori storytelling.

There was also an apparent desire among participants to improve the quality of Māori documentaries for television. In one sense, the technical quality of Māori television documentary was perceived as relatively low due to the limited resources with which producers were expected to work. Furthermore, the quality of the stories themselves could be enhanced with access to larger budgets, so that storytellers were less limited creatively. According to participants, the depth and diversity of Māori experiences are not currently reflected on television, and the concept of 'reo', as both language and voice, was considered to be significant for increasing quality by communicating multiple identities:

Morgan: I think there's really exciting times to come in terms of where the language is heading, and the significance of all New Zealander's embracing it and being proud of it. At Māori Television, we still need to embrace the language as being a core voice or 'voices' for Māori – voices as being a way of communicating an identity.

Pouwhare: I believe that more and more people should be encouraged to make documentaries to give us a diverse range of stories, of different voices, of different faces, of different experiences.

Melbourne: We want that vibrancy. You know, when you go onto a marae and there's all these amazing characters – from the guy with the tokotoko to the kuia sitting at the back going 'oh, listen to him!' to the kaikaranga who shoots around the back and is talking to her son on the phone because her first moko's been born, you know? And the cooks at the back telling outrageous stories about who's at the front and what they've been doing; you want that on the screen and I don't know that we're getting that. I think we're missing the cooks; we're getting a lot of the speaker, and we're not getting the subtleties of the kuia at the back.

To successfully integrate multi-dimensional narratives that are inclusive of a range of Māori identities, Māori storytellers must be self-reflexive and critical of their work. The participants regarded this process as a necessary step for the ongoing development of Māori storytelling, and certainly demonstrated this ability in their interview responses. Perhaps it is these considerations that mark the difference between the amateur 'prosumer' and the professional storyteller – the storyteller is compelled to recognize the impact of their own voice, as well as the extent to which other voices are given precedence. Generally, it was viewed that a more critical approach to Māori storytelling was needed to improve the quality of Māori documentary on television. This requires more explicit acknowledgement within documentary narratives of the multitude of voices and perspectives that interweave to form the basis of a story, along with some recognition of the various influences that shape the production process itself.

Chapter Six: Summary and Conclusions

Introduction

This study set out to gain an understanding of how Māori documentary producers conceive of their work and the challenges that they face within the context of New Zealand television broadcasting. Focusing on the period 2000 – 2010, it examined the ways in which Television New Zealand (TVNZ) has catered to Māori audiences in their documentary programming since the advent of Māori Television Service (MTS), highlighting *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (Ellmers, 2004) as an example of a kaupapa Māori documentary for mainstream television. This chapter summarizes the main findings, identifies the strengths and limitations of the study, and considers future directions for Māori documentary.

Summary of key findings

This research has been a journey that began by asking about the roles and motivations of Māori documentary producers and the challenges that they face within television broadcasting, specifically in producing content for the mainstream State-owned broadcaster TVNZ. The main motivations for Māori documentary producers manifest as a sense of duty to their people. Conceptualizations of Māori documentary as a mode of Fourth Cinema emphasize the role of the producer as 'listener' (Barclay, 1990; Waititi, 2008), while common understanding among producers of their role as storytellers – ngā kaikawekōrero – encompasses a range of responsibilities, including ensuring guardianship of people's stories, empowering Māori audiences, and creating understanding between Māori and Pākehā. Television documentary provides for Māori producers a means of exploring whakapapa, representing minority views, normalizing Māori culture, and demonstrating rangatiratanga (Horrocks, 2003; Leuthold, 1997a). Māori documentary was understood as a means of reflecting tikanga Māori, challenging negative stereotypes, and reflecting the diversity of te Ao Māori for New Zealand television audiences.

Previous research identified several challenges to Māori television documentary production. These included the discrete programming objectives of broadcasters and funders, which are subject to reform with every change of government (Horrocks, 2003). The commercial nature of television in New Zealand has also meant that the expense of local programming must be justified by a high audience demand, which

cannot be guaranteed for the distinct sub-genre of Māori documentary (TVNZ7, 2012b). TVNZ is mentioned as a particular case in point; although the semi-commercial model on which it is based would suggest a mix of public service and commercial agendas, the broadcaster's legal obligations only extend as far as producing a return to the government (State-Owned Enterprises Act 1986). However, provisions are made for programming funded by NZ On Air, whose aim is to support the development of New Zealand culture and identity on mainstream television (Broadcasting Act 1989; NZ On Air, 2010).

Limited access to mainstream broadcasters was one of the main challenges identified by Māori documentary producers. Polarized conceptualizations of Māori programming, institutional racism and a dearth of Māori in decision-making positions were among the inhibiting factors discussed. The TVNZ Charter was highlighted as a key initiative for the inclusion of Māori programmes and locally produced documentary, however its implementation was seen as largely ineffective. NZ On Air's Rautaki Māori has provided another avenue for the inclusion of Māori documentary on mainstream channels (NZ On Air, 2008). Interview participants acknowledged the Rautaki as a potential route for the production of Māori documentary for mainstream television, however confusion over which programmes warranted Rautaki funding, as well as the perceived lack of accountability for unfinished projects and the subsequent redirection of funds, has diminished their faith in the effectiveness of the strategy. They instead cited MTS as a key platform for the majority of their work, which is shaped around the language-specific requirements of both the funder (Te Māngai Pāho) and the broadcaster.

Although the advent of Māori Television has marked an important development for Māori working in the industry (Smith & Abel, 2008), its presence has also diminished Māori accessibility to mainstream broadcasters and thus a broader range of audiences. Furthermore, dealings with Māori broadcasting organisations involved another set of challenges such as reo requirements within programming and the distribution of money into non-Māori production companies. Although Māori Television's language quota limits possibilities for some Māori documentary storytelling, overall formal requirements for documentary were described as less restrictive than those within mainstream broadcasting. Content analysis conducted for this research indicated that less than 5% of NZ On Air's total documentary expenditure in the period 2000 – 2010 was invested in Māori documentary production (refer to Table 1, p. 90). Since the

advent of MTS, no NZ On Air funded Māori documentary (as defined within a kaupapa Māori framework) has been made for TVNZ, although both NZ On Air and TMP have increased their overall investment in this type of programming for broadcast on MTS. Interview participants indicated reduced access opportunities for the independent Māori production sector to make programmes for TVNZ due to internally-produced Māori content. At the same time, they thoroughly commended TVNZ's Māori Programming Department for their post-MTS efforts, stating that the quality of some of their programmes had superseded that of their MTS counterparts. The dearth of Māori documentary programming on TVNZ post-MTS demonstrates a perceived lack of responsibility to provide for Māori audiences a diverse range of factual programming beyond their established in-house productions.

The literature introduced a key framework for the contemplation of kaupapa Māori documentary. Kaupapa Māori production processes, such as allowing subjects to speak uninterrupted or using whānau members as the crew, was seen to create an Indigenous interiority that is distinctive only to the relevant communities (Waititi, 2008). In the production context, time was considered the main inhibiting factor for telling kaupapa Māori stories for television. Although practices of tikanga represent the preferred mode of practice for Māori documentary producers, they often require more time than is viable within the strict constraints of television production. The Internet was identified as an alternative platform for Māori documentary. Without the access and time constraints of television, the Internet opens up the field to amateur storytellers, allowing for a greater diversity of Māori stories. As professional storytellers of the broadcast era, interview participants described some reluctance about utilizing this method of distribution. That said, they also recognized potential of the Internet for the next generation of storytellers who, being of the post-broadcast period, were seen as extremely resourceful and technologically savvy.

This study's kaupapa Māori analysis of *Hīkoi: Inside Out* demonstrated the ways in which the programme could be considered a kaupapa Māori documentary that speaks primarily to Māori, but also to Pākehā, from a Māori perspective. Specific techniques that were employed to achieve these forms of communication are the use of Māori presenters, the inclusion of Māori phrases and concepts, as well as the authoritative voiceover from an established journalist. These techniques were made explicit through a formal documentary analysis, which drew from a shot deconstruction of a selected excerpt of *Hīkoi*. Similarly, Hodgetts et al (2005) described *Hīkoi* as an example of

Māori self-representation through mainstream media, highlighting the documentary's establishment of historical context, reframing of relationships between Māori and the Crown, and promotion of the legitimacy of Māori grievances through positive portrayals of protestors. The integration of a contextual analysis revealed the kind of conditions in which Māori documentary production for TVNZ was possible, including the promotion of Māori programming through the Charter, journalistic values of currency and scale inherent to the documentary topic, the arrival of new competition in the form of MTS, and the direction of TVNZ under a culturally-focussed leadership.

This study set out to illuminate potential pathways for Māori documentary on TVNZ as a State-owned mainstream broadcaster with broad audience reach and obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi. At this concluding stage of the research journey, there is a heightened awareness of the difficulties this proposition presents that will be developed further in the chapter.

Strengths and limitations

In this research, te Ao Māori is understood to comprise a diverse range of communities. This includes iwi, hapū and whānau; kōhanga, kura kaupapa and wānanga; urban Māori collectives such as health promotion groups; Māori sub-cultures within industry (such as Māori documentary production culture); and countless others that have formed on the basis of being Māori. Perspectives offered by Māori documentary producers and Māori university students for the purposes of this study cannot, therefore, be understood as wholly representative of a single Māori worldview. On the other hand, findings of this study may be generalizable to other Māori television production contexts. Although the interview research focused on the perspectives of producers, the findings share similarities with previous understandings of Indigenous media production, suggesting that a level of generalizability is feasible.

Another potential limitation involves the selection process for interview participants. Aside from their producer credentials within Māori documentary, participants were largely selected on the basis of access. Firstly, participants needed to be based in Auckland for ease of face-to-face communication. Furthermore, as all of the major television broadcasters in New Zealand are based in Auckland, it made sense to recruit from here. Production cultures in other cities, such as Wellington, are not taken into account. In addition to geographical considerations, participants needed to display a willingness to be interviewed and to make themselves available. In the television

industry, where time is most certainly of the essence, making oneself available for a two-hour interview on an agreed date and time can be challenging. For example, one producer who had expressed interest in participating was forced to cancel our raincheck appointment after finding out she was being sent overseas for a production shoot the next day.

Given the relatively small size of New Zealand's television broadcasting industry, relationship networking is important for gaining access to production circles. As Davis (2008) highlights, it must be remembered that interview participants are not just the providers of an account, but "are likely to be gatekeepers and / or sources of further information or interview contacts" (p. 60). Although the early selection of participants was limited to existing contacts I had made through my work at Te Ara Poutama, I was referred by these contacts to other potential interview participants. The old adage "it's not what you know, it's who you know" comes to mind here, and has at times initiated my feelings of unease about the internal workings of television and what this has meant for Māori wishing to enter the industry. On the other hand, the investigation of media producers necessitates this form of relationship building, which can also facilitate an ongoing collegial rapport between researcher and participant. Access to some producers, particularly those working within institutions, was further reduced by the politically sensitive nature of the topic.

The propensity of media producers to assert a more critical perspective within academic contexts than they would otherwise be inclined is acknowledged as another possible limitation, as the opinions expressed may not be representative of actual engagements within the television industry. However, the alternative worldview nature of Māori documentary production, as well as the fact that most interview participants for this research were independents, meant that they were able to be open without needing to exaggerate their position. In addition, all of the interview participants agreed to have their identity revealed in the final report, which demonstrates a willingness to stand by their interview comments in the public arena.

The low level of student participation presented another limitation for this research. While I envisaged a keen interest by Māori media students to take part in the focus group sessions, I did not take into account their busy schedules during the time that I had allocated, which happened to fall close to mid-semester break and assignment hand-in dates. I then requested that tutors within the faculty provide reminders in class, which

generated more responses than the written advertisements. Also, two students who had verbally committed to attend failed to turn up, resulting in less than the ideal number of students in the second focus group session. However, focus groups were only intended as a secondary source of information to assist with interview structure and develop basic themes on audience responses to Māori documentary. Thus, the extent to which these limitations impacted on the overall research project was minimal.

My own biases are possible limitations as well as strengths. Firstly, I made a point of making explicit my research kaupapa to interview participants with the assumption that they would share my overall aspirations for the research. Although this level of self-disclosure is common practice for kaupapa Māori researchers, measures were also taken to minimize their impact. For instance, during interview sessions I made a conscious effort to limit interruptions and simply allow interview participants to speak. This approach demonstrated respect and placed the emphasis on the opinions of participants. By assuming the principal role of 'listener', I was able to follow other avenues of discussion that arose spontaneously and were not previously considered in the research. My identity as Māori was also a limitation and a strength. My bias toward Māori worldviews meant that my interpretation of the research data was inherently subjective, which may be considered as both a limitation and a strength. Being Māori also assisted in establishing a rapport with participants and ensured Māori perspectives were upheld in the research report.

This study contributes to New Zealand television production studies literature as well as Māori media research. Few research projects in this area focus specifically on Māori television production contexts, and fewer still investigate Māori television documentary as a distinct genre. Since the advent of Māori Television Service, there has not been a similar study drawing from the experiences of Māori documentary producers working within the New Zealand television broadcasting industry. Additionally, none have employed the use of a cultural studies approach to production studies in conjunction with kaupapa Māori to investigate Māori television production.

The dialogical approach that was employed for this study is another strength. In contrast with the positivist concept of triangulation, a dialogical approach recognizes the possibility for multiple validities (Saukko, 2003). This philosophy helped to inform the research design, including the use of both interviews and focus groups. For instance, although information gathered from the focus group sessions was secondary to the

interview material, it was considered important to consult with the future generation of Māori media production to take into account emerging viewpoints and attitudes alongside the well-versed ones of experienced practitioners. A dialogical approach was particularly appropriate for this research, which emphasizes the diversity within te Ao Māori and promotes the legitimization of Māori worldviews.

The use of interviews as the key research method is a major strength of this study. Interviews were selected as the main method for this research as it coincided with the principle of kanohi ki te kanohi, which underlines the importance of face-to-face communication in establishing relationships and showing respect. Existing understandings about the significance of kanohi ki te kanohi among participants resulted in what I believe to have been some very honest and critical accounts about the nature of the television industry from a Māori perspective. Furthermore, this form of personal communication allowed for in-depth discussion about the specific issues surrounding Māori television documentary, which was regarded as a distinct field of production by participants. Face-to-face communication also enabled me to read participants' body language. This was useful in deciding whether to pursue potentially sensitive topic areas while helping to develop my overall understanding of participants' feelings towards the topic.

Future Directions

This study focused on the time period 2000 – 2010. Since the latter end of this timeframe, there have been significant developments in the areas of public service broadcasting and documentary funding policy. In 2009, the government provided funding for TVNZ's new digital platform that would include two public service channels, TVNZ6 and TVNZ7 (Thompson, 2012, June 28). The programming schedule on TVNZ6 mostly comprised of children's educational programmes, while TVNZ7 provided audiences with a wealth of news and information programming, including both local and international documentary. A commercial channel aimed toward teenagers, TVNZU, in March 2011, eventually replaced TVNZ6. Similarly, TVNZ7 was closed down in June 2012 after the government announced its decision to discontinue funding (Thompson, 2012, June 28). Since then, mainstream broadcaster TV3 has agreed to include media analysis programme *Media3* (formerly *Media7)* in its Saturday morning schedule with support from NZ on Air (Brown, 2012, June 14), and pay television operator Sky has expressed interest in political interview show *Back Benches* for broadcast on its free-to-air channel, Prime (Keall, 2012, June 15). The

outcry that resulted from the government's decision to end TVNZ7 reveals a genuine desire among viewers to have ongoing access to a diverse range of local factual programming that only public service television can offer.

Documentary has also been recognized as a key area for development within New Zealand television. The state of documentary in New Zealand was the subject of one of the last episodes of *Media7*, for which Alex Lee (Documentary Edge Festival Co-Director), Annie Goldson (Documentary Producer/Director/Writer) and James Muir (Director of Award-Winning feature *River Dog*) were guest panelists (TVNZ7, 2012a). The panelists voiced grave concern for the declining number and quality of documentary for television. They stated that although television is ideal for reaching wide audiences, the genre of documentary has suffered with the increasing commercialization of television broadcasting culture. Lee raises the issue of defining documentary within television: "I think we need to be very strict about what documentary truly is. In terms of reality TV, I don't think it should be funded under the documentary strand – it should really be separate" (TVNZ7, 2012b).

NZ On Air recently released a report on their website that provided a review of their current documentary funding strategy. Internal changes to funding policy and practice is recommended by the report that, if followed through, may yet result in new opportunities for Māori documentary storytellers: "NZ On Air's documentary principles should be refreshed. They also need to mesh, where relevant, with other policies such as the Rautaki Māori" (NZ On Air, 2012, p. 18). Subsequent to the report's release, twenty-four filmmakers gathered at Auckland University of Technology to prepare a discussion paper responding to NZ On Air's proposed changes (Peters, 2012, personal communication). Suggestions included increasing diversity within documentary, distinguishing documentary from other factual genres, measuring success in ways distinct from the ratings system, increasing possibilities for one-off documentary, exploring opportunities with Tier 2 channels (including MTS), providing mentoring support for emerging filmmakers, promoting documentary online, and linking documentaries to educational strategies (Peters, Lee, & Shanan, 2012, August 3).

In the hope that at least some of these objectives will be adopted within NZ On Air's revised funding policy, the future of television documentary looks to be in a significant period of transition; one that could be pivotal for Māori documentary storytelling. What is also required, however, is a systematic review of the role of TVNZ. What are the

understandings among TVNZ's key decision-makers, for instance, about their obligations to Māori in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi? How do the obligations of TVNZ complement those of MTS to ensure as broad access as possible to Māori perspectives? In order to ensure adequate provisions are made for the inclusion of Māori documentary storytelling on the country's mainstream State-owned broadcaster, these fundamental questions of broadcaster responsibility and accountability require careful scrutiny through further research and policy development.

Concluding comments

In her article about the Pākehā quest for Indigeneity, Mikaere (2005) examines the comments made by prominent Pākehā figures Trevor Mallard, Michael King and Don Brash. Mikaere (2005) questions their claims to Indigeneity through assimilationist discourses such as 'We are all one people' and others that express the desire to neglect our colonial roots: "There is a limit to how much any generation can apologize for the sins of its great grandparents," says Brash (p. 21). What is alarming is that such discourses continue to be perpetuated through the major television networks and newspaper publications of this country, even with the abundance of research that suggests that the ongoing negative representation of minority and Indigenous cultures causes significant harm (Nairn et al, 2006; Phelan & Shearer, 2009; Walker, 1990, 2002). The inclusion of Māori documentary on television is useful for providing alternative viewpoints, thereby expanding viewers' conceptions about Māori understandings of history and Māori people in general.

Hodgetts et al (2005) promote documentary as an appropriate factual genre for cross-cultural and inter-iwi dialogue as it is more flexible than news formats and allows for various modes of storytelling. Māori documentary, documentary that expresses Māori values, is significant in its ability to show Māori worldviews. Notwithstanding the possibilities opened up for Māori documentary producers by MTS, having the genre broadcast on the main television network is necessary so that Māori voices have due consideration in public discussion and debate. Documentary is certainly useful as a genre, but one that is constrained by mainstream television. This principally involves the limited sources of funding and rigid programming conditions within which producers must operate.

The presence of Māori documentary on mainstream television represents a voice for Māori on the national stage. Tier 1 broadcasters are particularly important because of

near-complete reception coverage and the strong pull they still evidence for television audiences. That said, following the suggestions of the recent filmmakers submission to NZ On Air, the viability of creating a stronger presence for Māori documentary across the Tier 2 channels (not just Māori Television) may be the way forward for the future. Through television documentary, communication of a diverse range of ideas, values and perspectives is made possible, which can secure ongoing dialogue between Māori and non-Māori as well as between iwi, hapū and whānau. Open communication and expression of ideas between peoples is critical for moving beyond mere tolerance to recognizing the value of what other cultures have to offer. Māori documentary storytelling for mainstream television creates this possibility, setting the foundation for shared understanding and nurturing of relationships in Aotearoa.

Nāku te rourou nāu te rourou ka ora ai te iwi
With your basket and my basket the people will live

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Appendix A: Focus Group Advertisement

AUT
UNIVERSITY
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI O TAMAKI MAKAU RAU

Kia ora whānau!

Documentary Film Audience Wanted!

As part of a Masters Research project on Māori documentary the researcher is looking for an audience. Participants must be undertaking study at Te Ara Poutama, majoring in Māori media. Participants will be requested to take part in a focus group session.

This session will include:

A 15-minute screening of selected documentary clips

A one-hour discussion (to be conducted straight after viewing)

Audio and videotaping of this session will be conducted.

Kai will be provided after the session.

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

WHERE: Ngā Wai o Horotiu marae

WHEN: Tuesday 27 September, 2pm-4pm

OR

Tuesday 18 October, 2pm-4pm

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

Sophie Johnson

sophie.johnson@aut.ac.nz

Mob: 021-217-9433

Appendix B: Focus Group Schedule

1) Mihimihi: Introduce intermediary and myself

2) Outline of group conduct

⇒ Respect the opinions of others; speak and allow others to speak

⇒ Remember that participant identities and opinions are confidential

3) Exercise (based on methodological articles by Kitzinger, 1994):

⇒ Participants are divided into three teams. Teams are given a set of cards that contain an image and a statement that they must decide is true or false. After five minutes of discussion time, the facilitator will read the statements aloud and groups will be asked to reveal their answers. The facilitator will encourage discussion about why groups thought the statement to be true or false, whether all individuals in the group shared the decision, and why the three groups may have had the same or different responses.

4) Screenings

⇒ Documentary excerpt 1: *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (2004)

⇒ Documentary excerpt 2: *Stopping the Bash* (2001)

⇒ Documentary excerpt 3: *The Flight of Te Hookioi* (2009)

5) Defining Māori Documentary

I'm interested in how documentary makes you think, feel, and act.

⇒ Which of the three excerpts shown had the most impact on you? Why? / How? (what gave you these impressions, certain techniques, storytelling methods?)

⇒ Do these programmes teach us anything? If so, what? And how do they teach us?

⇒ How would you describe the genre and/or sub-genres of these programmes? Why? (certain conventions or characteristics, etc)

⇒ What are the similarities / differences?

⇒ What purpose might these documentaries serve? (What do they do? How do they do it?)

⇒ Who is each of these documentaries FOR? (Who do they speak to?)

⇒ Should documentary be important to Māori? Why/ why not?

6)   **Representations of Māori in Documentary**

⇒ In a few words, how do you feel Māori are portrayed in each of the excerpts (positively or negatively)?

⇒ How do these programmes reflect your own experience as a Māori or non-Māori? How? / Why not?

⇒ What kinds of stereotypes about Māori do you see on television?

⇒ In what ways (if any) do the documentary excerpts shown reinforce and/or challenge these media stereotypes about Māori?

⇒ How are Māori represented in other factual television formats? (eg. 60 Minutes (TV3), Police Ten7 (TV2), Kai Time on the Road (MTS), Native Affairs (MTS))

7)   **Broadcasting & Māori**

⇒ What kinds of Māori programmes do you watch on television? Why do you watch them?

⇒ Which free-to-air television channel do you spend the MOST time watching (TV1, TV2, TV3, Four, Prime, Māori Television, Te Reo)? Why?

⇒ What are the differences / similarities between documentaries on MTS and TVNZ? Why do you think this is?

⇒ Considering there are other ways of conveying information – eg. film, radio, internet – what is the significance of having Māori documentary on television?

⇒ How does free-to-air television in New Zealand cater to your needs as a viewer?

8)   **Final thoughts…**

⇒ In what ways might Māori documentary be useful for Māori and non-Māori television audiences? Any other thoughts?

9)   **Wrap-up / Wharekai**

Appendix C: Confidentiality Agreement for Intermediary

Confidentiality Agreement

Project title: Understanding Māori television documentary in Aotearoa

Project Supervisors: Dr. Geraldene Peters

Researcher: Sophie Johnson

○   I understand that all the material I will be asked to record is confidential.

○   I understand that the contents of the Consent Forms, tapes, or interview notes can only be discussed with the researchers.

○   I will not keep any copies of the information nor allow third parties access to them.

Intermediary's signature: ....…………………………………………

Intermediary's name: ....…………………………………………

Intermediary's Contact Details (if appropriate):

………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………..

……………………………………………………………….

Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details (if appropriate):

…………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………..

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 11 March AUTEC Reference number 11/32

Appendix D: Consent Form for Focus Groups

Consent Form

Project title: Understanding Māori television documentary in Aotearoa

Project Supervisor: Dr. Geraldene Peters

Researcher: Sophie Johnson

Your contribution of knowledge to this research will be regarded as a tāonga; a treasure to be protected by the researcher. Your thoughts and opinions are highly valued and respected, and it is the researcher's endeavour to ensure comments are not taken out of context.

I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 19th August 2011.

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

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

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

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

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

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

If I withdraw, I understand that it may not be possible to destroy all records of the focus group discussion of which I was part. However I am aware that the relevant information about myself including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will not be used.

I agree to take part in this research.

I wish to receive a copy of a summary of findings from this research once it has been completed (please circle one):   Yes   No

Participant's signature: ....…………………………

Participant's name: ....…………………………

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

……………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Appendix E: Participant Information Sheet for Focus Groups

Participant Information Sheet

Date information sheet produced: 19th August, 2011

Project Title: Understanding Māori television documentary in Aotearoa

An Invitation

You are invited to participate in a research project examining the perceptions of Māori documentary in New Zealand. It seeks to find out how Māori documentary is defined and what its primary role may involve. Your decision to participate is voluntary and, should you agree to participate you may withdraw at any time with no adverse consequences. The researcher's name is Sophie Johnson (Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāpuhi). Sophie is a Bachelor of Communication Studies graduate from the Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Sophie is currently in her second year of her Master of Communication Studies degree at the Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. She is of Māori, Scottish and Irish descent, currently living in New Zealand and has a strong interest in Māori documentary.

What is the purpose of this research?

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

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

Local universities were identified as the best places to find and attract potential participants. Your experiences from watching documentary film and your interest in Te Ao Māori will be highly relevant to this research and your participation will be an asset to the project.

What will happen in this research?

You will fill out an anonymous questionnaire and participate in a two hour (maximum) focus group session. This involves watching clips from three television documentaries and engaging in a subsequent discussion. Before beginning your consent it will be requested that the focus group session may be

videotaped for transcription purposes. Following the focus group session there will be kai provided for all participants.

What are the discomforts and risks?

You may not be comfortable answering certain questions. As this is a group discussion you might find the opinions of other group members disconcerting. There might also be some conflict in opinion between group members.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If you wish to not answer a certain question you will be respected and not pressured to do so. It will also be emphasized that participant identity and focus group information be kept confidential. Participants will be asked to respect each other's opinions and avoid put-downs. However if this occurs and distresses you, you may choose to leave the focus group. Furthermore should you wish, you can request to speak to a counsellor. This service will be provided to you free of cost. Guidelines and appropriate conduct during the focus group sessions will be explained to you before the session begins in order to minimize potential discomforts and risks.

What are the benefits?

This study will be used to contribute to the scant literature on Māori documentary. It will provide much needed information about the perceptions of Māori television documentary among New Zealand media audiences and the relevance it holds in our society. As a participant your contribution will be acknowledged in the final report of this project and in any subsequent publications to result from this. Moreover the information you provide will greatly benefit current and future Māori documentary filmmakers and academics. Your participation will also help me obtain a Master of Communications Studies degree from AUT University. In addition you will aid the researcher in developing an understanding about how Māori documentary may be defined.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your name, or any other personal details, will not be used in the final report of this study. In order to differentiate between the information each participant provides, they will each be attributed with a pseudo-name when transcribing the data. The videotapes consisting of the information from the focus groups sessions will be stored securely for a period of six years at AUT University before being destroyed. Only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to review the tapes. You may choose to withdraw yourself from the focus group session at any time with no negative consequences. As you are part of a group discussion, it will not be possible to destroy the information you provide without affecting the information provided by other participants. However no information provided by you will be used in the final report or in any subsequent publications.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

You will be required to give a maximum of two hours of your time for this research study.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You are requested to notify the researcher of your decision to participate within two weeks. Your decision to participate is entirely voluntary. If you require any additional information about this research to help inform your decision please do not hesitate to contact the researcher, Sophie Johnson.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Following an informal response about agreeing to participate (phone, text message, email) you will be asked to sign a Consent Form on the day of the focus group session.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You will not formally receive any feedback on the results of this research. If you wish, you will be provided with a brief summary of the research and its outcomes at the conclusion of this project (September 2012).

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

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr. Geraldene Peters, geraldene.peters@aut.ac.nz, 0064 9 921 9999 ext 6267.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz , 0064 9 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Sophie Johnson (sophie.johnson@aut.ac.nz)

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr. Geraldene Peters, geraldene.peters@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6267.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 11 March AUTEC Reference number 11/32

Appendix F: Focus Group Discussion Agenda

1) **Mihimihi / welcome**

2) **Group conduct**

3) **Warm-up exercise**

4) **Screenings:**
   ⇒ Documentary excerpt 1: *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (TVNZ, 2004)
   ⇒ Documentary excerpt 2: *Stopping the Bash* (TV3, 2001)
   ⇒ Documentary excerpt 3: *The Flight of Te Hookioi* (MTS, 2009)

5) **Discussion about documentary excerpts**

6) **Defining Māori Documentary**

7) **Representations of Māori in Documentary**

8) **Broadcasting & Māori**

9) **Final thoughts**

10) **KAI TIME!**

Appendix G: Focus Group Documentary Synopses

Title: *Hīkoi: Inside Out* (2004)
Broadcast date: Wednesday 21st July, 2004
Broadcaster: TVNZ, TV One Insight series
Director: Kay Ellmers
Producer: Aroha Shelford

Synopsis: We join two young women as they journey to parliament with the Foreshore & Seabed Hīkoi, and explore some of the concepts that compel them to join tens of thousands of marchers in the largest unified mobilization of Māori in history. We see behind the scenes – the early morning rises, the preparations and planning, the convoys, hīkoi and rallies in towns as they pass through. We experience the hīkoi from their perspectives.

Title: *Stopping the Bash* (2001)
Broadcast date: 2001
Broadcaster: TV3
Director: Haunui Royal
Producer: Rhonda Kite

Synopsis: Deals with the issues of child abuse and domestic violence amongst the Māori community and Aotearoa in general. It brings together stories that allow Māori to look at what really is going on within Māoridom.

Title: *The Flight of Te Hookioi* (2009)
Broadcast date: Wednesday 21st October, 2009
Broadcaster: MTS
Director: Te Arepa Kahi
Producer: Alexander Behse

Synopsis: 150 years ago, two men from Tainui – Wiremu Toetoe and Hemara Te Rerehau – took the trip of a lifetime on board the Novara, a Viennese scientific frigate and returned to NZ with a printing press, a gift from the Emperor of Austria. Local filmmaker Tearepa Kahi, also from Tainui, now retraces their footsteps via the journal of Hemara Te Rerehau, the younger of the two men, in a bid to learn more about their historic journey and its impact on New Zealand, while trying to separate myth from the story.

Appendix H: Interview Schedule

⇒ No hea koe? (Where are you from?)

⇒ Tell me about the organisations you are associated with in the film and television industry.

⇒ What is your experience with documentary production?

⇒ In what ways does the genre of documentary empower/disempower Māori?

⇒ What is a Māori documentary?

⇒ How do we define it? Should it be defined?

⇒ What kinds of things need to be considered when making a Māori documentary?

> ⇒ What is your view of non-Māori making documentaries about Māori topics?

⇒ What is the role of Māori documentary in New Zealand?

⇒ What role should it play?

⇒ What is the significance of having a strong Māori presence on New Zealand television?

⇒ Is this level of significance reflected in the quantity and quality of Māori documentary on television today?

⇒ What kinds of obstacles are faced by Māori documentary producers wanting to make material for mainstream broadcasters?

⇒ What are your thoughts on the TVNZ Charter, specifically in terms of Māori programming objectives? (these signified a commitment to the participation of Māori in programme planning as well as the presence of a significant Māori voice in programme content)

> ⇒ Were these objectives fulfilled during the Charter's implementation?

⇒ In what ways do TVNZ display a commitment to the inclusion of a Māori voice, now that the Charter is no longer in use?

⇒ Is there a need to revert back to the Charter? Why / why not?

⇒ How has the arrival of Māori Television impacted upon:

> ⇒ the amount and quality of Māori programming being broadcast on TVNZ?

> ⇒ the way in which Māori documentary producers work?

⇒ What steps are being/should be taken to give visibility to Māori ideas and worldviews in the wider media landscape?

⇒ Is this already being catered for by Māori Television? How / why not?

⇒ How might Māori documentary look in the future (through which media, to what audiences)?

⇒ Anything else you'd like to add?

Appendix I: Participant Information Sheet for Interviews

Participant Information Sheet

Date information sheet produced: 19th August, 2011

Project Title: Understanding Māori television documentary in Aotearoa

An Invitation

You are invited to participate in a research project examining the perceptions of Māori documentary in New Zealand. It seeks to find out how Māori documentary is defined and what its primary role may involve. Your decision to participate is voluntary and, should you agree to participate you may withdraw at any time with no adverse consequences. The researcher's name is Sophie Johnson (Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāpuhi). Sophie is a Bachelor of Communication Studies graduate from the Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. Sophie is currently in her second year of her Master of Communication Studies degree at the Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand. She is of Māori, Scottish and Irish descent, currently living in New Zealand and has a strong interest in Māori documentary.

What is the purpose of this research?

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

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

Your candidacy has been based on your level of experience in either production, broadcasting or academic study of Māori documentary.

What will happen in this research?

You will participate in a two-hour (maximum) interview. This involves a discussion about your involvement with Māori documentary, what you believe Māori documentary to be and what role(s) you think Māori documentary plays / should play. A follow-up interview may also be necessary for answer clarification and further discussion. The attribution of your views and opinions is seen as important to the

research, and certainly preferred by the researcher. However, if you feel strongly against having your identity revealed in the final report, your wishes will be respected without argument.

What are the discomforts and risks?

You may not be comfortable answering questions that are commercially or politically sensitive.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

If you wish to not answer a certain question you will be respected and not pressured to do so. You will also be given the opportunity to review your answers and omit sensitive information from the final report.

What are the benefits?

This study will be used to contribute to the scant literature on Māori documentary. It will provide much needed information about the perceptions of Māori television documentary among New Zealand media audiences and the relevance it holds in our society. As a participant your contribution will be acknowledged in the final report of this project and in any subsequent publications to result from this. Moreover the information you provide will greatly benefit current and future Māori documentary filmmakers and academics. Your participation will also help me obtain a Master of Communications Studies degree from AUT University. In addition you will aid the researcher in developing an understanding about how Māori documentary may be defined.

How will my privacy be protected?

By consenting to participate in this study, you are also being asked to waive your privacy. If you are happy to be known and acknowledged as a participant, you also retain the right to remove any comments from the transcripts at any time prior to completion of the final report.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

You will be required to give a maximum of two hours of your time for this research study. The researcher, Sophie Johnson, will reimburse you for any costs you may incur and provide light refreshments during your interview session.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You are requested to notify the researcher of your decision to participate within two weeks of being contacted. Your decision to participate is entirely voluntary. If you require any additional information about this research to help inform your decision please do not hesitate to contact the researcher, Sophie Johnson (sophie.johnson@aut.ac.nz).

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Following an informal response about agreeing to participate (phone, text message, email) you will be asked to sign a Consent Form on the day of the interview.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You will be provided with a brief summary of the research and its outcomes at the conclusion of this project (approximately September 2012).

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

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr. Geraldene Peters, geraldene.peters@aut.ac.nz, 0064 9 921 9999 ext 6267.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz , 0064 9 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Sophie Johnson (sophie.johnson@aut.ac.nz)

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr. Geraldene Peters, geraldene.peters@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6267.

Appendix J: Consent Form for Interviews

Consent Form

Project title: Understanding Māori television documentary in Aotearoa

Project Supervisor: Dr. Geraldene Peters

Researcher: Sophie Johnson

Your contribution of knowledge to this research will be regarded as a tāonga; a treasure to be protected by the researcher. Your thoughts and opinions are highly valued and respected, and it is the researcher's endeavour to ensure comments are not taken out of context.

I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 19th August 2011.

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

I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.

These audio tapes will be deemed owned by the researcher and will be used for academic purposes and as data for this research project only.

I permit the researcher to disclose my identity in the final report.

I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

I agree to take part in this research.

I agree for the final report to be disseminated to relevant Māori organisations as determined by the researcher: (please tick one): YesO NoO

Participant's signature:

....…………………………………………………………

Participant's name:

....…………………………………………………………

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………..

………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Appendix K: Shot deconstruction of *Hīkoi: Inside Out* excerpt

Video	Audio	Dur*	RT†
1) WS Sunrise		3"	3'17"
2) WS Coast		3"	3'20"
Baseline graphic: 22nd April 2004 / Cape Reinga	**Music:** Relaxed instrumental		
3) LS of a few people standing around lighthouse		3"	3'23"
Fade-out baseline graphic			
4) MLS Te Whenua by foreshore (PTC)	TW: Morena koutou, ko Te Whenua Harawira ahau, I'm going to be sort of like your tour guide for the next couple of weeks over the hīkoi.	9"	3'32"
5) WS carpark		2"	3'34"
6) LS people greeting one another		3"	3'37"
7) MCU men hongi	TW v/o: At about 7-8 o'clock we're all going to be gathering around at the carpark up here just to have a bit of a kōrero, coming down here for a karakia, and then we're going to start the march.	2"	3'39"
8) OS speaker in front of hīkoi participants		2"	3'41"
9) LS Ratana priest delivering karakia		2"	3'43"

---

* Shot Duration
† Running Time

10) WS Man with taiaha leading hīkoi		4"	3'47"
11) Low-angle MLS kuia walking at the front	**Music:** Reggae (Movement of the People)	3"	3'50"
12) Low-angle man with taiaha followed by pou whenua		5"	3'55"
13) LS hīkoi descending down the hill		4"	3'59"
14) Low-angle LS hīkoi descending		3"	4'02"
15) OS hīkoi descending	TW v/o: About 300 people came to Te Rerenga Wairua. It was choice to see the nannies and tamariki who'd come to be a part of the ceremonies, and people came from all around the motu to kick off the hīkoi in style.	2"	4'04"
16) WS people walking alongside vehicles with tino rangatiratanga flags		4"	4'08"
17) WS vehicles alongside hīkoi		2"	4'10"
18) MCU flags		2"	4'12"
19) MLS Te Whenua walking alongside Chris Henare, who is holding the pou whenua (PTC)	TW: Hey kia ora, we've just walked about 2k's, 2k's cuz? CH: Yeah, yeah, 2k's.	15"	4'27
20) Fade-in archival footage of Dame Whina Cooper on 1975 Māori Land March	TW: 2k's from Cape Reinga, just on our way to Te Paki stream. This tāonga here was one of the tāonga that Whina Cooper took with her on the 1975 march.	8"	4'35"
21) Fade-in MS Te Whenua and Chris (PTC)	TW: And the bro here, his name's Chris Henare, he's the one that's carrying it for us for the hīkoi to Te Paki stream.	5"	4'40"
22) OS hīkoi descending down the hill	**Fade out music**	3"	4'43"

23) **Title Graphic:** 'The Legislation'. (Tino rangatiratanga flag on water surface recedes to reveal title on foreshore)	**Music:** Pūtātara / Acoustic guitar	6"	4'49"
24) MCU Moana Jackson **Baseline graphic:** Moana Jackson (Ngāti Kahungunu/Ngāti Porou) Moana Jackson (Lawyer)	MJ: Most fundamentally the legislation is a confiscation of things which the Treaty says belong to Māori under the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of our whenua; it's a confiscation of things which the common law recognizes as part of our aboriginal title; and it's a confiscation of things that under Human Rights norms are internationally recognized as belonging to Indigenous peoples. It's an unjust and unfair piece of legislation.	28"	5'17"
25) MCU Michael Cullen **Baseline graphic:** Hon Dr Michael Cullen (Deputy Prime Minister)	MC: I don't think that's true at all. What it actually does provide for is protection for customary rights; it provides for recognition of ancestral connection; it reaffirms Crown ownership – it makes the Crown the full legal and beneficial owner in order to protect public rights and public access.	18"	5'35"
26) MS Annette Sykes **Baseline graphic:** Annette Sykes (Te Arawa/Ngāti Pikiao/Ngāti Makino) Annette Sykes Partner: Rangitauira & Co	AS: It's heinous, it's unjust, it's out of step with international norms, and it is a racially organized policy, which subordinates the interests of Māori while it elevates the rights of Pākehā. And that is not right.	17"	5'52"
27) WS vehicles on beach displaying flags	**Music:** Reggae (Maranga Ake Ra / Stand Up For Your Rights)	4"	5'56"
28) Pan LS runners passing tino rangatiratanga flag down beach	TW v/o: Here we are on Te Oneroa a Tohe. You probably know it as Ninety-Mile Beach.	8"	6'04"

29)	LS man sitting on bonnet of moving car waving to camera		2"	6'06"
30)	MS two-shot mother and son on bonnet of moving car smiling at camera		2"	6'08"
31)	Track LS Māori man passes flag to Pākehā man		3"	6'11"
32)	Track MLS young woman running with flag	TW v/o: Our convoy met up with the team who set up to run this flag all the way down to Wellington and hell yeah! They done a good job of running it all the way down to Wellington.	2"	6'13"
33)	Track LS woman running with flag, truck in background		2"	6'15"
34)	Track MS man running with flag		2"	6'17"
35)	Track/pan truck with supporters on trailer		3"	6'20"
36)	Track LS woman handing flag to young boy		2"	6'22"
37)	Track ELS man running with flag, boy runs alongside	TW v/o: All kinds of people showed up to be a part of the relay, and there was an awesome feeling that we were creating history.	2"	6'24"
38)	Track MS man smiling while running with flag		2"	6'26"
39)	Track MCU mother smiling with young child on her back running with flag		2"	6'28"

40) Track two-shot man and boy in following vehicle. Boy in sunroof and man hanging out of rear door		2"	6'30"
41) Track MLS middle-aged man passes flag to boy		6"	6'36"
42) Track two-shot nanny running with flag, man running alongside	TW v/o: My nephew Kahi – he run four hours that day – go hard son. And my Nan, well she's hitting her mid-seventies and she was the oldest runner there.	4"	6'40"
43) WS cars driving along foreshore		3"	6'43"
44) LS young boy running toward camera with flag; stakes into sand	TW v/o: All in all, it was a pretty positive start for the first day of our hīkoi.	5"	6'48"
45) WS convoy gathering on beach **Fade to black**	**Fade out music**	3"	6'51"
46) WS Hīkoi group walking through main street of Kaitaia	Group singing waiata	4"	6'55"
47) MLS Te Whenua walking with group		2"	6'57"
48) WS group walking on one side of street	TW v/o: On the second day of the Hīkoi, about a thousand people turned up to march through my hometown of Kaitaia.	3"	7'00"
49) Track Hone Harawira riding on bicycle alongside Te Whenua and group		3"	7'03"
50) WS young men run with flag		3"	7'06"

51) Track/pan young boy with police hat directing traffic		2"	7'08"
52) ELS car leads hīkoi group as they walk through town	TW v/o: Over the next three days we headed south and marched through all the little towns of Tai Tokerau until we reached Hato Petera college on Auckland's North Shore.	3"	7'11"
53) Track back woman dancing in front of 'Hīkoi 2004' campervan		3"	7'14"
54) WS Hato Petera marae		3"	7'17"
55) WS group setting up beds in gym	Hato Petera students sing waiata	2"	7'19"
56) Two-shot young boys playing cards		2"	7'21"
57) LS Te Whenua painting banner	TW v/o: We spent that evening preparing for the next day's crossing of the Harbour Bridge.	2"	7'23"
58) Two-shot women painting banner		2"	7'25"
59) WS people assembled in gym listening to speaker		3"	7'28"
60) MS woman speaker with microphone	Speaker: We're working with the police – hallelujah! We're working with the police on this because we agree whole-heartedly about the safety of our rōpū.	5"	7'33"
61) Low-angle WS men lying on mattresses		2"	7'35"
62) Low-angle MS tired girl lying on mattress		3"	7'38"

63) OS group sitting before kaumatua		2"	7'40"
64) Low-angle MS Te Whenua and women painting banners	TW v/o: Plans were pretty well sussed but I was a bit worried about whether my banner would be ready on time, and we still had no idea how many people would be joining us on the bridge the next day.	3"	7'43"
65) Two-shot women painting banners		3"	7'46"
66) High-angle LS group of women painting banners		2"	7'48"
67) Advertisement Title Graphic: One News Insight: Hīkoi – Inside Out	Music: Pūtātara / Acoustic guitar	5"	7'53"

Key:

ELS	Extreme long shot
LS	Long shot
MCU	Medium close-up
MLS	Medium long shot
MS	Mid-shot
OS	Over-the-shoulder shot
PTC	Piece-to-camera
v/o	Voiceover
WS	Wide shot